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WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP PILOT REPORT

Guinea Assessment

Prepared under Contract No. GS-I0F-0033M/AID-0AA-M-13-00013, Tasking N060

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ACRONYMS

ADS	Automated Directives System
AGUIFPEG	Guinean Association of Women for Peace, and Elections and Governance
AT	Assessment Team
CDP	Democratic Pan-African Convention
CENI	Independent National Electoral Commission
CF-CNT	Women's Caucus of the National Transitional Council
CNOSCG	National Council Civil Society Organizations
CNRD	National Committee for Reconciliation and Development
CNT	National Transition Council
COFFIG	Coalition of Women and Girls of Guinea
COFFIG-DCPD	Coalition of Guinean Women/Girls for Dialogue, Peace Building, and Development
CONAG-DCF	National Coalition of Guinea for the Rights and Citizenship of Women
CRVS	Civil Registration and Vital Statistics
CSO	Civil society organization
DRG	Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance
DRG-LER	Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Learning, Evaluation, and Research Activity
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FGM/E	Female genital mutilation or excision
FNDC	National Front for the Defense of the Constitution
FOFPAG	Forum for Guinean Parliamentary Women
FGD	Focus group discussion
GOG	Government of Guinea
IPU-UN	Interparliamentary Union
IGA	Income generating activities
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation
KII	Key informant interview
LGP	Guinean Women in Politics
MARWOPNET	Mano River Women's Peace Network
MASPFE	Ministry of Social Affairs, and the promotion of Women and Children
MATD	Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization

MPWCV	Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and Vulnerable Persons
NAP	National Action Plan
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPROGEM	Office of Protection of Gender, Children and Morals
PACT	Labor and Citizens' Action Party
PASOC	Civil Society Support Program
PUP	Party for Unity and Progress
RDA	African Democratic Rally
REFAMP	Network for Women Ministers and Parliamentarians
RPG	Rally of the People of Guinea
SDI	Sustainable development indicator
SLECG	Free Trade Union of Teachers and Researchers of Guinea
UFDG	Union of Democratic Forces of Guinea
UFR	Union of Republican Forces
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WPPL	Women's political participation and leadership

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Under the Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance Learning, Evaluation, and Research (DRG-LER) Activity, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) tasked NORC at the University of Chicago (NORC) with developing a Women's Political Participation and Leadership (WPPL) Assessment Framework and accompanying data collection tools. The WPPL Assessment Framework aims to identify key WPPL challenges and opportunities within a country, thereby guiding a Mission's program strategies, activity design, and allocation of resources.

This report leverages this framework and transposes it to Guinea. The results are primarily intended to inform the Mission's WPPL programming; NORC and USAID will use the lessons learned from the assessment framework implementation to revise and finalize the assessment framework documents prior to their dissemination.

An assessment of WPPL in Guinea is needed in order to better understand how to navigate the current political transition, which began with the September 5, 2021, coup. This event represents both a threat to and an opportunity for WPPL in Guinea. The current situation in the country is one where in all instances, women are disproportionately impacted but rarely consulted at decision-making levels and where entrenched patriarchal values and practices imbibed through traditional culture and reproduced in families and communities have not been effectively addressed. However, women associations are raising their voices for their full engagement and participation, and the momentum is likely to continue through the general elections after the transition period.

USAID therefore seeks to understand how to best engage with women's groups so that its activities can respond to women's priorities, and to understand how to best act during the transition period to maximize the potential for a trajectory that fosters greater WPPL during and after the current political transition period.

METHODOLOGY

The Guinea Assessment Team (AT) applied five steps, as outlined in the WPPL Assessment Framework, using data collected through a review of relevant literature and USAID documents, a nationally representative survey of 2,518 adult citizens; a survey of 665 local politicians; 36 key informant interviews (KIIs) with politicians, candidates, civil society actors, leaders of political parties, and government and media actors; and 17 focus group discussions (FGDs) with citizens in all four natural regions of Guinea, including Conakry, N'Zérékoré, Lola, Kindia, Fria, Boké, Dalaba, Labé, Mamou, Faranah, and Kankan. The AT conducted in-country, qualitative fieldwork from May 25 to June 3, 2022.

FOUNDATIONAL FACTORS

HISTORY, PEACE, AND CONFLICT: A long history of non-inclusive politics and conflict in Guinea shapes the present-day context for women's political participation and leadership in the country. Although pre-independence Guinea was a conservative society, women were crucial in the struggle for Guinean independence as well as in the early years of independence. For example, Guinean women

created new dances, songs, and slogans to inform the public about election rigging and to encourage mobilizing with the African Democratic Rally (RDA) for independence. However, women's role in politics became less prominent in recent years.

While conflicts during the first 50 years of independent Guinea were not extreme, the December 2008 military coup led by Dadis Camara featured political instability and several violent incidents. Guinea has since developed two National Action Plans that identify five overarching objectives related to WPPL and gender equality and protection. Despite the return of constitutional order in 2010, the sociopolitical climate remains tense due to differences between political actors over the electoral process, particularly those related to the transition of power. In the lead-up to the 2020 parliamentary elections and presidential elections, Guinean security forces frequently used excessive and, at times, lethal force to suppress sometimes violent demonstrations by those opposed to a new constitution. Members of the security forces continue to enjoy almost total impunity for the excessive use of force and other human rights abuses. The government also arbitrarily arrested and detained scores of leaders and members of the National Front for the Defense of the Constitution (FNDC), a coalition of civil society groups and opposition parties opposed to the new constitution. In addition, there are recurrent conflicts between civilians, particularly in the mining areas of the country and between Guerze and Konianke communities in the Forest Region, which could contribute to the deterioration of social cohesion.

SOCIAL CLEAVAGES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: Guinea's population is made up of a complex mix of ethnic and religious identities. It is made up principally of three ethnic groups—the Peulh, the Malinke, and the Susu—each with their respective subgroups. The caste system within the Peulh theocratic society and the traditional Mandé societies (which include the Malinke), although very different, constitute a social cleavage. To this day, certain intermarriages remain incompatible, and it is difficult for certain castes—griots, for example—to readily get elected. In recent years, voting has fallen largely along ethnic and regional lines, even if most Guineans seem willing to move beyond ethnic divisions.

Guineans have a definite sense of national identity, which has contributed to preventing Guinea from descending into a civil war such as those that raged in some of its neighboring countries. However, it is the gender cleavage that is at the root of the economic, social, and political divide observed throughout Guinea's society and affects rural and urban women of all ages and from all walks of life, but especially women heads of households, widows, refugees, and women with disabilities. They suffer multiple forms of discrimination, especially regarding access to land, justice, education, employment, adequate housing, health care, and social and legal services.

The gender gap in educational attainment in Guinea is the third largest in the world, resulting in the high rate of illiteracy among women. Contributing factors include stereotypes and cultural barriers, child marriage and early pregnancy, and the risk of sexual harassment and abuse by teachers. Many of these same factors also contribute to the persistent barriers that women face to accessing justice. Women who file complaints related to gender-based violence are often confronted with acts of intimidation and pressure from their families or communities to drop the charges or to prefer amicable settlements. Additionally, women fear being stigmatized if they choose to go through a public trial at court.

TRADITIONAL NORMS AND RELIGION: Although Guinea is a secular republic, the vast majority of the Guinean population is Muslim. Both the patriarchal system and the influence of religion demand that women submit to male authority, leaving women unable to participate in activities not supported by

their families, such as voting and political processes. While Guinean women recognize and are fully aware of their duties toward their husbands, their families, and society, they are often unaware of their rights, including from a religious point of view.

Ancient traditions comingle with religious beliefs and customary law with Guinean jurisdiction, especially in rural areas and amongst the illiterate population. Female genital mutilation and child marriage are perfect examples of this comingling. Although Guinean women acquired formal rights under the First Republic (1958–1984), including the legal age of marriage at 17 and the right to refuse marriage and polygamy, these are hardly ever enforced, both in urban and rural areas. The persistence of fertility values, the encouragement of widows and divorced women to remarry quickly, and discriminatory inheritance regulations do little to promote women's empowerment and equitable access to goods and services in society.

POLITICAL & ELECTORAL SYSTEMS: Democracy is relatively fragile in Guinea, as after independence, Sékou Touré established a one-party system that tolerated no political opposition. His successor, Lansana Conté, held the first multiparty presidential election, but all elections under the Conté regime were singularly managed by the Ministry of the Interior and won by his party. The 2010 Presidential elections were the most open multiparty presidential elections to date, representing an important political evolution for the people of Guinea. They marked the start of the rule of Alpha Condé, who would try to modify the constitution to allow him to run for a third term.

In Guinea, presidential elections are won either by a candidate obtaining an absolute majority of the votes or through a runoff election between the two candidates who received the most votes in the first round. According to the 2010 Constitution, Presidents serve for a five-year term and can be reelected only once. Guinea's electoral system is mixed for legislative elections. Of the 114 members of Parliament, two-thirds are elected from a national list, based on proportional representation, and one-third (one per circumscription) are elected through the first-past-the-post system. The Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI), comprised most recently of seven members from each political bloc, two representing civil society, and one from the state administration, was given the lead role in 2007 to oversee the electoral process by the electoral code.

Voter registration is recognized as essential to the effective exercise of the right to vote. According to the electoral code, a revision of the list should be carried out during the last quarter of every year. However, this has not been a regular practice. To register, Guineans must present proof of citizenship (identity card, passport), which is not a given for many people, especially women, although it is possible to register without documents when accompanied by two citizens widely known in the locality and who can attest the eligibility to vote.

Condé obtained his third term in 2020, but the elections and the referendum on the new constitution in 2020 were plagued by major deficiencies. The post-election period was marred in violence, especially in Conakry and in N'Zérékoré, where the controversial results ignited longstanding intercommunal and ethnic tensions. Less than a year later, Condé was arrested, and the military, led by Colonel Mamady Doumbouya, seized power. This event dramatically reshaped the Guinean political and elections systems; Parliament was dissolved and replaced by the National Transition Council (CNT), structured as an 81-member representative body responsible for constitutional and electoral reforms as well as other legislations. The CENI was also dissolved and responsibilities for elections management and monitoring transferred back to the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization (MATD), while

allowing politicians to be associated in all the electoral operations and oversight. As of the writing of this report, the CNT is in the process of reviewing both the Constitution and the Electoral Code, which will determine the way forward once the country has returned to democratic rule.

Political parties were neither affected by the 2021 military coup nor were they dissolved. The exact number of political parties both currently registered at the MATD and in compliance with the Political Party Charter is not known but is estimated to be 160. Although the political party system has been relatively stable, with the three biggest parties (Alpha Condé's RPG, Cellou Dalein Diallo's UFDG, and Sidya Touré's UFR) existing for over two decades, a plethora of other political parties—generally built around important personalities on an ad hoc basis—have appeared on the scene. Political parties in Guinea are highly personalized, the political programs hardly differ between parties (if they exist at all), and clientelism is widespread. The ethnic polarization between the two largest groups, Peulh and Malinké, however, is historically reflected in the party system.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: Guinea has made great strides in economic development in the past decade but remains heavily reliant on agriculture, a sector employing about 80 percent of the population and most Guinean women. Economic opportunities are concentrated in the capital, and the economy is partly ethnically structured. Due to discrimination and low levels of education, women in Guinea tend to work in the informal sector that employs approximately two-thirds of the economically active population. Although the female labor force participation rate in Guinea is one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa, women remain less economically productive and earn less than men.

Patterns of economic inequality begin in adolescence within the education setting. In Guinea, only half of primary school age children attend, and fewer girls than boys make the transition to higher levels of education. Gender gaps in education are more severe in rural areas. The widespread practices of child marriage and early childbearing may also cause differences in economic development for women. There is a strong correlation between child marriage, early childbearing, and low educational attainment. In addition to work, women in Guinea spend an average of 22 hours per week on domestic chores, compared to the 4 hours spent by men. Social safety nets are rudimentary and cover only a limited number of risks for few beneficiaries, namely civil servants.

CURRENT STATE OF WPPL

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The WPPL General Population Survey carried out as part of the assessment shows gender gaps vary significantly across areas of political participation and leadership.

Women voted at a rate similar but slightly lower than men in the last Presidential election (85 percent of women compared with 89 percent of men). The principal barriers women reported for not voting are that they were ill (26 percent vs. 6 percent of men) or outside of their electoral district or the country (25 percent of women vs. 28 percent of men). This second barrier is partly tied to issues with voter registration system and procedures. Men and women reported at similar rates not voting because they were not registered or did not have a voter ID (12 percent of women vs. 14 percent of men).

Only 6 percent of respondents, mostly men, reported facing some kind of problem when trying to vote. The types of problems most reported were of an administrative nature (affecting a greater share of

men), followed by fear of getting harassed, threatened, or hurt (affecting a greater share of women). While only a very small number of respondents reported problems related to anger among family members (including spouses) and concerns about their reputation in the community, those who did were disproportionately women.

However, in other aspects of political participation, the gender gap was significantly larger. Although very few Guineans reported that they have previously run for political office, women were more than five times less likely to have done so than men. Women were also significantly less likely than men to say that they would be somewhat or very likely to accept to run for office if an opportunity to do so emerged. Men were also nearly three times as likely as women to report that they have previously contacted an elected official about a social, economic, or political problem. Similarly, women were markedly less likely to report attending a political rally or campaign event or to have signed petitions and slightly less likely than men to have attended a protest.

Women are also significantly less likely than men to be member of a political party (22 percent of women vs. 36 percent of men), even if the share of men and women feeling close to a political party was virtually the same. The survey also confirms that the proportion of women party members holding leadership positions is significantly lower than among men party members, even at the local and regional levels. Women also report speaking less often at party events than men do and having less input into party decisions: namely, platform, policy decisions, candidate selection, and recruitment. These findings reflect the perception among KII and FGD participants that most political parties have not been a space for advancing WPPL. Principles of equality enshrined in the Constitution lack enforcement mechanisms for political parties, and when it comes to the parties' efforts to actively engage women, male politicians often do not understand the importance of women's role in the party. Women intellectuals and high-level managers are not readily attracted to political activism in Guinea, while women in the public workforce often fear that their career will be at risk if their political party is in the opposition. Thus, women in parties are principally followers—often illiterate women from rural areas, who are mainly engaged in mobilization and recruiting—but they do not occupy specific roles in the party and do not participate in decision-making.

Many women and marginalized groups interviewed for the FGDs discussed the need for income-generating activities and financial empowerment as a necessary precursor to political empowerment. Both the surveys and discussion groups indicate that women are involved in politics because it offers them opportunities to improve their living conditions, and meet their expectations and those of their families. This also results in a tendency for women to monetize their activism, which partly explains the high level of interparty migration.

All these elements are underpinned by the fact that men are typically more interested in politics than women in Guinea and that a majority of Guineans never talk about politics with others in their household. As a result, the average Guinean has a relatively superficial knowledge of political actors and events, based on a few questions about current and prominent political leaders. Women were systematically less able than men to answer these questions, especially some of the more difficult ones, with one exception: the gender gap was narrow when it came to the law in Guinea requiring political parties to present a minimum number of female candidates for national legislative elections.

Public service in Guinea is an area where some progress has been made, but much work remains to be done. At the national level, women held 29 percent of ministerial positions in 2021, a 57 percent

improvement from 2010; however, only 25 percent of these women held high-responsibility posts. Women were also especially underrepresented in ministries that have significant STEM orientation or purview. At the governorate and prefecture levels, women made up around 20 percent of the officers in 2018, but this share drops dramatically at the sub-prefecture level, where women made up just 2 percent of the staff. Women are also underrepresented in community health positions (26 percent in 2016) and in the education sector (32 percent at the primary level and just 5 percent at the secondary level). However, the public service sector where women are least able to participate and lead is the armed forces, where they constitute just 8 percent of the workforce, a figure that has declined slightly compared to several decades ago under Sékou Touré.

Guinean women reported participating in a variety of community and civic groups, including two types of CSOs: organizations that try to fix problems in the community (13 percent of women surveyed) and charitable organizations doing voluntary work (2 percent of women surveyed). The gender gap in women's and men's participation is particularly wide for groups addressing community problems, reaching nearly 17 percentage points. And while the gender gap is only 1 percentage point for charitable organizations, this translates into a 50 percent difference between men and women (3 percent for men vs. 2 percent for women). On the other hand, nearly 36 percent of women reported participating in organizations related to work or income-generation activities (labor unions, cooperatives and producer associations, and professional organizations) which is slightly higher than among men.

Men were significantly more likely than women to report holding a leadership position. In the case of CSOs, the gap between men and women reached between 10 and 18 percentage points. In the context of organizations related to work or income-generation activities, the leadership gap between men and women reached 18 percentage points. Women surveyed were also more likely to say that they had less input in decision-making than men across all types of community organizations and systematically less likely than men to report speaking during the last meeting.

This trend was confirmed through KIs with civil society actors, who suggested that there is an important gender gap in women's participation in civil society. The Prefectural Council of Civil Society Organizations in Labé, a branch of the National Council Civil Society Organizations (CNOSCG), only has two women representatives on its 11-members executive body, and this is not an isolated example. Nonetheless, several thriving networks and organizations founded and led by women have taken on the responsibility of promoting and defending the social, economic, and political rights of women. Many of these organizations are well represented throughout the country and have an important network of grassroots actors that reach out to rural women. Several women's CSOs have also been active in the policymaking process and advocated for policies and regulations that were reflected in legislation, such as the Family Code. In addition, the Guinean trade union movement is known to have more women representatives than other sectors in Guinean society, as well as many influential women leaders.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Women are poorly represented at the highest levels of the Guinean government. The first woman candidate for election ran in 2010 as the only woman out of 24 candidates, although 3 women out of 12 candidates ran in the 2020 presidential elections. Just before the coup, just 4 women held ministerial posts out of 33 such posts. Women composed just 17 percent of Parliamentarians in 2020, although that figure rose as high as 23 percent in the 2013–2018 session. The situation is slightly better in the CNT, where women currently compose 28 percent of the 81 members. Among these 28 percent are very few

or no women representing CSO networks, cultural organizations, farmers' associations, traditional leaders, religious denomination, or chambers of commerce. This absence risks that their demands are not discussed or considered within the CNT, while the place and role of Guinean women in the current reconstruction of the state institutions remains a major imperative yet to be achieved. However, the judiciary is arguably where women are most excluded. For example, the Constitutional court only has 1 woman out of 11 judges, and the Court of Auditors has 1 woman out of 10 commissioners.

At the mayoral level, women candidates in 2018 accounted for 24 percent of the nearly 30,000 candidates and just 6 percent of elected councilors. And only 6 women became Mayors out of the 342 Mayor positions. Qualitative data were somewhat mixed about the factors most important for women to be on party lists or to reach the highest levels of decision-making. One person felt that those who overcome the many obstacles in their way are exceptional—higher education level and a conducive family environment—while another believed that the will of the party president was the key factor.

In our survey, women local politicians were more likely to follow their party's wishes than their male counterparts, suggesting they might feel explicit or implicit pressure to do so. Nonetheless, women Parliamentarians formed dynamic working groups to address a variety of issues related to women. In doing this, they also collaborated with women civil society networks to reinforce advocacy campaigns for increased participation of women in all decision-making platforms. A Women's Caucus (CF-CNT) of Guinea was created within the National Transitional Council (CNT) in July 2022. It brings together women representatives from different CNT commissions to increase the substantive participation of women in legislative positions.

Guinean political and civil networks and associations of women leaders are connected and active on the continent, in the subregion, and in Guinea. Working with human rights organizations and other sectorial groups, they are instrumental in promoting legal reform and societal change needed to achieve gender equality.

Although local politicians of both sexes felt confident in their ability to express themselves during communal council meetings if they disagreed with others, women politicians were nearly twice as likely to just feel "somewhat confident" than their male counterparts. And while women local politicians largely felt that others recognize and respect what they say during assembly debates, KIIs and FGDs reveal that this does not mean their ideas are considered. A woman former senior ministry official said that her colleagues grew weary of her interventions, so she would pass ideas dear to her to an ally male minister who would speak on her behalf, which proved very effective.

Despite this decidedly mixed assessment of the state of WPPL in Guinea, qualitative data yielded many signs that now is a pivotal moment in this regard. Guinea is at a crossroads where modernity clashes with ancient tradition and customs. Interviewees thought that change was made possible due to the social action and concerted strategies of women and men who are convinced that gender balance in the decision-making process is essential for democracy and for the future. Although a great deal still needs to be accomplished, women have joined many institutions where they used to be absent. Nonetheless, women's rights remain a foreign concept to most of the illiterate population and is mostly misunderstood by traditional and religious leaders. It is a delicate situation that must be addressed with caution and sensitivity.

DRIVERS OF WPPL

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

LEGAL FRAMEWORK: Although Guinea has made some improvements to its legal system with regards to women's rights and gender equality, the durability of these gains remains at risk. This is well illustrated by the fact that, unlike the 2020 Constitution suspended as part of the coup, the Transitional Charter in place now does not affirm parity between men and women as a political and social objective. Guinean women still face a great deal of inequality in terms of personal status (marriage, divorce, succession, inheritance), political participation, violence in the public and private spheres, and the rights to work and to access property and justice. They also face disadvantages in both the formal and traditional justice systems. Due to the coup, the present moment is uncertain in the context of the legal framework, but at a minimum, the objective should be to retain gains made prior to the coup. These include the various international human rights treaties that Guinea was party to and which, under the monist legal system in place, are immediately incorporated into national law. Gains made in national laws, such as the new Civil Code, the National Gender Policy, and the Law on Reproductive Health, and various national strategies and policies with important WPPL implications (e.g., the National Gender Policy, the National Strategy to Combat Gender-Based Violence) are also critical. The government also extended the Office of Protection of Gender, Children and Morals (OPROGEM) to the regions and prefectures, increasing the scope of prevention and punishment of violence against women and girls and establishing gender and equity directorates in all ministerial departments, which promote the political participation of women in public affairs. However, it will also be important to ensure that the Guinean government allocates sufficient human, financial, and technical resources to ensure the enforcement of these laws and the implementation of these policies, plans, and strategies. Effective coordination and cooperation across government bodies will also be critical. Opportunities to go beyond the gains made before the coup may also arise, and mobilization and preparations need to take place now.

REGISTRATION SYSTEM: The strong influence of religion and religious traditions in Guinea means birth, death, and marriage dictate that religious ceremonies and rituals prevail over all civil proceedings. In addition, women are typically prevented from registering the vital events by customs and traditions. Yet registering these vital events is critical to facilitate voting and to enforce the rights for women and children.

GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES: The population survey indicates an important split among Guineans around norms and attitudes related to female political participation. Even if the general trend is that a near-majority or majority of Guineans support female political participation, a sizable minority of the population feels otherwise. In addition, many women hold conservative norms and attitudes relating to gender roles and female political participation. For example, most respondents, regardless of their sex, personally felt that the country has either gone too far or has gone far enough regarding giving women the same rights as men. There are signs that the conservative minority or near majority hold significant sway on the rest of their communities. This translates into women and girls being silenced at family, community, and religious meetings and in decision-making, and women and girls being prevented from moving freely throughout most of their life. Significant restrictions on autonomy and participation in decision-making affect women's ability and confidence to engage in political activities, as shown in significant gender gaps in political efficacy. Nonetheless, there is a significant share of Guinean women who feel that they have strong political self-efficacy and whom programs should seek out and support.

EDUCATION AND CAPACITY: Women's access to education is one of the key drivers of political participation and an area where women continue to lag behind men in Guinea. Young women aspire to complete their education and obtain employment, but low rates of school enrollment, high drop-out rates between primary and secondary school, and gender discrimination limit their chances for educational access and success. Other contributors include early marriage and pregnancy, poor quality of instruction and a lack of materials in schools, large class sizes, corruption in the educational sector, and gender-based violence. Educational shortcomings translate into low literacy rates among women, especially in rural areas, which harm their ability to understand their rights, enforce them, and participate politically beyond being supporters of candidates and parties.

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE (GBV): GBV is pervasive in Guinea, affecting women in both urban and rural settings, and intimate partner violence (IPV) is one of the most common forms of GBV that women face. The population survey shows widespread tolerance of GBV and IPV. For example, there was a near consensus that women should tolerate violence to keep their family together, with just 10 percent of respondents expressing disagreement. Women in our survey systematically reported more tolerance than men for IPV, although social desirability bias may have weighted especially strongly on men's answers. Most women also held sexist views. Taken together, these factors are likely a significant barrier to women's political participation, as reflected in the fact that a slight majority of both men and women felt that women should expect to be victims of violence when they participate in political activities. Other forms of GBV widespread in Guinea are female genital mutilation or excision (FGM/E), early or forced marriage, and GBV in the education and workplace setting.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

LEGAL FRAMEWORK: Quotas introduced in 2010 require that 30 percent of candidates on the national list are women. However, application of this quota has been left to the discretion of political parties, and there are no provisions for noncompliance. As such, the 30 percent threshold has never been reached in any election. It is unclear how widely accepted this fact is, as KII respondents were split on whether the quota was being met in practice. In 2019, the National Assembly adopted the Law on Parity, which goes further than the previously mentioned quotas by instituting parity between men and women for access to electoral mandates and elective functions in public institutions. Women and CSOs have been instrumental in accomplishing this reform, but parity was not yet put in practice, as it conflicts with the 30 percent quota in the existing electoral code. The future of both this law and the quota remain to be seen, but gains made need to be preserved. Ideally, the quotas also should be replaced by the Law on Parity, and enforcement of the relevant rule needs to be monitored and encouraged. Additional measures to consider include adding a mechanism of alternate positioning on the lists and the allocation of reserved seats in the uninominal system. An additional challenge for women who want to run as independents (often because of barriers they face to be selected as candidates to represent their political party) is that the 2020 Constitution requires all candidatures to be presented by a legally constituted political party or coalition of parties.

GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES: Traditional gender roles are enforced at the individual, home, and community levels, limiting women's political leadership. Social norms dictate that women are inferior to men, making men reluctant to accept women as political leaders. Women also commonly have to get their husband's or partner's approval to run. Social norms also limit the physical spaces that women can inhabit, which further limits women's ability to engage in political parties as leaders or other

segments of society that are traditionally dominated by men. Women politicians were less likely than men to be married (68 percent women vs. 99 percent men) and much more likely to be widowed or divorced. They also had fewer children than men (4.5 children for women vs. 8.1 children for men) and were less likely to have children under the age of six at home (26 percent women vs. 42 percent men). This trend is consistent with research across countries that women politicians face a “double bind” in political office: they must choose between family and career in a way that men do not. This is also shown in our survey, where women politicians reported having a lot more responsibility for household tasks and child care than their male counterparts. In addition, women politicians were significantly less educated than male politicians, which converges with interviews suggesting that uneducated women are more likely to hold political office due to greater mobility and economic empowerment within the family structure; educated women, meanwhile, face pressure against political participation from their larger family unit.

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL NETWORKS: The type of individual that political parties like to recruit to be candidates puts women at a disadvantage. They prefer influential members of society who can bring financial means, but women tend to have smaller, less affluent supporting networks. Guinean women leaders also tend to jump back and forth between the civil society and political arenas, which can be a strength among certain parties and electorates but a detriment for others.

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE: The GBV context noted above is relevant also for women’s political leadership. Many women seeking to take on leadership roles in politics need the support and the approval of their husband/partner and family. In the process, they can be exposed to GBV and IPV. In addition, politically active women are subject to relatively high risks of verbal, physical, and sexual harassment and attacks, although men politicians are not spared from threats and physical attacks as well in Guinea. Women candidates and politicians noted that elections heighten the risks for violence, and some women who are known to be politically active are forced to “lock myself in the house or even leave my house” to stay safe, which can harm their candidacy. Even once in political leadership positions, women have to contend with a significant share of male colleagues who feel they should have the final word on decisions. The survey also shows that women are perceived as invoking discrimination when they lose, which can undermine and sideline legitimate claims.

POLITICAL PARTIES: Despite a public discourse in favor of women’s political participation, most political parties do not create conditions for equal access of women and men to decision-making positions and to candidacies during elections. Women are under-represented in political party bodies and especially at strategic positions (e.g., the Executive Bureau, Candidacy Selection Committee), restricting their influence on candidatures. Parties tend to poorly support and fund their women and youth-focused offices. Party functioning appears to revolve around its founder or leader, and data suggest that promotions are made by co-opting rather than by strict compliance with the procedures set out in party texts, when they exist. A 2019 study by the European Union of five Guinean political parties found that many key party actors do not know the founding texts of their party nor where to find them. Similarly, some parties seem to have only internal regulations and no statutes, and vice versa. The study also indicates that most women politicians are not familiar with the texts governing the functioning of their party and political life in general, including the political party charter and the electoral code.

VOTER DEMAND: Personal beliefs and norms impact how the population views which roles are best suited for which gender. For many important national or local positions, such as President of Guinea and

Chef de quartier, most Guineans outright preferred men; this was true among women as well. When it comes to the position of *Député* at the national assembly, 47 percent of respondents felt there was no difference in performance between men and women, but those who did have a preference overwhelmingly preferred men. Women are therefore not immune to stereotypes and discrimination against their own gender; the General Population Survey showed that women tended to prefer men or to have no preference instead of preferring women for most political positions. Nonetheless, there appears to be some openness to women's political leadership. Most Guineans felt it was appropriate for women to run for President of Guinea and for local elections, and over three-fourths of respondents reported being willing to vote for a woman running in either race. In both cases, many felt these perspectives were not shared by some or even most of their community. Yet, when the questions moved away from hypothetical scenarios, a mere 14 percent had ever voted for a woman. The most cited reason for not voting for a woman was that no female candidate has run for their preferred party or at all; this is a crucial finding and speaks to a lack of women as candidates for these positions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The AT developed several recommendations aimed at targeting challenges and opportunities identified in the assessment. Key recommendations pertain to:

LEGAL FRAMEWORK: Monitor and prevent backsliding of WPPL-related progress made to date and leverage the transition period to empower WPPL-oriented groups to make substantive contributions, including the modifications to the Constitution that allow the more stringent Law on Parity; work with civil society to develop and implement mechanisms to monitor and oversee the application of existing laws, policies, etc. at the local and national levels, especially the Political Party Charter and the Electoral Code.

POLITICAL PARTIES: Develop and promote mechanisms to assess compliance and legality of political parties; identify mechanisms that encourage political parties to formalize, publicize, and apply their bylaws and internal regulations; expose and amplify WPPL success stories in parties; build capacities of political parties and support actions in favor of women party members.

MINISTRIES: Support government ministries and their directorates for gender equity, with a particular focus on the Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and Vulnerable Persons (MPWCVP) and its numerous divisions and sub-structures throughout the country (including the Observatory of Gender-Based Violence and the Center for Empowerment and Entrepreneurship of Women), the MATD, and the Ministry of Justice.

GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES: Convene and support key stakeholders (national and international CSOs, government of Guinea (GoG), the media, and progressive religious, community and traditional leaders) to develop strategies, curricula, and thematic formation/awareness campaigns promoting transformative social norms change among communities, families, and individuals of both sexes, with a special emphasis on youth; support women's movements that bring together women and men in labor unions and CSOs to find and use what can create lasting change; create activities targeting secondary and university students that develop WPPL; create programs that combine income-generating activities with literacy and civic education targeting vulnerable women.

WOMEN SOLIDARITY: To develop a common united front, support and expand activities that foster solidarity, mutual aid, and awareness among women leaders in all sectors of Guinean society, leveraging and further developing existing Guinean, West African, and pan-African networks, such as Coalition for Women's Citizenship Rights in Guinea (CONAG-DCF) and Africa Network of Local Elected Women (RESELA); promote mentorship and coaching for and by women.

EDUCATION AND CAPACITY: Work with GoG and existing programs to carry out nationwide campaigns on rights and responsibilities with an emphasis on women's rights and promoting citizenship and registration of vital events; work with the Guinean government and CSOs at the grassroots level to support and adapt literacy programs to include civic education and women's empowerment; work with youth and girls' clubs; strengthen Guinean education system through support of relevant GoG ministries and by encouraging programs to exempt girls from education fees and provide scholarships.

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE: Reinvigorate and expand existing initiatives (e.g., Houses of Justice, OPROGEM and other paralegal or legal aid initiatives, the National Observatory on Gender-Based Violence) and bring them closer to the people; bring together women leaders from all walks of life with progressive men to develop a massive nationwide front to raise awareness; reach out to the most vulnerable populations (e.g., young women whose education is affected by GBV) with sensitivity-informed campaigns.

WOMEN IN PEACE AND SECURITY: Work with women organizations and relevant GoG ministries to revisit Resolution 1325 National Action Plan (NAP2) and implement it on the local level; create women, peace, and security committees in vulnerable areas in Upper Guinea and the Forest Region and ensure they are widely represented in existing structures, where these exist.

WOMEN AND ELECTIONS: Support the participation of women at all stages of the electoral process—elections management, registration of candidacies, voter registration, and voting and election monitoring; introduce decentralized monitoring mechanisms to ensure candidate lists are compliant with the Electoral Code and/or the Law on Parity; build momentum around affirmative action, which could take the form of lowering the candidacy fee for women (especially at the local level); build and expand existing support for women's campaigns, training, and mentorship; support the development and implementation of awareness campaigns on the positive effect of WPPL on the country's development and that encourage the recruitment of women.

INTRODUCTION

This section includes the methodology of the Women Political Participation and Leadership (WPPL) assessment used to conduct the Guinea Assessment and limitations to that methodology.

METHODOLOGY

The WPPL Assessment Framework is a structured inquiry that consists of five steps and culminates in evidence-based recommendations. These steps include:

1. Describe the foundational factors of the country and provide background information to understand women's role and place in society.
2. Diagnose the state of WPPL by measuring gender gaps in political participation and leadership.
3. Examine the drivers of WPPL, the factors that positively or negatively influence WPPL outcomes.
4. Conduct an analysis of stakeholders that influence WPPL and women's empowerment.
5. Make evidence-based recommendations for WPPL programming.

Annex A: Steps in the WPPL Assessment presents more detail on each of the five steps.

For the Guinea WPPL Assessment, the NORC applied all five steps of the WPPL Assessment Framework. The assessment relies on data collected through a review of relevant literature and USAID documents, a nationally representative survey of just over 2,518 adult citizens, a survey of 665 politicians and candidates, 36 key informant interviews (KIIs), and 17 focus group discussions (FGDs) with citizens in Conakry, N'Zérékoré, Lola, Kindia, Fria, Boké, Dalaba, Labé, Mamou, Faranah, and Kankan. NORC's team conducted in-country, qualitative fieldwork from May 25–June 3, 2022. For more detailed information on the methods used, see **Annex D: Methodology**.

LIMITATIONS

GENERAL POPULATION SURVEY

Respondents sometimes complained that the survey took too long to administer. That said, the average survey duration was around one hour, and no respondents stopped the survey partway through. NORC did not see evidence that this affected data quality, as nonresponse rates were distributed throughout the survey.

In the early part of the data collection, a few recently hired enumerators had surveys that were unrealistically short, especially given the above frequent complaints related to length. These survey cases were replaced via a re-interview by another enumerator, and the enumerators were monitored closely and coached by supervisors, leading to no further instances being observed.

To facilitate the data collection, NORC's local data collection partner relied on local guides in the communities selected to make introductions between enumerators and households and gain their trust before the administration of screening questions, the informed consent, and the survey itself. These

guides were *chefs de secteurs*, or presidents of youth or women in the community, all well known to community members. Once the initial presentations were made, guides were systematically instructed to leave so as not to influence respondents.

POLITICIAN SURVEY

Stat View International, the local data collection firm contracted by NORC, compiled the sample frame for the Politician Survey using all the local-level contacts available for the same municipalities selected for the General Population Survey. NORC targeted Mayors, Deputy Mayors, and other members of communal councils (*conseils communaux*). Based on this parameter, 665 interviews were completed within the specified survey timeline from a target of 600 completed surveys. While NORC sought a gender-balanced sample and provided lists of female politicians to Stat View, existing gender bias among Mayors, Deputy Mayors, and other members of communal councils limited the number of female politicians available. This sampling approach means that the Politician Survey was conducted using convenience samples of politicians rather than a random sample of all politicians in Guinea.

A significant number of politicians had difficulties answering the survey questions related to the cost and funding sources of their last campaign. Some had to go look for documentation, while others gave their best guess. Others said they did not know, which resulted in a higher than typical rate of nonresponse to this question.

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Some KII targets, especially high-level politicians including past presidential candidates and civil society leaders and activists, were difficult to arrange interviews with. It should be noted that the transition process underway during the fieldwork period occupied much of their time. A few of them were therefore interviewed a week or two after the formal end of the qualitative fieldwork period, and three were interviewed remotely.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Moderators found that some participants struggled to comprehend the questions and answer accordingly without deviating from the context. For example, the Assessment Team (AT) observed that moderators often had to bring the discussion back to the norm in question for the discussion (i.e., politically active women should expect to be victims of violence when they participate in political activities), as the conversation often veered off into discussions around the root cause of the norm or problems women face more generally, rather than the norm itself. Participants' education level and locality also determined their ability to comprehend and answer the questions. In addition, some participants complained that the guide was repetitive or needed guidance from moderators to understand the nuances between certain questions. These factors led to longer than expected discussions, with FGDs lasting between 100 and 140 minutes.

I. FOUNDATIONAL FACTORS

This section focuses on the foundational factors that influence WPPL, its drivers, and the political economy of advancing WPPL in Guinea. Though USAID programming will not likely seek to address these factors directly, they help to define the bounds of possible programming.

HISTORICAL LEGACIES

Prior to the French colonial era, a series of empires and kingdoms governed the territory of present-day Guinea. In the early 18th century, Muslim Fulani pastoralists settled in Fouta-Djalon, establishing a theocratic state that is still reflected in the region today. In 1891, Guinea was proclaimed a French colony separate from Senegal (the two countries had previously been considered as one territory) and became an integral part of French West Africa in 1906. France imposed a system of colonial administration, disrupting the traditional chieftainship and governance system.

An anti-colonial political consciousness grew in strength after World War II. The French Constitution of October 1946 was more liberal toward the colonized countries and allowed the creation of political parties. Sékou Touré and his Marxist-influenced socialist party, African Democratic Rally (RDA), became the most important party in Guinean politics. In the referendum of September 1958, Guinea was the only country in French-speaking Africa to reject General Charles de Gaulle's proposal for the integration of the French West African colonies into a French Community, which led to its independence and an immediate and radical break in Guinea's political and economic relations with France.

Women were crucial in the struggle for Guinean independence as well as in the early years of independence, although pre-independence Guinea was a conservative society, for the most part, with restricted roles for men and women.

“Women were slaves. Wherever there were more than two men, women were not allowed to speak. But the women were convinced that their participation in politics was a good thing. And most of them joined the RDA. They thought that sending their daughters to school was a good thing, and many sent their daughters to school.”¹ (Fatou Keita, a former RDA member of Susu ethnicity.)

With its egalitarian message, Touré's communist-leaning RDA appealed to marginalized classes in society, including women. Guinean women from the working classes were attracted by the opportunity to improve their lives and those of their children. In 1954, in Lower Guinea alone, 6,000 women were party members, and all party delegations and actions included both men and women. Working class Guinean women had many demands of the colonial power, such as improving hygiene and medical services. The RDA advocated for meeting these demands, as well as for improvements in roads, rural and urban schools, and support for small farmers. Guinean women integrated the police force and the army, and they created new dances, songs, and slogans to inform the public about election rigging and to

¹ Elizabeth Schmidt. Cold War and Decolonization in Guinea, 1946-1958. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007. Western African Studies series.

encourage mobilizing with the RDA for independence. The use of dances and songs to communicate political messages was particularly effective, as many Guineans were illiterate and had not received a Western education. However, Touré's authoritarian communist governance and extreme repression against any opposition led millions of Guineans to exile. Women's role in politics became less prominent in later years.

CONFLICT, PEACE, AND SECURITY

There is a long history of conflicts in Guinea related to political power and transition. During the precolonial period, ethnic-related conflicts were not a major concern because sociocultural, political, and economic factors encouraged and facilitated peace through integration, assimilation, pacts, alliances, and other symbols of cooperation among groups.² However, late-19th-century French colonization destroyed the fluid and amorphous character of pre-colonial Guinean tribes. Competition for territory, resources, and markets became the dominant feature in intergroup relations, resulting in the development of new and predatory form of kinship ties and alliances. Colonial favoritism—when colonizers pit different ethnic groups against one another through the distribution of favors at various moments—heightened tension and established identity- and interest-based conflict between tribes that perceived a distinct socioeconomic, security, and political cleavage between themselves and others.³

While conflicts during the first 50 years of independent Guinea were not extreme, after the death of the first two long-term presidents, Sékou Touré (1958–1984) and Lansana Conté (1984–2008), the military coup led by Captain Dadis Camara from December 2008 to December 2009 was marked by political instability and several violent incidents. The country experienced one of the most horrifying massacres of its history at this time during a peaceful march organized by civil society. More than 150 demonstrators were killed, and at least 1,000 people were injured.⁴ The Presidential Guard and, to a lesser extent, gendarmes committed rape and sexual violence against 109 girls and women at the stadium, often leaving their injured victims to die. The apparent systematic nature of the killings, sexual violence, and persecution on ethnic grounds suggests that this may be a crime against humanity.⁵ A long-delayed trial of Capt. Camara, returning from 12 years of exile in Burkina Faso, along with 10 other former officials started on September 28, 2022, in Conakry.⁶ This trial seems to be viewed with a mix of hope and cautious optimism by victims, women political activists, and the Guinea population more broadly, for whom these years of impunity and injustice remain a grievance.

Amidst the downfall of Camara's military rule and growing decadence and chaos within the security forces, it became urgent to initiate an in-depth reform of the security sector. Beginning in 2010, Alpha Condé's regime made such a reform one of his main priorities, and he received support from the United

² Aisatou Diallo. "Guinea's Ethnic Conflict." October 29, 2019. <https://confluence.gallatin.nyu.edu/sections/research/guineas-ethnic-conflict>

³ Aisatou Diallo. "Guinea's Ethnic Conflict." October 29, 2019. <https://confluence.gallatin.nyu.edu/sections/research/guineas-ethnic-conflict>

⁴ Human Rights Watch. "Guinée : Neuf ans après le massacre du 28 septembre, rendre enfin justice." September 27, 2018. <https://www.hrw.org/fr/news/2018/09/27/guinee-neuf-ans-apres-le-massacre-du-28-septembre-rendre-enfin-justice>

⁵ Human Rights Watch. "Guinée : Neuf ans après le massacre du 28 septembre, rendre enfin justice." September 27, 2018. <https://www.hrw.org/fr/news/2018/09/27/guinee-neuf-ans-apres-le-massacre-du-28-septembre-rendre-enfin-justice>

⁶ See, for example: BBC News, Moussa Dadis Camara: Guinea's ex-military ruler on trial over stadium massacre; available at <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-63036901>

Nations. Within the framework of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, Guinea has since developed two National Action Plans (NAPs) (2009-2013; 2014-2018), which were initially developed and implemented by the Ministry of Social Affairs, Women and Children (MSAWCP) () in collaboration with Ministerial Departments, United Nations System Agencies, NGOs and civil society organizations. The NAP identifies five overarching objectives: integration of gender questions in development policies and programs; involvement of women and girls in the peace process as well as prevention, management, and settlement of conflicts; protection of women and girls from sexual violence and female genital mutilation; strengthening of integration of women in policy decision processes; and strengthening coordination and partnership for stated interventions. The National Directorate of Gender and Equity established within the Ministry of National Defense in March 2020, is currently responsible for monitoring and implementing the NAP.⁷

Despite the return of constitutional order in 2010, the socio-political climate remains tense due to differences between political actors over the electoral process, particularly those related to the transition of power. Between 2000 and 2016, the most frequent events/incidents leading to conflict in Guinea, according to ACLED,⁸ were protests/demonstrations by civilians that often evolved into riots (40 percent of events/incidents recorded), violence against civilians that was often the consequence of violent demonstrations (29 percent of events/incidents recorded) and inter-community conflicts (20 percent). The capital city stands out with 62 percent of reported incidents, followed by the Kankan region (12 percent reported incidents). Regarding violence against the civilian population, the N'Zérékoré region was the most affected with 29 percent of such incidents reported between 2000 and 2016, followed by Conakry (28 percent) and the Kindia region (19 percent). Finally, community clashes were more frequent in the N'Zérékoré region, with 50 percent of incidents reported, compared with 15 percent and 14 percent respectively for Conakry and the Kindia region.

In addition, there are recurrent conflicts between civilians, particularly in the mining areas of the country, which could contribute to the deterioration of social cohesion. Other significant confrontations include the Guerze and Konianke communities in the Forest Region. The Konianke people are primarily Muslim, and the Guerzés are generally Christian or animists.

Conflicts also have occurred along political lines in recent times. In the lead-up to the March 2020 parliamentary elections and the October presidential elections, Guinean security forces frequently used excessive and at times lethal force to suppress sometimes violent demonstrations by those opposed to a new constitution, with at least 23 people allegedly killed by security forces. The government also arbitrarily arrested and detained scores of leaders and members of the National Front for the Defense of the Constitution (FNDC), a coalition of civil society groups and opposition parties opposed to the new constitution.⁹ Between October 2019 and March 2020, the FNDC recorded 47 deaths because of police and military violence during demonstrations against the President's third term, according to its report published in April 2020, three days before the publication of the new constitution. On March 22, 2020, and in the midst of the COVID pandemic, Guineans voted in legislative elections and on a

⁷ Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, Women Peace and Security Programme—Guinea; available at <https://1325naps.peacewomen.org/index.php/country/guinea/>

⁸ Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED). <https://www.acleddata.com/>

⁹ Human Rights Watch. "World Report: Guinea Events of 2020." 2021. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2021/country-chapters/guinea>

constitutional referendum that paved the way for incumbent President Condé to run for a third term. The election day was marred by violence in Conakry and towns in the country's interior, as those who opposed the proposed constitution and had boycotted the poll clashed with pro-government supporters and members of the security forces.

Finally, members of the security forces continue to enjoy almost total impunity for the excessive use of force and other human rights abuses; the 2019 conviction of a police captain is still the only known conviction of a member of the security forces for the dozens of protest deaths that have occurred since Condé came to power in 2010. The government also failed to meet a self-imposed June 2022 deadline for the organization of a trial for alleged perpetrators of the September 28, 2009, stadium massacre.

RELIGION AND TRADITIONAL NORMS

Although Guinea is a secular republic, around 85 percent of its population is Muslim; around 8 percent are Christians and around 7 percent adhere to traditional and animist beliefs (but syncretism is common).¹⁰ Both the patriarchal system and the influence of religion demand that women submit to male authority, leaving women with little choice to participate in activities not supported by their families, such as voting and political processes.

“Our husbands and clerics have the most influence on women because clerics are much more involved in mediation and rely on religious texts and customs. Parents (fathers and mothers) give advice to force girls to submit to men. Sometimes they threaten to disown them.” (FGD, Kindia political women.)

Also, Guinean women have limited access to family property and credit, as elsewhere in Africa. While women everywhere in Guinea have some access to land to a certain extent as users, in most traditional systems, they cannot receive it as an inheritance. They can therefore neither own it nor control it. The same applies to equipment, tools,¹¹ and basic infrastructure.¹²

In addition, while Guinean women recognize and are fully aware of their duties toward their husbands, their families, and their society, they are often unaware of the rights they have, including from a religious point of view. Ancient traditions comingling with religious beliefs and customary law with Guinean jurisdiction, especially in rural areas and amongst the illiterate population. Female genital mutilation and child marriage are perfect examples of this comingling. The formal rights acquired by Guinean women under the First Republic (1958–1984) regarding the age of marriage at 17 and the right to refuse marriage and polygamy are hardly ever enforced, both in urban and rural areas.¹³ The persistence of fertility values, the encouragement of widows and divorced women to remarry quickly, and discriminatory inheritance regulations do little to promote women's empowerment and equitable access to goods and services in society.

¹⁰ Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI). “The Transformation Index.” 2022. <https://bti-project.org>

¹¹ Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food.

¹² Ministry of Social Affairs, Promotion of Women and Children, MASPFE, 1998

¹³ Ministry of Social Affairs, Promotion of Women and Children, MASPFE, 1998

SOCIAL CLEAVAGES

Gender cleavage is at the root of the economic, social, and political divide observed throughout Guinea's society and affects rural and urban women of all ages and from all walks of life, but especially women heads of households, widows, refugees, and women with disabilities. They suffer multiple forms of discrimination, especially regarding access to land, education, employment, adequate housing, health care, and social and legal services.¹⁴ Other significant gaps include the high rate of illiteracy among women; the continued low enrollment rate of girls at all levels of education, owing to stereotypes and cultural barriers; a high dropout rate among girls, owing to child marriage and early pregnancy, and the lack of security for girls in schools and particularly the risk of sexual harassment and abuse by teachers. The gender gap in educational attainment in Guinea is the third largest in the world.¹⁵ In 2019, the primary school enrollment rate for girls is 84 percent vs. 93 percent for boys.¹⁶ Close to a third of girls (31 percent) are enrolled in secondary education, compared to almost half of boys (47 percent).

Also, access to justice in Guinea is limited—especially for ordinary citizens and even more so for women—and the laws are not enforced. Accordingly, most of the population does not bring cases to court but seeks help from “traditional” authorities, such as elders.¹⁷ A report by the Human Rights Council (2014) reiterated the persistent barriers to women's access to justice, such as the low level of legal literacy among women and the limited human, financial, and technical resources to the judiciary. It also states that women who file complaints related to GBV are often confronted with acts of intimidation and pressure from their families or communities to drop the charges or to prefer amicable settlements. Additionally, women fear being stigmatized if they choose to go through a public trial at court.¹⁸

On the sociopolitical front, Guinea's estimated 13.5 million population is rich in diversity. It is made up of several ethnic groups, with their subgroups and other minorities usually classified as follows: the Fulani (Peulh) live mainly in Middle Guinea's Futa-Djalon and constitute approximately 33 percent of the Guinean population in 2008; the Malinké (30 percent) traditionally settled in Upper Guinea, close to the Mali border; and the Susu (21 percent) live primarily along the Atlantic Coast in Maritime Guinea bordering with Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau.¹⁹ The capital Conakry, where the majority of Susu lives, is a melting pot of all groups. Guinean populations have been cohabitating for centuries in relative harmony. Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI) 2022 indicates that Guineans have a definite sense of national identity and pride in being the first African country to have gained independence from France and that this sense of national identity, among other factors, has prevented Guinea from descending into a civil war such as those that have raged in some of its neighboring countries. Most of

¹⁴ United Nations CEDAW. “List of issues and questions in relation to the combined seventh and eighth periodic reports of Guinea: Addendum.” 2014. CEDAW/C/GIN/Q/7-8/Add.1 Article 56

¹⁵ The World Economic Forum. “*The Global Gender Gap Report 2018*.” 2018. https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2018.pdf

¹⁶ USAID/Guinea Cross-Sectoral Youth Assessment: <https://www.youthpower.org/guinea-csya>

¹⁷ Bertelsmann Stiftung, “BTI 2022 Country Report—Guinea.” 2022. <https://bti-project.org>

¹⁸ Social Institutions and Gender Index. “Social Institutions and Gender Index—Guinea.” 2019. <https://www.genderindex.org/wp-content/uploads/files/datasheets/2019/GN.pdf>

¹⁹ Index Mundi. “Guinea Demographics Profile.” 2021. https://www.indexmundi.com/guinea/demographics_profile.html

the population accepts the nation-state as legitimate, yet political cleavages between ethnically and regionally structured parties are very pronounced.²⁰

In more recent history, voting has fallen largely along ethnic and regional lines. The two main contenders—Alpha Condé of the Rally of the People of Guinea (RPG), seen as representing the Malinké of Upper Guinea, and Cellou Dalein Diallo of the Union of Democratic Forces of Guinea (UFDG), seen as representing the Peulh—have been mobilizing and polarizing youth supporters. However, it is important to note that the Carter Center’s long-term observers, who monitored the 2010 presidential electoral process in Guinea, were struck by the willingness of most Guineans to move beyond ethnic divisions. The violence based on ethnic divisions that erupted in some areas does not reflect the vision of Guinea to which most citizens aspire.²¹

The caste system within the Peulh theocratic society and the traditional Mandé societies (which include the Malinke), although very different, constitute another type of social cleavage. Pre-independence Peulh society was articulated around nobility and conquered populations (*captifs*), whereas Mandé societies were articulated around socio-professional organizations such as hunters, foragers, leather workers, blacksmiths, potters, wood workers, and griots, who had their distinct forms of initiation, secrets, powers, taboos, rules, and social status. To this day, certain intermarriages remain incompatible, and it is difficult for certain castes—griots, for example—to readily get elected.²² In Upper Guinea, a voting station had to be moved because it was unfit for a nobleman to vote on the property belonging to a *captif* family.

“Some people will say that if she (the political candidate) is a griot ‘you who are a griot cannot command or you cannot even speak in front of us’ or within the Peulh theocratic society if you know that you are a slave, when a Diallo comes, you have to stoop down to speak.... It is these considerations that I see as the negative side of tradition.” (KII participant from the House of Justice Maritime Guinea.)

HISTORY AND PRESENCE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

THE MARKET WOMEN’S RIOTS OF 1977

In 1977, President Ahmed Sekou Touré passed a new trade law that prevented small-scale farmers and food vendors from selling their products. The law stated that all agricultural products must be delivered to and sold through the state-owned cooperatives. In addition, it was declared that the government would release set prices for goods that the public markets could trade in. As trading in food products was one of the main occupations in the country at the time, the new policy put many people out of jobs, and women, greatly affected, took to the streets in the capital and in markets throughout the country. A few days after the riots, the women threatened to go on another national demonstration, causing the

²⁰ Bertelsmann Stiftung, “BTI 2022 Country Report—Guinea.” 2022. <https://bti-project.org>

²¹ The Carter Center. “Observing the 2010 Presidential Elections in Guinea, Final Report.” 2010. https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/guinea-2010-finalreport.pdf

²² J. Binet. “Groupes socio-professionnels en Guinée.” 1982. https://horizon.documentation.ird.fr/exl-doc/pleins_textes/pleins_textes_5/b_fdi_02-03/02193.pdf

President to announce that the new laws had been withdrawn, and women could go back to their usual trading. The Market Women's Riots of 1977 did more than protect the trade laws for Guineans and the jobs of several women. It also shook President Touré and drastically changed his orientation. It sent a wave throughout Guinea that stirred up bold and courageous citizens to speak out against the very-much-feared Touré government, while ensuring the drastic end of his monopoly on the country's economy and finances.²³

CIVIL SOCIETY MOVEMENT

The country's first nationwide dialogue, designed to include all stakeholders, was organized in June 2001 with USAID support to reflect on the role of civil society in the political, social, and economic development of the country. Regional meetings brought together participants representing different sectors of Guinean society to define a roadmap for civil society in Guinea. An all-inclusive national forum brought together over 250 participants which resulted in the establishment of the National Council Civil Society Organizations (CNOSCG) and a democracy-building roadmap. The CNOSCG joined the labor union movement (*Intercentrale syndicale*) in support of the pivotal 2006–2007 general strikes to protest the rule of President Conté. Civil society thrived during the following decade, actively participating in the transition government, the national transition council, the electoral process, civil military relations and security sector reform. Its advocating role grew through the creation of new alliances and networks such as the Citizen Watch Group (CBC), the Platform of Citizens United for Development (PCUD), *Balai Citoyen*, and the African Youth Network-Guinea (RAJ-GUI), focusing on a variety of issues ranging from transparency in the mining sector, the environment, education, health, corruption prevention, and anti-money laundering.²⁴

More recently, civil society organizations (CSOs) and opposition parties created the National Front for the Defense of the Constitution (FNDC) in 2019, which organized numerous protests throughout the country against the adoption of the new constitution, which would allow Alpha Condé to run for a third mandate. However, these protests have not been as inclusive (in terms of age, gender, and ethnicity) as those during the general strikes of 2006 and 2007. FNDC has pursued its mission after the September 2021 military coup, regularly protesting the junta's attempts to deviate from its initial intentions stipulated in the Transition Charter. In July 2022, its three main leaders were violently arrested and mistreated before being released three days later due to pressure from the Guinean population. A governmental decree for its dissolution was finally issued a month later.

Several civil society networks and political groups focused on women-related issues emerged in the past two decades, fighting for women's rights, citizenship, equality, and full participation in public life.²⁵ These range from NGO coalitions such as the Coalition for Women's Citizenship Rights in Guinea (CONAG-

²³ Elizabeth Ofosuah Johnson. "The gallant market women of Guinea who shocked and changed autocratic leader Sekou Toure in 1977." 2018. <https://face2faceafrica.com/article/the-gallant-market-women-of-guinea-who-shocked-and-changed-autocratic-leader-sekou-toure-in-1977>

²⁴ According to data from the Civil Society Support program (PASOC) of the European Union (EU), there were 1,014 CSOs in Guinea in 2017, including 941 non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 5 labor unions, 2 CSO collectives, 4 CSO forums, 11 federations, 12 platforms, and 39 networks. Civil Society Organisation Sustainability Index-Guinea, 2020.

²⁵ More detail on this can be found in Chapter 2: Diagnosis, Current State of WPPL and Chapter 4: Key Political Actors and Institutional Arenas.

DCF), the Mano River Women's Peace Network (REFMAP), the Guinean Association of Women for Peace, and Elections and Governance (AGUIFPEG) to the parliamentary women caucuses and rallies, and, most recently, Guinean Women in Politics (LGP). Sustained advocacy campaigns resulted in significant legislative reforms and progress in how society considers women and girls, although a great deal remains to be accomplished.

POLITICAL REGIME AND PARTY SYSTEMS

FIRST (1958–1984) AND SECOND (1984–2008) REPUBLICS

Guinea's first President, Ahmed Sékou Touré, came to power in 1958, with the overwhelming victory of the Democratic Party of Guinea-African Democratic Rally (PDG-RDA). This result allowed Touré to become President of the Council and to lead the country to independence by calling for a “no” vote in the September 28, 1958, referendum on the Establishment of the French Community organized by General Charles de Gaulle. These were not only the last elections organized under French tutelage before the country's independence but also the last democratic elections to be held under a multiparty system for decades, as Sékou Touré established a socialist one-party system that tolerated no political opposition. For the next 24 years, all the voters could do was elect the PDG candidates to the National Assembly, while Touré ran unopposed for the presidency three more times.

After Sékou Touré's death in 1984, Colonel Lansana Conté took power in a bloodless military coup, establishing the Military Committee for National Recovery (CMRN). The political transition led to the adoption of what is referred to as the December 23, 1990, Fundamental Law (Constitution) under the guise of democratic openness, allowing a gradual liberalization of the political environment and the creation of a unicameral Parliament followed by legislation making Guinea a multiparty state. The following year, Conté announced a return to civilian rule, became the leader of one of Guinea's first political parties—the Party for Unity and Progress (PUP), and organized the first multiparty presidential election. The Fundamental Law allowed Conté, unlike some African presidents at the time, to run in the first presidential election held in 1993 without resigning from the army. In this way *Président-Général* Conté, as he was called, provided a democratic make-up to a regime that was backed by the army in reality and very much tainted by the former one-party culture. He amnestied political prisoners, set about dismantling the socialist system, reduced the power of the army, and politically aligned the country more closely with its neighbors and France. All elections under the Conté regime were singularly managed by the Ministry of the Interior and won by the PUP, leaving very little space for any opposition.²⁶

According to one key informant, during Lansana Conté's presidency, women's role in politics decreased for a time: “Women in Guinea were highly political until the arrival of the second regime, when the men grew tired of women politicians, a situation which was exacerbated by former President Lansana Conté who said that as far as he was concerned ‘women were in the kitchen,’ which did not help.” However,

²⁶ Sources: International IDEA. “Guinea.” 2020. <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/country-view/115/44>; Dr Abdoulaye Wotem Somparé, Professor Socio-anthropology Koffi Annan University. “Une longue et laborieuse transition démocratique en Guinée”; Bertelsmann Stiftung. “BTI 2022 Country Report—Guinea.” 2022. <https://bti-project.org>

as the market economy opened again and once political parties were allowed to operate freely, women actively engaged.

2008–2010 MILITARY COUP AND TRANSITION

The Guinea Constitution states that following the death of the President, the head of the National Assembly—El Hadj Aboubacar Somparé at the time—must immediately step in and organize elections within six months. During the national live broadcast of Somparé’s speech announcing Conté’s death, a military messenger handed over a message to Somparé, who immediately stood and left the messenger to announce the military takeover by the National Council for Democracy and Development (CNDD). Rule by the CNDD and its appointed President, Captain Dadis Camara, from December 2008 to December 2009 was marked by political instability and several violent incidents. The regime was popular at first because of the high-profile public interrogations and trials of corrupt officials and drug dealers, which seemed to indicate a real determination to fight public corruption. However, it soon became clear that nepotism and mismanagement of public funds dominated and that Camara was planning to be a candidate in future presidential elections, reneging on his earlier promise to hand over power to civilians. A series of chaotic events ended this military rule.²⁷ Blaise Compaoré, President of Burkina Faso and the mediator appointed by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), facilitated a transfer of power from Camara to Defense Minister Sékouba Konaté and had both leaders sign an agreement on January 15, 2010. Known as the Ouagadougou Peace Agreement, it became the main quasi-legal document that would shape Guinea’s transition. Konaté appointed a prominent woman labor union activist and head of the National Guinean Workers Confederation, Rabiadou Serah Diallo, to preside the National Transition Council (CNT), which was to serve as the transitional legislative body. The CNT comprised representatives of all political parties, the trade unions, the religious communities, and the CSOs. Its mandate was to revise the constitution and all laws relating to the electoral process, assume all legislative responsibilities related to the transitional period, oversee the elections, and contribute to national reconciliation. The CNT adopted a new constitution in 2010, which was promulgated by the President on May 7, 2010.

2010–2020 GENERAL ELECTIONS²⁸

2010 Presidential Elections: Guinea’s transitional government was able to organize the country’s most open multiparty presidential elections to date, representing an important political evolution for the people of Guinea. At least 116 political parties were registered by early 2010, despite Guinea’s relatively small electorate of approximately 4.2 million registered voters. The 24 first-round candidates included only one woman, Saran Daraba, a renowned personality, former minister, and civil society leader. She barely managed to receive 3,000 votes nationwide.²⁹ No candidate won a majority of the votes in the first round, so Cellou Dalein Diallo and Alpha Condé, the top vote-getters, contested a second round, from which Condé finally emerged victorious, with 52.54 percent of the votes. These elections were

²⁷ Camara was shot by his aide-de-camp in December 2009 and now lives in forced exile in Burkina Faso.

²⁸ Sources: The Carter Center. “Observing the 2010 Presidential Elections in Guinea, Final Report.” 2010. https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/guinea-2010-finalreport.pdf; Bertelsmann Stiftung. “BTI 2022 Country Report—Guinea.” 2022. <https://bti-project.org>; IFES Quarterly Reports. <https://www.ifes.org/publications/ifes-annual-report-2021>.

²⁹ It should be noted that hers were the very last name, picture, and logo on the bottom right of a very crowded bulletin.

hotly contested, but Condé was declared the winner amid claims from Diallo and his supporters that the elections had been rigged.

2015 Presidential Election: Condé was re-elected in 2015. According to the 2010 Constitution, voted on and adopted by the CNT, the President serves for a five-year term and is re-elected only once. Condé was seeking a third term and decided to modify the constitution to allow him to run again for president. During the period leading up to the constitutional referendum, civil society and opposition parties coalesced around the FNDC to stop Condé from seeking a third term. The situation worsened dramatically as security forces violently repressed the protests.

2018 Communal Elections: Following postponements that lasted 11 years, Guineans finally elected their 7,012 communal councilors, a vote declared and validated by branches of the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI). Electoral disputes, alleged fraud, and results tampering led to post-election negotiations that lingered. A Supreme Court judgement ordered the installation of the elected councils a year later, which finally concluded these elections in October 2019.

2020 Constitutional Referendum and Legislative Elections: The two main opposition parties—UFDG and the Union of Republican Forces (UFR)—boycotted the elections due to Condé's alleged manipulation of the constitution and controversies around the credibility of voter registration. Boycott of the 2020 parliamentary elections left Condé's RPG with 79 of the 114 seats in Parliament. The constitutional referendum was accepted with a large majority, consequently resetting Alpha Condé's term counter to zero and allowing him to run for a third term. The election day was marred by violence in Guinea's capital, Conakry, and towns in the country's interior, as those who opposed the proposed constitution clashed with pro-government supporters and members of the security forces.

2020 Presidential Election: Guinea held presidential elections on October 18, 2020. The post-election period was again marred in violence, with the security forces killing at least 12 people, including 2 children in Conakry. On October 24, the election commission announced the final results, stating that Condé had won the election with 59.5 percent of the vote. The main opposition candidate, Cellou Dalein Diallo, had already claimed victory on October 19 and rejected the official results announced by the Supreme Court on October 24. Alleging fraud, Diallo called for mass demonstrations. The electoral commissioners also denounced massive fraud and called for the election's (partial) repetition. The violence was at its worst in N'Zérékoré, a city in Guinea's southeastern Forest region, where the controversial results ignited longstanding intercommunal and ethnic tensions.³⁰

During the elections and the referendum in 2020, international observers, NGOs, the opposition, and the CENI denounced major deficiencies that raise doubts about the integrity of the process. It is reported that elections were not outright rigged but tainted with administrative and other irregularities, such as vote-buying, biased voter registers (e.g., people registered twice, minors and deceased persons enrolled), especially in the Upper Guinea Region, which is Condé's stronghold. Furthermore, members of the opposition parties and ethnic Peulh had been prevented from registering. Prior to the presidential

³⁰ Human Rights Watch. "World Report—Guinea: Events of 2020." 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2021/country-chapters/guinea>

elections, candidates Ousmane Kaba and Cellou Dallein Diallo were prevented from holding meetings in the Upper Guinea Region.³¹

2021 MILITARY COUP AND BEGINNING OF A NEW TRANSITION

On September 2021, Condé's third term was abruptly terminated by his arrest and a military takeover led by Colonel Mamady Doumbouya, Head of the Guinean Special Forces and now presiding over the National Committee for Reconciliation and Development (CNRD). A CNT was established in January 2022 and structured as an 81-member representative body that replaces the elected Parliament and is presided by the president of the CNOSCG. It is responsible for constitutional and electoral reforms as well as other legislations. Other events under this military regime include the creation of the Special Court for the Repression of Economic and Financial Offences (CRIEF), set up by the junta to fight corruption and illicit enrichment, and the organization of reconciliation conferences. The government installed by the junta in Guinea is linking a "return to constitutional order" and the holding of elections to a general population census, a step criticized by opponents; negotiations are underway. In May 2022, the president of the junta prohibited all public demonstrations, increasing tensions with the FNDC, the acting watchdog for the transition and the government. Furthermore, most political parties did not accept that the CNT took on the role of determining the duration of the transition. They believe that it is a decision that must be taken between the CNRD and the nation's *Forces Vives* (political parties, civil society, private sector, labor unions), rather than by the CNT that remains a legislative body.

Meanwhile, ECOWAS pressured the country for a 2-year period to return to democratic rule, having refused the 36-month transition period proposed by the government. The Minister of Territorial Administration and Decentralization detailed 10 key steps leading to the return of power to elected civilians, which include a general population census, an administrative census for civil status purposes, the establishment of the electoral roll, the drafting of the new constitution, the organization of the referendum ballot, the drafting of organic laws, before the organization of local and then legislative elections, the establishment of national institutions resulting from the new constitution, and finally the organization of the presidential election.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Although the political party system has been relatively stable, with the three biggest parties (Condé's RPG, Diallo's UFDG, and Sidya Touré's UFR) existing for over two decades, a plethora of other political parties, generally built around important personalities on an ad hoc basis, have appeared on the scene. Political parties in Guinea are highly personalized, and their existence is dependent on their leaders. Furthermore, the political programs hardly differ between parties (if they exist at all), and clientelism is widespread. The ethnic polarization between the two largest groups, Peulh and Malinké, however, is historically reflected in the party system. The UFDG and the RPG have tended to treat the two largest ethnic groups as ready-made electoral constituencies. The tendency toward ethnic parties has resulted in significant polarization between (though not within) parties, with repeated and increasing electoral violence, including the period under investigation. Furthermore, there is no internal democratization within the political parties. Overall, democracy is not rooted in Guinean political culture, and

³¹ Bertelsmann Stiftung. "BTI 2022 Country Report—Guinea." 2022. <https://bti-project.org>

authoritarian elements are prevailing.³² Nonetheless, it appears that a few smaller and more recent parties have caught on to the benefits of being more inclusive vis à vis women and youth and more open to participatory management.³³

Of all the existing democratic institutions in Guinea, political parties were not affected by the 2008 and 2021 military coups nor were they dissolved. The exact number of political parties both registered at the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization (MATD) and in compliance with the Political Party Charter is not known. In December 2019, the MATD indicated that there were 149 registered parties, with many others waiting for their approval.³⁴ This has been a recurring problem and in August 2022, the MATD initiated another tour of all the parties in an attempt to regularize this sector. It is estimated that there are currently approximately 160 political parties.

ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

The national territory, including polling stations in Guinean embassies and consulates overseas, forms a single constituency for presidential elections. The winning candidate must receive an absolute majority of votes, i.e., 50 percent of the votes plus one. If no candidate receives an absolute majority, a runoff election is conducted between the two candidates who received the most votes in the first round, as was the case in the 2010 presidential election. According to the 2010 Constitution, voted on and adopted by the CNT, the President serves for a five-year term and can be re-elected only once.

Guinea's electoral system is mixed for legislative elections. Of the 114 members of Parliament, two-thirds (76 deputies) are elected from a national list based on proportional representation and one-third (38 deputies, one per circumscription) are elected through the first-past-the-post system.³⁵

Independent or autonomous electoral management bodies appeared in Africa from 1995 onward, following the failure of governments to organize free and fair elections and protests on the part of opposition parties. Like most countries in the subregion, Guinea had a CENI following the agreement signed on October 29, 2007, between political parties, the trade union, civil society, and the government.³⁶ As mentioned above, in Guinea, public servants were largely discredited as electoral policymakers because of a history of being agents of the authoritarian former ruling party (PRG-RDA, PUP) or military regimes.³⁷

The electoral code confirmed the lead role of the CENI in Guinea's electoral process, shifting the management of elections to a body comprising 10 members named by the leading political party, 10 by

³² Bertelsmann Stiftung. "BTI 2022 Country Report—Guinea." 2022. <https://bti-project.org>

³³ Klls with Bah Oury (UDRG), Fayard Millimouno (Bloc Libéral), Lansana Kouyate (PEDN), Makale Camara (FAN), Makale Traoré (PACT), and some of their members.

³⁴ Guineenews.org. *Paysage politique : la Guinée compte 149 partis agréés (Ministre)*. 2019. <https://guineenews.org/paysage-politique-la-guinee-compte-149-partis-agrees-ministre/>

³⁵ This outlines the system before the 2021 coup, which suspended the Parliament. How a future transition back to civilian rule will affect this system is difficult to predict.

³⁶ The Carter Center. "Observing the 2010 Presidential Elections in Guinea, Final Report." 2010. https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/guinea-2010-finalreport.pdf

³⁷ Saïkou Oumar Balde. "Les organes de gestion des élections en Afrique de l'Ouest : approche comparative entre le Mali et la Guinée." *Science politique*. Université de Bordeaux, 2022. <https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-03514050/>

the opposition parties, and 3 by civil society, one of whom is elected CENI president by peer members. However, in a highly polarized society it is difficult to find public figures who are widely accepted as impartial to serve on an election management body for a transitional election. Unfortunately, CENI members who were appointed by political parties retained loyalty to their party, which diminished its capacity to develop a neutral, professional electoral administration. In 2018, a revised code modified the composition to 17 members, 7 from each political bloc, 2 representing civil society and 1 from the state administration.

The CENI was since dissolved with the arrival of military rule, and in December 2021, the CNRD decided to bring the organization of elections back to the MATD, while allowing politicians to be associated in all the electoral operations and oversight. Some accepted the decisions, believing that this would avoid wasting the transition's precious time over the usual disputes around the definition and the composition of the CENI. Others believe that it is a serious mistake to place the organization of elections in the hands of a Ministry lacking electoral expertise. Meanwhile, the CNT is in the process of reviewing both the constitution and the electoral code, which will determine the way forward once the country has returned to democratic rule.

Voter registration is recognized as essential to the effective exercise of the right to vote. A sound voter registration processes and a complete, current, and accurate voter list provides controls to prevent fraud, ensure transparency, and provide a solid basis for planning by election officials regarding equipment, supplies, and other aspects of the voting process in widely varying circumstances.³⁸ These last two decades, voter registration has been a sensitive process, closely watched by political parties and the cause of violent riots. According to the electoral code, a revision of the list should be carried out during the last quarter of every year, to allow those newly eligible to register, remove names of those known to be deceased, and update addresses. However, this has not been a regular practice, and revisions have mostly been prompted by an upcoming election. The most recent revision was done in 2020 and provided a biometric registry of 7,000,000 voters (disaggregated data per gender were not available). Local branches of the CENI at the communal level are closely involved in voter registration, revision of electoral lists, and reception and distribution of voting cards. To register, Guineans must present proof of citizenship (identity card, passport), which is not a given for many people, mainly women.³⁹ The electoral code provides the possibility for Guineans without the necessary documents to present themselves accompanied by two citizens widely known in the locality who attest to their eligibility to vote.

³⁸ Excerpts from: The Carter Center. "Observing the 2010 Presidential Elections in Guinea, Final Report." 2010. https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/guinea-2010-finalreport.pdf; International IDEA. "Guinea." 2020. <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/country-view/115/44>

³⁹ Inherited social norms position Guinean women on a lower social level, which encourages disparities in civil registration rates between men and women. Social norms, perceptions, and the personal beliefs of government officials, local authorities, civil registration employees, and the general public are among the key barriers to advancing civil registration and to decreasing inequalities between men and women—excerpt from Dorina Andreev. *Gender Equity in Guinea: How Social Norms Affect the Civil Registration of Women and Girls in West Africa*. Knowledge Brief Series on Gender and CRVS. Centre of Excellence for Civil Registration and Vital Statistics (CRVS) Systems, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Ontario, 2019.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Guinea has made great strides in economic development in the past decade. The GDP per capita doubled between 2005 and 2017 and is approaching the sub-Saharan Africa average. Following the most recent Ebola epidemic of 2014, the growth rate increased to above 9 percent in 2016. This was driven by the growth of the mining sector and foreign direct investment flows. The Guinean economy has also been resilient in the face of the global COVID-19 pandemic, primarily due to the strong 18.4 percent increase in mining activity in 2020, the result of a recovery in China's demand for bauxite and aluminum.

Currently, agriculture is the largest sector of the economy, employing about 80 percent of the population and generating about 17 percent of the country's GDP. The labor force participation rate is 66 percent of the adult population (15 years old or more), and the population is young and rapidly growing, with a birth rate of 2.6 percent per year.⁴⁰ The female labor force participation rate in Guinea is one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa at 66 percent in comparison to the sub-Saharan Africa average of 62 percent. Guinea also has the highest ratio of female-to-male labor participation among sub-Saharan African countries at nearly 100 percent. Men are mainly concentrated in agriculture (65 percent) and services (9 percent), whereas women are mainly concentrated in agriculture (70 percent) and retail sales (20 percent).⁴¹ While making up 49 percent of the working population, women in Guinea remain less economically productive and earn less than men.⁴² Patterns of economic inequality begin in adolescence within the education setting. In Guinea, only half of primary school age children attend primary school, much lower than the sub-Saharan Africa average. Of those who do attend, fewer girls than boys make the transition to higher levels of education. Gender gaps in education are more severe in rural areas.

The widespread practices of child marriage, early childbearing and female genital mutilation or excision (FGM/E) may also cause differences in economic development for women. About 51 percent of women age 20 to 24 were first married before age 18, and about 56 percent of Guinean women have had a child before the age of 18. There is a strong correlation between child marriage, early childbearing, and low educational attainment, which can affect future labor efforts. In addition to work, women in Guinea spend an average of 22 hours per week on domestic chores compared to the 4 hours spent by men.

Guinea has a robust and active informal sector. In 2017, an estimated two-thirds of the country's economically active population were employed in the informal sector. Activities in the sector are small in scale, with the absence of a non-permanent salary and lack of access to credit from banks. Women in Guinea tend to work in the informal sector due to discrimination and low levels of education. Small

⁴⁰ World Bank. "Guinea: The Economic Benefits of a Gender Inclusive Society." 2019.
<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/32507/Guinea-The-Economic-Benefits-of-a-Gender-Inclusive-Society.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

⁴¹ World Bank. "Guinea: The Economic Benefits of a Gender Inclusive Society." 2019.
<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/32507/Guinea-The-Economic-Benefits-of-a-Gender-Inclusive-Society.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

⁴² World Bank. "Guinea: The Economic Benefits of a Gender Inclusive Society." 2019.
<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/32507/Guinea-The-Economic-Benefits-of-a-Gender-Inclusive-Society.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

enterprises are more capital-intensive and typically headed by men, making it difficult for women to start small businesses in the non-commercial sector.⁴³

Finally, opportunities are concentrated in the capital, and the economy is partly ethnically structured, with Peulh businessmen having a relatively strong position in the more profitable sectors such as trade. The minority groups from the Forest region of Guinea are the least well connected to the economy and the state. Social safety nets are rudimentary and cover only a limited number of risks for few beneficiaries, namely civil servants. The National Fund for Social Security (CNSS) is the government body responsible for providing social welfare but is inadequately funded. Most of the population is at risk of poverty. People must rely on extended family networks, private saving groups, and private charity for social security. Yet life expectancy has continuously increased over the past 10 years and was at 61.2 years in 2018.⁴⁴

⁴³ Diallo, A., Yin, Z., Beckline, M. et al. “Assessing the Socioeconomic Impacts of Informal Sector in Guinea, West Africa.” 2017. *Open Access Library Journal* 4, 1-9. <https://www.scirp.org/journal/paperinformation.aspx?paperid=73514>

⁴⁴ Bertelsmann Stiftung. “BTI 2022 Country Report—Guinea.” 2022. <https://bti-project.org>

2. CURRENT STATE OF WPPL

This section summarizes the current state of WPPL in Guinea.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The Assessment Framework measures gender gaps in the following forms of political participation: 1) joining civic organizations seeking to solve community problems; 2) joining political parties; 3) voting; 4) contacting elected officials; 5) attending a political rally or campaign event; 6) signing petitions; and 7) protesting. It also explores differences in political efficacy, general interest in politics, frequency of political news-seeking, and political knowledge.

WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

According to data from the Civil Society Support Program (PASOC) of the European Union (EU), there were 1,014 CSOs in Guinea in 2017, including 941 NGOs, 5 labor unions, 2 CSO collectives, 4 CSO forums, 11 federations, 12 platforms, and 39 networks. As with most sectors in Guinea, civil society suffers from polarization along ethnic and political divides and competition for funding. CSOs in Guinea work on a variety of issues, including the environment, education, infrastructure, health, human rights, democratic governance, conflict prevention and management, agriculture, fishing, youth, security, corruption prevention, and anti-money laundering. KII with civil society actors suggest that there is an important gender gap in women's participation in civil society that is also seen in other sectors in Guinea. The Prefectural Council of Civil Society Organizations in Labé, a branch of the CNOSCG, only has two women representatives on its 11-members executive body, and this is not an isolated example. Awareness campaigns have been launched by civil society to try to engage more women.⁴⁵

Nonetheless, several thriving networks and organizations founded and led by women have taken on the responsibility of promoting and defending the social, economic, and political rights of women. Many of these organizations are well represented throughout the country and have an important network of grassroots actors that reach out to rural women. Several women's CSOs have also been active in the policymaking process and advocated for policies and regulations that were reflected in legislation such as the Family Code. The Guinean Association of Women for Peace, and Elections and Governance (AGUIFPEG) and Tostan International defended the rights of girls against FGM, exclusion from school, and gender-based violence.⁴⁶ At the national level in 2020, the Coalition of Guinean Women/Girls for Dialogue, Peace Building, and Development (COFFIG-DCPD) joined the Inter-Party Committee on the Electoral Process, CSOs, political parties, national and international institutions, and technical and financial partners for consultations about the new constitution and proposed dialogues between opposing actors to maintain social calm. During an FGD with students from N'Zérékoré University, a participant stressed the important role played by organizations that defend women's rights. "Even if they [women's rights associations] do not have enough means, they organize conferences and training workshops on the issue of women and girls in society. Also, in our university here, it is the officials of

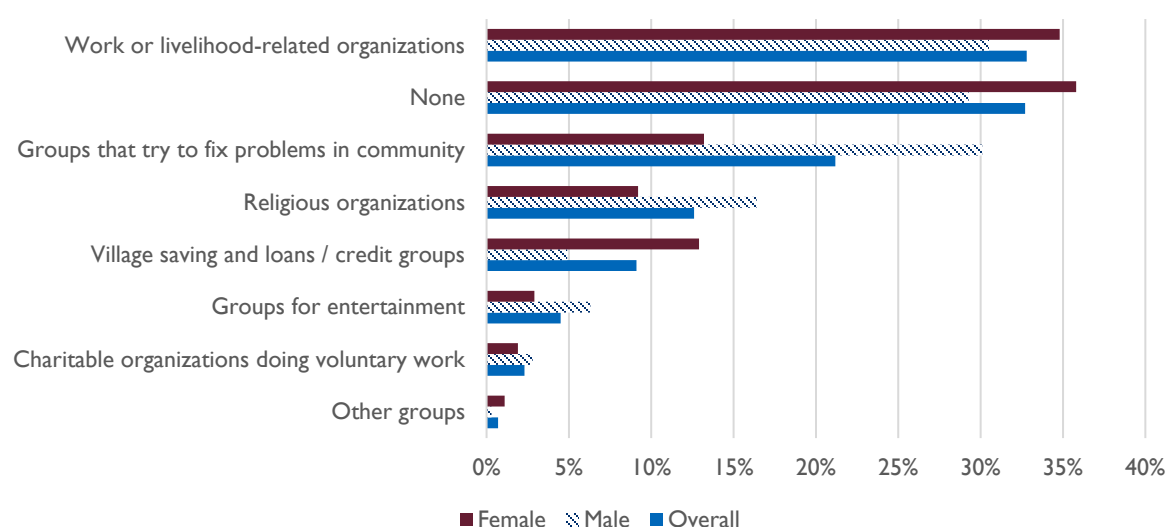
⁴⁵ KII with President of the Prefectural CSO Council of Labe.

