



Project “More Women in European Politics – More Women in 2014”

Agreement number: JUST/2012/FRAC/AG/2695

Final Report



With financial support from the
“Fundamental Rights and Citizenship”
Programme of the European Union



Acknowledgements

This report has benefitted from inputs from several experts: Dr. Rosie Campbell, Mel Herdon, Ian Poitier, Sian McLachlan, Katri Lamesoo, Kairi Kasearu, J. Juodyté, Augustus Cicelis, Vladislav Sotirovic, V. Pilinkaite, Mario Ionescu, Constantin Barlos, Oana Nestiam, Tedorina Mihai, Latnijas Bernu, Renata Pepicelli, Sonia Sabelli, Vincenza Perilli, Elisabetta Hagos, Beatrice da Vela and Gergely Vaskuti.

Preface

This report relates to the project “More Women in European Politics- More Women in 2014”. The report is arranged in **five parts**.

Part One is an introduction of the project as follows:

- Project aims and objectives
- The policy and context underlying the project
- The partnership

Part Two is specifically looking at the key activities undertaken at transnational level to realise the project objectives:

- Steering Group Meetings
- Transnational Workshop 1
- Transnational Workshop 2
- Online programme
- Dissemination Events

Part Three presents the Local Actions undertaken by partners

Part Four provides some conclusions and recommendations.

Part Five consists of a number of appendices:

- **Appendix One** provides an overview of the Local Action Groups established by partners.
- **Appendix Two** provides documentation related to the project steering group meetings.
- **Appendix Three** provides documentation linked to the transnational events
- **Appendix Four** provides documentation relating to Local Actions
- **Appendix Five** provides copies of other reports produced
- **Appendix Six** provides links to useful resources
- **Appendix Seven** provides feedback and evaluations undertaken during the life of the project
- **Appendix Eight** provides an inventory and examples of the promotional materials produced.
- **Appendix Nine** provides an overview of how many women stood in the EP elections in the members states represented in the project.

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

This report constitutes the final report of the project “More Women In politics”. It provides a summary of the activities undertaken during the project period and some of the issues emerging from it. The report has been produced as an “online” document and as such contains links to a wide range of documents and reports produced by the project as well as those in the public domain. The aim is to enable users to get access to information easily where their needs require.

1. PROJECT AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The overall aim of this project was to support more women, particularly younger women, to vote in the EP elections and becoming candidates.

To realise the above overall goal, the project had the following objectives/actions:

- The creation of a common marketing logo/image and flyer. The aim was ensure a really wide European impact as this would create a “brand image” linked to the EP elections. The flyer in particular, made clear that the campaign is not linked to any political message. No party logo’s were permitted on any of the project material.
- A transnational facebook and twitter group was established as 75% of the target group use Facebook and nearly 40% use twitter.
- Two transnational workshops were held. The first focused on exchange of experience arising from the base line studies that each partner produced and the second enabled partners to share their local campaign strategies and thus provide an opportunity for peer learning.
- An online programme was undertaken. This consisted of 5-6 online small video conferences. These were designed to address specific issues that were flagged up by partners in the course of undertaking their local actions.
- An extensive programme of dissemination was undertaken which consisted of a series of three events targetted at members states not involved in the project and a final transnational workshop in Brussels.

- Each partner established a local More Women in Politics group. These groups brought together women who had experience of being involved in politics alongside researchers and women who were interested in politics. These local groups were the backbone of the project in that they undertook a number of key actions:
 - Firstly, they produced a base line study report which highlighted the current profile of women in politics in each of the 13 Member States involved in the project.
 - Undertaking actions to identify what detracts and would attract women to vote and become candidates in the EP elections in 2014.
 - Identify a group of women who were interested in politics and develop a capacity building programme
 - Undertake a campaign of activities to raise the issue of women in politics linked to the EP and national/local elections.

2. POLICY AND PRACTICE

Introduction

Equality between women and men in politics has grown substantially in the past fifty years. More women are running for and being elected to national parliaments than ever before, and a record number of women hold executive positions within their nations' government.

However, there remains considerable disagreement within the research literature about a) the nature of the gender gap in political participation and b) the significance of the gender gap. Thus, some researchers argue that women engage, overall, less than men in politics and political activity, others argue that the range of activities against which this difference is assessed is too narrow and misses important ways that women do act politically. Women and men turnout for elections and chose political parties in similar ways but differences continue to exist in political knowledge and interest. However, there is widespread consensus that despite progress, the gender gap in political representation persists and 'narrows at a very slow pace'.

Feminist theorists have used a sharply feminist-critical lens to explore what it means to talk about gendered politics, the implications of men's dominance in and of the political sphere, how (and if) women politicians can and do influence both policy and political processes and how democracy could be transformed by the greater involvement of women in both formal and informal politics. This body of work has generated a set of theoretical concepts and definitions and developed a more nuanced analysis of the very meaning of politics, democracy, and citizenship. Disentangling sex (biology) from gender (social construction) and differentiating between institutions (organisations which make decisions), processes (how decisions are made) and policies (outcomes of decision-making) enable a clearer view to be taken on where women fit into the larger socio-political schema and, importantly, reveals inequalities between men and women. Identifying the *logic* of politics demonstrates how an absence at one end, that is, the lack of women at the institutional level (as elected representatives) is very likely to have consequences at the other end, that is, that the concerns of women citizens were less likely to be reflected in the policy agenda.

However, contained within that appeal for more women to be elected as politicians are two competing and contradictory rationales. On the one hand, the 'equity' argument says that similar numbers of women and men should be elected representatives on the grounds of fairness and proportionality, on the other, that women should represent the interests of other women, that is, the 'difference' argument. Childs (2008) thoughtfully discusses these tensions and distinguishes between women politicians acting *for* women and acting *as* women, arguing that political ideology as well as sex influences the extent to which women behave in either or both of these modes. These contradictory expectations have also been described as differences between women's descriptive and substantive political representation.

The key arguments for women's 'substantive' as well as 'descriptive' representation are:

- (i) *Women politicians act as role models for aspiring women candidates;*
- (ii) *Equal representation of women and men in parliaments (parity) is a sign of justice;*
- (iii) *Only women are positioned to represent women's interests;*
- (iv) *Women's political representation revitalises democracy;*

(v) *Women's political representation is necessary for women to put their confidence in political institutions; and*

(vi) *The presence of women representatives increases the legitimacy of democratic institutions*

Indeed, the first 'role model' argument, is supported in other research identified in this report which demonstrates greater voting turnout and political interest among young women in areas where the candidate was female so that women representatives create a 'virtuous circle' of female political engagement.

The EU policy context¹

EU Policy recognises that gender equality is a fundamental human right. According to Article 8 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, 'in all its activities, the Union shall aim to eliminate inequalities and to promote equality, between men and women. *"The 4th World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 is generally considered as crucial in recognizing gender inequality existing throughout the world, including the EU, and in stimulating a global debate on and commitment to addressing the unequal participation of women and men in practically all spheres of economic, social, and political activity"*². The Conference aimed at 'removing all obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making.' As a basic document for all gender equality work at international level, noted that gender equality is a human right and a prerequisite for equality, development and peace. The European Union annually reviews the progress made to achieve the targets that were set in 1995. *"The Beijing Conference also stimulated the creation of a strategic agenda for change known as the Beijing Platform for*

¹ This section draws in part on two reports produced by the EP: Actions for gender balance in the European Parliament-EP Elections 2014-Workshop 20/6/2013 and Women in decision making: the role of the new media for increased political participation.

² http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/workshop/join/2013/493009/IPOL-FEMM_AT%282013%29493009_EN.pdf, p. 5

Action (BPA). All 27 Member States of the EU have formally accepted the BPA agenda and by doing so they have agreed to commit themselves to the implementation of its principles”³.

The Platform for Action set an agenda for the following twelve areas: poverty, education and training, health, violence, armed conflict, the economy, power and decision-making, institutional mechanisms, human rights, media, environment, and the girl child. To narrow down the problem, this report focuses on the causes of gender stereotypes in the areas of education, media, advertising, the labour market and decision-making.

Since 1995, the European Parliament has adopted three resolutions on women’s rights as a follow-up of the Conference. In 2000 it adopted a resolution on the follow-up to the Peking action platform, in 2005 it adopted the resolution on Beijing+10, and in 2010 it adopted the resolution on Beijing+15. Furthermore, on 3 September 2008 the Commission adopted a resolution on how marketing and advertising affects equality between women and men.

‘Women in power and decision-making’ is also one of the twelve critical areas of concern of the Beijing Platform for Action of 1995. According to the Joint Statement of 19 September 2011 on ‘Advancing Women’s Political Participation’ made during the 66th session of the UN General Assembly in New York ‘women’s political participation is fundamental to democracy and essential to the achievement of sustainable development and peace’. Also, this statement reaffirms that the active participation of women, on equal terms with men, at all levels of decision-making is essential to the achievement of equality, sustainable development, peace and democracy.

The Council of Europe recommendation on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making adopted on 12 March 2003 puts forward a set of measures, including positive action measures to facilitate a more balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making. In Recommendation 1899(2010), entitled ‘Increasing women’s

³ http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/workshop/join/2013/493009/IPOL-FEMM_AT%282013%29493009_EN.pdf, p. 5

representation in politics through the electoral system’, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe encourages its member states to increase women’s representation by introducing quotas.

“Strategy for Equality between Women and Men: 2010-2015” of September 2010⁴

At European Union level, the Strategy for equality between women and men - 2010–2015 underlines that the Commission will ‘*consider targeted initiatives to improve the gender balance in decision making*’; ‘*monitor progress towards the aim of 40% of members of one sex in committees and expert groups established by the Commission*’ and ‘*support efforts to promote greater participation by women in European Parliament elections including as candidates*.’⁵

In addition, this Strategy highlights that women are constantly under-represented in decision-making processes and positions, despite the fact they constitute nearly half of the workforce in the EU, and mostly important it underscores the requirement of involving more women as candidates in the European Parliament elections.

Beforehand, the roadmap for gender equality of 2006 had identified key objectives and actions in 6 priority areas, among which (1) *Equal economic independence for women and men*, (3) *Equal representation in decision-making*, and (5) *the elimination of gender stereotypes* have been relevant for the following Strategy.

European Pact for Gender Equality: 2011-2020, of March 7, 2011⁶

The gender equality has recently been considered as fundamental to the achievement of full employment and economic growth. It has also been recognised the importance of mainstreaming gender into all educational policies and strengthening institutional mechanisms *for promoting*,

⁴ Reference on http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/strategy_equality_women_men_en.pdf

⁵ http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/strategy_equality_women_men_en.pdf, p. 20

⁶ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52011XG0525%2801%29&from=EN>

*assessing, and monitoring of the progress with regard to gender equality in the EU*⁷. In fact, both the Pact for Gender Equality and previously the Declaration of EU Ministers of gender equality of 4 February 2005 and the Council Conclusions of 2/3 June 2005 emphasizes the Council's commitment for a full implementation of the BPA.

The pact was adopted by the Council in order to connect the Commission's Strategy for Equality between Women and Men 2010-2015 and the Europe 2020, the European Union's Strategy for jobs and smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. Each Member States has been encouraged by the Council both to promote women's empowerment in political and economic life and, to promote equal participation of women and men in decision-making at all levels and in all fields.

“On eliminating gender stereotypes in the EU” EP report December 2012⁸

This report highlighted the fact that more than 15 years after the Beijing Conference, gender stereotypes and gender inequality are still common problems in the European Union today. Stereotypical assumptions about women in the labour market are leading to occupational segregation and the gender pay gap. A gender pay gap of 16.4% in 2010 illustrates the severity of this problem. Moreover, women are often under-represented or invisible in the media, or represented in media in roles that are traditionally considered 'feminine', encouraging more gender discrimination in different areas of society and all age groups.

The prevalence of negative gender stereotypes based on societal beliefs and attitudes affects women and constraints their opportunities and choices in the social, economic and political sphere. In order to tackle the problem of the lack of women at the higher levels of economic and political decision-making, the persistence of gender stereotypes in all levels of society need to be addressed.

⁷ http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/workshop/join/2013/493009/IPOL-FEMM_AT%282013%29493009_EN.pdf, p.8

⁸ <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+REPORT+A7-2012-0401+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN>

The report went on to empathise the need to reduce the prevalence of negative gender stereotypes in the EU that constrain the opportunities and chances of men, but even more so of women. The report called for new EU policies and legislation is needed to address gender stereotyping in the areas of education, media and advertisement, the labour market and economic and political decision-making. The report states: *“there is a strong link between gender stereotyping the under-represented of women in political and economic decision-making, both in the public and in the private sphere, including in the national parliaments and governments of Member States and EU-institutions. This not only indicates the ‘glass ceiling’ that women encounter, but also the fact that stereotyping limits the career aspirations of women”*⁹.

Women in EU and national institutions

EU level

EU Parliament:

The European Parliament has undertaken significant efforts during the last decade in order to enhance women’s participation in the domain of decision making and the political scene. However, the desired 40% minimum percentage of women representatives in EP has not yet been achieved let alone the ideal total parity. Moreover, based on Eurobarometer’s reports almost half of European women feel that their interests are not well represented by the EU, especially among young ages; over a third of women aged 18-24 feel their issues are not well represented. Furthermore, half of European women would like 50% or more of the MEPs to be women and 70% would like at least 40% women among those working in key-positions within the parliament; i.e. as Committee chairs, delegation chairs, in the General Secretariat of the EP, in the political groups’ General Secretariats etc.