⁴⁶ USAID. "2020 Civil Society Organization Sustainability Index for Guinea." November 2021. <https://www.fhi360.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/csosi-africa-2020-report.pdf>.

our university who encourage the participation of women and their involvement as student representatives.... There are some classrooms where women are leaders.”

In the WPPL General Population Survey, Guinean women reported participating in a variety of community and civic groups, including two types of civil society organizations: ones that try to fix problems in the community (13 percent) and charitable organizations doing voluntary work (2 percent). The gender gap in women’s and men’s participation in CSOs is 1 percentage point for charitable organizations,⁴⁷ but is particularly wide for groups addressing community problems, reaching nearly 17 percentage points. The survey also found high rates of women participating in organizations related to work or income-generation activities (Figure 1), including labor unions, cooperatives and producer associations, and professional organizations. Nearly 36 percent of female respondents were part of such organizations, a slightly higher percentage than among male respondents. Despite this, across all types of community organizations, men were significantly more likely than women to report holding a leadership position. In the case of CSOs, the gap between men and women reached between 10 and 18 percentage points.

Figure 1. Membership or participation by population survey respondents in community and civic groups, by sex



In the context of organizations related to work or income-generation activities, the leadership gap between men and women reached 18 percentage points. Nonetheless, the Guinean trade union movement, a specific subset of this category of organizations, is known to have more women representatives than other sectors in society in Guinean, as well as many influential women leaders. The CNGT, the country’s largest trade union confederation, was headed by a woman. The ONSLG and the USTG both have had many women among their executive staff. In 2018, a woman was elected head of the Free Trade Union of Teachers and Researchers of Guinea (SLECG).⁴⁸ An increased collaboration

⁴⁷ However, this 1 percentage point is not trivial when dealing with very low participation rates, as is the case here, as it represents a 50 percent difference, from 2 percent to 3 percent.

⁴⁸ ITUC International Trade Union Confederation View #06. Guinea: The trade union movement as an engine of change. October 2007. Labour Union Movement in Guinea.

between CSOs and labor unions in advocating for women's rights should be encouraged. In addition, women leaders of trade unions could be showcased to highlight their responsibilities and accomplishments as part of sensitization campaigns.

Trade union movement aside, women surveyed were more likely to say that they had less input in decision-making than men across all types of community organizations. While women attended meetings of community organizations regularly, they were systematically less likely than men to report speaking during the last meeting, with gaps ranging from 7 percentage points for savings and loans groups to 24 percentage points for religious organizations.

WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

As per the Guinean Public Service Law, recruitment into the civil service is generally carried out through a competitive exam (*concours*) organized by the Ministry of Public Service, open to women and men alike over the age of 18 years. Except for the government agencies that are typically subject to more scrutiny, such as the Ministry of Finance, there has not been a proper recruitment process since 2008.⁴⁹ Nominations and appointments are generally done informally based on personal and family connections, with civil servants recruited this way often entering public service as technical assistants.

A 2021 study by Falémé Conseil, a Guinea-based and woman-led strategic research firm, examined the share of ministerial positions held by women in Guinea and found that women held 31 percent of these positions in 2021, which represents a 57 percent increase over the 2010 figure.⁵⁰ However, this figure decreased somewhat after the 2021 coup and was estimated to be around 29 percent. Women were especially present in the Ministry of Sports, Culture, and Historical Heritage; of Planning and Economic Development; and of Hospitality, Tourism and Crafts. Importantly, the study found that only a quarter of women holding ministerial positions had high-responsibility posts (e.g., Minister, National Director) while most held positions such as Section Chief and Division Chief. Furthermore, women were significantly underrepresented in Ministries that had significant STEM components or purviews.

In 2018, public service staff in the eight governorates totaled 226 officers, of which only 22.1 percent were women.⁵¹ All 33 prefectures counted a total of 593 officers of which, 105 were women.

“In Guinea, women are still marginalized with regards to decision-making, in positions of responsibility ... even in the [public service] offices, you may not come across one woman there. We are still considered as illiterate; we are not given the opportunity to elevate ourselves.” (FGD participant, Kindia political women.)

⁴⁹ KII with representative from the *Direction nationale des affaires politiques et administration électorale*.

⁵⁰ Falmélé Conseil. *Tableau de Bord sur la Diversité Genre*. Available at https://www.falemeconsulting.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/FALEME_Pre%CC%81sentation_V9..pdf

⁵¹ Tableau de bord statistique. Ministère de l'administration du territoire et de la décentralisation (MATD). Year 2018. https://www.stat-guinee.org/images/Documents/Publications/SSN/matd/TABLEAU_DE_BORD_MATD_2018.pdf

The number of staff in the sub-prefectures totaled 575 agents in 2018, of whom only 12 were women.⁵² In its 2016 audit, the Guinean Ministry of Health found that only 26 percent of community health workers in Guinea were women. A similar picture emerges when examining the education sector, as only 32.5 percent of teaching staff at the primary level (public and private institutions) are women⁵³, which drops to 5 percent at the secondary level.⁵⁴ Only 11 percent of the teachers in vocational schools are women.⁵⁵ Finally, there are approximately 470 men and 150 women at the Guinean Television and Radio (RTG) public media, and only 16 of these women occupy an executive position.⁵⁶

JOINING POLITICAL PARTIES

Most political parties have not been a space for advancing WPPL. Principles of equality are enshrined in the constitution but do not include enforcement mechanisms for political parties. When it comes to the parties' efforts to actively engage women, male politicians often do not understand the importance of women's role in the party.⁵⁷ Parties' interest in engaging "elite" or educated women vary depending on whether the political party of their allegiance is in power or not. The President of the Women's section of UFDG, the main opposition party, said that she put a great deal of effort to try to attract and engage educated women in the party. Women intellectuals and high-level managers are not readily attracted to political activism. Women in the public workforce often fear that their career will be at risk if their political party is in the opposition. Over 70 percent of the party's followers are women, mainly illiterate women from rural areas. This means that they are mainly engaged in mobilization and recruiting, but they do not occupy specific roles in the party and do not participate in decision-making.⁵⁸

More generally, the WPPL General Population Survey results indicate that a smaller percentage of women (22 percent) are members of a political party in Guinea compared to men (36 percent). In addition, a smaller share of women who are not members of a political party indicated that they felt close to a political party as compared to non-member men, although this gender gap is smaller. The survey also confirms that the proportion of women party members holding leadership positions is significantly lower than among men party members, even at the local and regional levels.⁵⁹ Women also

⁵² Tableau de bord statistique. Ministère de l'administration du territoire et de la décentralisation (MATD). Year 2018. https://www.stat-guinee.org/images/Documents/Publications/SSN/matd/TABLEAU_DE_BORD_MATD_2018.pdf

⁵³ Annuaire statistique. Enseignement Primaire 2019-2020. Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de l'Alphabétisation (MENA). February 2021. https://www.stat-guinee.org/images/Documents/Publications/SSN/mepua/primaire/Annuaire_Primaire_2019-2020.pdf

⁵⁴ Annuaire statistique. Enseignement Secondaire 2019-2020. Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de l'Alphabétisation (MENA). February 2021. https://www.stat-guinee.org/images/Documents/Publications/SSN/mepua/secondaire/Annuaire_du_Secondaire_2019_2020.pdf

⁵⁵ Ministère de l'Enseignement technique, de la Formation professionnelle. "Tableau de bord statistique." December 2019. http://www.stat-guinee.org/images/Documents/Publications/SSN/metfpet/TB/TB_ETFP_2018-2019.pdf

⁵⁶ Source: Director of Human Resources RTG

⁵⁷ KII with NDI Country Director

⁵⁸ KII with Hadja Maimouna Diallo Mme Bah

⁵⁹ Among party members, who are already include fewer women, only 24.5% of women hold a leadership role, nearly 22 percentage points fewer than among men.

report speaking less often at party events than men do.⁶⁰ Further, fewer women local politicians in our survey were likely to report that party members encouraged them to run for office as compared to their male counterparts. They also report having less input into party decisions: namely platform, policy decisions, candidate selection, and recruitment.

WOMEN AND SECURITY

When in power, Sékou Touré pushed for the recruitment and promotion of women in the armed forces, particularly the gendarmerie. Women constituted about 10 percent of the security workforce, which has since declined to 8 percent.⁶¹ There is only one woman with the rank of General in the army; she was named by Condé in 2020.⁶²

Increasing the number of women in the armed forces will likely be a difficult task based on the widespread and entrenched views of the population. More than two-thirds of men and women participating in our population survey felt that men were better when it comes to national security and defense and just a quarter felt that there is no clear difference between the two sexes. The results were similar when asking respondents about the position of Minister of Defense specifically. Younger respondents did not deviate much from their elders in this regard.⁶³ Given these survey results and the small share of women in the security workforce, and especially at higher ranks of the military, a significant delay in the planned transition back to a civilian government in Guinea should be viewed as a potential hinderance to increasing the political leadership and the voice of women in politics in the country.

Prior to the military coup, the Ministry of Social Affairs, and the promotion of Women and Children (MASPFE) led the development and implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and related National Action Plans (NAPs) in collaboration with ministerial departments, United Nations System Agencies, NGOs, and CSOs. Since the military takeover, the Minister of Defense has shown particular interest in addressing deep-rooted gender imbalances within the armed forces with the creation of the Directorate for Gender and Equity and the appointment of Captain Adama Hawa Bah as Director General. The directorate is now responsible for monitoring and implementing UNSCR 1325 and tasked with convening subregional meetings on women and peace.⁶⁴ Activities such as these are vital for ensuring that security services are responsive and that women, civil society, and communities more broadly play an active role in defining the security needs of their community and ensuring access to appropriate security services.⁶⁵ To some degree, this is already happening, as the

⁶⁰ 32.7% of women reported speaking at the last party event they attended, compared to 46.5% of men who attended such an event.

⁶¹ Africa Report N°164 23 September 2010 Guinea: Reforming the Army

⁶² KII General M'Mawa Sylla; she has since been appointed Governor of Conakry by the president of the CNRD

⁶³ The 18–25 age group felt even more strongly than their elders that men are better for Minister of Defense, but a greater share reported no difference between sexes when it comes to the field of defense and national security.

⁶⁴ A Program of the Women's International League for Peace & Freedom. "National Action Plan—Guinea" 2013. <http://1325naps.peacewomen.org/index.php/guinea/>

⁶⁵ Megan Bastick and Tobie Whitman. "A Woman's Guide to Security Sector Reform. 2013. https://www.dcaf.ch/sites/default/files/publications/documents/AWomensGuidetoSSR_final.pdf

Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET) actively engaged in both the informal, traditional, grass-roots sphere of conflict resolution and at the highest levels of government.

VOTING AND ELECTION MANAGEMENT

While official gender disaggregated data on women's participation was never published, observers for the 2010 presidential elections reported that women seemed to exercise their franchise in equal if not higher numbers than men. According to verbal communication from MATAP officials, women represent 52 percent of registered voters in Guinea and 53 percent of registered voters in the diaspora.⁶⁶

According to the WPPL General Population Survey, an overwhelming majority of respondents reported voting in the last presidential elections, including 85 percent of women surveyed. Women who did not vote cited being outside of the country or their electoral district as a reason, as well as disproportionately citing illness and pregnancy compared to men. Only 6 percent of respondents, mostly men, reported facing some kind of problem when trying to vote. The types of problems most reported were administrative problems (affecting a greater share of men) followed by fear of getting harassed, threatened, or hurt (affecting a greater share of women). While only a very small number of respondents reported problems related to anger among family members (including spouses) and concerns about their reputation in the community, those who did were disproportionately women.

When it comes to election management, women were greatly outnumbered within the CENI and its antennas (*démembrements*). For the 2010 presidential elections, only 2 of the 25 CENI commissioners were women. Although disaggregated numbers were not available, observers across Guinea estimated that women composed approximately 25 percent of prefectural and subprefectural CENI officers (CEPI and CESPI). The Carter Center noted that they were most often secretaries or treasurers rather than presidents. Approximately one-third of the magistrates presiding over the centralization commissions within each prefecture were women.⁶⁷ The most recent CENI had 17 commissioners with 3 women. Disaggregated data on the percentage of CENI staff and technical assistants for the 2020 presidential and legislative elections was not available due to COVID restrictions leading up to the military coup and its dissolution.

Women were also participants in the voting process as polling station staff, party representatives, and domestic observers. Traditionally, women are inclined to vote as their husband suggests, especially in rural areas. However, the days when a village chief or head of the household could go and singularly cast all the women votes under his "jurisdiction" are over. Decades of civic and voter education, professionalization, and democratization of the management of elections have improved electoral practices, though much is still needed to improve election integrity. Women organizations and networks such as COFFIG-DCPD and the Network for Women Ministers and Parliamentarians (REFAMP/G) have been at the forefront of election monitoring and prevention of election-related violence.

CAMPAIGN SUPPORT

⁶⁶ The Carter Center. "Observing the 2010 Presidential Elections in Guinea, Final Report." 2010. https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/guinea-2010-finalreport.pdf

⁶⁷ The Carter Center. "Observing the 2010 Presidential Elections in Guinea, Final Report." 2010. https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/guinea-2010-finalreport.pdf

According to the Guinean electoral code, campaigns are to be financed by political parties' resources, equitably distributed state subsidies, and the personal revenue of candidates. The WPPL Politician Survey focused on local politicians (Mayors, Deputy-Mayors, and communal council members) as opposed to those on the national stage but provides data on campaign financing at that level of government. The median total campaign cost reported was GNF 17 million, but the average was much higher at GNF 57.6 million. This is due to significant outliers, including several campaigns in the GNF 500–800 million range. Among female politicians, the median total campaign cost was GNF 15 million, which is 2.5 million below the median among male counterparts. Male politicians also account for most of the comparatively expensive campaigns, including the extreme outliers beyond GNF 600 million. The total campaign expenditures among the first quartile of women politicians were significantly lower than those of their male counterparts.

Overall, we see that the typical politician funds approximately one-third of their campaign, and the party funds approximately half. The average female politician funds about a quarter of their campaign, and their party funds slightly over half. The average male politician funds slightly more than a third of their campaign, and their party funds half. There are several possible reasons that, alone or in combination, explain why these figures do not add up to the entire reported costs of campaigns. One is that our survey asked politicians to recall amounts or shares from a year or years ago.⁶⁸ The other is that there are other sources of funding that candidates could have used that were not addressed in the WPPL Politician Survey, including public subventions⁶⁹ and individual or business donations⁷⁰ coming from candidates' networks and constituents. Women candidates will typically be at a disadvantage compared to their male counterpart when it comes to donations from networks because, as noted elsewhere in this report, most do not have one ready to invest in them, and when they do, it might be less extensive.

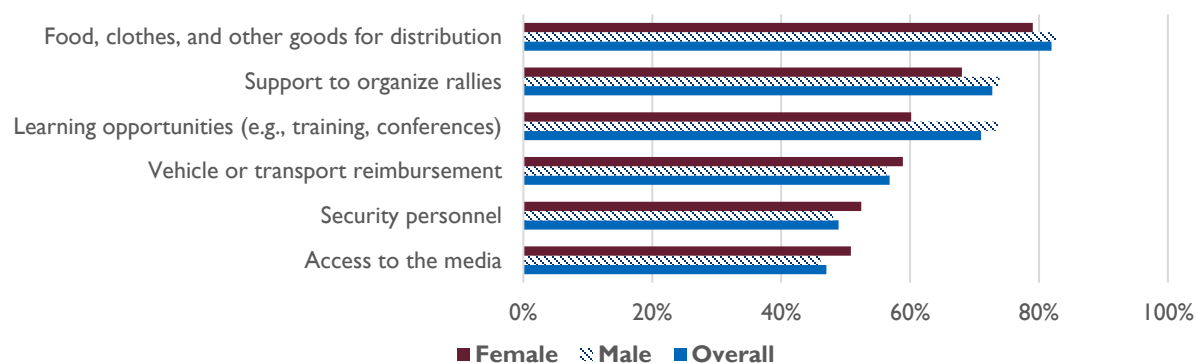
Local politicians reported receiving a range of support from their political party (if they were a member of one). The most common forms of support were goods (e.g., food and clothes) for distribution to potential electors and to support organizing rallies. Other forms of support were rarer, including security personnel and access to the media. As shown in Figure 2, female local politicians surveyed were less likely to report receiving certain forms of party support during their campaign, especially learning opportunities such as trainings or invitations to conferences.

⁶⁸ Based on reports by enumerators, a small number of politicians recalled with some precision or consulted documentation to obtain precise values, but most made their best guesses.

⁶⁹ Public subventions to candidates are complex in Guinea (see the relevant law [here](#)), and the relevant law and system does not lead to a set amount for communal level elections (nor for elections at other levels). In addition, the CENI budget has been at times cut or there have been non-payments of funds (see [this article](#), for example), which can affect what the CENI can provide for any given election.

⁷⁰ We could not find laws that confirm or deny the legality of individual or business donations in Guinea nor reporting or interview material on amounts or frequency of such transactions.

Figure 2. Types of support (beyond any funds) that local politicians reported receiving from their political party



At an FGD in the Forest Region, a woman politician said that her party had never provided training to prepare her and others for an elected mandate; however, she did receive training from CSOs and international institutions. A male politician stated that he had never heard of a party training its members whether women or men. Other group participants mentioned that one of the party's strengths was developing income-generating activities. Some parties, such as Bloc Libéral (BL) and UFDG, provide funds to women's groups for small income-generating activities that attract sympathizers while reducing poverty.

Although the Politician Survey data showed little difference between sexes when it comes to transportation and travel assistance, one group discussion with politically active women in Kindia suggested that there is significant variability. Participants explained that if their parties send motorbikes or cars (during campaigns), it's for the men and, the women receive nothing.

CONTACTING ELECTED OFFICIALS

In the General Population Survey, nearly a quarter of respondents indicated that they had previously contacted an elected official about a social, economic, or political problem. However, just 13 percent of women reported having done so versus 34 percent of men. The majority who had not previously contacted an elected representative were asked why not. Beyond the approximately half of respondents who said they had no need or reason to do so, a quarter, and disproportionately women, said they did not know how to do it. This is both an important finding and an issue that could be easily addressed by ensuring formal channels of communication exist and that they are easily found by those seeking to use them.

SIGNING A PETITION

Unlike in other countries, Guinea's political culture does not favor petitions. Only around 1 in 6 respondents in the General Population Survey indicated that they had previously signed a petition, and men were 11 percentage points more likely to have done so than women. The most cited reason for not doing so was inability to read or write. This reason was cited by 42 percent of women who had not previously signed a petition, pointing to gender inequalities in terms of education and literacy. Lack of time was the next most cited reason, which affected men and women at about the same rate. Other

responses that garnered around 5 percent were that it is not good to sign petitions directed at officials or the government and that politicians and authorities do not respond or don't do what they promise.

ATTENDING POLITICAL RALLIES OR CAMPAIGN EVENTS

In the General Population Survey, nearly two-thirds of respondents indicated that they had previously attended a political rally or meeting or a campaign event. Once again, men were more likely to have done so than women, with a difference of 10 percentage points. Lack of time was the most cited reason for not attending such events, but a quarter of respondents explained that they felt it was not good to participate in such events or that they disliked them. Around 6 percent of women reported fearing harassment, threats, or violence; and another 6 percent feared anger from their husband or another family member if they attended. However, Guinean women are known to participate in campaign rallies when mobilized by local women leaders. They assist in preparing food, sing and dance along with youth, often in honor of a visiting candidate, along with youth, happily receiving whatever stipend or t-shirt is offered.

PARTICIPATING IN A PROTEST

Around 1 in 6 respondents had attended a protest event or march, and women were 5 percentage points less likely than men to have done so. Among those who had not previously attended a protest, a third said it was not good to participate in such events or they do not like to do so. Lack of time and opportunity were also commonly cited, and around 7 percent of both men and women also noted that they were concerned about harassment, threats, and violence. Nearly 8 percent of women noted concerns about their husband or family becoming angry.

POLITICAL EFFICACY

Local politicians were asked two questions about their perceived efficacy in their position. The first asked about the extent to which they are confident in their ability to express themselves during a communal council meeting if they disagree with what someone else does or says. While 79 percent of women reported feeling "confident," there are some gender differences here, with women being nearly twice as likely as men to answer that they felt only "somewhat confident" (16.5 percent vs. 8.8 percent). The second question asked the extent to which politicians agree or disagree with the statement: "when I speak during assembly debates, I feel that others recognize and respect what I am saying," and more than 90 percent of politicians of both sexes expressed agreement.

"Our women are wary of being in politics because they are prevented from being in decision-making bodies; generally they do not have access to positions of responsibility" says a man participating in an FGD in Dalaba (Upper Guinea). Another participant adds that otherwise there are many advantages when a woman arrives in politics. "Let's suppose that she is just a counselor at the community level; all the women in her municipality will come to confide in her, and she also knows all the problems of the women. She can direct many projects affecting women and when their interests are not taken into consideration in the political process, she will be able to help them. There are good things that happen when we men accept that our women come into political life without feeling violated."

On this same note, one of the Forest Region FGD participants also said that women councilors are listened to; however, their ideas are not taken into account. This sentiment was also expressed during a

meeting with women politicians in Conakry, in which a former senior Ministry official said that after some time, government members grew weary of her interventions at their weekly meetings, so when she really wanted an idea to be taken into account, she would pass it on to an ally male minister who would speak on her behalf—a tactic that proved to be very effective.⁷¹

One key informant shared that women who manage to transcend these obstacles and be registered on party lists (or even to be elected) are exceptional women who stand out from the crowd, have higher levels of education, and benefit from a family environment that supports them in developing their intrinsic capacity.⁷² However, others believed that in most cases, women who rise through the ranks of the party and succeed in gaining a place in the most important bodies owe this more to the will of the party president.⁷³

Among the general population, political efficacy was generally high, with respondents expressing confidence in their ability to interact with the government and advocate for change. However, there is a significant gender gap of 10 to 18 percentage points depending on the type of government-related activity, with men being more likely to report that they felt confident seeking government support for causes in which they believe; talking to, calling, or writing to representatives of national government authorities; and monitoring the actions of authorities. Respondents were nearly evenly split when asked if they felt that they understood the most important questions and stakes in Guinea. There is also a clear split between gender, with more men (15 percentage points compared to women) likely to agree with this statement.

More than two-thirds of respondents felt that people like them had at least some power to change things in the country, with slightly more than a third even feeling like they have a lot of power in this regard. However, there is still a 13 percentage point gender gap in the proportion of men and women who agreed with this statement.

While there is a gender gap across most survey questions related to political efficacy, there is nonetheless a significant share of women in Guinea who feel that they have strong political and self-efficacy and whom programs should seek out and support.

GENERAL INTEREST IN POLITICS

Men are typically more interested in politics than women. Just shy of 60 percent of respondents in the General Population Survey reported growing up in families that never talked about politics, and 13 percent said their families used to talk a lot about the subject when they were growing up. The differences between men's and women's reports were minimal. The level of interest expressed toward politics correlates fairly well with the way respondents grew up. Most of those who grew up in families where politics was discussed a lot are very interested or at least somewhat interested today. And the

⁷¹ KII with Nanfadima Magassouba, women's rights activist and politician, President of the Forum of Women Parliamentarians

⁷² KII with a Director of a House of Justice in Maritime Guinea

⁷³ LARTES-IFAN. "Cartographie des partis politiques selon le genre." 2019. <https://lartes-ifan.org/fr/cartographie-regionale-partis-politiques-selon-genre-nigeria-guinee-centre-afrique-liberia>

opposite is also true; those growing up in households that did not talk at all about politics are much more likely to say they are not at all interested.

Guineans' limited interest in politics is also reflected by the fact that a small majority said they never talk about politics with others in their household. Slightly more than a quarter of respondents said they discuss the topic less than once a month or a few times a month, and a quarter reported discussing politics in their household a few times a week or more often. Providing important context, many women and marginalized groups interviewed for the FGDs discussed the need for income-generating activities and financial empowerment as a necessary precursor to political empowerment. Both the surveys and discussion groups insist on the fact that women are involved in politics because it offers them opportunities to improve their living conditions, meet their expectations and those of their families. As one participant puts it, "Their entry into politics has to do with their poor living conditions and their hope that politics is the royal road out of this poverty." There is a tendency for women to monetize their activism, which partly explains the high level of interparty migration. It also leads party leaders to finance income generating activities (IGAs) for women, which not only attracts voters but also maintains the status quo of subordination.⁷⁴ Labor and Citizens' Action Party (PACT) leader Makalé Traoré supported 8,000 such initiatives.

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

The WPPL General Population Survey found that, on average, Guineans have a relatively superficial knowledge of political actors and events, based on a few questions about current and prominent political leaders. This finding should be viewed in the context of the recent coup, which has resulted in a sharp break from the existing governance and institutional structure that was historically in place in Guinea, combined with the extremely low level of education in Guinea. The President of Guinea who took power through a coup in September 2021, Colonel Mamadi Doumbouya, was widely known, with 92 percent of respondents being able to name him, including 86.4 percent of women. However, other important political facts were not widely known. The timing of the next national elections proposed by the coup leadership, which was frequently in the news during the fieldwork period, was known by only 37 percent of respondents, 74 percent of whom were men. The worse showing, however, was related to the President of the CNT, Dr. Dansa Kourouma, an important body during the transition, which was also in the news daily during fieldwork. A mere 14.4 percent of respondents could provide the first and/or last name of Dr. Kourouma, and 74 percent again were men.

The final question related to the law in Guinea requiring political parties to present a minimum number of female candidates for national legislative elections. Just under a quarter (24.6 percent) of respondents knew that this law exists, though the gender gap here is much smaller compared to other questions on political knowledge.

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

The Assessment Framework measures political leadership, examining the presence of women politicians in Parliaments and cabinets and also their influence and agency.

⁷⁴ LARTES-IFAN. "Cartographie des partis politiques selon le genre." 2019. <https://lartes-ifan.org/fr/cartographie-regionale-partis-politiques-selon-genre-nigeria-guinee-centre-afrique-liberia>

REPRESENTATION IN GOVERNMENT

Despite international conventions and Guinea's national laws calling for the participation of women in all decision-making bodies, women continue to be underrepresented in public and political life and in decision-making positions. In the Interparliamentary Union (IPU-UN) Women map, which presents global rankings for women in executive and government positions, Guinea ranks 86th out of 189 countries.

Presidential candidates: While women in Guinea have had the right to vote and stand for election since independence in 1958, Dr. Saran Daraba, leader of the Democratic Pan-African Convention (CDP) party was the first female presidential candidate in the history of Guinea in 2010. Dr. Daraba being the only woman among 24 candidates illustrates the fact that, while women are actively involved in the electoral process, their participation is not equal to that of men. A total of four women had presented candidacy files to the Supreme Court for that same election, but three were rejected for failure to pay the required nomination fee. The most recent presidential election in 2020 marks some progress, with 3 women out of 12 candidates.

Government and ministerial posts: In the successive governments of Guinea over the past quarter century, women have remained a minority, never representing more than 20 percent of the members of the government. In 2009, they were 2 women out of 29 ministerial posts (6.89 percent); in 2010, 5 women out of 34 posts (14.70 percent); in 2010–2011, 6 women out of 39 posts (15.39 percent); in 2016, 7 women out of 33 posts (21.21 percent); and in the most recent Parliament just before the military coup, 4 women out of 33 posts (12.12 percent).⁷⁵

Women in Parliament: In the 1995–2002 legislature, there were 11 women Parliamentarians out of a total of 114 seats (9.64 percent). In the 2002–2008 legislature, 20 women were elected (17.54 percent); in 2013–2018, there were 26 elected women (22.80 percent); and in March 2020, this was decreased again to women holding only 18 seats (16.7 percent). This reflects widespread inequalities in women's representation not only in national political bodies but also in the senior political administration. The last legislature had 33 executive posts, of which only 5 were occupied by women MPs. These disparities are driven in large part by gender imbalances within national political organizations and parties.⁷⁶

However, the Parliament has been suspended as part of the 2021 coup and replaced by the CNT. In January 2022, the 81-member CNT included 25 women (close to 30 percent female representation), which was later reduced to 23 women. Although 28 percent of CNT's nominees are women,⁷⁷ which is higher than the figure reported before the coup in a study of Guinean women's representation produced by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, this represents a persistent gender gap in political representation. Among these 28 percent were very few or no women representing CSO networks, cultural organizations, farmers' associations, traditional leaders, religious denomination, or chambers of

⁷⁵ Sources: The Carter Center. "Observing the 2010 Presidential Elections-Final Report." 2010. https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/news/peace_publications/election_reports/guinea-2010-finalreport.pdf; LARTES-IFAN. "Cartographie des partis politiques selon le genre." 2019. <https://lartes-ifan.org/fr/cartographie-regionale-partis-politiques-selon-genre-nigeria-guinee-centre-afrique-liberia>

⁷⁶ LARTES-IFAN. "Cartographie des partis politiques selon le genre." 2019. <https://lartes-ifan.org/fr/cartographie-regionale-partis-politiques-selon-genre-nigeria-guinee-centre-afrique-liberia>

⁷⁷ Idem Decree D/2022/0052/PRG/CNRD/SSG on the appointment of the National Councillors of the Transition, 22 January 2022

commerce. Although women are a majority of the population, they were marginally or not represented at all in many sectors. This absence risks that their demands are not discussed or taken into account within the CNT, while the place and role of Guinean women in the current reconstruction of the state institutions remains a major imperative, yet to be achieved.

Women in national and local council: During the first local elections in 2005, only two women were elected Mayors of urban communes: one in Matam (Rougui Barry) and the other in N'zérékoré (Madeleine Thea). On February 4, 2018, Guineans elected their 7,012 communal councilors out of a total of 29,669 candidates. There were 7,070 women candidates (23.83 percent), with 420 elected women councilors. According to statistics provided by the CENI, UFDG presented lists with 22.85 percent women candidates, and UFR's list included 26 percent women. Following over a year of electoral disputes and negotiations, elected councils were established and included 342 Mayors, of which only 6 are women (2.3 percent).⁷⁸

Judiciary: Before its dissolution in September 2021, the Constitutional Court had only one woman among its 11 judges, and there was only one woman among the 10 commissioners of the Court of Auditors.

POLITICAL AGENCY AND INFLUENCE

Guinean political and civil networks and associations of women leaders are connected and active on the continent, in the subregion, and in Guinea. Working with human rights organizations and other sectorial groups, they are instrumental in promoting legal reform and societal change needed to achieve gender equality. Prominent women groups known for their accomplishments in this regard include the Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET), the Forum for Guinean Parliamentary Women (FOFPAG), the Network of African Women Ministers and Parliamentarians (REFAMP), the Coalition of Mature and Young Women of Guinea (COFFIG), and National Coalition of Guinea for Women's Rights and Citizenship (CONAG-DCF), to name a few.

As one example of the change realized by these groups, FOFPAG's mission is to enable Guinean women MPs to unite and act together beyond their political affiliations in order to guarantee women's rights, gender equality, and gender mainstreaming in Parliament. FOFPAG joined forces with the COFFIG in the fight for the Elimination of Violence toward Women and Girls in Guinea, which resulted in a much-disputed reform of the Family Code. Members voiced their opposition to the legalization of polygamy in Guinea, which had previously been outlawed by the Civil Code in 2002. On December 29, 2018, all 26 women members of Parliament refused to vote for the revisions of the family law. As a result, the revised 2019 family law stipulates that a marriage is presumed to be monogamous; however, a couple may legally enter into a polygynous marriage if the groom declares that he is opting for polygamy during the marriage ceremony with the bride's "explicit consent." This episode highlights that women in politics, when they act in concert and form a united bloc, can increase their power and ability to steer legislations and political actions.

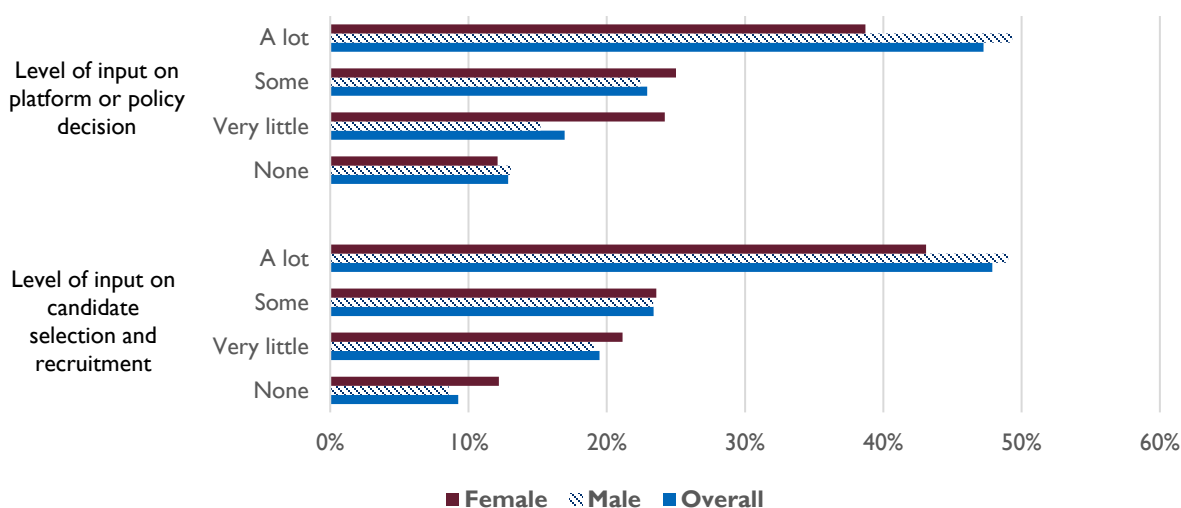
In legislatures, women Parliamentarians formed dynamic working groups to address a variety of issues related to women. In doing this they also collaborated with women civil society networks to reinforce advocacy campaigns for increased participation of women in all decision-making platforms. A Women's

⁷⁸ Source: *Association Internationale des Maires Francophones (AIMF)*

Caucus (CF-CNT) of Guinea was created within the CNT in July 2022. It brings together women representatives from different CNT commissions to increase the substantive participation of women in legislative positions. The CF-CNT aims to bring about gender-inclusive governance and legislative power through increased consultation of women in politics; equitable access of male and female councilors to information; training and resources; the creation of social partnerships; the development of women's leadership in politics in collaboration with men; and follow-up actions implemented by the Caucus to ensure that the Caucus's work is carried forward by future women MPs.

In the WPPL Politician Survey, female local politicians were slightly less likely to report participating in communal council debates and discussions than male politicians. In addition, they were less confident in their ability to speak up during communal meetings and less likely than their male counterparts to feel that others recognize and respect what they say. Nonetheless, the results suggest female politicians typically have influence at the local level. Within their parties, local politicians reported that they have both agency and influence, even if there are gaps between the sexes. As shown in Figure 3, approximately 70 percent of local politicians feel they have at least some level of input into platform and policy decisions and into the recruitment and selection of candidates, while among women politicians, this figure is closer to two-thirds. The gender gap is especially visible regarding politicians reporting having “a lot” of input.

Figure 3. Perceived level of input in party decision-making, by category of decision



Three-fourths of local politicians of both sexes said that the principal factor for them when taking a position on a particular issue is “the national interest,” followed by “the view of constituents.” On the other hand, nearly two-thirds of local politicians admit that they “never” voted differently from the wishes of their party, and just 20 percent report they did so “occasionally” or “often.” Female politicians were more likely to follow their party’s wishes than their male counterparts, suggesting they might feel explicit or implicit pressure to do so.

SIGNS OF CHANGE

Interviewees and FGD participants pointed out several areas where they observed change in the area of WPPL. They thought that change was made possible due to the social action and concerted strategies of women and men who are convinced that gender balance in the decision-making process is essential for democracy and for the future. Although a great deal still needs to be accomplished, women have joined many institutions where they used to be absent, and there are more girls and women in the classrooms, as opposed to being confined to their home and the kitchen. In Labé, where religion is at the very core of the community and more predominant in everyday life than in other regions, there are women religious leaders, when there were previously none.

“Now in each mosque, there are women leaders who answer on behalf of other women and who sometimes go to meet with the imams, even if it is still timid, but it is a start.” (KII participant)

WPPL KIIs and FGDs indicate that Guinea is at a crossroad when modernity clashes with ancient tradition and customs. Women’s rights remain a foreign concept to a majority of the illiterate population and is mostly misunderstood by traditional and religious leaders. It is a delicate situation that must be addressed with caution and sensitivity. Much needs to be accomplished to coax those opinion leaders who are the most recalcitrant. For some, a small evolution is noted but not as important as they wish. They recognize that thanks to the work of NGOs in favor of women, things are gradually evolving. However, an all-male FGD in Dalaba warned that an increased number of women are being indoctrinated against the emancipation of women in their community. “At one time you could go two to three months without seeing a veiled woman, but now it is a whole colony that you come across, so it is necessary to increase sensitization in order to reverse the tendency. (...) Religion weighs much on our population and is heavily affecting the female population, even the women who are currently studying.”

Some thought that laws pertaining to gender equality and equal representation are not enforced because they are not yet applicable in Guinean society and because mentalities cannot be changed with legislation. One government official proposed during a KII that before pushing for parity, Guinea’s aim should be achieving the 30 percent quota.

“In my opinion, we need to vote for something that is realistically applicable. In Guinea there are many laws that have passed, but there are obstacles to their application. For instance, outside of Conakry, in rural areas, where social class (and segregation) is still a reality in everyone’s head, the applicability is really a problem. When you leave Conakry, most of the laws cannot be applied.” (KII participant, government official.)

3. DRIVERS OF WPPL

This section examines the drivers of WPPL in Guinea, factors that positively or negatively influence three key outcomes: 1) women's political participation; 2) women's political leadership; and 3) women's participation and leadership in civil society, the media, and the economy. WPPL drivers include: the legal framework; gender roles and stereotypes; education and capacity; media and information; personal and political networks; gender-based violence; participation and leadership in the private sector; participation and leadership in civil society; participation and leadership in the public sector; political parties; and voter demand.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Guinea scored 57 percent on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) index, which measures discrimination against women in social institutions—formal and informal laws, social norms, and practices—in 180 countries.⁷⁹ As higher percentages reflect greater levels of discrimination, this places Guinea in the top eight countries with the greatest disparities between women and men in the non-OECD area. This score shows the great inequality facing Guinean women in terms of personal status (marriage, divorce, succession, inheritance), political participation, violence in the public and private spheres, and the rights to work and to access property and justice. However, Guinea has made some improvements to its legal system with regard to women's rights and gender equality since this ranking.

Under the current military rule, the Guinean constitutional order is based on a Transitional Charter adopted by the CNRD on September 27, 2021. Although it speaks to Guinea's commitment to democratic values and principles as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and African regional law and the equality of the citizens of Guinea in terms of rights and duties (Article 9), it does not explicitly enshrine the principle of equality between men and women nor does it prohibit discrimination. On the other hand, the most recent (2020) constitution, which was suspended as part of the 2021 coup, affirmed that parity between men and women is a political and social objective, stipulating: "All human beings are equal before the law. Men and women have the same rights. No one shall be discriminated against on the grounds of birth, race, ethnicity, sex, language, social status or religious, philosophical or political convictions." However, even the 2020 constitution had shortcomings, as these statements remain general about all forms of inequality, do not mention the promotion of women's right to participate actively in political life and do not include enforcement mechanisms. The current transitional legal basis should in principle make way for the adoption of a new constitution by the CNT.

Officially inducted in February 2022 as "Parliamentarians" in charge of leading the transition period, the CNT's mandate is to ensure a stable political, economic, and social future for Guinea. In addition to rebuilding the institutions of the state (all were dissolved except the Supreme Court, the High Authority for Communication, and the new Court for the Repression of Economic and Financial Offences), the CNT is also working toward the restoration of constitutional order and the development of a new

⁷⁹ OECD. "Social Institutions and Gender Index." 2019. <https://www.oecd.org>

political system and is supposed to accomplish all this within a reasonable period of time. The promotion and protection of women's rights is of key concern as well, as it is one of the major sustainable development indicators (SDIs) as well as an indicator of the success or failure of this transition.⁸⁰

Guinea uses a monist legal system, whereby the act of ratifying an international legal instrument immediately incorporates the legal instrument into national law. Therefore, international treaties can be directly applied by a national judge and can be directly invoked by citizens, just as if they were domestic law. Guinea is a party to most international human rights treaties.⁸¹ Guinea has adhered to the UNSCR 1325 in 2000 and nine subsequent resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council, which constitute the basis for overall considerations around the situation of women in conflicts,⁸² as well as Resolution 2250, which aims to increase inclusive representation of youth in decision-making at all levels in local, national, regional, and international institutions and create mechanisms for the prevention and resolution of conflict. Guinea also adopted a sectoral gender strategy for the defense and security forces in 2017, but there is little information available on the subject.

In 2019, the Government harmonized or adopted several national laws and policies that promote women's rights with commitments made at the sub-regional, regional and international levels. These laws and policies include the National Policy to Prevent and Fight Gender-Based Violence (GBV), the adoption of the national strategy for the promotion of the abandonment of female genital mutilation, and the adoption of the new civil code, which prohibits polygamy without the first wife's explicit agreement, improves inheritance practices for widows, and codifies a woman's right to not ask her husband's permission to practice a profession of her choice. The government also extended the Office of Protection of Gender, Children and Morals (OPROGEM) to the regions and prefectures, increasing the scope of prevention and punishment of violence against women and girls and establishing gender and equity directorates in all ministerial departments (DNGE), which promote the political participation of women in public affairs. However, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) remains concerned that the Guinean government lacks the human, financial, and technical resources necessary to effectively carry out its mandate to promote equality of women and men and advance women's rights. The committee has also noted the multitude of programs and institutions in place and the need for enhanced cooperation and coordination.⁸³

⁸⁰ Avocats Sans Frontières France. "Les droits des femmes en Guinée à l'aune de la transition politique." February 2022. <https://www.avocatssansfrontieres-france.org/media/data/actualites/documents/document1-393.pdf>

⁸¹ These treaties include the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance, Supplementary to the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security; the First Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women, and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

⁸² Sources: UN peacekeeping website <https://peacekeeping.un.org/fr/> and <https://www.unwomen.org/fr/what-we-do/peace-and-security/global-norms-and-standards>

⁸³ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women Concluding. "Observations on the combined seventh and eighth periodic reports of Guinea." 2007. <https://www.refworld.org/publisher,CEDAW,CONCOBSERVATIONS,GIN,46d28101d,0.html>

Other strategies and policies to promote and ensure women's rights that Guinea has developed and adopted include the 2011 National Gender Policy (NGP), which was revised in 2018⁸⁴; the Law on Reproductive Health (Article 6), which protects women and men against torture and cruel treatment affecting the body and in particular the genitals; the National Strategy to Combat Gender-Based Violence, which created a National Observatory to Combat Gender-Based Violence; the National Strategy for the Promotion of the Abandonment of Female Genital Mutilation adopted in April 2019; the National Strategy to Combat Violence Against Women; and the National Economic and Social Development Plan (PNDES, 2016–2020), which addresses the disparities between men and women in education, employment, the economy, and decision-making bodies in the mining sector. Guinea also signed the African Charter on the Values and Principles of Decentralization, Local Governance and Local Development (2019) promoting civil society, private sector and people participation in decentralization, local governance and local development initiatives, paving the way for increased engagement and participation of women in local development.

However, women continue to face widespread societal discrimination and disadvantages in both the formal and traditional justice systems. Various ethnic groups engage in mutual discrimination with respect to hiring and other matters. Antidiscrimination laws do not protect LGBT+ people, and same-sex sexual activity is a criminal offense that can be punished by up to three years in prison; although this law is rarely enforced, LGBT+ people have been arrested on lesser charges.⁸⁵

REGISTRATION

As religious and traditional considerations are very strong in Guinea, all significant events have specific ceremonies mostly held in mosques, churches, or other traditional spaces. An in-depth study on Gender and Civil Registration and Vital Statistics (CRVS)⁸⁶ clearly indicates that social norms and perceptions in Guinea regarding birth, death, and marriage dictate that religious ceremonies and rituals prevail over all civil proceedings. Social norms and perceptions such as “After the death of a loved one, people should mourn and not run for documents”; “Children need a birth certificate to go to school, but there will be time to register the birth late”; and “Because everyone receives a birth notification at the health facility, other documentation is unnecessary” are widespread. Furthermore, many people believe that only men can record vital events, when in reality there is no legal stipulation regarding the sex or gender of who can register these events. Wealthier people, educated people, and civil servants are more likely to register deaths and marriages, particularly as they relate to inheritance.

Although inefficient civil registration affects both men and women, not being registered puts women at a greater disadvantage. For example, a marriage certificate can provide legal documentation for a widowed woman to exercise inheritance rights, birth and marriage registration can reveal early and forced marriages and allow women to seek legal recourse, and voter registration is a prerequisite for voting

⁸⁴ The National Gender Policy (NGP) revised in 2018, addresses the current development challenges facing the country and the needs of women in the socioeconomic, cultural, religious and environmental spheres, and aims to build a society that is free from all forms of inequality and inequity and that enables all persons—whether men, women, girls or boys—to realize their full potential.

⁸⁵ Freedom House. “Freedom in the World 2021: Democracy Under Siege.” 2021. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2021/democracy-under-siege>

⁸⁶ Dorina Andreev. “Gender Equity in Guinea: How Social Norms Affect the Civil Registration of Women and Girls in West Africa.” 2019. <https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/handle/10625/57769>

(the biometric voter's card is now accepted as an ID). Unfortunately, men and women with less education are unfamiliar with marriage registration and do not see the need for it. Many men resist official marriage registration, as it is perceived as giving too many rights to women. Men fear that registration will make their wives more confident about their position in the family and marriage. As one interviewee explained, marriage registration would make a woman "too sure her husband will not leave her, and she will not make additional efforts to please her husband."

CRVS data, if they were complete and accurate, could help identify and address gender inequities in accessing services and benefitting from civil rights. Although research in the field of social norms and drivers of behavior related to civil registration was never conducted in Guinea,⁸⁷ it is likely that social norms, perceptions, and the personal beliefs of government officials, local authorities, civil registration employees, and the general public are among the key barriers to advancing civil registration and to decreasing inequalities between men and women.

GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES

The General Population Survey indicates that norms and attitudes related to female political participation are relatively favorable on average, even if a significant proportion of individuals feel otherwise. For example, respondents' own attitudes and their perception of norms in their community affirm that voting and speaking out in public are viewed by a majority as appropriate actions for women. However, this is not a universal perspective, as nearly 40 percent of respondents thought that no one or only some in their community would agree that it is appropriate for women to speak out in public, and nearly 20 percent personally felt that it is not appropriate. These figures might be underestimates as well, as social desirability bias may prevent some from expressing their true opinions or those of their communities.

FGD participants mentioned women and girls being silenced at family, community, and religious meetings. Participants also expressed that women and girls are prevented from moving freely throughout most of their life,⁸⁸ which is cited as one of the obstacles to women's self-confidence and ability to speak in public. A lack of voice within the family structure or among in-laws, along with exclusion from community decisions, contributes to inhibiting women's political participation: "Even in our country when you convene women for a meeting, they never sit in front, they stay behind, that is the custom and the weight of our culture. If they are participating and they see their father come, their husband, or their uncle, they get up immediately and they retreat, so that's where you realize the weight of culture, that's where you find the custom."⁸⁹ Guinean society has been forged by centuries-old customs, traditions, and religion which define today's ingrained culture and norms, some of which weigh heavily on the young girl and prevent women from developing the self confidence needed to fully engage in family and public life.

⁸⁷ Dorina Andreev. "Gender Equity in Guinea: How Social Norms Affect the Civil Registration of Women and Girls in West Africa." 2019. <https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/handle/10625/57769>

⁸⁸ A certain freedom to come and go and to speak in public comes with age and is often linked to menopause. Source: Women, Agency, and the State in Guinea, Routledge Studies on Gender and Sexuality in Africa, Carol Ammann

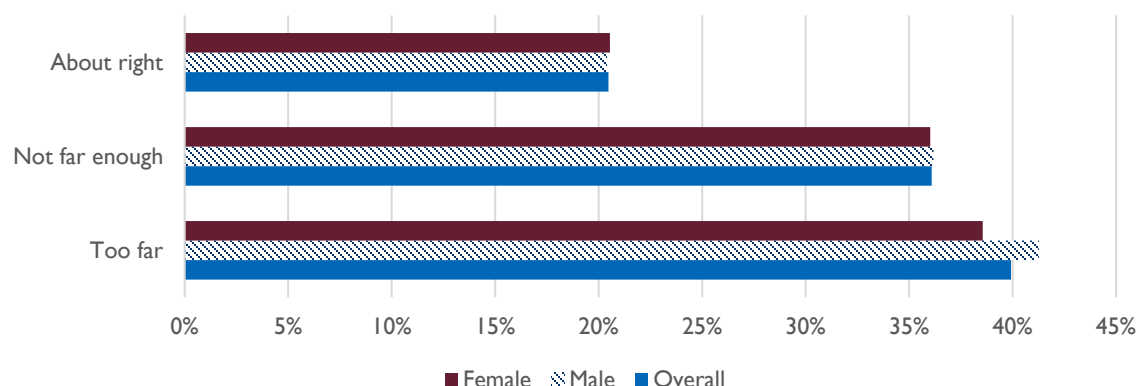
⁸⁹ KII with Hawa Touré, Communication and Program Support Officer, NDI-Guinea

These patriarchal tendencies and limited ability of women to move freely are reflected in autonomy within the household; the General Population Survey indicated that women did not feel they have full control over their decisions to engage in most political activities, including going to community meetings and political or campaign events. Their reported autonomy improved somewhat regarding deciding whether or not to vote, but it remained somewhat constrained by husbands or other household members. Women indicated having the highest level of control in relation to their decisions of whom to vote for, although their level of control over this decision was still lower than that of men. “It is often said in our community that women are petty [slaves]; they are made for the house; when it comes to decision making, they should only follow the men. She should neither decide nor oppose.” FGD with Lola women community leaders (Forest Region) relate that this practice has an impact on girls who are often taken out of school for early marriages in the prefecture: “If women try to change this norm, men try to harm them using fetishes and witchcraft. Either you are given a disease for life; or you are given a poison that will gradually destroy your organism to kill you.” This discourages other women from trying to speak out for their rights, and potential job opportunities stay with the men. Interestingly, they added that when a woman manages to change this, she is highly valued by CSOs but also becomes an important reference for the family and other women in her community. Interestingly, if a woman challenges this, opportunities are often created by those fighting for change in the locality. A woman leader calls on many partners to help the community: “The women of Lola are involved in dyeing, saponification, and market gardening. In addition, women’s literacy activities in rural areas in the communities. Women teach in schools in the communities and villages. Literacy classes for other women who are not intellectually able. Women bake. Women do the ceremonies of reading the Holy Quran in the society. Women work more than men in our community. Women press oil while men often sit at home and just talk. Women are the first to get up and the last to go to bed in our community. Men only know how to get women pregnant in our community. If you take 10 men, it is only 3 who give the expense in the family. It is women who give the expense to the family because women do not want their children to spend even one night without eating.”

The General Population Survey also showed that two-thirds of the respondents, regardless of sex, personally believed that families should control their daughters’ behavior more than that of their sons, and they also believed that this was the norm in their communities. Furthermore, during a DRG site visit in May 2022, USAID team members reported that transgender women are unable to leave the house during daylight for fear of mob violence. They are often uneducated due to significant discrimination by peers and instructors in education institutions. Women with disabilities and women with albinism are also particularly excluded from public life.

Other results from the General Population Survey suggest that changing these norms and attitudes is a difficult, long-term endeavor. For example, most individuals—including most of the women in our survey—felt that gender equality is mainly a women’s issue, and more than 40 percent agreed that when women obtain rights, they take rights away from men. In addition, most respondents, regardless of their sex, personally felt that the country has either gone too far (approximately 40 percent) or has gone far enough regarding giving women the same rights as men (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Reaction to the statement “When it comes to giving to women the same rights as men, do you think the country went...”, by sex



The pattern was similar when it comes to their perception of this norm in their community. Women community leaders in the Lola FGD added that men who defend women are considered cursed in the community. “When these men who defend women’s rights speak, they are called women to belittle them, even during meetings. Often men who openly defend women are verbally abused, insulted, ‘their mothers are said to have dominated their fathers.’ If a man needs to support women, and he wants to be respected (by the community), he should not do so publicly.”

EDUCATION AND CAPACITY

In Guinea, girls are underrepresented in all levels of education. The gender gap in educational attainment in Guinea was the third largest in the world in 2018.⁹⁰ The primary school enrollment rate for girls is 84 percent, and close to a third of girls (31 percent) are enrolled in secondary education compared to almost half of boys (47 percent). Young women in Guinea aspire to complete their education and obtain employment, but low rates of school enrollment and gender discrimination limit their chances for educational access and success. The General Population Survey shows that women are nearly twice as likely as men to have never attended school and half as likely to have started or completed post-secondary education.

Girls’ and young women’s completion rates are undermined by child marriage, teen pregnancy, and late entry into the school system.⁹¹ About 51 percent of Guinean women aged 20 to 24 were first married before age 18, and about 56 percent of Guinean women have had a child before the age of 18. This likely contributes to lower educational attainment for women, as there is a strong correlation between child marriage, early childbearing, and low educational attainment.⁹² An analysis of disparities in schooling based on data from the 2015 Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) in Guinea reveals that boys are

⁹⁰ The World Economic Forum. “*The Global Gender Gap Report 2018*.” 2018.
https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2018.pdf

⁹¹ USAID. “USAID Guinea Cross Sectoral Youth Assessment Summary Brief.” 2021.
<https://www.usaid.gov/guinea/documents/usa-id-guinea-cross-sectoral-youth-assessment-summary-brief>

⁹² World Bank. “Guinea: The Economic Benefits of a Gender Inclusive Society.” 2019.
<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/32507/Guinea-The-Economic-Benefits-of-a-Gender-Inclusive-Society.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

more likely to enter and progress through the school system than girls. This is due to the persistence of cultural norms and beliefs that girls are destined for marriage, domestic work, the care of children, the elderly, and the sick. When families face difficulties in paying for schoolbooks and uniforms, they take their children—especially girls—out of school, leading to high drop-out rates.⁹³ According to the 2016 World Bank Development Indicators, literacy rates for adult men in Guinea were 38 percent, compare with 23 percent for women. Supporting this finding, the General Population Survey showed that women were half as likely as men to say they are proficient in French, and results among the youngest age group (18–25 years old) suggest that this trend is persisting in younger generations, as that gender gap is still nearly as large with this younger cohort.

In addition to the aforementioned sociocultural constraints, specific barriers need to be addressed in order to ensure equal opportunities in the fields of employment and education, such as the shortage of teaching staff who have received training on gender issues, the lack of interest among girls in pursuing scientific and technical courses of study, and the shortage of accommodation for girls at higher education institutions. According to the 2016–2017 statistical analysis report published by the Strategy and Development Office of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, although access to higher education is increasing overall, enrollment remains low among girls (29.62 percent), especially in scientific and technical fields. However, the government has undertaken several initiatives to raise the level of enrollment among girls in Guinea, including establishing a chair in gender issues at the University of General Lansana Conte in Sonfonia, launching programs to support girls and women in higher education and scientific research, establishing gender and equity offices in all higher education and scientific research institutions, and creating an incentive prize for the families of girls who stay in school longer.⁹⁴

Other educational barriers include poor quality of instruction, large class sizes, a lack of materials in schools, corruption in the educational sector, and GBV, as discussed later in this chapter. In general, much emphasis is put on learning by heart; critical thinking is not supported. Furthermore, teachers are not sufficiently qualified; they also are underpaid and regularly receive their wages late. This leads to regular and at times long-lasting strikes by teaching personnel organized by the strong teacher's union.

All these factors are reflected in the 2022 results for the academic entrance exams announced by the Ministry of Pre-University Education and Literacy. Only 17.6 percent of students passed the exam to enter middle school (*examen d'entrée au collège*) and just 15.2 percent passed their exam to enter the second cycle of high school (*Brevet d'études du premier cycle*). Nonetheless, when the Politician Survey addressed education, less than 5 percent of local politicians cited it as the most important issue facing Guinea and that the government should resolve—far behind social conflicts, infrastructure and roads, and employment.

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

For decades, the Guinean government and legislature, as well as international and national human rights and women's rights organizations, have reported the prevalence of multiple forms of violence against women. A report by the Ministry for Social Action and the Advancement of Women and Children

⁹³ Bertelsmann Stiftung, “Country Report—Guinea.” 2022. <https://bti-project.org/en/?&cb=00000>

⁹⁴ Source: Civil society report for EPU third Cycle January 2020

(2013) revealed that violence against women affects women in both urban and rural areas and suggests that most forms of violence against women are perpetrated by a spouse/partner or ex-spouse/ex-partner.⁹⁵ The CEDAW highlights domestic violence, sexual violence, rape, and sexual harassment, the lack of prosecution and support for victims and public awareness as key issues in Guinea.

Expanding on GBV in Guinea, an educated woman activist and civil society leader⁹⁶ concluded that the African society is itself a very violent society: “The culture is violent; and women are also violent. Women are violent amongst themselves, with their children, with their daughters-in-law, co-wives and their children; violent within their social network. Notice how women treat widows, maids, drivers, people with disability.” She further posited that women bottle up rage and frustration and end up taking it out on those who are lower in the social food chain: “It’s a reality which needs to be recognized and addressed, if we want our society to evolve.” In some cases, this recognition may exist already. For example, most Guineans in the General Population Survey expressed agreement that politically active women should expect to be victims of violence when they participate in political activities.

Harassment and sexual comments online targeting women is difficult to measure precisely, and the trend we observe in the survey data is that a quarter of the population, regardless of sex, was not aware of this issue. Among the rest, 43 percent agreed that women they know are worried about online harassment or sexual comments, and a quarter disagreed.

FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION OR EXCISION (FGM/E)

Most girls in Guinea are victims of female genital mutilation at a young age. FGM/E is a custom that has been linked to girls’ rite of transition into womanhood “since the beginning of times,” as one respondent put it, and which has since been proven to be a dangerous and harmful practice, both physically and psychologically. A UNHR report released in 2016 indicates that despite being forbidden by national and international law and decreasing overall worldwide, FGM/E shows no sign of abating in Guinea: 97 percent of women and girls aged 15 to 49 years in Guinea have undergone female genital mutilation and/or excision.⁹⁷ The practice is widespread in every region and among every ethnic, religious, and social group.⁹⁸ Whereas women and girls in most countries where excision is still occurring seem to be largely in favor of its abolition, the proportion of Guinean women who support this practice has increased; a study by the *Institut national de la statistique* showed that the proportion of women and girls in favor of FGM/E rose from 65 percent in 1999 to 76 percent in 2012. Girls may even request excision due to social pressure or for fear of being excluded or forced to remain unmarried.

⁹⁵ OECD Social Institutions Gender Index. “Social Institutions Gender Index.” 2019. <https://www.genderindex.org/>

⁹⁶ KII with Nene Traore, feminist, consultant and civil society leader WILDAF, Mali

⁹⁷ UNHR. “Female Genital Mutilation in Guinea on the Rise.” 2016. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2016/04/female-genital-mutilation-guinea-rise-zeid>

⁹⁸ The Government has elaborated a National Strategy for the Abandonment of Female Genital Mutilation (OHCHR, 2016). Awareness-raising campaigns with local authorities, customary and religious leaders, and others have been led by the government, including posters, television spots, and radio messages (OHCHR, 2016). Additionally, the Ministry of Justice provided training on FGM to legal staff (OHCHR, 2016). Furthermore, a National Multi-Sectoral Coordination Committee on FGM has been created in 2011 (OHCHR, 2016). The committee is mandated to facilitate the mobilization of resources, to define national orientations, develop a national strategy, conduct studies and surveys, and monitor and evaluate the impact of actions taken (OHCHR, 2016).

EARLY AND FORCED MARRIAGE

Guinea had the eighth highest prevalence rate of child marriage in the world in 2016, according to UNICEF.⁹⁹ Although the legal age for marriage is 18, the incidence of child marriage was still shockingly high; over half of all girls in Guinea reported being married before their 18th birthday, and 21 percent were married before the age of 15.¹⁰⁰

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND SEXUAL GBV

Domestic violence is a pervasive phenomenon in Guinea, and women tend to provide justifications for intimate partner violence against women, including their husband/partner's temper, jealousy, or financial problems.¹⁰¹ The General Population Survey reflects these points, as 43 percent of the population felt that husbands hitting their wives was acceptable in some circumstances, even if it is illegal, or even their right to do so. Nonetheless, around half of the population indicated that this behavior is either unacceptable in any circumstance or common but socially unacceptable. Community norms reported by participants were largely aligned with these personal perceptions. When presented with several scenarios that might trigger domestic violence, a consistently larger percentage of women than men said the scenarios justified husbands beating their wives. As noted earlier in the report, the General Population Survey also showed that an overwhelming majority of Guineans, regardless of sex, felt that women should tolerate violence for the sake of keeping their family united; this trend was stronger for women (60 percent) than for men (55 percent). Figure 5 below also shows the results of four scenarios proposed to population survey respondents that relate to GBV and show a similar, though less dramatic results. Additionally, women often declare that when they suffered domestic violence, they would seek help from their family or close relations rather than the police or other authorities.¹⁰²

Rape and sexual violence are also prevalent in Guinea.¹⁰³ Victims are often reluctant to report the crimes to the authorities because of fear of retaliation and stigma, as well as a lack of trust towards the investigative police.¹⁰⁴ Qualitative data support this finding, as the coordinators/mediators of the House of Justice in Labé, Kindia and Kankan all spoke to the silence of the women victims in cases of domestic violence. Women and men participants during FGDs, especially those with education, all lamented the fact that if a woman complains, exposes, or reports a GBV perpetrator, she will be judged, accused, stigmatized, and virtually ostracized from her community.

⁹⁹ UNICEF Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys. "MICS." 2016. <https://mics.unicef.org/>

¹⁰⁰ UNICEF Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys. "MICS." 2016. <https://mics.unicef.org/>

¹⁰¹ OECD Social Institutions & Gender Index. "Social Institutions Gender Index." 2019. <https://www.genderindex.org/>

¹⁰² OECD Social Institutions & Gender Index. "Social Institutions Gender Index." 2019. <https://www.genderindex.org/>

¹⁰³ OECD Social Institutions & Gender Index. "Social Institutions Gender Index." 2019. <https://www.genderindex.org/>

¹⁰⁴ State Department Report on Human Rights Practices. 2021. <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/guinea>

A KII also mentioned that the Guinean media should rethink the way they cover topics related to GBV. The principal issue highlighted is that victims are overexposed in the reporting. There is a need for a code of ethics to counter the appetite for sensationalism.

Figure 5. Agreement levels for the questions “In your community, do most people believe a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if she [action]” and “In your opinion, is a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if she [action]”, by sex

		Leaves the house without telling him	Does not take care of the children properly	Argues with him	Refuses to have sex with him
Perception of community norm	Overall	45.6%	46.9%	38.3%	43.6%
	Males	38.2%	40.7%	32.5%	38.3%
	Females	52.9%	53.1%	44.1%	48.9%
Own views	Overall	39.3%	41.1%	30.9%	35.1%
	Males	30.7%	34.4%	24.9%	29.3%
	Females	47.9%	47.8%	37.0%	40.9%

WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Guinean women are still severely under-represented in the political arena and at the highest levels of government.¹⁰⁵ Revisions to the electoral code in 2010¹⁰⁶—which occurred as part of the Ouagadougou Joint Accord, marking the end of the 2008–2010 transition and return to democratic rule¹⁰⁷—introduced a 30 percent quota for female candidates on the national list. However, application of this quota has been left to the discretion of political parties, and there are no provisions for noncompliance. As such, the 30 percent threshold has never been reached in any election. It is unclear how widely accepted this fact is, as KII respondents were split on whether the quota was being met in practice. Even if the quota were being met, however, some KII respondents felt the current system does not go far enough. As one informant noted, “Women are 52 percent of the population. If we say that they must be 30 percent in decision-making bodies, this is an injustice that must be corrected”.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ In March 2020, in the latest PARLINE ranking of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Guinea was ranked 137th out of 193 states, with 16.7% of women in Parliament.

¹⁰⁶ Organic Law n°2010/007/CNT of 24 May 2010, revising Law n°95/011/CTRN of 12 May 1995 on the Electoral Code and Law n°2012/013/CNT of 9 August 2012, amending Article 162 of Organic Law n° 2010/001/CNT. Article 129 paragraph 2 of the Electoral Code states that on the lists of deputies by proportional representation, a quota of at least 30 percent is reserved for female candidates.

¹⁰⁷ Peace Agreements Database. Ouagadougou Joint Declaration. January 2010.
<https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/763>

¹⁰⁸ KII with CSO/NGO, Guéckédou

The EU Election Observation Mission has also noted a need for additional reforms, including the need to add a mechanism of alternate positioning on the lists and the allocation of reserved seats in the uninominal system as the most effective method for ensuring parity.¹⁰⁹ This has not been implemented. The national legal and institutional framework does not offer sufficient opportunities to promote the political leadership of Guinean women, and Guinean women remain underrepresented in the highest positions of the civil and military administration, despite the adoption of quotas.¹¹⁰ A political party leader interviewed in Conakry echoed this suggestion stating, “There needs to be a regulation regarding the positioning of women on the lists; once this is established, the party will have to increase its will to put women at the forefront.”

In May 2019, the National Assembly adopted the Law on Parity, instituting parity between men and women for access to electoral mandates and elective functions in public institutions. According to this law, women must constitute 50 percent of the electoral lists. Article 2 specifies that “parity applies to any list of candidates for national and local elections, as well as for elective functions in public institutions.” Article 3 notes that “The lists of candidates referred to in the previous article are those presented by political parties, coalitions of political parties and independent candidates. They are alternately composed of the names of candidates of both sexes.” According to a KII respondent, “Women have been the instigators in making [these] reforms and have been supported by non-governmental structures, the media and civil society”.¹¹¹ On the other hand, this law conditions the application of the principle of parity in the framework of electoral mandates and elective functions on revising this principle in the electoral code, which stipulated a 30 percent quota. The Law on Parity could not be applied for the 2020 legislative elections because it conflicted with the quota outlined in the existing electoral code.

Guinea has since enacted several laws to protect women’s rights, and the 2020 constitution addressed for the first time the principle of gender equality and parity. The constitution affirmed that parity between men and women is a political and social objective and stated that no more than two-thirds of the members of the Government and the assemblies of the deliberative bodies may be of the same gender. Article 42 of the 2020 constitution, however, reiterated the provision that “No candidature shall be admissible unless it is presented by a legally constituted political party or by a coalition of political parties.” This restriction constitutes a significant obstacle to women who wish to run as independent candidates, often because of the barriers they face in the first place to be selected as candidates to represent their political party.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ EU. “Observation Mission Final Report.” 2013. https://www.eods.eu/library/FR%20GUINEA%2020.01.2014_fr.pdf

¹¹⁰ Among these specific measures, Article 103 of the 2015 Electoral Code stipulated that: “Each district or neighborhood council must reserve at least one third (1/3) of its members for women.” Article 115 of the same code provided for the obligation for candidate lists to include at least a 30 percent quota of women for the election of communal councils. The principle of a quota for the election of deputies to the National Assembly was enshrined in Article 129 of the Electoral Code.

¹¹¹ KII with a lawyer in Kankan.

¹¹² Avocats Sans Frontières France. “Les droits des femmes en Guinée à l’aune de la transition politique.” February 2022. <https://www.avocatssansfrontieres-france.org/media/data/actualites/documents/document1-393.pdf>

GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES

Traditional gender roles are enforced at the individual, home, and community levels, limiting women's political participation and leadership. The Mission's findings from discussions with women Commune Counselors in Mamou, who were small business owners and couldn't speak French,¹¹³ indicate that uneducated women are more likely to hold political office due to greater mobility and economic empowerment within the family structure; educated women, meanwhile, face pressure against political participation from their husband(s) or partner(s), as well as their larger family unit. One respondent, herself a local politician in Labe, stated that the consequences of being involved in politics is that they are considered "public women." This woman had to fight for her name to be maintained in the candidate list for the elected position she held.

Multiple male FGD respondents felt that some women have adopted a mindset that women are not capable of political leadership.¹¹⁴ Social norms are also a significant barrier to meaningful leadership, dictating that women support the political party that their husband has chosen or, barring this, requiring them to have the husband's permission to support a different party. Breaking this norm can have various consequences, "there is a risk of divorce when you try to go against the decision of the family".¹¹⁵ One KII respondent noted as well the case of a "Siguiri candidate for local elections who had to divorce to continue in politics and had to capitulate on the eve of local elections because of the extent of the social pressure".¹¹⁶ Some women may also be refused entry back into their homes by their husbands or parents for participating in demonstrations, if not approved of by the family.¹¹⁷

More generally, social norms dictate that women are inferior to men. This makes men reluctant to accept women as political leaders as "they never want women to order them because of tradition, because she is a woman".¹¹⁸ Social norms also limit the physical spaces that women can inhabit: "There is an education here, Muslim education, we were all born into it, saying that a woman should not go where there are a lot of boys"¹¹⁹. This further limits women's ability to engage in political parties as leaders or other segments of society that are traditional dominated by men. The FGD with women in Pita indicate that sometimes a woman and her husband are in the same party, and if the woman wants to speak her husband glares at her to make her understand that she must not speak in his presence, due to social constraints. "As we have always said, decisions are made by men. Whenever there is an advantage, they are the ones who benefit. They are the ones who take the floor, and women are relegated to the background."

Female local politicians who participated in the Politician Survey had higher educational attainment on average than the typical Guinean, according to the General Population Survey. This is supported by the KIIs, as noted by one informant, "It is intellectual women who engage politically in the democratic fight

¹¹³ Male counselors and political officials translated the discussions.

¹¹⁴ FGD in N'Zérékoré.

¹¹⁵ FGD in Pita.

¹¹⁶ KII with Government of Guinea, Conakry.

¹¹⁷ FGD in Dalaba.

¹¹⁸ KII with WPPL Expert in Kindia.

¹¹⁹ KII with Party leader in Kankan.

who gain the advantages and the repercussions of these laws.¹²⁰ Nonetheless, 20 percent of female politicians surveyed were never schooled, nearly four times the percentage among their male counterparts. While 52 percent of male politicians surveyed had started or completed post-secondary studies, only 31 percent of their female counterparts had done so.

Female local politicians surveyed did not typically view lack of capacity or education as a major hurdle for running again for their current position, although they did cite this hurdle at more than twice the rate of the male politicians surveyed. However, these are individuals already in elected office, and the picture is very different in the General Population Survey, which revealed that a lack of capacity, training, and education was the most cited barrier to running for political office among the overall population and especially for women. At an FGD in the Forest Region, a woman politician said that her party had never provided training to prepare her and others for an elected mandate; however, she did receive training from CSOs and international institutions.

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL NETWORKS

The type of individual that political parties like to recruit to be candidates also puts women at a disadvantage. According to a KII respondent, “The party tries to recruit influential members of society, who can bring in financial means and attract voters”.¹²¹ However, according to one informant, “[women’s] supporting networks [are] less important, less affluent; [and have] less sponsors resulting in less financial means”.¹²² This ranks the desires of political parties at direct odds with the types of networks most women have. Further, even if selected as a candidate, women continue to be at a disadvantage due to less influential and less wealthy networks at their disposal when they begin their campaigns. Women leaders have also at times simply been handpicked by the President or the Prime Minister, due to their reputation, to become campaign managers or a member of their government.

There has been a trend amongst Guinean women leaders to cross back and forth between civil society and the political arena, choosing whichever way will help them achieve their objectives. Dr. Makalé Traoré, for example, founder and head of the PACT party and former presidential candidate, had previously led several CSOs and networks promoting women empowerment. She already had a strong following due to her leadership of COFFIG, which allocated over 8,000 small grants to women for IGAs throughout the country. Other networks brought together ministers and parliamentarian women, such as REFAMP and FOFPAG, whose mission during previous legislatures was to enable Guinean women MPs to unite and act together beyond their political affiliations in order to guarantee women’s rights, gender equality, and gender mainstreaming in Parliament. In March 2022, National Alliance Front (FAN) party leader Hadja Makale Camara created a movement for the advancement of political women: LGP, which includes women leaders from over 20 political parties and aims to advance gender equality in decision-making bodies in Guinea and strengthen the capacity of women political leaders over and beyond their respective political party. Most recently, in July 2022, Women’s Caucus (CF-CNT) of Guinea was created within the CNT. It brings together women representatives from different CNT commissions to increase the substantive participation of women in legislative positions.

¹²⁰ KII with CSO/NGO in Guéckédou.

¹²¹ KII with political party leader in Conakry.

¹²² KII with political party leader in Conakry.

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Women in Guinea face significant threats and acts of violence when engaging as political candidates or leaders, as stated by a KII respondent who said, “Women are often afraid to engage [in running for office] for reasons of violence”.¹²³ While respondents of both genders acknowledged GBV as a significant threat to female politicians, this was more commonly acknowledged by women and by young men.

The form of violence varies and includes silencing women, verbal abuse, domestic violence, sexual harassment or violence, and threats and acts of physical violence. A KII respondent, who was a former political candidate, spoke of her own experience with violence saying, “During the election campaign, they came to throw tear gas in my official box because the women were massively mobilized to receive me”.¹²⁴ Another respondent noted, “Sexual harassment [is] prevalent in all sectors.... Any place where a woman is in a situation to access a promotion or leadership position, she is confronted by the pressures of sexual harassment”.¹²⁵ GBV affects women who attend party meetings and gatherings as well. The same respondent added that a woman who is very active in politics and who leads political activities foresees that in cases of violence she will most likely be a victim. This impacts women’s participation. “Women are discouraged from speaking in these settings, due to social norms, limiting their ability to rise as political leaders. According to one FGD participant, this is driven by traditional norms: “We all know that in the African tradition, the woman should not speak in front of men, we all know that we consider women as inferior people so that’s why when a woman is engaged in politics, some men will subject them to all kinds of violence to silence them”.¹²⁶ Moreover, men who defend women are considered cursed in the community.

Elections heighten the risks for violence, as multiple FGD respondents noted. As a result, some women who are known to be politically active are forced to “lock myself in the house or even leave my house” to stay safe.¹²⁷

PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

As seen earlier in this report, women are underrepresented in the Guinean civil service. Women are even more underrepresented in the security forces; they represent 6 percent of the air force, 15 percent of the gendarmerie, 22 percent of the police force (including civil protection), 22 percent of positions in hunting and natural habitat protection, 22 percent of civil protection, and 42 percent of customs positions. Women also represent just 18 percent of the judiciary. Thus, women’s place in the current rebuilding of Guinean state institutions remains a major imperative that has yet to be realized, in parallel with the need for a renewal of the civil and military administration, the fight against the ethnicization of this administration and the fight against corruption.¹²⁸

¹²³ FGD with CSO/NGO in N'Zérékoré.

¹²⁴ KII with a political candidate.

¹²⁵ KII with a Government of Guinea in Conakry.

¹²⁶ FGD in N'Zérékoré.

¹²⁷ FGD in Pita.

¹²⁸ Avocats Sans Frontières France. “Les droits des femmes en Guinée à l’aune de la transition politique.” February 2022. <https://www.avocatssansfrontieres-france.org/media/data/actualites/documents/document1-393.pdf>

According to a CEDAW report, the establishment of gender units in several ministerial departments, the observatory for GBV within the Ministry for Social Action and the Advancement of Women and Children, and the Office for the Protection of Gender, Children and Public Morals within the Ministry for Security and the Protection of the Interior represent positive steps toward advancing gender equality. The committee remains concerned, however, that the national machinery lacks the human, financial, and technical resources necessary to effectively carry out its mandate to promote equality of women and men and advance women's rights. The committee also notes the multitude of programs and institutions in place and the need for enhanced cooperation and coordination.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Despite a public discourse in favor of women's political participation, the majority of political parties do not create conditions for equal access of women and men to decision-making positions and to candidacies during elections. The Political Party Charter, the only law regulating political parties, does not contain any specific provision favoring women politicians. Women are underrepresented in political party bodies (e.g., the Executive Bureau, Candidacy Selection Committee), restricting their influence on candidatures. The 2018 legislative and 2020 presidential elections demonstrate that political parties have not complied with the 30 percent quota stipulated in the electoral code; once the Law on Parity is fully implemented, parties will need to restructure their party leadership from top to bottom.

Women are a minority in political party leadership structures, and men occupy strategic positions. One party leader reported that there are more men than women at the executive level in her party. However, in the communes of Conakry, out of 297 divisions (*carrés*) more than half are run by youth of either sex.¹²⁹ Women are primarily active in parties' national women's bureau and the regional or prefectural women's offices. Not surprisingly, these bodies have little influence on the most important decisions. Women leaders with higher expectations for their political trajectories are known to have left their party to start their own or evolve elsewhere where they find more opportunity.¹³⁰

Party functioning appears to revolve around the founder of the party or its leader, and data suggest that promotions are made by coopting rather than by strict compliance with the procedures set out in party texts, when they exist. According to one FGD, men who are promoted in political parties often show significant investment in party activities; however, this cannot be the sole reason for promotion, as several women invest a great deal in their parties and are passed over for promotion.¹³¹

There are some exceptions, however. Bloc Libéral stands out with regards to its support to WPPL. It was granted two seats at the CNT and chose two women. It is also renowned for its engagement toward youth and empowerment of its young and adult women members. According to a KII, "BL has vice presidents in their twenties while youth leaders in the three main parties are grandparents. Eliminating tribal and ethnic-based parties and putting women and youth at the helm would turn this country around!"¹³²

¹²⁹ KII with Makale Traoré founding leader of PACT and presidential candidate in 2020

¹³⁰ Source: KII Former UFR members—Makale Traoré (PACT), Makale Camara (FAN), M Daffé (Coalition of Women Parliamentarians)

¹³¹ FGD with Kindia political women

¹³² KII with Fayard Milimouno, President Bloc Libéral

A 2019 study of five Guinean political parties by the EU describes a lack of gender sensitivity in their procedures and founding texts.¹³³ The only exception was the existence of a national women's and youth office in each party, which mirrored the structure of the party, from the smallest territorial subscription (sector at the urban level and district at the rural level) to the national level. The study showed that the political parties provide little support for these offices. In terms of nominations, most of the political parties asserted that nomination and election procedures are outlined in their founding texts but noted that they are not always respected in practice. For example, UFDG stated that these appointments were often made by consensus.

None of the five political parties studied had a specific provision in its regulatory framework (statutes, internal regulations, development program) to promote the presence and leadership of women.¹³⁴ It appeared that, in most cases, women who rose through the ranks of the party and gained positions on their party's most important bodies benefitted from the will of the party president more than any institutional effort to address gender parity.

The study also raises the issue of the level of internal organization of the political parties studied. Most of the interviewees do not know the founding texts of their party. When these documents exist, they do not know where they are kept. Similarly, some parties seem to have only internal regulations and no statutes, and vice versa. The study also indicates that most women politicians are not familiar with the texts governing the functioning of their party and political life in general, including the political party charter and the electoral code. Most of the political parties surveyed say that the nomination and election procedures are described in their founding texts but that these procedures are not always respected.

Political parties' interest in women increases during election periods, when they concentrate on mobilizing women voters and supporting the campaigns of party candidates. There is no discrimination between men and women in terms of membership.

"Eliminating tribal and ethnic-based parties and putting women and youth at the helm would turn this country around!" (KII with Fayard Millimouno, political party leader.)

VOTER DEMAND

Personal beliefs and norms impact how the population views which roles are best suited for which gender. According to the General Population Survey, respondents largely preferred men for positions and activities that focused national security, but a lower proportion had a gender preference position related to health (see Figure 6 below). While around 40 percent of the population had no gender preference for education positions, more of those who did express a preference felt that women were

¹³³ Carthographie des Partis politiques en Guinée LARTES-IFAN Laboratoire de recherche sur les transformations Economiques et Sociales. Raymond-Marie Augustin GNIMASSOU UE 2019. Parties studied included Rally of the Guinean People (RPG) Rainbow, Union of Democratic Forces of Guinea (UFDG), Union of Republican Forces (UFR), Union for the Progress of Guinea (UPG), and Party of Hope for National Development (PEDN).

¹³⁴ PEDN appears to be the most gender-sensitive party, with women on the highest executive body outnumbering men (51%), followed by UFR (29.16%), UFDG (24.42%), UPG (17.7%), and in last place the former ruling party RPG (14.00%).

better than men in this thematic area. This same pattern largely held for specific titles related to these fields (e.g., Minister of Defense, Minister of Health).

For more general political positions, preferences were more scattered, with a slight tendency to favor men. For many important national or local positions, such as President of Guinea and *Chef de quartier*, most Guineans outright preferred men; this was true among women as well. For the position of Mayor, the population was nearly evenly split between preferring men or seeing no difference between genders. When it comes to the position of *Député* at the national assembly, 47 percent of respondents felt there was no difference in performance between men and women, but those who did have a preference, overwhelmingly preferred men. This is particularly interesting because 48 percent of respondents felt that the government would do a better job to address Guinea's problems if there were more women *Députés*, easily eclipsing the 30 percent who felt the government would do a worse job. In this case, it appears that at least some respondents hold contrary beliefs. However, 64 percent of women expressed agreement that men are better political leaders than women, which is likely explained considering the inferior position and lack of voice women have been and are still subjected to. This last finding shows that women are not immune to stereotypes and discrimination against their own gender; the General Population Survey showed that women tended to prefer men or to have no preference instead of preferring women for most political positions.

Figure 6. Preferred sex of population survey respondent for various elected or appointed positions, by sex

	Men are better	Women are better	No difference
Mayor	42.5% (46.2% and 39.3%)	13.6% (10.8% and 16.4%)	41.9% (41.7% and 42.1%)
<i>Chef de quartier</i>	61.6% (61.5% and 61.7%)	7.6% (5.1% and 10.3%)	29.9% (32.3% and 27.3%)
Judge	44.2% (41.7% and 46.9%)	14.9% (13.8% and 15.9%)	39.7% (43.5% and 35.7%)
Minister of health	25.4% (25.4% and 25.4%)	29.3% (27.1% and 31.6%)	44.7% (46.9% and 42.4%)
Minister of defense	66.7% (70.5% and 62.8%)	5.2% (3.2% and 7.4%)	26.9% (25.3% and 28.6%)
<i>Député</i> at the national assembly	37.5% (38.4% and 36.6%)	13.6% (11.0% and 16.3%)	47.0% (49.6% and 44.3%)
President of Guinea	52.5% (53.7% and 51.3%)	9.2% (6.2% and 12.5%)	37.6% (39.7% and 35.3%)

	Men are better	Women are better	No difference
Prime minister	46.8% (48.9% and 44.6%)	13.4% (10.8% and 16.1%)	38.9% (39.7% and 38.0)
Political party leader	45.5% (47.1% and 43.9%)	9.5% (6.2% and 12.9%)	43.8% (46.0% and 41.5%)

That said, there appears to be some openness to women's political leadership. The General Population Survey showed that most Guineans felt it was appropriate for women to run for President of Guinea and for local elections, even if many felt this perspective was not shared by at least some people in their community. Furthermore, over three-fourths of respondents reported being willing to vote for a woman running in either race, even if many felt this perspective was not shared by some or even most of their community. Yet, when the questions moved away from hypothetical scenarios, a mere 14 percent had ever voted for a woman. The most commonly cited reason for not voting for a woman was that no female candidate has run for their preferred party or at all; this is a crucial finding and speaks to a lack of women as candidates for these positions.

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP IN CIVIL SOCIETY, MEDIA, AND THE ECONOMY

GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES

A traditional view of gender roles is deeply engrained in the mind of most Guineans. The General Population Survey showed that most people believe that changing diapers and bathing and feeding children are the responsibility of mothers. In fact, women were more likely than men to agree with this statement. Similarly, 86 percent of the population agreed that men should have the final word about decisions in the home, with women agreeing at a slightly higher rate than men. These gendered views, especially among women themselves, is likely a significant barrier for women in participating in political activities and processes that require autonomy over decision-making.

EDUCATION AND CAPACITY

As previously mentioned, disparities in access to education, cultural norms related to child marriage and early childbearing, and the overall low quality of education among those who do attend have resulted in a large proportion of women who are illiterate and have little exposure to other important life skills. In combination with norms around the role of women in the household, poor education levels make it difficult for many women to compete for already-scarce employment in government or in the formal private sector.

As a result, women tend to be employed in the informal sector more, often in service activities (e.g., *petit commerce*, hairdresser) or in agricultural activities that support household food consumption and sometimes also contribute to household revenue. Women working in agriculture also tend to have smaller plots of land. The World Bank found a gender gap in both earnings and productivity, which in

turn decreases Guinean women's bargaining power and voice.¹³⁵ Even when women do find formal employment, they earned 38 percent less than men. Similarly, women-owned firms have lower sales than those owned by men.

However, the challenges noted above do not prevent women from forming and participating in cooperatives and other livelihood-related organizations. According to the General Population Survey, more than a third of women reported being active in such organizations, a greater share than among men. Women are also active in savings and loans or credit groups.

MEDIA AND INFORMATION

Media employment options are severely limited for women, as reading and writing are important skills even in the audiovisual and media spaces. New opportunities are emerging through greater access to and use of Internet, which potentially allows illiterate women to gain exposure through audio and video channels. However, we expect this to remain a niche opportunity, as internet access in the country was just 26 percent in 2020, limiting both women's opportunity to use it and their potential audience.¹³⁶

As previously noted, women tend to access news at a lower frequency than men and do so primarily through radio and, less frequently, television. The General Population Survey showed that a majority of Guineans do not report obtaining their news through web-based sources and social media, and men composed the majority of the 20–26 percent of the population who did report consulting these sources at least a few times a week.

The general population does not seem to express strong biases against women in the media. According to the survey, most of the population felt that the number of female journalists in Guinea should increase or at least stay the same as it is today. They most commonly indicated no difference in the quality of the work done by male and female journalists or in their level of trustworthiness; the rest of the population was split between a perception that either male or female journalists perform better than the other, with a higher percentage preferring man.

PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP IN CIVIL SOCIETY

There appear to be smaller gender gaps in civil society participation, although gaps do persist. The General Population Survey showed that women were active in groups that fix community problems or charitable organizations, albeit at lower rates than men. In addition, women were less likely than men to be in a leadership role in these groups and were more likely than men to report having lower levels of input in decision-making within these groups.

¹³⁵ World Bank, "Guinea—*The Economic Benefits of a Gender Inclusive Society*," 2019. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/32507/Guinea-The-Economic-Benefits-of-a-Gender-Inclusive-Society.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.

¹³⁶ World Bank. "Guinea." <https://data.worldbank.org/country/guinea?view=chart>.

4. KEY POLITICAL ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONAL ARENAS

This section focuses on the stakeholders that impact WPPL and women's empowerment in Guinea. Below are the actors and institutions that the AT has identified as most relevant for WPPL advancement, as well as a description of how each one is likely to influence or impact WPPL.

EXECUTIVE

- **Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and Vulnerable Persons**, includes the following national divisions and departments responsible for WPPL: divisions for the promotion of women, gender issues, and the family and the National Women's Self-help Service; Gender units in all State departments and institutions of the Republic with the rank of administrative division; the Center for the Empowerment and Entrepreneurship of Women (CAEF); the National Observatory on Gender-Based Violence; and the Protection Cluster for Vulnerable Groups in times of crisis. All are potentially key WPPL partners
- **Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralization**, as key partner in political party reform, electoral reform, application of WPPL-related laws and the full engagement of women in local governance and decentralization.
- **Ministries responsible for primary, secondary, vocational, literacy, university, and civic education**. As beneficiaries and key partners in promoting education for girls and women, literacy and vocational trainings and higher education; partners in the development and integration of adapted curricula to raise awareness and increase understanding of girls and women's rights at all levels of education in the private and public sector.
- **Ministry responsible for the Right to Civil registration** (or its equivalent) as key partner in advocacy and registration campaigns; and/or **CIRMEC** *Coordination Intersectorielle de Réforme et de Modernisation de l'Etat-Civil*.
- **Ministry of National Defense**, currently responsible for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, as key partner in promoting women's role in conflict prevention and resolution, and their equal participation in all efforts to promote peace and security.
- **Ministry of the Environment and Sustainable Development**, key partner in the implementation of UN Climate Change Gender Strategic Plan, overall inclusion of women to ensure they play an active role.
- **Ministry of Justice and Human Rights**, as key partner in promoting women and children rights and the application of related laws. The Ministry also administer the Houses of Justice, which play an important role in conflict mediation and resolution at the regional level.
- **Ministry of Information and Communication**, as key partner for all nationwide awareness and information campaigns.

- **Economic, Social, Environmental and Cultural Council (CESEC)**,¹³⁷ potentially a very useful partner to advocate and lobby at the highest level, for the promotion of WPPL at the national level.
- **Mano River Union Secretariat**, potential collaboration and support to current initiatives, such as a group of 32 young women political activists from Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone to chart a course toward a new way of conducting politics—politics in which women have a strong voice.

LEGISLATURE

The **National Transition Council (CNT)** is the temporary structure put in place until legislative elections are held, and members of the National Assembly elected. The transition government developed a 10-step program for the duration of the transition:

1. General Population and Housing Census
2. Administrative census for civil registry purposes
3. Voter registry
4. Drafting of a new constitution
5. Constitutional referendum
6. Revision and formulation of legal texts and organic laws
7. Local elections
8. Legislative elections
9. Establishment of national institutions as defined in the new constitution
10. Presidential election

The CNT has set up eight commissions in April 2022, and the following commissions are concerned with WPPL. It is imperative that women commissioners develop mechanisms to provide substantive input in all matters at hand and more specifically in the work of the following commissions:

- The Constitution, Organic Laws, Public Administration and the Judicial Organization Commission
- The **Defense, Peace and Security Commission**, which deals with the military programming law, the general organization of defense and security, veterans, cooperation and assistance policy in the field of defense and security, civilian and military personnel of the armed forces
- The **Health, Education, Social and Cultural Affairs Commission**, which deals with employment, labor and civil service; national education, literacy and technical and vocational training; culture, youth and sports; health and scientific research; social promotion and gender, disability,

¹³⁷ CESEC is a constitutional body responsible for advising the President of the Republic and the National Assembly. Its 55 members represent the main economic, social, environmental, and cultural activity sectors and promotes the collaboration between Guinea's different professional categories. Underutilized and often marginalized under previous regimes, it nevertheless has great potential and high-level advisory and advocacy capacity, as shown by its instrumental role in promoting the emergence of civil society in the last 15–20 years.

family, the status of women and children, population, social security and social assistance, and pensions

- The **Commission for Reconciliation, Human Rights, Justice, Communication and Information**, which deals with issues of reconciliation, religious affairs, civil and political rights, economic and sociocultural rights, justice, communication and information, and media.

More specifically focusing on WPPL in the current legislature:

- **Women's Caucus of Guinea (CF-CNT)** officially established with UNDP/EU support on July 29, 2022 within the CNT to increase the qualitative participation of women in the legislative branch. The CF-CNT is the official representative body of women national councilors in the network of women Parliamentarians of ECOWAS, the African Union, the Francophonie and the Interparliamentary Union.
- **Women Councilors' Caucus of Guinea** created in April 2019 for the Communes of Conakry and gradually in the regions in order to facilitate capacity-building and unified interventions.

Still-active WPPL actors from previous legislatures whose mission is to enable Guinean women MPs to unite and act together beyond their political affiliations in order to guarantee women's rights, gender equality, and gender mainstreaming in Parliament include:

- **Network of Women Ministers and Parliamentarians (REFAMP)**, and
- **Forum of Women Parliamentarians in Guinea (FOFPAG)**

JUDICIARY

- **Houses of Justice (HoJ)** created by presidential decree in June 2018 and administered by the Ministry of Justice. HoJs are mandated to promote and popularize human rights, bring justice closer to the litigants, and especially deal with issues of mediation and conciliation. They received material support from the U.S. Embassy and the State Department in 2019.
- **The Lawyers Professional Association**, their engagement for the advancement of WPPL is important, especially among its female membership.
- **Observatory on Gender Based Violence**, created in 2014 with UNWomen support but needs to become more operational.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties are one of the most important target/stakeholder groups in the promotion of WPPL. There are approximately 160 political parties in Guinea and very few of the regulations stipulated in the Political Party Charter are applied. A suggested approach would be to support the main parties with elected representatives in the legislature, RPG-Arc en Ciel, UFDG, PEDN; those who are already promoting the participation of women, PEDN, BL, UDRG; and those led by women, including PACT, FAN, PGPD, and others.

WOMEN'S GROUPS

- *Coalition Nationale de Guinée pour les droits et la Citoyenneté des Femmes (CONAG-DCF)*
- *Coalition des Femmes-Filles de Guinée (COFFIG)*
- *Amicale des jeunes femmes leaders de Guinée*
- Association of African Women Communication Professionals—APAC-Guinea
- *Alliance Femme et Média (AFEM)*
- Guinean Association of Women for Peace, Elections and Governance (AGUIFPEG)
- Club of Young Women of Guinea
- *Coalition des Femmes-Filles de Guinée (COFFIG)*
- Association of African Women Communication Professionals—APAC
- Alliance Women and Media (AFEM)
- Women Bloggers Association
- Association of Online Journalists
- Guinean Association of Women for Peace, Elections and Governance (AGUIFPEG)
- Club of Young Women of Guinea
- Citizens' Coalition for Elections and Governance (COCEG), a platform of eight CSOs and networks, which coalesce around elections playing a watchdog role. COCEG also monitors public policies and actions and the development of 36 rural and urban communes in the Republic of Guinea.
- The women's collective "Not without them"—*Jamais sans les femmes*, set up in May 2018 to monitor the appointment of government members. The collective began with a post on Facebook following the reshuffle of the Guinean government, which brought the number of women ministers down to four out of a total of 33 ministers (12 percent).

POLITICAL WOMEN'S GROUP

- Network of emerging women in politics in the Mano River Union (NEW/RFE-UFM)
- *Cadre de Concertation des filles/femmes des partis politiques*
- *Forum des Jeunes des Partis Politiques (FONAJEP)*
- Caucus of Women Communal Councilors
- Network of Women Ministers and Parliamentarians

CSOS AND NGOS

- National Council Civil Society Organizations (CNOSCG)
- Citizens' Coalition for Elections and Governance is committed to observing these elections. The COCEG, a nonpartisan civil society platform, is made up of eight NGOs and associations, including CENAFOD, CAPP, COFEL, UDEC, LEJEPAD, WANEP, ROSE, and REGUIMAJEC.
- Association of Mayors
- Association of Municipalities

LABOR UNION GROUPS

- *Intercanthal syndicale*
- *Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs de Guinée (CNTG)*
- *Union des Travailleur de Guinée (UTG)*
- *Syndicat Libre des Enseignants et Chercheurs de Guinée (SLECG)*

MEDIA

- Online Media
- Rural Radios, National Radio and Television (RTG)
- Association of Traditional Communicators
- *Union des Radios et Télévisions Libres de Guinée (URTELGUI)*

HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTIONS

- *Organisation Guinéenne des Droits de l'Homme (OGDH)*
- *Ligue Guinéenne des Droits de l'Homme (LIGUIDHO)*

RELIGIOUS HIERARCHY AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS

- The Islamic League
- Oulémas Women Association (Muslim)
- *Archevêché Catholique*—Catholic Church
- Anglican churches
- Association of Christian Women

- *Association Nationale des Guides de Guinée*, member of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND PROGRAMS

Several international organizations have implemented programs, some of which are still underway, to promote women's participation and empowerment. This is not meant to be an exhaustive list but rather a broad overview of some programs and mechanisms that relate more specifically to WPPL in different sectors aiming to inform on potential partnerships and/or collaboration or avoid duplication.

USAID

Several programs implemented by the National Democratic Institute (NDI):

- Consultation Framework of Women and Girls of Political Parties (*Cadre de Concertation des Filles/Femmes des Partis Politiques de Guinée*) and the National Political Party Youth Forum in Guinea (*Forum National des Jeunes des Partis Politiques en Guinée—FONAJEP*; *Cadre de Concertation des Femmes Filles* has become a nationwide, well-reputed platform. In 2022–2023, it will participate in CNT legislative reforms—more specifically, the Law on Parity between women and men in Guinea.
- NDI has supported the political participation of marginalized groups, with an emphasis on young women active in politics. NDI has trained women candidates for political office and supports bringing more women in leadership positions in political parties, government, and civil society. The institute has also worked with youth leaders and young candidates to build their leadership and campaign skills. Specific needs were identified; trainings were given on local budgeting, local development planning and leadership skills (public speaking, etc.).
- Emerging Women in Politics (EWP-RFE) program. NDI launched the RFE in Politics program to prepare young women to take on leadership roles and cultivate skills needed to campaign successfully and win elections.
- NDI's tool, "Win With Women Political Party Assessment" (WWW), which aims to boost women's involvement, support, and meaningful participation in political parties. WWW assessment provides a new understanding of how political women's experience of violence remains a key barrier to achieving full gender equality and women's empowerment in politics.
<https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/WWWMethodology%20NEW%20LINKS.pdf>
- USAID BEACON-DG program implemented by NDI, which is strengthening electoral capacity.

UNITED NATIONS

- UN Women has been working in Guinea since 2009. Ongoing programs address women, peace, and security; violence against women; improvement of maternal health; and promotion of women's entrepreneurship.
- United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR) The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030, which encourages governments to take concrete actions to protect

development gains from the risk of disaster. It recognizes the critical role that women's participation plays in ensuring that disaster risk reduction is gender-sensitive and effective.

- The G7 Whistler Declaration on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women and Girls in Humanitarian Action, which commits signatories to innovative partnership and program models that incorporate gender equality.
- UNDP's Democratic Governance Support Project, with a component on the involvement and participation of women in decision-making.
- The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change Gender Action Plan, which highlights gender balance and women's participation and leadership as priority areas and seeks to increase women's participation in climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies and plan.
- UNICEF and Plan International contribute funding and resources to support birth registration procedures.
- UN Peacebuilding Fund (PBF): The project "Foniké—Social Entrepreneurs for Peace in Guinea," implemented from January 2020 to December 2021, by Search Guinea, in partnership with the *Association des Blogueurs de Guinée*, the *Club des Jeunes Filles Leaders de Guinée*, *Osez Innover*, and the *Parlement des Jeunes de l'Union du fleuve Mano pour la Paix*, to empower young men and young women to contribute to reducing sociopolitical conflicts and to strengthening social cohesion in their communities.

AFRICAN UNION

- The AU Peace and Security Council endorsed the creation of the Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation (FemWise Africa). The network was created to establish a clear channel for women's meaningful participation in peace processes and to catalyze the mainstreaming of African women in mediation.
- The African Women Leaders Network (AWLN) was established in June 2017 by GEWE advocates and African women leaders from various sectors, under the leadership of the AU and with support from the UN system and development partners.

EUROPEAN UNION (EU)

- EU provided some support to Guinean Women in Politics, women from political parties, to strengthen their capacity to improve their position within their respective parties and acquire skills in leadership, management, and politics.
- The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF) has supported women participation in the security sector.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ For more information, see https://www.dcaf.ch/sites/default/files/publications/documents/AWomensGuidetoSSR_final.pdf

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

This section presents recommendations intended to guide the Mission’s development of WPPL strategies and allocation of resources.

SUMMARY

Guinea’s first Marxist regime encouraged WPPL, and with its egalitarian message, Sékou Touré’s party appealed to hitherto marginalized classes in society, including women. The following military regime in 1984 and subsequent government administrations have resulted in setbacks for the spirit of the “independence women” and a return to more restrictive traditional customs marginalizing women and submitting them to will of their male counterparts. Girls were restricted from attending school and forced to marry early, and women were discouraged from speaking their minds publicly. This is still the case today, especially in rural areas and in households where neither men or women are literate, resulting in gender gaps in terms of poverty, capacity, and agency.

Women are underrepresented in the public sector. Although they make up 54 percent of the workforce, they are mostly confined to the informal sector. With the arrival of democracy and multipartyism in the early ’90s, a promising civil society arose that strives for the social, economic, and political development of the country, including several women’s groups and networks. In the past two decades, however, political activity has polarized citizens around their ethnic communities, especially the Malinké and the Peulh. Increasing ethnic tensions—particularly around elections, general strikes, and peaceful demonstrations violently repressed by armed security forces—have become the norm. Furthermore, with its 1,100 km border with Mali and a subtle but perceivably growing Islamic orthodoxy, Guinea should brace itself to prevent potential radicalization from settling in.

Furthermore, despite its exceptionally abundant mineral resources, Guinea is one of the poorest countries in the world, plagued with rampant corruption and an Ebola epidemic followed soon after by COVID-19. Although women are active in their communities and in political parties, there are very few women in decision-making bodies. Furthermore, they are largely underrepresented in the government, legislature, and local councils, despite the 30 percent quota currently in force. The latest local elections were a breakthrough, with several women candidates being elected either on a party list or an independent list.

KEY WPPL CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Changing mentalities so deeply rooted in tradition, culture, and religion cannot be accomplished with laws alone, especially outside of urban centers and in a context where laws that challenge the status quo are not consistently applied or enforced. This type of shift requires generational change; dealing with an important and complex issue such as WPPL requires a long-term effort, probably no less than 10 years to start with. The expansion of CSOs in Guinea is an example of a successful long-term endeavor: After a decade of civil society building by USAID, the sector grew from a handful of organizations in 2000 to the robust sector that exists today. Addressing WPPL holistically is an uphill climb that merits special attention. In the short term, the transition underway is an opportunity for increased participation of women in upcoming dialogues urgently needed between the nation’s *Forces Vives*, with regards to the ongoing transition and a potential national drive to address security issues.

CONSTITUTION AND LEGAL REFORM

While the constitution currently stipulates that members of the government and the assemblies of the deliberative bodies should be “not more than 2/3 of one gender,” the more stringent Law on Parity, which calls for greater gender parity (50 percent), cannot be implemented unless the constitution is modified. In addition, the Family Code, the Electoral Law, and the Political Party Charter need revision. The political transition underway offers an opportunity for women commissioners within the CNT to consort with women leaders from all sectors—civil society, political parties, professional organizations, labor unions, and security forces—allowing substantive input in the ongoing revision. Mechanisms to monitor and oversee the application of these laws and regulations need to be put in place at the local and national level. A special effort needs to be oriented toward territorial administrators and local election management that play an important role in the application or not of the Electoral Law.

Political parties are also guilty of not respecting the Political Party Charter and the Electoral Code, to the point where total impunity is the norm. This is enabled by a cultural norm that inhibits the judiciary from applying sanctions. Political parties do not even all respect their own procedures and the majority of members are unaware of their existence. Yet, our population survey shows that the principal reasons why people of both genders did not vote for women candidates in the past are that their preferred party did not propose women candidates—or more generally that women candidates are simply not on the ballot, regardless of party. The weight of cultural and religious norms seems to take a back seat to these practical considerations, highlighting the foundational role that political parties play in enabling women in political leadership positions.

EXISTING POLITICAL WILL

Military rule notwithstanding, the Guinean government is open and ready to promote the empowerment of women and move Guinean society forward. All ministries are concerned and merit support. The directorates for gender equity within most ministries constitute a promising venue for capacity-strengthening, strategic planning, and implementation of WPPL policies throughout the executive. It also allows for the establishment of collaboration and coordination amongst departments. Moreover, some ministries need specific support: MPWCVP and its numerous divisions and substructures throughout the country, including the Observatory of Gender-Based Violence and the Center for Empowerment and Entrepreneurship of Women (CAEF); MATD as it oversees political parties, elections, and the engagement of citizens in decentralization; and the Ministry of Justice to improve oversight and sanctioning and the expansion of its Houses of Justice. Rigorous enforcement and understanding of the law are the next challenge for Guinean women, the main objective being to contribute effectively to the preservation and consolidation of the gains made in the defense of the rights of women, children, and vulnerable people. Local CSOs, as well as pan-African networks such as Women in Law & Development in Africa (WiLDAF) and Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML), could play an important role in coordinating advocacy and monitoring oversight.

GENDER ROLES AND STEREOTYPES

The weight of customary and traditional norms results in discrimination against women and girls and silences women’s voices, damaging their self confidence and interest in participating in public life. Addressing this will require working with the Guinean government and international organizations, national women groups and other relevant Guinean CSO networks, media, progressive men and women

religious leaders, progressive traditional chiefs, and open-minded traditional communicators to develop strategies, curricula, and thematic formation/awareness campaigns directed at communities and families, men and women alike, with a special emphasis on youth. Survey results suggest that youth, by and large, hold similar beliefs as their elders. These efforts may also include introducing behavior change curricula in primary and secondary schools and working with informal education actors, such as Koranic and Franco-Arab schools, as well as creating mentorship for young women and awareness sessions for couples in parishes and mosques that are receptive to this idea (e.g., those with new generations of educated young religious leaders).

Women are underrepresented in executive positions in government structures, political parties, the public sector, the formal economy, civil society, and the security forces. Supporting women's movements that bring together women and men in labor unions and CSOs can be instrumental in finding and using what it takes to create lasting change. Debates, open discussions, forums on current gender related problems touching the family, children's education, polygamy, etc. can help to loosen the knot. Female and male student representation in high schools and universities should be encouraged with a special emphasis on young women. This is often where political activism originates. Student summer "democracy" camps, organization of mock elections, political debates, and youth Parliaments are also other means of promoting WPPL.

Women living in extreme poverty, women with disabilities, widows, and victims of sexual GBV are not able to participate in political life. A path forward is to create or support existing funds for revenue-generating activities targeting vulnerable women, such as victims of GBV and women working in artisanal mining, and to provide tailored training focused on literacy and civic education, thus adjoining civic education and economic growth programs. Nationwide awareness campaigns, town hall meetings, and national fora are needed to highlight and correct practices within the family and the community that go against women and girls' rights.

WOMEN SOLIDARITY

There is a need to increase solidarity and mutual support between women. Women leaders are beginning to understand the urgent need for them to help women, provide training, and raise women's awareness and understanding of the importance of politics. In addition to the pioneer women's network CONAG-DCF, and the many women organizations mentioned above, new initiatives are in the makings: there are talks of creating a National Women Council, which could be enshrined in the new constitution; and other pan-African initiatives such as the Africa Network of Local Elected Women (RESELA) supported by UNDP and the African Women Leaders Network (AWLN) supported by the African Union Commission and UNWomen. Mentorship, coaching, and women solidarity need to be supported, but in the name of efficacy and circumspect advocacy, it is imperative for women to create a common united front that is transgenerational, multisectoral, inclusive of men, and beyond political allegiances and ethnic preoccupations to increase recognition of women empowerment and leadership amongst the wider population and begin seriously to change mentalities.

EDUCATION AND CAPACITY

Women's high rate of illiteracy, along with little or no knowledge of their rights, deprives them of rightful citizenship. Addressing this requires working with the ministries and programs related to civic registration to carry out nationwide campaigns on rights and responsibilities with an emphasis on

women's rights and promoting citizenship and registration of vital events. Increased participation of women in local governance requires information campaigns on decentralization and engaged citizenship. Support women at the community level to encourage their participation in local development decision making and/or in local politics as elected representatives. This requires building women leadership around specific issues including health, education, security and so forth, as well as encouraging and supporting women candidacies and local elected officials.

It should also be remembered that these nationwide campaigns are for most citizens the closest they have been to receiving formal education. Radio, the media that reaches the most Guineans, and in-person meetings should be viewed as the methods of choice for sensitization and information campaigns. It also means working with the Guinean government and CSOs at the grassroots level to support and adapt literacy programs to include civic education and women's empowerment, working with youth and girls' clubs. Positive actions such as incentives to keep girls in school and pursue higher education, such as state programs to exempt girls from education fees, and increasing motivation through scholarships could be employed.

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Violence against women that is prevalent in all sectors of society disempowers women and negatively impacts their daily lives. Stigma and impunity around this issue needs to be addressed. Existing initiatives such as the Houses of Justice, OPROGEM and other paralegal or legal aid initiatives, the National Observatory on Gender-Based Violence, and other related support programs need to be reinvigorated and brought closer to the people. Various interlocutors met during the AT field trip agreed that the National Observatory on Gender-Based Violence, created in 2014 with UNWomen support under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and Vulnerable Persons (WPWCVP), is currently not really operational and would need special attention to reach its full capacity, along with the strengthening of the Houses of Justice. Another solution is to bring together women leaders from all walks of life with progressive men to develop a massive nationwide front to fight against this pandemic. In addition, close cooperation with the related ministries, institutions, universities, and the media will be important. It is also crucial to reach out to the most vulnerable population—such as young women affected by GBV in education—with methods adapted to the target groups and sensitivity-informed. Societies like Guinea cannot be “shocked and awed”; it would defeat our purpose. And it is important to recognize that it took the West significant time and effort for #MeToo to emerge and gain momentum.

WOMEN IN PEACE AND SECURITY

Women currently have little say with regard to conflict, peace, and security, although they are likely to be the ones most seriously affected in times of crisis. In addition, women have been shown to play an important role in conflict resolution and mitigation in West Africa. To address this, it is important to work with women organizations, the Ministry of Defense, and the Ministry for the Promotion of Women, Children and Vulnerable Persons to revisit Resolution 1325 National Action Plan (NAP2) and implement it on the local level, as done in other regions of the Sahel. It will also be important to create Women, Peace and Security committees in vulnerable areas in Upper Guinea and the Forest Region and ensure they are widely represented in existing structures, where these exist.

WOMEN AND ELECTIONS

Support the participation of women at all stages of the electoral process, ranging from election management, registration of candidacies to voter registration, voting and election monitoring. Programs specifically geared to empower women within political parties and build their leadership capacities as well as providing support to political parties to offer civic education to their members are needed. Support training programs for women elected officials and women caucuses. With regard to the registration of candidates, introduce decentralized monitoring mechanisms that will ensure that candidate lists are compliant with the electoral code and/or the Law on Parity. Women political leaders have fewer financial resources than men when running for office. Addressing this will require a type of affirmative action, which could take the form of lowering the candidacy fee for women, especially at the local level. In addition, there is an opportunity to build and expand what has already been accomplished by NDI and others in terms of support for women's campaigns, training, and mentorship, such as awareness campaigns on the positive effect of WPPL on the country's development and awareness campaigns to encourage the recruitment of women in politics aiming at countering those who "demonize" women and politics.

"When women understand all the good they can accomplish for others when entering politics, they will join wholeheartedly." (Male political leader and Code of Conduct focal point, Mamou.)

PRIORITY DRIVERS AND ILLUSTRATIVE ACTIVITIES

Figure 7. Summary of priority drivers and illustrative activities

DRIVER	WPPL CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES	STRATEGY OR ACTIVITY	TARGET STAKEHOLDER
Legal framework (Constitutional and legal reform: Electoral Code; Political Party Charter; Family Code) and application of the law	Challenges: • Lack of consensus • Time constraint • Change in political will • Absence of dialogue/social disruptions • Lack of will within political parties to apply the laws and regulation • Lack of educated political women • Impunity; lack of oversight and sanctioning by the MATD, the Judiciary Opportunities: • Political will from Government • CNT legal commission at work • Women Caucus engaged • Parties led by women • Some parties respect existing quotas • Strong collaboration between women political leaders and women CSO leaders	• Provide justice sector support and expertise • Support women's discussions and articulation about reforms • Encourage consensus-building among women political party leaders • Engage party leaders (who are not represented at the CNT/legislatures) • Support advocacy and lobby to pass and apply the laws • Assess compliance and legality of political parties • Build capacities of political parties and support actions in favor of women party members • Support and build capacities of women leaders and young women (mentorship, networking, field trips) • Expose successful cases of WPPL in parties • Support political women networks • Support affirmative action • Support women candidates and women elected officials	• Civil Society, Democracy and governance advocates (FNDC, human and women rights, etc.) • Political parties • MATD; Ministry of Justice • Government representatives • CNT—relevant commissions-women caucus • Decentralized state officials and local elected representatives • Women CSOs and networks • Women caucuses and political women networks • International organizations and INGOs

DRIVER	WPPL CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES	STRATEGY OR ACTIVITY	TARGET STAKEHOLDER
Gender roles and stereotypes	Challenges: • Deeply rooted norms resulting in discrimination toward women and girls • Women are kept behind with little or no interest in participating in public life • Confusion between custom, tradition, and religion • Lack of coordination and collaboration between stakeholders Opportunities: • Support from Guinean government, international and national organizations, progressive men and women religious leaders, and open-minded traditional leaders • Dynamic women's rights organizations • Progressive political leaders	• Invite a representative high-level multistakeholder National Steering Committee to make a WPPL Pledge; identify strategies and follow through implementation of coordinated initiatives • Develop adapted messaging tools and content for nationwide information/awareness campaigns that use media and innovative methods • Inform and increase the understanding of men and women in the community—encourage gendered and multigenerational dialogues • Introduce adapted and sensitive behavior-change curricula in primary and secondary schools • Support local efforts to advocate for fair, equitable media coverage of women issues • Provide skill-building and leadership training for female journalists and women active in CSOs and women's organizations • Specifically assess and address WPPL within CSOs and civil society networks; professional organizations and unions; chambers of commerce and leading businesses; security sector; and work together to promote gender equality	• International and national organizations • Public and private primary and secondary school system including koranic and Franco-Arab schools • Community leaders • Religious and traditional opinion leaders • Women (rural and urban) • Civil society, professional organizations and private sector, security sector • Media

DRIVER	WPPL CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES	STRATEGY OR ACTIVITY	TARGET STAKEHOLDER
Solidarity among women	Challenges: - Existence of deeply rooted animosity between women in families and communities - Lack of resources, poverty - Lack of empathy - Lack of understanding of human and women's rights - Competition for scarce resources, jealousy, polygamy Opportunities: - Increased understanding of the importance of women's support toward other women, mentorship, coaching - Existence of active women's groups/networks - Increased education and consciousness - Role models	- Create spaces/opportunities at the local and communal level for women to discuss problems afflicting the family, youth, male female relations, WPPL, local governance, security, elections, etc. - Support women networking and collaborative efforts - Support collaboration between community women and local women candidates/elected officials - Support de-stigmatization of victims of sexual GBV, widows, women with handicaps, other ethnic groups, etc. - Support cooperatives and IGA, which bring women together - Engage media to promote women solidarity - Support women candidacies to elective positions	- Ministry responsible for women empowerment - Women CSOs/networks - Rural and urban women - Women elected officials - Women community leaders - National and international organizations
Education and capacity; Absence of rightful citizenship	Challenges: - Lack of resources - Lack of time - Lack of interest - Husband's disapproval	- Partner with education-related government departments, CSOs - Conduct nationwide drive for civil registration and registration of vital events - Support acquisition of identification documents and support Civil Registration and Vital Statistics (CRVS) systems	- National and International development organizations - Grassroots women organizations - Urban women

DRIVER	WPPL CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES	STRATEGY OR ACTIVITY	TARGET STAKEHOLDER
	• Noncooperation from state departments • Lack of coordination between stakeholders: national and international development organizations Opportunities: • Political will of ministries • Programs and policies in place related to civic registration • Ministry of Education (literacy) • Experienced CSOs and community-based organizations at the grassroots level • Media	• Civic education campaign on rights, responsibility, decentralization, and engaged citizenship • Support literacy centers	• Widows and other vulnerable groups

DRIVER	WPPL CHALLENGES & OPPORTUNITIES	STRATEGY OR ACTIVITY	TARGET STAKEHOLDER
Gender-based violence	Challenges: • GBV touches all sectors, including the public service, schools and universities, religious institutions, and government departments • Subject is taboo • Victims are stigmatized • Impunity prevails • Reluctance on the part of security forces Opportunities: • The problem is acknowledged and global • Determined government and related departments • Observatory and Houses of Justice in place • Dedicated and experienced CSOs • Informed health services	• Bring together women leaders from all walks of life and all geographic zones along with progressive men to develop a massive nationwide front to fight against this “pandemic” • Cooperate closely with the related ministries and institutions, universities, and the media • Provide training and support to all intervention sectors: judiciary, health, security forces, etc. • Support to the victims: shelters, protection, IGAs • Reach out and support the most vulnerable population • Develop tools adapted to the target groups • Revive and support the Observatory for Gender Equity	• General population • Human and women’s rights organizations • Specific sectorial institutions: academic, religious, judicial, private sector, labor unions, religious • International and national development organizations

ANNEX A, STEPS IN THE WPPL ASSESSMENT

STEP 1: DESCRIBE THE FOUNDATIONAL FACTORS

Economic development; religion and traditional norms; historical legacies; social cleavages; conflict, peace, and security; history and presence of social movements; political regime and party systems; and electoral systems

STEP 2: DIAGNOSE THE CURRENT STATE OF WPPL

This step aims to establish a “baseline” for the outcome of interest: women and girl’s political participation and leadership. Particular focus should be placed on understanding differences between men and women.

- **Political participation:** The assessment framework measures gender gaps in eight forms of political participation, including joining civic and political organizations or decision-making bodies, voting, and protesting. It also explores differences in political efficacy, general interest in politics, frequency of political news-seeking, and political knowledge.
- **Political leadership:** The assessment team should look beyond indicators focusing on the presence of female politicians in Parliaments and cabinets to evaluate political leadership, influence, and agency. It is important to examine representation among a broad range of political offices and electoral races and to analyze how women political and government leaders discharge their duties and responsibilities.

STEP 3: EXAMINE DRIVERS OF WPPL

Drivers are the catalysts and barriers that positively or negatively influence WPPL outcomes. They can be internal or external to individuals and organizations and are thought to be areas within USAID’s manageable interests in the WPPL focus area.

- **Legal framework:** Does the country’s legal framework afford women basic liberties and civil and political rights? Are there quotas to promote women’s representation in public office?
- **Gender roles and stereotypes:** How do stereotypes and norms influence expectations for the types of opportunities afforded to women and girls, women and girls’ decisions to pursue opportunities, gendered responsibilities imposed upon women and girls, and how women and girls are treated inside and outside the home?
- **Education and capacity:** Do girls and women have the same access to education as boys and men? Are girls seen as deserving of education? What barriers keep them from education, including social norms and economic realities? Are women knowledgeable about politics, and do they possess a sense of self-efficacy around political engagement?
- **Media and information:** How are women represented in traditional and social media content? What barriers do women face in accessing information and working in media?
- **Personal and political networks:** What is the nature and extent of women’s interpersonal relationships? Do female candidates and politicians have strong political networks?

- **Gender-based violence:** To what extent does violence or harassment at home, work, in the community, or online inhibit women's political participation? Do women politicians experience violence or harassment on the campaign trail?
- **Participation and leadership in the private sector:** Do women have equal opportunities as men to pursue work outside the home and to hold leadership and decision-making roles within their workplaces? Are women engaged in the formal or informal sectors, and what are the impacts of each? Do women control business finances and household earnings?
- **Participation and leadership in civil society:** To what extent do women participate in and lead civil society groups including labor organizations, savings groups, and others?
- **Participation and leadership in the public sector:** Do women have equal opportunities as men to hold public sector employment, including in police and military roles? What positions do they hold and in what types of agencies or offices?
- **Political parties:** How do parties encourage or inhibit women's political participation and leadership as candidates, policy and decision-makers, and members? Does party support for female candidates differ from male candidates in terms of financing and access to media/publicity?
- **Voter demand:** How do gender discrimination, stereotypes, or personally held beliefs about the capacity of women affect voters' views of candidates? How do perceptions (or misperceptions) about what voters believe affect decisions about nominating women as candidates and candidates' decisions to run?

STEP 4: CONDUCT A STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

This step involves analyzing the ecosystem of stakeholders that influence WPPL and women's empowerment. In line with the DRG Strategic Assessment Framework (SAF), Step 4 of the WPPL Assessment Framework aims to:

- Identify relevant actors and institutions that influence or that are impacted by WPPL in a context
- Analyze the interests, resources, strategies, influence, and institutional arena in which these relevant actors operate
- Ascertain the prospects for working with like-minded actors to advance WPPL, be it in close partnership or as part of looser reform coalitions
- Ascertain the prospects for facing resistance or backlash as powerful actors opposing WPPL react to reform attempts

The context, the WPPL landscape, and the analysis of WPPL drivers should direct the assessment team to focus on the actors and institutions most relevant to WPPL advancement. Generally, the actors and institutions that are most relevant to consider include the executive; the legislature; the judiciary; political parties; women's groups; CSOs and nongovernmental organizations; the media; human rights institutions; and religious hierarchy and religious groups.

STEP 5: MAKE EVIDENCE-BASED RECOMMENDATIONS

Assessment teams should follow these steps to develop evidence-based recommendations and suggest illustrative activities:

- Summarize Steps 1–4, including key foundational factors, gender gaps in WPPL, analysis of drivers, and stakeholder analysis
- Describe key WPPL challenges and opportunities
- Identify priority WPPL drivers and make strategic recommendations for programming
- Suggest illustrative activities in priority areas identified in the assessment

ANNEX B, DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

GENERAL POPULATION SURVEY

CONSENTEMENT ÉCLAIRÉ

Bonjour. Je m'appelle [NOM DE L'ENQUÊTEUR]. Je suis un enquêteur de Stat View International, basé à Conakry. Je ne représente ni le gouvernement ni un parti politique.

OBJET DE L'ETUDE

Nous travaillons avec une équipe de recherche de NORC de l'Université de Chicago aux États-Unis. En collaboration avec NORC, nous recueillons des informations sur les points de vue, les opinions et les expériences des Guinéens sur un certain nombre de questions liées à votre vie quotidienne, à la société et à la politique. Cette étude servira à éclairer les programmes de l'Agence Américaine pour le Développement International (USAID) liés à ces sujets en Guinée.

DESCRIPTION DES PROCEDURES D'ETUDE

Si vous acceptez de participer à cette étude, je vous poserai des questions sur votre ménage, votre communauté, la politique, l'engagement civique et d'autres sujets. L'enquête prendra environ une heure. Je vais enregistrer vos réponses sur cette tablette.

RISQUES/INCONFORTS LIES A LA PARTICIPATION A CETTE ETUDE

Votre participation à cette étude n'implique aucun risque autre que ceux que vous rencontreriez dans la vie quotidienne. Si vous n'êtes pas à l'aise avec certaines questions, vous êtes libre de ne pas répondre ou de passer à la question suivante.

AVANTAGES DE LA PARTICIPATION A L'ETUDE

Votre participation est importante pour aider l'USAID à en apprendre davantage sur votre communauté et sur la Guinée et à développer des programmes appropriés à ce pays.

CONFIDENTIALITE

Vos réponses à cette enquête resteront strictement confidentielles. Cela signifie que je ne suis pas autorisé à dire à vos parents, dirigeants communautaires ou à quiconque d'autre les informations dont nous discutons. Nous ne partagerons aucune information qui pourrait être utilisée pour vous identifier ou identifier votre ménage en dehors de l'équipe de recherche.

À la fin de l'étude, nous pourrions partager les données avec l'USAID ou d'autres personnes extérieures à notre équipe. Cependant, nous supprimerons tous les détails qui pourraient être utilisés pour vous identifier ou identifier votre ménage (ex. noms, coordonnées). Ainsi, personne ne saura si vous ou quelqu'un d'autre dans votre communauté avez participé à cette enquête. Ils ne sauront pas non plus quelles réponses sont les vôtres. Puisque personne ne saura quelles réponses sont les vôtres, nous vous demandons de répondre honnêtement à toutes les questions. Notez qu'il n'y a pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses à nos questions.

DROIT DE REFUSER OU DE SE RETIRER

La décision de participer à cette étude vous appartient entièrement. Vous pouvez refuser de participer à tout moment. Vous avez le droit de ne pas répondre à une ou plusieurs questions, ainsi que de vous retirer complètement de l'étude à tout moment ; de plus, vous avez le droit de me demander de supprimer vos réponses si vous vous retirez en cours d'enquête. Il n'y a pas de pénalités en cas de refus ou de retrait.

DROIT DE POSER DES QUESTIONS ET DE SIGNALER DES PREOCCUPATIONS

Vous avez le droit de poser des questions sur cette étude de recherche et d'obtenir des réponses à ces questions avant, pendant ou après la recherche. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter le Coordinateur de Recherche. Si vous avez d'autres préoccupations au sujet de vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche auxquelles les enquêteurs n'ont pas répondu, vous pouvez communiquer avec Alexandre Monnard, directeur de cette étude, à monnard-alexandre@norc.org.

Avez-vous des questions pour moi ?

Consentement. Acceptez-vous de participer à cette enquête ?

1. Oui
2. Non

I. DÉMOGRAPHIE

Dem_lang. [ENQUÊTEUR : Enregistrer, ne pas lire] Dans quelle langue l'entrevue est-elle menée ?

1. Français
2. Soussou
3. Poular
4. Maninka
5. Kissié
6. Loma
7. Kpèlé
8. Mano
9. Koniaké

-777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]

Dem_gender. Quel est votre sexe ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Enregistrer, ne pas lire]

1. Homme
2. Femme

Dem_dob_1. Quel âge avez-vous ?

_____ [Limiter à 18 ans et plus]

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_marry. Quel est votre état matrimonial ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Célibataire / jamais marié
2. Marié, monogame
3. Marié, polygame
4. Union libre
5. Divorcé / séparé
6. Veuf / veuve

-777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]

-888. Ne sais pas

-999. Refusé

Dem_child_1. Combien d'enfants avez-vous ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Entrez le nombre d'enfants, s'il n'y en a aucun, entrez zéro (0). Si nécessaire, aidez le répondant à énumérer ses enfants et à les compter. Préciser que nous ne nous intéressons qu'à leurs propres enfants biologiques et vivants.]

_____ [valeur numérique, y compris 0]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_child_2. [Si Dem_child_1 != 0] Combien de vos propres enfants sont des garçons ? Des filles ?

Garçons : _____ [valeur numérique, y compris 0]

Filles : _____ [valeur numérique, y compris 0]

[Validation de la somme des deux valeurs contre la valeur dans Dem_child_1. Message d'erreur si somme n'est pas égale : « Le nombre de garçons et de filles ne correspond pas au nombre d'enfants

dans la question précédente. Mettez 0 si aucun garçon ou aucune fille » Corriger ou redemandez au répondant.]

Dem_child_3. [Si Dem_child_1 != 0] Avez-vous des enfants de moins de 6 ans qui vivent avec vous ?

1. Oui
2. Non

Dem_edu_3. Quelle est votre plus haut niveau d'instruction ?

1. Jamais scolarisé
2. Enseignement informel seulement (y compris enseignement coranique)
3. Enseignement primaire inachevé
4. Enseignement primaire achevé
5. Enseignement secondaire / collège ou lycée inachevé
6. Enseignement secondaire / lycée achevé
7. Qualifications post-secondaires autres qu'universitaires (certificat ou diplôme professionnel)
8. Université inachevée
9. Université achevée
10. Post-universitaire
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_language. Quelle est la première langue que vous avez appris à parler ?

1. Français
2. Soussou
3. Poular
4. Maninka
5. Kissié
6. Loma
7. Kpèlé
8. Mano
9. Koniaké
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_lingua. Maîtrisez-vous le Français ? [ENQUÊTEUR : « Maîtrisez-vous » veut dire savoir lire et écrire.]

1. Oui
2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_relig. Quelle religion pratiquez-vous, le cas échéant ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les choix de réponse]

1. Aucune
2. Musulman seulement (enquête a répondu "Musulman" sans s'identifier à un sous-groupe)
3. Musulman Sunnite [ENQUÊTEUR : Utilisez cette option pour Confrérie des Mourides, Confrérie de la Tidjania, Confrérie de la Qadiriya]
4. Musulman Chiite

5. Chrétienne seulement (enquêté a répondu “Chrétien” sans s’identifier à un sous-groupe)
6. Catholique Romain
7. Protestant [ENQUÊTEUR : Utilisez cette option pour Anglican, Luthérien, Méthodiste, Baptiste, Evangéliste, Pentecôtiste, Assemblée de Dieu, Eglise du Christ, Adventiste, Adventiste du septième jour, Témoins de Jehovah]
8. Religion traditionnelle / ethnique
9. Hindou
10. Bahá’í
11. Juif
12. Croit en un dieu / entité suprême mais n’appartient à aucune religion → Aller à Dem_ethnic
13. Agnostique (ne sait pas s’il existe un Dieu) → Aller à Dem_ethnic
14. Athée (ne croit pas en Dieu) → Aller à Dem_ethnic
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_relig_ser. À quelle fréquence allez-vous à la mosquée / à l’église / au temple (le cas échéant) ?

1. Deux fois ou plus par jour
2. Une fois par jour
3. Quelques fois par semaine
4. Quelques fois par mois
5. Moins d’une fois par mois
6. Jamais
- 777. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 888. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_ethnic. Quelle est votre origine ethnique ?

1. Soussou
2. Peulh
3. Malinké
4. Kissien
5. Toma
6. Guérzé
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Je ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_work. Lequel des éléments suivants décrit le mieux votre situation actuelle ?

1. Vous travaillez
2. Vous ne travaillez pas en ce moment, mais vous avez un emploi [ENQUÊTEUR : En vacances ou chômage technique]
3. Vous cherchez activement du travail
4. Vous êtes élève ou étudiant
5. Vous prenez soin de la maison
6. Vous êtes retraité, pensionnaire ou incapable de travailler
7. Vous ne travaillez pas et ne cherchez pas de travail
8. Vous êtes stagiaire (et PAS étudiant)
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Revenu. Pensez à toutes les personnes de votre ménage qui travaillent et gagnent de l'argent, et aux personnes qui envoient régulièrement de l'argent à votre ménage. En additionnant ces montants, quel est, selon vous, le revenu mensuel de votre ménage ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, le répondant peut estimer. Mettre « 0 » si aucun revenu.]

_____ Francs Guinéens [valeur numérique, y compris 0]

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

2. LÉGITIMITÉ ET CONFIANCE¹³⁹

Sat_dem. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous satisfait du fonctionnement de la démocratie en Guinée ?

1. Très satisfait
2. Satisfait
3. Ni satisfait ni insatisfait [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. Insatisfait
5. Très insatisfait
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Polinst_respect. Dans quelle mesure respectez-vous le gouvernement Guinéen actuel ?

1. Pas du tout
2. Quelque peu
3. Beaucoup
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Trust_gov_rev. Diriez-vous que vous avez confiance au gouvernement Guinéen actuel de faire ce qui est bon... ?

1. Toujours
2. La plupart du temps
3. Environ la moitié du temps
4. De temps en temps
5. Jamais
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Trust_justice_corrupt. Combien des personnes qui dirigent le gouvernement actuel sont corrompues ?

1. Aucune
2. Quelques-unes
3. Environ la moitié
4. La plupart
5. Toutes
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

¹³⁹ Le module « Légitimité et Confiance » mesure la satisfaction à l'égard de la démocratie (Sat_dem) et le soutien aux institutions politiques (Polinst_respect et Polinst_protect) à l'aide d'éléments tirés du Baromètre des Amériques (Latin American Public Opinion Project, Université Vanderbilt). Il mesure la confiance dans le gouvernement (Trust_gov_rev Trust_gov_corrupt) à l'aide d'éléments de l'American National Elections Study (Université de Stanford et Université du Michigan). Le module comprend une expérience visant à évaluer dans quelle mesure la présence égale des femmes dans les organisations de décision politique confère une légitimité aux processus et aux résultats de la prise de décision politique, et augmente la légitimité globale. L'enquête vise à produire des preuves que l'USAID peut utiliser pour justifier l'investissement dans les programmes WPPL du point de vue de la gouvernance—et en plus des justifications axées sur l'équité et les contributions des femmes leaders aux résultats du développement. L'inspiration pour l'expérience vient de : Clayton, A., O'Brien, D.Z., et Piscopo, J.M. (2019). Tous les panneaux masculins ? Représentation et légitimité démocratique, *American Journal of Political Science*, 63(1), 113-129.

Trust_media. Dans quelle mesure faites-vous confiance aux médias ?

- 1. Pas du tout
- 2. Un peu
- 3. Beaucoup
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

eff_pol_ext. Les gens qui gouvernent ce pays s'intéressent à ce que les gens comme moi pensent.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Tout à fait en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Issue_id1_v2. Je vais maintenant vous lire deux déclarations. S'il vous plaît, dites-moi laquelle se rapproche le plus de **votre propre point de vue**. [Randomiser laquelle (A ou B) est affichée en premier]

A : La place d'une femme est à la maison et son travail principal est de s'occuper du ménage et des enfants.

OU

B : La place d'une femme n'est pas seulement à la maison, mais aussi dans le monde extérieur et elle est capable de réaliser les mêmes choses que les hommes.

Issue_id2_v2. Quel est votre niveau de conviction par rapport à votre réponse précédente ?

- 1. Très forte
- 2. Un peu forte
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Issue_id4_v2. Maintenant, dites-moi quelle déclaration est la plus proche de **l'opinion de la plupart des gens de votre communauté** : [Randomiser laquelle (A ou B) est affichée en premier]

A : Les femmes ne devraient pas s'impliquer dans les décisions sur comment le pays ou nos communautés devraient être gérés. Leur place est à la maison, prenant soin de leur famille et de leurs enfants et c'est le travail des hommes de déterminer ce qui est le mieux pour notre communauté et, en fin de compte, pour notre pays.

OU

B : Tout comme les femmes prennent soin de leur famille, elles peuvent prendre soin de nos communautés et de notre pays aussi. Les femmes devraient s'impliquer davantage dans la façon dont nos communautés et, en fin de compte, notre pays, sont gérés.

Issue_id5_v2. Quel est votre niveau de conviction par rapport à votre réponse précédente ?

- 3. Très forte
- 4. Un peu forte
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

S'il vous plaît dites-moi lequel des éléments suivants se rapproche le plus de **votre opinion**.

Issue_id6_v2. Une femme devrait...

- 1. Ne pas s'impliquer en politique pour quelque raison que ce soit
- 2. S'impliquer en politique que si elle a la permission de son mari ou de sa famille
- 3. S'impliquer en politique quand elle choisit de le faire

Issue_id 7. Une femme devrait...

- 1. Se concentrer sur son foyer et ne pas s'impliquer dans la politique
- 2. Ne s'impliquer en politique que si elle peut encore s'occuper de son foyer
- 3. S'impliquer en politique quand elle choisit de le faire

[Echantillon fractionné :

1/2 des répondants répondent au 4. Module NORMES

1/2 des répondants répondent au 5. Module ATTITUDES]

4. NORMS

4.1 NORMES RELATIVES AUX ROLES SEXOSPECIFIQUES¹⁴⁰

Maintenant, je vais vous poser quelques questions sur ce que les gens de votre communauté font ou pensent. Quand je dis « communauté », je veux dire les gens qui sont importants pour vous. Dites-moi combien de personnes dans votre communauté seraient d'accord avec les déclarations suivantes :

Norm_genrol_4. Les filles ne devraient être envoyées à l'école que si on n'a pas besoin d'elles à la maison.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_genrol_8. Les hommes devraient prendre les décisions à la maison.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_genrol_14. Les familles devraient contrôler les comportements de leurs filles plus que ceux de leurs fils.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_genrol_10_v2. L'égalité des sexes est principalement une préoccupation des femmes.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

¹⁴⁰ L'échelle des normes de rôle de genre est tirée de : Baird, S., Bhutta, Z. A., Hamad, B. A., et. al. (2019). Les attitudes et les normes restrictives en matière de genre influencent-elles la santé physique et mentale pendant la très jeune adolescence ? Témoignages du Bangladesh et de l'Éthiopie. *SSM Population Health*, 9, 100480. Voir : https://emerge.ucsd.edu/r_1q503c5n20z3lyv2/.

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_genrol_12_v2. Les normes et les stéréotypes liées aux sexes affectent négativement les hommes et les femmes.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_genrol_15. Lorsqu'il s'agit de donner aux femmes les mêmes droits qu'aux hommes, **la plupart des gens de votre communauté** pensent-ils que le pays :

1. A progressé plus que nécessaire
2. A progressé trop peu
3. A agit plus ou moins correctement

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

4.2 NORMES POLITIQUES

Et maintenant, je vais vous poser des questions sur les croyances des gens de votre communauté à l'égard de la politique. Rappelez-vous que nous ne posons pas de questions sur vos croyances personnelles. S'il vous plaît dites-moi **combien de personnes dans votre communauté** seraient d'accord avec les déclarations suivantes :

Norm_pol_1. Il est approprié que les **femmes** votent aux élections.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_pol_2. Les familles devraient laisser leurs **filles** devenir membres d'un parti politique.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_pol_3. Les familles devraient laisser leurs **fil**s devenir membres d'un parti politique.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_pol_6a. Il est approprié que les femmes s'expriment publiquement.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
 2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
 3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
 4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_pol_4. Il est approprié que les femmes se présentent comme candidate pour être maire.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
 2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
 3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
 4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_pol_5. Il est approprié que les femmes se présentent à la Présidence.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
 2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
 3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
 4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_pol_9. Les hommes sont de meilleurs dirigeants politiques que les femmes.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
 2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
 3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
 4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_pol_6. Combien de personnes dans votre communauté seraient prêtes à voter pour une femme aux élections locales (communales et communautaires) ?

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté
 2. La plupart de votre communauté
 3. Quelques personnes dans votre communauté
 4. Personne dans votre communauté
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_pol_7. Combien de personnes dans votre communauté seraient prêtes à voter pour une femme à la Présidence ?

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté
2. La plupart de votre communauté
3. Quelques personnes dans votre communauté
4. Personne dans votre communauté

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_pol_8b. Combien de personnes dans votre communauté seraient prêtes à voter pour des personnes handicapées aux élections municipales ?

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté
2. La plupart de votre communauté
3. Quelques personnes dans votre communauté
4. Personne dans votre communauté

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_pol_10a. Les femmes politiquement actives devraient s'attendre à être victimes de violence lorsqu'elles participent à des activités politiques telles que voter ou assister à des réunions ou des rassemblements politiques.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Norm_pol_11a. Les dirigeants politiques masculins devraient avoir le dernier mot sur les décisions du parti ou de l'organisation politique.

1. Tout le monde dans votre communauté serait d'accord
2. La plupart de votre communauté serait d'accord
3. Certaines personnes de votre communauté seraient d'accord
4. Personne dans votre communauté ne serait d'accord

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

5. ATTITUDES

5.1 ATTITUDES RELATIVES AUX ROLES DE GENRE¹⁴¹

Maintenant, j'aimerais vous poser des questions sur vos propres croyances personnelles. S'il vous plaît dites-moi dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou en désaccord avec les déclarations suivantes.

Att_genrol_1. Les filles ne devraient être envoyées à l'école que si on n'a pas besoin d'elles à la maison.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_genrol_6. Les familles devraient contrôler les comportements de leurs filles plus que ceux de leurs fils.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_genrol_7. Lorsque les femmes obtiennent des droits, elles enlèvent des droits aux hommes.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Maintenant, je vais vous poser des questions sur les possibilités qu'ont les hommes et les femmes.

Att_genrol_8d. Lorsqu'il s'agit de se présenter à un poste politique, pensez-vous que les femmes ont plus d'opportunités que les hommes, moins d'opportunités que les hommes, ou à peu près le même niveau d'opportunités ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Si le répondant dit plus ou moins, lisez :] Est-ce beaucoup plus/moins ou un peu plus/moins ?

¹⁴¹ NORC a développé l'ensemble des éléments mesurant les attitudes de rôle de genre (att_genrol_1—att_genrol_6) pour correspondre aux éléments mesurant les normes de rôle de genre. Voir la section 5.1 et la note de bas de page 3.

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------------|
| A. Plus | → Est-ce beaucoup plus ou un peu plus ? | 1. Beaucoup plus |
| B. À peu près pareil | → | 2. Un peu plus |
| C. Moins | → Est-ce beaucoup moins ou un peu moins ? | 3. À peu près pareil |
| | | 4. Un peu moins |
| D. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] | → | 5. Beaucoup moins |
| E. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] | → | 6. Ne sais pas |
| | | 7. Refusé |

Att_genrol_9. Quand il s'agit de donner aux femmes les mêmes droits qu'aux hommes, pensez-vous que le pays :

1. Est allé trop loin
2. N'est pas allé assez loin
3. A agit plus ou moins correctement
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_genrol_10. Pour vous, l'égalité des sexes est principalement une préoccupation des femmes.

1. Tout à fait d'accord
2. D'accord
3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. En désaccord
5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_genrol_11. Les normes et les stéréotypes liés aux sexes affectent négativement les hommes et les femmes.

1. Tout à fait d'accord
2. D'accord
3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. En désaccord
5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

5.2 ATTITUDES POLITIQUES

Et maintenant, j'aimerais vous poser des questions sur vos propres croyances personnelles liées à la politique. S'il vous plaît dites-moi dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou en désaccord avec les déclarations suivantes.

Att_pol_1. Il est approprié que les femmes votent aux élections.

1. Tout à fait d'accord
2. D'accord
3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. En désaccord
5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_2. Vous laisseriez votre **fil**le devenir membre d'un parti politique.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_3. Vous laisseriez votre **fil**s devenir membre d'un parti politique.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_4. Il est approprié qu'une femme se présente aux élections locales (communales et communautaires).

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_5. Il est approprié qu'une femme se présente à la Présidence.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_6. Vous seriez prêt à voter pour une femme aux élections locales (communales et communautaires).

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_7. Vous seriez prêt à voter pour une femme à la Présidence.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord

2. D'accord
3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. En désaccord
5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_8a. Vous seriez prêt à voter pour une personne non-autochtone pour les élections locales (communales et communautaires).

1. Tout à fait d'accord
2. D'accord
3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. En désaccord
5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_8b. Vous seriez prêt à voter pour une personne albinos pour les élections locales (communales et communautaires).

1. Tout à fait d'accord
2. D'accord
3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. En désaccord
5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_8c. Vous seriez prêt à voter pour une personne handicapée pour les élections locales (communales et communautaires).

1. Tout à fait d'accord
2. D'accord
3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. En désaccord
5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_9. Les hommes sont de meilleurs dirigeants politiques que les femmes.

1. Tout à fait d'accord
2. D'accord
3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. En désaccord
5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_11. Il convient que les femmes expriment leurs opinions en public.

1. Tout à fait d'accord

- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_12. Il devrait y avoir un nombre égal d'hommes et de femmes au Conseil Communal.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_13. Il devrait y avoir un nombre égal d'hommes et de femmes à l'Assemblée Nationale.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_14. La loi qui oblige les partis politiques à avoir un nombre minimum de femmes candidates à l'Assemblée Nationale est une bonne chose.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_16. Les femmes politiquement actives devraient s'attendre à être victimes de violence lorsqu'elles participent à des activités politiques telles que voter ou assister à des réunions ou des rassemblements politiques.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_17. Les dirigeants politiques masculins devraient avoir le dernier mot sur les décisions du parti ou de l'organisation politique.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord

- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_10. Sans penser à une personne en particulier, préféreriez-vous voter pour [Alterner : un homme / une femme] pour un poste électif ?

- 1. Femme
- 2. Homme
- 3. Aucune différence [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

7. AUTONOMIE¹⁴²

7.1 PRISE DE DECISIONS DANS LES MENAGES

Maintenant, je vais vous poser quelques questions sur le degré de contrôle que vous avez sur des décisions personnelles, par exemple avec qui vous passez du temps à l'extérieur de votre maison.

[Posez des questions ci-dessous pour chaque HH_Decision :

1. Avec qui vous passez du temps à l'extérieur de votre maison
2. Quand chercher des soins de santé pour vous-même
3. Quitter votre maison pour rendre visite à des membres de votre famille]

[Affichage : ENQUÊTEUR : Lire [HH_Decision]

Conserver ENQUÊTEUR : Lisez [HH_Decision] en haut de l'écran pour chaque question de suivi]

Hhdm_control. Sur une échelle de 1 à 10 où 1 signifie que votre conjoint ou un autre membre du ménage a un contrôle total et 10 signifie que vous avez un contrôle total, combien de contrôle diriez-vous que vous avez quand il s'agit de [insérer une action] ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Si le répondant dit qu'il n'a pas de conjoint, demandez-lui de se concentrer sur les autres membres du ménage comme les parents, les frères et sœurs, les enfants, etc.]

_____ [nombre compris entre 1 et 10, inclus]

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

[Fin de boucle]

7.1 PRISE DE DECISION POLITIQUE

Maintenant, je vais vous poser quelques questions sur le degré de contrôle que vous avez sur d'autres décisions.

[Posez des questions ci-dessous pour chacun POL_Decision :

1. Partir de chez vous pour aller à une réunion communautaire
2. Partir de chez vous pour aller à un rassemblement politique ou à un autre événement de campagne
3. Voter ou non lors d'une élection nationale (législative ou présidentielle)

¹⁴² Le module de l'Agence comprend des questions sur la prise de décisions politiques et des ménages. Il est conçu pour mesurer dans quelle mesure les femmes (et les hommes) ont le contrôle sur leurs choix et découvrir les conséquences auxquelles elles sont confrontées lorsqu'elles défient les structures de pouvoir traditionnelles. Les sources suivantes ont éclairé l'élaboration de ce module :

1. Enquêtes démographiques et de santé. (2019). Enquêtes démographiques et de santé Phase 8 : Questionnaire pour les femmes. Tiré de: <https://dhsprogram.com/publications/publication-DHSQ8-DHS-Questionnaires-and-Manuals.cfm>
2. La « dimension décisionnelle » dans Wisor S., Bessell S., Castillo F., et al. (2014). La mesure de la privation individuelle : une approche sensible au genre pour mesurer la pauvreté. Melbourne : Agence internationale de développement des femmes. Voir: <http://emerge.ucsd.edu/measure-id/>
3. Hinson, L., Edmeades, J., Murithi, L., et Puri, M. (2019). Élaborer et tester des mesures de l'agence de prise de décision en matière de procréation au Népal. SSM Population Health, 9, 100473. Voir: <http://emerge.ucsd.edu/measure-rdma/>

4. Pour qui voter lors d'une élection nationale (législative ou présidentielle)]

[Affichage : ENQUÊTEUR : Lire [POL_Decision]

Conserver ENQUÊTEUR : Lisez [POL_Decision] en haut de l'écran pour chaque question de suivi]

Pdm_control. Sur une échelle de 1 à 10 où 1 signifie que votre conjoint ou un autre membre du ménage a un contrôle total et 10 signifie que vous avez un contrôle total, combien de contrôle diriez-vous que vous avez quand il s'agit de [insérer une action] ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Si le répondant dit qu'il n'a pas de conjoint, demandez-lui de se concentrer sur les autres membres du ménage comme les parents, les frères et sœurs, les enfants, etc.]

1. _____ [nombre compris entre 1 et 10, inclus]

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

[Fin de boucle]

[Echantillon fractionné :

1/2 des répondants répondent au 8. Module ATTITUDES DE MASCULINITÉ

1/2 des répondants répondent au 9. Module SEXISME]

8. ATTITUDES DE MASCULINITÉ¹⁴³

Dans cette section, j'aimerais vous poser des questions sur vos croyances personnelles. S'il vous plaît dites-moi dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou en désaccord avec les déclarations suivantes.

Masc_1. Pour être un homme, il faut être dur.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Masc_2. Changer les couches, laver et nourrir les enfants sont la responsabilité des mères.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Masc_3. Si quelqu'un insulte un homme, il doit défendre sa réputation en utilisant la force s'il le faut.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Masc_4. Une femme devrait tolérer la violence afin de garder sa famille unie.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

¹⁴³ Les échelles « L'Attitudes de Masculinité » sont adaptées de l'échelle GEM, de la domination de la masculinité et des sous-échelles de sexualité. <https://promundoglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Measuring-Gender-Attitude-Using-Gender-Equitable-Men-Scale.pdf>.

Masc_9. Un homme devrait avoir le dernier mot sur les décisions dans son foyer.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

9. SEXISME¹⁴⁴

Dans cette section, j'aimerais vous poser des questions sur vos propres croyances personnelles. S'il vous plaît dites-moi dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou en désaccord avec les déclarations suivantes.

ASI_2. Les femmes devraient être chéries et protégées par les hommes.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

ASI_4. Chaque homme devrait avoir une femme qu'il aime vraiment.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

ASI_6. Les femmes exagèrent les problèmes qu'elles ont au travail.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

¹⁴⁴ Le module « Sexisme » comprend des versions courtes de l'inventaire du sexisme ambivalent (Glick, P., et Fiske, S. T. (1996). L'inventaire du sexisme ambivalent : différencier le sexisme hostile et bienveillant. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 491-512) et l'inventaire de l'ambivalence envers les hommes (Glick, P., et Fiske, S. T. (1999). L'inventaire de l'ambivalence envers les hommes : différencier les croyances hostiles et bienveillantes sur les hommes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 23, 519-536). Les échelles courtes sont discutées dans: Rollero, C., Glick, P., et Tartaglia, S. (2014). Propriétés psychométriques des versions courtes de l'inventaire du sexisme ambivalent et de l'inventaire de l'ambivalence envers les hommes. *TPM*, 21(2), 1-11.

ASI_7. Lorsqu'une femme demande à un homme de s'engager envers elle, elle essaie généralement de le contrôler.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

ASI_11. Les hommes devraient être prêts à tout faire pour subvenir aux besoins financiers des femmes dans leur vie.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

ASI_12. Les gens qui se battent pour les droits des femmes font des demandes déraisonnables aux hommes.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

10. VIOLENCE ET HARCÈLEMENT

10.1 SECURITE

S'il vous plaît dites-moi dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou en désaccord avec les déclarations suivantes.

Move_safe_day. Vous vous sentez en sécurité quand vous vous déplacez seul dans votre quartier ou village **pendant la journée**.

1. Tout à fait d'accord
2. D'accord
3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. En désaccord
5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Move_safe_night. Vous vous sentez en sécurité quand vous vous déplacez seul dans votre quartier ou village **la nuit**.

1. Tout à fait d'accord
2. D'accord
3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. En désaccord
5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

10.2 NORMES DE VIOLENCE FAMILIALE¹⁴⁵

vhd_hit_1. Le point de vue de votre communauté concernant les maris qui frappent leurs femmes est que c'est...

1. Leur droit de le faire
2. Acceptable même si c'est contraire à la loi
3. Acceptable dans certaines circonstances
4. Courant, mais socialement inacceptable
5. Un comportement inacceptable en toute circonstance
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

vhd_hit_2. Votre point de vue concernant les maris qui frappent leurs femmes est que c'est...

1. Leur droit de le faire
2. Acceptable même si c'est contraire à la loi
3. Acceptable dans certaines circonstances

¹⁴⁵ NORC a élaboré l'ensemble des éléments mesurant les normes sur la violence domestique en adaptant l'ensemble des éléments mesurant les attitudes à l'égard de la violence domestique. Voir la section 9.3 et la note de bas de page 8.

- 4. Courant, mais socialement inacceptable
- 5. Comportement inacceptable en toute circonstance
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Maintenant, je vais vous interroger sur les désaccords entre maris et femmes. Parfois, un mari peut être agacé ou en colère à cause de quelque chose que sa femme fait.

[Posez des questions ci-dessous pour chaque ACTION :

- 1. Quitte la maison sans le lui dire
- 2. Ne s'occupe pas correctement des enfants
- 3. Se dispute avec lui
- 4. Refuse d'avoir des relations sexuelles avec lui]

vhd_phys_norm. Dans votre communauté, la plupart des gens croient-ils qu'il soit justifié pour un mari de frapper ou de battre sa femme si elle [ACTION] ?

- 1. Oui
- 2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

vhd_phys_att. À votre avis, est-il justifié pour un mari de frapper ou de battre sa femme si elle [ACTION] ?

- 1. Oui
- 2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

[Fin de boucle]

10.3 HARCELEMENT

vhd_cmnt_online. S'il vous plaît dites-moi dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou en désaccord avec la déclaration suivante : Les femmes que vous connaissez s'inquiètent que les gens les harcèlent ou leur fassent des commentaires sexuels désobligeants quand elles sont sur internet.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

10.4 VIOLENCE POLITIQUE

Pol _viol_1. Maintenant, je vais vous lire une liste de problèmes que certaines personnes éprouvent lorsqu'elles essaient de participer à la politique, comme assister à une réunion ou à un rassemblement politique, voter, communiquer avec votre représentant élu ou toute autre activité politique.

S'il vous plaît dites-moi si vous avez rencontré l'un de ces problèmes lorsque vous avez essayé de participer à la politique.

[ENQUÊTEUR : Lisez toutes les options de réponse et sélectionnez toutes celles qui s'appliquent]

1. Quelqu'un a essayé de vous tuer
2. Quelqu'un vous a frappé ou battu ou vous a agressé physiquement d'une autre manière
3. Quelqu'un a essayé de vous violer
4. Quelqu'un a fait d'autres avances sexuelles non désirées envers vous
5. Quelqu'un vous a harcelé en ligne (ex., sur les médias sociaux)
6. Quelqu'un vous a proféré des menaces contre vous et votre famille
7. Quelqu'un a dit de mauvaises choses à votre sujet
8. Quelqu'un vous a retiré votre allocation ou tout autre argent que vous avez
9. Quelqu'un vous a empêché de quitter la maison
10. Quelqu'un a fait autre chose pour vous arrêter -> préciser : _____

[Posez les questions ci-dessous pour chaque PROBLEME auquel le répondant a répondu « Oui » dans pol_viol_1 :]

pol_viol_2. Dans quelle(s) activité(s) politique(s) étiez-vous impliqué (s) lorsque cela s'est produit ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Lisez toutes les options de réponse et sélectionnez toutes celles qui s'appliquent]

1. Voter
2. Se présenter aux élections
3. Assister à une réunion de parti
4. Assister à d'autres réunions politiques ou communautaires
5. S'exprimer lors d'une réunion politique ou communautaire
6. S'exprimer lors d'une manifestation ou d'un rassemblement
7. S'exprimer lors de débats du Conseil Communal ou de l'Assemblée Nationale
8. Assister à une manifestation ou à un rassemblement
9. Rédaction ou signature d'une pétition
10. Contacter un élu
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]

pol_viol_3. Qui vous a fait ça ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas les choix de réponses, sondez pour classer les réponses. Sélectionnez tout ce qui s'applique]

1. Parti politique (comprend les dirigeants, les membres, les sympathisants, les bénévoles, la milice)
2. Candidats
3. Élu (y compris les élus locaux, communaux, nationaux)
4. Conjoint
5. Autre membre masculin de la famille
6. Autre membre féminin de la famille

- 7. Police / Armée
- 8. Agents électoraux
- 9. Fonctionnaire du gouvernement (à l'exclusion des agents électoraux)
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

[Fin de boucle]

10. 6 EXPÉRIENCES PENDANT LES VIOLENCES ÉLECTORALES / POLITIQUES¹⁴⁶

Maintenant, j'aimerais vous poser quelques questions sur vos expériences pendant les violences électorales / politiques.

War_0. Avez-vous connu des violences électorales / politiques ?

- 1. Oui
- 2. Non [→ Aller à **Gen_iss_I**]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas] [→ Aller à **Gen_iss_I**]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] [→ Aller à **Gen_iss_I**]

War_1. Pendant les violences électorales / politiques, quelqu'un vous a-t-il blessé physiquement, ou a blessé physiquement un membre de votre famille ou un ami ?

- 1. Oui
- 2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

War_2. Pendant les violences électorales / politiques, quelqu'un a-t-il endommagé ou emporté vos biens ou ceux d'un membre de votre famille ou d'un ami ?

- 1. Oui
- 2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

¹⁴⁶ Ce sous-module peut ne pas être inclus dans tous les pays.

II. ENJEUX/POSTES DE DIRECTION ET GENRE

[Echantillon fractionné :

1/2 des répondants répondent au 11.1 Sous-module DOMAINES D'INTERET ET GENRE DES POLITICIENS

1/2 des répondants répondent au 11.2 Sous-module POSITIONS POLITIQUES ET GENRE DES POLITICIENS]

11.1 DOMAINES D'INTERET ET GENRE DES POLITICIENS

Maintenant, je vais vous poser des questions sur certaines choses sur lesquelles les gens du gouvernement travaillent. Pour chacune d'entre elles, dites-moi si vous pensez que les hommes sont meilleurs, les femmes sont meilleures, ou s'il n'y a pas de différence entre les hommes et les femmes.

Gen_iss_1. La défense et sécurité

[ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes meilleures, ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_iss_2. Éducation

[ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes meilleures, ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_iss_3. Santé

[ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes meilleures, ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_iss_4. Gestion de l'économie

[ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes meilleures, ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Genl_iss_5. Lutte contre la pauvreté

[ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes sont-elles meilleures ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

11.2 POSITIONS POLITIQUES ET GENRE DES POLITICIENS

Maintenant, je vais vous demander ce que vous pensez de fonction politiques spécifiques. Pour chaque fonction politique, s'il vous plaît dites-moi si vous pensez que les hommes feraient un meilleur travail, les femmes feraient un meilleur travail, ou qu'il n'y a pas de différence entre les hommes et les femmes.

Gen_pos_1a. Maire de la commune [ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes sont-elles meilleures ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_pos_1b. Chef de quartier [ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes sont-elles meilleures, ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_pos_2. Juge [ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes sont-elles meilleures, ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_pos_3. Ministre de la Santé [ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes sont-elles meilleures ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_pos_4. Ministre de la Défense [ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes meilleures, ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_pos_5. Député à l'Assemblée Nationale ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes sont-elles meilleures, ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_pos_7. Président de la République ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes meilleures, ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_pos_8. Chef de parti politique ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes sont-elles meilleures ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_pos_9. Premier Ministre ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Si nécessaire, répétez : les hommes sont-ils meilleurs, les femmes sont-elles meilleures ou n'y a-t-il pas de différence ?]

1. Les hommes sont meilleurs
2. Les femmes sont meilleures
3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_pos_leg. S'il y avait plus de femmes Députées, pensez-vous que le gouvernement ferait un meilleur ou un moins bon travail pour traiter les problèmes du pays, ou le nombre de femmes Députées n'a pas grand-chose à voir avec cela ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Ferait un meilleur travail
2. Ferait un moins bon travail
3. Le nombre de femmes Députées n'a pas grand-chose à voir avec cela

-888. Ne sais pas

-999. Refusé

Gen_pos_desc. En pensant à la Guinée, diriez-vous qu'il devrait y avoir plus de femmes ou moins de femmes en politique, ou le nombre est-il à peu près correct ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Plus de femmes

2. Moins de femmes

3. A peu près correct

-888. Ne sais pas

-999. Refusé

Gen_pos_rep. Avec laquelle des affirmations suivantes êtes-vous le plus d'accord ?

1. Les femmes et les hommes politiques représentent mes intérêts de manière égale

2. Les hommes politiques représentent mieux mes intérêts

3. Les femmes politiques représentent mieux mes intérêts

4. Aucun d'entre eux ne représente mes intérêts

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

11.3 MEDIAS ET GENRE

Gen_media_1. Maintenant, je vais vous poser quelques questions sur les gens qui travaillent dans les médias. En Guinée, devrait-il y avoir plus de femmes journalistes, moins de femmes journalistes, ou le nombre est-il à peu près correct ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Plus de femmes

2. Moins de femmes

3. Le nombre est à peu près correct

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_media_2. Toujours en parlant des gens qui travaillent dans les médias, qui pensez-vous fait un meilleur travail : les hommes journalistes, les femmes journalistes, ou il n'y a pas de différence entre les hommes et les femmes journalistes ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Hommes

2. Femmes

3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_media_3. Et selon vous, qui mérite le plus de confiance : les hommes journalistes, les femmes journalistes, ou il n'y a pas de différence entre les hommes et les femmes journalistes ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Hommes

2. Femmes

3. Aucune différence entre les hommes et les femmes

4. Ni les hommes ni les femmes journalistes ne méritent de confiance

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

12. ÉVEIL POLITIQUE

Je vais maintenant vous poser quelques questions sur votre intérêt et votre implication en politique.

12.1 ENGAGEMENT OU INTERET POLITIQUE

Awr_eng_1. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous intéressé par la politique ?

1. Très intéressé
2. Quelque peu intéressé
3. Pas du tout intéressé
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Awr_eng_2. A quelle fréquence parlez-vous de politique avec les gens de votre ménage ?