In order to further proceed in the specific research it is important first of all to make a short historical review of the presence and participation of women in the European Parliament and in

⁹ <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+REPORT+A7-2012-0401+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN>, p. 17

key decision-making positions at the European level. During the first European Parliament elections in 1979, the seat of the President was won by a woman, Simone Veil, who served as the first president of the elected Parliament (until 1982). Simone Veil was also the first female President since the Parliament was created in 1952. The other female President was Nicole Fontaine MEP in 1999. Furthermore, Luise Weiss was the EP's first 'oldest member', elected during the first EP elections and served until her death in 1983. The proportion of MEPs elected in the first EP elections was only 16.5%; a number that has been slowly but steadily increased over the years. Regarding the current situation of women's participation in the European Parliament, the proportion of female MEPs elected in 2009 was 35%.

Although the results show some progress compared to the 16% of the first EP election in 1979, the approximate 30% at the beginning of the 1999-2004 term and the 32% in 2004-2009, the EP still failed to attain parity or even the 40% of women threshold agreed by Member States of the Council of Europe. In addition, it has to be noted that after the entrance of the "new countries" in the European Union, percentages were fallen again, at the 30% of the total number of female MEPs. Nearly only 8 of the Member States currently have more than 40% women MEPs. Specifically, Finland has 61% of women elected in the EP, Sweden 55.5%, Estonia 50%, Netherlands 48%, Bulgaria 47%, Denmark 46.2%, France 45.8%, and Austria 41.1%, with two of those countries having more women than men MEPs (Finland and Sweden). Accordingly, 11 of the EU Member States reach a level between 30%- 40% of female representation in the new EP. Finally, eight Member States did not even reach the minimum threshold of 30% of women representatives in the last elections; Slovenia (28.5%), Lithuania (25%), Ireland (25%), Italy (25%), Poland (22%), the Czech Republic (18.2%), Luxembourg (16%) and Malta with not a single woman elected in the European Parliament.

Table 1: Percentage of women in the new European Parliament by Member State, compared to the 2004-2009 EP and to the percentage of women in national parliaments

Member State	Totalseats¹	Numberof women¹	% ofwomeni	% of women in	% of women in
---------------------	-------------------------------	-----------------------------------	-------------------	----------------------	----------------------

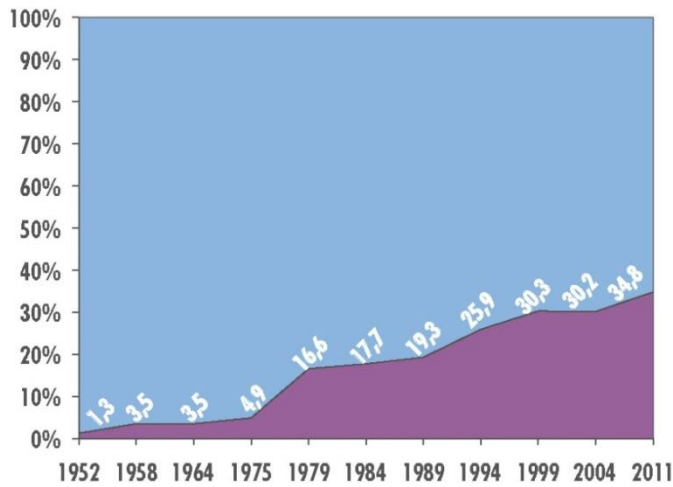
			n (2009- 2014)¹	EP (2004- 2009)²	the former EP (2004- 2009)²	the national parliamen ts³
FINLAND	13	8	61%		42.9%	41.5%
SWEDEN	18	10	55,5%		47.4%	47%
ESTONIA	6	3	50%		50%	20.8%
NETHERL ANDS	25	12	48%		48.2%	41.3%
BULGARI A	17	8	47%		44.4%	21.7%
DENMAR K	13	6	46.2%		42.9%	38%
FRANCE	72	33	45.8%		44.9%	18.2%
AUSTRIA	17	7	41.1%		27.8%	28.4%
SLOVAKI A	13	5	38%		35.7%	19.3%
LATVIA	8	3	38%		22.2%	20%
GERMAN Y	99	37	37%		33.3%	32.3%
BELGIUM	22	8	36%		29.2%	35.3%
HUNGAR Y	22	8	36%		37.5%	11.1%

PORTUGAL	22	8	36%	25%	28.3%
ROMANIA	33	12	36%	28.57%	11.4%
SPAIN	50	15	36%	27.8%	36.3%
UK	72	24	33%	26.9%	19.5%
CYPRUS	6	2	33%	0%	14.3%
GREECE	22	7	32%	29.2%	14.7%
SLOVENIA	7	2	28,5%	42.86%	13.3%
LITHUANIA	12	3	25%	38%	24%
IRELAND	12	3	25%	38.46%	13.3%
ITALY	72	18	25%	20.5%	21.3%
POLAND	50	11	22%	14.8%	20.2%
CZECH REPUBLIC	22	4	18.2%	20,8%	15,5%
LUXEMBOURG	6	1	16%	50%	23.3%
MALTA	5	0	0%	0%	8.7%
Total		736		261	
Mean		35 %		32.1%	

Source: EP website, www.europarl.europa.eu, accessed March 2009

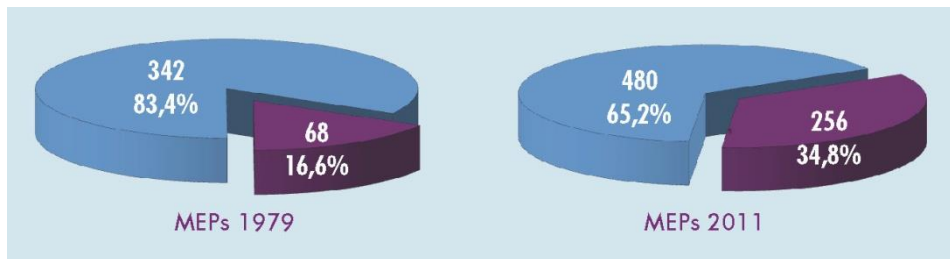
It's worth noting that the European Parliament has the most gender balanced composition, 35% women and 65% men, in contrast to the national parliaments of each member state, however, with great variations between the Member States. In the majority of countries, the level of female representation is higher in the European Parliament than in the single/lower house of national parliaments, as seen in figure 3, with the most significant difference (between women MEPs at the European level and women MPs at the national level), observed in Estonia, Ireland, France, Luxembourg, Hungary, and Slovenia. This difference occurs due to a combination of factors that affect each country differently, such as the electoral system used in the EP on the one hand, and the electoral system in the national parliaments of each Member State on the other. "Although each Member State is free to specify the system used for electing its MEPs, it has to be a form of proportional representation and it is well documented that such systems, where there are multiple winners from each electoral district, tend to make it easier for women to be elected than the single-winner systems used in some countries at national and local levels". Another factor that actually provokes such a difference between female MEP's and MP's among most member States, is that political parties may have different procedures for selecting candidates for European elections than for national elections, including the use of gender quotas.

Figure 1: Percentage of women in the European Parliament from 1952 - 2011



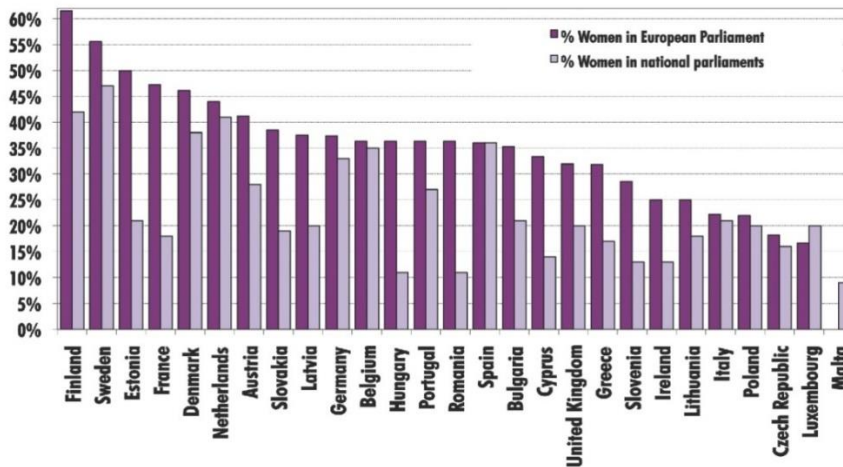
Source: *Women in the European Parliament*, Equality and Diversity Unit Directorate-General for Personnel, 2011, p. 6
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/2011/0001/P7_PUB%282011%290001_EN.pdf

Figure 2: Percentage of women in the new European Parliament in comparison to the first EP elections:



Source: *Women in the European Parliament*, Equality and Diversity Unit Directorate-General for Personnel, 2011, p. 6

Figure 3: Representation of women in the EP and in National Parliaments by Member State, 2011



Source: Women in the European Parliament, Equality and Diversity Unit Directorate-General for Personnel, 2011, p. 7

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/2011/0001/P7_PUB%282011%290001_EN.pdf

Regarding the number of women occupying key decision-making positions inside the European Parliament, between the 6th (2004-2009) and the 7th (2009-2014) parliamentary period, women vice presidents had fallen from five to three amongst the 14 vice presidents in total (21.4%). In addition, during the 6th parliamentary period, only six women chaired the committees and subcommittees. This number was increased into 10 of the 24 presidents in total during the first

half of the 7th parliamentary period, whereas now the number of women presidents is 8 out of the 22 total (European Parliament, 2013). Finally 2 women deans are now (40%) in the European Parliament, 3 Secretaries-General of political groups (43%) and solely 8 chairs of delegations (19%). Overall, women are still disproportionately absent from key leadership positions in the EP.

The slight increase of female presence within the European Parliament after the 2009 elections is disproportionately reflected in an increase in the number of women holding leading seats especially in the sectors of Employment and Social Affairs, Culture and Education, Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, Development, Petitions, Regional Development, Human Rights (Sub-Committee), Internal Market and Consumer protection and of course in the women's rights Committees. As seen in table 2 below, while the majority of women in leadership positions of the distinct executive bodies controlled by the European Parliament, is mainly found in the social welfare sector, specifically in the Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, Employment and Social Affairs, Development, Human rights and Petitions as well as Women's rights and protection Committees, men are predominantly occupying leading seats mostly in the Economic and Monetary Affairs, Budgetary Control, and Foreign Affairs Committees; the last two Committees have no women at all in their leadership. Due to their 'sensitive nature' as many still believe, women are perceived as more suitable for leading positions within the social welfare/care and domestic sphere, rather than the socio-economic milieu, which is perceived as a 'male' sphere .

Table 2: Chairpersons and Vice-Chairpersons of Parliamentary Committees:

EP Committees and Sub-Committees	Chairpersons		Vice-Chairpersons	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Foreign Affairs		X		4
Budgets		X	1	3
Budgetary Control		X		4
Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs		X	3	1
Economic / Monetary Affairs	X		1	3
Legal Affairs		X	1	3
Industry, Research and Energy		X	2	2
Employment and Social Affairs	X		3	1
Environment, Public Health and Food Safety		X	1	3
Agriculture		X	1	3
Fisheries	X			4
Transports and Tourism		X	1	3
Culture and Education	X		1	3
Development	X		2	2
Constitutional Affairs		X	1	3
Women's Rights	X		4	
Petitions	X		2	2
Regional Development	X		1	3
Human Rights (Sub-Committee)	X		1	2*
Security and Defence (Sub-Committee)		X	1	3
International Trade		X	1	3
Internal Market and Consumer protection		X	3	1
Total in numbers (% of total)	9 41%	13 59%	31 36%	56 64%
%, excl. the Women's Rights Committee	38%	62%	32.5%	67.5%
General % of women	36.7%			
General % of women, excl. the Women's Rights Committee	33.65%			

Source:

European Women's Lobby, 2009, p. 5

At the legislative level, the European Parliament has undertaken various measures in order to enhance women's participation in the parliament and attract more women candidates. However it should be noted that a general and mandatory provision for gender quotas in the European Parliament has not yet been set in place and is highly dependent on the distinct legislative rules of each country. Every Member State functions under its own national electoral law and thus provisions for quotas are only applicable and legally fortified in some countries; mainly in Scandinavian countries which have the most upgraded and flexible laws in women matters. In reality there is a great controversy between Member States concerning the issue of quotas and thus it is difficult enough to actually establish mandatory gender quotas at a European level. On a wider perspective, the right of all women to participate in the public and political life, including their right to vote and be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies, as well as the right to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to perform all public functions at all levels of government, is explicitly provided by article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Also, other more generalized provisions for the equal treatment between men and women, including in the public sphere and political life, have been successfully implemented and pave the way for a more balanced representation of women in the political scene. More specifically, within an emergent pluralistic approach of gender mainstreaming that the EP has set into force the last few years, the EU and its Member States are committed to promote gender equality through the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) agreed at the UN World Conference on Women in 1995. The specific Declaration aims to remove obstacles to women's participation in all spheres of public and private life through an equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making; its implementation is reviewed by the UN every five years. BPfA calls for the governments to establish the goal of gender balance in governmental bodies and committees as well as in public administrative entities. It also urges them to take measures in electoral systems that will encourage political parties to integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions in the same proportion as men and to review the differential impact of the existing electoral systems in order to consider, where appropriate, the adjustment or reform of those systems for enhancing women's political representation. Finally, the said Declaration

indicates that all governments should provide for the monitoring and evaluating of progress in the representation of women through the regular collection, analysis and dissemination of quantitative and qualitative data on women and men at all levels in various decision-making positions and disseminating these data on a yearly basis (Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995). Nevertheless, as stated in the outcome document adopted by the General Assembly in paragraph 23 “despite general acceptance of the need for gender balance in decision-making bodies at all levels, a gap between de jure (i.e. lawful) and de facto equality had persisted, and women continued to be underrepresented at the legislative, ministerial and sub-ministerial levels”. Furthermore, the European Pact for Gender Equality (2011-2020), adopted by the European Council in March 2011, also urges the EU and all Member States to work towards achieving gender equality as well as promoting the equal participation of women in decision-making procedures.

The European Parliament has indeed set among the major priorities in its agenda, the issue of achieving parity in participation in political decision-making and leadership at all levels, inviting the Commission, the Council and Member States to design and implement effective gender equality policies accompanied by clear action plans and monitoring mechanisms. It simultaneously welcomes gender quotas for elections as these introduced by legislation in some Member States and urgently calls on the other Members to introduce such legislative measures. Many formal suggestions have been proposed within this emerging promotion of enhancing the presence of women in decision-making positions and political life. These may well include gender educational programmes aimed at civil society and young people, launching a pledge to be endorsed by all political parties at European level, calling the Commission to ensure in its relevant annual work programmes’ funding (2014-2020), inter alia, appropriate awareness-raising campaigns in the media to encourage the election of women etc. Along the same lines, in Recommendation 1899 (2010): ‘Increasing women’s representation in politics through the electoral system’, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe encourages its member states to increase women’s representation by introducing quotas. Also, in the work of promoting young women’s participation in political and public life in some Member States, mentoring programmes have been introduced as an effective and innovative method; mentoring, training

and exchange experiences programmes are measures that are repeatedly recommended by the European Parliament as a means to achieve gender balance in politics (Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality, 2012). In addition, an action plan that would promote and enhance women's presence in leadership positions, has been successfully set up by the European Parliament: European Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality and Diversity by the general secretariat of EP (2009 – 2013,) which aimed to ensure full equality between women and men in all aspects of professional life .

Other important actions and examples of good practice initiated by the European Parliament in order to promote gender equality in public and political life, include various campaigns and events organized on a yearly basis, which focus on a wide range of topics. For example the recent celebration of Woman's Day by the European parliament in 2013, focused on the theme of "Women's response to the crisis" – female Entrepreneurship. Moreover, within the European Parliament and some European political parties, the constitution of 'women's wings' is meant to secure women's voice inside the Party and encourage women to join formal party structures, while stressing out the various women issues that are of great concern. However, these internal women's organizations are not institutionally established for all European political parties, but rather optionally included, depending on each party's line and policy; for instance, within the current European political parties only the Party of European Socialists (PES) has a women's wing ('PES Women').

European Commission

First and foremost, it would be interesting to have a look on the gender composition of the European Commission itself. Currently, the European Commission has 33% female commissioners and 67% male commissioners. Furthermore, in the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) and the Committee of the Regions (CoR) 21% of the positions are occupied by women and 79% by men (Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality, 2012). With regard to the role of the European Commission on the promotion of women's participation in the political sphere and decision-making centers, some positive steps have been

made during the last few years. However, it should be noted that one should not confound the role of the European Parliament with that of the European Commission. Despite the significant efforts undertaken by the EP to enhance women's presence in the field of decision making, and particularly in their active participation to the European and national parliaments and despite the EP's constant calls for more innovative projects/action plans and funding by the European Commission, the latter has still a long way to go until the attainment of establishing a real equality and gender parity.

A positive action was, first of all, the establishment in 2008 of the European Commission's Network to promote Women in Decision-making in Politics and the Economy, which provided a platform at EU level for discussion of successful strategies and best practice, debate and exchange of information to improve gender balance in decision-making positions. Moreover, in European legislation, a Roadmap for equality between women and men 2006-2010 - built on the Framework Strategy for equality between women and men 2001-2005 -set up by the European Commission and communicated to the EP, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, managed to identify key objectives and actions which would facilitate their implementation on the work of promoting women's presence in public, political and professional milieu (Europa, 2011). Similarly, the 'Strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015' (Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions of 21 September 2010), acts as a basis for the cooperation between the Commission and the other European institutions, Member States and other stakeholders, as part of the European Pact for equality between women and men. The Commission presents in it its new priorities for gender equality. This strategy aims at improving the position of women in the labor market, in society and in decision-making/political positions both in the European Union and the world.

Also, on a wider perspective, in the 2007 Communication on Gender Equality in development cooperation, the EU has clearly committed itself to refocus its strategy on organized actions for empowering women in the Member States. Hence the EU Plan of Action on Gender Equality

and Women's Empowerment in Development 2010-2015, presents specific actions to strengthen efforts to better address the issues of gender-based discrimination against women and enhance, by 2015, a common EU practice on gender equality in development, through greater policy coherence and coordination between EU institutions and all Member States. Last, but not least, the European Commission has regularly undertaken substantial research and published several reports concerning data and suggestions for the increase of female representatives especially in the political domain and in parliaments.

Regarding measures to ensure women's participation in leadership training and positions of leadership in the world of big business, and thus enhancing women's leadership skills and experience, no European law on quotas has been established until now. However, on 14 November 2012 the European Commission proposed legislation with the aim of attaining 40% of women in non-executive board-member positions in publicly listed big companies, with the exception of small and medium enterprises. The aim of the new legislation is to improve gender balance on the corporate boards of European companies and facilitate women's access to crucial leadership positions. On that point it would be interesting to see the indeed disappointing percentages of women in business leadership. Overall, data show that there is a wide gap between the proportion of employed women and those at board level and chairs in all EU Member States. The current percentage of women on European companies' boards is only 13,7%. An increase in the percentage of women in boards has been recorded in almost all European countries, except of Bulgaria, Poland and Ireland. This slight increase is basically resulted from the above mentioned EC's proposal and the constant discussions within the wider EU framework, concerning the need for legislation for regulating the number of women on boards. Nonetheless, the new percentage is only slightly better than the 11.8% on 2010, and with this extremely low pace of progress, it is estimated that 40 years will be needed in order to approach the goal of gender balance in boards. Moreover, the said is just a temporary measure that will automatically cease to be valid in 2028; in order to acquire the force of law the proposal needs to be approved by the European Parliament and the Member States.

Consequently, the need of establishing a common European law that will function as a common line for all countries is now highly emergent. Member States have, as in the case of quotas, their own different rules/legal provisions; 11 of them have legally established means for the promotion of more women in the big enterprises' boards, while 11 other countries have not even established self-regulative measures. Among the countries that have established either legal quota provisions or other self-regulation measures, Spain, France, Italy, Netherlands and Belgium have legally approved gender quotas in large listed companies, while others have relied on different strategies; for instance Finland has introduced the dissemination of research studies that demonstrate how women have contributed to successful/profitable companies, has established corporate governance codes and quick governmental actions (by appointing at least 40% of women in boards of state-owned companies) and has made use of the Media in order to promote women's positive presence in companies. Speaking of numbers, in 2012, the majority of boards in large listed companies in Malta and Hungary, was entirely comprised of men and in nearly a third of Member States – namely in Malta, Estonia, Luxembourg, Cyprus, Hungary, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Slovakia - at least half of the largest companies have no women in their boards. Finally, only in five EU countries there are more than half of corporate boards with at least two female board members – namely in France, Sweden, Germany, Finland and the UK.

Beginning in the mid1980s, the Council of Europe (CoE) has stressed the importance of women's participation as a prerequisite for democracy. For example, in 1988, the CoE made the first explicit link between gender equality and democracy in an official text .The recommendations of the CoE 'Committee of Ministers to member states on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision making', adopted in 2003, set out specific requirements for Governments of Member States towards gender parity including to: *'commit themselves to promote balanced representation of women and men by recognising publicly that the equal sharing of decision-making power between women and men of different background and ages strengthens and enriches democracy'*. The gender gap in political life has been highlighted as a priority for action both in the Women's Charter and the EU Strategy for Equality between Women and Men which both restate the European Commission's commitment to increasing the percentage of women in decision making roles in public life.

Gender parity has been a galvanising objective since the UN’s 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which provided a justification for positive action measures to improve women’s representation in decision making. The Beijing Platform for Action agreement of 1995 further galvanised support for positive measures to increase women in decision making which have featured strongly in EU policy documents as a result. However, despite the stated commitment to gender parity in decision making at the EU level, and progress that has been made in women’s representation there still remains a **substantial gender gap** in national parliaments and also within EU institutions. The Table below provides a gender breakdown of representatives in different EU Institutions.

Institution	Prior to 1994	1994-1999	1999-2004	2004-2009
European Parliament	17.3% (1984-89)	27.4%	29.7%	31.2%
EP Committee Chairs	n/a	n/a	23%	27.3% (2008)
European Commission	11.8% (1993)	25%	25%	29.6% (2007), 37% (2009)
Commission Committees and Expert Groups	n/a	n/a	28.8% (2001)	n/a
Commission high-ranking	n/a	13.6% (1999)	13.9% (2003)	19.5% (2007)

Civil servants (level 1 and 2)				
European Court of Justice	0%	4.1% (1999)	13.3% (2000)	11% (2009)
European Court of First Instance	n/a	13.3%	n/a	41% (2009)
European Central Bank	n/a	n/a	n/a	5% (2007)

*Source: Women in decision-making: The role of the new media for increased political participation, Directorate-General for Internal Policies, Policy Department C: Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs – Gender Equality 2013, p. 25
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2013/493010/IPOL-FEMM_ET%282013%29493010_EN.pdf*

Where 'n/a' is indicated, gender disaggregated data are not available.

The table shows the largest increases in women's representation in EU Institutions were in the Parliament and Commission; the former increased women's representation by 17% in the twenty years to 2009 (increasing only very slightly between 2009 and 2014), and the Commission increased the number of women representatives by 18 percent between 1994 and 2009. Women's representation in the European Parliament has risen in many member states over the past decade. This is partly as a result of some Member States setting binding quotas on female representatives to the European Parliament. (Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Slovenia, France, and Italy). However, less progress has been made in the financial institutions of the EU and in the European Courts and gender parity is far from reality still. The EP itself acknowledges an "alarming" under-representation of women in the mid-term elections within the European Parliament in 2012.

Today women constitute 20.4 per cent of the members of national parliaments around the world (www.ipu.org). Given the slow speed by which the number of women in politics has been growing,

there have been increased calls for more efficient methods to address the problem of women's under-representation and reach a gender balance in political institutions. Electoral gender quotas represent one such mechanism, introduced in more than 100 countries across the world (www.quotaproject.org). Electoral gender quotas take two main forms: legislated quotas and party quotas. Legislated quotas (also called legal quotas) are implemented through reforms to electoral laws (sometimes constitutions), requiring that all parties nominate a certain proportion of women candidates. Party quotas (also called voluntary party quotas) are commitments made by individual political parties to include a certain percentage of their own women party members among its candidates for election. They are usually implemented by party congresses through party statutes, party programs and additional party rules. Legal quotas and party quotas may target any of the three stages in the candidate selection process: aspirants, candidates and elected representatives.

In Europe, as in the rest of the world, women are still under-represented in political decision-making assemblies. Today, in 2013, women constitute 25.6 per cent of the members of national parliaments in Europe (www.ipu.org). A third – or eleven of the 33 countries across the world that have 30 per cent or more women in their national parliaments - are European. Until recently, Europe has not been in the forefront of the new global trend to adopt electoral gender quotas. During the last decade, however, many new measures have been adopted also in a European context. While reserved seats are not used in Europe, legislated quotas, party quotas, as well as many 'soft' quota provisions such as recommendations and targets have been introduced in order to achieve gender balance in political assemblies.

Table 1 provides an overview of women's representation in national assemblies in the EU/EEA countries.