1. Tous les jours
2. Quelques fois par semaine
3. Quelques fois par mois
4. Moins d'une fois par mois
5. Jamais
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Motiv_poldisc. Quand vous étiez jeune, votre famille parlait de politique...

1. Beaucoup
2. Un peu
3. Pas du tout
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Awr_eng_3. Dites-moi à quelle fréquence vous recevez des nouvelles de chacune des sources de nouvelles qui suivent. À quelle fréquence recevez-vous des nouvelles de :

[Posez la question ci-dessous pour chaque SOURCE :

1. La radio
2. La télévision
3. Les journaux
4. Sites internet
5. Les médias sociaux tels que Facebook ou Twitter

[SOURCE]

1. Tous les jours
2. Quelques fois par semaine
3. Quelques fois par mois
4. Moins d'une fois par mois
5. Jamais
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

12.2 CONNAISSANCES POLITIQUES

Pourriez-vous me dire...

Awr_know_1. Qui est le Président de la Guinée actuellement ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Colonel Mamadi Doumbouya [ENQUÊTEUR : Ou une variation du titre, prénom et/ou nom]
2. Autre réponse
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Awr_know_2. Qui est le Président du Conseil National de la Transition ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Dr. Dansa Kourouma
2. Autre réponse
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Awr_know_3. Pour quand les prochaines élections nationales sont-elles prévues ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Dans trois ans / 39 mois / Dans trois ans et trois mois
2. Autre réponse
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Awr_know_quota_1. Dans divers pays, il existe des lois qui obligent les partis politiques à avoir un nombre minimum de femmes candidates aux élections législatives. Existe-t-il une loi comme celle-ci pour les élections législatives en Guinée ?

1. Oui
2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

13. AUTO-EFFICACITÉ

13.2. EFFICACITE POLITIQUE¹⁴⁷

Maintenant, je vais vous poser des questions sur certaines actions politiques spécifiques. Pour chacune d'entre elles, veuillez me dire à quel point vous êtes confiant dans votre capacité à faire l'action spécifique décrite.

[Avant chaque question ci-dessous, insérez ce qui suit : « A quel point vous êtes confiant dans votre capacité à »

eff_pol_PPSE1. Solliciter l'appui des autorités nationales pour des causes auxquelles vous croyez.

[ENQUÊTEUR : Par « autorités nationales », nous voulons dire les membres du gouvernement, des cabinets ministériels, et des services techniques]

- 1. Pas du tout confiant
- 2. Un peu confiant
- 3. Confiant
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

eff_pol_PPSE2. Parler, appeler ou écrire aux représentants locaux des autorités nationales

[ENQUÊTEUR : Par « représentants locaux des autorités nationales », nous voulons dire le Gouverneur, Préfet, Sous-Préfet, Maire]

- 1. Pas du tout confiant
- 2. Un peu confiant
- 3. Confiant
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

eff_pol_PPSE3. Mobiliser vos collègues de travail, vos amis et votre famille pour soutenir les causes politiques ou les politiques de développement auxquelles vous croyez.

- 1. Pas du tout confiant
- 2. Un peu confiant
- 3. Confiant
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

¹⁴⁷ La section sur l'efficacité politique comprend les éléments suivants :

- 1. La version courte de l'échelle d'auto-efficacité politique perçue (eff_pol_PPSE1 à eff_pol_PPSE4) de : Caprara, G.V., Vecchione, M., Capanna, C. et Mebane, M. (2009). Auto-efficacité politique perçue : théorie, évaluation et applications. *Revue européenne de psychologie sociale*, 39(6), 1002-1020
- 2. Éléments d'efficacité politique externe et interne (eff_pol_ext et eff_pol_int) du Baromètre des Amériques

eff_pol_PPSE4. Surveiller les actions des autorités.

[ENQUÊTEUR : Par « actions des autorités », nous voulons dire le plan et le budget de développement local, la réalisation d'infrastructure, etc.]

- 1. Pas du tout confiant
- 2. Un peu confiant
- 3. Confiant
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

eff_pol_meeting1. Vous exprimer lors d'une réunion communautaire pour aider à décider comment l'argent du gouvernement devrait être dépensé dans votre communauté.

- 1. Pas du tout confiant
- 2. Un peu confiant
- 3. Confiant
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

eff_pol_meeting2. Vous exprimer lors d'une réunion communautaire si vous n'êtes pas d'accord avec ce que quelqu'un d'autre fait ou dit.

- 1. Pas du tout confiant
- 2. Un peu confiant
- 3. Confiant
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

eff_pol_int. Vous sentez que vous comprenez les enjeux politiques les plus importantes de ce pays.

[ENQUÊTEUR : Par « enjeux politiques », nous voulons dire gouvernance, économie, sécurité, élections, etc.]

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

eff_pol_power. Quel pouvoir pensez-vous que les gens comme vous ont pour changer les choses dans votre communauté ?

- 1. Beaucoup
- 2. Quelque peu
- 3. Pas du tout
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

eff_pol_ambition1. Aimerez-vous travailler en politique ?

- 1. Beaucoup
- 2. Quelque peu

- 3. Pas du tout
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

eff_pol_ambition2. Si vous travailliez en politique, pensez-vous que vous pourriez faire un peu, beaucoup, ou aucune différence ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Par « travailler en politique », nous voulons dire être dirigeant politique ou élu.]

- 1. Beaucoup
- 2. Un peu
- 3. Aucune
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

14. ACTION CIVIQUE ET POLITIQUE

Je vais maintenant vous poser quelques questions sur votre implication dans des activités civiques et politiques. N'oubliez pas que vos réponses sont confidentielles.

14.1 VOTE

Act_vote_last. Avez-vous voté à la dernière élection présidentielle ?

- 1. Oui → [Aller à Act_vote_sanc](#)
- 2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas] → [Aller à Act_vote_sanc](#)
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → [Aller à Act_vote_sanc](#)

Act_vote_novote. Quelle est la principale raison pour laquelle vous n'avez pas voté ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 1. Hors du pays ou de circonscription électorale
- 2. En raison d'une maladie
- 3. Bureau de vote trop éloigné
- 4. Je ne voulais pas voter
- 5. Mon parti préféré n'était pas représenté
- 6. Empêché par mon conjoint / mon partenaire / ma famille
- 7. Manque de temps / n'a pas eu le temps de voter
- 8. Manque d'argent
- 9. Peur de la violence, du harcèlement ou de la sécurité personnelle
- 10. Pas inscrit pour voter / pas de carte électorale
- 11. N'était pas assez âgé pour voter
- 12. Boycott
- 777. Autre, préciser [[réponse ouverte](#)]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Act_vote_sanc. Rencontrez-vous des problèmes lorsque vous essayez de voter aux élections ?

- 1. Oui
- 2. Non → [Aller à Act_vote_forwoman](#)

- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas] → Aller à Act_vote_forwoman
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_vote_forwoman

Act_vote_sanc_fu. Quels types de problèmes rencontrez-vous lorsque vous essayez de voter ?
[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas les options de réponse, sondez pour plusieurs raisons] [sélectionnez plusieurs]

- 1. Le mari ou les membres de la famille seront en colère
- 2. Peur d'être harcelé, menacé ou blessé
- 3. Peur que cela puisse nuire à leur réputation dans la communauté
- 4. Problème administratif
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Act_vote_forwoman. Avez-vous déjà voté pour une femme à une élection ? [ENQUÊTEUR : S'ils demandent quelle élection, dites « quelle qu'elle soit »]

- 1. Oui → Pourquoi? [réponse ouverte] → Aller à Act_run_recruit
- 2. Non
- 3. Jamais voté à une élection [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas] → Aller à Act_run_recruit
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas] → Aller à Act_run_recruit
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_run_recruit

Act_vote_noforwoman. Pourquoi n'avez-vous jamais voté pour une femme auparavant ?
[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 1. Il n'y avait pas de candidates féminines
- 2. Il n'y avait pas de candidates féminines de mon parti préféré
- 3. Les candidates féminines ne sont pas aptes à occuper le poste
- 4. Les hommes sont plus qualifiés que les femmes
- 5. Les femmes ne peuvent pas gérer le stress
- 6. On ne peut pas faire confiance aux femmes
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

14.2 SE PRESENTER AUX ELECTIONS

Act_run_recruit. Quelqu'un vous a-t-il déjà suggéré de vous présenter à un poste politique ?

- 1. Oui
- 2. Non → Aller à Act_run_accept
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas] → Aller à Act_run_accept
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas] → Aller à Act_run_accept

Act_run_recruiter. Qui vous a suggéré de vous présenter à un poste politique ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas les options de réponse ; sondez pour comprendre la position/affiliation ou le type de groupe de la personne]

- 1. Chef / membre du parti
- 2. Représentant élu

3. Activiste politique [ENQUÊTEUR : inclure des personnes d'ONG, de groupes d'intérêt et d'organismes communautaires]
4. Communauté / membres de la communauté / voisins
5. Ami
6. Famille
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Act_run_accept. Si on vous offrait la possibilité de vous présenter aux élections, quelle serait votre probabilité d'accepter ?

1. Très probable
2. Assez probable
3. Peu probable
4. Pas du tout probable
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Act_run_past. Vous êtes-vous déjà présenté à un poste politique ?

1. Oui
2. Non → Aller à Act_run_stage
3. Je ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_run_stage
4. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_run_stage

Act_run_past_level. À quels niveaux de gouvernement vous êtes-vous présenté pour des postes politiques ?

[Sélectionnez plusieurs] [ENQUÊTEUR : Lisez toutes les options de réponse et sélectionnez toutes celles qui s'appliquent]

1. Présidentiel
2. Législatif
3. Communal
4. Communautaire
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Act_run_pastmotive. Quelle était votre principale raison de vous présenter à un poste politique ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Je viens d'une famille où la politique est une tradition / importante
2. Améliorer la vie quotidienne dans ma ville ou mon village
3. Je me sens responsable de servir la communauté / le pays
4. Promouvoir les questions sociales, économiques et le développement
5. Modifier la législation et la politique
6. Besoin de plus de femmes représentées en politique
7. Besoin de plus de représentants de mon groupe ethnique
8. Mon rêve personnel – je voulais le faire depuis longtemps
9. J'ai les bonnes compétences / l'éducation pour le travail

10. Je voulais améliorer quelque chose de spécifique dans ma communauté / mon pays → Préciser [ouvert]
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

[Aller à Act_run_sanc après Act_run_pastmotive]

Act_run_stage. Qu'est-ce qui décrit le mieux votre attitude à l'égard d'une future candidature de votre part à un poste politique ?

1. C'est quelque chose que vous êtes peu susceptible de faire
2. Vous ne l'excluriez pas pour toujours, mais vous n'avez actuellement aucun intérêt
3. C'est quelque chose que vous pourriez faire si vous en aviez l'occasion
4. C'est quelque chose que vous aimeriez certainement faire à l'avenir
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Act_run_possmotive. Quelle est la principale raison pour laquelle vous envisageriez de vous présenter ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Améliorer la vie quotidienne dans ma ville ou mon village
2. Je me sens responsable de servir la communauté / le pays
3. Promouvoir les questions sociales, économiques et le développement
4. Modifier la législation et la politique du pays
5. Besoin de plus de femmes représentées en politique
6. Mon rêve personnel – je voulais le faire depuis longtemps
7. J'ai les bonnes compétences / l'éducation pour le travail
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Act_run_primarybarrier. Quel serait votre principal obstacle à une candidature à un poste politique ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Manque de temps
2. Manque d'argent et de ressources financières
3. Manque de soutien de la part des chefs de parti ou d'autres membres du parti
4. Je n'ai pas assez de capacité, de formation ou d'éducation
5. Manque de soutien familial
6. Peur du harcèlement ou de la violence
7. Peur que cela puisse nuire à ma réputation dans la communauté
8. Pas de barrière → Aller à Act_run_sanc
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Je ne sais pas → Aller à Act_run_sanc
- 999. Refusé → Aller à Act_run_sanc

Act_run_otherbarrier. Quels autres obstacles auriez-vous à vous présenter à un poste politique ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas les options de réponse ; sondez pour plusieurs raisons] [sélectionnez plusieurs] [Ne pas afficher la réponse sélectionnée de Act_run_primarybarrier si Act_run_primarybarrier = 1-7]

1. Manque de temps

2. Manque d'argent et de ressources financières
3. Manque de soutien de la part des chefs de parti ou d'autres membres du parti
4. Je n'ai pas assez de capacité, de formation ou d'éducation
5. Manque de soutien familial
6. Peur du harcèlement ou de la violence
7. Peur que cela puisse nuire à ma réputation dans la communauté
8. Pas d'autres barrières
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Act_run_sanc. Les femmes de votre communauté rencontrent-elles des problèmes lorsqu'elles se présentent à un poste politique ?

1. Oui
2. Non → Aller à Act_contact_past
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas] → Aller à Act_contact_past
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_contact_past

Act_run_sanc_sp. À quels types de problèmes les femmes sont-elles confrontées lorsqu'elles se présentent à des postes politiques ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse ; sonder pour plusieurs raisons] [sélectionner plusieurs]

1. Des rumeurs / commérages se répandent à leur sujet
2. Danger pour leur vie
3. Messages texte/courriels/appels téléphoniques indésirables
4. Harceler ou menacer leurs partisans
5. Violence physique envers elles ou leurs partisans
6. Gestes inappropriés (ex. toucher, froter)
7. Commentaires ou remarques à caractère sexuel
8. Peur que cela puisse nuire à sa réputation dans la communauté
9. Couverture médiatique sexiste
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

14.3 COMMUNIQUER AVEC LES ÉLUS

Act_contact_past. Avez-vous déjà contacté un représentant élu au sujet d'un problème social, économique ou politique ?

1. Oui → Aller à Act_rally_past
2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_rally_past
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_rally_past

Act_contact_norepeat. Pourquoi pas ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse ; sonder pour plusieurs raisons] [sélectionner plusieurs]

1. Pas assez de temps
2. Pas assez d'argent

3. Je ne sais pas comment le faire
4. Peur que des gens vous harcèlent, vous menacent, ou vous blessent
5. Peur de parler à un représentant du gouvernement
6. Aucune raison de parler à un représentant du gouvernement
7. Les politiciens / le gouvernement / les autorités ne répondent pas ou ne font pas ce qu'ils promettent
8. Pas eu besoin de le faire
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

14.4 PARTICIPATION A UN RASSEMBLEMENT POLITIQUE OU A UN EVENEMENT DE CAMPAGNE

Act_rally_past. Avez-vous déjà assisté à un meeting, une assemblée d'un parti politique, ou à un événement de campagne ?

1. Oui → Aller à Act_pet_past
2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_pet_past
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_pet_past

Act_rally_norepeat. Pourquoi pas ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse ; sonder pour plusieurs raisons] [sélectionner plusieurs]

1. Pas le temps
2. Pas d'argent
3. Aucun soutien de la part des chefs de parti ou d'autres personnes du parti
4. Peur que des gens vous harcèlent, vous menacent, ou vous blessent
5. Peur que cela puisse nuire à votre réputation dans la communauté
6. Mon mari / ma femme ou les membres de la famille seront en colère
7. Les politiciens / le gouvernement / les autorités ne font pas ce qu'ils promettent
8. Il n'est pas bon de participer à des événements politiques ou de campagne / Je n'aime pas participer à des événements politiques ou de campagne
9. Pas eu l'occasion de le faire
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

14.5 SIGNER LA PETITION

Act_pet_past. Avez-vous déjà signé une pétition adressée à un élu ou un cadre de l'administration publique ?

1. Oui → Aller à Act_protest_past
2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_protest_past
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_protest_past

Act_pet_norepeat. Pourquoi pas ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse ; sonder pour plusieurs raisons] [sélectionner plusieurs]

1. Pas le temps
2. Pas d'argent
3. Je ne sais pas lire ou écrire
4. Peur que les gens vous dérangent, vous menacent, ou vous blessent
5. Peur que cela puisse nuire à votre réputation dans la communauté
6. Mon mari / ma femme ou les membres de la famille seront en colère
7. Les politiciens / le gouvernement / les autorités ne répondent pas ou ne font pas ce qu'ils promettent
8. Il n'est pas bon de signer des pétitions adressées à des représentants ou à des bureaux du gouvernement
9. Pas eu l'occasion de le faire
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

14.6 PROTESTATION

Act_protest_past. Avez-vous déjà participé à une manifestation ou marche de protestation ?

1. Oui → Aller à Act_group_partyaff
2. Non
3. Je ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas] → Aller à Act_group_partyaff
4. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Act_group_partyaff

Act_protest_norepeat. Pourquoi pas ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse ; sonder pour plusieurs raisons] [sélectionner plusieurs]

1. Pas le temps
2. Pas d'argent
3. Aucun soutien de la part des chefs de parti ou d'autres personnes du parti
4. Mon mari / ma femme ou les membres de la famille seront en colère
5. Peur que des gens vous harcèlent, vous menacent, ou vous blessent
6. Peur que cela puisse nuire à votre réputation dans la communauté
7. Les politiciens / le gouvernement / les autorités ne font pas ce qu'ils promettent
8. Ce n'est pas bon de participer à des manifestations / Je n'aime pas participer à des manifestations
9. Pas eu l'occasion de le faire
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

14.7 PARTIS POLITIQUES

Je vais maintenant poser quelques questions sur votre implication dans des partis politiques, des groupes politiques ou des associations politiques.

Act_group_partyaff. Êtes-vous membre d'un parti politique ?

1. Oui → [Aller à Act_group_partyaffil](#)
2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [\[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire\]](#)
- 999. Refusé [\[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire\]](#)

Act_group_partysup. Vous sentez-vous proche d'un parti politique ?

1. Oui
2. Non → [Aller à Act_group_member](#)
- 888. Ne sais pas [\[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas\]](#) → [Aller à Act_group_member](#)
- 999. Refusé [\[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire\]](#) → [Aller à Act_group_member](#)

Act_group_partyaffil. Quel parti ? [\[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse\]](#)

1. Rassemblement du Peuple de Guinée (RPG Arc en ciel)
2. Union des Forces Démocratiques de la Guinée (UFDG)
3. Union des Forces Républicaines (UFR)
- 777. Autre, préciser [\[réponse ouverte\]](#)
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Act_group_partylead. Avez-vous un rôle de leadership dans ce parti politique à quelque niveau que ce soit ?

1. Oui
2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [\[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire\]](#)
- 999. Refusé [\[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire\]](#)

Act_group_partydecide. Dans quelle mesure pouvez-vous contribuer à la prise de décisions au sein de ce parti politique ?

1. Aucunement
2. Quelque peu
3. Beaucoup
- 888. Ne sais pas [\[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire\]](#)
- 999. Refusé [\[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire\]](#)

Act_group_partymtg. À quand remonte la dernière fois que vous êtes allé à un meeting, assemblée générale, ou campagne de ce parti politique ?

1. Jamais → [Aller à Act_group_member](#)
2. Il y a plus d'un an
3. Au cours de la dernière année
4. Au cours du dernier mois
5. Au cours des derniers 7 jours
- 888. Ne sais pas [\[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne lisez pas\]](#) → [Aller à Act_group_member](#)
- 999. Refusé [\[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire\]](#) → [Aller à Act_group_member](#)

Act_group_partyspeak. Avez-vous pris la parole lors de cette rencontre ?

1. Oui

- 2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

14.8 PARTICIPATION A D'AUTRES GROUPES

Act_group_member. Maintenant, je vais vous lire une liste de différents groupes auxquels les gens pourraient appartenir ou participer. Dites-moi si vous appartenez ou participez à chacun de ces groupes. [Sélectionnez plusieurs] [ENQUÊTEUR : Lisez toutes les options de réponse et sélectionnez toutes celles qui s'appliquent ; après chaque choix de réponse, sondez : Appartenez-vous à ce groupe ou participez-vous à ce groupe ?]

- 1. Groupe qui tente de résoudre les problèmes dans votre communauté
- 2. Organisation liée au travail que vous faites pour gagner de l'argent (ex., association commerciale ou professionnelle, association ou coopérative d'agriculteurs, syndicat)
- 3. Groupe d'épargne, de prêt ou de crédit villageois
- 4. Organisation religieuse
- 5. Organisme de bienfaisance qui fait du bénévolat
- 6. Groupe pour le divertissement, les sports ou la culture (ex., club d'anniversaire, équipe de football, équipe de danse, groupe de théâtre)
- 7. Un autre groupe qui est important pour vous et que je n'ai pas mentionné, précisez [ouvert]
- 8. Aucun → Aller à Group_barrier_1
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

[Posez les questions ci-dessous pour chaque GROUPE/ORGANISATION sélectionné dans Act_group_member]

Act_group_lead. Avez-vous un rôle de leadership dans le [GROUPE/ORGANISATION] ?

- 1. Oui
- 2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Act_group_decide. Dans quelle mesure pouvez-vous contribuer à la prise de décisions au sein de [GROUPE/ORGANISATION] ?

- 1. Aucunement
- 2. Un peu
- 3. Beaucoup
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Act_group_mtg1. À quand remonte la dernière fois que vous avez assisté à une réunion du [GROUPE/ORGANISATION] ?

- 1. Jamais → Aller à Group_barrier_1
- 2. Il y a plus d'un an
- 3. Au cours de la dernière année
- 4. Au cours du dernier mois
- 5. Au cours des 7 derniers jours

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Act_group_speak1. Avez-vous pris la parole lors de cette réunion ?

1. Oui

2. Non

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

[Fin de boucle]

Group_barrier_1. Avez-vous déjà voulu participer à un comité, une association, un club ou un autre groupe, mais vous n'avez pas pu le faire ?

1. Oui

2. Non → Aller à Dem_dis_1

-888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Dem_dis_1

-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Dem_dis_1

Group_barrier_2. Pourquoi n'avez-vous pas pu participer ?

[Sélectionnez plusieurs] [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse ; sonder pour plusieurs raisons]

1. Manque de temps

2. Manque d'argent et de ressources financières

3. Manque de soutien de la part des chefs de groupe ou d'autres membres du groupe

4. Je n'ai pas assez de capacité, de formation ou d'éducation

5. Manque de soutien familial

6. Je m'inquiéteraï du harcèlement ou de la violence

7. Peur que cela puisse nuire à votre réputation dans la communauté

-777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]

-888. Ne sais pas

-999. Refusé

15. STATUT D'INVALIDITÉ

Maintenant, je vais vous poser quelques questions sur vous-même. Dites-moi si vous avez aucune difficulté, quelques difficultés, ou beaucoup de difficulté avec chacune des activités qui suivent, ou si vous ne pouvez pas les faire.

Dem_dis_1. Avez-vous de la difficulté à voir, même si vous portez des lunettes ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 1. Non, pas de difficulté
- 2. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 3. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 4. Impossible de faire cela
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Dem_dis_2. Avez-vous de la difficulté à entendre, même si vous utilisez une aide auditive ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 1. Non, pas de difficulté
- 2. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 3. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 4. Impossible de faire cela
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Dem_dis_3. Avez-vous de la difficulté à marcher ou à monter des marches ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 1. Non, pas de difficulté
- 2. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 3. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 4. Impossible de faire cela
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Dem_dis_4. Avez-vous de la difficulté à vous souvenir ou à vous concentrer ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 1. Non, pas de difficulté
- 2. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 3. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 4. Impossible de faire cela
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Dem_dis_5. Avez-vous de la difficulté à prendre soin de vous-même, comme vous habiller ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 1. Non, pas de difficulté
- 2. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 3. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 4. Impossible de faire cela

- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Dem_dis_6. Avez-vous de la difficulté à communiquer dans votre propre langue, c'est-à-dire à comprendre ou à être compris ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 1. Non, pas de difficulté
- 2. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 3. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 4. Impossible de faire cela
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Message de fin d'enquête :

Vous avez maintenant répondu à toutes les questions de notre enquête. Merci de votre participation. Si vous avez des questions ou des préoccupations au sujet de l'enquête, vous pouvez contacter le Coordinateur de Recherche.

[ENQUÊTEUR : C'est la fin de l'entrevue]

16. QUESTIONS POUR L'ENQUÊTEUR

Resp_coop. À votre avis, dans quelle mesure le répondant était-il coopératif ?

1. Coopératif
2. Entre les deux
3. Pas coopératif

Resp_hon. À votre avis, dans quelle mesure le répondant a-t-il été honnête lorsqu'il a répondu ?

1. Honnête
2. Entre les deux
3. Pas honnête

Resp_interest. À votre avis, dans quelle mesure le répondant était-il intéressé ?

1. Intéressé
2. Entre les deux
3. Sans intérêt

Other_present. Quelqu'un d'autre était-il présent lors de l'entrevue ?

1. Oui
2. Non → [Aller à Resp_influence](#)

Other_present_sp. Qui était présent ? [\[ouverte\]](#)

Resp_influence. Pensez-vous que quelqu'un a influencé les réponses du répondant pendant l'entretien?

1. Oui
2. Non → [Aller à Resp_help](#)

Resp_influence_sp. Qui a influencé les réponses du répondant ? [\[ouverte\]](#)

Resp_help. Le répondant a-t-il consulté d'autres personnes pour obtenir des renseignements afin de répondre à une question ?

1. Oui
2. Non → [Aller à aux commentaires de l'enquêteur](#)

Resp_help_sp. Qui le répondant a-t-il consulté ? [\[ouverte\]](#)

Commentaires de l'agent ENQUÊTEUR. [\[ouverte\]](#)

POLITICIAN SURVEY

CONSENTEMENT ÉCLAIRÉ

Bonjour. Je m'appelle [NOM DE L'ENQUÊTEUR]. Je suis un enquêteur de Stat View International, basé à Conakry. Je ne représente ni le gouvernement ni un parti politique.

OBJET DE L'ETUDE

En collaboration avec une équipe de recherche de NORC de l'Université de Chicago aux États-Unis, nous recueillons des informations sur les expériences des élus locaux de Guinée, ainsi que leurs opinions sur un certain nombre de questions liées à la vie quotidienne, à la société et à la politique. Cette étude servira à éclairer les programmes de l'Agence Américaine pour le Développement International (USAID) liés à ces sujets en Guinée.

DESCRIPTION DES PROCÉDURES D'ÉTUDE

Si vous acceptez de participer à cette étude, je vous poserai des questions sur vos expériences, votre ménage, la politique, l'engagement civique et d'autres sujets. L'enquête prendra environ 40 minutes. Je vais enregistrer vos réponses sur cette tablette.

RISQUES/INCONFORTS LIÉS À LA PARTICIPATION À CETTE ÉTUDE

Votre participation à cette étude n'implique aucun risque autre que ceux que vous rencontreriez dans la vie quotidienne. Si vous n'êtes pas à l'aise avec certaines questions, vous êtes libre de ne pas répondre ou de passer à la question suivante.

AVANTAGES DE LA PARTICIPATION À L'ÉTUDE

Votre participation est importante pour aider l'USAID à en apprendre davantage sur les expériences des élus locaux en Guinée et à développer des programmes appropriés à ce pays.

CONFIDENTIALITE

Vos réponses à cette enquête resteront strictement confidentielles. Nous rapporterons seulement des moyennes dérivées de ces données. Nous ne partagerons aucune information qui pourrait être utilisée pour vous identifier en dehors de l'équipe de recherche.

À la fin de l'étude, nous pourrions partager les données avec l'USAID ou d'autres personnes extérieures à notre équipe. Cependant, nous supprimerons tous les détails qui pourraient être utilisés pour vous identifier (ex. noms, localité). Ainsi, personne ne saura si vous avez participé à cette enquête. Ils ne sauront pas non plus quelles réponses sont les vôtres. Puisque personne ne saura quelles réponses sont les vôtres, nous vous demandons de répondre honnêtement à toutes les questions. Notez qu'il n'y a pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses à nos questions.

DROIT DE REFUSER OU DE SE RETIRER

La décision de participer à cette étude vous appartient entièrement. Vous pouvez refuser de participer à tout moment. Vous avez le droit de ne pas répondre à une ou plusieurs questions, ainsi que de vous retirer complètement de l'étude à tout moment ; de plus, vous avez le droit de me demander de supprimer vos réponses si vous vous retirez en cours d'enquête. Il n'y a pas de pénalités en cas de refus ou de retrait.

DROIT DE POSER DES QUESTIONS ET DE SIGNALER DES PRÉOCCUPATIONS

Vous avez le droit de poser des questions sur cette étude de recherche et d'obtenir des réponses à ces questions avant, pendant ou après la recherche. Si vous avez d'autres questions sur l'étude, n'hésitez pas à contacter le Coordinateur de Recherche. Si vous avez d'autres préoccupations au sujet de vos droits en tant que participant à la recherche auxquelles les enquêteurs n'ont pas répondu, vous pouvez communiquer avec Alexandre Monnard, Directeur de cette étude, à monnard-alexandre@norc.org.

Avez-vous des questions pour moi ?

Consentement. Acceptez-vous de participer à cette enquête ?

1. Oui
2. Non

I. DÉMOGRAPHIE

Dem_gender. [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Observez, ne demandez pas] Quel est le sexe du répondant ?

3. Homme
4. Femme

RespType1. Quel est votre fonction ?

1. Maire
2. Vice-maire
3. Conseiller communal
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]

RespType2. A quel parti politique appartenez-vous ?

1. Rassemblement du Peuple de Guinée (RPG Arc en ciel)
2. Union des Forces Démocratiques de la Guinée (UFDG)
3. Union des Forces Républicaines (UFR)
4. Indépendant
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]

Em_dob_1. Quel âge avez-vous ? ## [Limiter la plage à [18 ; 99]]

- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
-999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_marry. Quel est votre état matrimonial ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Célibataire / jamais marié
2. Marié, monogame
3. Marié, polygame
4. Union libre
5. Divorcé / séparé
6. Veuf / veuve
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_child_0. Combien d'enfants avez-vous ? ## [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Entrez le nombre d'enfants, s'il n'y en a aucun, entrez zéro (0). Si nécessaire, aidez le répondant à énumérer ses enfants et à les compter. Préciser que nous ne nous intéressons qu'à leurs propres enfants biologiques et vivants.]

Dem_child_1. Avez-vous des enfants de moins de 6 ans qui vivent avec vous ?

1. Oui
2. Non

Dem_edu_3. Quel est votre plus haut niveau d'instruction ?

1. Jamais scolarisé
2. Enseignement informel seulement (y compris enseignement coranique)

3. Enseignement primaire inachevé
4. Enseignement primaire achevé
5. Enseignement secondaire – collège ou lycée inachevé
6. Enseignement secondaire – lycée achevé
7. Qualifications post-secondaires autres qu’universitaires (certificat ou diplôme professionnel)
8. Université inachevée
9. Université achevée
10. Post-universitaire
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_ethnic. A quelle ethnie appartenez-vous ?

1. Soussou
2. Peulh
3. Malinké
4. Kissien
5. Toma
6. Guérzé
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_language. Quelle est la première langue que vous avez appris à parler ?

1. Français
2. Soussou
3. Poular
4. Maninka
5. Kissié
6. Loma
7. Kpélé
8. Mano
9. Koniaké
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Dem_relig. Quelle religion pratiquez-vous, le cas échéant ? [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les choix de réponse]

1. Aucune
2. Musulman seulement (enquête a répondu “Musulman” sans s’identifier à un sous-groupe)
3. Musulman Sunnite [ENQUÊTEUR : Utilisez cette option pour Confrérie des Mourides, Confrérie de la Tidjania, Confrérie de la Qadiriya]
4. Musulman Chiite
5. Chrétienne seulement (enquête a répondu “Chrétien” sans s’identifier à un sous-groupe)
6. Catholique Romain
7. Protestant [ENQUÊTEUR : Utilisez cette option pour Anglican, Luthérien, Méthodiste, Baptiste, Évangéliste, Pentecôtiste, Assemblée de Dieu, Eglise du Christ, Adventiste, Adventiste du septième jour, Témoins de Jehovah]

- 8. Religion traditionnelle / ethnique
- 9. Hindou
- 10. Bahàï
- 11. Juif
- 12. Croit en un dieu / entité suprême mais n'appartient à aucune religion
- 13. Agnostique (ne sait pas s'il existe un Dieu)
- 14. Athée (ne croit pas en Dieu)
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire]

2. MOTIVATION

Motiv_age_int.¹⁴⁸ Quel âge aviez-vous lorsque vous avez pensé pour la première fois à vous présenter aux élections ? ## [Limiter la plage à [1 ; 99]]

Motiv_polfig. En grandissant, avez-vous été inspiré à vous présenter aux élections par une personnalité politique contemporaine ou historique ?

- 1. Oui
- 2. Non → d'aller à Motiv_poldisc
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Motiv_poldisc
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire] → Aller à Motiv_poldisc

Motiv_polfig_name. Qui en particulier vous a inspiré ? [ouvert]

Motiv_polfig_gen. Quel est le sexe de [Motiv_polfig_name] ?

[ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 1. Homme
- 2. Femme
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Motiv_poldisc. En grandissant, vous souvenez-vous que votre famille parlait de politique rarement, parfois ou beaucoup ?

- 1. Rarement
- 2. Parfois
- 3. Beaucoup
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Motiv_enc. Y a-t-il quelqu'un qui vous a particulièrement encouragé à penser à vous présenter aux élections un jour ?

- 1. Oui
- 2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Motiv_enc_rel. [Si Motiv_enc = 1] Quelle était la relation de cette personne avec vous ?

[ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne lisez pas les choix de réponse. Selon la réponse, sondez : cette personne était-elle un homme ou une femme ?]

- 1. Mère
- 2. Père
- 3. Grand-père
- 4. Grand-mère

¹⁴⁸ Tiré de Fox & Lawless (2004).

- 5. Frère
- 6. Sœur
- 7. Tante
- 8. Oncle
- 9. Cousin ou autre parent de la famille élargie de sexe masculin
- 10. Cousine ou autre parent de la famille élargie de sexe féminin
- 11. Ami ou connaissance de sexe masculin
- 12. Amie ou connaissance de sexe féminin
- 13. Enseignant de sexe masculin
- 14. Enseignant de sexe féminin
- 15. Entraîneur masculin
- 16. Entraîneur féminin
- 777. Autre, préciser [\[réponse ouverte\]](#)
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

3. HISTORIQUE ÉLECTORAL

Run_pos. En repensant à la première fois que vous vous êtes présenté aux élections, pourriez-vous me dire à quel poste vous vous êtes présenté ? [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Député de l'Assemblée nationale
2. Président de la Guinée
3. Maire
4. Conseiller communal
5. Président de la fédération
6. Président des jeunes
7. Présidente des femmes
8. Chef de section
9. Chef de sous-section
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Run_motiv. En repensant toujours à la première fois que vous vous êtes présenté aux élections, quelle était votre principale raison de vous présenter ? [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Je viens d'une famille où la politique est une tradition / importante
2. Améliorer la vie quotidienne dans ma ville ou mon village
3. Je me sens responsable de servir la communauté / le pays
4. Promouvoir les questions sociales, économiques et le développement
5. Modifier la législation et la politique
6. Besoin de plus de femmes représentées en politique
7. Besoin de plus de représentants de mon groupe ethnique
8. Mon rêve personnel – je voulais le faire depuis longtemps
9. J'ai les bonnes compétences / l'éducation pour le travail
10. Je voulais améliorer quelque chose de spécifique dans ma communauté / mon pays → Préciser [ouvert]
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Run_win. Avez-vous gagné ou perdu votre première élection ? [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : La référence se fait au verdict final.]

1. Gagné
2. Perdu
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Run_past. Avant d'être élu(e) pour votre poste actuel, aviez-vous déjà gagné une élection ?

1. Oui
2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Bkgd_exp_par. Combien d'années avez-vous occupé votre poste actuel ? Veuillez compter les années de votre mandat actuel ainsi que tous vos mandats précédents dans ce même poste. ##### [Limiter la plage à [1 ; 60]]

Bkgd_exp_tot. Depuis combien d'années occupez-vous tout poste électif ? Veuillez compter les années de votre mandat actuel, tous vos mandats précédents dans ce poste élu, ainsi que tous mandats dans d'autres postes élus. ##### [Limiter la plage à [1 ; 60]]

Bkgd_occup. Quelle était votre principale occupation avant d'entrer en politique ? [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Haut cadres, administrateurs et gestionnaires
2. Professionnels, scientifiques et intellectuels
3. Techniciens et métiers auxiliaires (ex. opérateurs de machines, travailleurs d'usine)
4. Personnel d'appui
5. Travailleurs des services et vendeurs
6. Agriculteurs et travailleurs qualifiés de l'agriculture, l'élevage, la foresterie et la pêche
7. Métiers et artisanat (ex. cordonniers, tailleurs, forgeron, tisserand)
8. Ouvriers et autres travailleurs non qualifiés
9. Forces de défense et de sécurité
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Bkgd_occup_gov.¹⁴⁹ Avant d'entrer dans votre fonction actuelle, aviez-vous déjà travaillé ou servi dans l'un des domaines suivants ?

1. Élu politique
2. Fonctionnaire nommé par décret
3. Fonctionnaire de l'administration publique
4. Aucun des éléments ci-dessus [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne lisez pas et sélectionnez si aucun des éléments ci-dessus ne s'applique]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Cand_runagain. Pensez-vous vous présenter à nouveau à votre poste actuel ?

1. Oui
2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Cand_runagain_barrier. Quels seraient les principaux obstacles à votre réélection ? Vous pouvez en nommer jusqu'à trois. [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne lisez pas les options de réponse ; recherchez plusieurs réponses, autorisez jusqu'à 3] [Sélectionnez jusqu'à 3]

1. Manque de temps
2. Manque d'argent et de ressources financières
3. Manque de soutien de la part des chefs de parti ou d'autres membres du parti

¹⁴⁹ Formulation des questions et options de réponse d'ALP (2011).

- 4. Je n'ai pas assez de capacité, de formation ou d'éducation
- 5. Manque de soutien familial
- 6. Peur du harcèlement ou de la violence
- 7. Je crains que cela ne nuise à ma réputation dans la communauté.
- 8. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 9. Pas de barrière
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Career_plan. Lorsque vous pensez à vos plans de carrière pour l'avenir, quel est le poste le plus élevé que vous aimeriez occuper un jour ? [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire les choix de réponse]

- 1. Je suis heureux dans mon poste actuel
- 2. Président
- 3. Premier ministre
- 4. Ministre
- 5. Secrétaire général
- 6. Chef de cabinet
- 7. Président de l'Assemblée Nationale
- 8. Président de groupe parlementaire
- 9. Député à l'Assemblée Nationale
- 10. Maire / vice-maire
- 11. Conseiller communal
- 12. Président du conseil de quartier / district
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

4. RECRUTEMENT

Recruit_influ_int.¹⁵⁰ L'une des personnes suivantes vous a-t-elle suggéré de vous présenter à votre poste actuel ? [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Lire la liste des personnes ; sonder oui / non si nécessaire] [Présenter une grille avec les options de réponse « Oui », « Non », « Pas sûr », « Ne sait pas » et « Refusé » ; permettre une réponse par type de personne]

1. Ami ou connaissance
2. Collègue ou associé d'affaires
3. Élu
4. Représentant d'un parti politique
5. Conjoint ou partenaire
6. Membre de votre famille
7. Militant politique non élu
8. Quelqu'un d'une organisation de femmes
9. Quelqu'un de la société civile
10. Quelqu'un de la mosquée, de l'église, ou d'un groupe religieux

Recruit_motiv. [Si Recruit_influ_int 3 ou 4 = Oui] Il y a de nombreuses raisons pour lesquelles les partis politiques encouragent les gens à se présenter aux élections. À votre avis, pourquoi les représentants de votre parti politique vous ont-ils encouragé à vous présenter à votre poste actuel ? [Sélectionnez plusieurs] [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne lisez pas les options de réponse ; recherchez plusieurs réponses et sélectionnez toutes celles qui s'appliquent]

1. Je peux apporter de l'argent / des ressources financières au parti
2. Je viens d'une famille où la politique est une tradition / importante
3. Remplir le quota de genre / besoin de plus de femmes représentées en politique
4. Besoin de plus de représentants de mon groupe ethnique
5. J'ai les bonnes compétences / éducation / expérience
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Recruit_neg.¹⁵¹ Est-ce que l'une des personnes suivantes vous a déjà découragé ou essayé de vous dissuader de vous présenter à votre poste actuel ? [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Lire la liste des personnes ; sonder oui / non si nécessaire] [Présenter une grille avec les options de réponse « Oui », « Non », « Pas sûr », « Ne sait pas » et « Refusé »]

1. Ami ou connaissance
2. Collègue ou associé d'affaires
3. Élu
4. Représentant d'un parti politique
5. Conjoint ou partenaire
6. Membre de votre famille
7. Militant politique non élu
8. Quelqu'un d'une organisation de femmes
9. Quelqu'un de la société civile

¹⁵⁰ Adapté de Fox and Lawless (2004).

¹⁵¹ Adapté de Fox and Lawless (2004).

10. Quelqu'un de la mosquée, de l'église, ou d'un groupe religieux

Coût. ¹⁵² La dernière fois que vous vous êtes présenté à votre poste actuel, quel était le coût total approximatif de votre campagne ? ##### Francs guinéens.

Cost_source1. Quelle part de cette somme de [réponse à coût] Francs guinéens provenait de vos fonds personnels ? [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Si le répondant fournit une part (ex., la moitié ou les deux tiers), saisissez-la avec des mots ; si le répondant fournit un pourcentage (ex., cinquante pour cent ou trente pour cent), entrez des chiffres suivis du symbole du pourcentage (ex., 50 % ou 30 %) ; si le répondant fournit un montant en francs guinéens, entrez des chiffres suivis de « FG »)] [ouvert]

Cost_source2. [Si RespType2 != indépendant] Et quelle part de cette somme de [réponse à coût] Francs guinéens provenait de votre parti politique ? [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Si le répondant fournit une part (ex., la moitié ou les deux tiers), saisissez-la avec des mots ; si le répondant fournit un pourcentage (ex., cinquante pour cent ou trente pour cent), entrez des chiffres suivis du symbole du pourcentage (ex., 50 % ou 30 %) ; si le répondant fournit un montant de francs guinéens, entrez des chiffres suivis de « FG »)] [ouvert]

Recruit_party_help. [Si RespType2 != indépendant] En plus de ces fonds, est-ce-que votre parti vous a aidé en vous apportant l'un des types de soutien suivants ? [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Lire la liste ; sonde oui/non si nécessaire] [Présenter une grille avec les options de réponse « Oui », « Non », « Pas sûr », « Ne sait pas » et « Refusé »]

1. Formations, conférences et autres occasions d'acquérir des compétences utiles, comme la prise de parole en public, la collecte de fonds, la sensibilisation des électeurs, etc.
2. Personnel de sécurité
3. Nourriture, vêtements et autres biens à distribuer aux électeurs
4. Soutien à l'organisation de rassemblements ou d'autres activités pour solliciter des votes
5. Véhicules ou remboursement pour le transport
6. Accès aux journalistes ou possibilités de couverture médiatique

¹⁵² Tiré d'ALP (2011).

5. POSTES DE DIRECTION

Act_group_partydecide. [Si RespType2 != indépendant] Dans quelle mesure pouvez-vous contribuer à la prise de décisions au sein de votre parti politique concernant... [Présentez une grille avec les options de réponse « Aucune », « Peu », « Moyen », « Beaucoup », « Ne sais pas », « Refusé »]

1. Le programme ou les positions politiques du parti ?
2. La sélection et le recrutement des candidats ?

Act_group_partyrole. Occupez-vous un rôle de leadership / de prise de décision au sein de votre parti politique ?

1. Oui → Quelle est votre position ? [ouvert]
2. Non

6. STYLES LÉGISLATIFS

Legstyle_1a. ¹⁵³ En général, lorsque vous prenez position sur une question, lequel des facteurs suivants est le plus important ?

1. Je n'ai pas de parti politique [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne lisez pas]
2. Le point de vue de vos électeurs
3. L'intérêt national
4. Vos connaissances sur la question
5. Vos convictions personnelles
6. Les points de vue des membres de votre famille
7. Les points de vue de votre chef de parti politique [Afficher uniquement si RespType2 != indépendant]
8. Les vues de votre parti politique [Afficher uniquement si RespType2 != indépendant]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Legstyle_2. ¹⁵⁴ [Si RespType2 != indépendant] Combien de fois (le cas échéant) ce qui suit s'est-il produit : Votre vote était en fait différent des souhaits de votre parti politique ?

1. Je n'ai pas de parti politique [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne lisez pas]
2. Jamais
3. Une ou deux fois
4. Parfois
5. Souvent
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Legstyle_7. Lors des débats du Conseil Communal / de l'Assemblée Nationale, diriez-vous que vous participez:

1. Toujours
2. Fréquemment
3. Parfois
4. Rarement
5. Jamais
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Symb_I. Rappelez-vous les dernières fois que les électeurs vous ont contacté directement. Étaient-ils principalement des hommes, principalement des femmes, ou environ une moitié d'hommes et une moitié de femme ?

1. Principalement des hommes
2. Principalement des femmes
3. Environ une moitié d'hommes et une moitié de femme
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

¹⁵³ Tiré d'ALP (2011).

¹⁵⁴ Tiré d'ALP (2011).

7. REPRÉSENTATION EFFECTIVE

Dans votre propre pensée, quels sont les deux problèmes les plus importants auxquels la Guinée est confrontée et que le gouvernement devrait résoudre ?

[Affichez Issue_id1 et Issue_id2 chacun sur sa propre page de l'outil programmé.]

Issue_id1. [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

1. Criminalité/sécurité
2. Infrastructures/routes
3. Pénurie alimentaire/famine
4. Agriculture/élevage
5. Emplois et chômage
6. Gestion de l'économie
7. Salaires et revenus
8. Pauvreté
9. Santé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : inclure les réponses liées à la COVID dans l'option ci-dessous]
10. Pandémie de COVID-19 et ses effets
11. Corruption/pots-de-vin
12. Éducation/écoles
13. Approvisionnement en eau
14. Énergie
15. Pensions/prestations de vieillesse
16. Logement
17. Immigration/entrée à la frontière
18. Défense nationale/militaire
19. Justice
20. Démocratie / droits politiques / élections
21. Environnement [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : inclure les réponses liées aux conflits environnementaux ici]
22. Conflit social [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : inclure ici les réponses liées aux conflits ethniques/tribaux/raciaux]
23. Droits des femmes
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas → saut à Rep_yesno
- 999. Refusé → saut à Rep_yesno

Issue_id2. [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

[Pour Issue_id2, présentez les mêmes options de réponse qu'Issue_id1 mais (1) exclure la réponse sélectionnée pour Issue_id1 et (2) ajouter « Pas de deuxième problème ».]

Rep_yesno. En plus des besoins généraux de vos électeurs, pensez-vous qu'il est important de représenter les besoins de groupes de personnes particuliers ?

1. Oui
2. Non
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Rep_who. [Si Rep_yesno = 1] Quel(s) groupe(s) de personnes ? [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne lisez pas les options de réponse, sélectionnez tout ce qui s'applique]

1. Femmes
2. Hommes
3. Enfants
4. Travailleurs
5. Anciens combattants
6. Personnes handicapées
7. Personnes de mon groupe ethnique
8. Personnes d'un groupe ethnique qui n'est pas le mien
9. Pauvres
10. Victimes de violence
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

8. EFFICACITÉ

Eff_pol_debate1. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous confiant dans votre capacité à vous exprimer lors des débats du Conseil Communal / de l'Assemblée Nationale si vous n'êtes pas d'accord avec ce que quelqu'un d'autre fait ou dit ?

- 1. Pas du tout confiant
- 2. Un peu confiant
- 3. Confiant / très confiant
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Eff_pol_debate2. Veuillez me dire dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou en désaccord avec la déclaration suivante : Lorsque je prends la parole pendant les débats du Conseil Communal / de l'Assemblée Nationale, j'ai l'impression que les autres reconnaissent et respectent ce que je dis.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

9. ATTITUDES À L'ÉGARD DES FEMMES EN POLITIQUE

Maintenant, j'aimerais vous poser quelques questions sur vos propres croyances personnelles.

Att_genrol_9. Quand il s'agit de donner aux femmes les mêmes droits qu'aux hommes, pensez-vous que le pays :

- 1. Est allé trop loin
- 2. N'est pas allé assez loin
- 3. A agit plus ou moins correctement
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Gen_pos_desc. En pensant à la Guinée, diriez-vous qu'il devrait y avoir plus ou moins de femmes en politique, ou le nombre est-il à peu près correct ?

- 1. Plus de femmes
- 2. Moins de femmes
- 3. A peu près correct
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

S'il vous plaît dites-moi dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou en désaccord avec les déclarations suivantes.

Att_pol_13. Il devrait y avoir un nombre égal d'hommes et de femmes à l'Assemblée Nationale.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_15. Un certain nombre de postes de candidats ou de sièges élus devraient être réservés aux femmes à l'Assemblée nationale.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_16. Les femmes politiquement actives devraient s'attendre à être victimes de violence lorsqu'elles participent à des activités politiques, comme voter ou assister à des réunions ou des rassemblements politiques.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 1. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [RECEPTEUR : Ne pas lire]

Att_pol_17. Les dirigeants politiques masculins devraient avoir le dernier mot sur les décisions du parti ou de l'organisation politique.

- 1. Tout à fait d'accord
- 2. D'accord
- 3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 4. En désaccord
- 5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

10. DYNAMIQUE FAMILIALE

Maintenant, j'aimerais vous poser quelques questions sur votre ménage.

Famsupport_1. Diriez-vous que votre conjoint/partenaire :

1. Est très favorable à votre fonction d'élu.
2. Est quelque peu favorable à votre fonction d'élu.
3. Est indifférent à votre fonction d'élu.
4. Est quelque peu réticent à l'égard de votre fonction d'élu.
5. Est très réticent à l'égard de votre fonction d'élu.
6. Je n'ai pas de conjoint/partenaire [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Famsupport_2. Laquelle des affirmations suivantes décrit le mieux comment les tâches ménagères (nettoyage, lessive et cuisine) sont réparties dans votre foyer ?

1. J'ai beaucoup plus de responsabilités que mon conjoint / partenaire.
2. J'ai plus de responsabilités que mon conjoint / partenaire.
3. Mon conjoint/partenaire et moi avons le même nombre de responsabilités.
4. Mon conjoint/partenaire a plus de responsabilités que moi.
5. Mon conjoint/ partenaire a beaucoup plus de responsabilités que moi.
6. Je n'ai pas de conjoint/partenaire [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

Famsupport_3. [Si Dem_child_0 != 0] Quelle affirmation décrit le mieux vos responsabilités en matière de garde d'enfants ou les décrivait lorsque vos enfants vivaient à la maison ?

1. J'ai beaucoup plus de responsabilités que mon conjoint ou partenaire.
2. J'ai plus de responsabilités que mon conjoint ou partenaire.
3. Mon conjoint/partenaire et moi avons le même nombre de responsabilités.
4. Mon conjoint ou partenaire a plus de responsabilités que moi.
5. Mon conjoint ou partenaire a beaucoup plus de responsabilités que moi.
6. Je n'ai pas d'enfants [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne lisez pas]
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

II. VIOLENCE ET SEXISME

vhd_online1. Maintenant, je vais vous poser quelques questions sur des choses qui peuvent vous arriver. À quelle fréquence les gens publient-ils des commentaires, des photos, photo-montages ou des caricatures rabaisants, offensants ou menaçants à votre sujet sur les médias sociaux ou sur Internet ?

1. Tous les jours
2. Quelques fois par semaine
3. Quelques fois par mois
4. Moins d'une fois par mois
5. Jamais
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

vhd_online2. Et à quelle fréquence les gens publient-ils des commentaires, des photos, des photo-montages ou des caricatures sexistes ou sexuels à votre sujet sur les médias sociaux ou sur Internet ?

1. Tous les jours
2. Quelques fois par semaine
3. Quelques fois par mois
4. Moins d'une fois par mois
5. Jamais
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

pol_viol_1. Maintenant, je vais vous lire une liste de problèmes que certaines personnes éprouvent lorsqu'elles essaient de participer à la politique, comme assister à une réunion ou à un rassemblement politique, voter, communiquer avec votre représentant élu ou toute autre activité politique. S'il vous plaît dites-moi si vous avez rencontré l'un de ces problèmes lorsque vous avez essayé de participer à la politique.

[ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Lisez toutes les options de réponse et sélectionnez toutes celles qui s'appliquent]

11. Quelqu'un a essayé de vous tuer
12. Quelqu'un vous a frappé ou battu ou vous a agressé physiquement d'une autre manière
13. Quelqu'un a essayé de vous violer
14. Quelqu'un a fait d'autres avances sexuelles non désirées envers vous
15. Quelqu'un vous a harcelé sur Internet (ex., sur les médias sociaux)
16. Quelqu'un a proféré des menaces contre vous et votre famille
17. Quelqu'un a dit de mauvaises choses à votre sujet
18. Quelqu'un vous a retiré votre allocation ou tout autre argent que vous avez
19. Quelqu'un vous a empêché de quitter la maison
20. Quelqu'un a fait autre chose pour vous arrêter, précisez [ouvert]

[Posez les questions ci-dessous pour chaque PROBLEME sélectionné par le répondant dans pol_viol_1 :]

pol_viol_2. Dans quelle(s) activité(s) politique(s) étiez-vous engagé(s) lorsque cela s'est produit ?

[ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Lisez toutes les options de réponse et sélectionnez toutes celles qui s'appliquent]

1. Voter
2. Se présenter aux élections

3. Assister à une réunion de parti
4. Assister à d'autres réunions politiques ou communautaires
5. S'exprimer lors d'une réunion politique ou communautaire
6. S'exprimer lors d'une manifestation ou d'un rassemblement
7. S'exprimer lors de débats du Conseil Communal ou de l'Assemblée Nationale
8. Assister à une manifestation ou à un rassemblement
9. Rédaction ou signature d'une pétition
10. Contacter un élu
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]

pol_viol_3. Qui vous a fait ça ?

[ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne lisez pas les choix de réponses, sondez pour classer les réponses. Sélectionnez tout ce qui s'applique]

10. Parti politique (comprend les dirigeants, les membres, les sympathisants, les bénévoles, la milice)
11. Candidats
12. Élu (y compris les élus locaux, communaux, nationaux)
13. Conjoint
14. Autre membre masculin de la famille
15. Autre membre féminin de la famille
16. Police / Armée
17. Agents électoraux
18. Fonctionnaire du gouvernement (à l'exclusion des agents électoraux)
- 777. Autre, préciser [réponse ouverte]
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Veuillez me dire dans quelle mesure vous êtes d'accord ou en désaccord avec la déclaration suivante :

ASI_8. Lorsque des femmes perdent contre des hommes dans une compétition équitable, elles se plaignent généralement d'être victimes de discrimination.

1. Tout à fait d'accord
2. D'accord
3. Ni d'accord ni en désaccord [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
4. En désaccord
5. Fortement en désaccord
- 888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]
- 999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

12. EXPÉRIENCES PENDANT LES VIOLENCES ELECTORALES¹⁵⁵

Enfin, j'aimerais vous poser quelques questions sur vos expériences lors des violences électorales / politiques.

War_1. Pendant les violences électorales / politiques, quelqu'un vous a-t-il blessé physiquement, ou a blessé physiquement un membre de votre famille ou un ami ?

3. Oui

4. Non

-888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

War_2. Pendant les violences électorales / politiques, quelqu'un a-t-il endommagé ou emporté vos biens ou ceux d'un membre de votre famille ou d'un ami ?

5. Oui

6. Non

-888. Ne sais pas [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

-999. Refusé [ÉNUMÉRATEUR : Ne pas lire]

¹⁵⁵ Les questions de ce module sont adaptées de Karim (2020).

13. STATUT D'INVALIDITÉ

Maintenant, je vais vous poser quelques questions sur vous-même. Dites-moi si vous avez aucune difficulté, quelques difficultés, ou beaucoup de difficulté avec chacune des activités qui suivent, ou si vous ne pouvez pas les faire.

Dem_dis_1. Avez-vous de la difficulté à voir, même si vous portez des lunettes ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 5. Non, pas de difficulté
- 6. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 7. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 8. Impossible de faire cela
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Dem_dis_2. Avez-vous de la difficulté à entendre, même si vous utilisez une aide auditive ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 5. Non, pas de difficulté
- 6. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 7. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 8. Impossible de faire cela
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Dem_dis_3. Avez-vous de la difficulté à marcher ou à monter des marches ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 9. Non, pas de difficulté
- 10. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 11. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 12. Impossible de faire cela
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Dem_dis_4. Avez-vous de la difficulté à vous souvenir ou à vous concentrer ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 5. Non, pas de difficulté
- 6. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 7. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 8. Impossible de faire cela
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Dem_dis_5. Avez-vous de la difficulté à prendre soin de vous-même, comme vous habiller ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 9. Non, pas de difficulté
- 10. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 11. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 12. Impossible de faire cela
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Dem_dis_6. Avez-vous de la difficulté à communiquer dans votre propre langue, c'est-à-dire à comprendre ou à être compris ?

[ENQUÊTEUR : Ne pas lire les options de réponse]

- 5. Non, pas de difficulté
- 6. Oui, quelques difficultés
- 7. Oui, beaucoup de difficulté
- 8. Impossible de faire cela
- 888. Ne sais pas
- 999. Refusé

Message de fin d'enquête :

Nous avons terminé l'enquête. Merci beaucoup d'avoir participer.

16. QUESTIONS POUR L'ENQUÊTEUR

Resp_coop. À votre avis, dans quelle mesure le répondant était-il coopératif ?

1. Coopératif
2. Entre les deux
3. Pas coopératif

Resp_hon. À votre avis, dans quelle mesure le répondant a-t-il été honnête lorsqu'il a répondu ?

1. Honnête
2. Entre les deux
3. Pas honnête

Resp_interest. À votre avis, dans quelle mesure le répondant était-il intéressé ?

1. Intéressé
2. Entre les deux
3. Sans intérêt

Other_present. Quelqu'un d'autre était-il présent lors de l'entrevue ?

1. Oui
2. Non → [Aller à Resp_influence](#)

Other_present_sp. Qui était présent ? [\[ouverte\]](#)

Resp_influence. Pensez-vous que quelqu'un a influencé les réponses du répondant pendant l'entretien ?

1. Oui
2. Non → [Aller à Resp_help](#)

Resp_influence_sp. Qui a influencé les réponses du répondant ? [\[ouverte\]](#)

Resp_help. Le répondant a-t-il consulté d'autres personnes pour obtenir des renseignements afin de répondre à une question ?

1. Oui
2. Non → [Aller à aux commentaires de l'enquêteur](#)

Resp_help_sp. Qui le répondant a-t-il consulté ? [\[ouverte\]](#)

Commentaires de l'agent ENQUÊTEUR. [ouverte\]](#)

[ÉNUMÉRATEUR: Fin d'entretien]

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

PROTOCOLE POUR GROUPE DE DISCUSSION

USAID WPPL GUINÉE

Objectifs :

- Identifier les causes profondes des normes identifiées dans l'enquête auprès de la population générale.
- Déterminer qui perpétue les normes et leurs raisons de le faire.
- Déterminer les différences entre les sexes en ce qui concerne les raisons pour les normes perçues.
- Identifier les normes positives liées au genre concernant les femmes

Introduction (15 minutes)

Bonjour et merci d'avoir accepté de nous parler aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle _____ (nom de l'interviewer) et voici mon/ma collègue _____ (nom du preneur de notes). Nous travaillons pour NORC à l'Université de Chicago, basé aux États-Unis, sur une étude sur la participation politique en Guinée. Cette étude est financée par l'USAID. Nous ne représentons ni le gouvernement ni un parti politique.

OBJET DE L'ETUDE

Nous cherchons à mieux comprendre la participation des femmes dans les instances de prise de décision dans tous les secteurs en Guinée. Cette étude servira à éclairer les programmes de l'USAID liés à ce sujet en Guinée.

DESCRIPTION DES PROCEDURES D'ETUDE

Si vous acceptez de participer à cette étude, nous allons discuter ensemble des certaines normes qui sont remontées d'une enquête nationale dans toute la Guinée. Nous cherchons à mieux comprendre d'où ces normes viennent et leur effet sur votre communauté. La discussion de groupe prendra environ 1 heure et demie.

RISQUES ET AVANTAGES LIES A LA PARTICIPATION A CETTE ETUDE

Votre participation à cette étude n'implique aucun risque autre que ceux que vous rencontreriez dans la vie quotidienne. Au-delà des rafraîchissements que nous vous fournirons, votre participation ne présente aucun avantage direct, mais elle est importante pour aider l'USAID à créer et à mettre en œuvre des programmes qui serviront mieux les Guinéens et les Guinéennes.

CONFIDENTIALITE

Vos réponses durant notre discussion resteront strictement confidentielles. Pour aider à protéger votre confidentialité, nous utiliserons des numéros pour identifier les différentes personnes dans ce groupe, et

l'équipe d'étude n'enregistrera pas votre nom et ne vous attribuera aucune réponse personnellement. Nous vous demandons donc de répondre honnêtement, et de vous rappeler qu'il n'y a pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses à nos questions.

DROIT DE REFUSER OU DE SE RETIRER

La décision de participer à cette étude vous appartient entièrement. Si vous n'êtes pas à l'aise avec certaines questions, vous êtes libre de ne pas répondre ou de partir à tout moment sans aucune conséquence.

- Avez-vous des questions ? *[Vérifiez auprès de chaque personne dans la salle et répondez à toutes les questions qui sont posées.]*
- Acceptez-vous de participer ? *[Obtenez le consentement verbal de chaque personne interrogée, et renvoyez poliment tous les participants qui ne consentent pas à participer à l'étude, en les remerciant pour leur temps.]*

☐

Consentement obtenu par tous les participants pour **mener** le groupe de discussion

Nous aimerions enregistrer cette discussion et prendre des notes. Les enregistrements et les notes ne seront communiqués à personne en dehors de l'équipe de recherche et vos noms ne seront en aucun cas enregistrés. Nous espérons que cela vous permettra de vous sentir à l'aise pour exprimer vos idées librement. Si quelqu'un ne veut pas être enregistré, il n'y aura pas d'enregistrement audio pour ce groupe de discussion, et seules des notes de terrain seront prises.

[Obtenez le consentement verbal de chaque répondant à tour de rôle. Si un ou plusieurs n'acceptent pas l'enregistrement, indiquez clairement à tous les participants qu'aucun enregistrement ne sera effectué, que ce n'est pas un problème car des notes seront prises, et ne cochez pas la case ci-dessous.]

☐

Consentement obtenu par tous les participants pour **l'enregistrement** audio du groupe de discussion

Si vous pensez à d'autres questions par la suite, vous pouvez contacter Alexandre Monnard, Directeur de cette étude, à monnard-alexandre@norc.org.

Règles de base :

- Dites ce que vous croyez et pensez, même si ce n'est pas ce que tout le monde pense. Il n'y a pas de bonnes ou mauvaises réponses, juste des opinions différentes, et nous voulons toutes les entendre.
- Vous n'avez pas besoin d'attendre qu'on vous appelle pour parler, n'hésitez pas à intervenir lorsque vous avez quelque chose à dire. Vous êtes également encouragé à réagir et à vous appuyer sur ce que l'autre dit. Il doit s'agir d'une discussion interactive et non d'un entretien de groupe. Mais parlez un à la fois, n'interrompez pas, et respectez l'opinion des autres, même si vous n'êtes pas d'accord.

- Tout ce qui est dit ici aujourd'hui reste strictement confidentiel. S'il vous plaît, ne parlez à personne en dehors de ce groupe de ce qu'il a été dit.
- Nous avons donné à chacun d'entre vous un numéro que nous utiliserons pour faire référence à chacun d'entre vous afin que vos noms ne soient pas capturés par l'enregistrement audio ou dans nos notes. Nous vous demandons également d'utiliser ces numéros pour parler de ce que d'autres ont dit précédemment.
- Nous avons beaucoup à couvrir aujourd'hui, il est donc important que la conversation reste centrée sur les sujets de discussion. Veuillez essayer d'éviter les tangentes sans rapport.
- Nous vous prions de mettre vos téléphones en mode silencieux pour la durée de l'entretien. Si vous devez répondre à un appel urgent, nous vous invitons à sortir ou vous éloigner de la discussion pour le faire.

[Demandez à tous les participants, un à la fois, de confirmer qu'ils sont d'accord avec ces règles. S'ils ont des questions sur ces règles, répondez-y avant de continuer.]

Voudriez-vous ajouter d'autres règles de base que nous utiliserons durant la discussion d'aujourd'hui ?

[Voyez quelles règles sont proposées et évaluez si elles sont réalistes et utiles pour la discussion. Si vous n'êtes pas sûr, demandez au groupe pourquoi ils pensent qu'elles seraient utiles. S'il y a un accord autour de règles supplémentaires, demandez à chacun de lever la main pour confirmer la ou les règles une par une. Énumérez ensuite les règles nouvellement adoptées afin que tout le monde les connaisse avant d'aller de l'avant.]

I. Activité de premier contact (5 minutes) :

Avant de commencer, présentons-nous rapidement, afin que nous apprenions tous à nous connaître. Veuillez nous dire :

- Un passe-temps/intérêt

[Demandez à quelqu'un de commencer ; appeler les numéros pour passer aux suivants et terminer avec le modérateur]

Je vais maintenant faire le tour de la salle et demander à chacun d'entre vous de me donner UN MOT qui décrit quelque chose qui est cher à votre communauté. Quel est ce mot pour vous ?

II. Identifier la cause profonde des normes

Comme nous l'avons mentionné, nous avons mené une enquête auprès des habitants de Guinée et avons des conclusions dont nous aimerions discuter avec vous.

[Sélectionner jusqu'à 2 normes injonctives. Pour chaque norme, discutez les sections A et B (femmes) OU C (hommes) ci-dessous.]

A. Groupes de référence et raisonnement (10 minutes per norme)

Notre enquête a révélé que la plupart des gens dans ce pays pensent *[insérer la norme]*.

- I. D'où pensez-vous que cette idée vient ? *[Continuez à sonder pour découvrir la cause profonde : est-ce religieux, tribal/ethnique, mythologique, historique basé sur un moment précis où un incident qui a évolué au fil du temps, autre chose ?]*

- o Qui ici pense cela ? Pourquoi ?
- 2. Qui dans votre communauté pense cela ? Qui soutient ou encourage cela ? *[Explorez jusqu'à ce que vous obteniez une courte liste de groupes de référence. Les groupes de référence peuvent inclure des personnes au sein du ménage et des personnes externes, telles que la famille, les pairs, les dirigeants communautaires ou religieux, etc.]*
[Pour chaque groupe de référence, demandez :]
 - a. Pourquoi pensez-vous qu'ils attendent cela des femmes ?
 - b. Les attentes de qui, parmi les personnes citées, ont le plus d'influence sur les femmes ? Pourquoi ? Et sur les hommes ?
- 3. À qui profite le respect de cette norme ? Et qui en souffre ?
 - a. Les hommes et les femmes bénéficient-ils ou souffrent-ils différemment de cette norme ? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas ?
- 4. Quels types de comportements cette norme provoque-t-elle ? Quels types de comportements chez les femmes ? Et chez les hommes ? *[Sondez pour vous concentrer sur la manière dont la participation des femmes à la vie publique, en particulier la participation politique, est affectée par ces normes. Par exemple, est-ce que cela fait que moins de filles vont à l'école, que moins de femmes votent, ou que les hommes empêchent leurs filles d'aller à l'école ou empêchent leurs femmes de voter ? Quoi d'autre ?]*
- 5. Dans quelle mesure les idées à ce sujet évoluent-elles dans votre communauté ? Y a-t-il des gens qui pensaient cela mais qui ne le pensent plus ? Expliquez, s'il vous plaît.
 - a. Pensez-vous que changer cette norme retirerait du pouvoir à certains groupes ? Quels groupes et pourquoi le pensez-vous ?

B. Force de la norme (femmes) (5 minutes par norme)

- 6. Que se passe-t-il lorsque les femmes défient ou vont à l'encontre de cette attente ?
 - a. Y a-t-il de bonnes choses qui peuvent arriver ? Quelles sont certaines des bonnes choses que les femmes peuvent vivre ?
 - b. Y a-t-il de mauvaises choses qui peuvent arriver ? Quelles sont certaines des mauvaises choses que les femmes peuvent vivre, ou des punitions qui peuvent les affectées ?
[Sondez si pas mentionné : violence/harcèlement/discrimination (interne/externe au ménage ; en personne et en ligne), atteinte à leur réputation]
 - i. Parmi les mauvaises choses mentionnées *[rappelez-les]*, lesquelles sont, selon vous, les plus dissuasives pour les femmes ?
- 7. *[Si le temps le permet]* Y a-t-il des personnes qui encouragent les femmes à défier cette norme ? Qui sont-ils et pourquoi pensez-vous qu'ils encouragent les gens à le faire ?

C. Force de la norme (hommes) (5 minutes par norme)

- 8. Que se passe-t-il lorsque les hommes défient ou vont à l'encontre de cette attente ?
 - a. Y a-t-il de bonnes choses qui peuvent arriver ? Quelles sont certaines des bonnes choses que les hommes peuvent vivre ?

- b. Y a-t-il de mauvaises choses qui peuvent arriver ? Quelles sont certaines des mauvaises choses que les hommes peuvent vivre, ou des punitions qui peuvent les affectés ?
[Sondez si pas mentionné : perte de statut, perte de respect aux yeux des autres hommes, perte de pouvoir, atteinte à leur réputation]
 - i. Parmi les mauvaises choses mentionnées *[rappelez-les]*, lesquelles sont, selon vous, les plus dissuasives pour les hommes ?
 - ii. Qui ou quoi pousse les hommes à soutenir cette attente ?
9. *[Si le temps le permet]* Y a-t-il des personnes qui encouragent les hommes à défier cette norme ? Qui sont-ils et pourquoi pensez-vous qu'ils encouragent les gens à le faire ?

III. Identifier les normes positives concernant les femmes (10 minutes)

Merci d'avoir partagé vos réflexions sur les résultats de notre enquête. Nous avons maintenant quelques questions sur le rôle des femmes dans vos communautés.

10. Selon vous, quelles sont les choses que les femmes font particulièrement bien dans vos communautés ? Qu'est-ce qui rend les femmes si bonnes dans ces domaines ?
- a. Quels sont les principaux rôles que jouent les femmes dans votre communauté ? Sont-ils différents des rôles joués par les hommes ?
11. À votre avis, y a-t-il d'autres rôles que les femmes devraient jouer dans la communauté ? Expliquez, s'il vous plaît. *[Sondez les rôles en dehors du ménage, y compris la prise de décision dans le développement local, et la prévention et la médiation de problèmes communautaires]*
12. Y a-t-il des choses que les hommes font pour aider les femmes à avoir une place en politique ? Quelles sont certaines de ces choses ? *[Sondez si nécessaire : Les hommes aident-ils les femmes à accéder à l'éducation, à gagner de l'argent, à participer à des réunions communautaires ?]*
- a. Quel genre d'hommes font ces choses ? Qu'est-ce que les hommes qui font ces choses ont en commun ?
 - b. Pourquoi pensez-vous que les hommes font ces choses ?
 - c. Est-ce bien ou mauvais que les hommes fassent ces choses ? Pourquoi ?

IV. Clôture

13. Voudriez-vous partager d'autres informations sur ces sujets qui ne sont pas ressorties durant notre discussion ?

Merci pour votre participation à cette discussion. Les informations que vous avez fournies seront très utiles pour notre analyse et pour nos recommandations.

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDES

CONSENTEMENT ÉCLAIRÉ – Politicien(ne)s ou Candidat(e)s

Bonjour et merci d'avoir accepté de nous parler aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle _____ (nom de l'interviewer) et voici mon/ma collègue _____ (nom du preneur de notes). Nous travaillons pour NORC à l'Université de Chicago, basé aux États-Unis, sur une étude sur la participation politique en Guinée. Cette étude est financée par l'Agence américaine pour le développement international (USAID). Nous ne représentons ni le gouvernement ni un parti politique.

OBJET DE L'ETUDE

Nous cherchons à mieux comprendre la situation de la participation politique et du leadership des femmes en Guinée. Cette étude servira à éclairer les programmes de l'USAID liés à ce sujet en Guinée.

DESCRIPTION DES PROCEDURES D'ETUDE

Si vous acceptez de participer à cette étude, nous discuterons ensemble de votre parcours, des obstacles à surmonter pour atteindre la fonctions politiques, et de vos expérience un fois élu. Notre discussion prendra environ 1 heure et demie.

RISQUES ET AVANTAGES LIES A LA PARTICIPATION A CETTE ETUDE

Votre participation à cette étude n'implique aucun risque autre que ceux que vous rencontreriez dans la vie quotidienne. Votre participation ne présente aucun avantage direct, mais est importante pour aider l'USAID à crée et à mettre en œuvre des programmes qui serviront mieux les Guinéens et les Guinéennes.

CONFIDENTIALITE

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DROIT DE REFUSER OU DE SE RETIRER

La décision de participer à cette étude vous appartient entièrement. Si vous n'êtes pas à l'aise avec certaines questions, vous êtes libre de ne pas répondre ou de partir à tout moment sans aucune conséquence.

- Avez-vous des questions ?
- Acceptez-vous de participer ? [Obtenir le consentement verbal]

☐

Consentement obtenu pour **mener** l'entretien

Nous aimerions enregistrer cette discussion et prendre des notes. Les enregistrements et les notes ne seront communiqués à personne en dehors de l'équipe de recherche. Si vous préférez que notre discussion ne soit pas enregistrée, seules des notes seront prises.

☐

Consentement obtenu pour l'enregistrement audio de la discussion

Si vous pensez à d'autres questions par la suite, vous pouvez contacter Alexandre Monnard, Directeur de cette étude, à monnard-alexandre@norc.org.

Modèle de guide d'entretien avec les informateurs clés - politiciens/candidats

Objectif : Explorer les questions suivantes :

- Quels sont les parcours communs vers les fonctions politiques pour les femmes par rapport aux hommes ?
- À quels obstacles les candidats masculins et féminins sont-ils confrontés lorsqu'ils se présentent aux élections ? Quels facteurs leur permettent de réussir ?
- À quels obstacles les femmes et les hommes sont-ils confrontés dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions d'élus ?

À utiliser avec : les femmes et les hommes qui se sont présentés aux élections (avec ou sans succès). L'échantillonnage doit être guidé par la disponibilité des politiciens et leur diversité de perspective (ex. divers partis, sexes, âge, régions).

Durée : 60 minutes

Présentations : (5 minutes)

[Confirmez dans un style conversationnel : dernière élection contestée et parti politique.]

1. Depuis combien de temps êtes-vous membre de ce parti ?
2. Combien de temps avez-vous été membre avant qu'on vous propose votre première nomination ?

Décider de se présenter aux élections : (15 min)

3. Quel âge aviez-vous lorsque vous vous êtes intéressé pour la première fois à la politique ? Qu'est-ce qui a suscité votre intérêt ?
4. Parlez-moi de la première fois où vous avez pensé à vous présenter aux élections. Y a-t-il eu des événements, des expériences ou des personnes spécifiques qui vous ont motivé à envisager de vous présenter aux élections ?
5. Qui ou quoi vous a poussé à vous présenter aux élections ? *[Insister si non mentionné : famille, membres de la communauté]*
6. Un élu, un chef de parti politique ou un militant politique vous a-t-il suggéré de vous présenter ? Si oui, lequel ?

7. Qui ou quoi vous a découragé de vous présenter aux élections, le cas échéant ?
 - a. *[Si découragé par une personne ou un groupe :]* Qu'ont-ils dit ou sous-entendu ? Pourquoi pensez-vous qu'ils ont fait ça ? *[Insister si non mentionné : famille, membres de la communauté]*
 - b. Avez-vous été victime de violence, d'intimidation, de menaces ou de coercition de la part des membres de votre famille lorsque vous avez décidé de vous présenter ? *[Guidez la personne interrogée pour qu'elle partage, dans la mesure où elle se sent à l'aise, les types de violence qu'elle a subis : violence physique, violence verbale, violence domestique, violence sexuelle, attaques psychologiques répercussions économiques/financières]*
8. Quelles inquiétudes aviez-vous à l'idée de vous présenter aux élections ? *[Insister si non mentionné : sexe, identité ethnique/tribale/raciale, niveau d'expérience, climat politique, ou autre]*
9. Parlons maintenant de votre expérience en tant que candidat aux élections sur la liste de votre parti.
 - a. Cela a été facile ou difficile pour vous d'être nommé ? *[Pour un politicien de longue date, posez des questions sur la première fois qu'il a été nommé]* Quelles étaient certaines des choses que vous avez dû faire ? *[S'ils disent que c'était difficile, enquêtez sur la corruption au sein de la structure du parti]*
 - b. Avez-vous été victime de violence, d'intimidation, de menaces ou de coercition de la part d'autres membres du parti lors de votre candidature ? *[Guidez la personne interrogée pour qu'elle partage, dans la mesure où elle se sent à l'aise, les types de violence qu'elle a subis : violence physique, violence verbale, harcèlement ou violence sexuelle, répercussions économiques/financières]*
10. *[Pas pour les indépendants]* Veuillez décrire le processus par lequel vous avez été nommé pour devenir candidat.
 - a. Selon vous, quelles sont les raisons pour lesquelles votre parti a choisi de vous présenter sur sa liste ? *[Vérifier si non mentionné : quotas]*
 - b. *[Pour les politiciens de longue date qui disent que les quotas étaient la raison pour laquelle leur parti les a choisis, demandez :]* Dans quelle mesure pensez-vous que votre capacité à vous présenter aujourd'hui repose toujours sur des quotas ? Si non, qu'est-ce qui a changé ?

Campagne : (10 minutes)

Je vais maintenant vous poser quelques questions sur votre expérience de campagne.

11. Quelle part approximative des fonds de campagne dont vous disposiez provenait de votre parti politique ?
 - a. En général, pensez-vous que les candidats masculins ou féminins de votre parti reçoivent plus de financement de campagne ? S'il vous plaît, expliquez.

- b. *[Pas pour les indépendants]* Quels sont certains des défis que vous avez rencontrés pour obtenir le financement du parti pour votre campagne ? Comment pensez-vous que ces défis peuvent varier entre les hommes et les femmes ?
 - c. Avez-vous collecté des fonds auprès des électeurs ? Si oui, quelles sont les choses qui ont bien fonctionné et quelles sont les choses qui n'ont pas si bien fonctionné ?

- 12. *[Pas pour les indépendants]* Quels autres types de soutien avez-vous reçu de votre parti politique lorsque vous vous êtes présenté aux élections ? *[Sondez si besoin : formations, opportunités de promotion médiatique, soutien organisationnel ou logistique, etc.]*
 - a. Pensez-vous qu'il existe des différences dans le soutien des partis pour les candidats masculins/féminins ?
 - b. De quel autre soutien aviez-vous besoin ?
 - c. Comment améliorer l'accompagnement des femmes candidates ?

- 13. La sécurité pendant la campagne électorale était-elle une préoccupation ? *[Enquêter sur la sécurité physique et numérique]* Qu'est-ce que votre parti a fait pour vous aider ?
 - a. La sécurité parmi les membres de votre propre parti était-elle une préoccupation ? S'il vous plaît, expliquez.

- 14. Pendant la période de campagne, quels défis avez-vous rencontrés (le cas échéant) ? Décrivez s'il vous plaît.

- 15. Avez-vous subi, ou été témoin d'un autre candidat subissant de la violence ou des menaces de violence pendant la période de campagne ? *[Amenez la personne interrogée à partager, dans la mesure où elle se sent à l'aise, les types d'actes violents qu'elle a subis ou dont elle a été témoin.]*
 - a. Où ces violences se sont-elles produites ? *[Sondez si nécessaire : à la maison, à l'extérieur de la maison, en ligne]*
 - b. Qui a perpétré ces violences ? *[Sondez si nécessaire : quelqu'un à la maison, quelqu'un à l'intérieur du parti, quelqu'un d'autre]*
 - c. Pourquoi pensez-vous que l'agresseur a perpétré cette violence ? *[S'il s'agit d'une norme sociale ou culturelle, approfondir pour comprendre d'où vient la norme/pourquoi les auteurs se sentent ainsi]*
 - d. Comment avez-vous réagi à cette violence ? *[Insistez si non mentionné : l'avez-vous signalé à quelqu'un ? Si non, pourquoi pas ?]*

- 16. *[Pour les candidats qui ont gagné :]* Selon vous, quels sont les facteurs clés qui vous ont permis de réussir votre campagne ?

- 17. *[Pour les candidats qui n'ont pas gagné :]* Selon vous, qu'est-ce qui vous a empêché de gagner l'élection ?
 - a. Quelles sont certaines des choses que vous pensez pouvoir faire ou que votre parti devrait faire la prochaine fois et qui mèneront à une campagne réussie ?

Une fois élu : (15 minutes)

[Les questions suivantes sont conçues pour être utilisées avec les candidats qui ont gagné.]