Table 1: Women's representation in national parliaments in the EU/EEA countries: level of representation, quota type and electoral system (lower house or unicameral parliament)

Country	Women's representation (latest election)	Type of quota	Electoral System
<i>Above 40%</i>			
Sweden	45.0% (2010)	Party quotas	List PR
Finland	42.5% (2011)	No quotas	List PR
39 – 30%			
Iceland	39.7% (2013)	Party quotas	List PR
Norway	39.6% (2009)	Party quotas	List PR
Denmark	39.1% (2011)	No	List PR
Netherlands	38.7% (2012)	Party quotas	List PR
Belgium	38.0% (2010)	Legislated quotas	List PR
Spain	36.0% (2011)	Legislated quotas	List PR
Germany	32.9% (2009)	Party quotas	Mixed
Slovenia	32.2% (2011)	Legislated quotas	List PR
<i>29 – 20%</i>			
Portugal	28.7% (2011)	Legislated quotas	List PR
Italy	28.4% (2013)	Party quotas	List PR
Austria	27.9% (2008)	Party quotas	List PR
France	26.9% (2012)	Legislated quotas	TRS
Lithuania	24.5% (2012)	Party quotas	Mixed

Poland	23.7% (2011)	Legislated quotas	List PR
Latvia	23.0% (2011)	No quotas	List PR
Bulgaria	22.9% (2009)	No quotas	Mixed
United Kingdom	22.5% (2010)	Party quotas	FPTP
Czech Republic	22.0% (2010)	Party quotas	List PR
Luxembourg	21.7% (2009)	Party quotas	List PR
Greece	21.0% (2012)	Legislated quotas	List PR
Estonia	20.8% (2011)	No quotas	List PR
<i>19 – 10%</i>			
Slovakia	18.7% (2012)	Party quotas	List PR
Ireland	15.1% (2011)	Legislated quotas	STV
Malta	14.3% (2013)	Party quotas	STV
Romania	13.3% (2012)	Party quotas	Mixed
Cyprus	10.7% (2011)	Party quotas	List PR
<i>Below 10%</i>			
Hungary	8.8% (2010)	Party quotas	Mixed
Average women's representation	2008: 23.6% 2011: 24.7% 2013: 25.6%		

Source: *Electoral Gender Quota Systems and their Implementation in Europe*, Directorate-General for Internal Policies, Policy Department C: Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs – Gender Equality 2013, pp. 7/8

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/join/2013/493011/IPOL-FEMM_NT%282013%29493011_EN.pdf

Table 1 shows that ten countries have more than 30 per cent women in their parliament (single or lower chamber). That is one more country over the 30 percent line than in 2011, but the same as in 2008. If gender balance is conceptualized as a proportion of 40—60 percent of either sex, only Sweden and Finland have gender balanced national parliaments. Iceland and the Netherlands, which passed the 40 per cent threshold in 2008, have now both fallen below. Consequently, there are less gender balanced national parliaments today than in 2011. Fourteen countries have more than 20 per cent (but less than 30 per cent) women in their parliaments. That is five more countries over the 20 percent line than in 2011. Five countries have more than 10 per cent (but less than 20 per cent), and one country has less than 10 per cent women. Compared to 2011, the number of countries with more than 10 per cent women parliamentarians has decreased from 14 to 10, and the number of countries with less than 10 percent female MPs has decreased from two countries to one country. A general conclusion that can be drawn from Table 1 is that the proportion of women parliamentarians has increased, particularly from lower levels (below 20 per cent) to less lower levels (below 30 per cent). At the same time, less countries than in 2011 are gender balanced (within the 40-60 percentage span). Thus, although progress has been made, gender balance is far from achieved.

Table 1 also shows that some type of electoral gender quotas for public elections is in use in a majority of the EU/EEA countries. The table maintains that, of the 30 EU/EEA countries, eight – Belgium, France, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, and most recently Greece and Ireland – have introduced legislated quotas that are binding for all political parties. In 16 of the countries, party quotas have been implemented, meaning in this case that at least one of the political parties represented in parliament has written electoral gender quotas into its statutes. In six of the countries, no gender quotas are in use for national elections.

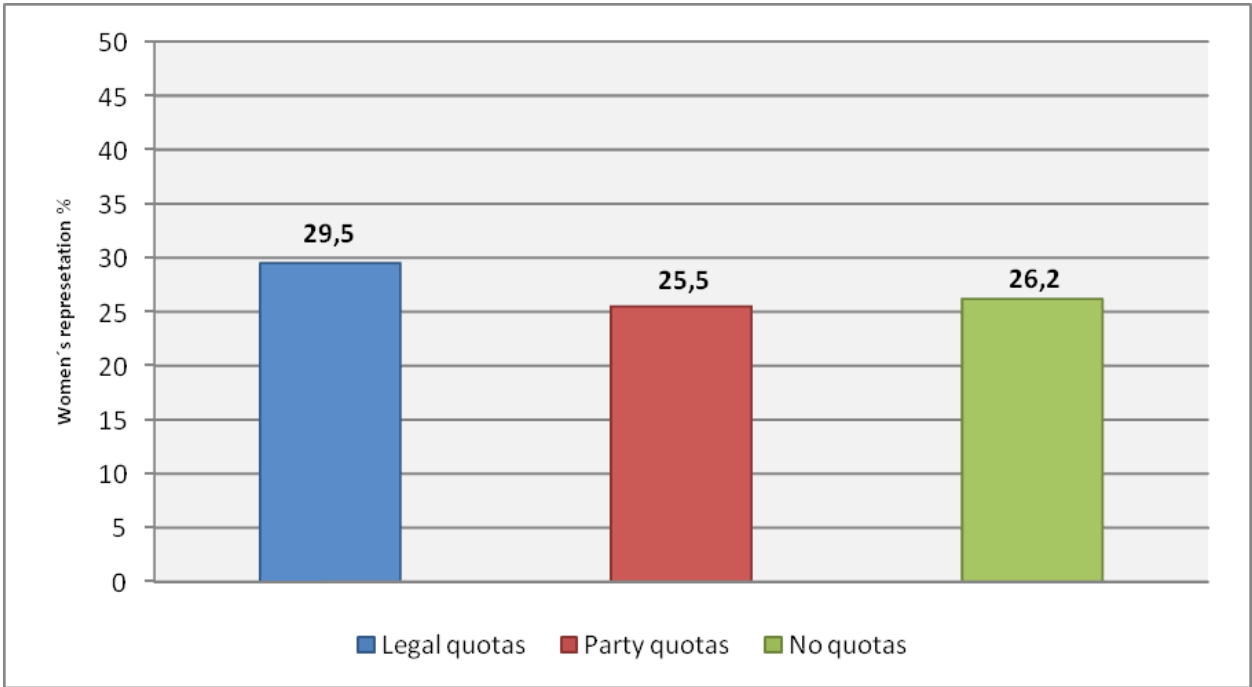
In addition, Table 1 also shows that in most of the countries that have crossed the 30 per cent threshold (most recently Slovenia) some type of quota provision is in use, in the form either of legislated quotas or of party quotas. Furthermore, the table shows that most of the countries with a

high percentage of women in their parliaments apply a proportional representation (PR) electoral system. As previous research has shown, women’s representation in parliaments in the world is around twice as high in countries with PR electoral systems than in countries that use majoritarian electoral systems. However, the table also shows that gender quotas are not a necessary condition for a high level of female representation, as the cases of Finland and Denmark indicate. Nor are quotas a sufficient condition for a high representation of women. As previous research has shown, the specific design of the quota system is crucial for the successful implementation of quotas.

Quotas

A frequently asked question is whether electoral gender quotas will result in more women elected. Figure 1 compares the electoral results in all the 30 EU/EEA countries according to quota type. As table 1 has shown, electoral gender quotas are a widely used measure in the EU/EEA countries.

Figure 1: Women’s representation in national parliaments 2013, by type of quota



Source: *Electoral Gender Quota Systems and their Implementation in Europe*, Directorate-General for Internal Policies, Policy Department C: Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs – Gender Equality 2013, pp. 11

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/note/join/2013/493011/IPOL-FEMM_NT%282013%29493011_EN.pdf

Figure 1 shows that women's political representation on the average is rather similar under the three quota regimes. Countries applying legislated quotas are at the top with 29.5 per cent women. Countries with voluntary party quotas have an average of 25.5 per cent women, while countries without any quotas, be it legislated or party quotas, have 26.2 per cent women. Denmark and Finland, two countries with a historical high representation of women in politics, currently around 40 per cent, but no quotas, contribute to the relative high average among countries without any quotas. The fact that Ireland, currently having 15 per cent women in its national parliament, introduced legislated quotas in 2012, is also important to bear in mind when comparing the quota regimes.

Political parties as gatekeepers

Political parties are central to who runs for and who gets elected to political office. In fact, with fewer women self-starters, parties need to put the extra effort into recruiting women who might be harder to find and harder to be convinced to run. Since women tend to run for office as a result of recruitment, parties and elected officials are the most influential agents when it comes to increasing the share of women candidates. Thus they can either be the solution or the main obstacle for women's pathways into politics. Even though the overall picture has changed significantly, it is still reported that women have little access to established networks of influence, are equipped with insufficient resources, and have too few role models and mentors. Therefore women's participation in most political parties has remained well below that of men. In order to promote women's representation, it is essential that those whose job it is to select among competing candidates are aware of these challenges and at the same time are sympathetic to women's demands. After all, as gatekeepers, party officials strongly influence the composition of party lists and the selection of direct candidates in accordance with their party statute.

An excuse that is sometimes used by political parties is that there are not enough women willing to stand for election as they lack experience and self-confidence. This might be true as long as those who are interested in recruiting women tend to look for women candidates in the same places where they look for men candidates.

However, women and men may follow different pathways into politics and bring different backgrounds and qualifications to the table. Fox' and Lawless' (2004) studies of the eligibility pool show that even among equally qualified men and women the likelihood of men running for office is much higher than the likelihood of women running. However, that does not necessarily mean that women are less interested in running or less capable of winning elections. With women's pathways into politics differing significantly from men's it is important to look at the factors that not only support women's chances to be recruited and finally elected but also at those that influence women's decision to run. In a survey with female state legislators in the United States, it was detected that the single most important reason that women decided to seek office was their concern about one or more specific public policy issues. It also found women are more likely to become involved in politics when motivated by issues surrounding the interests of women and children. Contrary to men, who are more likely to see political office as a career path, women are more likely to run for office because they get involved in an issue and find politics to be the way to win influence. But especially those with an ideological approach can also become very disappointed and even deterred from politics by the masculine model and the competitive and confrontational environment.

Finally policy issues and party ideology contribute to the number of women that feel attracted to and are encouraged by a specific political party. In general it is found that left parties are more likely to support women's interests than right parties because they traditionally espouse more egalitarian ideologies. Right parties on the other hand hold a more traditional view of women's roles and their participation in politics. In addition, left parties are often more likely to employ active strategies to increase women's representation because an egalitarian ideology justifies intervention into recruitment.

It is the nature of politics that only those who run can be elected to public office. Any campaign – successful or not – needs to be preceded by an individual's initial decision to run. Based on this

knowledge it is important to take a closer look at the process by which men and women emerge as candidates. The analyses show that even among equally eligible candidates there are significant gender differences. To begin with, men (59%) are much more likely to consider running for office than women (43%). Men are also more likely to take first steps like discussing with potential supporters, party or community leaders. And finally more men (20%) than women (15%) who consider running actually end up doing so.

For men and women alike, the decision to run for elective office is primarily a strategic response to an encountered opportunity structure. Unsurprisingly potential candidates are more likely to run when the chances of winning are higher and when they face favourable political and structural circumstances like the number of substantial openings for new candidates, access to resources needed to run a campaign and an advantageous partisan composition of constituency. Particularly women are more likely to emerge as candidates when they live in areas with less traditional societal and political cultures.

Buy yet there are a number of factors that hinder women to seek public election and prevent them from running. For one thing women are significantly less likely than men to view themselves as qualified. Yet women's self-perceived qualifications are the strongest predictor when considering a run for office. Analyses show that even among office-holders women are more concerned with their skills, substantive competence, and policy expertise, regardless of their actual qualifications and credentials. Thus when self-perception is not strong enough to make women run, external confirmation and endorsement is needed. Unsurprisingly women need more and stronger encouragement from family, colleagues, and party officials than men do. Women are more likely than men to say that they decided to seek elective office after receiving the suggestion to run whereas men are more likely to say that the decision to run was entirely their idea. This is aggravated by the fact that women are also more likely to encounter efforts to discourage their candidacies. The crux of the matter is: Women need more encouragement than men to run for office but receive less. Men are more likely to be self-starters and in addition receive more encouragement to run for office than women do. This consolidates the status quo and hands-on solutions are needed to break the vicious cycle.

Party strategies to increase the number of women in politics

Without any doubt a lot of effort has been put into advancing women in politics over the last decades. Why some strategies work better than others and what determines the success under what circumstances shall be summarized in the following paragraphs. Drawn from a broad body of literature as well as practical examples from different countries these efforts can be clustered into three major categories: Enlarge the number of female candidates, make the party culture more favourable to women, and show real commitment to change.

In order to enlarge the number of female candidates parties have to follow several steps: Identify qualified women, attract them to the party, make them run for elections and do their best to ensure their election to office.

Since women are usually not knocking on party doors it is critical to actively seek out those who are qualified to run for office. Yet one should keep in mind that experiences and skills can differ from those that have previously been looked for in candidates.

While professional background and economic status as well as preceding political experiences have long been the qualifications that had been looked for in potential candidates, women might bring different but just as valuable skill sets to the table. Those can for example stem from community work, entrenchment in social networks, or experiences in professions that have long been underrepresented in political candidates. Therefore recruitment needs to be expanded beyond the places and groups where candidates could be found in the past. Since women are much less likely than men to be self-starters, recruiters also need to keep in mind that encouragement and even persuasion might be necessary in order to convince a qualified candidate to become politically active and ultimately run for elective office. Parties can support these efforts through active training and providing guidelines for the recruitment of female candidates.

Party culture

In order to attract women and keep them as engaged and committed party activists it is not only essential to pay attention to recruitment but also to ensure that the party culture is favourable to

women and men alike. Within long established 'old-boys-networks' many habits and rules have been implemented and cultivated through the reproduction of a predominantly homogenous party community. Therefore it is critical to establish innovations for newcomers while keeping the balance for those who have long been contributing to the successful maintenance of the party. A change that accommodates both groups is for example the consideration of meeting times, to suit the needs of party members with work and family commitments. More resistance might be aroused by ensuring women's visibility because that means that other party members might get less of the same or when a critical mass shall be established in committees and on boards because some activists need to be removed in order to create space for new ones. In order to make women run for office, both encouragement and training is essential as we have learned from the previous pages. So as to ultimately increase their chance of success the nomination process must be closely monitored and women candidates need to be placed in promising slots and seats.

Advantages for parties from promoting and advancing women

Since the parties' goal is to gain or remain in power through securing as many seats as possible it is important to emphasize what parties actually gain from promoting and advancing women within their organization. A strong argument is that women will render new sources accessible and thereby generate new support bases for the party, both as voters and party members. This can be attributed to many women's roots in civil society and professions that were previously neglected by political organizations. These linkages may be beneficial for women candidates, but may also reflect positively on the party for which the woman is campaigning in terms of establishing relations with grassroots and constituencies. A beneficial side effect is that thereby public perceptions can be altered and interest renewed in political parties with waning levels of support since the message is sent to constituencies that their interests are being addressed. Finally it is not uncommon that parties decide to put someone who does not belong to the established class – often a woman – in the position of a carthorse when constituencies are looking for a real change in political personnel.

Many political parties in Europe have introduced party quotas through party statutes and party rules in order to secure a certain proportion of women among their own candidates to elected bodies.

These measures were first introduced by Social Democratic parties and Green parties in the 1970s and 1980s. Today they are a common type of quota provision in many of the EU-27 and EEA states. As legal quotas, party quotas differ in terms of the level of representation required, ranging between 25 and 50 per cent. Some of them are formulated in a gender neutral way, while others are gender specific.

Party quotas have been a common quota policy in Norway, Sweden and Germany. In Sweden, for example, the zipper system was introduced by the Social Democratic Party in 1993. The zipper system is a principle of alternation, which entails that parties alternate between women and men on party lists to secure that women are half of the candidates as well as possibly also half of the elected. While the quota policy of the Green Party in Sweden stipulates that lists should be gender balanced, plus minus one person, the quota policy of the Left Party in Sweden, calls for "at least 50 per cent women" on party lists.

Not all political parties have adopted party quotas in order to improve the proportion of women candidates. Some parties prefer less formal strategies, and have consequently introduced strategies such as targets and recommendations. Since the purpose of these strategies is to promote the nomination of more female candidates, although not guaranteeing the election of more women to political office, they have been labelled soft quotas. Some of these strategies target the candidate lists, and some target the internal party bodies, or both. In Sweden, as an example, the Liberal Party introduced in 1972 a policy of a minimum of 40 per cent of either sex in internal boards and committees. This recommendation was in 1984 extended to include alternated lists at general election (where one sex alternates the other on party ballots). In 1987 the Christian Democratic Party introduced a 40 per cent gender neutral recommendation regarding electoral ballots. The Moderate Party and the Centre Party have both decided on equal representation targets, in 1993 and 1996 respectively, but gave nomination committees the final word concerning the lists of candidates.

A number of additional strategies, in addition to legal quotas, party quotas and soft quotas, may be applied by political parties to promote more gender balanced political bodies. Political parties may establish specific arenas for women to meet and mobilize around issues important to women,

develop capacity building activities, as well as initiating media campaigns, to mention a few initiatives that can be taken.

Specific arenas for women. In many political parties in Western Europe women's sections were established in the 1920s and 1930s. These women's sections were established to attract female voters to the party, but have gradually developed into important platforms for women inside the political parties, providing women with an important arena for discussing and mobilizing around women's issues. They have also granted women access to selection committees and other internal party committees where decisions are made. Some parties, such as the Green Party, do not have women's sections, believing that these organizations might contribute to marginalize women's issues. In a few countries *women's parties* have been established. For instance, in 1995 women's organizations in Lithuania created the Lithuanian Women's Party, headed by the former female Prime Minister, Kazimiera Prunskiene, to show the public that women did not need quotas to be political actors. In Poland, the Women's Party was founded in the run-up to the 2007 election, campaigning for issues related to child birth, child care, and equal pay. In Sweden, women activists and academics formed the Feminist Initiative in 2005 to promote a feminist agenda in politics and to alert female voters on the lack of feminist politics in the established parties.

Capacity building activities. Many parties are engaged in various forms of capacity building activities, including activities such as candidate training, recruitment programs and network building, to prepare women (and men) who would like to pursue political careers. Mentoring programs are offered, and various kinds of training programs are run by the political parties, sometimes together with the women's sections, and bipartisan civil society groups. Women have been offered skills training in communication, negotiations, handling the media, and running a campaign, to give a few examples. For example, the Women2Win campaign in the British Conservative Party provides support, advice and training in public speaking and media skills to women who would like to participate in politics. The British Liberal Democrats launched a 50:50 campaign to get more into parliament using the slogan "cash, confidence, and culture", which

represented the major barriers for women to access a political career. A trust fund was set up to help finance expenses, a shadow-MP was assigned each candidate, and a skills-database was set up to recruit spokeswomen. Political parties have also been engaged in improving the working conditions in politics and making it possible for politicians with small children to pursue a political career. Many of the political parties in the Nordic countries have organized child care facilities at meetings and family activities at party conferences. In addition, the Social Democratic parties in the Nordic countries produced information material including a film on “Repression techniques and how to counteract them” in order to inform and educate party members on the various forms of overt and covert discrimination that occur within political parties.

Media campaigns. Many political parties and party members are engaged in various forms of media *campaigns* in order to raise awareness around gendered issues and combat stereotypes. For instance, in the run-up to European elections in 1994 in Portugal, three female members of the European Parliament invited 115 female politicians and 115 male politicians to a one-day parliamentary session to discuss democracy, the role of women in Portugal and parity. The goal of the Parity Parliament was to show what gender balance would look like. A recent example of media campaigns includes a humorous postcard campaign in Sweden sponsored by the Liberal Women’s Federation in 2006. As a way to combat gender stereotypes which associate men with the public sphere and women with the domestic sphere, Liberal Party women published various postcards with telling messages. One postcard featured the statement: “Boyfriends come and go, academic degrees don’t” suggesting that women’s first priority should be to get an education, not to marry. Another postcard featured the statement: “We know nothing about women’s and men’s equal capacities unless we give them equal opportunities,” suggesting that men and women are equal and should be treated as such.

3. PROJECT PARTNERS

Partner Organization: Balkan Assist

Local Coordinator: Slaveya Hristova

Balkan Assist Association promotes and supports citizen participation in government at local, national and international level by developing and implementing projects and initiatives in partnership with other organizations, institutions, platforms and networks. Balkan Assist Association implements projects in the field of civic participation and partnership with the support of different donors (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), Open Society Institute, Balkan Trust for Democracy etc.

<http://www.balkanassist.bg/en>

Partner Organization: Forum 50%

Local Coordinator: Jana Smiggels Kavkova

Forum 50% strives for a society with equal representation of women and men in the public life. Our aim is to achieve equal representation of women and men in all decision-making positions, both elected and appointed ones. To reach this goal we support all women who want to entry into politics or who are already politically active. The main principle of our undertakings is apolitical approach – Forum 50% is strictly non-party organization. We do trainings networking for women politicians, campaigns to support women in the elections, gender analysis, awareness raising, public debates and seminars, lobbying adoption of positive measures such as quotas.

<http://padesatprocent.cz/>

Partner Organization: Pro Patria and Res Publica Union's Women's Organization

Local Coordinator: Sirle Rosenfeldt

The objective of IREN is to promote women's participation and equal rights in political life in Estonia, but also to raise women-specific political issues and keep them in focus in order to stand for civil society with equal rights. Regular activities of IREN are meetings, conferences, campaigns, all kind of communication (printed materials, media work, statements etc.), civil society education programs (for women, for young women), co-operation with similar organizations in Estonia and other countries (IREN is member of women's organizations union in Estonia and holds now the chair position). We actively participate in all elections

(party elections, local elections, national elections, EP elections) and meanwhile

<http://www.irl.ee/en>

Partner Organization: Kendro Merimnas Oikoyenias kai Pediou (KMOP)

Local Coordinator: Maria Pothoulaki

KMOP is a Greek non-profit organization, social NGO with humanitarian values, believing in every individual's potential to enrich society. By providing dedicated professionals, dynamic leadership and standards of excellence, KMOP aims to empower vulnerable groups through professionally supported integrated social services, local development of underprivileged areas and the building of employability skills. Mainstream gender equality has long been one of the main goals of KMOP activities. We participated in a number of European Projects pertaining to gender issues, many of which promote change in gender roles as men to achieve a better reconciliation of family and professional life.

<http://kmop.gr/>

Partner Organization: Regional Social Welfare Resource Center of Budapest

Local Coordinator: Zita Olah

BSZF runs researches on social and equal chances issues, provides professional guidance and assistance on social issues for frontline workers – family and childcare centers, social services, police, schools, shelters and NGOs. With the involvement of experts and networks of Private agencies it develops training modules and conducts trainings, organizes local working groups, regional and international workshops and conferences

<http://www.bszf.hu/>

<http://civilnoikormany.blogspot.hu>

Partner Organization: Sinistra Ecologia e Libertà

Local Coordinator: Giorgia Bordoni

Left Ecology Freedom is an open political organization of women and men based on the principle of freedom, solidarity and equality, ecology, non-violence and sexual difference;

Nichi Vendola a politician belonging to the left parliamentary coalition has funded it in 2010.

SEL is inspired by the Constitution and the values of the Resistance; we ensure full political participation of women and men in their leading bodies and executive, in the choice of candidates in elected assemblies. We promote actions and campaigns to enhance the full participation of the younger generation and women in politics.

<http://www.sinistraecologialiberta.it>

Partner Organization: Women's NGO's Cooperation Network of Latvia

Local Coordinator: Inete Ielite

The aim of the association is to unite women's organizations of Latvia in a common cooperation network to promote women's rights and equality between men and women and ensure full access for all women to their human rights. The main partners and sources of funding are the Parliament of Latvia, office of Prime Minister, Ministry of Economics, Education and Social Affairs. The Association unites 42 organizations representing women's groups of the political parties, women's and girls' rights organizations gender equality umbrella, crisis centres for women.

<https://www.facebook.com/www.sieviesusadarbiba.lv>

Partner Organization: Center for Equality Advancement

Local Coordinator: Margarita Jankauskaite

Center for Equality and Advancement (CEA) was established in 2003 with a goal to strengthen civil society in Lithuania by: promoting consolidation of equal rights for women and men and their implementation; strengthening democracy in the country through the implementation of means; encouraging equal representation of women and men's interest's in decision-making process. Promoting values of open democratic society through encouraging gender dialogue. Changing negative stereotypes of woman and man, age groups, national, ethnical minorities, the disabled and other social groups in the society. Since 2003 CEA is

actively involved in implementing international and national projects on gender equality, minority issues, non-discrimination, active participation and social awareness.

<http://gap.lt/en/>

Partner Organization: Intercultural Institute of Timisoara

Local Coordinator: Romina Matei

IIT is a leading Romanian NGO with twenty years of experience and with a rich record of local, national and European activities promoting intercultural understanding and democratic citizenship. IIT has a large network of partners and a very good cooperation with governmental structures in the fields of education, culture, youth, and minorities. IIT has a regular cooperation since 2006 with the Romanian Parliament and has organized several events in cooperation with the Parliament, involving representatives of all parliamentary political parties and representatives of national minority organizations. IIT is an autonomous structure, having as member's individual citizens, as well as institutions and organizations and is led by an elected Board.

<http://www.intercultural.ro/>

Partner Organization: Alliance of Women in Slovakia

Local Coordinator: Katarina Farkasova

Alliance of Women in Slovakia is aimed to women's human rights, protection, prevention, education, advocacy on regional government. We were involved in education of MRs in the Slovak Parliament by various occasions, media campaigns on violence against women, legal work - amendments of legislation, education of students (Law faculty of 9 years), secondary schools.

<https://alianciazien.wordpress.com/>

Partner Organization: Institute for Social Creativity

Local Coordinator: Tanja S Ples

The main objective of our organization is to achieving equal opportunities for men and women, we also develop innovative social activity methods, services and programmes, to

carry out social welfare analyses and strategies and promote their social implementation. We provide guidance for the implementation of social activity policies. Together with Women's Lobby Slovenia we carried out a project called "50-50 Initiative for the Abrogation of Electoral Districts". Through analysis, we proved that our electoral legislation prevents the realization of the principle "50-50" in the Parliament.

<http://www.idk.si/en/home.html>

Partner Organization: Liberal Women in Sweden

Local Coordinator: Charlotta Schenolm

The goal of LK is to gather women with a liberal view. By training and exchange of experience, women shall be empowered to actively participate in political work. Liberal Woman shall promote liberal politics for gender equality. At the national level, we arrange one big conference every year, seminars about 6 times per year besides regular short-term campaigns and mini-seminars. LK conducts training for women who want to stand for office every election period. LK has also conducted training for women in other countries.