Je vais maintenant vous poser quelques questions sur votre expérience depuis votre élection.

18. Quels étaient certains des principaux objectifs que vous vouliez atteindre en tant qu'élu ?
 - a. Pourquoi ces objectifs étaient-ils importants pour vous ?
 - b. Qui a influencé ces objectifs ?
19. Dans quelle mesure avez-vous pu atteindre ces objectifs ? S'il vous plaît, expliquez.
 - a. Avez-vous reçu du soutien ou du mentorat de vos pairs ? De qui ?
20. Quels ont été les obstacles auxquels vous avez dû faire face lorsque vous avez essayé d'atteindre vos objectifs ?
 - a. Avez-vous déjà été victime de violence, d'intimidation, de menaces ou de coercition de la part de vos pairs ? Desquels ? *[Guidez la personne interrogée pour qu'elle partage, dans la mesure où elle se sent à l'aise, les types de violence qu'elle a subis : violence physique, violence verbale, harcèlement ou violence sexuelle, répercussions économiques/financières]*
21. Avez-vous reçu une formation de votre parti pour assurer que vous pourrez exercer vos fonctions une fois élu ? Décrivez s'il vous plaît.
22. Dans quelle mesure pensez-vous que vos collègues vous écoutent ?
 - a. Ont-ils déjà essayé de prendre pour acquis que vous voteriez d'une certaine manière ? Pourquoi pensez-vous que ça a été le cas ?
23. Lorsqu'il s'agit de voter pour une *Décision*, qui ou quoi exerce la plus grande influence sur votre prise de décision ? Pourquoi ?
24. Avez-vous déjà craint que si vous ne votez pas d'une certaine façon, il pourrait y avoir de la violence ou des menaces de violence ? *[Amenez la personne interrogée à partager, dans la mesure où elle se sent à l'aise, les types d'actes violents (ex. violence physique, violence verbale, harcèlement sexuel, attaques psychologiques, menaces ou la coercition) qu'elle a subis ou dont elle a été témoin.]*
 - a. *[Si oui, demandez :]* Qui craignez-vous de perpétuer cette violence ou ces menaces de violence ?
 - b. *[Si oui, demandez :]* Ces inquiétudes vous ont-elles déjà fait changer d'avis sur la manière de voter ou sur le fait de vouloir rester impliqué en politique ?
 - c. Pensez-vous que les conséquences de ne pas voter d'une certaine manière sont différentes pour les hommes ou les femmes ?
25. Sur quels domaines travaillez-vous généralement ?
 - a. S'agit-il de domaines identiques ou différents de ceux qui vous intéressent le plus ?
 - b. Comment avez-vous fini par travailler dans ces domaines ? *[Demandez surtout s'ils sont différents du domaine d'intérêt]*

26. Êtes-vous membre d'une commission ? Lesquelles ?
- A-t-il été facile ou difficile pour vous de faire partie de cette ou ces commissions ? Quelles étaient certaines des choses que vous avez dû faire ? *[S'ils disent que c'était difficile, enquêtez sur la corruption]*
 - Avez-vous le sentiment d'avoir pu apporter une contribution significative ? Si c'est le cas, comment ? Veuillez donner un exemple.
27. *[Demandez aux membres des organes législatifs :]* Occupez-vous un poste de leadership ? Lequel ? Décrivez, s'il vous plait.
- A-t-il été facile ou difficile pour vous d'obtenir votre (vos) poste(s) de leadership ? Quelles étaient certaines des choses que vous avez dû faire ? *[S'ils disent que c'était difficile, enquêtez sur la corruption]*
 - Avez-vous le sentiment d'avoir pu apporter une contribution significative dans cette position ? Si c'est le cas, comment ? Veuillez donner un exemple.
28. Depuis votre élection, de quoi êtes-vous le plus fier dans votre carrière politique ?
- Avez-vous le sentiment que vos contributions ont été reconnues ? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas ?

Recommandations sur la façon d'améliorer la participation politique et le leadership des femmes : (10 minutes)

J'ai maintenant quelques questions sur la participation et le leadership des femmes en politique.

29. En pensant à la composition des sexes dans votre parti, pourquoi pensez-vous qu'il y a si peu de femmes [dirigeantes/candidates/membres] ?
30. Selon vous, quelle est l'importance d'augmenter la représentation des femmes en politique ? Pouvez-vous expliquer ?
31. Que fait votre parti pour augmenter le nombre de :
- Femmes membres du parti ?
 - Femmes à des postes de leadership au sein du parti ?
 - Femmes candidates ?
32. Quelle est l'importance d'augmenter la représentation des femmes en politique pour la population ?
- Que peut faire le parti pour améliorer la reconnaissance par la population de la valeur d'avoir des femmes au gouvernement ?
33. Que pourrait-on faire pour augmenter le nombre de femmes politiques dans ce pays ?
- [Vérifiez si non mentionné : Actions qui pourraient être entreprises par les candidats, les OSC / NGO, les partis politiques, les autres femmes politiques ; modifications des lois/règlements ;*

changements dans les normes sociales (ex., pour promouvoir la tolérance/l'ouverture aux femmes jouant des rôles en dehors du ménage)]

34. Que pourrait-on faire pour accroître l'implication des femmes de ce pays dans d'autres activités politiques ? Par autres activités politiques, j'entends des choses comme voter, participer à des discussions politiques, contacter des élus, assister à des rassemblements politiques, signer des pétitions ou manifester.

a. *[Vérifiez si non mentionné : Actions qui pourraient être entreprises par les candidats, les OSC / NGO, les partis politiques, les autres femmes politiques ; modifications des lois/règlements ; changements dans les normes sociales (ex., pour promouvoir la tolérance/l'ouverture aux femmes jouant des rôles en dehors du ménage)]*

Conclusion : (5 minutes)

35. Y a-t-il d'autres commentaires que vous aimeriez partager ?

Merci pour votre participation à cet entretien. Cela sera très utile pour notre rapport.

CONSENTEMENT ÉCLAIRÉ – Expert(e)s WPPL

Bonjour et merci d'avoir accepté de nous parler aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle _____ (nom de l'interviewer) et voici mon/ma collègue _____ (nom du preneur de notes). Nous travaillons pour NORC à l'Université de Chicago, basé aux États-Unis, sur une étude sur la participation politique en Guinée. Cette étude est financée par l'Agence américaine pour le développement international (USAID). Nous ne représentons ni le gouvernement ni un parti politique.

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DESCRIPTION DES PROCEDURES D'ETUDE

Si vous acceptez de participer à cette étude, nous discuterons ensemble de la situation des femmes en politique, du cadre juridique en place, des médias, de la société civile, et vos recommandations pour améliorer la participation politique et le leadership des femmes. Notre discussion prendra environ 1 heure et demie.

RISQUES ET AVANTAGES LIES A LA PARTICIPATION A CETTE ETUDE

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- Avez-vous des questions ?
- Acceptez-vous de participer ? [Obtenir le consentement verbal]

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Modèle de guide d'entretien avec les informateurs clés - Experts WPPL

Objectif : Explorer les questions suivantes :

- Qu'est-ce qui permet aux femmes de participer à la politique, y compris de se présenter aux élections ?
- Quels sont les parcours habituels des femmes vers les fonctions politiques ?
- À quels obstacles les candidats féminins sont-ils confrontés lorsqu'ils se présentent aux élections ? Quels sont les facteurs qui leur permettent de réussir à se faire élire ?
- À quels obstacles les femmes sont-elles confrontées dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions d'élues ?
- Comment les partis politiques inhibent-ils ou facilitent-ils la participation politique et le leadership des femmes ?
- Comment l'environnement médiatique affecte-t-il la participation politique et le leadership des femmes ?
- Comment le cadre juridique du pays affecte-t-il la participation politique et le leadership des femmes ?

Utiliser avec : les experts WPPL, l'échantillonnage doit être effectué à dessein en fonction des besoins d'information. Les experts peuvent inclure des **universitaires ; des représentants du gouvernement ; des journalistes ou d'autres experts des médias ; des syndicalistes ; des représentants de groupes de femmes et d'autres organisations de la société civile ; militants ; et d'autres acteurs clés pertinents pour WPPL.**

Durée : 60 minutes. Tous les modules peuvent ne pas s'appliquer à toutes les personnes interrogées ; l'équipe d'évaluation doit adapter cet instrument au contexte du pays et au domaine d'expertise spécifique de la personne interrogée.

Présentations : (5 minutes)

- I. Veuillez me parler un peu de vous et de la manière dont vous vous impliquez dans les questions liées à la participation politique et au leadership des femmes.

Les femmes en politique : (15 min)

2. Selon vous, quels sont les **principaux facteurs qui poussent** les femmes à participer à la vie politique dans ce pays ? Par vie politique, j'entends faire des choses comme voter, s'engager dans des discussions sur la gouvernance locale, contacter des élus, participer aux concertations communautaires ou à un événement de campagnes électorales, signer des pétitions ou manifester. *[Si nécessaire, l'intervieweur peut expliquer que les facteurs peuvent être des événements, des expériences ou des personnes.]*
 - a. Ces facteurs clés sont-ils différents de ce qui permet aux hommes de participer à la politique ? Si oui, comment sont-ils différents ?
 - b. Quels types de femmes sont les plus susceptibles de participer à la vie politique ? *[Sondez si nécessaire : ruraux/urbains, riches/pauvres, femmes de certains groupes ethniques/tribaux/raciaux/religieux]*
3. Quels sont les **principaux obstacles** qui empêchent les femmes de participer à la vie politique dans ce pays ?
 - a. *[Si un obstacle est une norme sociale ou culturelle, sonder pour comprendre qui perpétue la norme et d'où vient la norme]*
4. Quel type de conséquences négatives et positives les femmes subissent-elles lorsqu'elles participent à la vie politique ?
 - a. *[Insister si non mentionné : Conséquences dans la vie publique, conséquences dans la vie privée/familiale.]*
 - b. *[Explorez les différents types de réactions négatives et le potentiel de violence contre les femmes à la fois à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du foyer].*
 - c. Qui sont les auteurs des conséquences négatives ? Selon vous, quelle est leur motivation ?
 - d. Y a-t-il des sous-groupes particuliers de femmes qui subissent des conséquences différentes ou plus graves ? Décrivez-les s'il vous plait.

Les femmes candidates :

5. Selon vous, quels sont les **principaux facteurs qui poussent** les femmes à se présenter aux élections dans ce pays ?
 - a. Qu'est-ce que les femmes qui se présentent aux élections dans ce pays ont en commun ? *[Insister si non mentionné : parcours professionnel, normes au sein du ménage durant leur jeunesse, caractéristiques démographiques telles que l'identité ethnique/tribale/raciale/religieuse, le statut socio-économique, l'accès aux ressources, la famille en politique]*
6. Quels sont les **principaux obstacles** qui empêchent les femmes de se présenter aux élections dans ce pays ? Pourquoi pensez-vous que ces barrières existent ?
 - a. *[Si un obstacle est une norme sociale ou culturelle, sonder pour comprendre qui perpétue la norme et d'où vient la norme]*
7. Quel type de conséquences négatives et positives les femmes subissent-elles lorsqu'elles se présentent aux élections, et pourquoi ?

- a. *[Insister si non mentionné : Conséquences dans la vie publique, conséquences dans la vie privée/familiale]*
- b. Y a-t-il des sous-groupes particuliers de femmes qui subissent des conséquences différentes ou plus graves ? Décrivez-les s'il vous plait.

Cadre juridique : *[Au cours de l'examen documentaire, les équipes d'évaluation doivent identifier les principales lois et politiques discriminatoires à l'égard des femmes. Les équipes d'évaluation sont encouragées à adapter cette section pour en savoir plus sur l'effet du cadre juridique sur WPPL et sur la manière dont il pourrait être réformé]*

Je vais maintenant vous interroger sur quelques facteurs différents qui peuvent avoir un impact sur la participation politique et le leadership des femmes. Le premier est le cadre juridique.

8. Quelles réformes juridiques ou politiques dans ce pays, s'il y en a eu, ont changé **le nombre de femmes qui se présentent aux élections** ? Veuillez décrire le changement.
 - a. Qui a défendu ces réformes ? *[Insister si non mentionné : les mouvements de femmes étaient-ils impliqués ? Des hommes étaient-ils impliqués ? Si oui, selon vous, qu'est-ce qui les a motivés à s'impliquer ?]*
 - b. Qui était contre ces réformes et pourquoi pensez-vous qu'ils s'y sont opposés ?
 - c. Quels types de femmes ont été les plus touchés par ces réformes ? Quels types de femmes étaient moins touchées ? Pourquoi ?
9. Quelles réformes juridiques ou politiques dans ce pays, s'il y en a eu, ont changé **la façon dont les femmes participent à la vie politique** ? Encore une fois, par participation à la vie politique, j'entends faire des choses comme voter, s'engager dans des discussions sur la gouvernance locale, contacter des élus, participer aux concertations communautaires ou à un événement de campagnes électorales, signer des pétitions ou manifester. Veuillez décrire comment la réforme a modifié la participation ? *[Assurez-vous que la personne interrogée identifie le type de participation dont elle parle]*
 - a. Qui a défendu les réformes ? *[Insister si non mentionné : les mouvements de femmes étaient-ils impliqués ? Des hommes étaient-ils impliqués ? Si oui, selon vous, qu'est-ce qui les a motivés à s'impliquer ?]*
 - b. Pour quels types de femmes ces réformes ont-elles changé la participation ? Pour quels types de femmes cela n'a-t-il pas changé la participation ? Pourquoi ?
10. Quels sont les obstacles à l'application de [nom de la loi/politique qui facilite la participation des femmes qui a été **mentionnée en Q9**] ?
 - a. Qui s'oppose le plus à l'application de ces réformes ? Selon vous, quelles sont leurs raisons de s'y opposer ? Qu'est-ce qui, le cas échéant, peut potentiellement leur faire changer d'avis ?
 - b. Qui était en faveur de ces réformes et pourquoi pensez-vous qu'ils ont soutenu les réformes ? Quelle est le poids et la force de ces acteurs ? Comment les exploiter au mieux pour assurer l'application de ces réformes ?

11. Dans quelle mesure la loi sur les quotas est-elle bien appliquée ?

a. Que se passe-t-il en cas de non-conformité ?

12. Comment ces mesures ont-elles modifié la participation des femmes, le cas échéant ?

a. Pour quels types de femmes ces mesures ont-elles modifié la participation ? Pour quels types de femmes cela n'a-t-il pas changé la participation ?

13. Qui soutient ces mesures ? Qui s'oppose à ces mesures ? Pourquoi ? Quelle est le poids et la force de ces acteurs ?

14. D'après vous, ces mesures devraient-elles être réformées ? Si c'est le cas, comment ?

Médias :

J'aimerais maintenant vous poser quelques questions sur l'environnement médiatique et l'impact qu'il pourrait avoir sur la participation politique et le leadership des femmes.

15. Existe-t-il des différences dans la manière dont les hommes et les femmes de ce pays accèdent aux médias et interagissent avec eux ? Décrivez s'il vous plaît.

a. *[Sonder si non mentionné : Plates-formes utilisées, fréquence d'engagement, types d'actualités consommées. [Peut également choisir d'ajouter des questions basées sur les résultats du module d'enquête auprès de la population générale sur la façon dont les répondants obtiennent des informations politiques]*

16. À quels obstacles les femmes sont-elles confrontées pour accéder et consommer les médias ?

a. Pourquoi pensez-vous que ces barrières existent ?

b. *[Insister si non mentionné :]* Qui perpétue ces barrières et pourquoi ?

c. Quels types de femmes sont les plus susceptibles de faire face à chaque obstacle ?
[Sondez si nécessaire : ruraux/urbains, riches/pauvres, femmes de certains groupes ethniques/religieux]

17. Existe-t-il des différences dans la façon dont les médias présentent les hommes et les femmes politiques ? Décrivez s'il vous plaît.

Organisations féminines/Organisations de la société civile :

Maintenant, je vais vous poser quelques questions sur les organisations de la société civile [en particulier les organisations de femmes, le cas échéant] dans ce pays et l'impact qu'elles pourraient avoir sur la participation politique et le leadership des femmes.

18. En pensant aux organisations de la société civile dans ce pays, quels types de soutien apportent-elles à la participation des femmes à la vie politique ? Encore une fois, par participation à la vie politique, j'entends faire des choses comme voter, s'engager dans des discussions sur la gouvernance locale, contacter des élus, participer aux concertations

communautaires ou à un événement de campagnes électorales, signer des pétitions ou manifester.

- a. *[Insister si non mentionné : éducation et formation, mentorat, soutien organisationnel/logistique, soutien à certaines politiques ou législations, campagnes d'information, soutien aux femmes candidates lors des élections, mobilisation des femmes pour qu'elles votent, défense des questions de genre en politique, etc.]*
- b. En quoi ce soutien est-il différent de celui apporté à la participation des hommes à la vie politique ?

19. Dans quelle mesure les organisations de femmes sont-elles actives dans la promotion de la participation politique et du leadership des femmes dans ce pays ? Veuillez noter les différences par région géographique, origine ethnique ou autre caractéristique, le cas échéant.

- a. Que font-elles ? *[Insistez si non mentionné : Éducation et formation, mentorat, soutien organisationnel/logistique, soutien à certaines politiques ou législations, campagnes d'information, soutien aux femmes candidates lors des élections, mobilisation des femmes pour voter, défense des questions de genre, etc.]*

Partis politiques :

Je vais maintenant vous poser quelques questions sur les partis politiques de ce pays et l'impact qu'ils pourraient avoir sur la participation politique et le leadership des femmes.

20. En pensant aux partis politiques de ce pays, quels types de soutien apportent-ils aux candidats ? Veuillez noter les différences par parti, le cas échéant. *[Peut également choisir de poser des questions sur les types de soutien spécifiques en fonction des résultats de l'enquête auprès des politiciens (si possible)]*

- a. *[Insister si non mentionné : opportunités de mentorat, formations, soutien organisationnel/logistique, opportunités de promotion dans les médias]*
- b. En quoi ce soutien est-il différent de celui fourni aux candidats masculins ?
- c. Selon vous, quelles sont les motivations des partis qui promeuvent ou non les femmes ?
- d. Quels sont les principaux acteurs au sein des partis qui sont pour ou contre la participation politique et le leadership des femmes, selon vous ? Pourquoi ?

21. Dans quelle mesure les sections féminines des partis politiques sont-elles actives dans la promotion de la participation politique et du leadership des femmes dans ce pays ? Veuillez noter les différences par parti, le cas échéant.

- a. Que font-elles ? *[Vérifier si non mentionné : fournir un soutien organisationnel/logistique aux femmes, soutenir les femmes candidates lors des élections, mobiliser les femmes pour qu'elles votent, défendre les questions de genre au sein du parti]*

Recommandations pour améliorer la participation politique et le leadership des femmes :

22. Que pourrait-on faire pour augmenter le nombre de femmes politiques dans ce pays ?

- a. *[Insistez si non mentionné :] Actions qui pourraient être entreprises par les candidats, les OSC / ONG, les partis politiques, les autres femmes politiques ; modifications des lois/règlements ; changements dans les normes sociales (ex., pour promouvoir la tolérance/l'ouverture aux femmes jouant des rôles en dehors du ménage).]*

23. Quelle est l'importance d'augmenter la représentation des femmes en politique pour la population ?

- a. Que pourrait-on faire pour améliorer la reconnaissance par la population de la valeur d'avoir des femmes au gouvernement ?

24. Que pourrait-on faire pour accroître l'implication des femmes de ce pays dans d'autres activités de la vie politique ? Par participation à la vie politique, j'entends faire des choses comme voter, s'engager dans des discussions sur la gouvernance locale, contacter des élus, participer aux concertations communautaires ou à un événement de campagnes électorales, signer des pétitions ou manifester.

- a. *[Vérifiez si non mentionné : Actions qui pourraient être entreprises par les candidats, les OSC / ONG, les partis politiques, les autres femmes politiques ; modifications des lois/règlements ; changements dans les normes sociales (par exemple, pour promouvoir la tolérance/l'ouverture aux femmes jouant des rôles en dehors du ménage)]*

Bilan :

25. Y a-t-il d'autres commentaires que vous aimeriez partager ?

Merci pour votre participation à cet entretien. Cela sera très utile pour notre rapport.

CONSENTEMENT ÉCLAIRÉ – Partis Politiques

Bonjour et merci d'avoir accepté de nous parler aujourd'hui. Je m'appelle _____ (nom de l'interviewer) et voici mon/ma collègue _____ (nom du preneur de notes). Nous travaillons pour NORC à l'Université de Chicago, basé aux États-Unis, sur une étude sur la participation politique en Guinée. Cette étude est financée par l'USAID. Nous ne représentons ni le gouvernement ni un parti politique.

OBJET DE L'ETUDE

Nous cherchons à mieux comprendre la situation de la participation politique et du leadership des femmes en Guinée. Cette étude servira à éclairer les programmes de l'USAID liés à ce sujet en Guinée.

DESCRIPTION DES PROCEDURES D'ETUDE

Si vous acceptez de participer à cette étude, nous discuterons ensemble de comment votre parti politique recrute et soutient les candidates aux élections, et de vos recommandations pour améliorer la participation politique et le leadership des femmes. Notre discussion prendra environ 1 heure.

RISQUES ET AVANTAGES LIES A LA PARTICIPATION A CETTE ETUDE

Votre participation à cette étude n'implique aucun risque autre que ceux que vous rencontreriez dans la vie quotidienne. Votre participation ne présente aucun avantage direct, mais est importante pour aider l'USAID à créer et à mettre en œuvre des programmes qui serviront mieux les Guinéens et les Guinéennes.

CONFIDENTIALITE

Vos réponses durant cette discussion resteront strictement confidentielles et seront gardées en sécurité. Nous ne partagerons vos réponses avec personne en dehors de notre équipe d'étude et ne vous attribueront personnellement aucune réponse dans nos livrables. Nous espérons que cela vous permettra de vous sentir à l'aise de vous exprimer librement.

DROIT DE REFUSER OU DE SE RETIRER

La décision de participer à cette étude vous appartient entièrement. Si vous n'êtes pas à l'aise avec certaines questions, vous êtes libre de ne pas répondre ou de partir à tout moment sans aucune conséquence.

- Avez-vous des questions ?
- Acceptez-vous de participer ? [Obtenir le consentement verbal]

☐

Consentement obtenu pour **mener** l'entretien

Nous aimerions enregistrer cette discussion et prendre des notes. Les enregistrements et les notes ne seront communiqués à personne en dehors de l'équipe de recherche. Si vous préférez que notre discussion ne soit pas enregistrée, seules des notes seront prises.

☐

Consentement obtenu pour l'enregistrement audio de la discussion

Si vous pensez à d'autres questions par la suite, vous pouvez contacter Alexandre Monnard, Directeur de cette étude, à monnard-alexandre@norc.org.

Modèle de guide d'entrevue avec les informateurs clés - Chefs de partis politiques

Objectif : Explorer comment les partis politiques inhibent et/ou facilitent la participation politique et le leadership des femmes.

À utiliser avec : les chefs de partis politiques, dont les Secrétaires fédéraux, ou coordinateurs régionaux ou de zone, ou Président des femmes (préfectoral ou régional).

Durée : 30-60 minutes

Présentations : (5 minutes)

1. Quand avez-vous rejoint le parti pour la première fois ?
2. Quand avez-vous assumé pour la première fois un rôle de leader dans le parti ? Veuillez décrire votre rôle.

Adhésion au parti : (10 minutes)

3. Comment votre parti recrute-t-il et sélectionne-t-il ses membres ? Veuillez me guider tout au long du processus. *[Demandez également une copie des statuts/règlements officiels écrits pour recouper]*
 - a. Y a-t-il des différences pour les membres masculins / féminins ?
4. Y a-t-il des efforts en cours pour recruter des membres féminins, en particulier ? Si oui, veuillez décrire.
 - a. Dans quelle mesure ces efforts ont-ils été fructueux ? Décrivez s'il vous plait.
 - b. En quoi ces efforts diffèrent-ils de ceux utilisés pour recruter des membres masculins ?
 - c. Qu'est-ce qui pose problème pour recruter des membres féminins ?
 - i. *[Sondez si la réponse est liée à un manque d'intérêt ou à un nombre insuffisant de femmes :]* Pourquoi pensez-vous que c'est le cas ? Que peut faire votre parti, le cas échéant, pour accroître l'enthousiasme des femmes ? Faites-vous actuellement certaines de ces choses ?
5. Selon vous, quels sont les plus grands avantages et les plus grands inconvénients d'avoir des membres féminins ?

- a. Le fait d'avoir des membres féminins donne-t-il un avantage à votre parti lors des élections, cela ne fait-il aucune différence ou est-ce un désavantage pour votre parti ? Pourquoi ?

Soutien du parti aux candidats : (15 minutes)

6. Comment votre parti recrute-t-il et sélectionne-t-il ses candidats ? Veuillez me guider tout au long du processus. *[Demandez également une copie des statuts/règlements officiels écrits pour recouper]*
 - a. Y a-t-il des différences pour les candidats masculins / féminins ?
7. Le recrutement des candidats féminins est-il mandaté par le parti ou autre ? Décrivez s'il vous plaît.
 - a. Votre parti a-t-il des quotas volontaires ? Décrivez s'il vous plaît.
 - b. Existe-t-il des défis spécifiques à la candidature d'une femme ? Que sont-ils ? *[Explorez spécifiquement la sécurité, les normes culturelles/sociétales]*.
 - i. *[Si des défis sont mentionnés, demandez :]* Quels dispositifs dans les statuts et règlement intérieur votre parti a-t-il mis en place pour surmonter ces défis ?
 - c. Quels sont les avantages (autres que respecter les quotas) à présenter un candidat féminin ?
8. Quels types de soutien votre parti offre-t-il à ses candidats ? Décrivez s'il vous plaît.
 - a. Quelle formation de campagne est offerte aux candidats ? Existe-t-il une formation spéciale réservée aux candidats féminins ? Décrivez s'il vous plaît.
 - b. Quel soutien financier est fourni aux candidats ? Y a-t-il des différences pour les candidats masculins / féminins ? *[Si oui, demandez :]* Quelles sont ces différences et pourquoi existent-elles ?
 - c. Quels types d'opportunités de promotion dans les médias sont proposés aux candidats ? Y a-t-il des différences pour les candidats masculins / féminins ? *[Si oui, demandez :]* Quels sont-ils et pourquoi existent-ils ?
 - d. Quel soutien organisationnel ou logistique est fourni aux candidats ? Y a-t-il des différences pour les candidats masculins / féminins ? *[Si oui, demandez :]* Quels sont-ils et pourquoi existent-ils ?
 - e. Quel type de soutien en matière de sécurité est fourni aux candidats ? *[Sondez pour la sécurité physique et numérique]* Y a-t-il des différences pour les candidats masculins / féminins ? *[Si oui, demandez :]* Quels sont-ils et pourquoi existent-ils ?
 - f. Diriez-vous qu'il est plus coûteux, moins coûteux, ou que le coût est similaire pour le parti de présenter un candidat féminin qu'un candidat masculin ? Décrivez s'il vous plaît. *[Explorez à la fois les coûts monétaires et les coûts non monétaires/basés sur la perception (ex., comment les électeurs perçoivent le parti)]*
 - g. Selon vous, quel soutien supplémentaire aux candidats est nécessaire, le cas échéant ?

Opérations internes du parti : (10 minutes)

9. Je vais maintenant vous poser des questions sur des activités précises qui se déroulent au sein des partis politiques. Pour chaque activité, veuillez me dire qui l'exécute dans votre parti - est-ce seulement les hommes, principalement les hommes, principalement les femmes, seulement les femmes, ou les hommes et les femmes à parts égales ?
- Qui écrit le manifeste ou la plate-forme du parti ?
 - Qui dirige le parti ?
 - Qui décide comment les fonds du parti sont utilisés ?
 - Qui est formé au sein du parti ?
 - Qui est ajouté à la liste du parti et nommé aux élections ?
 - Qui décide qui est ajouté à la liste du parti et nommé aux élections ?
10. En général, pour les activités dont nous venons de parler, qui décide qui participe à ces tâches ?
- Pourquoi certaines personnes sont-elles choisies ? Quels sont les critères utilisés ?
 - Un effort conscient est-il fait pour inclure les femmes dans ces activités ?
11. Votre parti a-t-il des stratégies pour augmenter la représentation des femmes parmi les dirigeants du parti ? Quelles sont ces stratégies ?
- [Si oui, demandez :] Ces stratégies sont-elles mises en œuvre ? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas ?
 - Ces stratégies ont-elles contribué à accroître la représentation des femmes au sein du parti ? Pourquoi ou pourquoi pas ?
12. Le parti a-t-il une section féminine ?
- [Si oui, demandez :]
- Qu'est ce que ce groupe fait ?
 - Le parti fournit-il des ressources financières à la section féminine ? Si oui, expliquez.
 - La section féminine est-elle représentée au comité exécutif du parti ? Si oui, expliquez.
 - La dirigeante de la section féminine assiste-t-elle au congrès annuel du parti ?
 - La section féminine a-t-elle des droits de vote spéciaux ? Si oui, explique pourquoi.

Recommandations pour améliorer la participation politique et le leadership des femmes :

13. En pensant à la composition des sexes dans votre parti, pourquoi pensez-vous qu'il y a si peu de femmes [dirigeantes/candidates/membres] ?
14. Selon vous, quelle est l'importance d'augmenter la représentation des femmes en politique ? S'il vous plaît, expliquez.
15. Que fait votre parti pour augmenter le nombre de :
- Des femmes membres du parti ?
 - Des femmes à des postes de leadership au sein du parti ?
 - Des femmes candidates ?

16. Maintenant, j'aimerais que vous pensiez à la population. Quelle est l'importance d'augmenter la représentation des femmes en politique pour la population ?

a. Que peut faire le parti pour améliorer la reconnaissance par la population de l'importance d'avoir des femmes au gouvernement ?

17. Que pourrait-on faire pour augmenter le nombre de femmes politiques dans ce pays ?

a. *[Vérifiez si non mentionné : Actions qui pourraient être entreprises par les candidats, les OSC / NGO, les partis politiques, les autres femmes politiques ; modifications des lois/règlements ; changements dans les normes sociales (ex., pour promouvoir la tolérance/l'ouverture aux femmes jouant des rôles en dehors du ménage)]*

18. Que pourrait-on faire pour accroître l'implication des femmes de ce pays dans la vie politique ? Par vie politique, j'entends faire des choses comme voter, s'engager dans des discussions sur la gouvernance locale, contacter des élus, participer aux concertations communautaires ou à un événement de campagnes électorales, signer des pétitions ou manifester.

a. *[Vérifiez si non mentionné : Actions qui pourraient être entreprises par les candidats, les OSC / NGO, les partis politiques, les autres femmes politiques ; modifications des lois/règlements ; changements dans les normes sociales (par exemple, pour promouvoir la tolérance/l'ouverture aux femmes jouant des rôles en dehors du ménage)]*

Conclusion :

19. Y a-t-il d'autres commentaires que vous aimeriez partager ?

Merci pour votre participation à cet entretien. Cela sera très utile pour notre rapport.

ANNEX C, SOURCES OF INFORMATION

KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEWED

STAKEHOLDER GROUP	GENDER	LOCATION	NO. OF KIIS
Politicians/Candidates	1 man and 6 women	3 Conakry, 2 Boké, 1 Kankan, 1 Lola	7
Civil Society Organizations	6 men and 3 women	1 Labé, 1 Guéckédou, 1 Kissidougou, 2 N'zérékoré, 1 Fria, 1 Coyah, 1 Kankan, 1 Faranah	9
Political Parties	3 men and 4 women	3 Conakry, 2 Mamou, 1 Dalaba, 1 N'zérékoré	7
Local and National Government	7 men, 3 women	6 Conakry, 1 Kindia, 1 Kankan, 1 Faranah, 1 Labé	10
Media/Journalists	2 men and 1 woman	1 Conakry, 1 Kankan, 1 Labé	3
INGOs	1 man and 1 woman (2 participants in 1 meeting)	Conakry (2 participants in 1 meeting)	1
Education and Health	1 man	Mamou	1

Notes: Most politicians and candidates interviewed also previously or currently held high-level positions in political parties. We counted them only once in the table above, even if they shared their experience as a whole. In addition, one interviewee working in the CSO space also held a local government position. We counted him only once in the CSO category.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS

NO.	LOCATION	GROUP DESCRIPTION	TOTAL PARTICIPANTS
1	N'Zérékoré	Male university students	12
2	Lola	Rural women	11
3	N'Zérékoré	Young women leaders of associations	8
4	Kolabouyi	Women in associations, groups, and political parties	12
5	Kindia	Politically active women	7
6	Kindia	Male university students	12
7	Conakry	Women (pilot)	6
8	Dalaba	Men	11
9	Labé	University students (mixed sexes)	8
10	Labé	Women	9
11	Mamou	Women part of associations	10
12	Pita	Women	8
13	Faranah	Women university professors	5
14	Kankan	Men	7
15	Faranah	Young women leaders	10
16	Kankan	CSO leaders (mixed sexes)	9
17	Kankan	Female university students	12

ANNEX D, METHODOLOGY

DESK REVIEW

The Assessment Team (AT) conducted a desk review prior to beginning fieldwork to inform the team on current gender inequality gaps between women and men in political participation and leadership and the drivers behind those gaps. The desk review also informed the team on key issues, areas of particular interest, key informants, and other stakeholders relevant for fieldwork. The desk review focused on several types of documents related to WPPL: 1) reports and analysis from international and Guinean civil society organizations (CSOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) regardless of funding; 2) reports funded by USAID and found on the Development Experience Clearinghouse; 3) reports, statistics, and data from ministries, the legislature, and other bodies of the Guinean government; 4) reports and analysis from funders other than USAID; and 5) news articles. Our team examined documents in both English and French.

GENERAL POPULATION SURVEY

NORC and Stat View International conducted a nationally representative survey of 2,518 adults (age 18+). The survey design used multistage stratified cluster sampling, where primary sampling units were selected with probability proportional to size. See Annex B for the survey questionnaire.

POLITICIAN SURVEY

NORC and Stat View International conducted a survey of 665 local politicians and candidates, including Mayors, Deputy Mayors, and communal council members. See Annex B: GENERAL POPULATION SURVEY for the questionnaire.

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

The AT conducted key informant interviews (KIs) to examine factors that inhibit or facilitate WPPL. A total of 37 KIs with 39 persons were conducted between May 25 and June 3, 2022. Informants came from a variety of groups, including, in particular, politicians and political candidates, civil society, political parties, national (and to a lesser extent local) government, and media. Informants were 46 percent women and 54 percent men. KIs were recorded, transcribed, and translated, and the AT verified the quality of the transcriptions using recordings when available. For the key informant interview guides, see Annex B: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDES.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Guinean consultants with support and training from NORC conducted a series of FGDs to gain a deeper understanding of factors that inhibit political participation and leadership from a citizens' perspective. A total of 17 FGDs were conducted between May 25 and June 3, 2022. FGDs were conducted in all four natural regions of Guinea, primarily in or near small to large cities. Most FGDs involved typical Guineans of either gender (separately), but some FGDs were also held with university students of either gender, with NGO and association member and leaders, and with politically active women. This approach allowed for a wide range of perspectives spanning the genders, all regions, and various levels of education. For the focus group composition, see [Annex C: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS](#). For the focus group discussion guide, see [Annex B: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE](#).

Each FGD contained 5–12 participants. In total, 157 people participated in the FGDs, including 52 men and 105 women. Guinean consultants recorded, transcribed, and translated the FGDs, and the AT verified the quality of the transcriptions using recordings when available.

Guinean consultants recruited participants for the FGDs based on criteria outlined by NORC. These criteria included being an adult (18+) and to prioritize typical Guineans in an urban and rural context. However, as the Guinean consultant teams had the time to conduct extra FGDs, NORC instructed them to also consider other groups. In particular, these groups included university students to reflect a youth and educated perspective, politically active women to enrich the KIs (primarily done with national figures and high-level party actors), and CSO leaders working on WPPL-related issues and topics.

ANNEX E, POLITICIAN SURVEY REPORT

PROFILE OF INTERVIEWED POLITICIANS

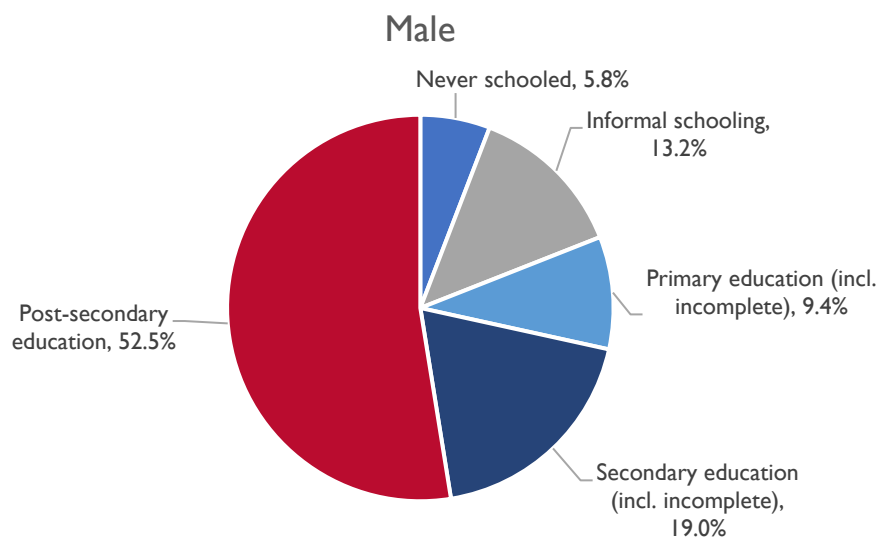
We surveyed a total of 665 Guinean politicians active at the local level. The selection criterion for survey participation was to currently serve or to have previously served as Mayor, Deputy Mayor, or municipal council members. The second implicit criterion was that these surveys were conducted on the margin of the General Population Survey, and therefore the targets had to be relatively near census enumeration areas included in the general population sample.

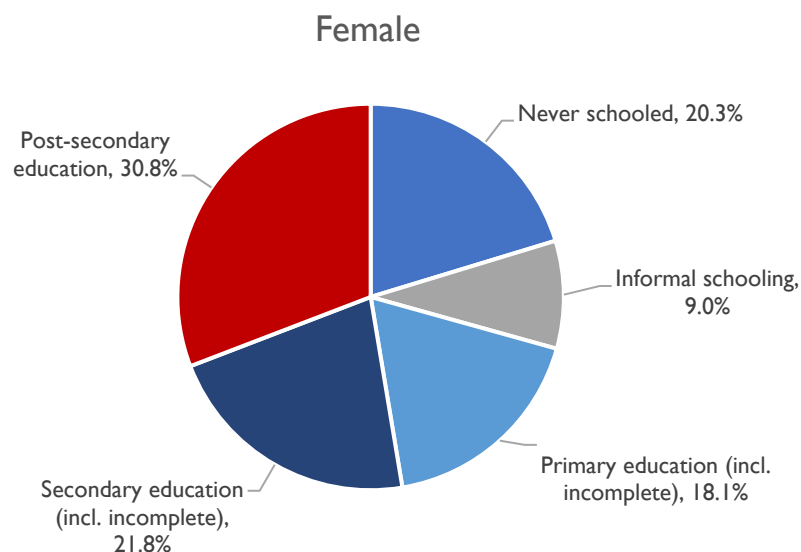
Most of the politicians surveyed were men (532, or 80 percent); 133 women made up the remaining 20 percent of the observations. This gender imbalance arose despite efforts to obtain a gender-balanced sample through the provision of lists containing female politicians who recently received trainings from the National Democratic Institute (NDI). These lists contained a total of 300 entries, although a quarter of them were missing contact information. The principal challenge encountered by the field teams when using these lists was that many women were party activists and past or future candidates for political office but did not serve as Mayor, Deputy Mayor, or municipal council members.

The local politicians surveyed were typically older, as their average age was 55.1 years old, and the median age was 56 years old. The youngest politician interviewed was 27, and the oldest was 90. Only 16 percent of interviewed politicians were 40 years old or younger. Female politicians were 2.1 years younger on average than their male counterparts.

As shown in Figure E.1 below, nearly half of the politicians in our sample had started or completed some type of post-secondary studies, principally university. Another 20 percent had started or completed secondary school. Our data reflect marked differences across sexes here, as female politicians were nearly four times as likely as their male counterparts to have never been schooled, and the gap between sexes as it relates to post-secondary education was 22 percentage points.

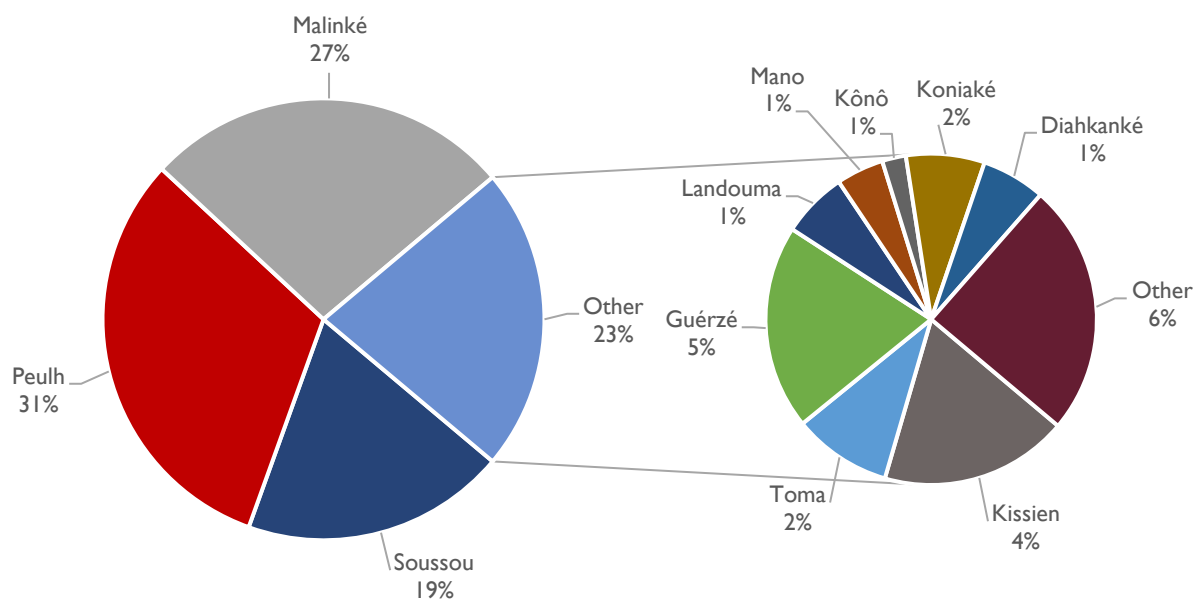
Figure E.1. Level of education reported by surveyed politicians by gender





The politicians interviewed represented more than 15 ethnic groups, although the Peulh and the Malinké ethnic groups composed together nearly two-third of the sample. Figure E.2 below provides a more detailed view of the ethnic composition of the sample.

Figure E.2. Ethnic group reported by surveyed politicians



An overwhelming majority of the interviewed politicians reported belonging to the Muslim faith, with Christians composing only 8.7 percent and traditional religions just 1.2 percent of the sample.

Most politicians were or had been married. A slight majority (55.8 percent) reported being in a polygamous marriage, followed by 36.7 percent reporting being in a monogamous marriage. Widowed politicians composed just 5.9 percent of the overall sample, but more than 26 percent of female politicians interviewed. All 7 of the divorced politicians in our sample were also women.

The overwhelming majority of politicians had at least 1 child, although the average number of children reported was 7.4, which was higher than the median of 6 children. Indeed, 26.9 percent of participating politicians had 10 or more children, with a maximum reported of 32. Male politicians typically had nearly twice as many children as female politicians (8.1 vs. 4.5), and they alone reported more than 10 children. Most politicians had at least one child under the age of 6 living with them at the time of their interview. Only 29.6 percent did not, and female politicians were much more likely than their male counterpart to not have a child under the age of 6 living with them (42.1 percent vs. 26.5 percent for male politicians).

Nearly half (47.8 percent) of interviewed politicians belonged to the *Rassemblement du Peuple de Guinée* (RPG), another 29.2 percent belonged to the *Union des Forces Démocratiques de la Guinée* (UFDG), and 8.9 percent belonged to the *Union des Forces Républicaines* (UFR). Independents composed just 3.9 percent of interviewed politicians, and the remaining 10.2 percent in our sample belonged to various other parties, including *Guinée Pour Tous* (GPT), the *Union Démocratique de Guinée* (UDG), the *Union pour le progrès de la Guinée* (UPG), and the *Union pour le Progrès et le Renouveau* (UPR).

MOTIVATION TO BECOME A POLITICIAN

Among our sample of politicians, the typical (median) age at which they first considered running for political office was 40 years old. Less than 10 percent of politicians thought about undertaking this journey before they were adults, and a quarter did so at 49 years old or later in their lives. On average, female politicians first thought about running for elected office a year and a half earlier than their male counterparts.

Somewhat surprisingly, slightly over half of the local politicians interviewed reported that their family rarely talked about politics while they were growing up. Another 18.7 percent reported their family sometimes talked about politics, and 27.9 percent reported their family spoke about politics a great deal while they were growing up. Female politicians were 7 percentage points more likely than their male counterparts to report that their family spoke sometimes or a great deal about politics.

Approximately two-third of politicians reported that, growing up, they had been inspired to first run for elected office by a contemporary or historic political personality. There is a marked difference between sexes, as female politicians were 18.2 percentage points less likely to report such an inspiration than male politicians. The most cited political figures were Alpha Condé, Sekou Touré, Cellou Dalein Diallo, Nelson Mandela, and various local politicians and former National Assembly *députés*. Female politicians routinely mentioned male political figures (68.2 percent), but the reverse was very uncommon (0.86 percent).

We also asked politicians if someone in particular encouraged them during their youth to think about running for elected office one day. Nearly three-fourth indicated that was the case, although the share of female politicians who reported being particularly encouraged was 12 percentage points lower than that of male politicians (62.4 percent vs. 74.4 percent). The most cited category of person politicians had in mind was teachers and coaches, which accounted for nearly half (48.4 percent) of answers. Male teachers dominate this category. Family members, excluding parents, are the second largest (22.8 percent) category, and aunts appear to have an outsized influence here. Parents and friends only account for approximately 7 percent each, surprisingly. These trends hold among female politicians, as they also cite teachers (male teachers especially—20.5 percent—but also female teachers—14.5 percent) and aunts the most.

ELECTORAL HISTORY

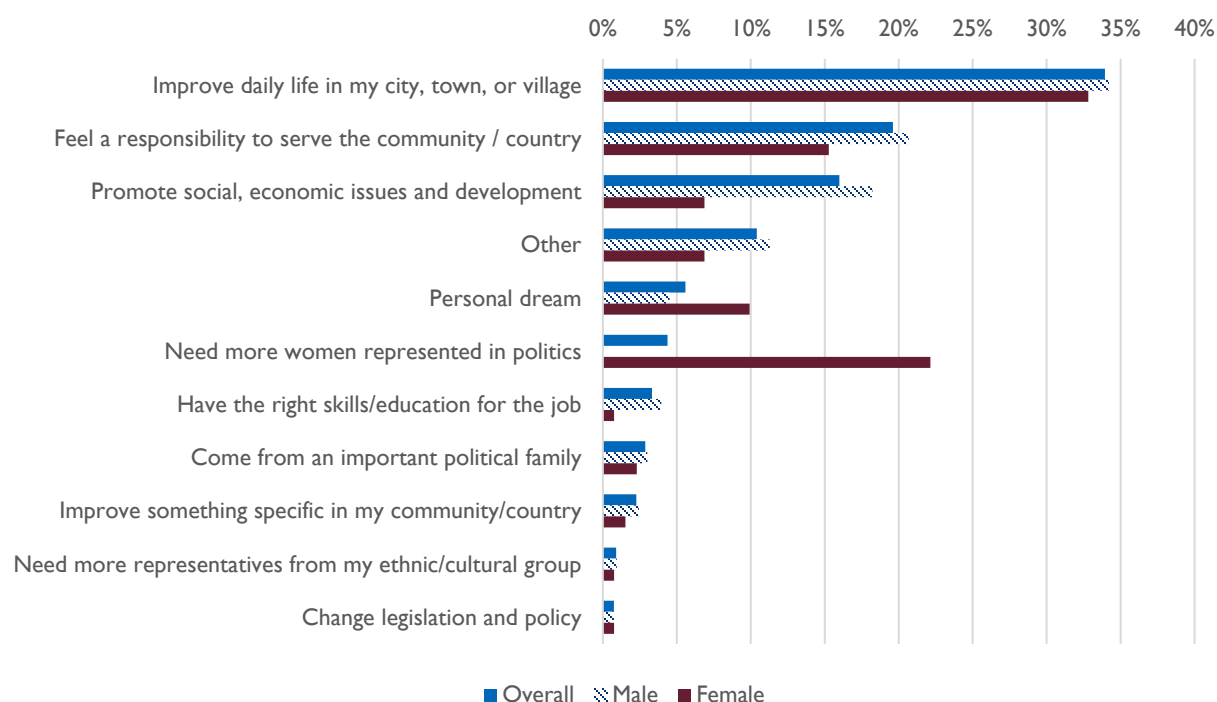
FIRST RUN FOR OFFICE

A series of survey questions focused on the first election in which politicians participated. More than three-fourth of them reported that they had won their first election, which was typically for Mayor (38.2 percent) or for municipal councilperson (28.5 percent). The “other” category was also selected often, and primarily includes a range of secretary, treasurer, and president and vice-president roles in various organizations in government and political parties.

The principal reason given by politicians for their first run for office is detailed in Figure E.3 below. Female politicians were heavily motivated by the need for more women in politics, but their most cited reason was to improve daily life in their city or village. This same reason was also the most cited by male politicians. Female politicians were also markedly more likely than their male counterparts to say that running was a person dream of theirs.

When respondents selected the answer choice “To improve something specific in my community/country,” they were asked to specify what that was. The answers typically revolved around the management of the community or specific infrastructure needs (e.g., water, roads, education), but in a few cases they focused on helping women in particular (e.g., “integration and autonomy of women”). These answers were generally not too different from some given for the “other” answer choice, with some notable exceptions. The most frequent theme among the “other” answers relates to the wishes of, the support of, or the love for their political party, and two other common themes were to develop skills and experience and to assist and support youth.

Figure E.3. Main reason behind first run for office



PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE

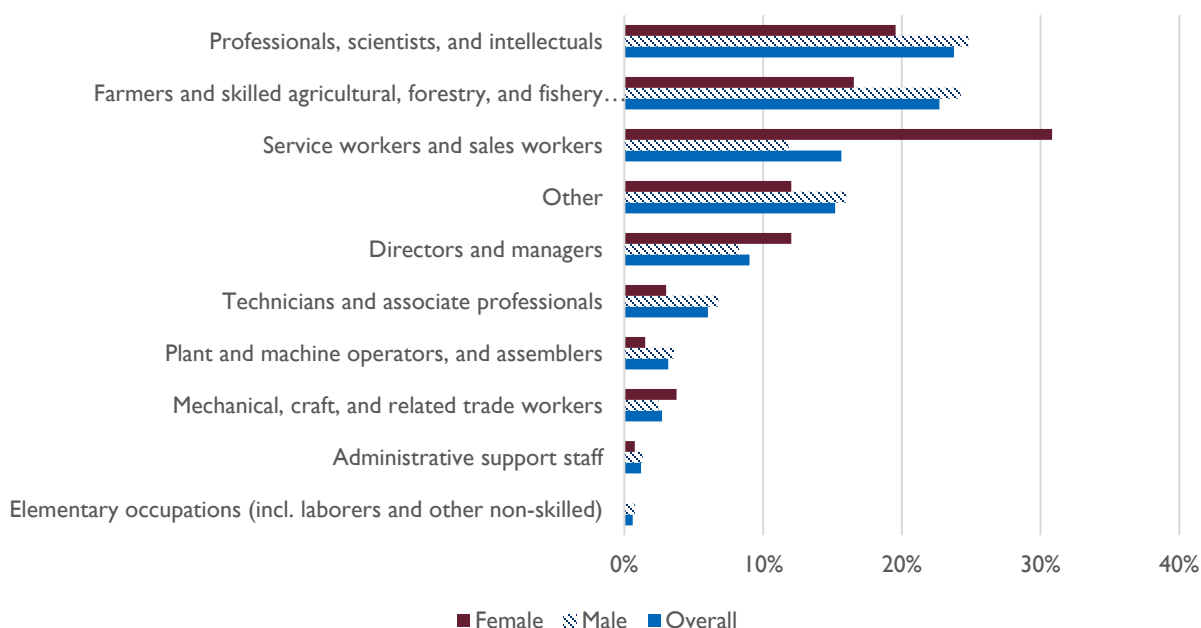
Looking now at the experience and path to office of local politicians, we see that slightly over half (54 percent) had not won an election before being elected to their first position. This suggests a certain degree of renewal in the local political system, where incumbents are not always favored. This perspective is reinforced by the fact that politicians reported serving in their current position for an average of 4.6 years and have held political positions for an average of 9 years. There was no significant difference between sexes for the number of years at their current position, but the median total years in politics for males was two years longer, and 2.3 years longer on average.

The professional background of local politicians before they entered politics is also interesting, as it suggests that local elected office is accessible to those with diverse experience. A quarter of politicians had been government employees before entering politics, but most had not held elected or appointed office nor worked for the government.

As shown in Figure E.4, below, just under half of politicians worked in professional, research, and intellectual professions (23.4 percent) or as farmers or skilled agricultural workers (22.7 percent). Service and sales professions was the next most cited professional activity. There are surprisingly few coming from director and manager positions. Among female politicians, nearly a third come from the service and sales fields, but professional, research, and intellectual professions and farmers or skilled agricultural workers are also prominent backgrounds. Female politicians were also slightly more likely than their male counterparts to come from a director or manager background.

Examining the answers to the “other” category, certain trends emerge. A significant share of these answers is related to student, intern, or job-seeker status, and working or running CSOs and NGOs is also mentioned with some frequency.

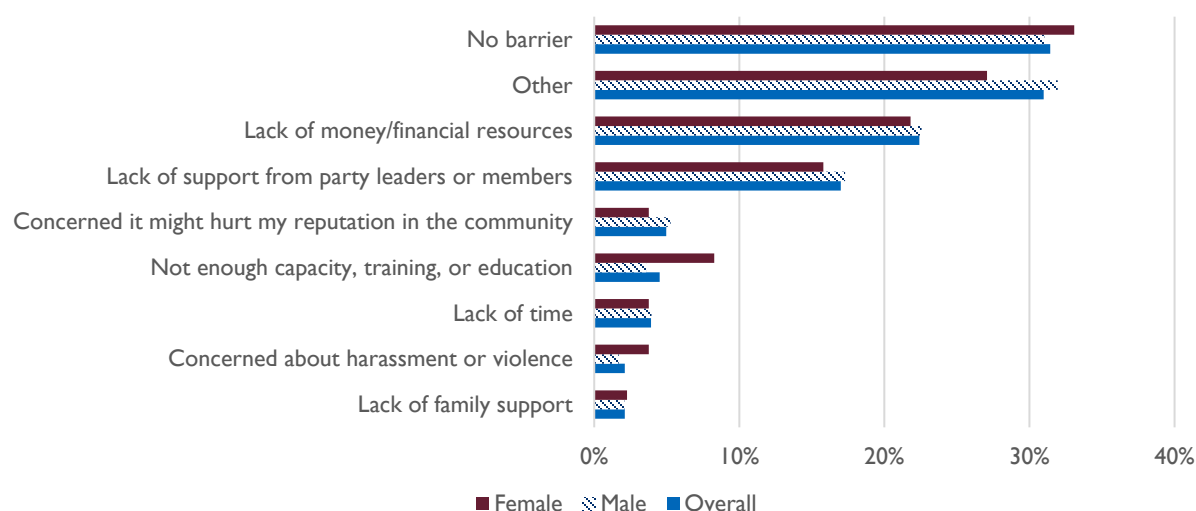
Figure E.4. Previous occupation of politicians, before they entered politics



VISION OF THEIR FUTURE

Most politicians reported they would consider running for their current position again, and that figure was even higher among women than men (80.5 percent vs. 76 percent). When asked what primary barrier stand in the way of doing so, most noted there was no barrier, followed by other barriers, lack of money and financial resources, and lack of support from party leaders and members. There are few noteworthy differences between sexes here, although women were more likely than their male counterparts to cite lack of capacity, training, or education as a barrier (8.3 percent vs. 3.6 percent for men).

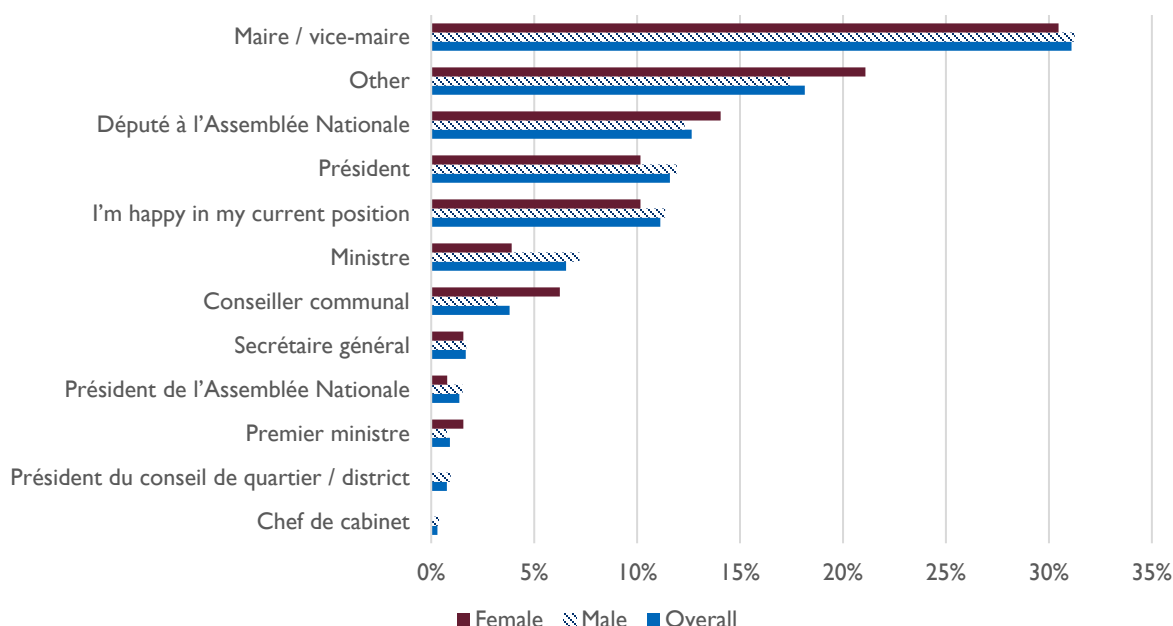
Figure E.5. Principal barriers cited for running again for current position



Among the other answer choices provided, concerns about age and health were frequently mentioned by politicians of both sexes. Concerns were also commonly cited regarding the lack of results they managed and of trust and support among the population. Another class of concerns was related to the uncertainties around the transition government and national politics. Women also noted issues related to equitable elections, lack of solidarity among women, and discrimination by the community and within their party. However, men also noted some of these things, including party politics, cross-party dynamics, and tensions across ethnic groups.

Politicians were also asked what top political position they aspire to, in the future. Mayor or Deputy Mayor was the more cited, followed by other answers and *député* at the National Assembly, as shown in Figure E.6 below. Other recurring answers include Ambassador, Prefect or Governor. Only approximately 10 percent of politicians said they were happy with their current position, suggesting widespread ambition. However, that ambition is measured, given that just 11.6 percent are envisioning the Presidency and even fewer are considering Minister.

There are relatively few differences between sexes here, and women show similar ambition to their male colleagues. As previously mentioned, age and health were common answers to the “other” answer choice used to explain why some are not looking to continue in politics, as were answers about not looking to continue for other reasons. Respondents also cited working in the private or public sector (e.g., CEO, health center, judge, or magistrate).

Figure E.6. Top position that politicians wish to hold one day

RECRUITMENT PROCESS

The politicians interviewed reported that a wide range of actors suggested they run for their current position. Friends and acquaintances were most cited (81.1 percent), followed by non-elected political activists (78.2 percent) and co-workers and business associates and political party officials (77.1 percent each). The least cited groups still reached a 60 percent threshold and include elected officials and spouse or partner. There are few differences between sexes here. Overall, female politicians reported a lower rate of suggestion across all groups, except for the spouse/partner category, where the difference was around 3 percent in favor of women. Surprisingly, civil society (68.4 percent men vs. 51.1 percent women) and even women's organizations (73.9 percent men vs. 66.9 percent women) also showed a large gap in who they encouraged to run.

If they reported encouragement from one or more party actors, politicians were asked why they thought the party did so. The most common answer was that the party recognized the individual has the right skills, education, and experience (51.3 percent). "Other" (21.2 percent) was the second most popular choice, with respondents clarifying that meant various flavors of being popular, being trusted by the community, and being able to mobilize. They also indicated it meant dedication, love, and actions for the party itself. Other answer choices—receiving around 5 points each—include being able to bring money or financial resources, being part of a traditional political family, and need for more representatives of the individual's ethnic group. The main notable difference between sexes here is tied to gender quotas, to which 27.8 percent of women agreed (vs. 4.1 percent of men). Men, on the other hand, were more likely than women to point to their skills, education, and experience (66.4 percent vs. 51.5 percent).

When asked about which persons or groups have discouraged or tried to dissuade them from running for their present elected office, local politicians reported friends and acquaintances particularly did so (31.4 percent), followed by coworkers or business partners (25.3 percent) and family members (20.6

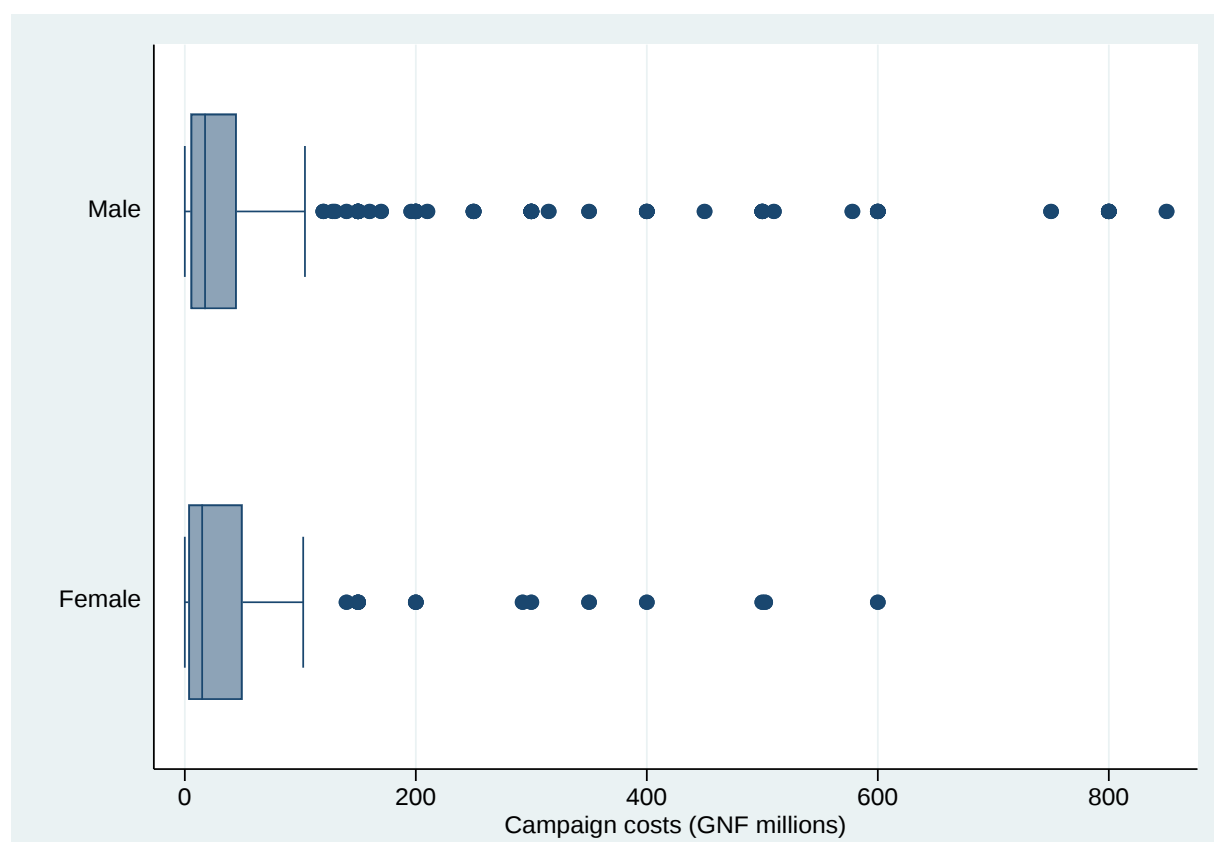
percent). Other groups scored lower, between 10 and 20 percent. Relatively few differences exist between sexes here, although female politicians were more likely to report being dissuaded by women's organizations (15 percent vs. 10 percent) and family members (23.3 percent vs. 19.9 percent) than their male counterparts. On the other hand, female politicians were less likely to report being discouraged by their spouse or partner (11.6 percent vs. 16.3 percent).

CAMPAIGN COSTS

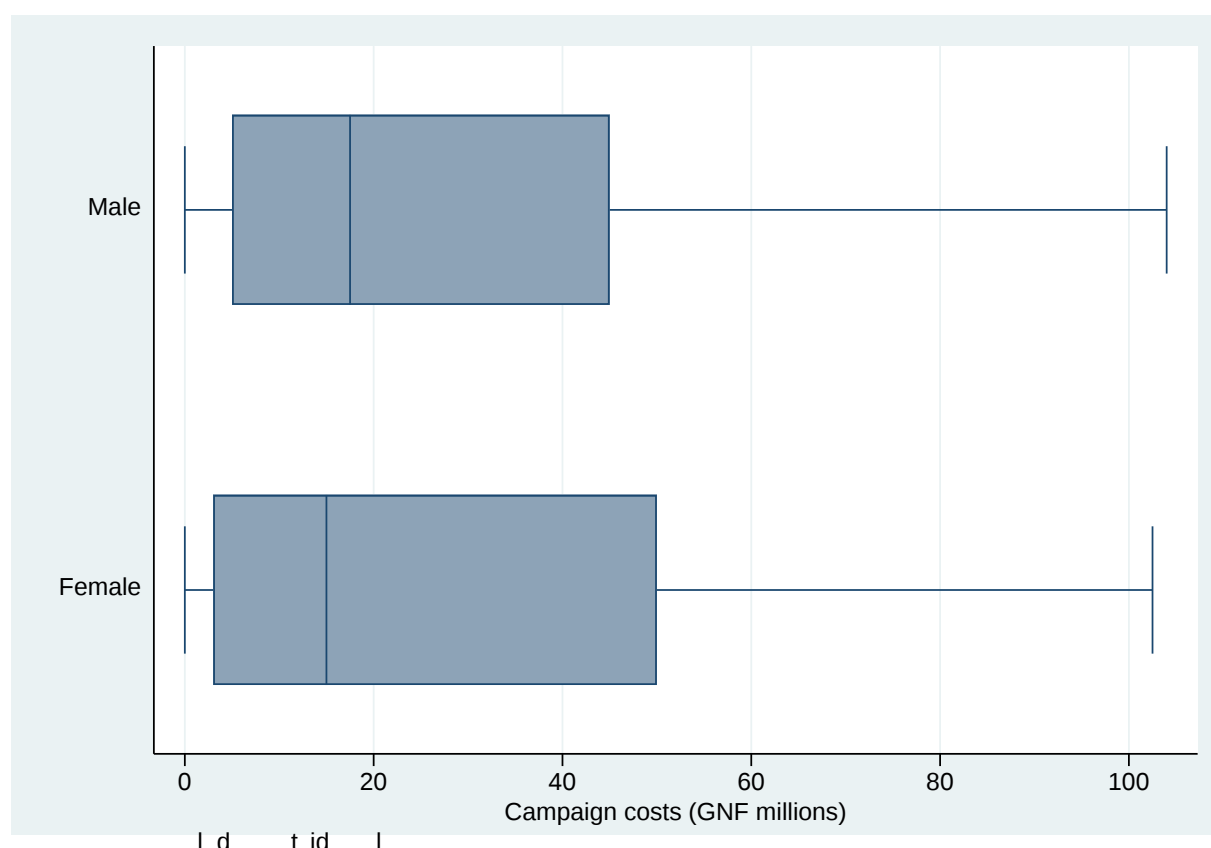
The survey asked politicians to estimate the total cost of their last campaign, the one they ran for their current position. The median campaign cost reported was GNF 17 million, while the average was GNF 57.6 million. The largest reported cost was GNF 850 million, and at the other end of the spectrum, nearly 10 percent of politicians reported a campaign cost of 0.¹⁵⁶

Figures E.7 and E.8 below are box plots of campaign costs by sex. E.7 shows all values, including extreme outliers, whereas E.8 leaves these extreme outliers out for an easier examination. Essentially, E.8 represents the equivalent of “zooming in” on the left side of E.7.

Figure E.7. Box plot of campaign costs, by sex



¹⁵⁶ However, it is difficult to know if these politicians really ran a campaign costing nothing or if the zeros are due to them not remembering and not saying so or enumerator error (despite training on the subject).

Figure E.8. Box plot of campaign costs, by sex, excluding outliers

Both distributions exhibit a significant positive skew. The median is slightly higher among male politicians than their female counterparts (GNF 17.5 million vs. 15 million). In addition, the first quartile for women politicians is at GNF 3 million, whereas it is at GNF 5 million for males, indicating that significantly more female politicians ran relatively “cheap” campaigns. However, the range from the median to the third quartile is also wider for females, indicating more spread among the typical to well-funded campaigns than for male candidates. Male politicians are also responsible for most of the comparatively expensive campaigns and especially the extreme outliers beyond GNF 600 million.

Politicians were asked to break down the share of total campaign costs that they paid for themselves and that their party (if any) funded. This proved difficult for some politicians, as many did not know or remember, and others made best estimates that did not make sense (e.g., values that are higher than the total cost).¹⁵⁷ We generated a standardized value ranging from 0 (no personal/party contribution) to 1 (entirely self/party-funded) to be able to examine and graph these data. Note that we cannot assume that campaigns were solely funded by the candidate and/or the party, as there may have been other sources of funding (e.g., individual donations, corporate donations) that the survey did not capture.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ During data cleaning, we tried to correct data entry errors (e.g., an extra zero in the amount they or their party funded) to the extent possible, but in most cases the information provided was insufficient to make corrections in these cases, and these were marked as missing instead, which means they are not included in the analysis.

¹⁵⁸ As a result, the sum of the two standardized values (own and party contributions) do not always add up to 1.

On average, politicians funded 42.6 percent of their latest campaign, and their party, when applicable, funded 49.4 percent. On the other hand, the medians or typical shares are 33.3 percent and 50 percent, which indicates that the distribution of the share of campaign costs funded by politicians themselves is positively skewed but that is not the case for the share funded by parties. Figure E.9 shows a box plot of the share self-funded and funded by the party.

Figure E.9. Box plot of shares of campaign costs provided by politicians and by their party

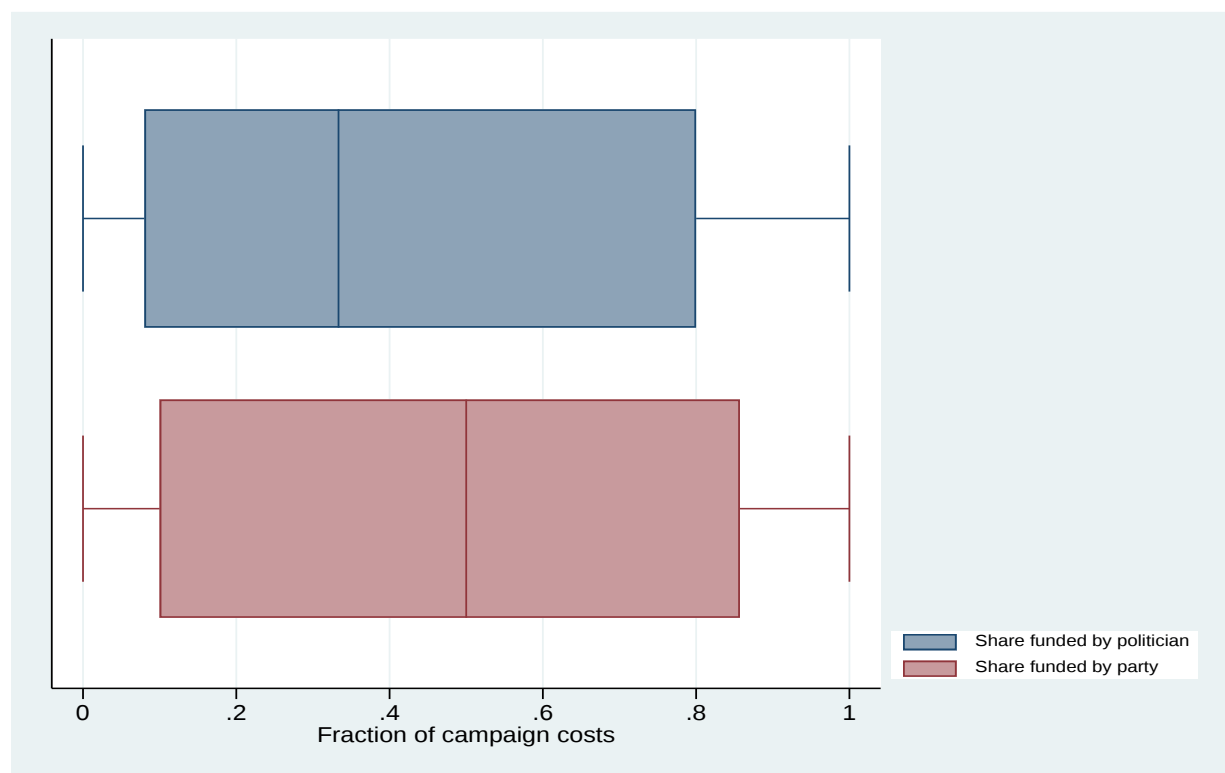


Figure E.10 shows the share of campaign costs funded by politicians, whereas Figure E.11 show the share funded by parties, both disaggregated by sex. We see that male politicians seemed to fund a greater share of their campaign themselves. The average share funded by female politicians is 38.1 percent, versus 43.7 percent for their male counterparts. Medians differed even more: 25 percent for female politicians and 35 percent for male politicians. Looking at the share funded by parties, we see largely the opposite pattern; the average for female politicians is 54 percent versus 48.4 percent for their male counterparts. Medians are 56.4 percent for female politicians and 50 percent for males.

Figure E.10. Box plot of share of campaign costs provided by politicians, by sex

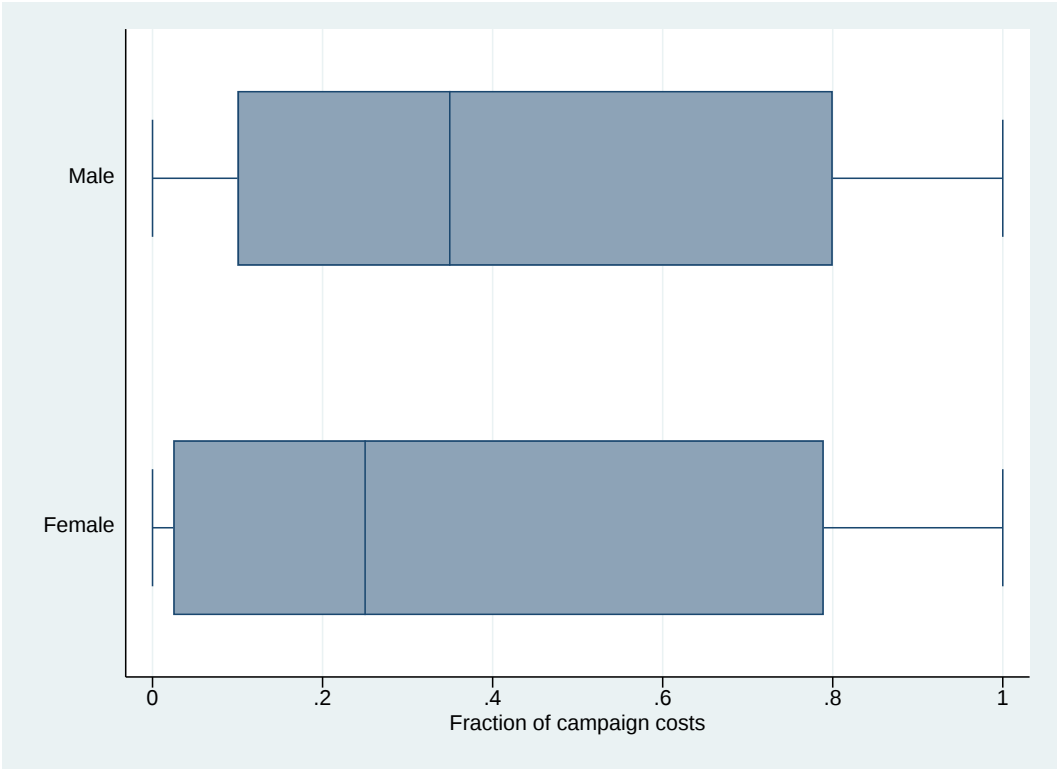
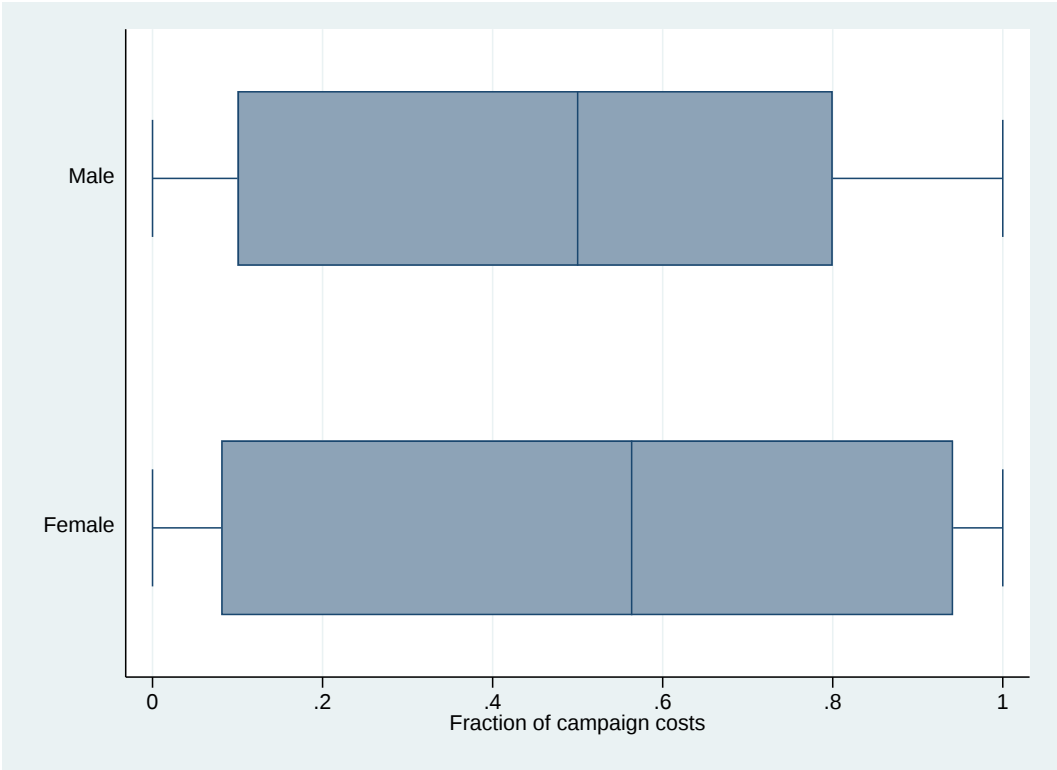


Figure E.11. Box plot of share of campaign costs provided by party, by sex



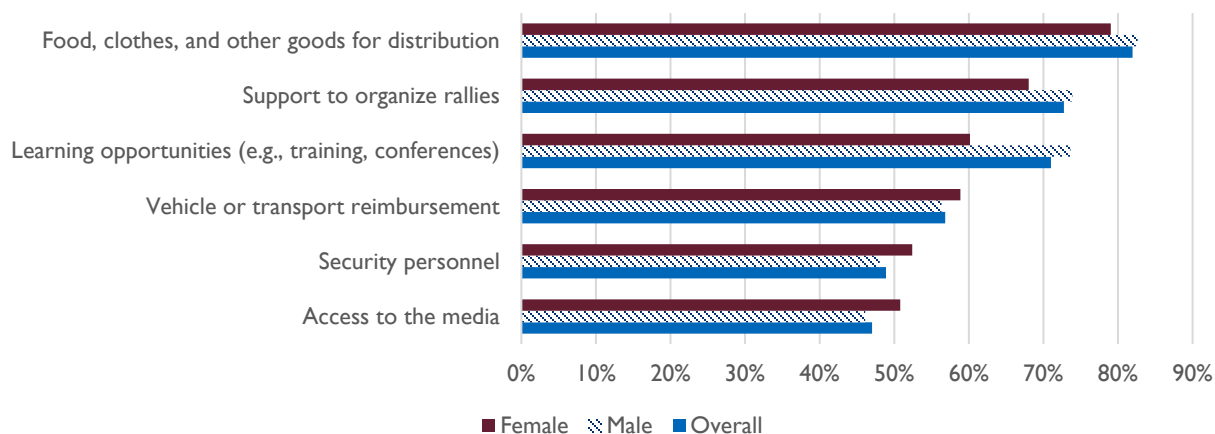
Overall, we see that the typical politician funds approximately one-third of their campaign, and the party funds approximately half. Yet there are significant differences across sexes, as the typical female politician funds about a quarter of their campaign, and the party funds slightly over half. The typical male politician funds slightly more than a third of their campaign, and their party funds half.

While we cannot say for sure, an educated guess regarding these differences is that female politicians have a harder time funding their own campaign, and therefore those who ran a successful campaign (meaning those interviewed, as they held elected office) received significant party assistance. Unfortunately, we do not know whether those who failed in getting elected received less or no party funding.

We can also estimate that around 14 percent of politicians relied on other sources of funding beyond their own and their party's, but this figure should be viewed cautiously, as it is likely affected by data quality challenges.¹⁵⁹

In addition to any campaign funds provided by the party, many politicians who are members of a party reported receiving in-kind supports as well. As shown in Figure E.12, the most common type of support was food, clothes, and other goods for distribution to voters (82 percent) followed by support to organize rallies and other vote-gathering activities (72.8 percent). Differences across sexes were relatively muted, but female politicians were significantly less likely than their male counterparts to have received learning opportunities (a 13-percentage-points gap) and support to organize rallies (a 6-percentage-points gap). On the other hand, females were slightly more likely to have received access to the media (a 4.7 percentage points gap) and security personnel (a 4.3 percentage points gap).

Figure E.12. Received various types of support from their political party, beyond any funds



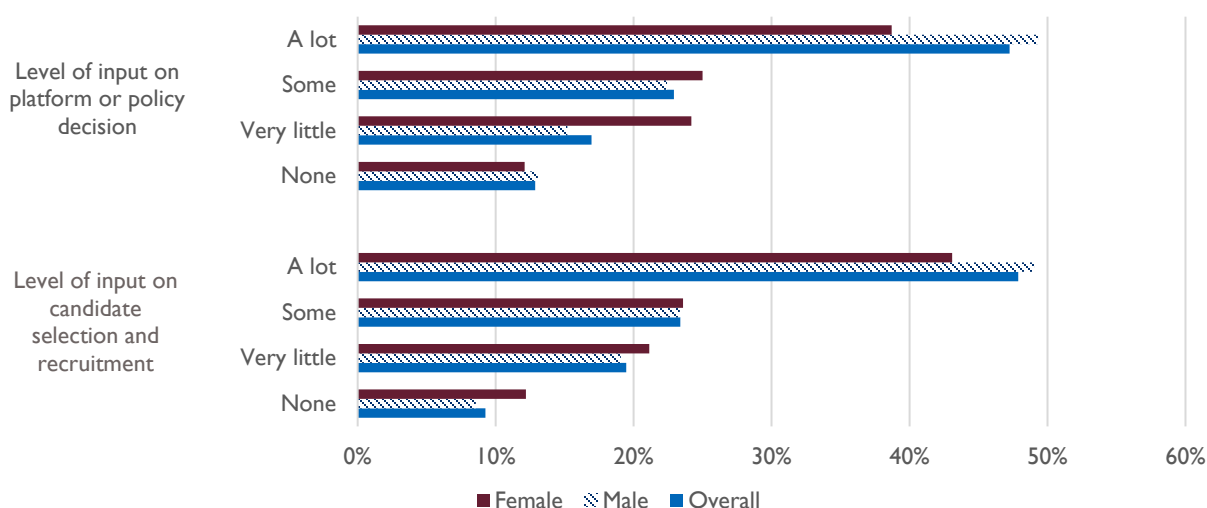
LEADERSHIP POSITIONS WITHIN PARTY

Figure E.13 shows the level of input that local politicians reported having regarding their party's decision. This question was only asked for those who did not report to be independent. Overall, around 70

¹⁵⁹ Indeed, the sum of the 2 shares could not add up to 1 due to reliance on other sources of funding but could also be tied to errors in the response of politicians or data entry errors by enumerators.

percent of politicians felt they had at least some level of input on both types of decisions within their party. However, only 66.7 percent and 63.7 percent of female politicians reported at least some level of input across each of the two types of decision. This represents a 6 to 8 percentage point gap compared to their male counterparts.

Figure E.13. Perceived level of input in party decision-making, by category of decision



Most politicians interviewed reported holding a leadership position within their political party. However, the figure was 72.4 percent for males and 67.7 percent for females, a gap similar to that noted above.

LEGISLATIVE STYLE

Our survey included several questions about the legislative style of the politicians. The first question asked which factor was most important to them when taking a position. A significant majority (75 percent) selected “the national interest,” while 14 percent selected “the views of my constituents.” Other answer choices received around 2 percent or less each. There were no significant differences across sexes.

The second question asked how often politicians voted differently from the wishes of their party. Nearly two-thirds answered “never,” while 14 percent answered “once or twice,” 11.8 percent “occasionally,” and 9.6 percent “often.” Here, female politicians were consistently more likely to follow their party’s wishes than their male counterparts. They answered “never” 11 percentage points more than males, and the percentage of female politicians reporting that they “often” vote against the wishes of their party was nearly half as high as that of male politicians.

A third question asked how often politicians participate in communal council debates and discussions. While 70.5 percent of male politicians responded “always,” 62.4 percent of their female counterparts did the same. The percentage for “frequently” was similar across sexes, at around 24 percent, but women were significantly more likely to pick “occasionally” than males (9.8 percent vs. 3.9 percent).

Finally, we asked politicians to think back to the last few times constituents contacted them directly and to recall the sex of the constituent. A majority (60 percent) said those who contacted them were

approximately half men and half women, while 19 percent said mostly men and 21 percent said mostly women. The sex of the politician seems to influence the sex of constituents who approached them to a certain extent, especially women contacting female politicians, as 27.6 percent of women picked “mostly women” against 19.7 percent of male politicians picking “mostly men.”

EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION

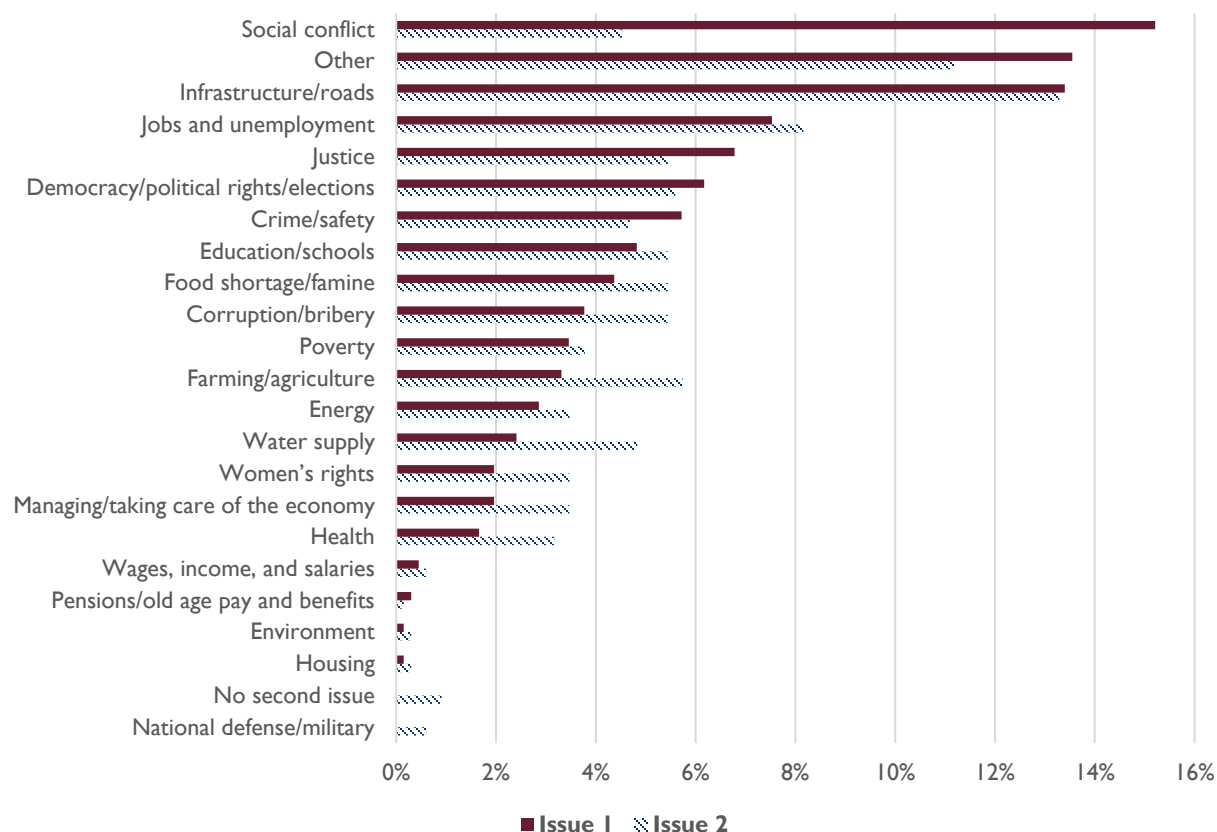
In the next module, politicians were asked about the two most important problems facing Guinea that the government should resolve. Figure E.14 shows the responses graphically. This informs us on the priorities of politicians and the causes they hold dear.

Social conflict was the most cited first problem, followed by “other,” infrastructure and roads, jobs and employment, and justice. Infrastructure and roads were the most cited as a second issue, followed by “other” and then jobs and employment.

Examining the answers under “other,” we see several themes emerging with some regularity. One is the ongoing political transition and holding elections, another is peace and national reconciliation, a third is the rising price of food, and a fourth is ethnic conflicts and ethnocentrism, as well as conflicts between those who have ancestral roots in the community and those who don’t (which broadly falls under social conflict, thus this category would dominate even more than is shown in Figure E.14.) Reducing the number of political parties was also surprising common. Answers around women were also raised, including rape and helping women economically.

There are some differences between sexes here again, although infrastructure and roads were consistently important. Male politicians were much more likely to report social conflicts than their female counterparts, whereas female politicians were comparatively more likely to report jobs and employment, women’s rights, and food shortage/famine.

Figure E.14. First and second issue considered the most important facing Guinea, and that the government should resolve.

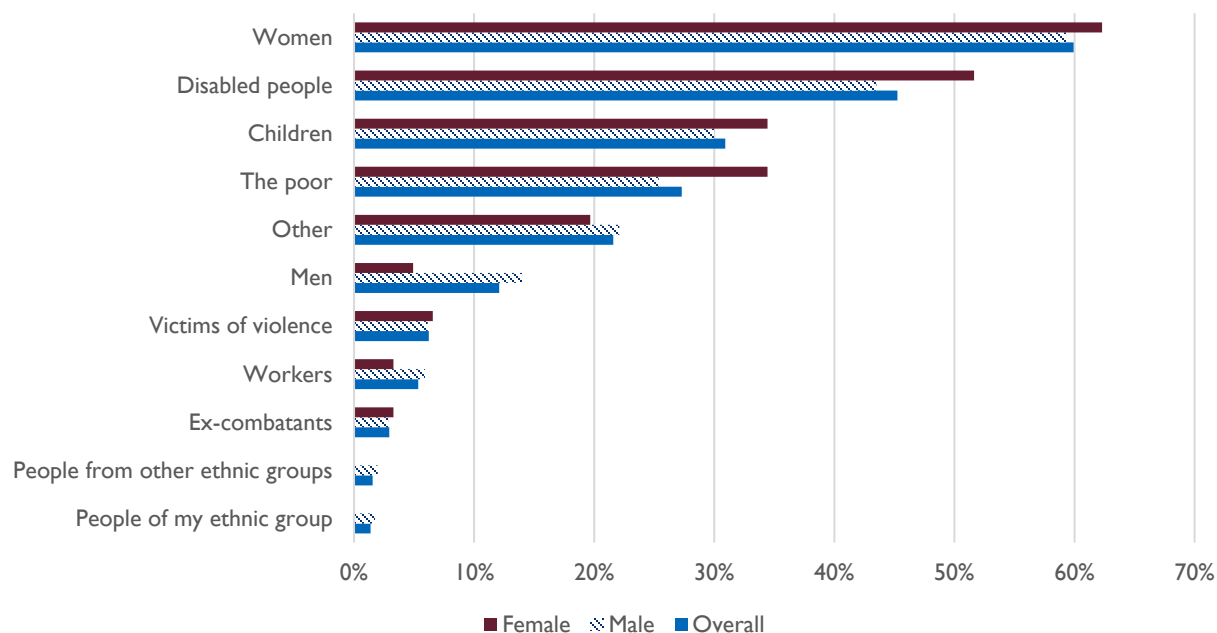


When asked whether they thought representing the needs of specific groups of persons, 87.3 percent agreed, and that figure was even higher among female politicians, at 91.7 percent. Those who answered in the affirmative to this question were then asked which group(s) in particular felt important to represent. Figure E.15, below, illustrates the results by sex.

Women and children, as groups within the community, received broad agreement regardless of the sex of the responding politician. Female politicians noted people with disabilities and the poor at a higher frequency than by their male counterparts, even if they remain toward the top overall for both sexes.

Among the open answers provided for the “other” categories, a few themes emerge. Politicians widely cited youth, followed by the elderly and those in poor health. Other less common answers related to farmers and farming cooperatives, artisans, and orphans.

Figure E.15. Specific groups that politicians think are important to represent, if they agreed that it was important to do so, by sex

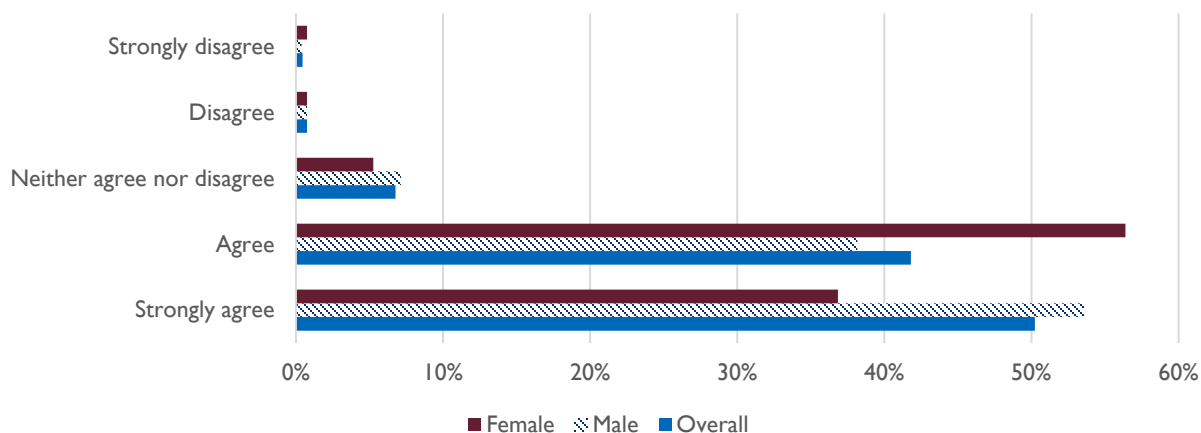


EFFICACY

The survey asked politicians two questions about their perceived efficacy in their position. The first asked the extent to which they are confident in their ability to express themselves during a communal council meeting if they were to disagree with what someone else does or says. An overwhelming majority reported they are “confident,” while 10.4 percent reported being “somewhat confident” and 4.8 percent reported being “not at all confident.” There are some sex differences here, as women were nearly twice as likely as men to answer “somewhat confident” (16.5 percent vs. 8.8 percent) to the question. Nonetheless, 79 percent of women reported feeling “confident.”

The second question asked the extent to which politicians agree or disagree with the statement, “When I speak during assembly debates, I feel that others recognize and respect what I am saying.” Figure E.16 provides a graphical representation of the results.

Figure E.16. Level of agreement to the statement, “When I speak during assembly debates, I feel that others recognize and respect what I am saying.”



Although most politicians answered “agree” or “strongly agree,” there is a marked difference in the distribution of these two answer choices between sexes. Women are significantly more likely to response “agree” than “strongly agree.”

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN IN POLITICS

A series of questions focused on women in politics and women in society more broadly. The first question asked whether there should be more or fewer women in politics or whether the number is just about right. A majority answered “more women” (54.5 percent), while 25.5 percent answered “the number is about right” and 19.9 percent answered “fewer women.” The principal differences between sexes here are that women were 14 percentage points more likely to pick “more women” than their male counterparts (65.9 percent vs. 51.7 percent for men) and nearly 8 percentage points less likely to pick “fewer women” (13.6 percent vs. 21.5 percent for men). The “number is about right” had a 6-percentage-point difference, with 20.4 percent of women compared to 26.8 percent of men.

The remaining questions in this section used an agree/disagree scale to respond to statements about women in politics. The results of these questions are shown below, in Figure E.17.

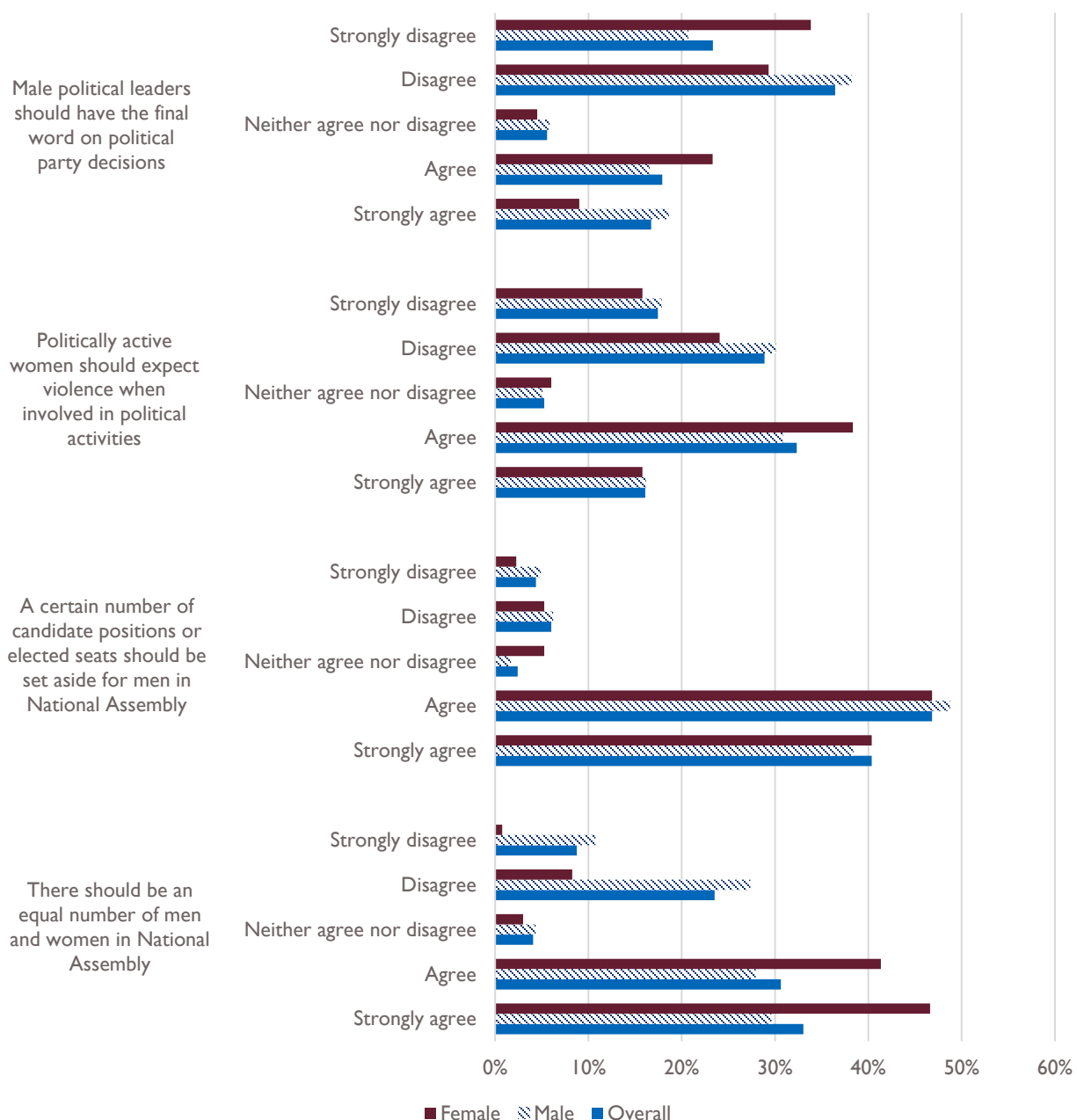
A solid majority of politicians disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement “Male political leaders should have the last word on political party decisions.” This held true for both sexes, although there are visible differences between sexes.

Reactions to the statement “Politically active women should expect to be victims of violence when they participate in political activities” are concerning, as opinions are nearly evenly split between the agree and disagree sides. Female politicians as a group lean more toward the agree side, which likely reflects the situation they are used to facing.

A solid majority of politicians agreed or strongly agreed with the statement “A certain number of candidate positions or elected seats should be set aside for women at the National Assembly.” This held true for both sexes, although there are minor visible differences between sexes.

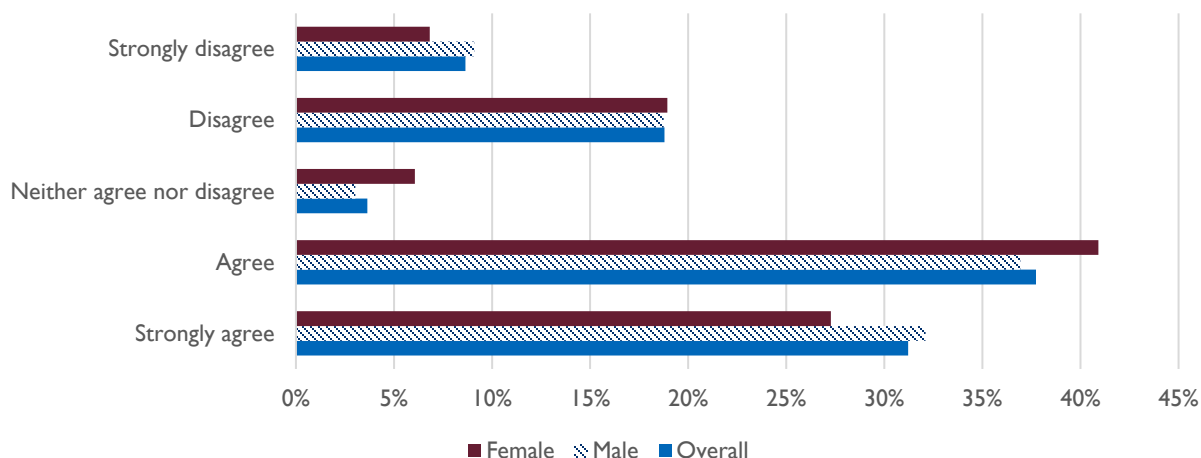
Reactions to the statement “There should be an equal number of men and women at the National Assembly” were more nuanced. Although most politicians agreed or strongly agreed, they amount to about two-thirds of the total. Women here are particularly clear in their perspective, as 88 percent of them agreed or strongly agreed.

Figure E.17. Level of agreement to four statements related to women’s political participation, by sex



Another question asked politicians to react to the statement “When women lose to men in a fair competition, they usually complain about being discriminated against.” The results, shown below in Figure E.18, are quite surprising.

Figure E.18. Reactions to “When women lose to men in a fair fight, they usually complain about being discriminated against,” by sex



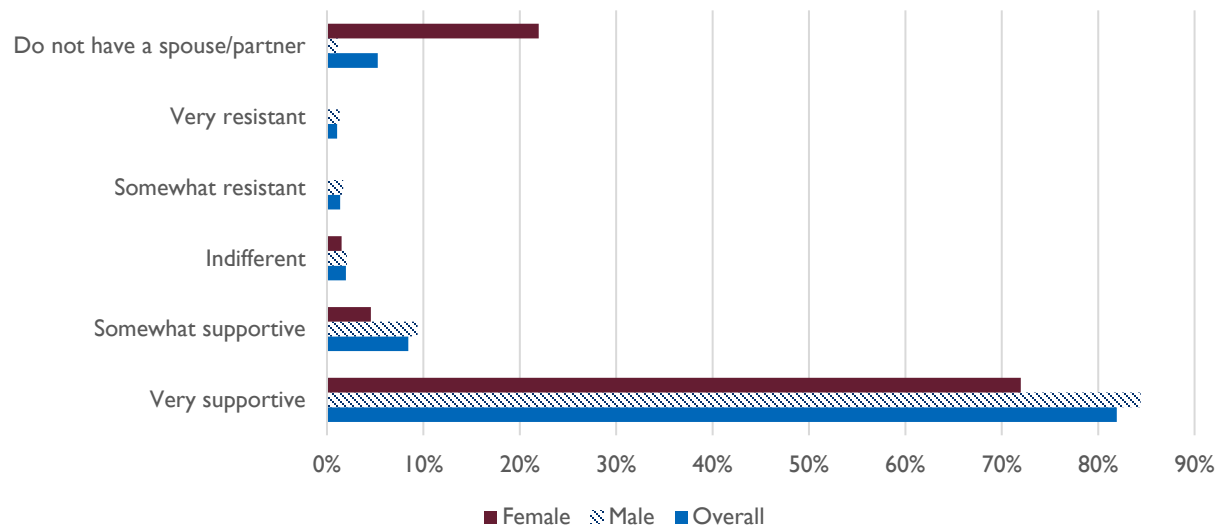
First, there are relatively few differences between sexes. The percentage of women agreeing or strongly agreeing is virtually identical to that of men. The main difference might be that fewer women had stronger views than their male counterparts and that twice as many women as men selected “neither agree nor disagree.”

Finally, politicians were asked how they felt about progress made in the country regarding giving women the same rights as men. The most selected answer choice was that progress has been about right (43.7 percent), followed by “has not gone far enough” (32.6 percent) and finally “has gone too far” (23.7 percent). The principal difference between sexes is that women were more likely to pick “has not gone far enough” (37.9 percent vs. 31.3 percent for men) and less likely to pick “has gone too far” (19.7 percent vs. 24.7 percent for men).

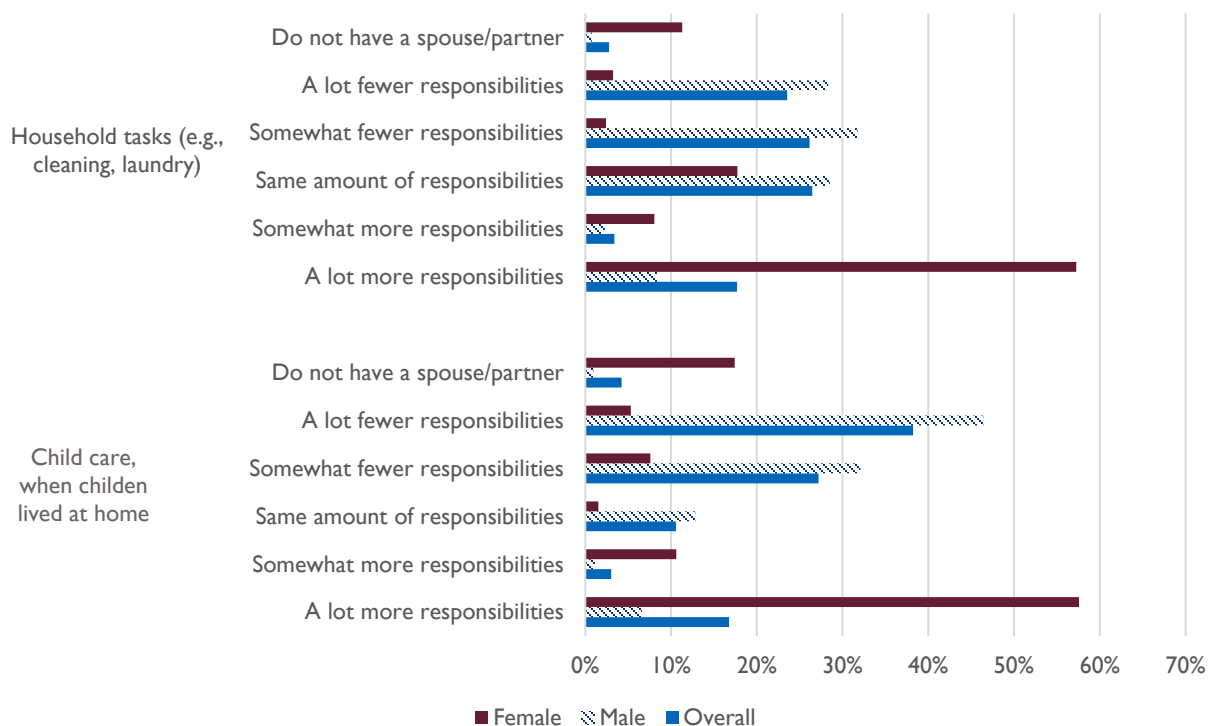
FAMILY DYNAMICS

We asked politicians a few questions about their family dynamics. The first question focused on the perceived stance of the politician’s spouse(s) or partner(s) regarding them holding their current elected office. The results are displayed in Figure E.19, below. Overall, the vast majority of politicians reported their spouse(s) or partner(s) were very supportive or at least somewhat supportive. This was also true for female politicians. The principal differences between sexes are that women were much more likely to not have a spouse or partner and that male politicians were the sole group containing somewhat or very resistant spouse(s) or partner(s) (albeit at very low percentage).

Figure E.19. Answers to “Would you say your spouse(s) / partner(s) is... of / towards you holding your current elected office,” by sex



Politicians were also asked about how certain household chores were divided between them and their spouse(s) or partner(s). The two types of chores examined are general household tasks (e.g., cleaning, laundry, cooking) and child care responsibilities. The survey asked this second question only to those who reported having at least one child; the question was framed to reflect the period, present or past, when they had one or more children in need of child care. The results for both of these questions are displayed in Figure E.20, below.

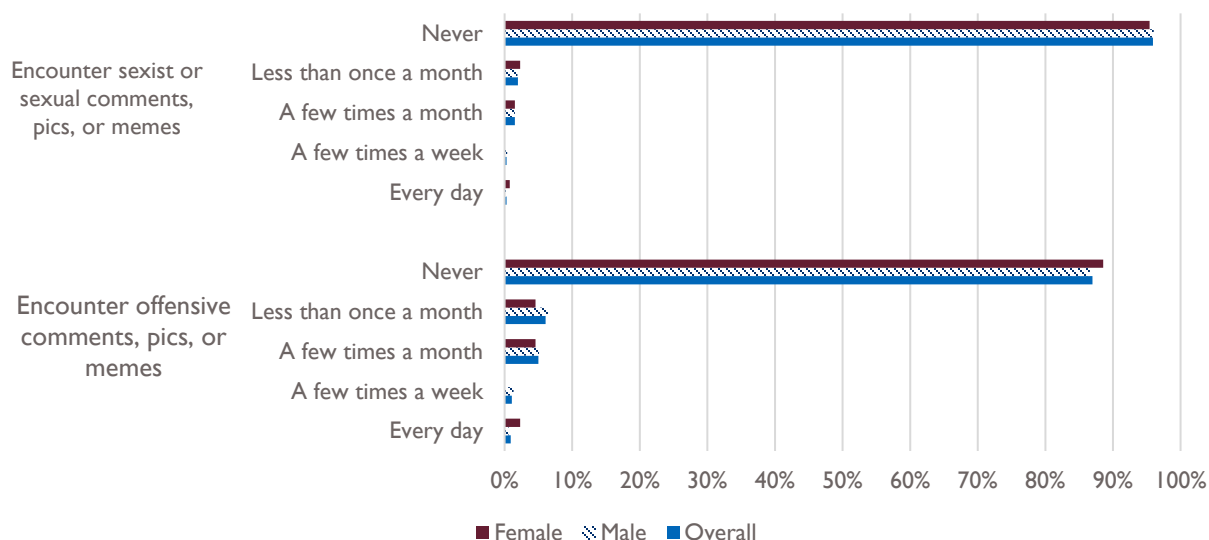
Figure E.20. Division of labor between politician and their spouse/partner for two types of activities, by sex

Unsurprisingly, women reported having a lot more responsibility across both types of chores than their male counterparts. Men, for their part, seem to recognize their preferential status. There is also a group of men who seem to take a more proactive role in these tasks, particularly regarding household tasks.

VIOLENCE AND SEXISM

This section on violence and sexism starts with two questions about the frequency at which people are postings comments, pictures, or memes about the politicians that are: 1) belittling, offensive, or threatening, or 2) sexist or sexual in nature, on social media and online more broadly. The results for these two questions are shown below, in Figure E.21.

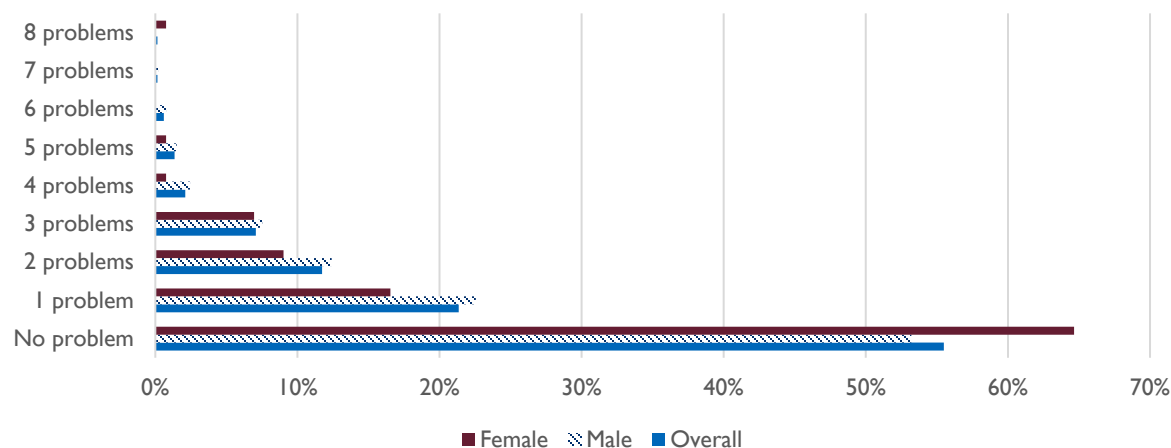
Figure E.21. Frequency at which politicians encountered either: 1) belittling, offensive, or threatening, or 2) sexist or sexual in nature, on social media and online more broadly, by sex



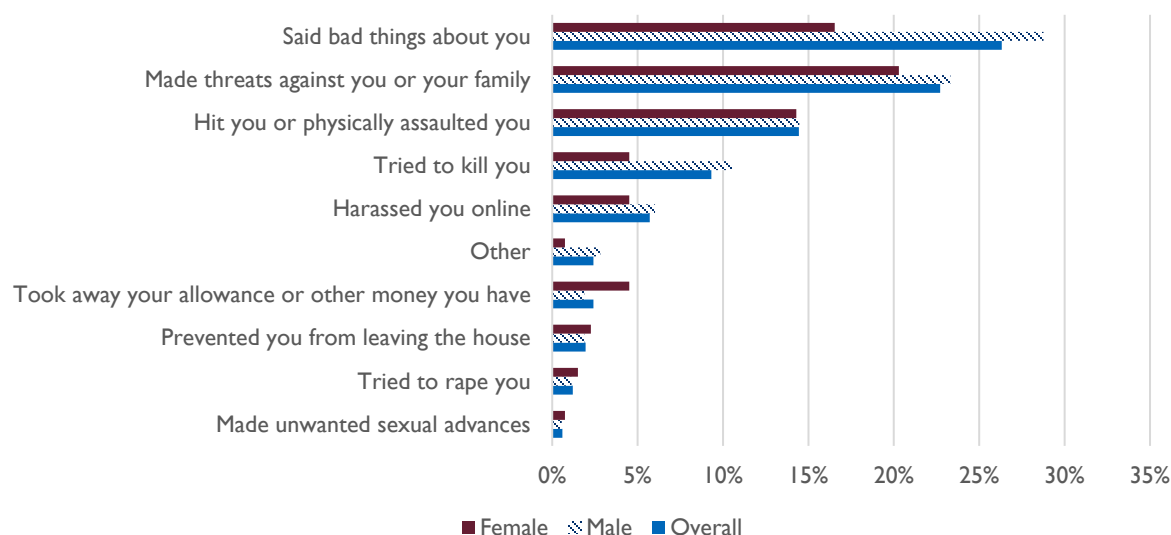
More politicians noted belittling, offensive, or threatening posts more than sexist or sexual posts, overall. However, in both cases, the vast majority of politicians indicates that these are not issues they deal with often, if at all. There are surprisingly few differences between sexes here, although women are slightly more likely to report frequent postings of either type—especially belittling, offensive, or threatening content. The overall picture at the local level seems to be that very few politicians, regardless of sex, are overly burdened by these types of postings. This should not be construed as representing what happens at the national level.

We next asked a series of questions regarding victimization in the context of political activities, such as attending meetings or rallies, voting, or acting in accordance with responsibilities of their office. The question asks whether politicians had encountered each of the scenarios outlined in Figure E.22 at some point in their lives. Based on which events a given politician reported, the survey then asked probing questions regarding the type of political activity they were doing when this occurred and who the perpetrator was (as a set of broad categories).

In total, 296 politicians (44.5 percent of the sample) reported at least one type of difficulty in the context of political activities. Figure E.22 illustrates the number of problems reported by sex. Nearly half of these 296 (48 percent) reported a single type of difficulty, 26.4 percent reported two types of difficulties and 15.9 percent reported three types. The remaining 9.8 percent reported 4 or more types of difficulties, with one politician reporting 7 and another 8 difficulties. The two principal conclusions are that a smaller share of women reported encountering any problem than their male counterparts and that when they did report one or more problem, it was generally at a lower or equal frequency than their male counterparts.

Figure E.22. Number of problems reported by politicians when engaged in political activities, by sex

The frequency at which each problem was reported is shown graphically in Figure E.23, below. The most common problems were tied to insults, hearsay, and threats. These were followed by physical assault and murder attempts. Attacks of a sexual nature are surprisingly few, and strangely, there is little difference between sexes. Women were disproportionally affected by removing of allowance or money and affected at a much lower rate by murder attempts and by insults and hearsay, although they report physical assaults and being prevented from leaving the house at a similar rate as male politicians.

Figure E.23. Problems encountered when politicians tried to participate in politics, by sex

Among the “other” difficulties reported while participating in political activities, several revolve around arrests, court cases, and even an instance of imprisonment. The details for these are not always provided, but in a few cases, they were tied to pushback against Alpha Condé’s third mandate. Other difficulties revolve around removal of certain powers or assets, including the ability to do politics or

holding meetings, of a signature seal, or of agricultural land. One person reported that the media refused his outreach.

Figure E.24 outlines the more frequent situations and perpetrator for each of the problems noted above. Entries are sorted by highest frequency of mention. Generally, running for office was the situation or context most cited across virtually all problem types. Speaking at protests was also a very common situation mentioned. Political party members (party leaders, members, militants, and volunteers) were the most common perpetrator for all problem types, except for attempted rape, for which “other person” was most cited. Candidates and police and armed forces were also frequent perpetrators.

Figure E.24. Problems encountered when politicians tried to participate in politics, by sex

Type of problem	Most frequent when...	Most perpetrated by...
Tried to kill you (62 reports)	Running for office (20); speak at a protest (13); other activities (11); voting (9); writing or signing a petition (8).	Political party members (26); other person (20); police or armed forces (12); candidate(s) (7).
Hit you or physically assaulted you (96 reports)	Running for office (24); speaking at a protest (21); voting (20); other activities (13); writing or signing a petition (12).	Political party members (44); police or armed forces (20); candidate(s) (17); other person (15).
Tried to rape you (8 reports)	Speaking at a protest (4); attending a party meeting (2); attending a political or community meeting (2); attending a protest (1); other activities (1).	Other person (11); police or armed forces (2); candidate(s) (1); political party members (1).
Made unwanted sexual advances (4 reports)	Running for office (1); attending a political or community meeting (1); attending a party meeting (1); speaking at a protest (1).	Political party members (3); other person (1).
Harassed you online (38 reports)	Running for office (12); other activities (8); attending a political or community meeting (5); voting (5); speaking at a protest (4).	Political party members (22); other person (9); candidate(s) (6); government officials (3).
Made threats against you or your family (151 reports)	Running for office (55); voting (40); speaking at a protest (23); writing or signing a petition (23); other activities (22).	Political party members (104); other person (33); candidate(s) (24); police or armed forces (11).
Said bad things about you (175 reports)	Running for office (76); voting (37); speaking at a protest (31); writing or signing a petition (27); other activities (21).	Political party members (115); candidate(s) (38); other person (35); male family member (9).
Took away your allowance or other money you have (16 reports)	Running for office (3); other activities (3); voting (3); writing or signing a petition (2); speaking at a protest (1).	Political party members (11); police or armed forces (5); other person (1); government officials (1).
Prevented you from leaving the house (13 reports)	Running for office (3); other activities (3); voting (3); writing or signing a petition (2); speaking at a protest (1).	Political party members (9); candidate(s) (5); police or armed forces (2); other person (2).

Type of problem	Most frequent when...	Most perpetrated by...
Other problems (16 reports)	Voting (9); running for office (8); writing or signing a petition (2); speaking at a protest (1); attending a party meeting (1).	Political party members (7); police or armed forces (6); candidate(s) (4); other person (3).

MISCELLANEOUS

The survey asked politicians about their experience during instances of electoral and political violence and on any potential disability they might have.

One-fifth of politicians reported that they, a family member, or a friend had been physically harmed during instances of political or electoral violence. A similar share of politicians, 21.5 percent, reported that during instances of political or electoral violence someone damaged or took away their property or that of family members or friends. For both questions, men were more likely to respond yes, and this is particularly true regarding physical violence, where the sex gap is 8 percentage points.

With regard to disabilities, the two most cited were tied to vision (difficulty seeing, even if wearing glasses) and to mobility (difficulty walking or climbing steps). Slightly over 15 percent of politicians reported having at least some difficulty with the former, while 14 percent reported having at least some difficulty with the latter. A third disability reported with some regularity was trouble remembering or concentrating, as 12.6 percent of politician reported at least some difficulty with these cognitive activities. Across the board, the overwhelming majority of answers (other than no difficulty) were “some” rather than “a lot” of difficulty.

There are some differences across sexes here as well. Women were more likely to report difficulties with vision (19.5 percent vs. 14.7 percent) and with mobility (24.1 percent vs. 11.5 percent), but this difference virtually disappears for cognitive functions.

Only 3.3 percent of politicians reported difficulties hearing, even if using a hearing aid, 2.2 percent reported difficulties with self care (wash themselves, getting dressed), and 2.1 percent reported difficulties communicating in their own language. Women were slightly more affected with most of these, except for difficulties hearing, where men were slightly more affected.

ANNEX F, POPULATION SURVEY REPORT

DEMOGRAPHICS OF SURVEYED POPULATION

We surveyed a total of 2,518 Guineans throughout the country. The sample includes 1,261 men and 1,257 women, all of them at least 18 years of age.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

The geographic distribution by region and by prefecture is summarized below, in Figure F.1. Our survey therefore included census enumeration areas for every prefecture in the country, as well as each of the five communes of Conakry.

Figure F.1. Distribution of survey observation by region and prefecture, and by sex

Region	Prefecture	Number of men	Number of women
Conakry	Kaloum*	11	9
	Dixinn*	15	15
	Matam*	13	17
	Matoto*	76	74
	Ratoma*	85	85
	Total	200	200
Boké	Boffa	25	25
	Boké	55	55
	Fria	15	15
	Gaoual	25	25
	Koundara	10	10
	Total	130	130
Kindia	Coyah	30	30
	Dubreka	35	37
	Forécariah	25	25
	Kindia	55	56
	Telimélé	35	35
	Total	180	183

Region	Prefecture	Number of men	Number of women
Mamou	Dalaba	20	20
	Mamou	40	40
	Pita	32	28
	Total	92	88
Labé	Koubia	10	10
	Labé	40	41
	Lelouma	25	25
	Mali	30	31
	Tougué	14	16
	Total	119	123
Faranah	Dabola	19	21
	Dinguiraye	20	20
	Faranah	36	34
	Kissidougou	35	35
	Total	110	110
Kankan	Kankan	55	55
	Kérouané	30	30
	Kouroussa	39	31
	Mandiana	40	40
	Siguiri	76	77
	Total	240	233
N'Zérékoré	Beyla	30	30
	Gueckédou	30	30
	Lola	30	30
	Macenta	40	40

Region	Prefecture	Number of men	Number of women
	Nzérékoré	45	45
	Yomou	15	15
	Total	190	190
Grand total	33 prefectures and 5 Conakry communes	1,261	1,257

* These entries are not prefectures but communes of Conakry.

Figure F.2 compares the distribution of survey respondents by region against official demographic data provided by the *Institut National de la Statistique* (INS) of Guinea. Despite the need to make a few replacements in the selected census enumeration areas, the survey remains closely aligned with the official 2021 population estimates.¹⁶⁰

Figure F.2. Comparison of the proportion of population by region between survey respondents and INS 2021 demographic data

Region	Population Survey	INS (2021 pop. est.)
Conakry	15.89%	15.80%
Boké	10.33%	10.30%
Kindia	14.42%	14.85%
Mamou	7.15%	6.95%
Labé	9.61%	9.45%
Faranah	8.74%	8.96%
Kankan	18.78%	18.67%
N'Zérékoré	15.09%	15.02%

AGE

The median age of the survey respondents was 42 years old, whereas the average age was 43.9 years old. The youngest respondents were 18 years old (a constraint to survey participation) and the oldest respondent was 110 years old. Figure F.3, below, is a box plot of the age of respondents, showing its distribution.

¹⁶⁰ The INS data used here (available [here](#), in Tableau 5) is for 2021 and constitutes projections based on the most recent population and housing census conducted in 2014 (RGPH-2014). Note that our sampling was done using the actual RGPH-2014 data from the INS.

Figure F.4 examines the age distribution by sex. Men were significantly older than women, both in terms of average (47.9 vs. 39.8 years old) and median (47 vs. 38 years old). Ninety percent of male respondents were below the age of 70, whereas 90 percent of female respondents were below the age of 60.

Figure F.3. Box plot of the age of survey respondents

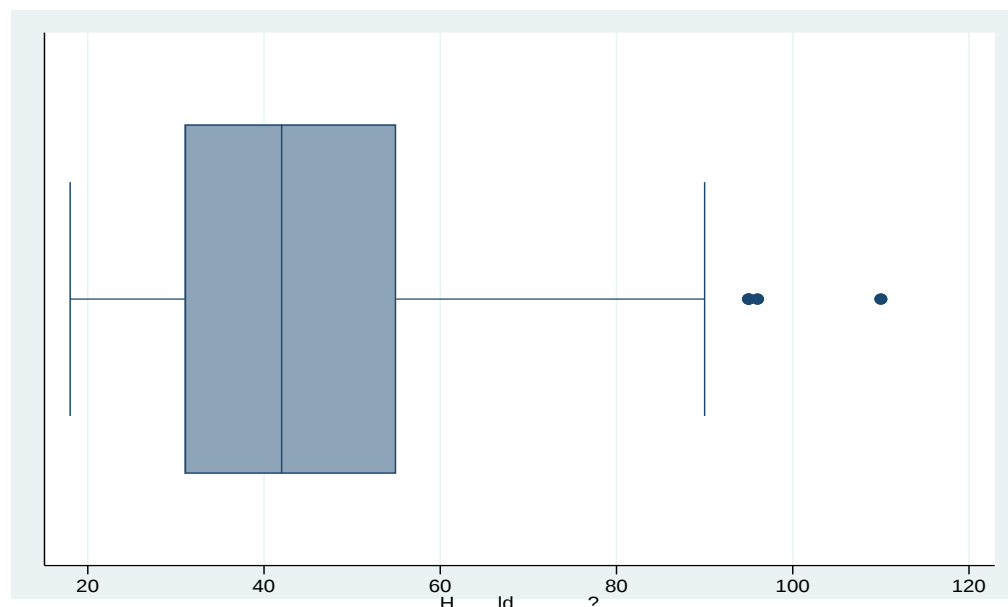


Figure F.4. Box plot of the age of survey respondents, by sex

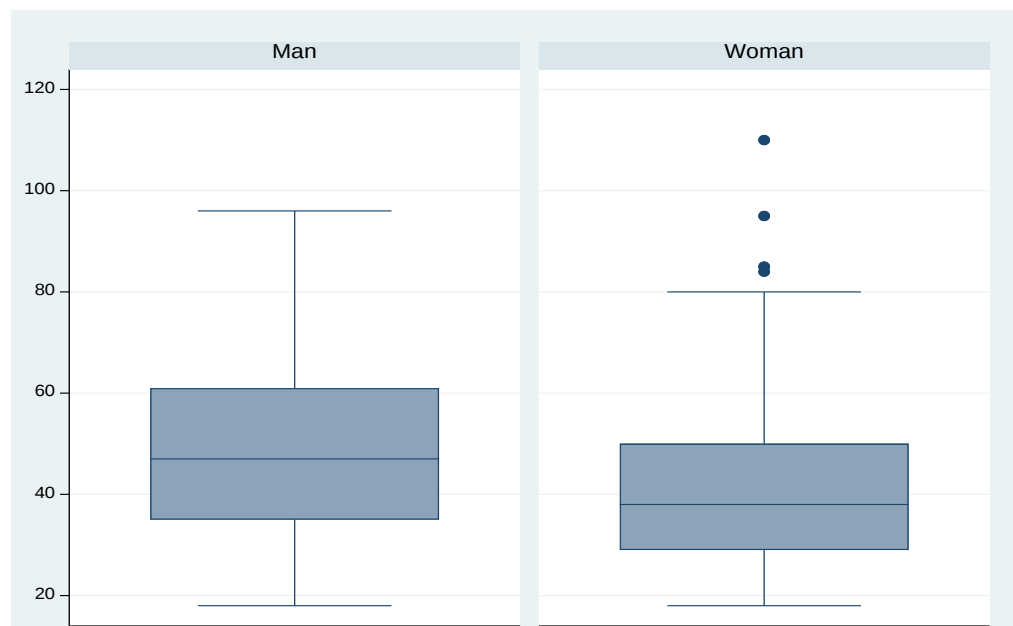


Figure F.5 compares the distribution across age groups between the survey sample and the 2021 INS population estimates. There are some significant differences here, particularly for the top and bottom age groups. The survey sample has fewer youth between 18 and 25 years old than the population and more older individuals aged 55 and over. This difference is likely due to the availability of individuals

within households during the fieldwork. For example, youth may be more likely to be working or studying outside of the household during the daytime, when surveys are conducted.

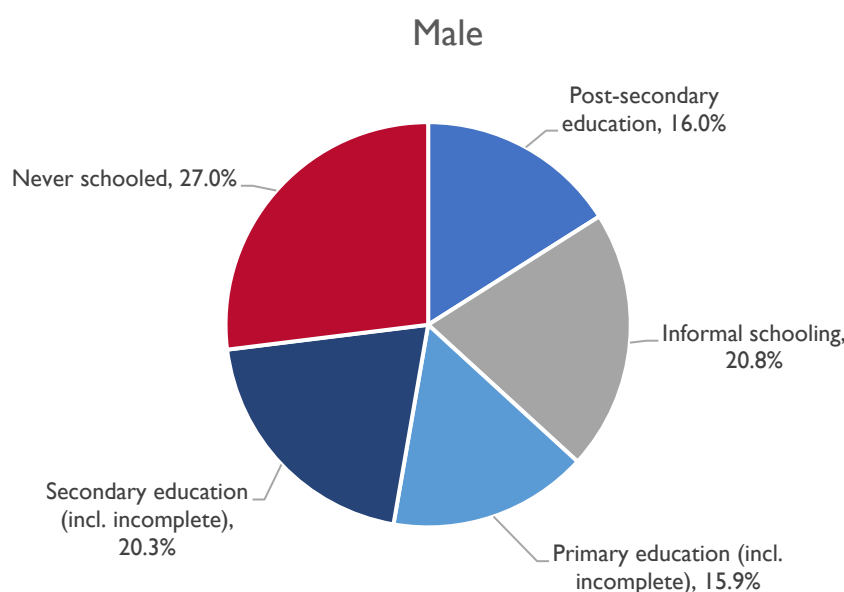
Figure F.5. Comparison of the distribution of ages by category between survey respondents and INS 2021 demographic data

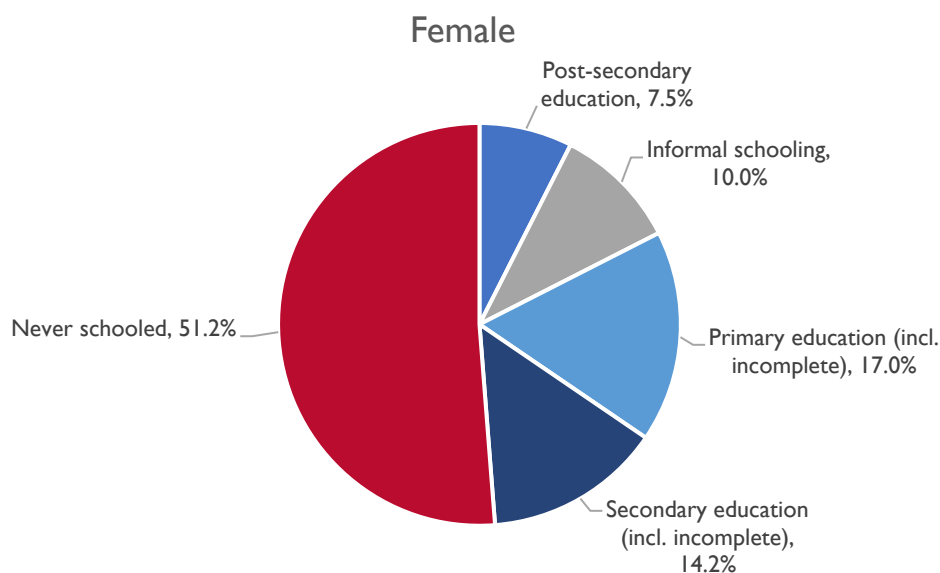
Age groups	Survey population	INS (2021 pop. est.)	Difference
18–25 years old	14.10%	29.17%	15.07%
26–40 years old	34.47%	36.79%	2.32%
41–54 years old	24.23%	19.08%	-5.15%
55 and older	27.05%	14.97%	-12.08%

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

As shown in Figure F.6 below, nearly 40 percent of individuals in our sample reported they have never been schooled. Women are particularly concentrated in that group, with 51.2 percent never schooled, compared to 27.0 percent of men. Next, there is a relatively even split around the 15 percent figure between primary school, secondary school, and informal school (e.g., koranic school, Franco-Arabic schools). Note that we include those who started but did not complete primary or secondary school in the first two categories. Women attended informal schools at half the rate of men and also show a 6-percentage point deficit compared to men with regard to secondary school, but the most striking difference is with regard to tertiary education, where there is an 8.5 percentage point gap between men and women.

Figure F.6. Level of education reported by survey respondents, by sex



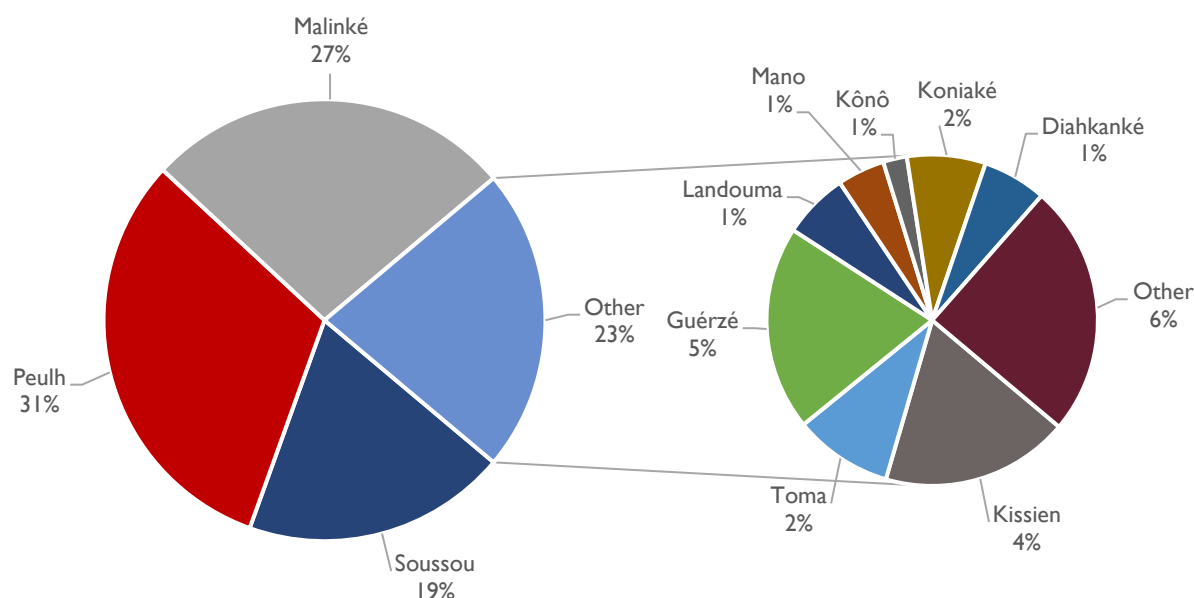


The survey also asked participants whether they are proficient in French, which we defined as being able to read and write at least at a primary school level. Note that the proficiency declared was not tested by enumerators. The results indicate that 24 percent of our sample feel proficient in French. However, there is an important gender gap at play; whereas 32.1 percent of men reported proficiency in French, a mere 15.9 percent of women reported the same.

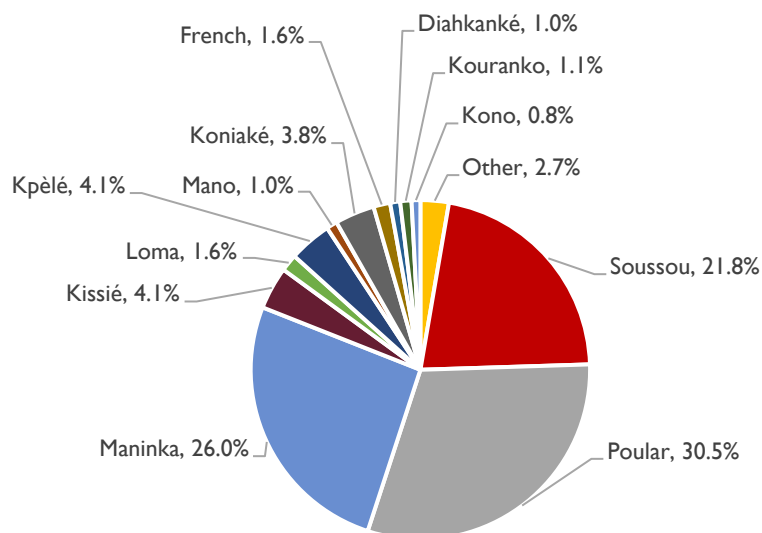
Age groups also matter here, as the highest percentage of French proficiency was found in the 18–25 age group (33.8 percent) and in the 26–40 age group (29.1 percent). Around 18 percent of the two older age groups reported French proficiency. A noteworthy trend in this regard is that younger women had a higher French proficiency than their older counterparts, but the gender gap remains strong even in the two younger age groups. Just over a quarter of women (26.3 percent) in the 18–25 age group reported French proficiency, versus 48 percent for men, and the gap is even wider among the 26–40 age group, where just 18.2 percent of women reported French proficiency versus 45.5 percent of men.

ETHNICITY AND LANGUAGE

Figure F.7 illustrates the distribution of ethnic groups among survey respondents. Three groups dominate, namely the Peulh, the Malinké, and the Soussou, accounting for nearly 80 percent of responses.

Figure F.7. Ethnic groups reported by survey participants

Respondents were also asked to indicate the first language they learned to speak. The results are shown below, in Figure F.8, and largely follow those from Figure F.7.

Figure F.8. First language that respondents learned to speak

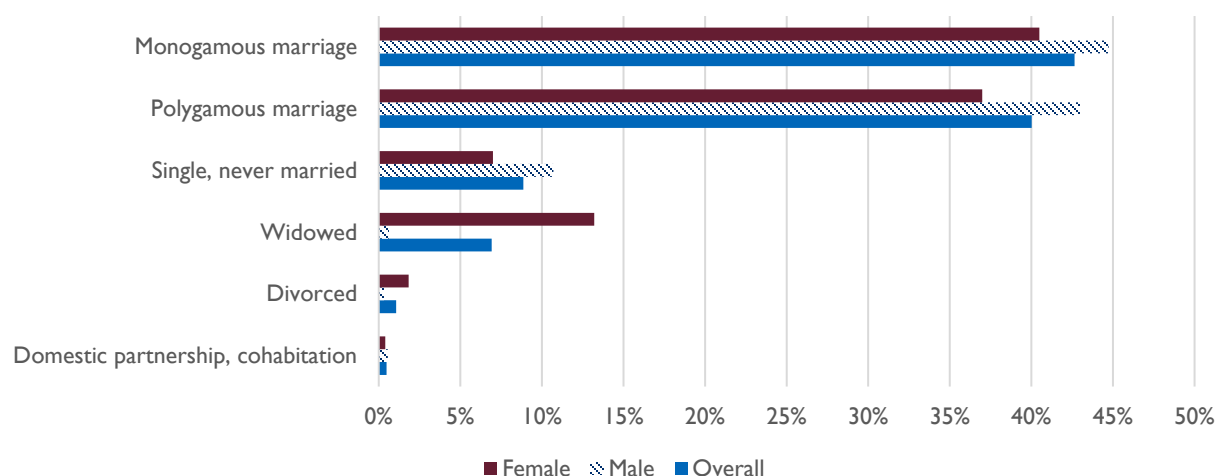
FAMILY CONTEXT

As shown in Figure F.9 below, the vast majority of survey respondents were married, with 42.7 percent reporting a monogamous marriage and 40 percent reporting a polygamous marriage. Of the remainder, 9 percent were single, never married, and 7 percent were widowed. Divorce and domestic partnerships were very rare, at just 1.1 percent and 0.5 percent, respectively. Men were 4.2 percentage points more

likely than women to be in a monogamous marriage, and 6 percentage points more likely to be in a polygamous marriage. Men were also 3 percentage points more likely to be single, but women were much more likely to be widowed (6.9 percent vs. 0.6 percent).

Unsurprisingly, most of the single individuals were in the 18–25 age group (69 percent) and in the 26–40 age group (26.5 percent). These two groups also dominate the domestic partnership category, accounting for 33.3 percent and 50 percent, respectively. Similarly, widowed individuals were primarily in the 55 years and older group (55.7 percent) and in the 41–54 group (27.6 percent). However, the 26–40 age group still accounted for 15.5 percent of widowers.

Figure F.9. Marital status of survey respondents, by sex



Survey respondents had a median of 5 children, whereas the average number of children was slightly lower, at 4.8. One out of 10 respondents reported no children, whereas 25 percent had 7 or more children. The maximum number of children reported was 12. Women reported fewer children than men (4.2 children on average, vs. 5.4 for men), likely because of the high rate of polygamous marriages in the sample. Indeed, those in polygamous marriages typically had 2 more children, and 2.2 more children on average.

Four-fifth of respondents who reported having at least one child had at least 1 daughter. Slightly over 70 percent of respondents who reported one or more children indicated that they had at least one child under the age of 6 living with them at the time of the interview.

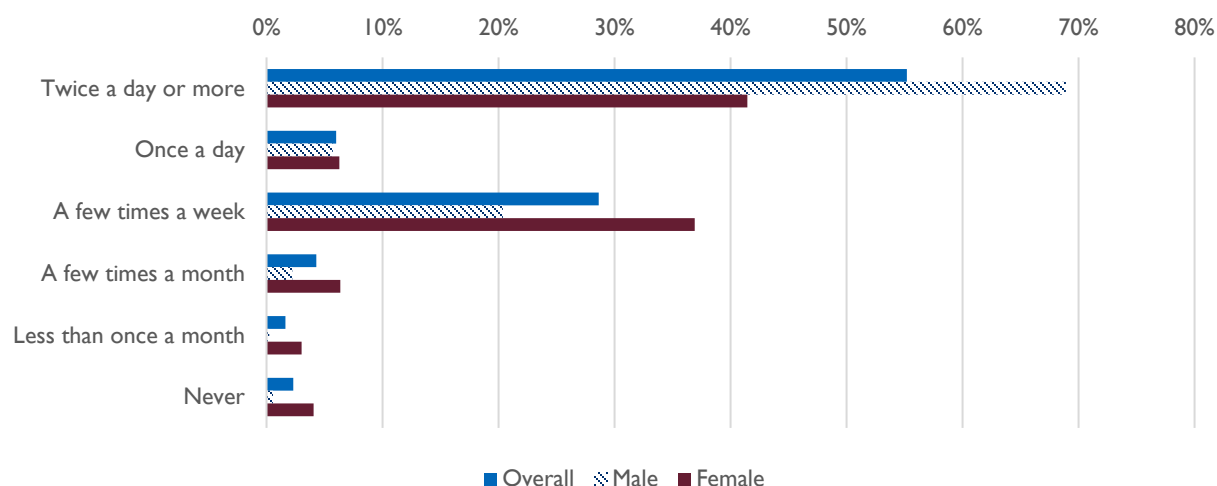
RELIGION

An overwhelming majority of the survey respondents reported belonging to the Muslim faith (88.9 percent), with Christians composing only 8.0 percent. Atheists and agnostics composed 1.8 percent of the sample, while traditional religions composed just 1.0 percent of the sample.

The survey also asked respondents about the frequency at which they attended religious services (which included prayers and other religious events for faiths that do not have formal services). Figure F.10, below, displays the results.

Religiosity, as proxied by frequency of attendance to services, is high. More than half of the sample reported going to religious services twice a day or more, and another 28.6 percent reported going a few times per week. There are important differences between sexes here again, which are expected to be tied to the practice of Islam. Just shy of 70 percent of men report going to services twice per day or more, whereas this figure is just 41.5 percent for women. Attendance patterns more broadly are aligned with inter-faith differences. For example, Muslims are much more likely to go to services twice per day or more, whereas Christians coalesced around “a few times a week.”

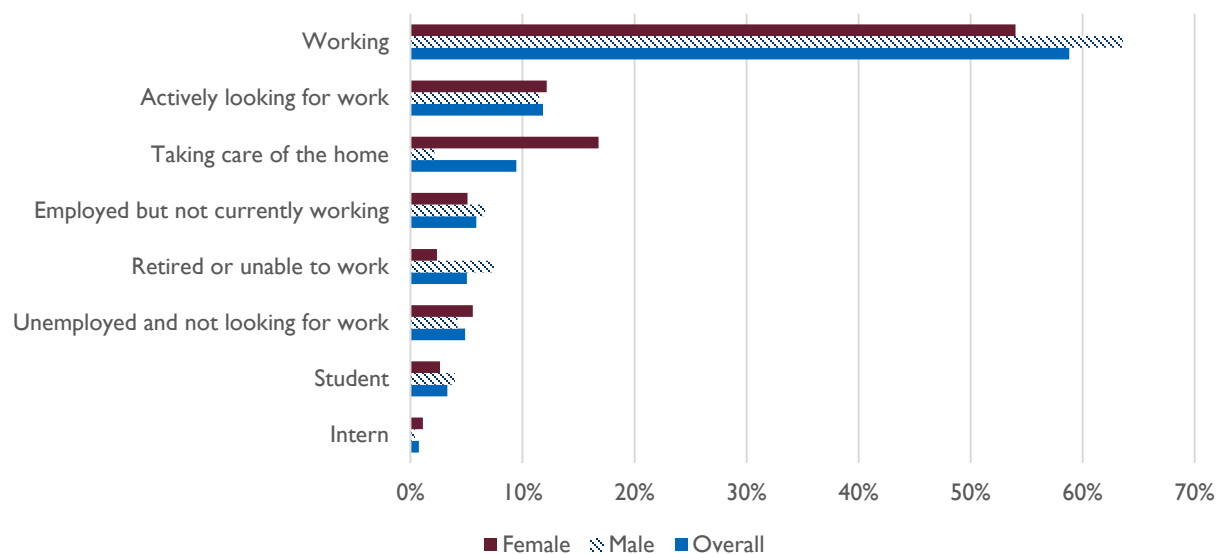
Figure F.10. Frequency of attendance to religious services, by sex



EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND INCOME

A majority of survey respondents indicated they were currently working (employed or self-employed), as shown in Figure F.11.

Figure F.11. Employment status, by sex



However, there is a nearly 10-percentage-points gap between men and women. Nearly 12 percent of the sample reported actively looking for work, a figure that varies little between sexes. The third most common category was taking care of the home, where the gender gap is nearly 15 percentage points. Unsurprisingly, students and interns were concentrated in the youngest age group (18–25). However, the 26–40 years old age group has a slightly higher percentage of individuals actively searching for work than the 18–25 years old group (16.7 percent vs. 14.9 percent). Even among the 41–55 years old, nearly 11 percent are actively looking for work.

Respondents were also asked to report the estimated total monthly revenue of their household, comprising earnings from all members as well as remittances, if applicable. Figures F.12 and F.13 show the distribution of revenue reported. The latter leaves out outliers to offer a clearer picture.

Figure F.12. Box plot of monthly household revenue reported, in GHF 100,000s

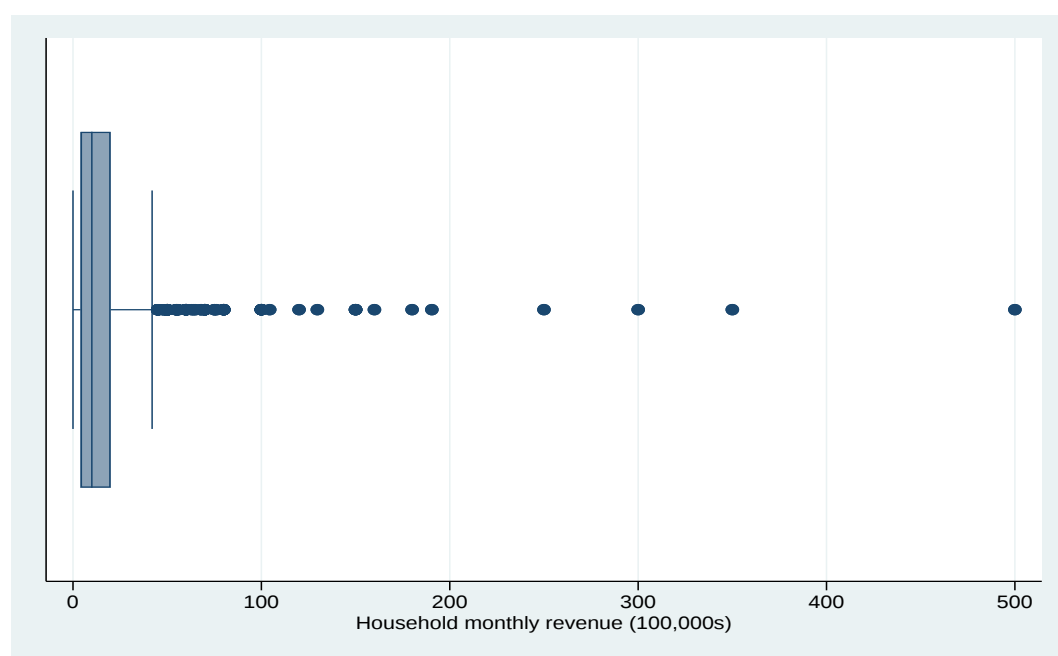


Figure F.13. Box plot of monthly household revenue reported, in GHF 100,000s, excluding outliers

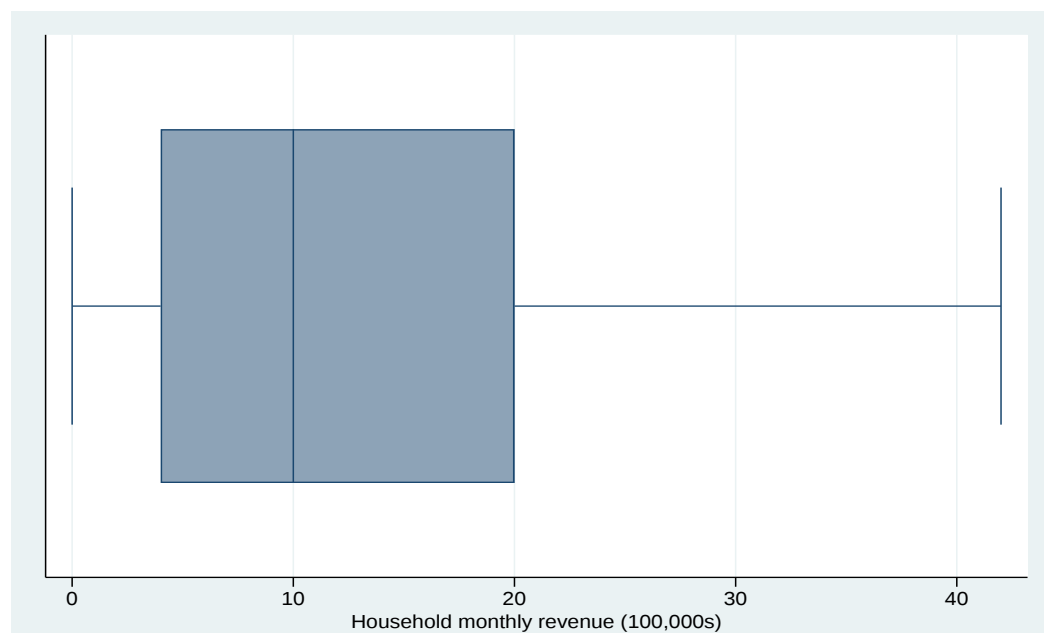
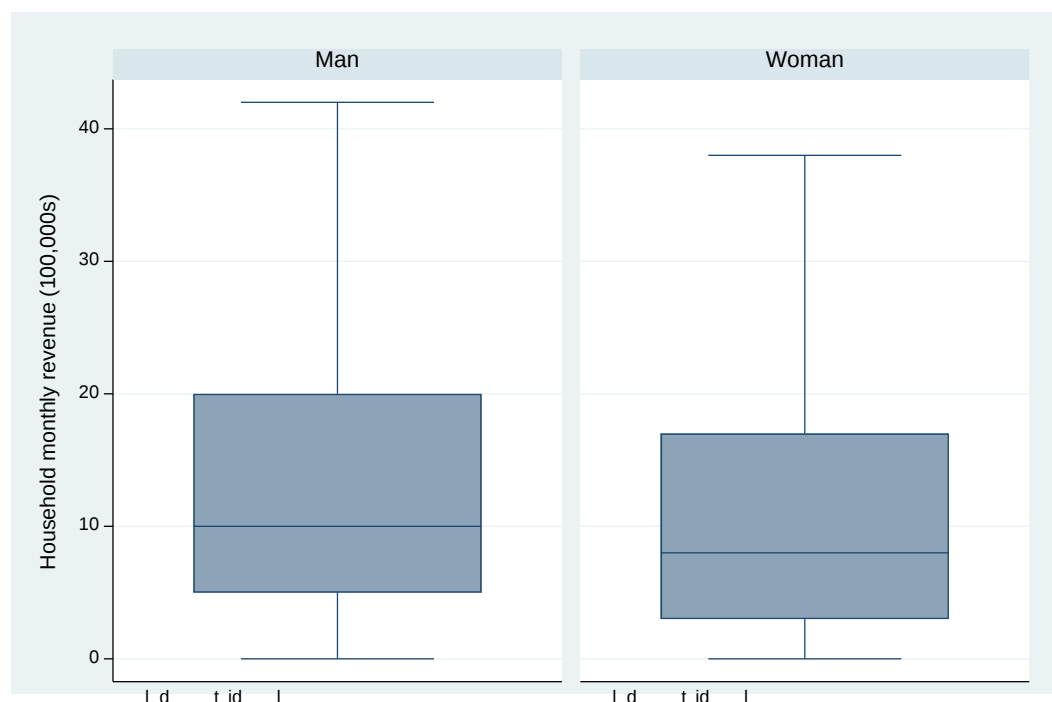


Figure F.14. Box plot of monthly household revenue reported, in GHF 100,000s, by sex and excluding outliers



The median monthly household income was GHF 1 million, with an average of GHF 1.38 million. The bottom decile was a mere GHF 1,000 whereas the top decile was GHF 3 million. There are a few outliers above GHF 20 million, with a maximum of GHF 50 million. As shown in Figure F.14 above, there are some differences between sexes, which are likely attributable to either a more limited

knowledge of household finance among women or to chance, as the sex of the household member to interview was randomly selected, and the question focused on estimate total monthly household income, which would include the earnings of all male members as well.

LEGITIMACY AND TRUST OF GOVERNMENT

The survey asked several questions about each respondent's perception of the Guinean political system. The first asked the level of satisfaction with how democracy is working in Guinea. A small majority (53.4 percent) reported being very satisfied or satisfied, whereas 35.7 percent reported being dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. There are no noteworthy sex or age groups differences here.

Respondents generally had much respect for the government of Guinea, as 55.1 percent selected “a lot” of respect and another 36.3 percent selected at “some” respect. Only 7 percent reported having no respect at all for the government. Men were more likely to have a lot of respect than women (58.8 percent vs. 51.5 percent), who were more nuanced in their perspective and more likely to report some respect. Age groups did not exhibit a particular pattern.

Similarly, 52.3 percent of respondents reported they trust the Guinean government to do what is right most of the time or always. Another 14.6 percent said they could trust the Guinean government about half the time. A mere 7 percent reported they could “never” trust the government to do the right thing. Women were again more nuanced in their perspective than men, as they were 8 percentage points less likely to select “always.” This 8-percentage-points difference is then largely spread between “about half the time” and “some of the time.” Age groups did not exhibit a particular pattern.

Guineans typically do not view the current government as being particularly corrupt. About one-fifth thought none of the people running the government are corrupt, and another 37.7 percent thought only a few are corrupt. Unlike other questions in this section, this one elicited nearly a quarter of “do not know” responses, and women were 9 percentage points more likely to pick this option. A similar gap exists between sexes for the answer choice “none” of the people running the government are corrupt (24 percent of men vs. 14.6 percent of women). The youngest age group (18–25) was more likely to select “none” or “a few” than their older peers.

Guineans were much more split about their perception that the government is interested in what people like them (the typical Guinean) think: 40.9 percent agreed or strongly agreed, whereas 42.3 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed. Meanwhile, 17 percent did not know or neither agreed nor disagreed. Women were slightly more likely to disagree or to not have an opinion than men, but the difference is small. The 18–25 age group was more optimistic than their elders, agreeing or strongly agreeing 5-6 percentage points more and strongly disagreeing at about half the rate of the 55 and older age group.

Guineans also trust the media, by and large, as just under half indicated “a lot” of trust and another 41.7 percent indicated “some” trust. Only 4.7 percent selected “not at all.” The main difference across sexes here is again that women were more likely to select “don’t know” (7.6 percent vs. 2.5 percent). The two younger age groups (18–25 and 26–40) were slightly more likely to pick “some” vs. “a lot” of trust, compared to their elders. However, this difference is small, around 3 percentage points.

NORMS AND ATTITUDES

Our survey had 3 sections related to the above two concepts. One was administered to all respondents, whereas only one of the other two was administered to a given respondent. Thus, the sample size for these two sections is half the overall sample for the survey, or around 1,230.