<http://liberalakvinnor.se/>

Partner Organization: Ballybeen Women's Centre Ltd

Local Coordinator: Tanya Hughes

Ballybeen Women's Centre (BWC) has developed a service delivery model that enables individuals and families to access a range of services and support in one location. The Centre provides support to other community groups in the area and has been a catalyst for community development and capacity building. BWC promotes social inclusion by involving the most marginalized and disadvantaged groups in the community in the development and management of programmes to address their needs. Women of all ages are encouraged to play an active role in the Centre's development and operation. Education and training is key to empowering people to challenge inequalities and play their role in shaping a new, more just and diverse society. In order to increase women's participation in decision making the main focus has been on women themselves and on offering training in personal development, political awareness raising and leadership.

<http://www.ballybeenwomenscentre.org/>

Associate Partners

ZELENITE (the Greens) political party - Bulgaria

We are a political Party organization. Our aim is to protect the environment and nature and to achieve sustainable development of the country with active citizen's participation.

Activities: Protection and preservation of the nature and the environment; Affirmation and observance of Human Rights and civil rights; Affirmation, development and perfection of democracy as a principle of governance of the society and the state. We are independent from corporate interests and influences that is why we finance our work only from membership fees and donations. Zelenite are part of the European family of the Greens and we got an Observer status to EGP in the autumn of 2009.

Czech Social Democratic Party – CZ Republic

Centre left Party; Political Objective: democratic social state. Organization: Chairman, vice-chairman, board of party, central committee, regional and local organizations. Funding: membership and state fee. We have experience in developing political programmes training, panel discussions, conferences, party education projects. We have a long-term cooperation with Forum 50%.

Pro Patria and Res Publica Union (Abbr. IRL) - Estonia

Objective of the biggest conservative party in Estonia, IRL, is to fulfil ones political program in all political levels: representing Estonia in European Parliament (EPP group, one seat (male)), in Estonian Parliament (coalition party, 23 seats in parliament, thereof 5 women), representing IRL at local level governance (from 152 local government leaders from IRL all together 11 are women). Regular activities are typical of political party; we carry the responsibility of political leadership and hold positions of ministers (during 20 years one ministerial post hold by women), the same on local level and work for to serve the nation in a democratic and open way.

Research Center for Gender Equality (KETHI) - Greece

KETHI was founded in 1994 and functions centrally in Athens and regionally in Heraklion, Kalamata, Komotini, Patras, Preveza, Tessaonica and Volos in Greece. KETHI is supervised and funded by the General Secretariat for Equality of the Ministry of the Interior. KETHI is active in enabling the advancing of women in all areas of social, political and economic life and we aim at contributing decisively in the elimination of discrimination against women. We carry out researches and studies and implement national and European action projects on gender equality issues.

SZEMA-Liberal Party - Hungary

Liberal political party, which intend to take part in Parliamentary elections. Extension of liberal ideas and theories. Our activities there are: organization of meetings for political discussions, activity for member collecting, making political statements. We also provide information to press and mass media, organize press conferences, campaigns for elections, round table discussions, workshops with civil organizations, multilateral forums with the participants of different democratic parties.

Zatlers Reforms Party (ZRP) - Latvia

ZRP is a political party established in 2011 by the ex-president of the state of Latvia. The party took about 30 % of votes in the national parliament elections, and has a high number of female representatives in the parliament, including the vice-speaker; therefore, we need to build up the competences that empower women to full political participation.

Lithuanian Social Democratic Party – Lithuania

The Social Democratic Party of Lithuania is a centre-left and social democratic political Party in Lithuania. It is the oldest party in Lithuania, founded in 1896. The party is a member of both the Party of European Socialists and the Socialist International. The aim of LSDP are: to foster democracy, human rights and freedoms, enhance self-government, develop political, social, economic and cultural democracy.

Civic Conservative Party (CCP) - Slovakia

The Civic Conservative Party is a civic, democratic and conservative party. It respects people regardless from their religion, race and nationality. Its aim is to pursue conservative values stemming from the inner need of individuals to live in a world whose highest value is the personal freedom tempered by personal responsibility and an awareness of personal obligations towards society. The Civic Conservative Party understands politics, in the first place, as a form of public duty to create and enforce values. The party is funded only by membership fees and private gifts. The party has clubs in all 8 regions of Slovakia.

Social Democrats – Slovenia

We are a political organization in Slovenia, we exercise public affairs at the national level in accordance with the party programme. Our aim is to promote values of social democracy, such as coherent social and economic development, social justice and solidarity, equal opportunities for woman and men and strive for their implementation.

Swedish Liberal Party – Sweden

Our objective is to gather people with a liberal view on society to a joint work and performance for democratic development and promotion of people with a liberal view in the election. Along the activities, we promote liberal politics in the Parliament, training of politicians, policy making and similar. We do regular training programs for women as a preparation for the election every four years.

Democratic Unionist Party – DUP – UK (Northern Ireland)

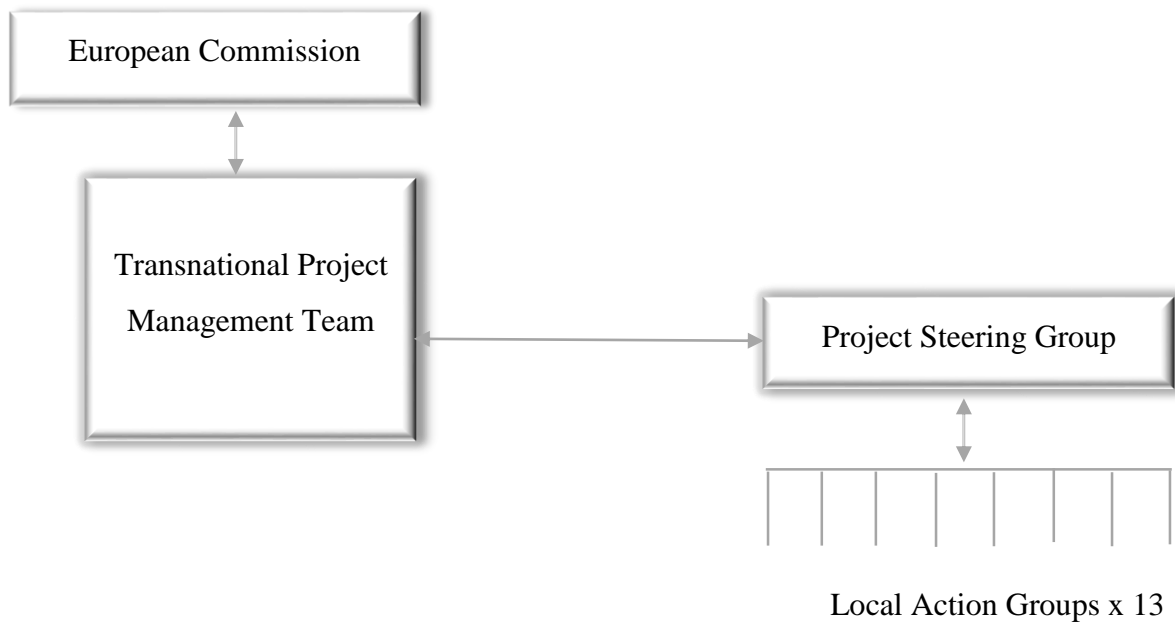
The DUP is the largest party in Northern Ireland, currently holding eight seats at Westminster and 38 seats in the Northern Ireland Assembly. It has one seat in the European Parliament, where its MEP, Diane Dodds, sits as a Non-Inscrit. The Democratic Unionist Party's elected member to the European Parliament, has worked closely with community groups in Northern Ireland to raise awareness of key issues and facilitate greater involvement at an EU level. It has actively supported organizations involved in EU funded programmes and produced a funding booklet to help community groups and not-for-profit organisations access EU funds.

PART TWO: TRANSNATIONAL ACTIONS

Transnational Project management.

From the outset a transnational Project Steering Group (PSG) was established. This consisted of the local coordinator plus one member of the Local Action Group.

The diagram below provides an overview of the management structure:



The PSG met four times face to face during the life of the project:

- SGM 1 and Scoping Workshop. This took place in January 2013 in Brussels.
- SGM2 took place in Tallinn in September 2013
- SGM3 took place in Athens in June 2014
- SGM 4 took place in Brussels in October 2014

In addition given the size of the partnership and the intense nature of the work programme we also held 6 online meetings.

Details of the agenda, presentations, photo's, lists of attendance etc., can be seen in **Appendix Two**.

Transnational workshops

The project undertook two transnational workshops. The First Workshop took place in September 2013 in Tallinn. Over 50 delegates took part and the workshop focused on:

- Sharing the outcomes of the Base Line Studies that each partner had undertaken.
- Exchange of good practice in relation to actions taken by political parties to increase greater involvement of women.
- Share ideas for local strategies
- Identifying needs of partners in relation to making effective use of social media tools in their local strategies

Details of the agenda, presentations, list of participants etc. can be found in **Appendix Three**

The Second Transnational workshop took place in Athens in June 2014. Over 50 delegates took part and the workshop focused on:

- Sharing of local campaigns undertaken by partners
- Results of the EP elections
- Debate and Discussion which focused on the situation for women in Greece in relation to impact of austerity and political action.

Details of the agenda, presentations, list of participants etc. can be found in **Appendix Three**

Transnational Candidate Support Programme

This was a one week programme that took place in Brussels in April 2014. The target for this event were women from each of the 13 partners who were actively involved in campaigning for election.

The event consisted of a two and half days of facilitated workshops run by “Women for Election” and association based in Dublin that specialises in supporting women undertake effective election campaigns. The sessions covered communication and presentation skills, canvassing, and using new media. In addition there were visits to the EP and also meetings with women MEP’s who provided their own personal stories and tips for getting in and getting on in politics.

Details of the agenda, presentations, list of participants etc. can be found in **Appendix Three**

Online programme

This programme was designed very much based on the needs that partners were raising at the first workshop in September. With the input of external experts a series of 5 online events took place which focussed on:

- Using Twitter in campaigning
- Good practice in campaign

June-October 2013: Online events: Using Social media

These were facilitated by an external expert and here the focus of the events was to have an online debates between the partners in order to provide a better focus on their specific campaigns and the issues and challenges that arose.

In particular, partners requested a focus on using Twitter. Accordingly there were three facilitated sessions which provided an introduction to using twitter

ONLINE CAPACITY BUILDING PROGRAM USING TWITTER



Members of the project agreed that they would like to develop their competence in using Twitter. This section provides a practical guide to using Twitter as developed by the project.

Why Twitter? The answer could be that:

- It is easy to use like the SMS, but it allows you to communicate with many more people;
- It is fast and provides you with the opportunity to share your thoughts with many people;
- By its very nature, participation is necessary;
- You can read tweets from interesting people, but without the need to dedicate a lot of time to it.
- Twitter is democratic, because it is free, and where the whole world has a right to express themselves;
- Twitter is a part of the digital revolution
- Risks: Hardware such as Twitter or Google Buzz are used to do marketing. How to use this hardware for participation?: What motivates the participant

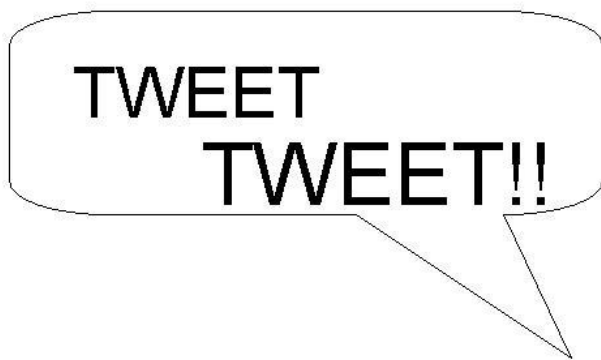
First Phase: getting engaged with Twitter – Training the partnership

Between June and October 2013, the partners undertook a series of web conferences with an expert, Sian McLachlan from Action Aid¹⁰. The first part of the web conference was a simple PowerPoint presentation of Twitter and the general knowledge on how to use it.

The web conferences provided partners with very practical information such as:

- How to sign in and to begin with Twitter
- How to tweet/retweet
- How to find people, how to follow/be followed
- Getting more focused on the tweet-flow
- Getting engaged on trending topics
- Creating groups within Twitter: the use of Twubs
- Customize Twitter
- Other add-on for Twitter, e.g. tweet polls.