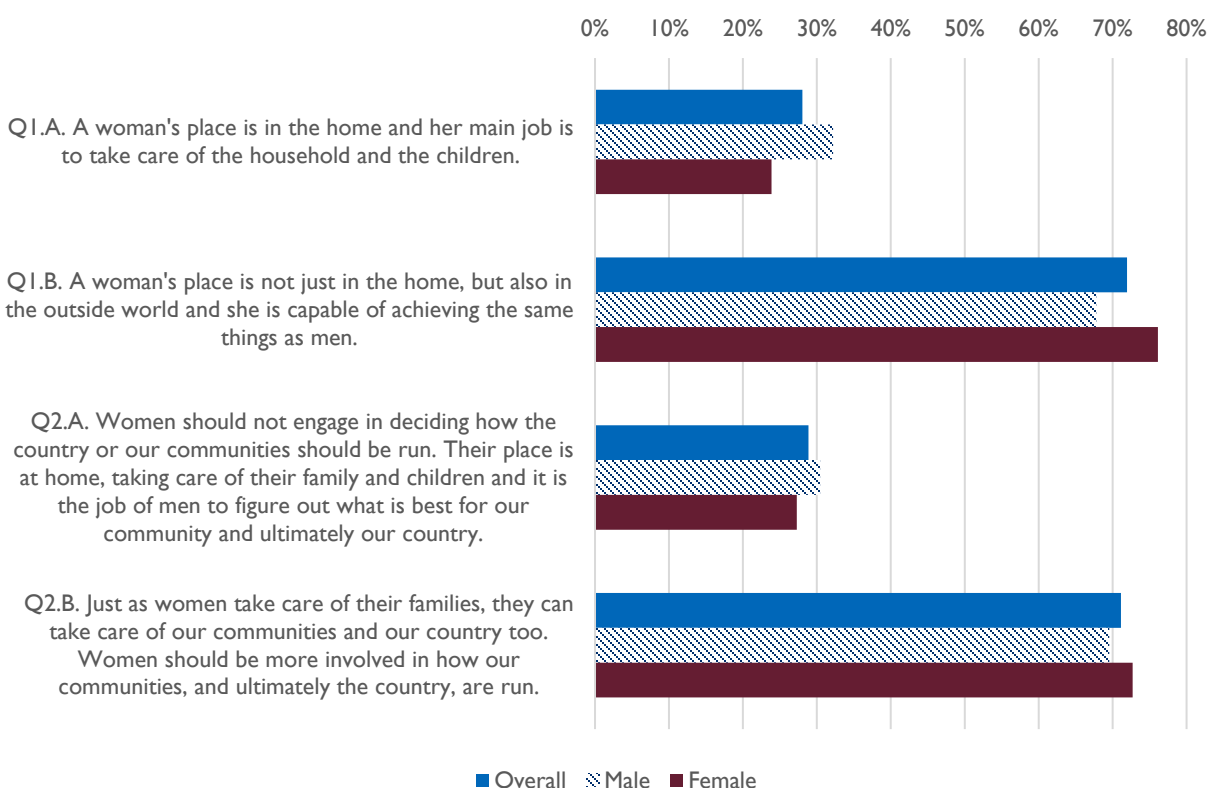
CORE SECTION—NORMS AND ATTITUDE GROUNDING

In the core section, we start by examining the reaction of respondents to statements about the role of a woman in the household and in society. The first two questions involved the enumerator reading two statements (shown in random order) and asked the respondent to pick which is closer to their view. The results are shown below, in Figure F.15.

More than two-thirds of Guineans picked the statements that reflect a progressive and more egalitarian view on the role of women in society (Q1) and in politics (Q2). There are a few interesting nuances here. First, while men were less likely to pick the more egalitarian statement than women, the gap is quite small for the question about women in politics (3.1 percentage points) but somewhat larger for the question about women in society (8.3 percentage points). Second, around a quarter of women selected the less egalitarian answer to these two questions.

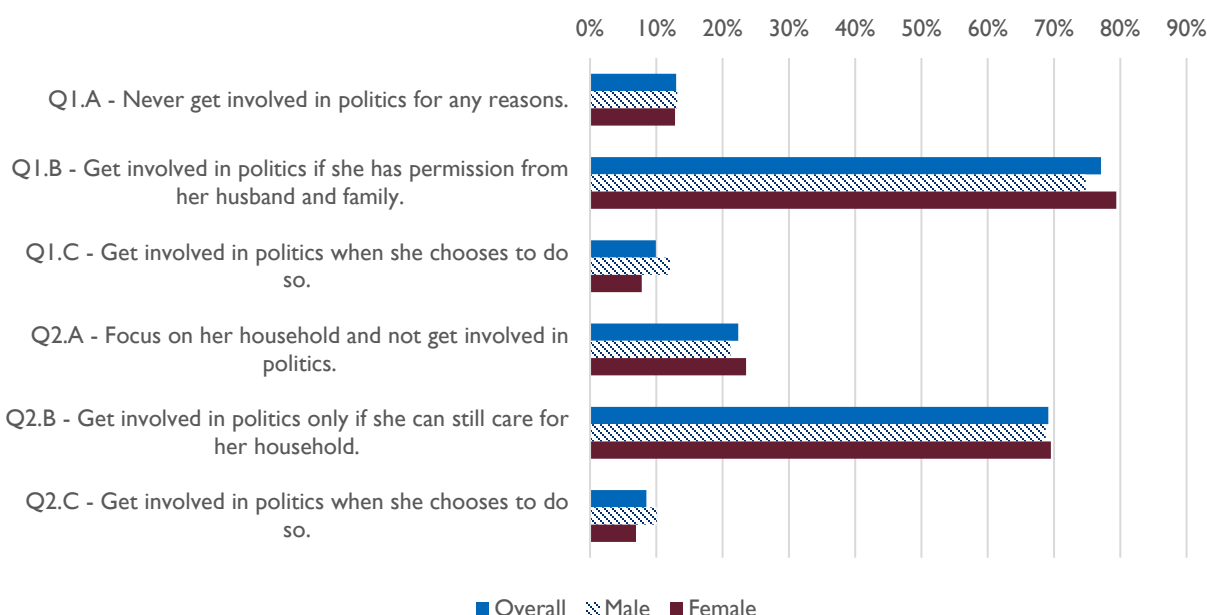
Another interesting finding is that answers across the two questions are only partly correlated. Approximately 1 in 5 picked a combination of egalitarian and non-egalitarian statements, and there was no significant difference between the permutations (~10 percent for each).

It is also interesting to note that the percentage of respondents selecting the egalitarian statement regarding women in society was highest among the 18–25 age group (76.9 percent) and declined steadily through the 41–55 age group (68.9 percent), before jumping back a bit among the oldest age group (71.4 percent). However, this same pattern doesn't exist for the statement about women in politics, where age groups are not a factor.

Figure F.15. Preferred statements about women's role in society and in politics, by sex

After providing an answer to each of the two questions discussed above, respondents were asked how strong their opinion is on the matter. The vast majority—93.3 percent for the women in society question and 90.8 percent for the women in politics question—indicated they held these opinions very strongly. These percentages did not vary significantly based on whether the statements selected were egalitarian or not.

The next two questions asked about the conditions, if any, that should exist regarding the implication of women in politics. The results are shown in Figure F.16, below.

Figure F.16. Preferred statements about women's involvement in politics, by sex

The key finding here is that most Guineans of both sexes tend to think that women can do politics as long as they have the blessings of their husband/partner and family and can still take care of their household at the same time. More Guineans of both sexes think that women should never get involved in politics than that they can get involved in politics on their own terms and regardless of household and family contexts and perspectives. And women themselves are more inclined to pick the more conservative position or the middle of the road option than men across the two questions.

Age has an unexpected effect on these two questions, as the percentage of respondents picking the most progressive answer choice increases as age increases. For example, 8.2 percent of the 18–25 age group picked the most progressive answer choice for the first question and 6.5 percent for the second question, both of which are somewhat lower than the average across the whole sample. Similarly, the 18–25 age group had the highest percentage of most conservative responses in both questions (15.8 percent and 26.5 percent, respectively).

As noted above, the next section about norms was administered to only half of the sample. The questions it includes primarily ask respondents about how they think those in their community would think or react to a series of statements.

NORMS AND ATTITUDES

GENDER ROLE NORMS AND ATTITUDES

While gender role norms and gender role attitude questions were in separate sections, and asked to different sets of respondents, we are grouping them here when they touch on the same topics. This allows the contrasting of individual views with the perceived view of communities in which respondents live.

The first set of questions relate to the context in which girls should be sent to school. Figure F.17 shows the perception of respondents about their community's stance (norm), whereas F.18 is the stance that respondents in the other group expressed (attitude).

Figure F.17. Perceived share of community who would agree with the statement “Girls should be sent to school only if they are not needed at home,” by sex

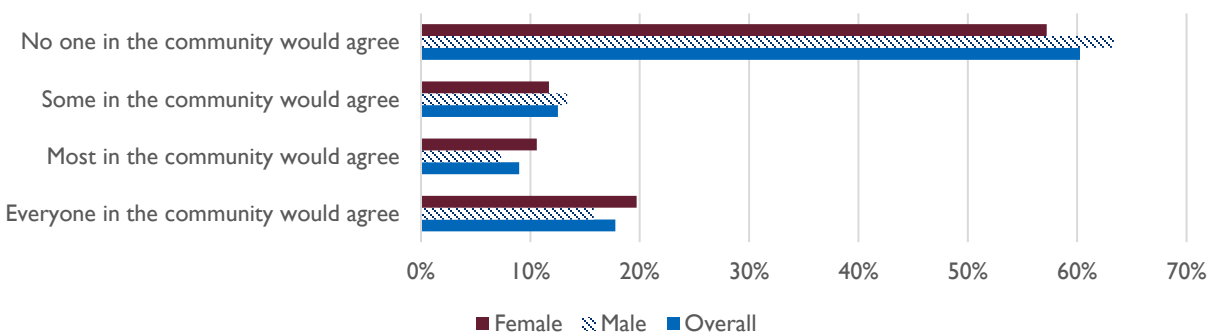
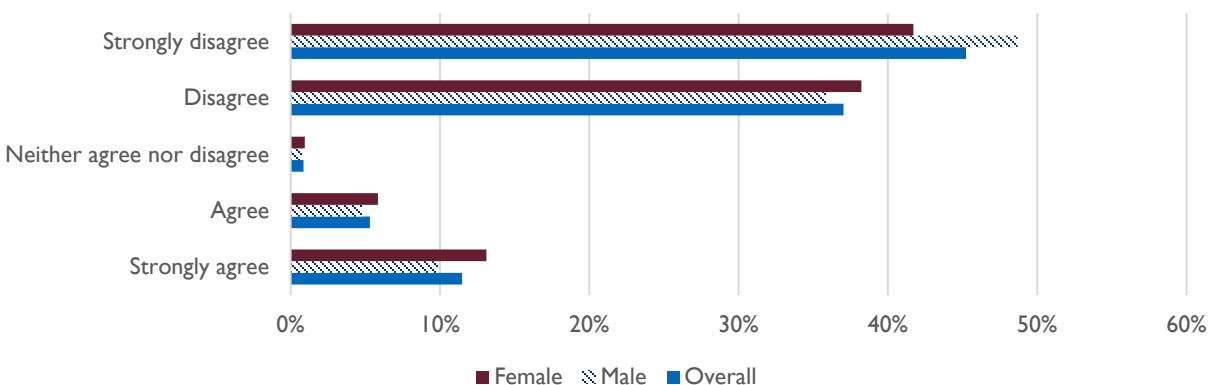


Figure F.18. Reaction to the statement “Girls should be sent to school only if they are not needed at home,” by sex



Most respondents felt they lived in communities where no one or only some think that girls should only be sent to school if they are not needed at home. However, nearly 27 percent felt that most or everyone would think that. When examining attitudes on this same topic, we see that most respondents disagree or strongly disagree that girls should be sent to school only when they are not needed at home. Only 16.8 percent of respondents expressed some level of agreement with this idea. Interestingly, women were slightly more likely to agree than men.

The next set of questions focused on family control over the behavior of their children, depending on their sex. Figure F.19 shows the perception of respondents about their community's stance (norm), whereas F.20 is the stance that respondents in the other group expressed (attitude).

Figure F.19. Perceived share of community who would agree with the statement “Families should control their daughters’ behavior more than their sons’ behavior,” by sex

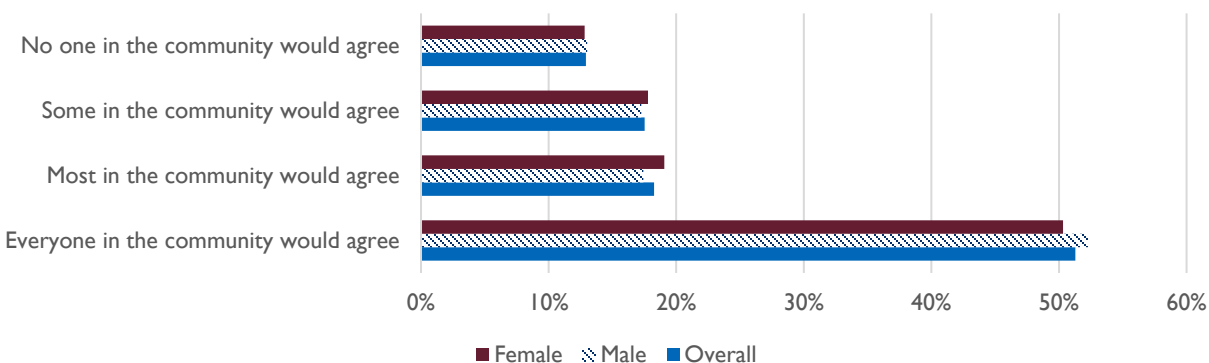
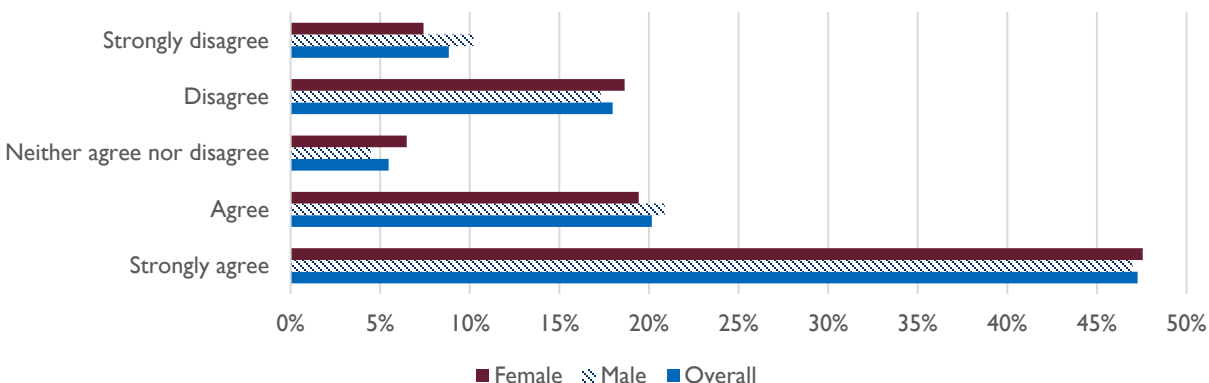


Figure F.20. Reaction to the statement “Families should control their daughters’ behavior more than their sons’ behavior,” by sex



More than two-thirds of respondents felt they lived in communities where most or everyone think that families should control their daughters’ behavior more than their sons’ behavior. This situation is supported by respondents’ own views, as more than two-thirds agree or agree strongly with the statement. A quarter disagrees or strongly disagrees. The youngest age group (18–25) expressed either level of agreement at a slightly higher rate than their older peers (73 percent).

The next set of questions examines the stance of communities and respondents on whether gender equality is principally a women’s issue. Figure F.21 shows the perception of respondents about their community’s stance (norm), whereas F.22 is the stance that respondents in the other group expressed (attitude).

Figure F.21. Perceived share of community who would agree with the statement “Gender equality is mainly a women’s issue,” by sex

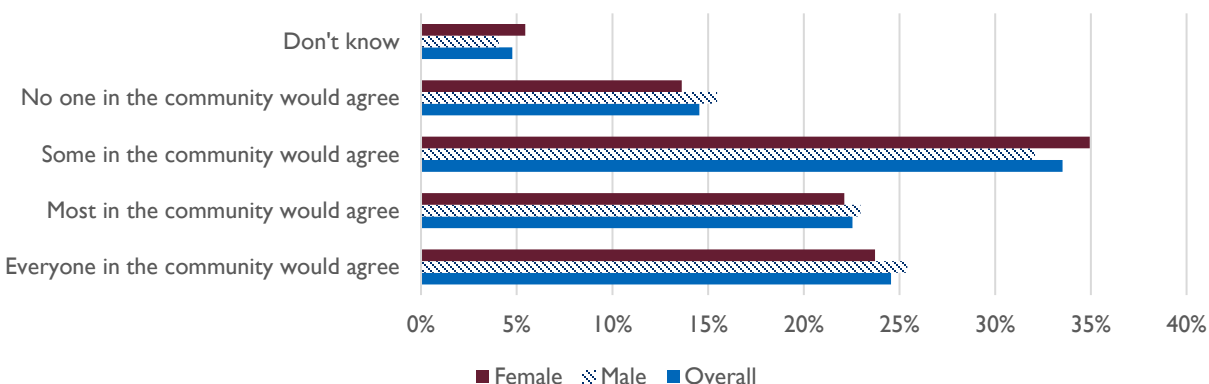
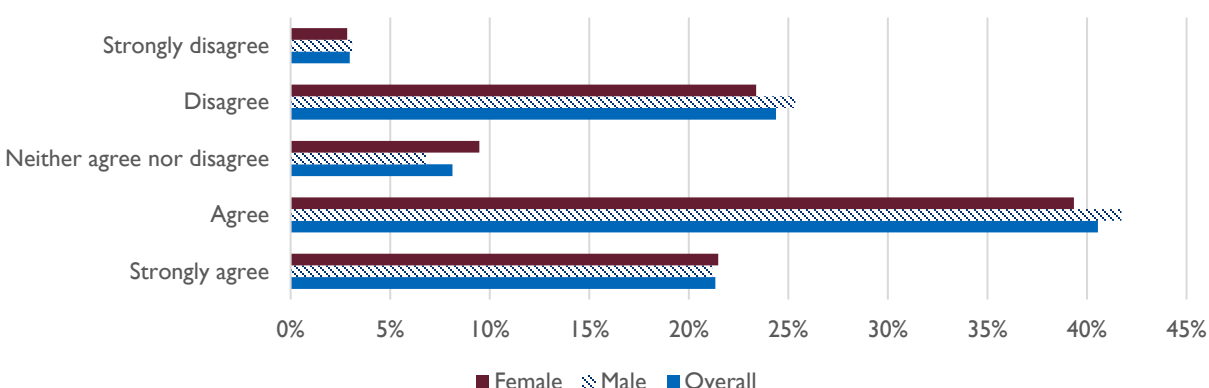


Figure F.22. Reaction to the statement “Gender equality is mainly a women’s issue,” by sex



Four-fifths felt that at least some in their community would agree with this statement, and nearly a quarter of respondents felt everyone in their community would agree. Most respondents expressed some level of agreement, while 27.4 percent expressed some level of disagreement. Strongly disagree was very rarely selected, suggesting that people have a strong position in the agree direction but not so much in a disagree direction. The youngest age group (18–25) expressed some level of disagreement with this statement at a somewhat higher rate than their older peers (32.4 percent).

The next two questions focused on whether gender norms and stereotypes are harmful to both sexes. Figure F.23 shows the perception of respondents about their community’s stance (norm), whereas Figure F.24 is the stance that respondents in the other group expressed (attitude).

Figure F.23. Perceived share of community who would agree with the statement “Gender norms and stereotypes negatively affect both men and women,” by sex

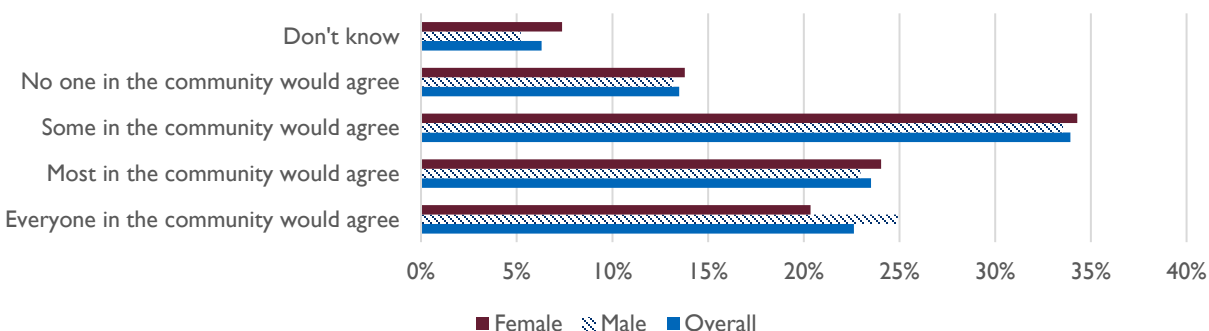
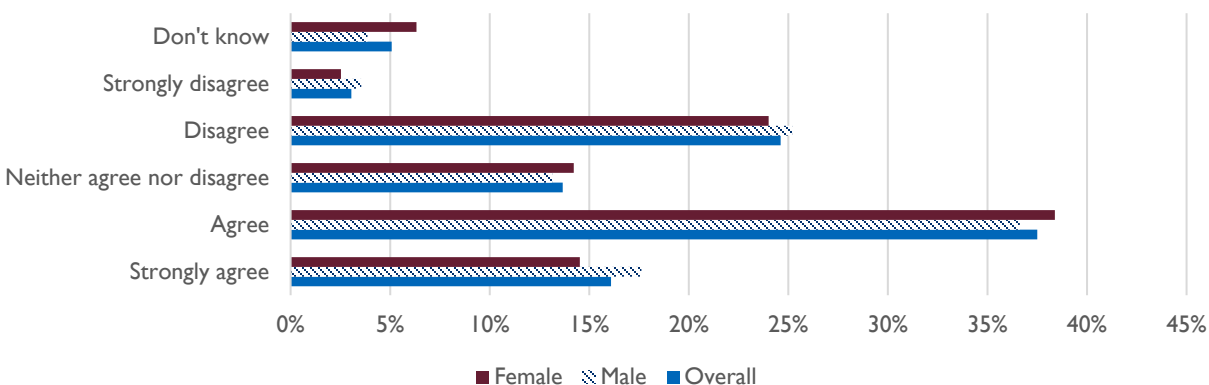
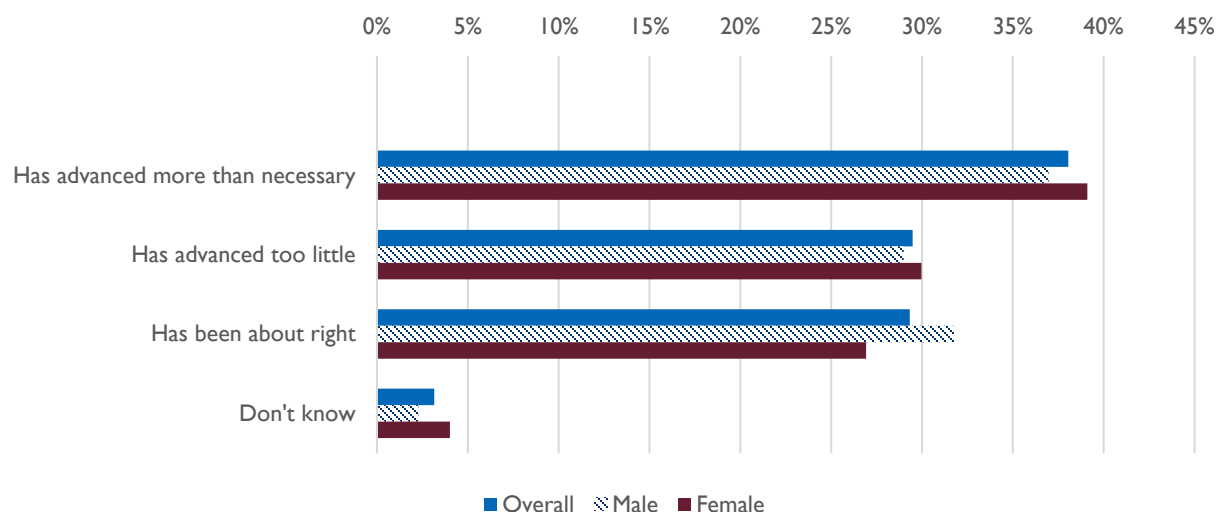
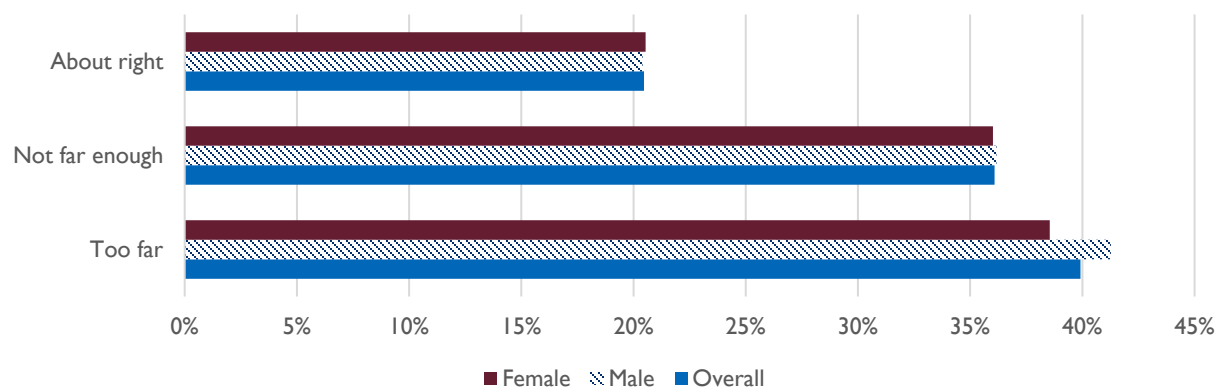


Figure F.24. Reaction to the statement “Gender norms and stereotypes negatively affect both men and women,” by sex



Perceptions of community stance were split, similarly to the split seen in the previous set of questions. Respondent attitudes were likewise scattered, with levels of agreement and disagreement both fairly high (37.5 percent and 24.6 percent, respectively) and a relatively high level of neutrality (“neither agree nor disagree”) combined with an unusually high level of “do not know” answers. Nonetheless a slim majority expressed some level of agreement. There are no clear age differences here.

The next set of questions follows a somewhat different structure, asking whether the progress made by the country in providing women the same rights as men has been insufficient, sufficient, or excessive. Figure F.25 shows the perception of respondents about their community’s stance (norm), whereas F.26 is the stance that respondents in the other group expressed (attitude).

Figure F.25. Perceived community stance regarding the progress made in Guinea in providing women with the same rights as men, by sex**Figure F.26. Reaction to the statement “When it comes to giving to women the same rights as men, do you think the country went...,” by sex**

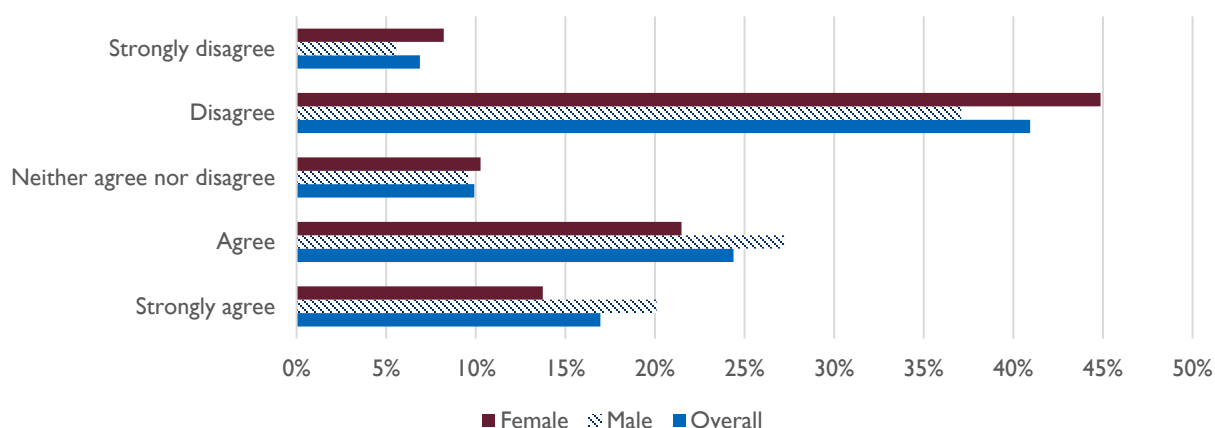
While there is no majority opinion, the largest group indicates that their community believes the country has advanced more than necessary. This same group is led by women themselves, interestingly. The other two groups are close, and women stand out by selecting the “about right” option significantly less than men.

Individual attitudes among respondents on this same issue are even more split between the two opposing positions, although the position that the country went too far holds a small edge. In general, this aligns well with community perception. Age matters for this topic, as the two younger groups are around 6 percentage points more likely to say that the country has not gone far enough than the two older groups.

There are two attitude questions related to gender role attitudes that do not have an equivalent in terms of norms. The first relates to the idea that rights are a zero-sum game and that granting rights to women removes rights from men. Results are shown in Figure F.27.

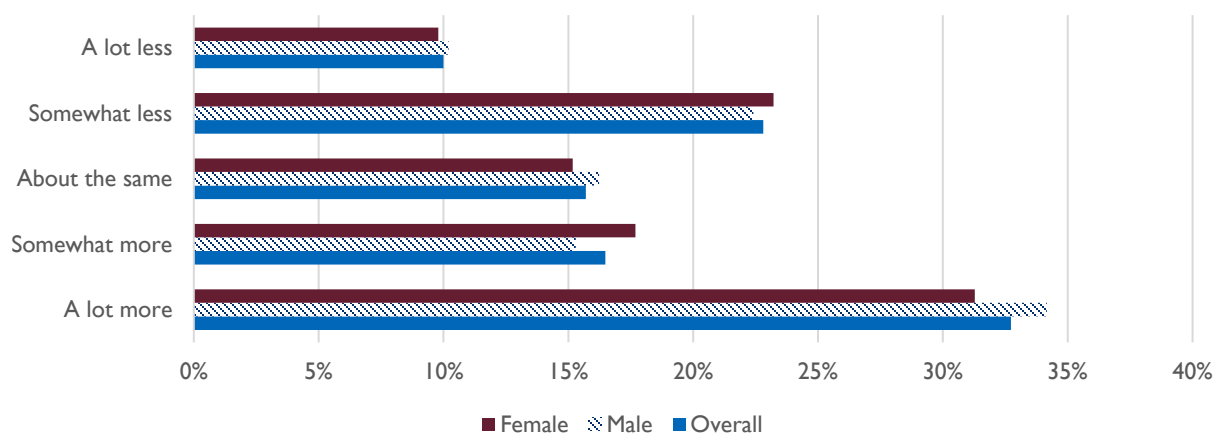
Opinions were split between the two levels of agreement and disagreement when it came to whether men's rights are reduced when women receive rights. The disagree side holds a slight edge, at 47.8 percent vs. the agree side at 41.3 percent. Women were particularly likely to disagree, compared to men (52.1 percent vs. 42.7 percent). As the age of respondents rose, the share of disagree and strongly disagree responses declined. For example, 52.7 percent of the 18–25 age group selected some level of disagreement, whereas 41.7 percent of 55 and older respondents did the same.

Figure F.27. Reaction to the statement “When women obtain rights, they take away rights from men,” by sex



The second related to whether women have more, less, or about the same level of opportunity when running for political office as men. Results are shown in Figure F.28.

Figure F.28. Perception of the level of opportunity that women have, in relation to men, when running for political office, by sex



Although perspectives were mixed, nearly half of respondents thought that women have at least somewhat more opportunity than men when it comes to running for political office. Women seem to agree, and there are only very minor gender differences overall. The youngest age group (18–25) was less prone to select one of the two “less” answer choices than older peers.

Finally, half of the sample was asked about how they view their community’s perspective about the statement “Men should make the decisions at home.” More than three-fourths of respondents felt they lived in communities where most or everyone think men should make decisions in the home, and 62.9 percent felt that everyone in their community would agree. Women and men were closely aligned.

POLITICS NORMS AND ATTITUDES

The politics norm subsection contains questions structured similarly to those in the Gender Role Norms, in that they ask respondents about the perceived share of their community who would agree with various statements. The politics attitudes subsection asks respondents about their attitude or belief, and the two subsections overlap, in that many questions are asked from both perspectives (albeit to different respondents, due to the split sample approach). We will continue to examine overlapping questions jointly to better contrast the findings.

Two attitude questions focus on whether it is appropriate for women to vote. Figure F.29 shows the perception of respondents about their community’s stance (norm), whereas Figure F.30 is the stance that respondents in the other group expressed (attitude).

Figure F.29. Perceived share of community who would agree with the statement “It is appropriate for women to vote in elections,” by sex

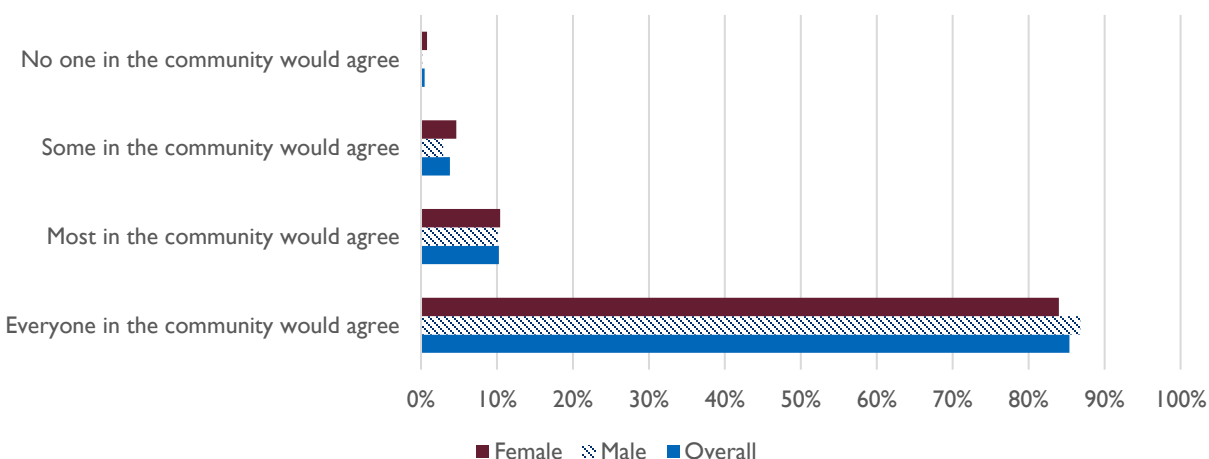
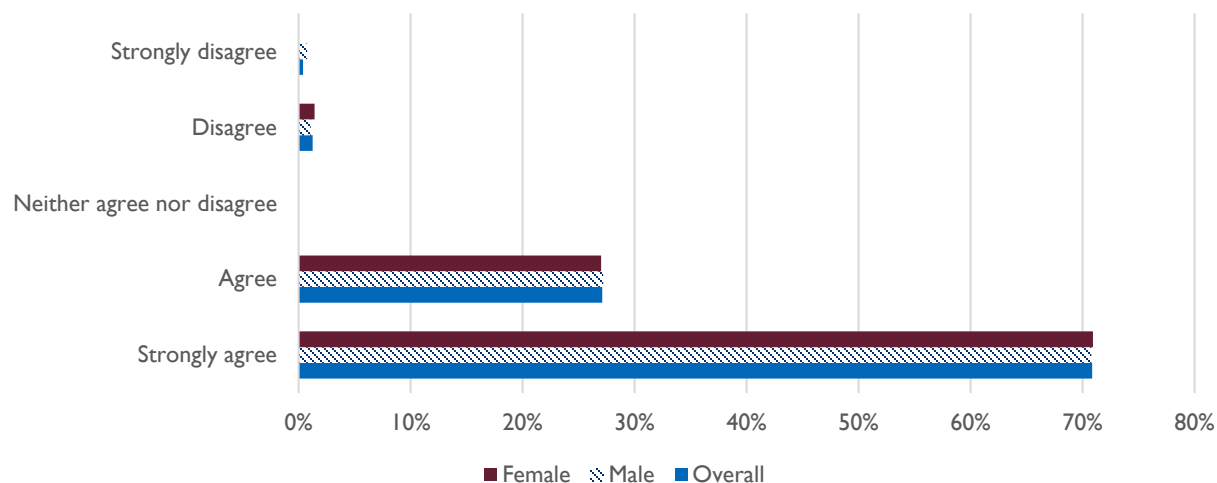


Figure F.30. Reaction to the statement “It is appropriate for women to vote in elections,” by sex



The results, both in terms of individual attitudes and perceptions of community norms, show that an overwhelming majority in Guinea agree and support the idea of women voting in elections.

Another set of questions focused on whether daughters or sons should be allowed to join political parties. These questions are meant to contrast perspectives around the same activity, based on the sex of children. Figure F.31 shows the perception of respondents about their community's stance (norm), whereas F.32 is the stance that respondents in the other group expressed (attitude).

These results suggest that, although joining a political party is not uncontroversial for sons in some communities, it is more so for daughters. Individual attitudes reflect this as well but suggest that the gap might be smaller than perceived at the community level. The level of disagreement is nearly 2.5 times higher for daughters than sons (26.6 percent vs. 11.3 percent), but a significant majority of respondents expressed agreement for children of either sex.

As the age of respondents rose, they were more inclined to express agreement, but this only held true for daughters, whereas there was no significant difference across age groups with regard to sons. For example, 62.1 percent of the 18–25 age group expressed agreement that they would let their daughter(s) join a political party, but this figure is 74.0 percent among the 41–55 years old group.

Figure F.31. Perceived share of community who would agree with the statement “Families should let their daughters/sons become members of a political party,” by sex

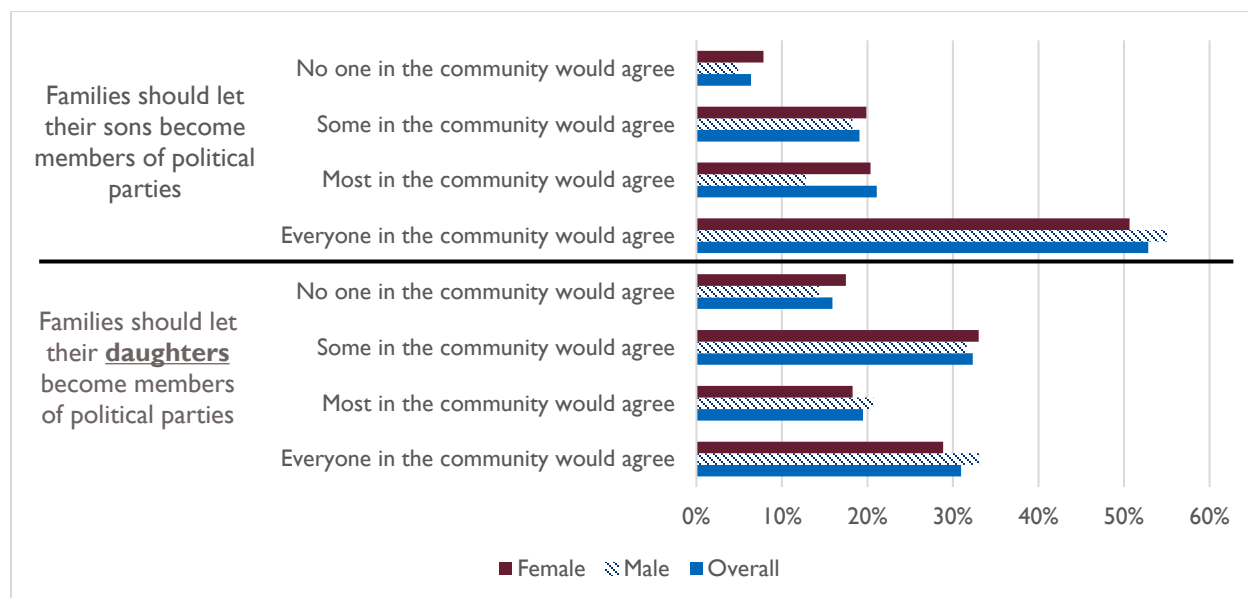
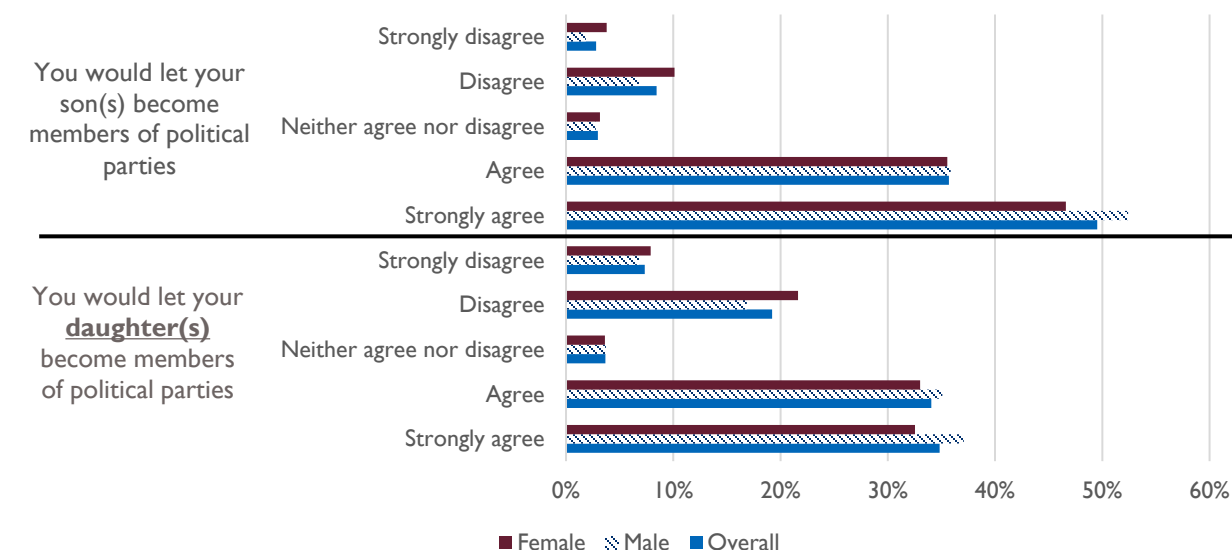
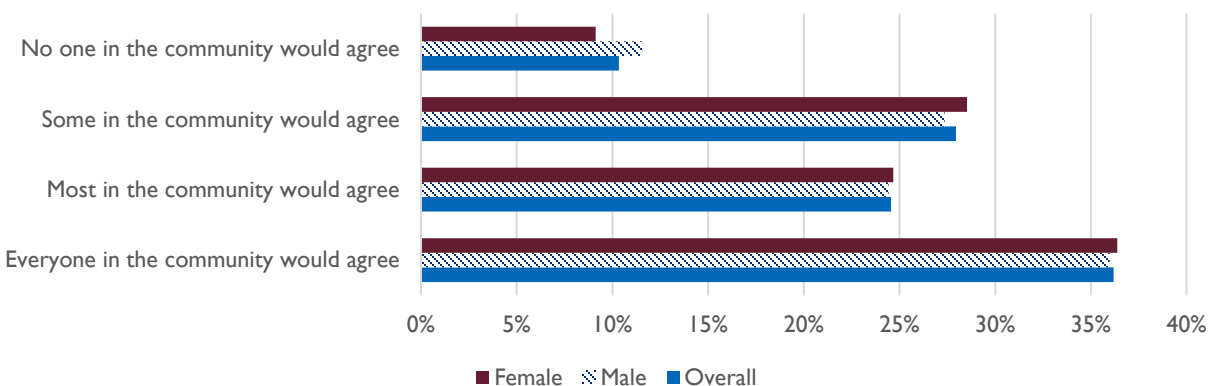
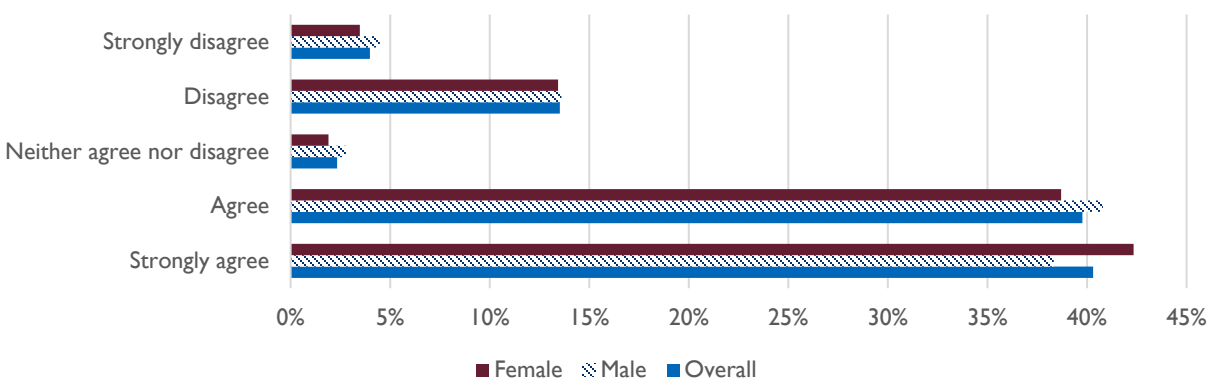


Figure F.32. Reaction to the statement “You would let your daughter(s)/son(s) become members of a political party,” by sex



Another set of questions focused on whether it is appropriate for women to express themselves in public. These questions are worded slightly differently but are grounded in the same logic. Figure F.33 shows the perception of respondents about their community's stance (norm), whereas Figure F.34 is the stance that respondents in the other group expressed (attitude).

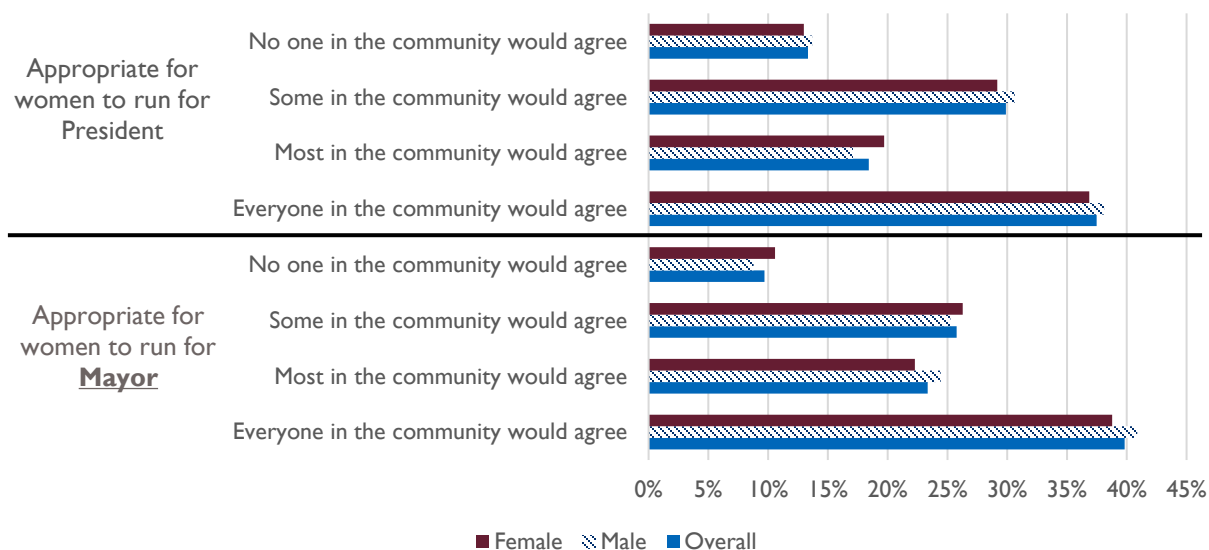
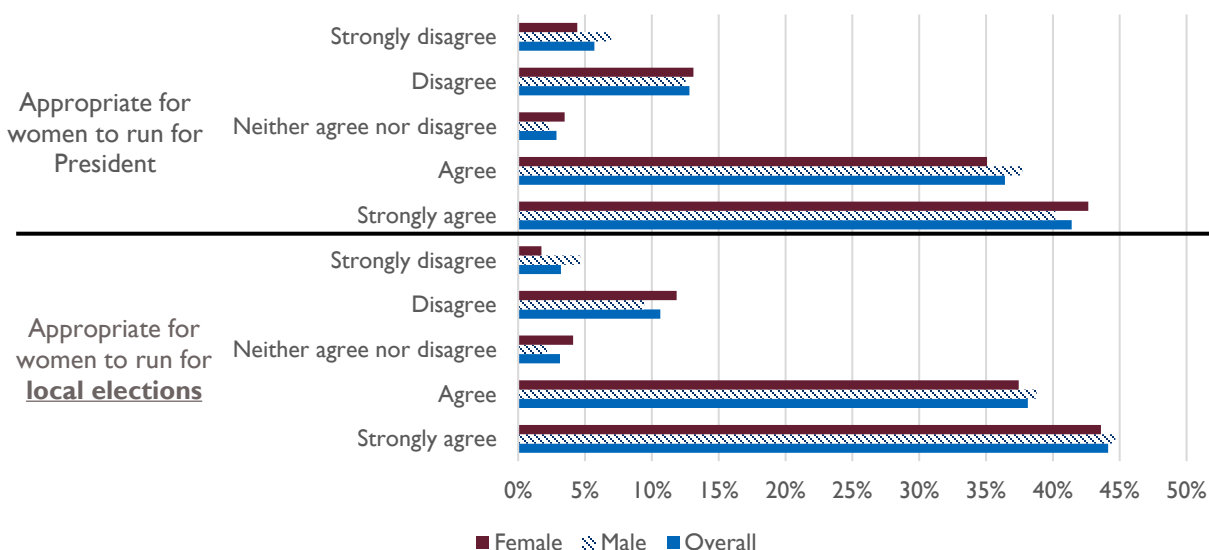
Figure F.33. Perceived share of community who would agree with the statement “It is appropriate for women to speak out publicly,” by sex**Figure F.34. Reaction to the statement “It is appropriate for women to express their opinion in public,” by sex**

The results from the community perception question suggests that women speaking out in public is a topic of disagreement in a significant portion of communities in Guinea. However, community perception appears to be more negative—against women speaking out in public—than actual attitudes reported. Indeed, 80 percent of respondents express a level of agreement with this statement. This could be tied to misperceptions of community views or hesitations by respondents to reveal their true belief. Again, the youngest age group is most prone to expressing some level of disagreement, as 22.6 percent disagree in that group, whereas only 13.9 percent disagree in the 41–55 age group.

Appropriateness of women running for office and willingness to vote for them

Several questions explored whether it is appropriate for women to run for local and national office and whether respondents or their community at large would be willing to vote for them. Several questions also examine willingness to vote for members of disadvantaged groups in local elections.

We start with whether it is perceived as appropriate for women to run. Figure F.35 shows the perception of respondents about their community’s stance (norm), whereas Figure F.36 is the stance that respondents in the other group expressed (attitude).

Figure F.35. Perceived share of community who would agree with the statement “It is appropriate for women to run for mayor/president,” by sex**Figure F.36. Reaction to the statement “It is appropriate for a woman to run for local elections/the presidency,” by sex**

While there are slight differences in the wording with respect to local elections—the community stance question asks specifically about the Mayor position whereas the individual attitude question asks about local elections, which includes Mayor but also Deputy Mayor and communal council—a comparison remains reasonable.

The perceived community stance contrasts with actual respondent attitudes for both the presidency and local elections. Indeed, 82.3 percent and 77.8 percent of respondents agreed it was appropriate for women to run for local elections and the presidency, respectively. The perceived stance of communities

is significantly less positive, suggesting women running for mayor or the presidency are both controversial propositions, although running for the highest office in the country is viewed as somewhat more problematic in many communities. There are no noteworthy differences between sexes and age groups here.

Willingness to actually vote for female candidates who might be running for these two positions is explored next. Figure F.37 shows the perception of respondents about their community's stance (norm), whereas Figure F.38 is the stance that respondents in the other group expressed (attitude).

Figure F.37. Perceived share of community who would be willing to vote for a woman in local elections/the presidency, by sex

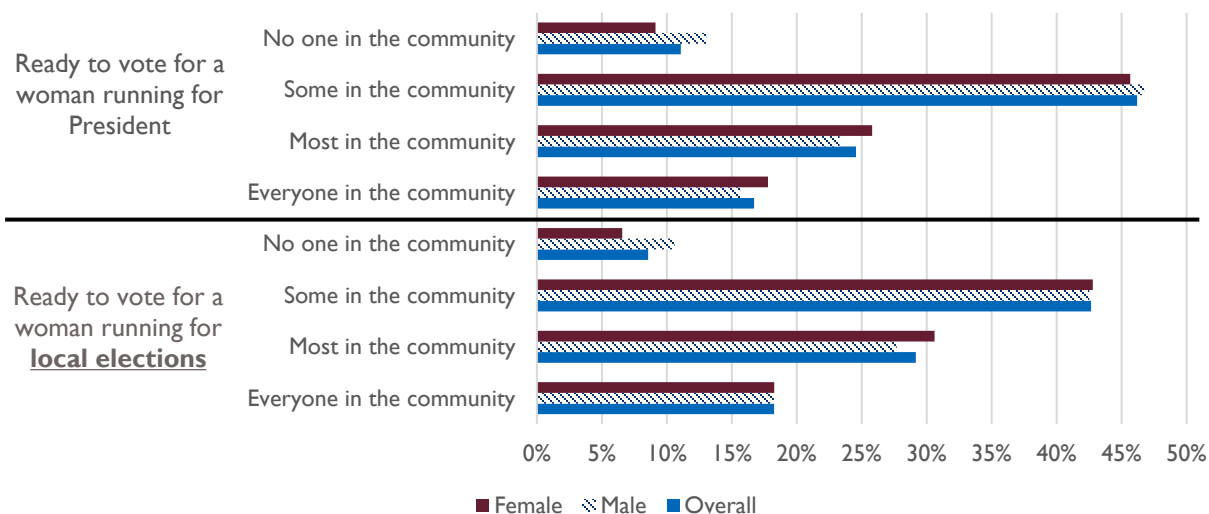
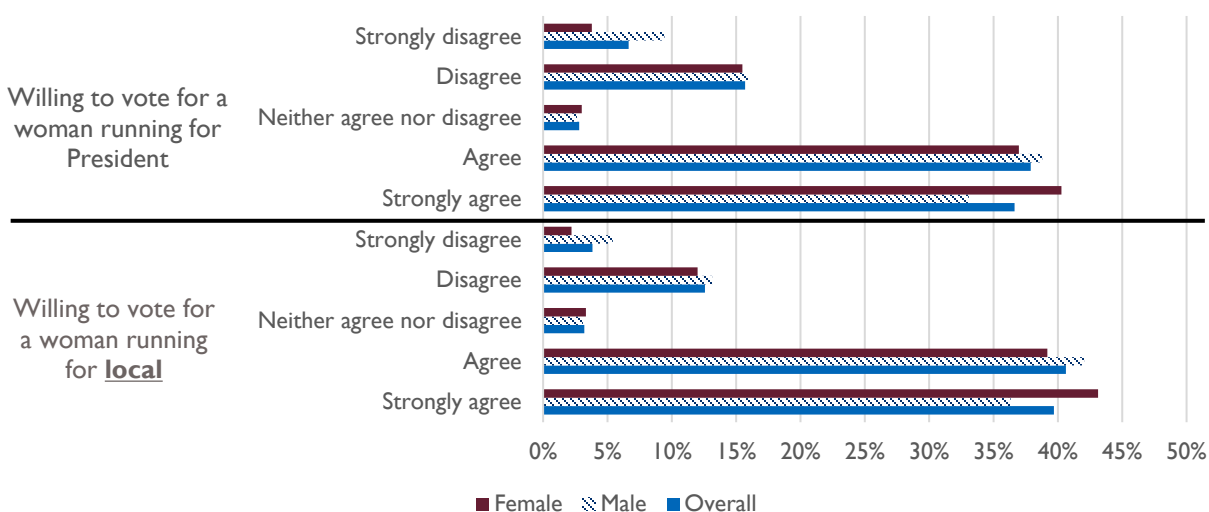


Figure F.38. Reaction to the statement “I would be ready to vote for a woman running for local elections/the presidency,” by sex



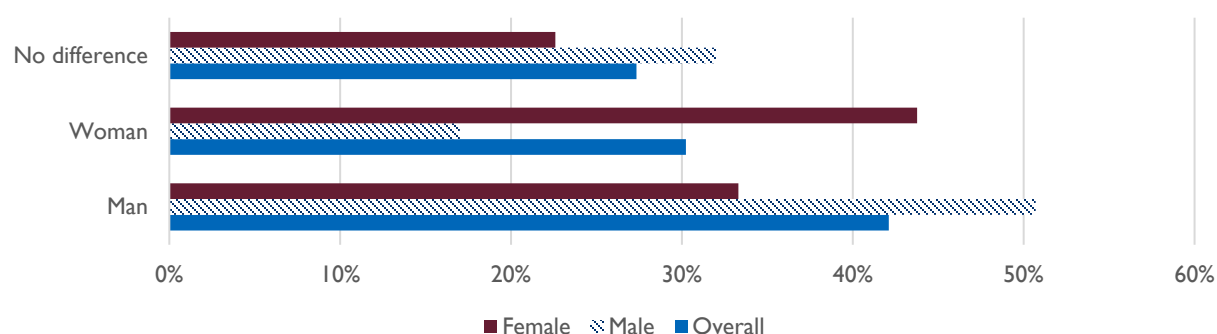
Perceived community stance again contrasts with actual respondent attitudes for both the presidency and local elections. Indeed, 80.3 and 74.5 percent of respondents agreed they would be willing to vote for a woman running for local elections and the presidency, respectively. The perceived stance of communities is dramatically less positive, as only 47.4 percent and 41.3 percent of respondents perceive that most or all the members of their community would be willing to vote for a woman running for local elections and the presidency, respectively.

Women are slightly more likely to say they would be willing to vote for a woman running at either position than men, although the gender gap grows slightly for the presidency, reaching 5.4 percentage points.

A final question related to this topic was simply “Without thinking of anyone in particular, would you prefer to vote for a [man or a woman/woman or a man] for an elected office?,” but respondents were randomly shown one of the two formulations in square brackets.

As shown in Figure F.39, 42.1 percent of respondents said they would rather vote for a man, 30.2 percent would rather vote for a woman, and 27.3 percent think there is no difference. The sex of the respondent mattered here. Women were much more prone to selecting woman than men, and vice versa. Men were also 10 percentage points more likely to select “no difference” than women were.

Figure F.39. Reaction to the statement “Without thinking of anyone in particular, would you prefer to vote for a [man or a woman/woman or a man] for an elected office?,” by sex



The order in which the two sexes were read in the question had minimal impact on answers. Any difference is smaller than 4 percentage points, although one effect seems to be that women were more likely to not select “woman” and to select “no difference” instead. This substitution amounted to approximately 6 percentage points.

Willingness to vote for disadvantaged groups

As noted above, the survey also included two questions about willingness to vote for a person with an unspecified disability. One of the two questions again focuses on perception within the community and the other on respondent attitude.

Obtaining enough votes for such a hypothetical person to get elected would be difficult. Only about a quarter of respondents perceived that all or most of their community would be willing to do so, and in

42.8 percent of communities, only some people would be willing to do so. Women here are significantly more optimistic about the chances that a person with a disability would have, compared to men. Examining now the respondents' own views, we see a slightly less dismal picture, as 56.7 percent expressed agreement about being willing to vote for a person with a disability. Most of these only agreed (as opposed to strongly agreeing). We see the same trend as for community perception here when taking respondent sex into account, with women 7 percentage points more likely to be in some level of agreement than men.

The subset of respondents receiving the attitudes module were also asked about their willingness to vote in local elections for two other disadvantaged groups—those with albinism and *non-autochtones* (people who do not have ancestral roots in the community¹⁶¹). The responses for a hypothetical candidate with albinism are very much like those given for a woman running for presidency, as 74.5 percent of respondents agreed they would be willing to vote for a person with albinism running for local elections. Interestingly, women here are less likely than men to express agreement (an 8-percentage-point difference)

Responses for a hypothetical *non-autochtone* candidate, on the other hand, are significantly less positive and look similar to those discussed previously for a person with disability. Just 56.7 percent of respondents agreed they would be willing to vote for such a person running for local elections. Continuing the parallels, women here are more likely than men to express agreement (a 7-percentage-point difference).

Other politics and gender norms and attitudes

Two questions, one in the norms module and the other in the attitude module, asked respondents to react to “Men are better political leaders than women.” The perceived community stance and actual respondent attitudes were similar here. Around 63 percent expressed some level of personal agreement and that is also the percentage who thought that most or all the members of their community agreed. Differences across sexes were minimal, whether regarding respondents' own opinions or how they perceived their community's stance.

Another set of questions asked whether politically active women should expect to be victim of violence when they participate in political activities, such as voting, attending or speaking at meetings, etc. Figure F.40 shows the respondents' perception of their community's stance (norm), whereas Figure F.41 is the respondents' own perspective (attitude).

¹⁶¹ Long-standing ties in the community are viewed as very important in Guinea, as in much of West Africa. Thus, even if a person is born in a community but their parents or grandparents moved there, they might still be viewed as *non-autochtone*, or not being native from there.

Figure F.40. Perceived share of community who would agree with the statement “Politically active women should expect to be victim of violence when they participate in political activities,” by sex

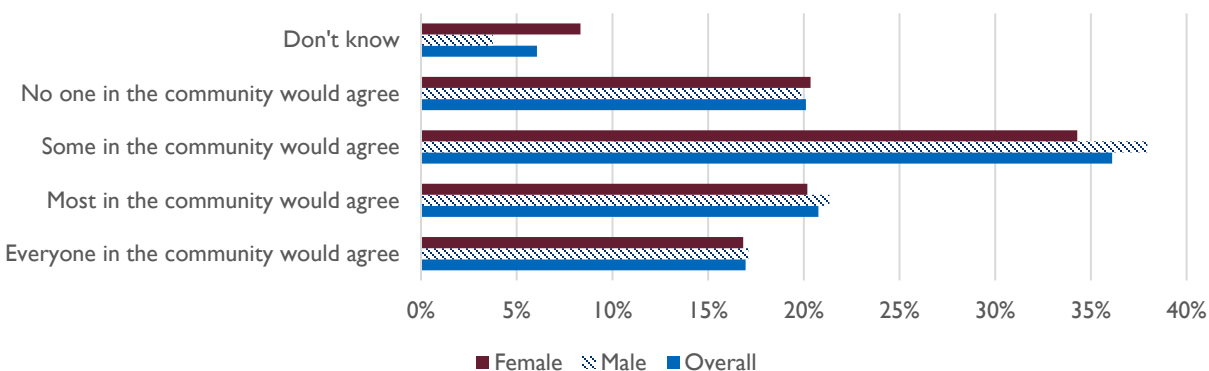
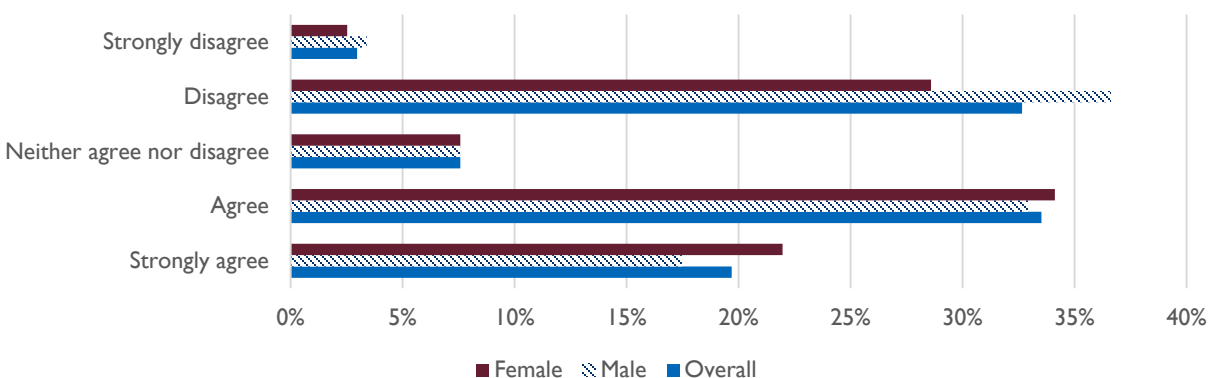
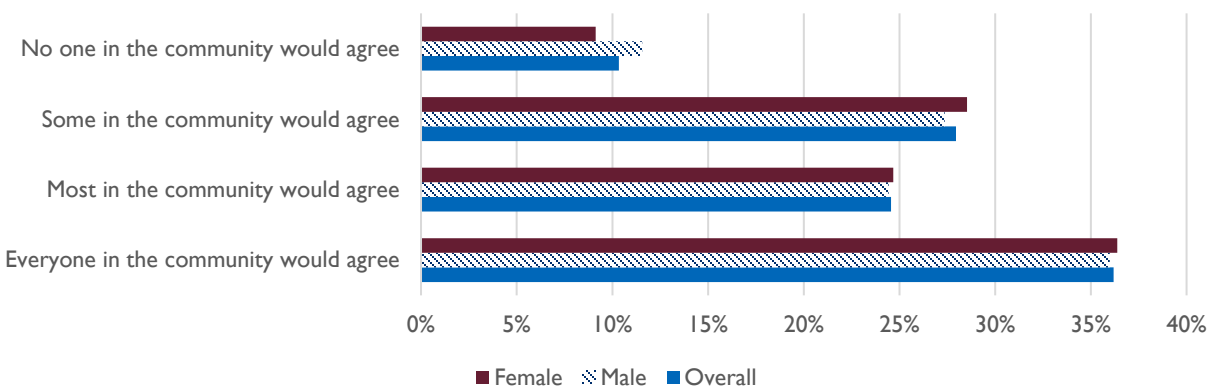
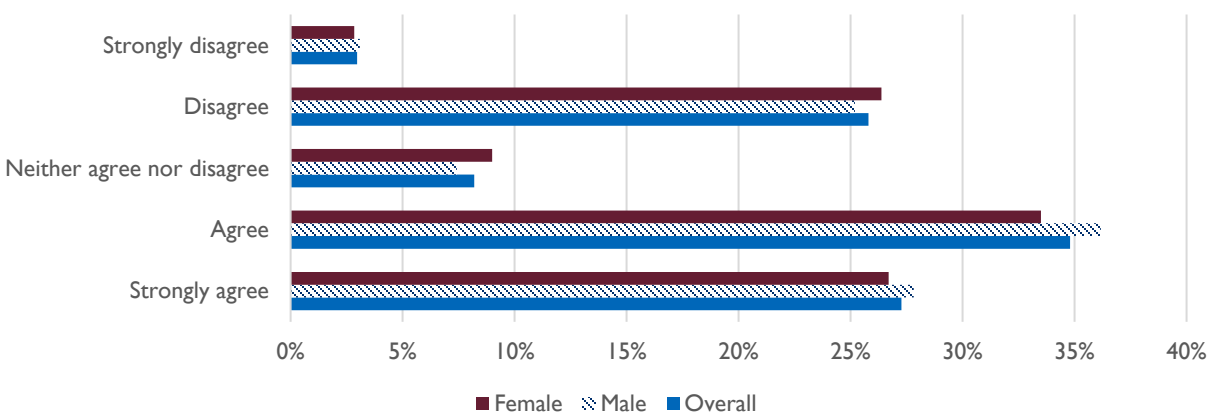


Figure F.41. Reaction to the statement “Politically active women should expect to be victim of violence when they participate in political activities,” by sex



Both figures indicate an important difference of opinion among Guineans, with a majority leaning toward agreement. Women were slightly more likely to personally agree or strongly agree than men, potentially reflecting their awareness of the situation. The youngest age group had the lowest level of personal agreement (47.8 percent), whereas the 26–40 age group had the highest (59.1 percent).

Another mirror set of question asked for reactions to the statement “Male political leaders should have the final word about decisions in the political party.” Figure F.42 shows the respondents’ perception of their community’s stance (norm), whereas Figure F.43 is the respondents’ own perspective (attitude).

Figure F.42. Perceived share of community who would agree with the statement “Male political leaders should have the final word about decisions in the political party,” by sex**Figure F.43. Reaction to the statement “Male political leaders should have the final word about decisions in the political party,” by sex**

Nearly two-thirds of communities are perceived to be composed of members who all or mostly think that male political leaders should have the final word about political party decisions. Still, this statement appears to be contentious in 28 percent of communities and widely rejected in 10 percent of communities. Respondents' attitudes reflect this split. Although most express agreement (62.1 percent), a little over a quarter expresses disagreement. Respondent sex or age do not show trends.

Finally, the survey had two questions about an equal number of seats in the national assembly and in the communal council, as well as one on whether the law in place forcing political parties to have a minimum number of female candidates at the national assembly is a good thing. Approximately two-thirds of respondents agreed or strongly agreed about equal seats, whether at the national assembly or the communal council. There was an important sex gap here, with agreement among women higher than that of men by 12.8 and 14.5 percentage points for the communal council and the national assembly, respectively. Most respondents (58.4 percent) also agreed that the sex quota law is a good thing, but women were slightly less likely than men to agree.

AUTONOMY

The survey contained two sets of questions to establish the level of control that respondents have on personal decisions. The first set focused on social and health decisions, whereas the second set focused on decisions to participate politically.

In both cases, a scale from 1 through 10 was used, where 1 means the respondent's spouse/partner or another household member has complete control over the decision, and 10 means the respondent has complete control over the decision. Figure F.44 summarizes the results for each of the three decisions and by sex and age groups, as well as for the overall sample. The first number in each cell is the average score, whereas the number in parentheses is the median (typical) score.

Figure F.44. Autonomy score for social or health decision, by sex and age group

	Who you spend time with outside the home	When to seek health care for yourself	To leave the home to visit family members
18–25 years	4.9 (5)	4.8 (4)	4.9 (5)
26–40 years	5.8 (6)	5.6 (5)	5.7 (5)
41–55 years	6.2 (7)	6.1 (7)	6.2 (7)
55+ years	6.8 (8)	6.6 (7)	6.9 (8)
Men	7.3 (8)	7.1 (8)	7.3 (8)
Women	4.8 (4)	4.7 (4)	4.7 (4)
Overall	6.1 (6)	5.9 (6)	6.0 (6)

The results indicate that women have significantly lower autonomy than men when it comes to these social and health decisions. The type of decision—whether social or health-related—does not appear to affect this trend. Similarly, the autonomy increases as individuals get older. Looking at the data more closely, however, this trend seems to hold true especially for men, and age only has a small effect on autonomy for women.

Figure F.45. Autonomy score for political decisions, by sex and age group

	Going to a community meeting	Going to a political meeting or campaign event	Voting or not during national elections	For whom to vote in national elections
18–25 years	4.8 (4)	4.7 (4)	6.0 (6)	6.8 (8)
26–40 years	5.8 (6)	5.8 (6)	6.7 (8)	7.6 (9)
41–55 years	6.3 (7)	6.2 (6)	7.0 (8)	7.7 (9)
55+ years	7.0 (8)	6.9 (8)	7.5 (9)	8.0 (9)

	Going to a community meeting	Going to a political meeting or campaign event	Voting or not during national elections	For whom to vote in national elections
Men	7.4 (9)	7.4 (9)	7.8 (9)	8.3 (10)
Women	4.7 (4)	4.7 (4)	5.9 (6)	7.0 (9)
Overall	6.1 (6)	6.0 (6)	6.9 (8)	7.6 (9)

Figure F.45 contains the autonomy scores for the four political decisions that were included in the survey. It appears that, while women have limited autonomy regarding the decisions to attend political or community events, their autonomy regarding voting is markedly better. Nonetheless, even in these two scenarios, they have significantly less autonomy than their male peers. The pattern regarding age groups remains true as well, but we see the same distinction for voting activities just discussed.

MASCULINITY ATTITUDES

The survey featured another split sample where the masculinity attitudes or the sexism module was shown. Half of the respondents were randomly assigned to each of the modules.

The masculinity attitudes module starts with the question shown in Figure F.46, which ties being a man to being tough, and also includes a related question shown in Figure F.47 on the potential use of force to defend a man's reputation.

Figure F.46. Reaction to the statement “To be a man, you need to be tough,” by sex

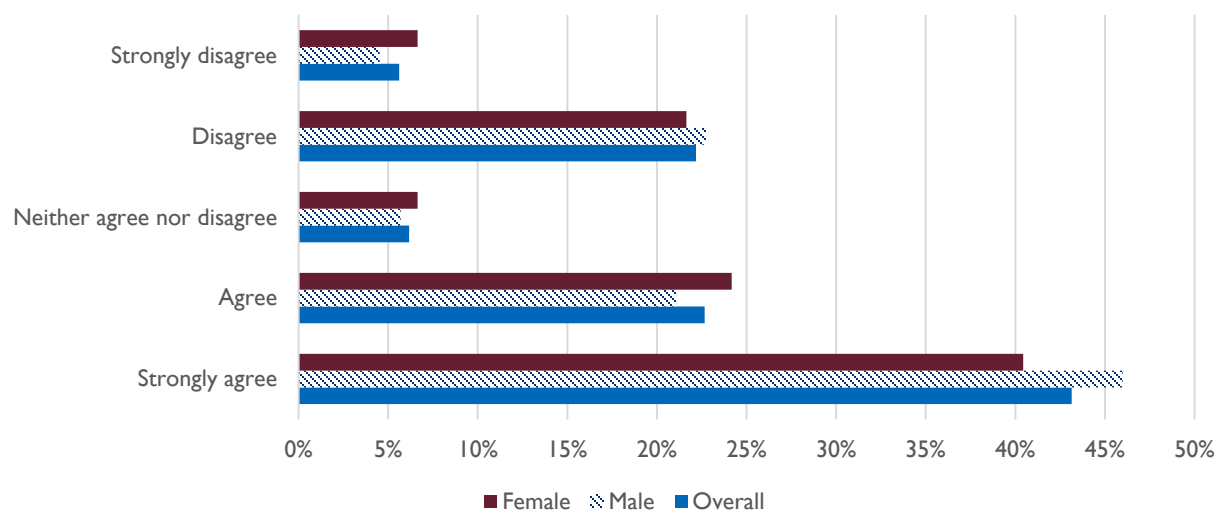
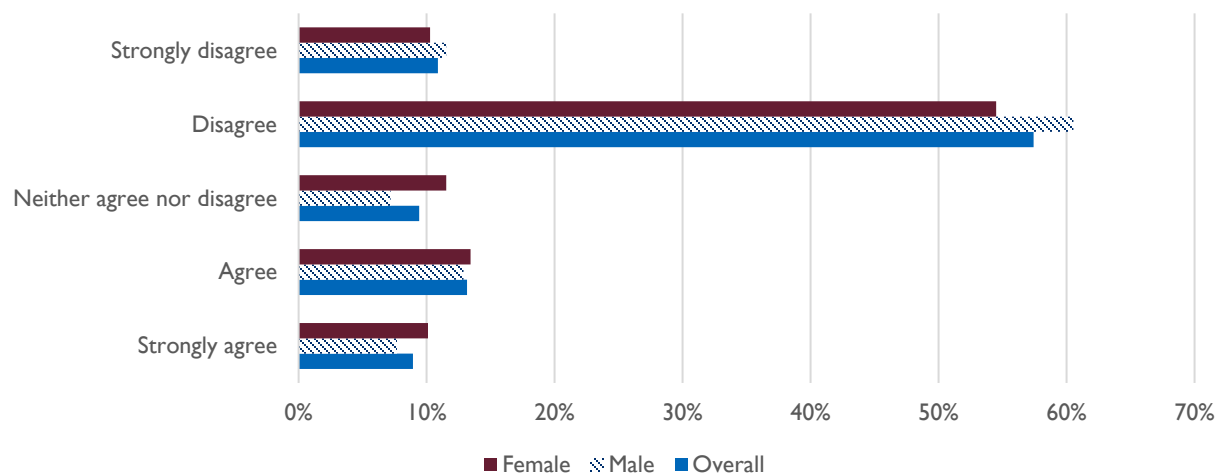
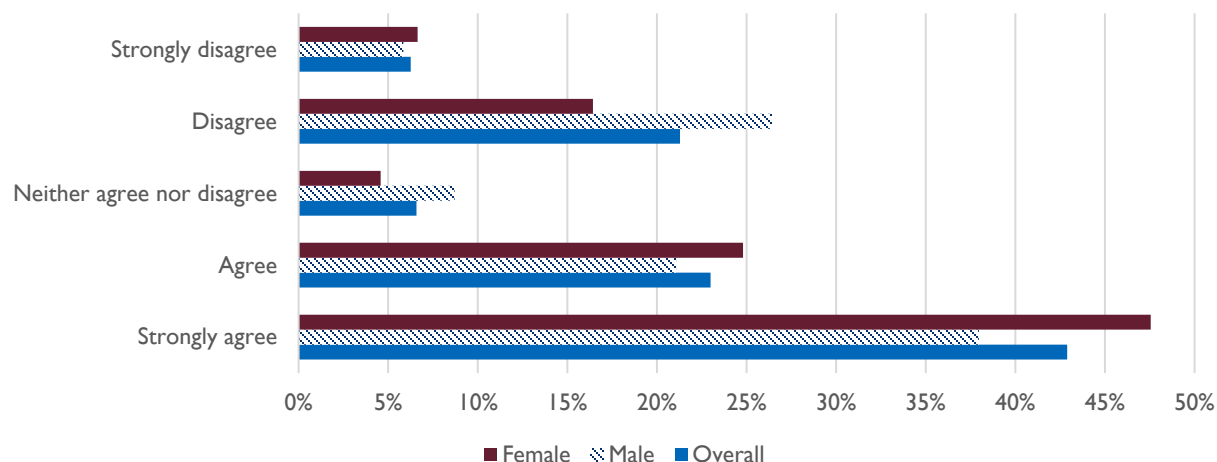
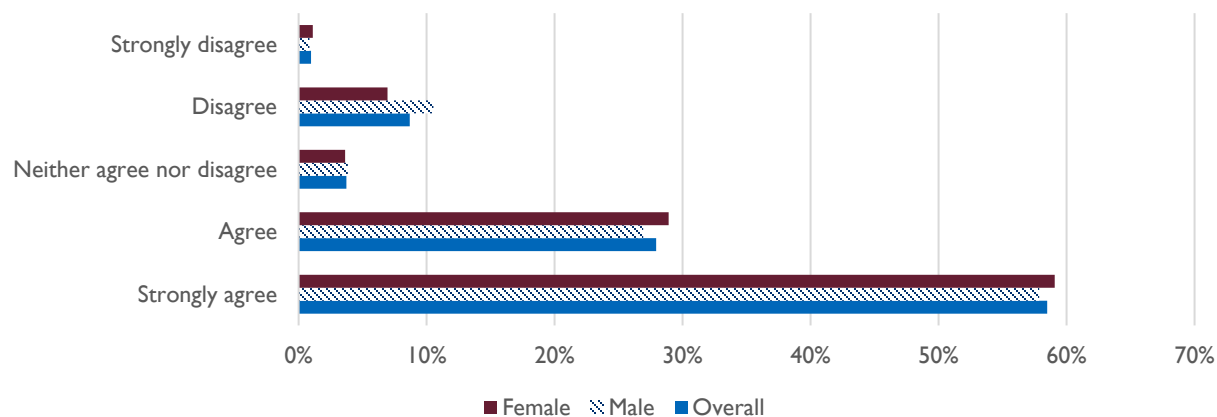


Figure F.47. Reaction to the statement “If someone insults a man, he should defend his reputation, with force if he has to,” by sex

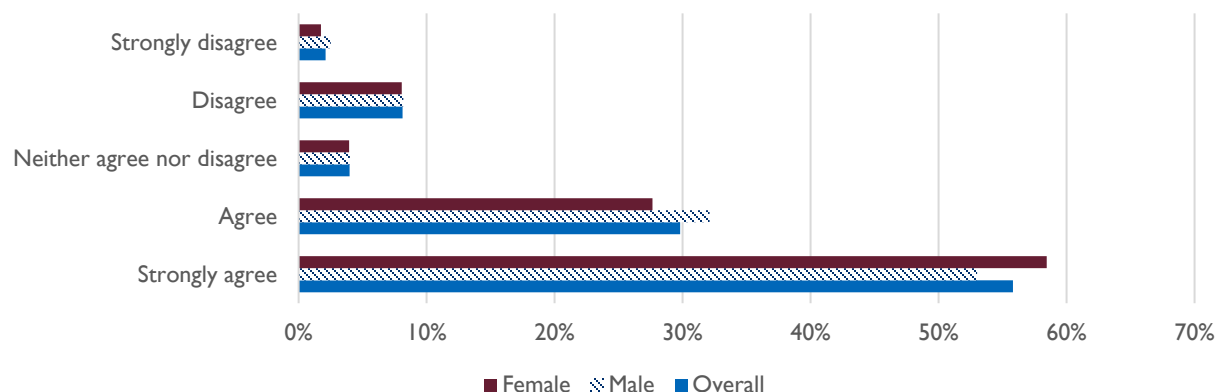


The responses to these two questions contrast sharply and provide insight on the way Guineans think of men and their behavior. While 65.8 percent of respondents expressed agreement that men need to be tough, the same exact percentage expressed disagreement with the use of force in reaction to an insult. This suggests that tough does not automatically translate into violence. Women are by and large in lockstep with men regarding these perspectives. Respondent age does not appear to matter much either, although the 55+ age group tended to have slightly fewer masculine opinions than their younger counterparts.

The next two questions focus on the role of men within the household and results are shown in Figure F.48 and F.49. While taking care of children is viewed as the mother’s responsibility by two-thirds of respondents, women themselves strongly push this, leading to a 10-percentage-point sex gap. Men having the final word in their home shows a drastically less nuanced picture, as fully 86.4 percent of respondents agreed. Women themselves were often slightly more in agreement than men with this perspective. Respondent age did not yield any noteworthy trends.

Figure F.48. Reaction to the statement “Changing diapers, bathing and feeding children are mothers’ responsibilities,” by sex**Figure F.49. Reaction to the statement “A man should have the final word about decisions in his home,” by sex**

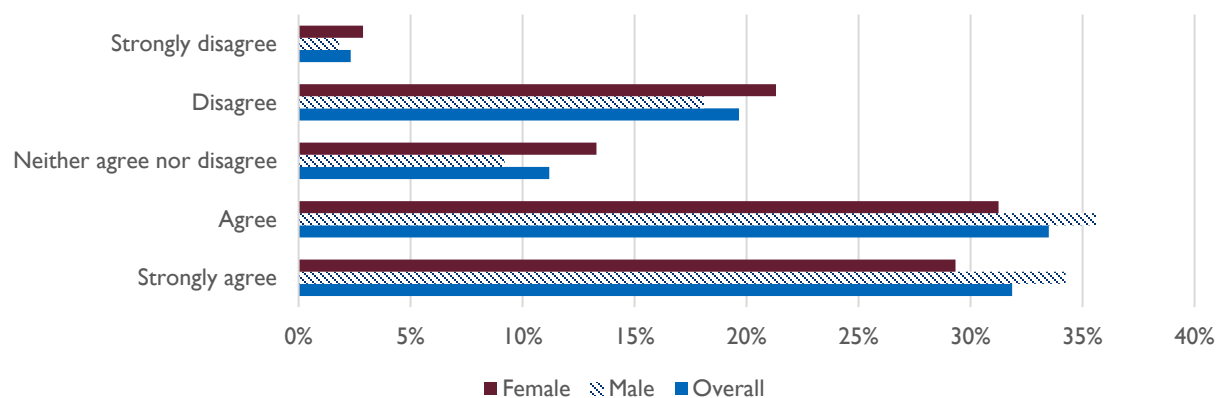
The final question of this module examines tolerance for familial and intimate partner violence for the sake of the family. Results are shown in Figure F.50, and they are concerning both with regard to the near consensus around the issue and the position of women on the matter. Only 10.2 percent of respondents expressed disagreement with this statement, and women were more likely than men to strongly agree. Respondents in the youngest age group were more likely to pick “strongly agree” than their elders.

Figure F.50. Reaction to the statement “A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together,” by sex**SEXISM**

The first question in this module involved the statement “Women should be cherished and protected by men,” and the reaction was clear: 98.8 percent of respondents expressed (primarily strong) agreement, and women were particularly likely to strongly agree.

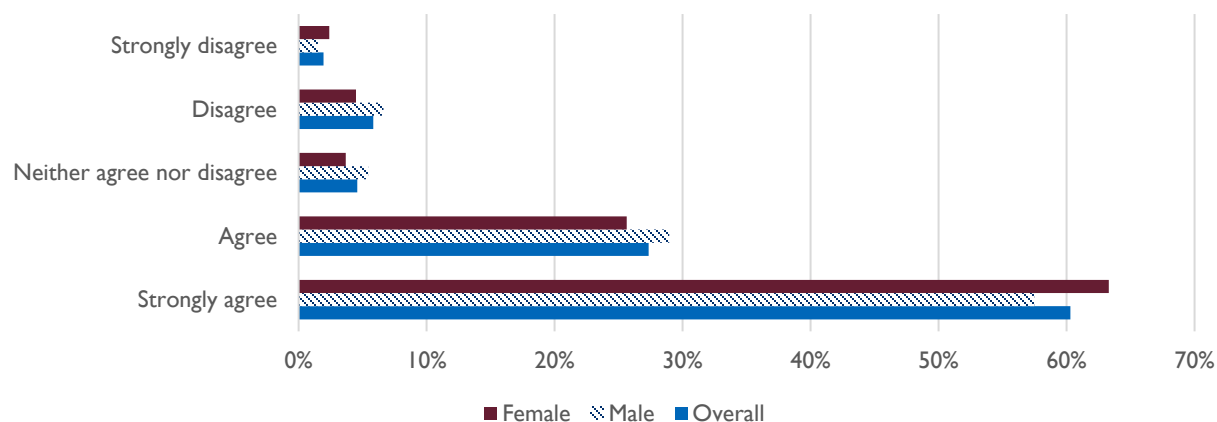
The second question showed a similar pattern, as 97.4 percent of respondents expressed (primarily strong) agreement that “every man should have a woman whom he adores.” Women were again slightly more likely than men to strongly agree, but overall, the two sexes were closely aligned.

The next question generated more divergent perspectives. As shown in Figure F.51, two-thirds of respondents expressed agreement that “when a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to control him.” Men agreed somewhat more than women, with a gap of 9 percentage points, but women were also more likely to select the neutral option here. The oldest age group was particularly likely to express agreement here, compared to other age groups.

Figure F.51. Reaction to the statement “When a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to control him,” by sex

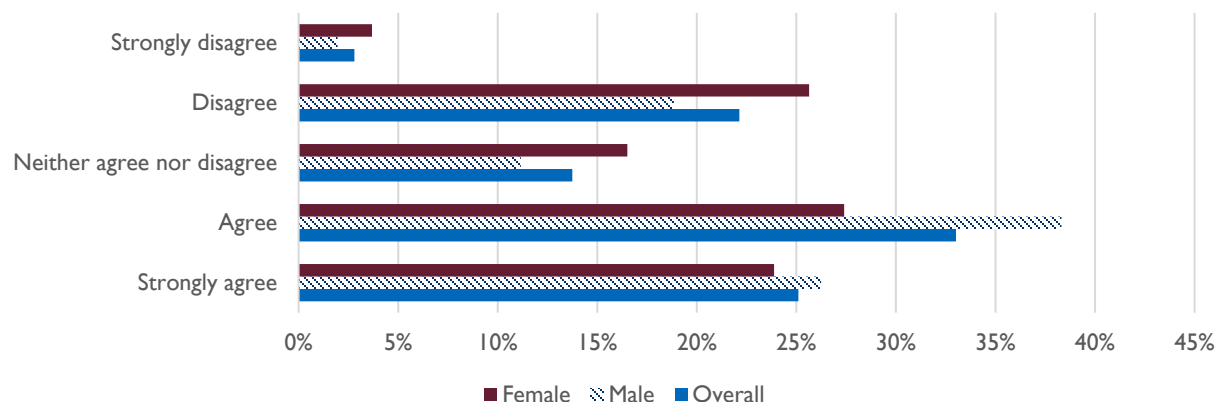
Respondents widely agreed that men should be willing to sacrifice in order to provide financially for women in their lives. As shown in Figure F.52, 87.7 percent expressed agreement, typically strong agreement, with this statement. Women were slightly more likely to strongly agree than men. Respondent age mattered a little bit here. As age increased, so did disagreement, although the difference between the youngest and older groups is just 4 percentage points.

Figure F.52. Reaction to the statement “Men should be willing to sacrifice in order to provide financially for the women in their lives,” by sex



The next question focused on whether women exaggerate the problems they have at work. Respondents were split on this matter, even if a majority expressed agreement, as shown in Figure F.53. Men were particularly likely to express agreement compared to women (64.6 percent vs. 51.3 percent). The oldest age group was slightly less likely to express disagreement and more likely to select the neutral option.

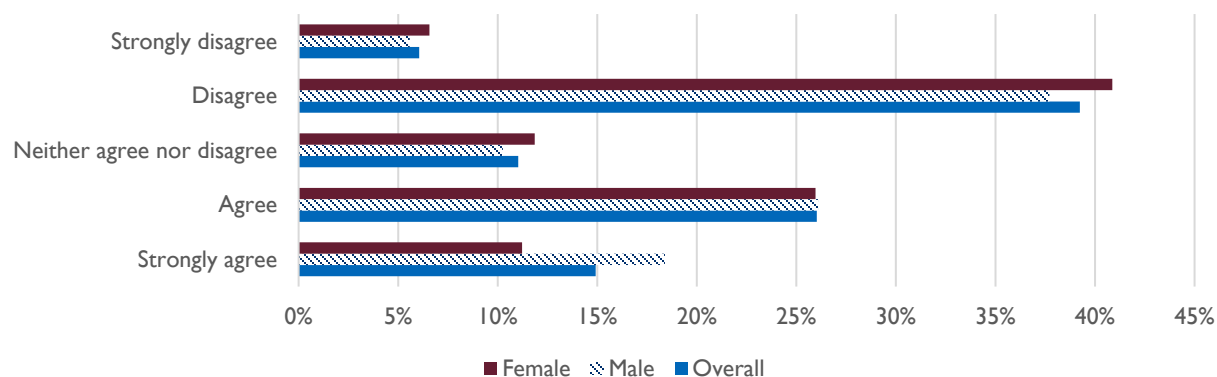
Figure F.53. Reaction to the statement “Women exaggerate the problems they have at work,” by sex



The final question of this module looked at the fight for women’s rights and whether it makes unreasonable demands of men. The results show a mix of perspectives. Approximately two-fifths of

respondents expressed agreement, whereas 45.3 percent expressed disagreement. Women were 7 percentage points less likely to express agreement than men.

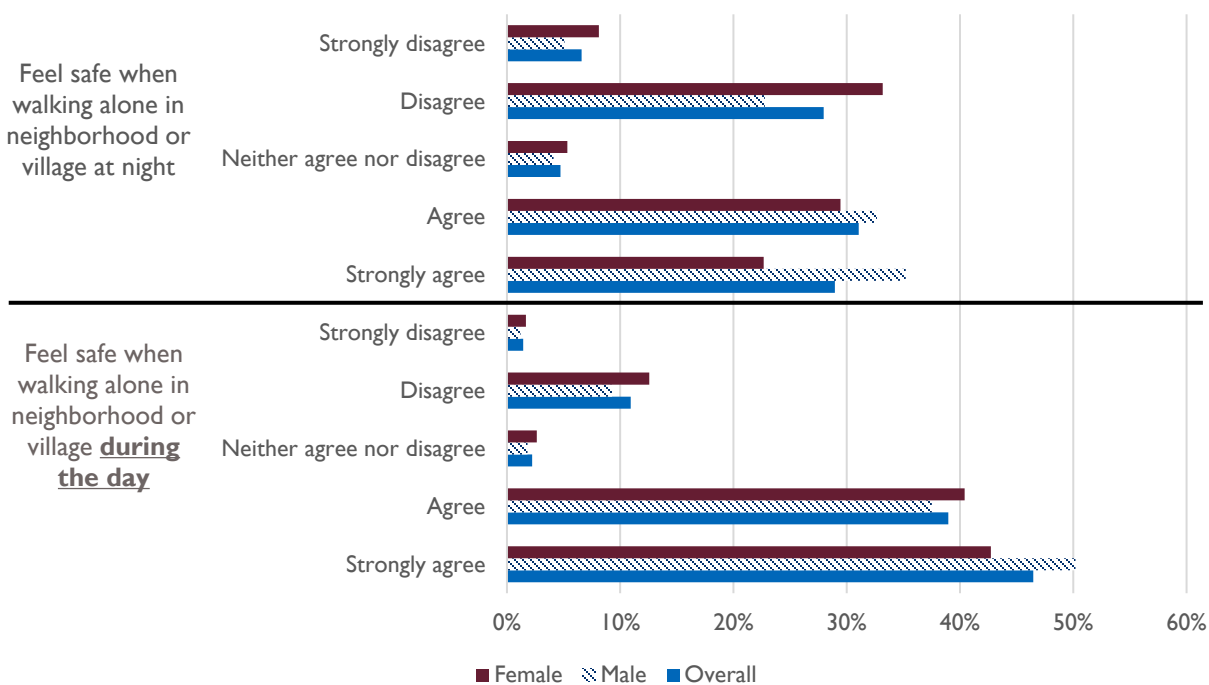
Figure F.54. Reaction to the statement “People who fight for women’s rights make unreasonable demands from men,” by sex



VIOLENCE AND HARASSMENT

This module starts with two questions on safety, the results of which are shown in Figure F.55.

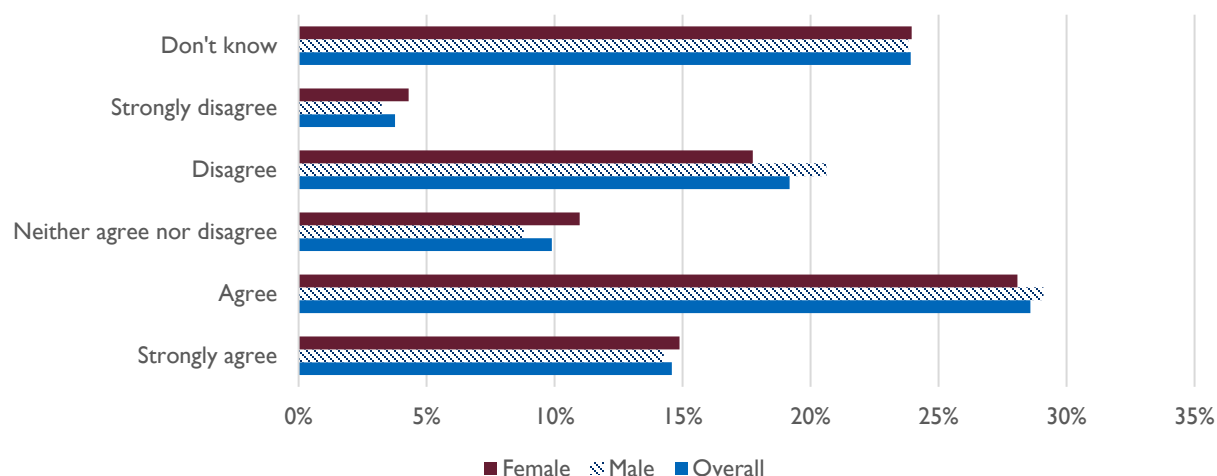
Figure F.55. Reaction to the statement “You feel safe when moving around your neighborhood or village alone during the day/at night,” by sex



While 85.4 percent of respondents indicate they feel safe during the day, that figure decreases to 60 percent at night. The change between day and night varies in magnitude by sex, it reaches 31 percentage points for women but is a more contained 20 percentage points for men.

A question focused on online harassment and safety, and the results are mixed, as show in Figure F.56. The largest share of respondents, 43.2 percent, expressed agreement, while 23 percent disagreed. Men and women were generally aligned in their answers, and nearly a quarter of respondents, whether men or women, did not know, suggesting limited exposure to internet.

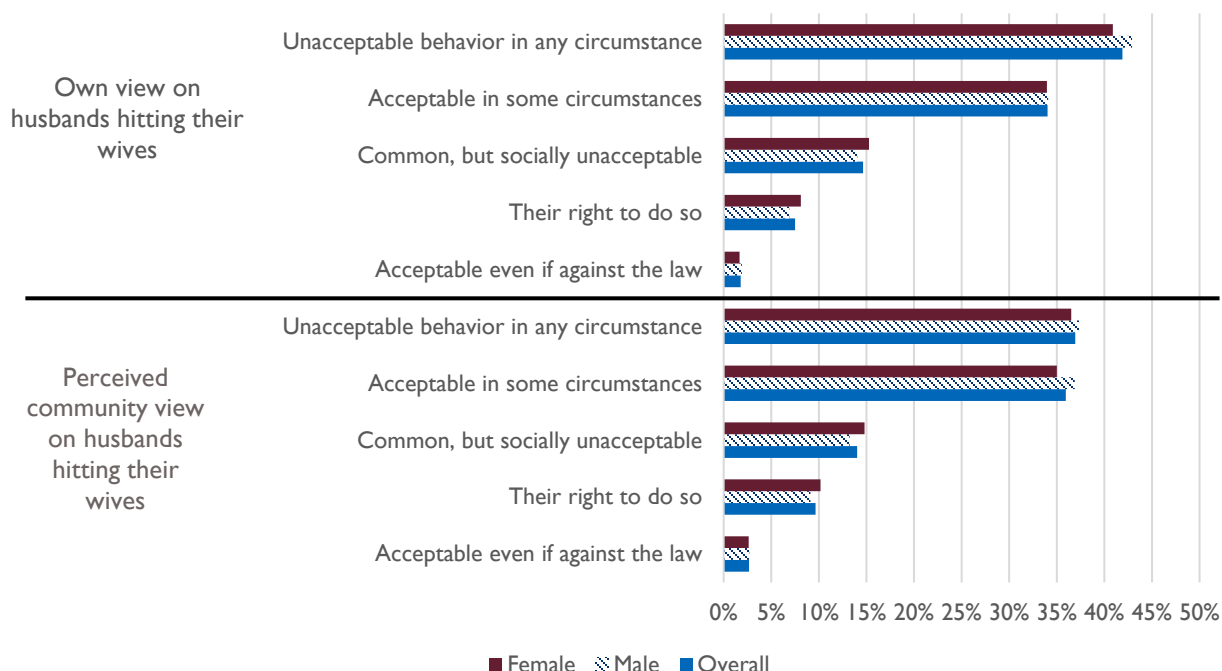
Figure F.56. Reaction to the statement “Women you know worry about people harassing them or making sexual comments to them online,” by sex



DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The next questions focused on domestic violence and asked respondents to talk about their community's view and their own view regarding husbands hitting their wives. Questions start with perception of domestic violence acceptability in general, before focusing on specific scenarios.

The results of the two general questions are shown in Figure F.57, and generally, the respondents' own views and their perception of community stance were closely aligned, suggesting limited to no social acceptability bias. In both versions of the question, respondents picked “unacceptable behavior” most of the time (36.9 percent in community stance and 41.9 percent in own views), followed by “acceptable in some circumstances” (35.9 percent in community stance and 34 percent in own views). Women and men do not hold very different views.

Figure F.57. Reaction to the statement “Your community’s view/Your view regarding husbands hitting their wives is...,” by sex

The four scenarios explored focus on disagreements between husbands and wives that might trigger domestic violence incidents. Respondents were simply asked to respond yes or no (or don't know/refuse) for each scenario, first with regard to their perception of the community stance and then based on their own views. Percentages of “yes” answers are provided in Figure F.58 below. As there were no refusals and very few “don't know” answers, the “no” answers can be inferred.

The two scenarios where domestic violence is most tolerated are when a wife does not take good care of the children or when she leaves the house without telling her husband. Perception of community stance across the four scenarios clustered around 44–47 percent, except for the scenario where a wife is arguing with her husband, where the figure drops to 38.3 percent.

Own views were significantly lower than the perceived community stance, possibly due to social desirability bias, ranging from 35.1 percent to 41.1 percent. This same bias might be responsible for the generally large sex gap in these results. Women are much more likely than men to say that husbands hitting their wives is justified than men and that their community also feels this way.

Figure F.58. Agreement levels for the questions “In your community, do most people believe a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if she [action]” and “In your opinion, is a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife if she [action],” by sex

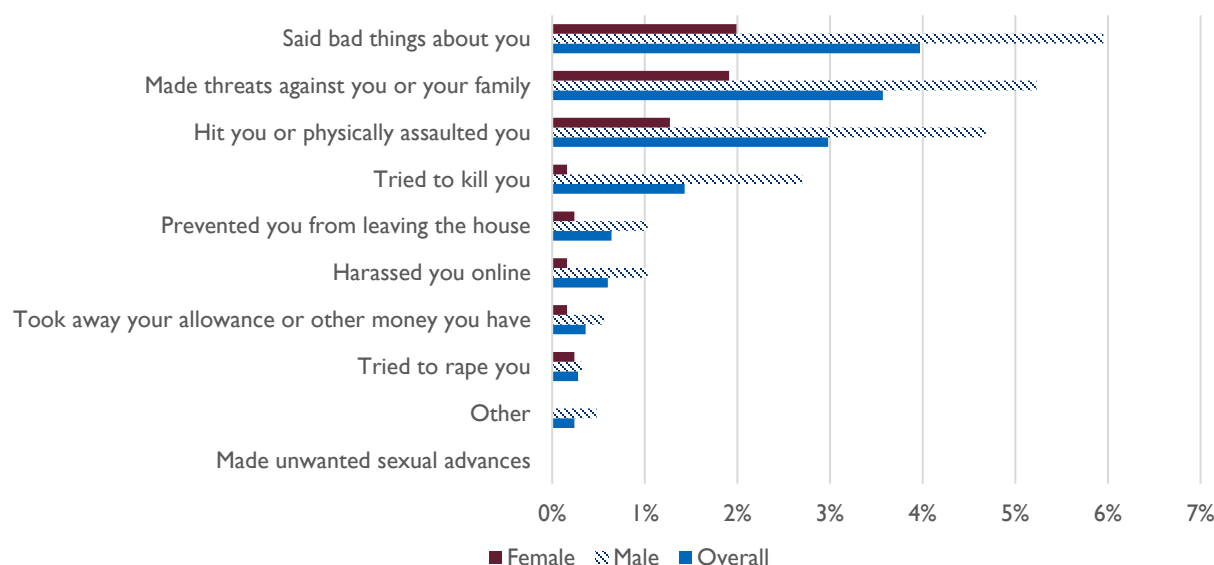
		Leaves the house without telling him	Does not take care of the children properly	Argues with him	Refuses to have sex with him
Perception of community norm	Overall	45.6%	46.9%	38.3%	43.6%
	Males	38.2%	40.7%	32.5%	38.3%
	Females	52.9%	53.1%	44.1%	48.9%
Own views	Overall	39.3%	41.1%	30.9%	35.1%
	Males	30.7%	34.4%	24.9%	29.3%
	Females	47.9%	47.8%	37.0%	40.9%

POLITICAL VIOLENCE

We next asked a series of questions regarding victimization in the context of political activities, such as attending meetings or rallies, voting, or acting in accordance with responsibilities of their office. The question asks whether politicians had encountered each of the scenarios outlined in Figure F.59 at some point in their lives. Based on which event(s) a given respondent reported, probing questions were then asked regarding the type of political activity they were doing when this occurred and who the perpetrator was (as a set of broad categories).

Although 91 percent of respondents reported no difficulty in the context of political activities, 9 percent reported at least one type of difficulty. Among these 9 percent, 5.8 percent reported 1 type of difficulty, 2 percent reported 2 types, and 1.2 percent reported between 3 and 6 types of difficulties. Men were much more likely than women to report 1 or more difficulty (13.8 percent vs. 4.2 percent).

Figure F.59. Problems encountered when respondents tried to participate in politics, by sex



The frequency at which each type of problem was reported is shown graphically in Figure F.59, above. Regardless of respondent sex, the most common problems were tied to insults, hearsay, and threats. These were followed by physical assault and murder attempts, the latter of which was overwhelmingly reported by men rather than women. Attacks of a sexual nature are surprisingly few, and strangely, there is little difference between sexes. There were also very few “other” difficulties reported while participating in political activities. One involved being imprisoned and another having someone throw stones at the person.

Figure F.60, below, outlines the more frequent situations and perpetrator for each of the problems noted above. Entries are sorted by highest frequency of mention.

Generally, voting was the situation or context most cited across most problem types. Attending party meetings and attending or speaking at protests was also a very common situation mentioned. Political party members (party leaders, members, militants, and volunteers) were the most common perpetrator for all problem types. Police or armed forces and family members were also commonly cited perpetrators.

Figure F.60. Problems encountered when respondents tried to participate in politics, by sex

Type of problem	Most frequent when...	Most perpetrated by...
Tried to kill you (36 reports)	Voting (13); attending a party meeting (8); other activities (6); speaking at a protest (4); attending a protest (4).	Political party members (22); police or armed forces (12); other person (2).
Hit you or physically assaulted you (75 reports)	Voting (31); attending a party meeting (13); speaking at a protest (12); attending a protest (7); other activities (6).	Political party members (51); police or armed forces (10); family members (8: 4 male and 4 female members).
Tried to rape you (7 reports)	Attending a political or community meeting (3); speaking at a protest (2); attending a party meeting (1).	Political party members (4); elected official (1); police or armed forces (1).
Made unwanted sexual advances (0 reports)	N/A	N/A
Harassed you online (15 reports)	Voting (5); speaking at a protest (3); running for office (2); attending a party meeting (2).	Political party members (11); other person (2); police or armed forces (1); government official (1).
Made threats against you or your family (90 reports)	Voting (43); attending a party meeting (12); speaking at a protest (12); attending a protest (11); attending community or political meetings (10).	Political party members (65); family members (14: 9 male and 5 female members); police or armed forces (6).

Type of problem	Most frequent when...	Most perpetrated by...
Said bad things about you (100 reports)	Voting (44); attending a party meeting (18); attending community or political meetings (13); speaking at a protest (12); attending a protest (12).	Political party members (72); family members (25: 18 male and 7 female members); elected officials (5).
Took away your allowance or other money you have (9 reports)	Attending a political meeting (3); speaking during a community or political meeting (2); attending a protest (2); voting (1); running for office (1).	Political party members (5); candidate (1); spouse (1); other persons (1).
Prevented you from leaving the house (16 reports)	Voting (5); speaking during a protest (5); attending a community or political meeting (2); attending a protest (2); running for office (1).	Political party members (10); elected official (1); male family member (1); police or armed forces (1)
Other problems (6 reports)	Voting (3); speaking at a protest (2); speaking during communal council meetings (1)	Political party members (4); elected official (1); male family member (1); elections worker (1)

ELECTORAL AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Respondents were asked about their experience during instances of electoral and political violence and on any potential disability they might have. One-fifth of respondents reported that they have experienced instances of political or electoral violence. Men were significantly more likely to say so, with a sex gap of more than 8 percentage points.

Of those who reported experiencing political or electoral violence, 42 percent reported that they, a family member, or a friend had been physically injured, and 36 percent reported that someone damaged or took away their property or that of family members or friends during instances of political or electoral violence. The sex gap here was minimal and only existed for physical attacks.

GENDER AND ISSUES AND LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

The next module contains two submodules administered to half the sample each. One examines gender preference for specific issues and the other for specific elected and appointed positions.

Respondents had sharply different perspective on which gender, if any, is better, depending on the issue discussed:

- Most respondents of both sexes (72.1 percent of men and 63.1 percent of women) felt that men are better when it comes to national security and the military, while 25.3 percent of respondents felt there was no difference between men and women on this issue and 6.5 percent of respondents felt women were better.
- Respondents had more varied views on education and health, although for both issues, around 40 percent felt there was no difference between sexes. For education, 32.3 percent felt women were

better while 27.5 percent felt men were better. For health, the split was nearly even, although men had a lead of less than 1 percent. Differences across respondent sex here were minor.

- For management of the economy, 37.1 percent of respondents preferred men, and 34.2 percent had no preference. This contrasts with poverty reduction, where 38.3 percent felt there was no difference and 32.8 percent felt men were better. For both of these issues, women were significantly more likely than men to express no difference.

Looking now at the preference of respondent about specific positions, the results are outlined in Figure F.61. In each cell, three values are provided: the first reflects the overall percentage among all respondents, whereas the two numbers in parenthesis reflect the percentage among men and women, respectively. Virtually all respondents had an opinion, so the “do not know” and “refuse” answer choices were nearly never selected and are not included in the table.

Overall, there is no position listed in the survey for which respondents thought women were outright better than men. At best, just 29.3 percent of respondents preferred women, in the context of the Minister of Health. On the other hand, respondents outright preferred men for *chefs de quartier*, Minister of Defense, and President of Guinea. In other cases, the largest share of response was either no preference (e.g., Minister of Health and *Député*) or a close race between no preference and a preference for men.

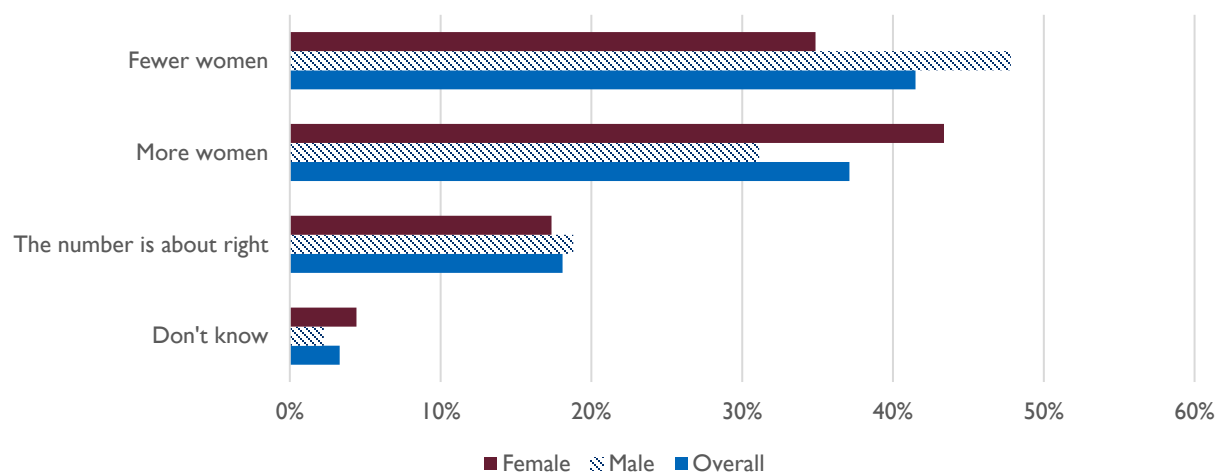
Figure F.61. Preferred sex among respondent for various elected or appointed positions, by sex

	Men are better	Women are better	No difference
Mayor	42.5% (46.2% and 39.3%)	13.6% (10.8% and 16.4%)	41.9% (41.7% and 42.1%)
Chef de quartier	61.6% (61.5% and 61.7%)	7.6% (5.1% and 10.3%)	29.9% (32.3% and 27.3%)
Judge	44.2% (41.7% and 46.9%)	14.9% (13.8% and 15.9%)	39.7% (43.5% and 35.7%)
Minister of health	25.4% (25.4% and 25.4%)	29.3% (27.1% and 31.6%)	44.7% (46.9% and 42.4%)
Minister of defense	66.7% (70.5% and 62.8%)	5.2% (3.2% and 7.4%)	26.9% (25.3% and 28.6%)
Député at the national assembly	37.5% (38.4% and 36.6%)	13.6% (11.0% and 16.3%)	47.0% (49.6% and 44.3%)

	Men are better	Women are better	No difference
President of Guinea	52.5% (53.7% and 51.3%)	9.2% (6.2% and 12.5%)	37.6% (39.7% and 35.3%)
Prime minister	46.8% (48.9% and 44.6%)	13.4% (10.8% and 16.1%)	38.9% (39.7% and 38.0)
Political party leader	45.5% (47.1% and 43.9%)	9.5% (6.2% and 12.9%)	43.8% (46.0% and 41.5%)

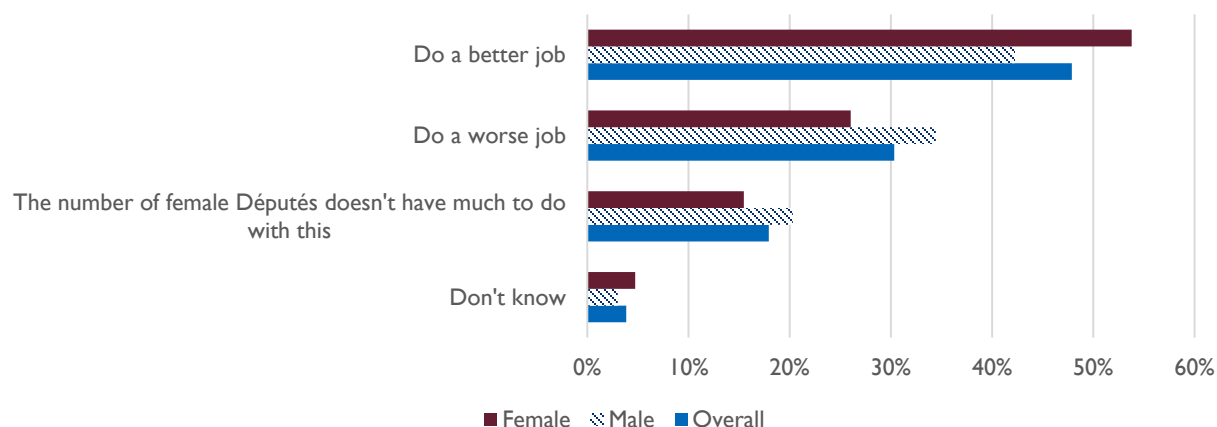
Three more questions complete the political positions and gender submodule. The first asked whether respondents in the subsample think there should be more or fewer women in politics in Guinea. Results are shown in Figure F.62. Male and female respondents had different perspectives here, as the sex gap—women selecting “more women” compared to men and men selecting “fewer women” compared to women—is 12 percentage points, even if they selected the “about right” answer choice at about the same rate.

Figure F.62. Reaction to the statement “Thinking about Guinea, would you say that there should be more or fewer women in politics, or is the number about right?” by sex



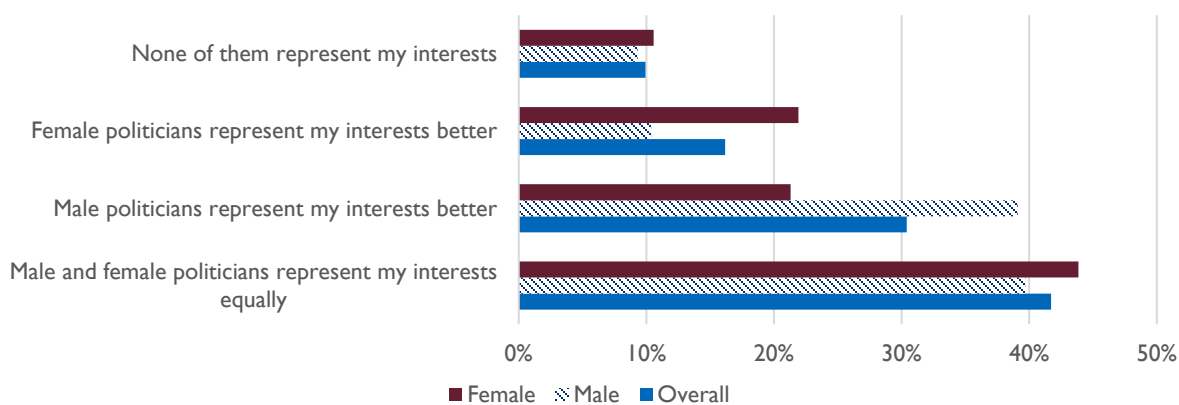
Answers to this previous question appear to be in tension with those of the next one, the results of which are shown in Figure F.63. Indeed, if most of both sexes do feel the government would do a better job with more female lawmakers, they should support more women in politics.

Figure F.63. Reaction to the statement “If there were more female Députés (in the national assembly), do you think the government would do a better job to address Guinea’s problems, a worse job, or that the number of female Députés doesn’t have much to do with this?” by sex

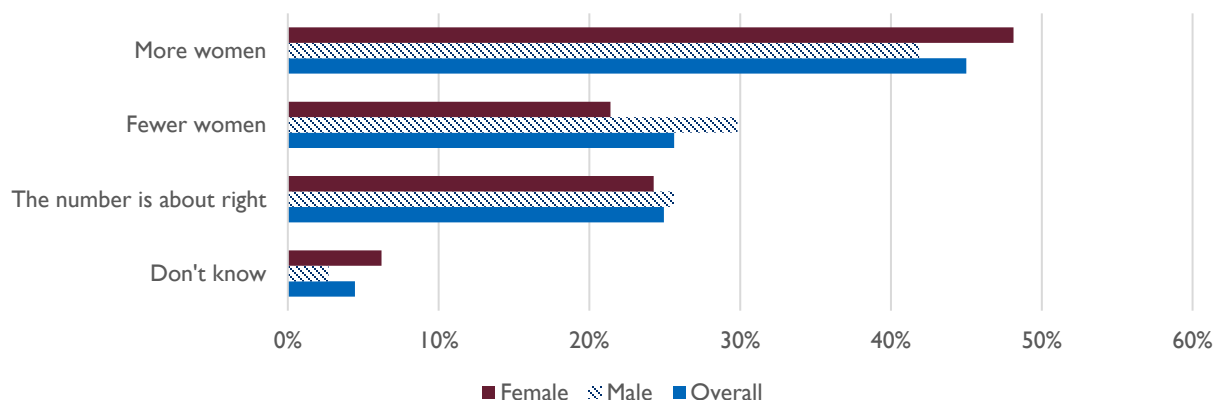
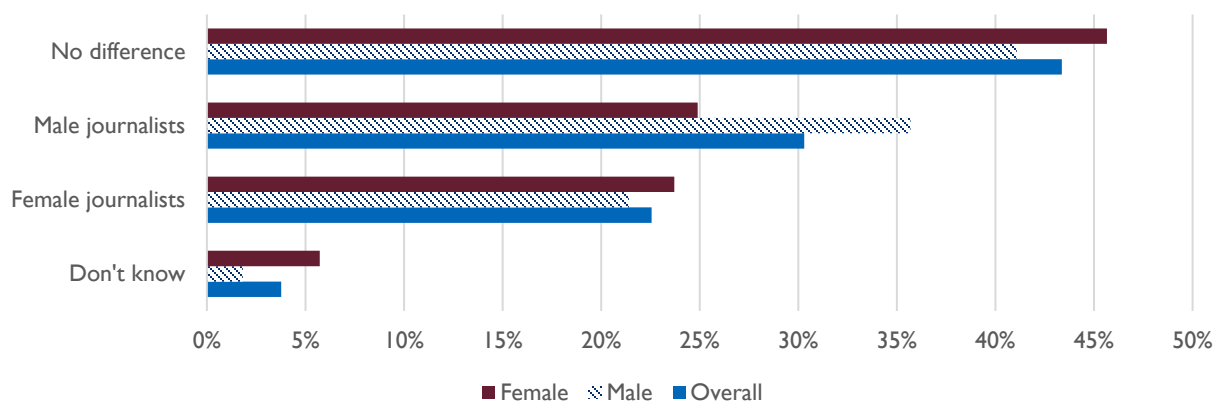
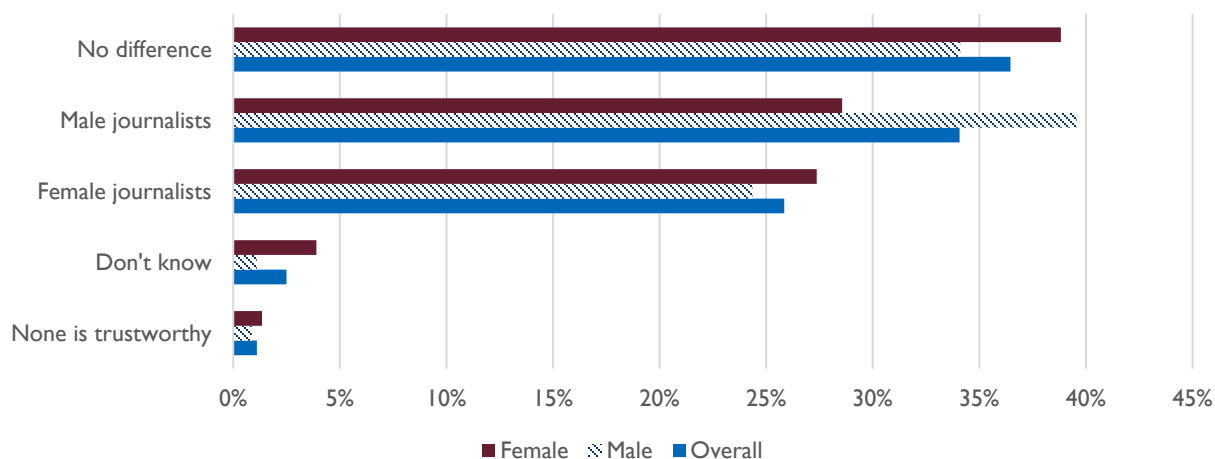


Finally, respondents were asked if they felt the male or female politicians best represent their interests. Results are shown in Figure F.64. Men tended to feel that politicians of either sexes represent their interests or that men better represent their interests. Women on the other hand, when they did not think that politicians of either sex represent their interests, picked male or female politicians at nearly the same rate.

Figure F.64. Reaction to the prompt “Do politicians of one or the other sex best represent your interests?” by sex



This module concluded with a few questions about gender and the media. Two of these questions are similar to those we just examined, and one focuses on trust toward journalists based on their sex. Results for these three questions are provided below.

Figure F.65. Reaction to the prompt “In Guinea, should there be more women journalists, fewer, or is the number about right?” by sex**Figure F.66. Reaction to the prompt “Who do you think does a better job: male journalists, female journalists or is there no difference?” by sex****Figure F.67. Reaction to the prompt “Who do you think is more trustworthy: male journalists, female journalists, or is there no difference?” by sex**

Overall, respondents are split about gender and the media. The largest groups would like to see more female journalists and don't see a difference between sexes in the quality of the job that journalists do or their trustworthiness. Yet bias toward male journalists remain visible, and female respondents who do see a difference tend to pick male journalists as those doing a better job and being more trustworthy. At the same time, male respondents lean much more toward male journalists as well.

POLITICAL AWARENESS

The next module examines different facets of political awareness. Results reveal that a slim majority of respondents are not at all interested in politics, with just 22.3 percent saying they are very interested in the topic. Men are typically more interested than women. This appears to be in alignment with the way respondents grew up, as just shy of 60 percent reported growing up in families that never talked about politics, and just 12.9 percent said their families used to talk a lot about the subject when they were growing up. Differences between sexes here are minimal.

This limited interest is reflected by the fact that a near majority said they never talk about politics with others in their household, while 27.8 percent discuss the topic less than once a month or a few times a month. Only 24.7 percent report discussing politics in their household a few times a week or more often. The sex gap remains present here.

Respondents were also asked how frequently they obtain news from different sources. Radio dominated all other sources, with 77 percent of respondents listening at least a few times a week. Most of these 77 percent listened every day. Television was the second most popular source of news, with 47.8 percent of respondents indicated they watched at least a few times a week. For both of these sources, men were more likely to watch more often than women; the sex gap for those listening or watching at least a few times a week was around 15 percentage points. Among the traditional news sources, newspapers fared extremely poorly, as 86.4 percent of respondents never obtained news from them. However, men are significantly more likely than women to be in the 10 percent minority who read them at least once a month.

Respondents largely fell into two categories when it came to internet-based news and social media as a source of news; 20.5 percent and 26.4 percent received news from internet-based news sources or social media, respectively, at least a few times a week. At the other end of the spectrum, 73 percent and 66.5 percent never received news from these two sources. There is a sex gap at play here again, and it is especially strong (around 10 percentage points) when comparing those who receive news from these two internet-based sources every day or never.

The rest of the module asked a few questions about important political leaders who were active while the study was ongoing. The President of Guinea who took power through a coup in September 2021, Colonel Mamadi Doumbouya, was widely known, as 91.7 percent of respondents could name him, including 86.4 percent of women. However, other important political facts were not widely known. The plan for the next national elections, which was frequently in the news during the fieldwork period and set at 39 months (although 3 years or 36 months were also accepted as correct answers), was known to just 36.6 percent of respondents, 74 percent of whom were men.

The worse showing, however, was related to the President of the National Transition Council, an important body during the transition which was also in the news daily during fieldwork. A mere 14.4

percent of respondents could provide the first and/or last name of Dr. Dansa Kourouma, and 74 percent again were men.

The final question related to the law in existence in Guinea forcing political parties to present a minimum number of female candidates for national legislative elections. Almost a quarter (24.6 percent) of respondents knew this law exists, and the sex gap previously noted is much smaller here, showing that women have been informed or have discussed this amongst them.

SELF-EFFICACY

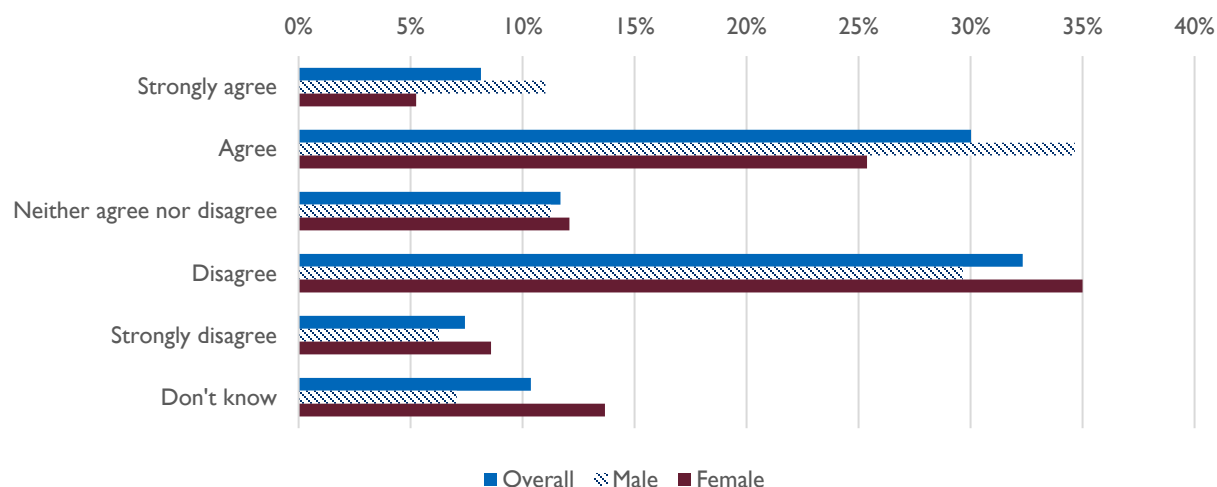
This module focused on whether respondents felt confident and empowered to interact with government and advocate for change. While there are variations across questions, overall respondents expressed confidence in this regard. A slight majority, around 63 percent, reported feeling somewhat confident or confident to seek government support for causes in which they believe or to talk to, call, or write to representatives of national government authorities. There is a significant sex gap here, however. It is particularly visible when comparing the composition of those who feel confident and those who feel not at all confident. Men are around 15 percentage points more likely than women to say they are confident.

Respondents express a similar level of confidence about bringing together or mobilizing work colleagues, friends, and family in support of political causes in which they believe. Although 72.8 percent of respondents felt confident or somewhat confident, nearly 53 percent of men said they were confident in this regard, whereas only 35.2 percent of women felt the same.

Respondents were least confident about their ability to monitor the actions of authorities, such as the implementation of local development plans, although 59.2 percent reported feeling confident or somewhat confident in that regard. The sex gap here is a full 20 percentage points, however (69.2 percent for men and 49.1 percent for women).

The next two questions focused on confidence in speaking out in community meetings. Levels remain similarly to previous questions, with 69.5 percent and 76 percent of respondents reporting being somewhat confident or confident to speak up in a community meeting to help decide how government money should be spent in their communities or if they disagree with what someone else is doing or saying, respectively. So too does the sex gap previously mentioned continue to exist, reaching around 15 percentage points deficits for women compared to men.

Respondents were also asked if they feel they understand the most important political issues of Guinea. Results are shown in Figure F.68. Slightly over a third expressed some level of agreement, and 40 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed. There is an important sex gap again here.

Figure F.68. Reaction to the prompt “Do you feel that you understand the most important political issues of this country?,” by sex

When asked how much power typical Guineans like them have to change things in their communities, respondents were rather optimistic. Over a third answered “a lot,” and nearly 40 percent responded “some” power. There remains a sex gap about those who said “a lot”: while 42.2 percent of men selected this answer, only 29.5 percent of women did the same.

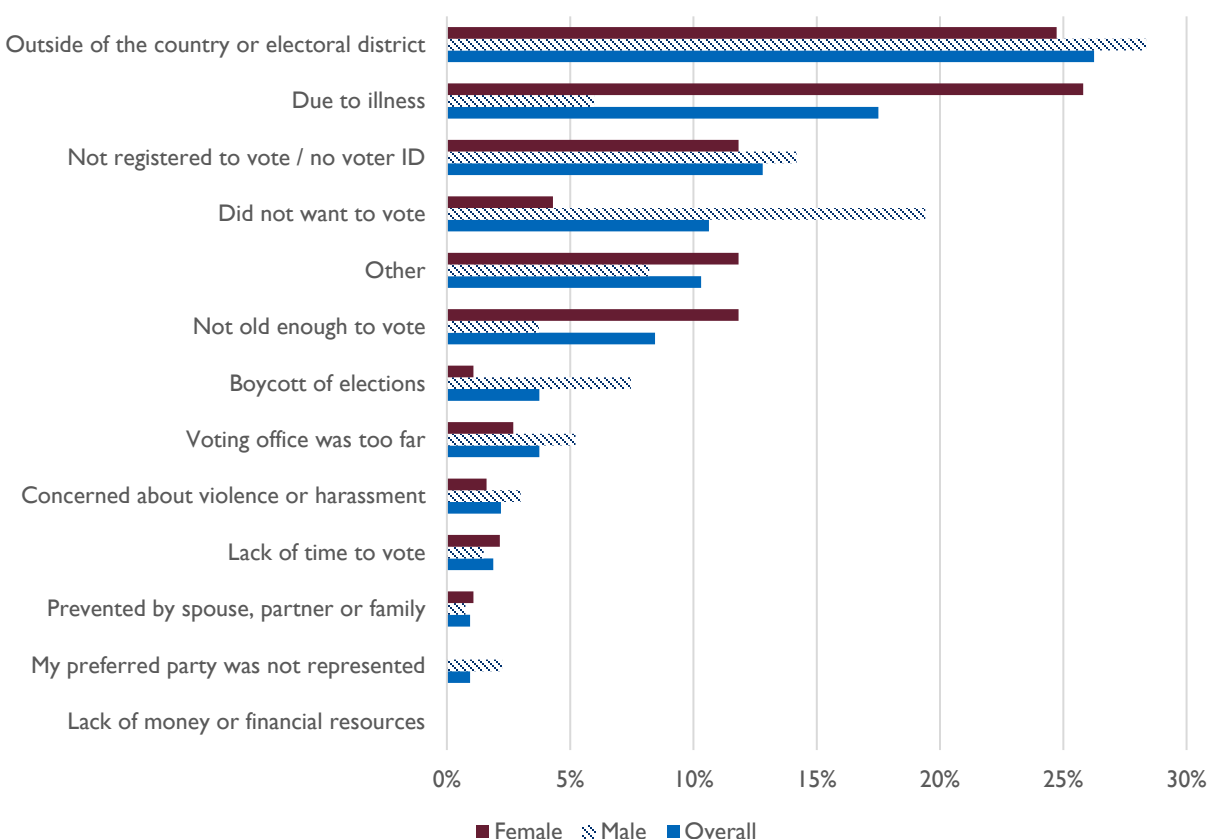
The final two questions are about hypothetically working in politics and how much difference respondents think they could make if they did. Nearly a quarter think they would enjoy working in politics “a lot,” and the same percentage, 23 percent, answered “some.” Men were more likely to select “a lot” than women, by 7.5 percentage points. Respondents similarly felt they would be able to make a difference if they were to work in politics. Over a third felt they could make “a lot” of difference, and another quarter felt they could make “some” difference. The same sex gap remains, with men selecting “a lot” 12.5 percentage points more often.

CIVIC AND POLITICAL ACTION

The survey delved into political activities of respondents, including voting, running for office, attending political meetings and rallies, etc. to better understand how the typical Guinean participates in and views these activities.

VOTING

Nearly 90 percent of respondents reported voting in the last presidential election, or 89.4 percent of men and 85.0 percent of women. The 12.7 percent who did not vote in these elections were asked what the principal reason for not voting was, and the results are shown in Figure F.69.

Figure F.69. Principal reasons cited for not voting in the last presidential elections, by sex

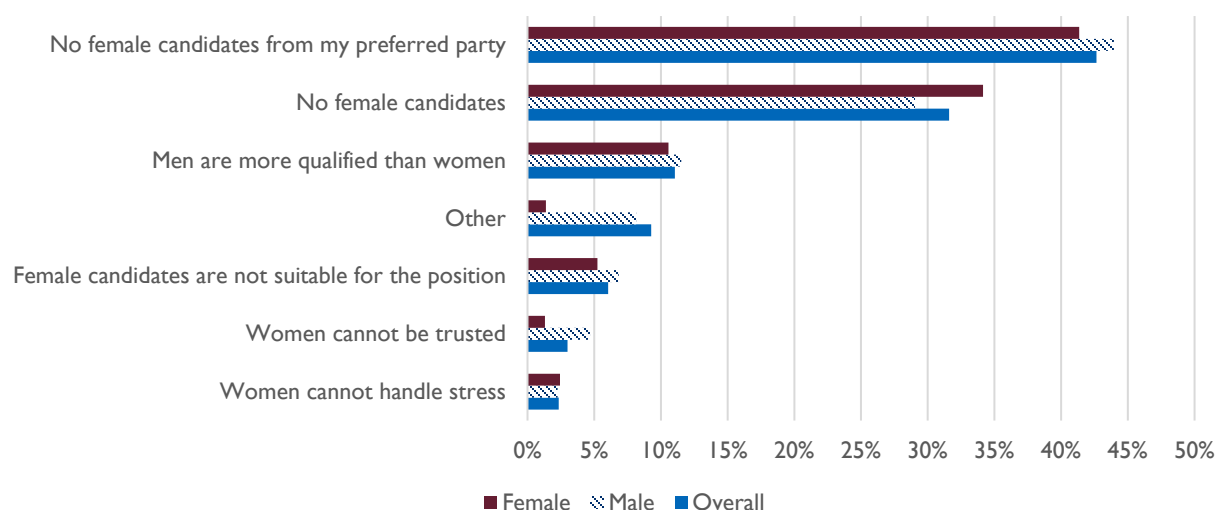
A little over a quarter of the 320 who did not vote indicated it was due to being outside of the country or voting district during the election, and illness was another major reason, particularly for women, as a quarter of them selected this reason. Around 13 percent were not registered or did not have a voter ID, and nearly 20 percent of men did not want to vote. Among those who selected “other,” the two most common were lack of trust or hope in politicians or the political system and pregnancy (either to be due or to have just given birth around elections).

Most voters did not report facing issues when trying to vote. Only 6 percent reported issues, which were nearly entirely either administrative problems (registration list issues, etc.) or concerns about getting harassed, threatened, or hurt. Beyond this, a few offered other, free answers, which primarily revolved around distance to voting sites or inability to find them.

Those who had voted in an election previously were then asked if they had ever voted for a woman candidate. Only 13.7 percent indicated they did so. The reasons they provided for doing so primarily included that this woman represented their party, that they liked this woman’s priorities and political plan, and that she was capable, trustworthy, and/or worthy of respect. Other reasons cited with some frequencies were that the woman in question was from the community or is a relative and variations around the need for more women or to give women more chances.

The 84.8 percent who had not previously voted for a woman were asked why not. Results are shown in Figure F.70. The two most cited reasons were that there was no female candidate running for their preferred party (42.7 percent) or that there were no female candidates running at all (31.6 percent). Various reasons based on the capacity and characteristics of women were much less cited, but in combination still reached 22.4 percent overall, and nearly 20 percent from female respondents.

Figure F.70. Reasons why respondents had not previously voted for a female candidate, by sex



Among the reasons given freely by respondents who selected “other,” a recurring theme is lack of knowledge that these candidates even existed, lack of information about them and their politics, lack of visits by female candidates in the community. Another was the lack of prospect for female candidates to win in Guinea, and a third was that community members or others did not encourage them to vote for a female candidate or even said not to vote for one, or that husbands did not allow it. A smaller number of reasons fell into tropes about female candidates or lack of confidence in them, unconvincing political programs, or that God does not want this.

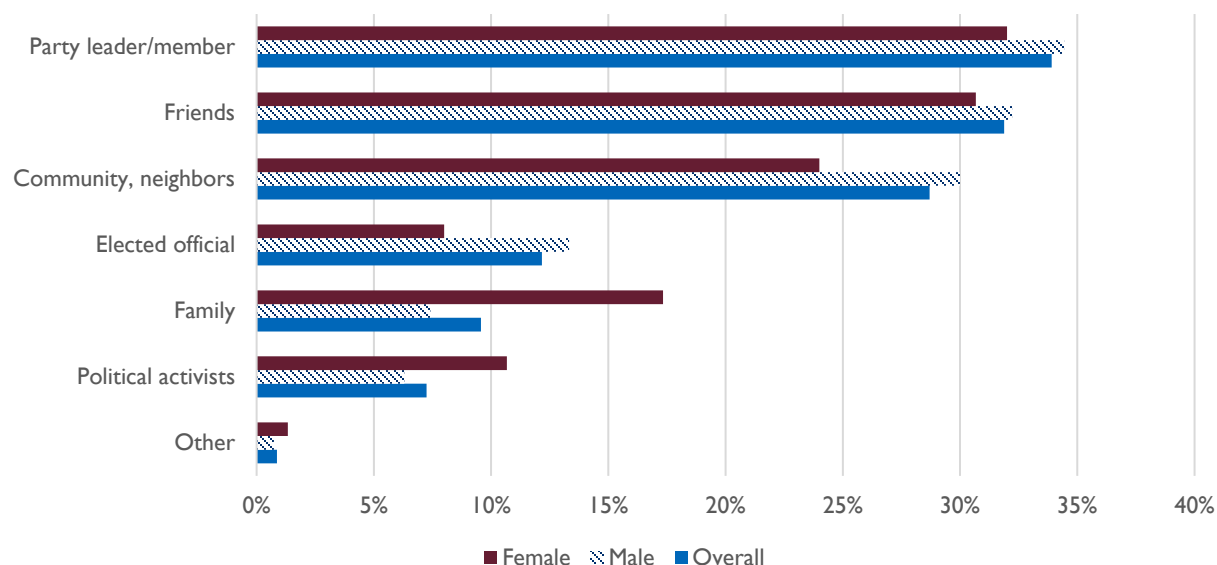
RUNNING FOR OFFICE

Respondents were asked about running for office and whether this would interest them, hypothetically. Only 5.2 percent of respondents reported having actually run for political office and that included 8.9 percent of men and just 1.6 percent of women in the sample. Among the 132 who did previously run, most did so at the community level (53.8 percent) or the communal level (29.5 percent), and 9 percent ran at the legislative level. The principal reason they cited for running were “to improve daily life in my city, town, or village” (48.5 percent), “feeling responsible to serve the community/country” (24.2 percent), and “promote social, economic issues and development” (10.6 percent). Fewer than 5 percent selected “I have the right skills/education for the job” or “I come from an important political family.”

Regardless of whether they ran before or not, respondents were asked if someone had suggested they run for office. A total of 13.7 percent said so, but this figure masks a tremendous sex gap; just 6 percent of women said yes, versus 21.4 percent of men.

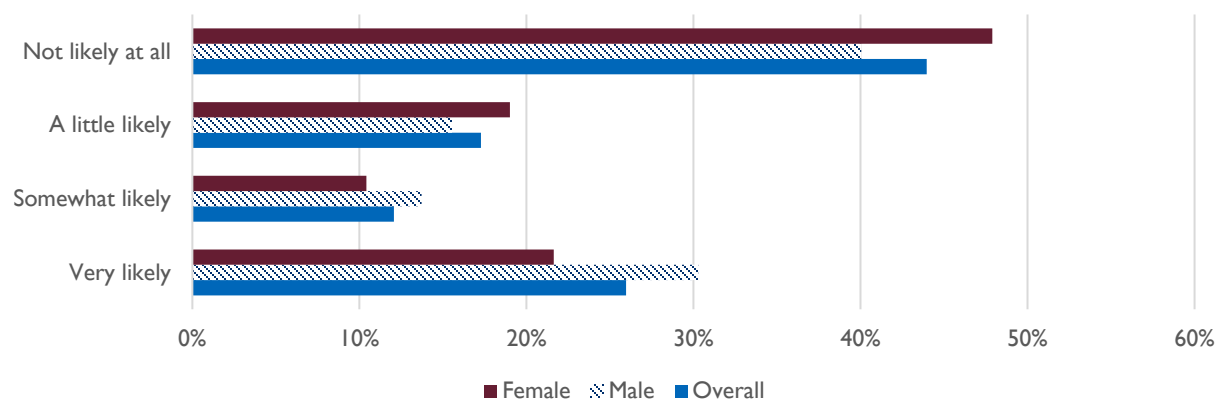
The survey asked those who received suggestions to run for office about who made these suggestions. Results are shown in Figure F.71, and indicate that party leaders or members, friends, and community members were the most common categories. There are some interesting sex differences here, such as family and political activists (including NGOs, interest groups, and community organizations) being cited much more often by women than by men, and the opposite for elected officials.

Figure F.71. Groups that suggested respondents run for office, by sex



Respondents who did not previously run for office were asked how likely they would be to accept to run for office if an opportunity to do so presented itself. Results are shown in Figure F.72 and show that a near majority is not likely at all to accept, with women nearly 8 percentage points more likely to say this. Men are also more prone to selecting “very likely” than women.

Figure F.72. Reaction to the question “If offered an opportunity to run for office, how likely would you be to accept?” by sex

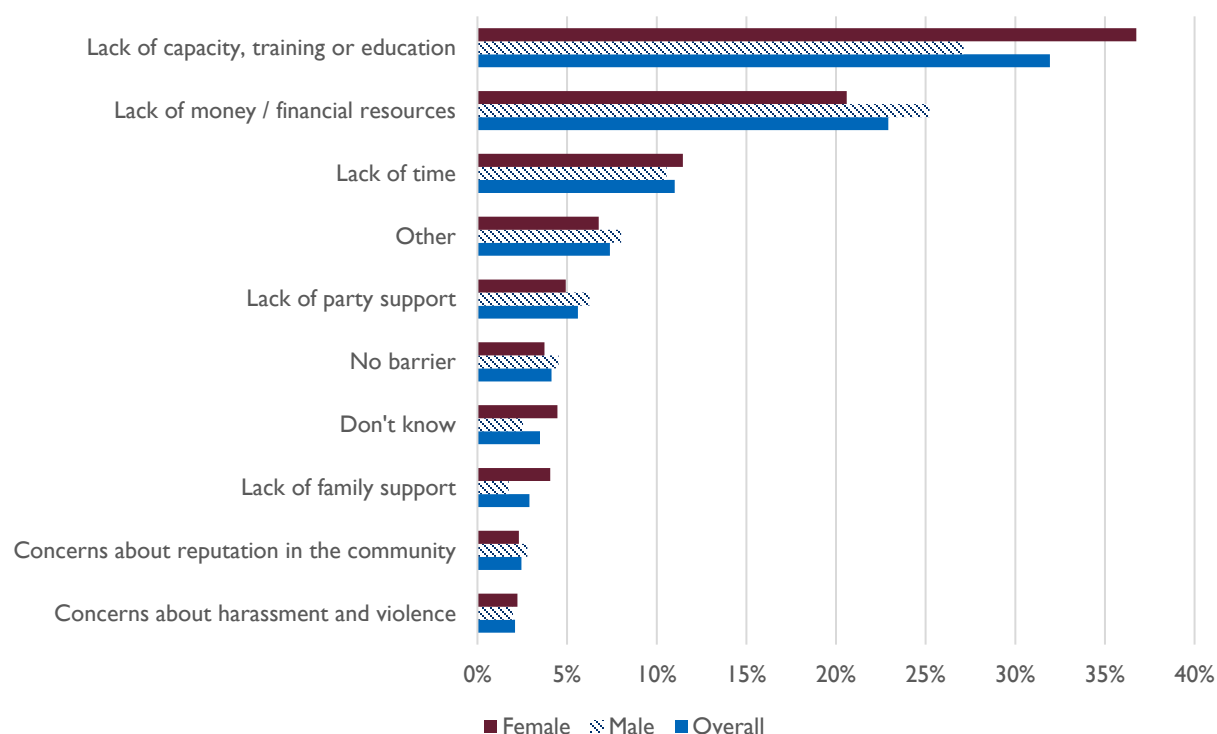


When asked about their attitude toward running for political office in the future, 46.4 percent said it is something they are unlikely to do, 18.9 percent said it is something they might do, given the opportunity, and just 10.7 percent said it is something they definitely want to do in the future. Another 8.6 percent said they would not rule it out, but they currently have no interest.

This contrasts somewhat with the previous question, and the difference might come from the fact that respondents were previously asked about a scenario where they're given the opportunity to run, suggesting this is a major hurdle that tempered interest.

Figure F.73 shows the principal barriers that respondents identified to their hypothetical run for political office. Lack of capacity, training, or education topped the list and was especially relevant among women. Resources and time were important barriers for both sexes. Interestingly, concerns about violence and harassment, lack of family support, and concerns about reputation in the community were rarely cited, even among women.

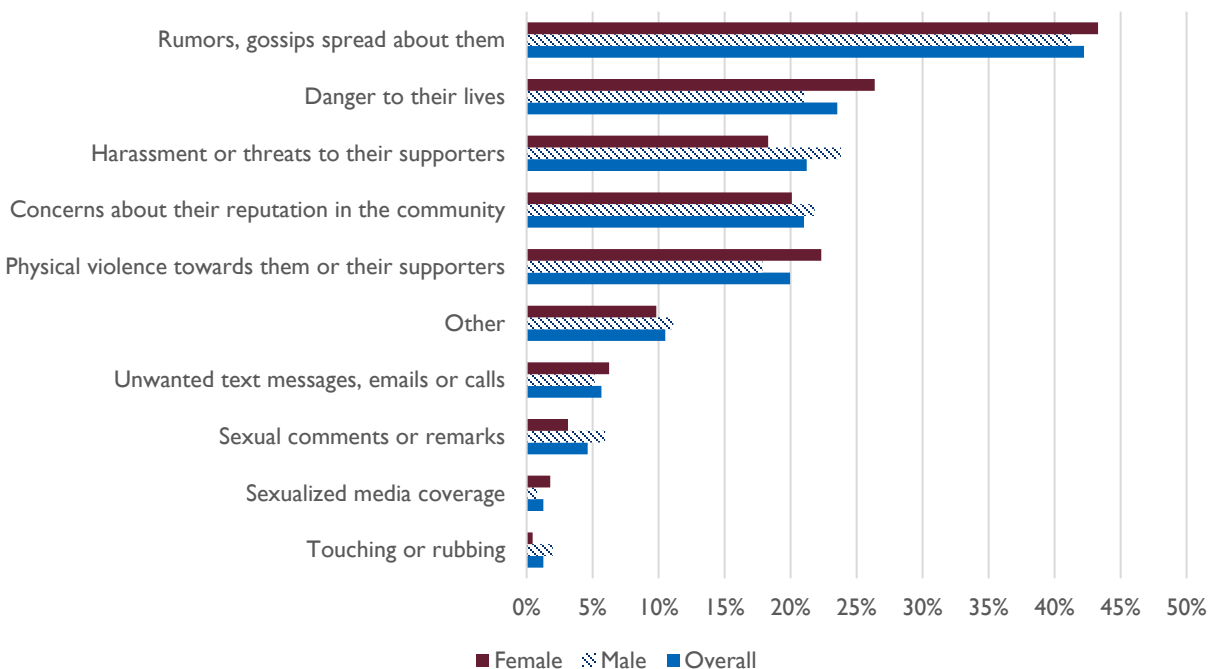
Figure F.73. Principal barriers to running for political office, by sex



The most recurring themes emerging from the “other” answer choice is lack of interest or dislike for politics, followed by illness and age. Beyond the primary barrier, respondents were asked for other barriers. By and large, the principal ones most cited were the same as the primary barriers: lack of money and financial resources; lack of training, education, and capacity; and lack of time. Lack of political party support was cited more often as a secondary barrier than a primary barrier, however. And 16.8 percent reported no other barrier beyond the primary one they initially listed. Sex differences here were minimal, except for women being 4.5 percentage points more likely than men to select lack of family support (10.7 percent vs. 6.3 percent).

Finally, respondents were asked if women in their community face problems when they run for political office. Almost 19 percent (18.9) responded yes, with men 2 percentage points more likely than women to say so. Those who responded yes were asked which problems women face. Results are shown in Figure F.74 below. The most cited problem was rumors and gossips. Other frequently cited problems include danger to women's lives, harassment and threats to their supporters, concerns about their reputation in the community, and physical violence against them or their supporters. Women were especially likely to talk about physical dangers and violence, compared to men.

Figure F.74. Problems women running for political office face, by sex



There were a few recurring themes in the other answers provided. One is problems with their husbands and their household. Another mirrors previous findings, focusing on lack of training, competencies, and education. A third is lack of support and supporters.

CONTACT WITH ELECTED OFFICIALS

Nearly a quarter of respondents indicated that they had previously contacted an elected official about a social, economic, or political problem. The sex gap here was large, as 34.1 percent of men but just 12.9 percent of women reported having done so. Those who had not previously contacted an elected representative were asked why not. While 51.4 percent said they had no need or reason to contact elected officials, a quarter said they did not know how to do it. This was especially true for women, as nearly 30 percent of them selected this option (versus 19.4 percent of men). Lack of time was also cited by 18.1 percent of respondents, and 9.4 percent felt that officials do not respond or do not do what they promised.

ATTENDING A POLITICAL RALLY OR CAMPAIGN EVENT

Nearly two-thirds of respondents indicated that they had previously attended a political rally or meeting or a campaign event. The sex gap here was 10 percentage points in favor of men. Those who had not previously attended such events were asked why not. Lack of time was cited by 40.5 percent of them, and 24.8 percent explained that it was not good to participate in such events or that they disliked them. Around 16 percent noted they simply didn't have the opportunity to do so. Around 6 percent of women feared harassment, threats or violence, and another 6 percent feared anger from their husband or other family member.

SIGNING PETITIONS

Only 15.3 percent of respondents indicated that they had previously signed a petition. The sex gap here was 11 percentage points in favor of men. Those who had not previously signed a petition were asked why not. Inability to read or write was the most cited reason (26.7 percent among men and 42 percent among women), and 32.9 percent simply said they haven't had the occasion to do this (37.8 percent of men vs. 28.5 percent of women). Lack of time was the next most cited reason, at 19.8 percent, and there wasn't much difference across sexes. Other responses that garnered around 5 percent are that it's not good to sign petitions directed at officials or the government and that politicians and authorities don't respond or don't do what they promised.

ATTENDING PROTESTS

Only 14.9 percent of respondents indicated that they had previously attended a protest event or march. The sex gap here was much smaller than for previous political actions. Those who had not previously attended a protest were asked why not. A third of these respondents said it was not good to participate in such events or they don't like to do so (37 percent among men and 30.7 percent among women), and 26.8 percent simply said they haven't had the time to attend one. Lack of opportunity to attend a protest was the third most cited reason (12.2 percent). Around 7 percent also noted that they were concerned about harassment, threats, and violence.

INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICAL PARTIES

The next subsection of the survey focused on political parties and the relationship that respondents have with them. First, respondents were asked if they were member of a party, and 29.2 percent said they were. There is an important sex gap here, as 35.9 percent of men responded yes whereas only 22.4 percent of women did the same. Among those with party membership, 59.8 percent were affiliated with the *Rassemblement du Peuple de Guinée* (RPG Arc en Ciel), followed by the *Union des Forces Démocratiques de Guinée* (UFDG) at 25.5 percent. Only 4.8 percent said they were members of the *Union des Forces Républicaines* (UFR), and the remaining 8.9 percent were members of the various other parties in Guinea. Women were even more likely than men to be part of the RPG Arc en Ciel: 65.8 percent versus 56.1 percent among men.

The survey inquired about the type of role and perceived influence that party members had. Overall, 37.7 percent of party members have a leadership role at any level, with a massive sex gap of 21 points in favor of men. Party members were split regarding the level of input they have in party decision-making: 36 percent felt they had no input, 34.3 percent felt they had some input, and 29.2 percent felt they had a

lot of input. Women were much more likely than men to say they had on input (46.6 percent vs. 29.4 percent) and much less likely to say they had a lot of input (19.2 percent vs. 35.3 percent).

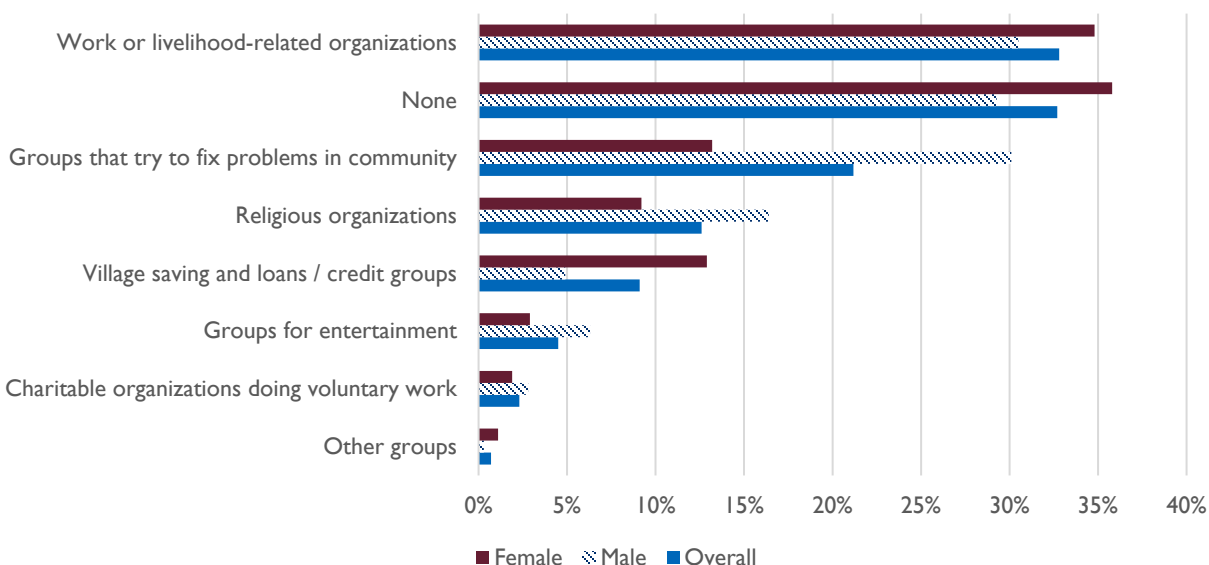
The survey also sought to understand when the last time was that party members attended their party's meetings, general assemblies, or campaign events. Most respondents said the last party event they attended was more than a year ago (56 percent) or during the last year (15.5 percent). More recent attendance, in the last month prior to the survey or even more recently, garnered a combined 10.2 percent, whereas 16.8 percent reported never having attend a party event. Women were more likely than men to fall into that category (21.4 percent vs. 13.9 percent) and much less likely to have attended a party event recently (6.4 percent vs. 12.6 percent). A little over two-fifths of those who attended a party event reported they spoke during the latest event they attended. Men were much more likely to report doing so than women (46.5 percent vs. 32.7 percent).

Those respondents who declared not being a member of a party early in this submodule were asked if they felt close to a party, and 30.8 percent of them answered in the affirmative. When asked which party they felt close to, respondents were nearly evenly split between the RPG Arc en Ciel (43.9 percent) and the UFDG (44.4 percent). Only 5–6 percent felt close to the UFR or to one of the other parties of Guinea.

PARTICIPATION IN OTHER GROUPS

The final subsection of this module examined the participation by or membership of respondents in various community and civic groups. Figure F.75 shows the reported participation to various types of groups.

Figure F.75. Reported membership or participation in community and civic groups, by sex



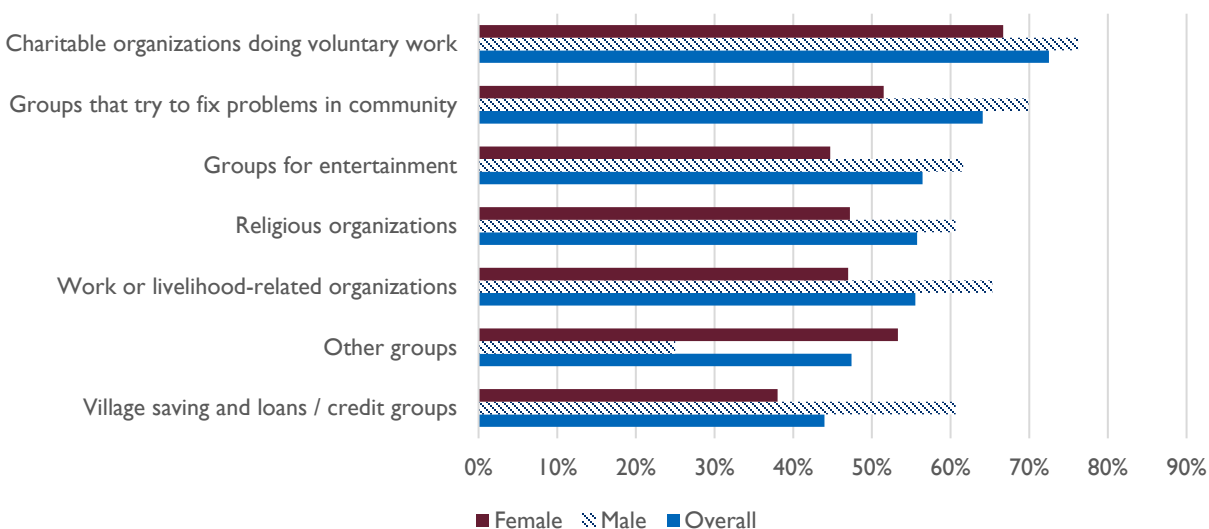
Work or livelihood-related organizations—such as professional or commercial associations, cooperatives, and labor unions—were the most cited, followed by participation in none of the groups listed or others that respondents could suggest. Women were more likely to pick these two answers

than men, by 4 to 6 percentage points. Unsurprisingly, women were also more likely to be involved with village saving and loans or credit groups, which typically are setup for and by women. On the other hand, women were significantly less likely than men to be involved in groups that seek to fix problems in the community and, to a lesser extent, in religious organizations.

For each of the groups in which a respondent participated or is a member of, the survey asked more detail about their role. The results are shown in Figure F.76. Overall, between 44 percent and 72.5 percent of those participating in groups held a leadership role. There are significant differences across sexes, but men were more likely to hold a leadership position than women across the board, with the exception of the very small number of other groups suggested by respondents themselves.

In interpreting these results, it is important to keep in mind they are percentages for those who reported participating or being a member of each type of group. In cases where participation was heavily biased towards one sex, such as groups that try to fix problems in the community or saving and loans groups, this means there are inherently more individuals of that sex vying for leadership roles. This caveat puts into relief the sex gap regarding leadership. For example, and as shown in Figure F.75, women were particularly represented in work or livelihood-related organizations and in saving and loans groups, and yet fewer of them hold leadership positions in these groups than men.

Figure F.76. Leadership role in community and civic groups in which respondents reported participating or being a member of, by sex



For the groups they selected, respondents were asked how much input they think they have in group decision-making. For nearly all groups, an overwhelming majority of respondents felt they had at least some input, and between 51 percent and 81 percent felt they had a lot of input, depending on the group. The general trend regarding sexes here is that the gap remains, as women were consistently more likely than men to report no input (even if the overall levels were low) and were more likely to report some input instead of a lot of input, compared with men. The groups where the sex gap appears the smallest are charitable organizations.

Respondents indicated that they attended meetings of the groups they are participating in or members quite regularly. Across nearly all groups, 70–80 percent reported having attended a meeting within the last month or more recently. The group type for which the fewest respondents noted having attended a meeting in the last month or more recently was entertainment, with 61 percent. Differences between sexes here are minimal.

Finally, the survey asked if respondents had spoken at the most recent meeting of the group(s) they participate in or are members of. Again, most respondents indicated that they had spoken, with percentages ranging from the mid-sixties to the high seventies. Differences between sexes were quite visible here, however. The gap ranged from 24 percentage points (religious organizations) to 7 percentage points (saving and loans groups).

DISABILITIES

The survey asked respondents about six forms of disabilities. Among these, the two most cited were tied to vision (difficulty seeing, even if wearing glasses) and to mobility (difficulty walking or climbing steps). Slightly over 20 percent of respondents reported having at least some difficulty with vision, while slightly over 23 percent reported having at least some difficulty with mobility.

A third disability reported with some regularity was trouble remembering or concentrating, as nearly 14 percent of respondents reported at least some difficulty with these cognitive activities. Across the board, the overwhelming majority of answers (other than no difficulty) were “some” difficulties, as opposed to more severe hinderances.

Only 5.5 percent of respondents reported difficulties hearing, even if using a hearing aid, 3.5 percent reported difficulties with self care (washing themselves, getting dressed), and 2.1 percent reported difficulties communicating in their own language.

There were generally minor differences across sexes here. Generally, men were slightly more likely than women to indicate problems, but women were significantly more likely to report difficulties with mobility (28.2 percent vs. 18.2 percent) and somewhat more likely to report difficulties with memory and concentration (15.8 percent vs. 11.7 percent).

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