¹⁰ Sian McLachlan was the expert in the I am Roma project and this section draws upon the materials she produced for the I am Roma project. <http://www.ludenet.org/projects-files/1/outputs/i-am-roma-final-report-17.pdf>



Sian McLachlan
se.mclachlan@gmail.com
<http://sianmclachlan.tumblr.com>

What we will cover today:

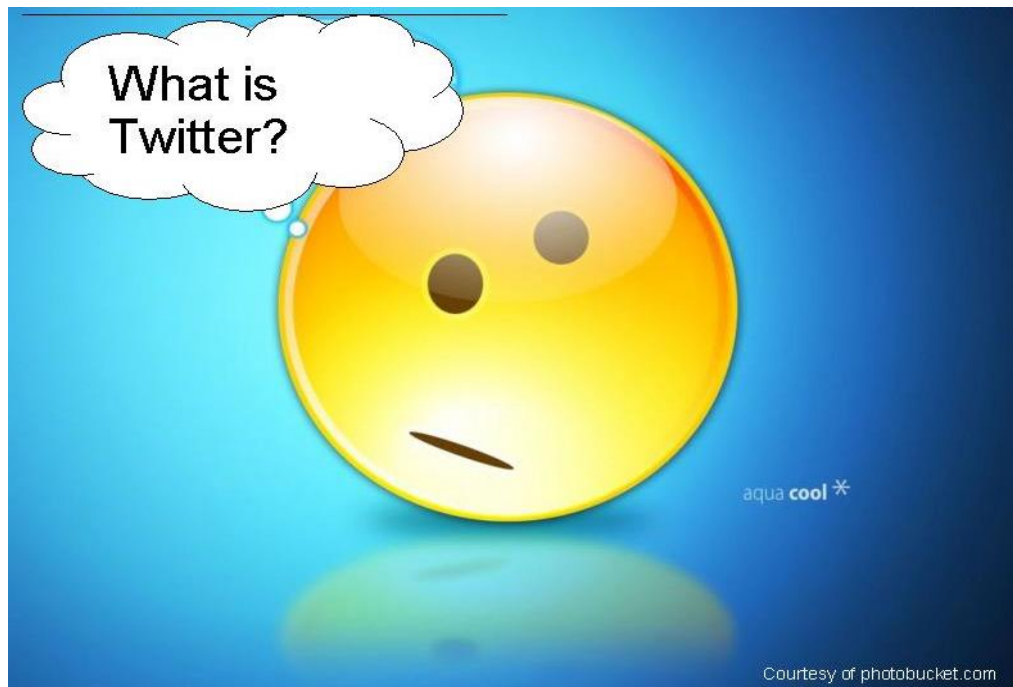
Background to Twitter

How to Tweet

Tools for Tweeting

What to Tweet

Why Twitter is a useful tool for participation



Twitter is a social networking website

It asks the question: **'What are you doing?'**

It allows users to send short 140 characters long messages, called 'Tweets', to their followers



Twitter saw a growth of **1,192.13%** growth from 2008 – 2009

Twitter now has over **10 million** users

Over **2 million** 'Tweets' are sent per day

26,770 Tweets have been sent as part of the Fix Outlook petition (fixoutlook.org)

Thousands of third-party applications



How to Tweet...



Tweet box

Followers/ Following

Your @replies

Your private messages

Your favourite Tweets

Search all Tweets on Twitter

Group the people you follow into lists

What is popular on twitter right now?

Your own choice of background

Tweets of the people you are following

Thanks for following me
Connect with me online
in linked.com/ivianmclachlan
delicious.com/ivianmclachlan

twitter Home Profile Find People Settings Help Sign out

What are you doing? 140

Latest RT @johndjordan Sign the Avoca petition for a #hungerfree world. <http://tinyurl.com/y2p9f8m> about 9 hours ago

Home

TC TechCrunch Exclusive: Playdom Raises A Huge Round At A Huge Valuation <http://bit.ly/2FRHsb> by @arrington 2 minutes ago from twitterfeed

g guardiannews Chelsea's Jose Bosingwa ruled out for three months <http://bit.ly/2WLBPL> 3 minutes ago from twitterfeed

TC TechCrunch IDC Teams Up With Networked Insights To Sift Through Social Noise <http://bit.ly/39Mfr> by @parislemar 4 minutes ago from twitterfeed

Dwaynehuggins One Of The Most Inspiring Videos I've Ever Seen... David Wood's MLM Prosperity Blog ... Article Market... <http://bit.ly/kGLnA> 7 minutes ago from twitterfeed

Dwaynehuggins MLM Success Tips- How To Keyword Research | JordanSchultz.com: Keyword research is the cornerstone of content m... <http://bit.ly/3E5bxi> 7 minutes ago from twitterfeed

stlgherrian RT @LF_O: I maintain that @stlgherrian could hoax John Safran in a voicebiometrics test. [Nah, though apparently I'm close to Tony Martin.] 8 minutes ago from TweetDeck

Home

sianmclachlan 222 tweets
161 following 131 followers 2 listed

Trend - is - the #... an app to dive into trends on Twitter.

Home

@sianmclachlan

Direct Messages 11

Favorites

Search

Lists

Lists are timelines you build yourself, consisting of friends, friends of friends, sports teams, you name it.

New list

Trending Topics

#celebrityperfumes

Happy Veterans Day

#jasonmrazChat

Google Wave

Modern Warfare 2

WW2

#bestfeeling





Find people to follow

[Home](#) [Profile](#) [Find People](#) [Settings](#) [Help](#) [Sign out](#)

Find people on Twitter

What account are you looking for?

Search for a username, first or last name, business or brand

Gmail
 Yahoo
 AOL

Find people on other networks

You can invite folks by sending them an email. [See what you'll send them.](#)

Enter some email addresses:

Separate multiple email addresses with commas, ex: joe@twitter.com,jane@twitter.com

Invite people by email



@BarackObama

@SianMCLachlan



@bbcpolitics



RT @sianmclachlan

Re-Tweet another user's message



#hashtag

Add a #hashtag to a Tweet to tag it with a particular topic



DM@sianmclachlan

Send a private message to another person





Courtesy of thefuntimesguide.com/

Tools for Tweeting



Courtesy of <http://blog.mobiles.co.uk>

Account Password Mobile Notices Picture Design Connections

 In the UK we have a shortcode (86444) that is currently supported by Vodafone and O2 in the UK for sending and receiving tweets. If you are a subscriber of another UK mobile provider you can send tweets via SMS (but not receive) by using +447624801423.

Mobile Phone: +447759344907
Device updates:
 On PIN (optional): Save

(Send updates to: +447624801423)

Set up your **mobile phone** so that you can Tweet via SMS



Add a Twitter **widget** to your website of igoogle and Tweet from there



Install a **desktop application** and Tweet from your desktop



love
hate
think
believe
feel
wish

twistori
based on [twitter](#), inspired by [webdesign](#), hand-crafted by [amy hoy](#) and [thomas luchs](#) of [slash7](#), get the [mac screensaver](#) (new: for leopard and snow leopard),
[web dev?](#) get our [javascript performance book](#).
[get your own custom twistori for your mac](#).
Courtesy of [twistori.com](#)

Forgett Youuu Kyle;
i love Myyy BFFWSPT (:
I hate cooking but
i love to eat lmao
i love the damb patriots
Simon Cowell is an absolute fucking cunt. I love Jedward, but
i love Lucie (And Dannii) so much more!
Football! And wings!
i love it! :) an you ;)
Eggnog is already on sale! I love winter mainly for the eggnog!
i love EGGNOG!

What should I tweet?

- Live event / news reporting
- Staying in touch with friends
- Sharing links
- Conducting polls
- Real time insight into trends



What are other people Tweeting about?



#WeLoveTheNHS



“A publishing tool with the ingredients that Twitter offers has never been available before and it seems those components are ideally suited to the domain of public opinion and free speech.”

- Ed Richardson: Social Media Today



Linked to the focus on Twitter and Social Media a general guide was produced for participants.

This guide can be found in **Appendix Five**.

Online Events: October 2013-February 2014-Good practice in campaigning

This online training was undertaken by Ian Poitier¹¹.

The focus here was on developing and discussing general good practice rules in relation to campaigning. This again reflected the needs of partners and this was also facilitated by an external expert. This resulted in the development of a number of useful “tools”:

- **Nine key questions for developing a local/regional strategy**
- **Basic Guidelines for Campaign Strategy**

Nine key questions for developing a local/regional strategy

"If you have an hour to chop a stack of wood, it is worth spending the first half hour sharpening your axe."

One of the most common confusions in the development of a strategy is the difference between "strategy" and "tactics." **Tactics** are specific actions – writing letters, meeting with lawmakers, issuing reports – the building blocks of advocacy.

Strategy is something larger, an overall map that guides the advocacy effort toward clear objectives. Strategy is a hard-nosed assessment of where you are, where you want to go, and how

¹¹ Ian Poitier worked as expert in the I am Roma project and this section draws on the materials he produced for the I am Roma Project. <http://www.ludenet.org/projects-files/1/outputs/i-am-roma-final-report-17.pdf>

you can get there. At its heart, effective strategy is rooted in nine key questions.

Looking Outward

1. OBJECTIVES: What do you want?

An effective advocacy effort must begin with a clear set of objectives. This can include long-term objectives that may not be attainable immediately and short-term objectives that help build toward those in concrete ways. All of these objectives need to be defined at the start, in a way that can launch an effort, draw people to it, and sustain it over time.

2. AUDIENCES: Who can give it to you?

Who are the people and institutions you need to move? This includes those who have the actual formal authority to deliver the goods (i.e. public authorities) and also the other actors who will influence their decision making (the media, key constituencies, and others). In both cases, an effective advocacy effort requires a clear sense of who these audiences are and what access or pressure points are available to move them.

3. MESSAGE: What do they need to hear?

Reaching these different audiences requires crafting and framing a set of messages that will be persuasive. Effective advocacy messages generally have two basic components: Why the advocacy objective is the right thing to do on the merits ("Increasing funds for children's health saves lives.") and why it is in the political interest of the authority to do it ("We have a coalition of fifty groups supporting this proposal.").

4. MESSENGERS: Who do they need to hear it from?

The same message has a very different impact depending on who communicates it. Who are the most credible messengers for different audiences? Three kinds of messengers are important: "Experts" whose credibility is largely technical; "Authentic Voices," of the people who can speak from personal experience; and "People with Clout," who come with the kinds of political connections that make authorities want to listen.

5. ACTION: How best to get the message delivered?

There is wide continuum of ways to deliver an advocacy message. Some are "inside strategies" in which persuasion takes place through traditional channels and meetings. Other approaches involve "outside strategies" aimed at changing the context in which those decisions are made, through the formation of coalitions and the application of outside pressure through media work and the like. The mix of these approaches that is right for an advocacy effort depends on what is needed to get the job done and what the groups involved are able to do and comfortable doing.

Looking Inward

6. RESOURCES: What have we got?

An effective advocacy effort takes careful stock of the advocacy resources that are already there to be built on. This includes past advocacy work that is related, alliances already in place, staff and other people's capacity, information and political intelligence. In short, you don't start from scratch, you start from building on what you've got.

7. GAPS: What do we need to develop?

After taking stock of the advocacy resources you have, the next step is to identify the advocacy resources you need that aren't there yet. This means looking at alliances that need to be built, and capacities such as outreach, media, and research which are crucial to any effort.

8. FIRST EFFORTS: How do we begin?

What would be an effective way to begin to move the strategy forward? What are some potential short term goals or projects that would bring the right people together, symbolize the larger work ahead and create something achievable that lays the groundwork for the next step?

9. EVALUATION: How do we tell if it's working?

As with any long journey, the course needs to be checked along the way.

Strategy needs to be evaluated revisiting each of the questions above (i.e. are we aiming at the right audiences, are we reaching them, etc.) It is important to be able to make mid-course corrections and to discard those elements of a strategy that don't work once they are actually put into practice.

12 Basic Guidelines for Campaign Strategy

1. Do you really need to campaign?

Campaigning can be fun but it's often hard, dull, frustrating and unsuccessful. Campaigning is usually only done when all else has failed. It involves a conversation with society, persuading people to take an unusual interest in supporting a move that would not normally happen. It means setting up and sustaining processes that are not normal or 'business as usual'.

If politics is the 'art of the possible', campaigning is the science and art of changing what is possible. Do it right and a campaign succeeds in inspiring its followers to go on to the next target. But unstructured or poorly focused campaigns are hot air balloons kept aloft by burning idealism and goodwill, until they suffer 'burn out'.

So before you go any further stop and ask yourself: do I really need to campaign? Or can I get what I want by other means - 'business as usual' - can I buy it, can it be delivered by simply asking politely, or through quiet lobbying, or by trading or through politics?

2. Motivation not Education

Campaigning lowers the barriers against action and increases the incentives to take action. Education, in contrast, is a broadening exercise. It uses examples to reveal layers of complexity, leading to lower certainty but higher understanding.

Campaigning maximises the motivation of the audience, not their knowledge. Try using education to campaign, and you will end up circling and exploring your issue but not changing it.

Campaigns do have some 'educational' effect but it is education by doing, through experience, rather than through being given information. Information is not power until it leads to mobilisation.

3. Analyse the Forces

You know what needs to change. Ask this: 'why hasn't it happened already?' Try mapping out the forces for and against what you want to happen. Draw a map of the problem - the people involved, the organisations, the institutions - work out exactly what the mechanisms are for the decisions you want to change.

Then identify potential allies and opponents and work out who your target audience is for each step. Look at it from their point of view. Check - how will you now change the balance of forces for and against action in order to overcome the obstacle? If you don't know the answer to this, how can you specify an objective to be achieved?

4. K.I.S.S (Keep It Simple, Stupid)

Campaigns are needed because there is an urgent problem which has to be made public in order to be resolved. Effective motivation needs simplicity in message and purpose.

Communicate only one thing at a time. Use a simple unambiguous 'call to action' which requires no explanation.

5. Right Components – Right Order

You need to follow the sequence: > awareness > alignment > engagement > action

The campaign involves a deliberate series of revelations or communication exercises to take the 'audience' from a state of ignorance, through interest and then concern (components of awareness), into anger and engagement (motivation), and finally into a state of satisfaction or reward. If that happens, the campaign participants or supporters will be ready for more. Communicate them all at once and there's no involvement in the 'story' of the campaign. A good campaign has to be like a book or a drama - the outcome must be important but unknown.

Showing a problem may lead to concern but in itself that won't lead to action. Show them now is the opportunity to force a change, to implement the solution, and give them a way to act - and you have the conditions for engagement.

6. Start from where your audience is

A marketer finds out what you want, what you already do and think, and creates or finds a product that fits you.

When it comes to communication, do your market research. Say you need to persuade a group of councillors to take a particular decision about a forest. You may think it's important for frogs or as a watershed. But what do they see? What if they use it for jogging or 50% of their constituents are

woodcutters? You may see a forest but they may see timber, or an exercise area. Put the issue in their terms.

7. Construct a critical path

All issues are complex but your campaign must not be. Complexity demotivates, it makes people feel confused - and if they feel confused, they will think you are confused, and not worth listening to.

Your campaign cannot be the 'whole picture'. Instead it has to be a way, a trail, stepping stones, a critical-path. Do not try to communicate 'the issue', however tempting it may be. Communicate your campaign - what you think, the problem as you see it, the solution as you see it, the opportunity as you see it - and only that.

Stick with each stage until it is achieved. Each stage is a target or objective in itself. Resist the temptation to talk ahead by giving 'the whole picture'. Plan a campaign as a series of steps where one leads to the next - like dominoes.

Try mapping out the forces for and against what you want to happen. Draw a map of the problem - the people involved, the organisations, the institutions - work out exactly what the mechanisms are for the decisions you want to change.

8. Campaign against the unacceptable

Your campaign may be 'about an issue', but to engage people it will need to have a much more specific 'battlefront'. Choosing that battlefront is a crucial task.

A campaign strongly supported by a tiny part of the population may sustain a vigorous organisation. It may survive for decades - for as long as its supporters have the energy. But to succeed, most campaigns need to attract much broader support - and to do that, you often need to narrow the focus.

Normally the task is to find the pieces of an issue or concern which are unacceptable to a big enough group of people to get the effect you need. In general it is better to campaign against a small part of a big problem, where that part is 99% unacceptable to the public, than to campaign against say

half of the overall problem where that is only unacceptable to 1% of the population.

9. Make real things happen

Don't argue, do. Events are the stuff of politics - whether formal politics, business politics, personal politics or the politics of the dung heap.

News is not about ideas or concepts it is about things that happen. Ask yourself every day, what is this campaign doing? What's the verb? Is it starting something, publishing, blocking, rescuing, occupying, marching, lobbying, painting.... What are you doing?

Too often campaigns become absorbed in collecting information or circulating it to people who already agree with the cause.

Some of the most powerful events are direct-actions, especially where these are non-violent and can be justified on moral and 'scientific' or 'economic' grounds. That way they gain widest support. But there are many other powerful ways to campaign.

10. Say what you mean

Directly or indirectly, a campaign consists of persuading others not just that you are right but that you are so right that they must take some form of action.

Every day we are exposed to many thousands of messages. Almost all are ignored or immediately discarded. Very few things 'stick' and anything which makes a message hard work to understand, makes it less likely to stick.

The simplest thing you can do to help your message is to be direct and straightforward. Forget about being 'clever'. When all else fails (as it probably will): say what you mean. (Try telling a relative - when they 'get it', use their way of saying it).

11. Find the conflicts in events – make the news

This is often misunderstood. Conflict is inherent to campaigns. Without a conflict of interest, a campaign would not be needed.

Campaigns make news when they create change, make a difference, or threaten to do so. A conflict,

formed just of ideas is of interest only to academic or political theoreticians. What counts for the rest of us is who comes out on top, what gets changed, how does it affect me, my family, my life and how it can be lived? In other words 'outcomes'.

News connects with politics through events. Events are also the things that change our views. A campaign is about forcing a change to the status quo. Conflict is therefore built into it, indeed almost defines campaigning.

12. Communicate in pictures

At every level, think out your campaign in steps, leading back from the objective you want to achieve. Create a chronological storyboard - your critical path - and work out how you will make that happen. If you can't, then change your objective. But don't try to do the job of the press. Don't try to create cartoons'.

Things that aren't real for example, are 'addressing the issue', 'working on the subject', 'developing awareness' and 'reaching the public'. Things that are real could include: occupying a tree, releasing a dove, conducting a survey in a shopping mall, visiting your MP, writing a letter, sending an email, speaking to a crowd, or invading the Sellafield nuclear reprocessing plant.

Create events that actually generate those pictures - or lead them to occur. Then make sure you communicate in pictures, not just words.

If you find this difficult at first, try involving a local photographer. Take them through your campaign plan and get them to say whether they could tell the story in pictures. As a rule, if there's nothing to photograph, there's no actual activity, no objective to achieve, and no campaign to join in with, report or support.

Pictures are far more powerful than words. Good ones tell the story and the best need no caption. And pictures cannot be interrogated or argued with. Make your campaign speak in characters and symbols that are larger-than-life. The only things stronger than images are face-to-face contact and direct engagement in doing the campaign.

<i>MEDIUM</i>	<i>BEST USES</i>	<i>LESS GOOD FOR</i>
<i>Film / Video (ie. commissioned video non-broadcast)</i>	Persuasion, emotions, feelings and stories, speaker support and group discussion	Information
<i>Reportage (being reported by the media)</i>	Endorsement	Engagement, recruitment
<i>Newspaper Reports</i>	Establishing a campaign or project – matter of record, logging milestones, reaching political and corporate decision-makers	Persuasion
<i>News websites</i>	A record and archive	Social intrusion
<i>TV News</i>	Events, awareness, reaching status conscious decision-makers, internal communication	Information, sensitive topics, reflection or messages that should be segmented
<i>TV documentaries</i>	Depth treatment, stories	Time-critical work
<i>Local newspapers</i>	How-to information for the home Case studies and human interest stories that people can believe	Reaching young people (in most cases)
<i>Advertisements e.g. Posters</i>	Reinforcement, awareness	Information, persuasion

<i>MEDIUM</i>	<i>BEST USES</i>	<i>LESS GOOD FOR</i>
<i>Advertisements in special interest magazines</i>	Reinforcement, awareness, cross-support to editorial or features, segmented messaging	Reaching wider audiences
<i>Text - print</i>	Information, reference, stories	Persuasion
<i>Radio - news</i>	Breaking news (ie. urgent)	A record
<i>Radio general</i>	Human interest, stories, reflection	Launches, events
<i>Radio strand or specialist programmes</i>	Segmented messaging and discussion of problems and opportunities	Reaching wider audiences
<i>Radio advertising</i>	Reinforcement (very cheap and can be targeted for certain audiences of localities by listenership)	Reaching decision-makers
<i>Human Interaction, face-to-face (PR)</i>	Persuasion, changing views	Large-scale recruitment
<i>Events (to which people are invited or can attend)</i>	Inspiration, integration (multimedia)	Reaching disinterested audiences
<i>Tailored briefings by invitation or side meetings at conferences etc.</i>	Informing professionals and stakeholders, persuasion	Anything else (high cost)

<i>MEDIUM</i>	<i>BEST USES</i>	<i>LESS GOOD FOR</i>
<i>Exhibitions and receptions</i>	Introductions, making new contacts	Information
<i>Entertainment activities, e.g. Sports events, concerts</i>	Awareness of an issue in new specific audience	Information, persuasion
<i>Websites</i>	Reference information, narrow-casting, network building	Endorsement
<i>Microblogging (e.g. Twitter)</i>	News, network-building	Information
<i>Email (interactive)</i>	Data, network updating, mobilizing existing contacts; networks	Persuasion, Establishment, Networking
<i>Texting (interactive)</i>	Updating, awareness Prompting immediate action	Information
<i>Ambient</i>	Awareness for groups that do not use other media, media-wary or media-saturated	Networking, Information
<i>Stories, written or verbal</i>	Changing minds	Information, pressure

<i>MEDIUM</i>	<i>BEST USES</i>	<i>LESS GOOD FOR</i>
<i>Show books and laptop computer presentations</i>	Small group persuasion, training, speaker support with small groups	Anything else

Dissemination events

One of the key actions of the project was to ensure a wide dissemination of the outputs and results of the project. To achieve this the project undertook a number of actions. Firstly a project web site was established.

Secondly a common logo was developed which all partners used in their local actions.

Thirdly we used social media in particular Facebook.

Finally we also built into the work programme a series of three cluster dissemination events. These events were held in locations so that we could attract participants from other Member states who were not involved in the project.

The first of these events took place in March 2014 in Berlin. We attracted over 30 participants from Germany, Poland, Austria and Holland.

The Second took place in Lisbon in May 2014 and we attracted delegates from Spain, Portugal, and Croatia .

The Third took place just after the EP elections in June 2014 in Birmingham. We again attracted delegates from member states who were not involved in the project such as Finland, Ireland and France. We also had delegates from other devolved part so fthe UK (Wales and Scotland)

At each of the events two or three partners from the project presented the work they had undertaken and shared their reflections on what worked and what proved difficult.

Each event was organised with the involvement of local actors in the three locations, this was essential not only in terms of sorting out the logistics but also to secure participation from local actors.

In addition to the three cluster events, we also organised a workshop in Brussels. The workshop was focused on showcasing the outputs and results of the project. This took place in October 2014.

Details of the agendas, presentations, list of participants etc. for all the dissemination events can be found in **Appendix Three**

PART FOUR: THE LOCAL ACTIONS

All partners undertook a number of local actions. This included:

- Base line studies
- Candidate support programme
- National Regional Campaigns

Details of the local actions relating to the Candidate Support Programmes and National/regional campaigns can be found in **Appendix Four**. Below is a summary of the 13 base line studies that formed a key part of the project. The full versions can be found in Appendix Four.

Base line studies

BULGARIA

1. Institutional context

1.1 Government Policies

In Bulgaria there is a Law on Protection from Discrimination, but there is no Law on Gender Equality. After the EU accession attempts to push such a Law were terminated. The absence of Law on Gender Equality has led to a lack of institutional mechanism engaged with issues of gender equality and no public funding policies. However, the government is committed to the implementation of policies for equal opportunities with the creation of a National Council on Gender Equality. The last report of activities of the Council (14 March 2012) made it clear that "capacity building through training and seminars" and "public awareness" were the main activities taken and measured as "outcome indicators". In addition, the financial subsistence of the activities came exclusively from European programs that are simply required to conduct such policies.

1.2 Political Party Policies

In the management level of the political parties and their internal party structures / committees the stereotypical gender differentiation between "soft" and "hard" areas of competence is observed (even in parties where there is a "women fraction"). At the state level, the issue of gender equality is driven ideologically and financially exclusively by European policies and programs. The effect of the "Europeanization of gender equality" at the national level is visible and replicated across party politics. The tendency of placing women in electable positions is gradually declining (European elections, national parliamentary elections and local elections).

1.3 NGO Policies

Given "the legacy of socialism," feminism as an ideology and political activism ever since has been ambiguously interpreted in the context of the anticommunist discourse. This is the reason why the activities of women's NGOs in Bulgaria consolidate more about sensitive topics like "violence against women" and "social exclusion and the feminisation of poverty". NGOs have developed the themes of political participation of women in decision-making as project

ideas, which means that they have no sustainable mechanisms for financial support for the participation of women in decision-making established, but also dependence on external (international) funding of the organizations.

2. Social context

2.1 National dimensions of gender equality in the European context
According to the Gender Equality Index, Bulgaria (37) is before the last place in the EU-27 (54). The smallest differences are in the domains of power: 2 points in the political sub-domain and 5 points in the economic sub-domain. The difference of 10 percentage points in the participation rate, however, has remained for a decade.

Even though in Bulgaria women with higher education are 7 percent more than men, which significantly differs from country EU27, gender segregation in education remains high. An effect of this trend is the pay gap by gender in education - 14% in the financial and over 25% in health sector.

2.2 Public attitudes to politics and women's participation in politics

The lack of interest in politics and discredited public image of the state government in Bulgaria is directly related to the lack of interest in political participation by women with management potential and capacity as they choose other fields for realization. The deep distrust of the educational institutions to political and civic engagement and education of the young generation also contributes efficiently to the preservation and reproduction of these processes. Public opinion indicates that stereotypes about women's participation in decision-making and underestimation of the qualities and abilities of women are caused mainly by gender inequality in politics and the achievement of equality depends on institutional arrangements. Only about 20% of people believe

that the measures taken to achieve gender equality are effective.

3. Trends in the representation of women in management structures

3.1 Parliament

The presence of women in the Bulgarian Parliament has slowly been increasing over the last 23 years, whereas at the beginning of the 21st century it increased almost twice: from 14% to 27%. Since then, almost no change in the proportion of MPs by sex could be observed, in the last Parliaments it is about 23%, which is still far from the internationally defined objective: 40% of all involved in the processes of decision-making are women.

In the beginning of the democratic transition, women in parliament had little or no party and / or management experience. This situation began to change in the last parliaments where parties are placing women with political or management experience in areas outside of politics in electable positions. This trend is affecting the age and occupational profile of women elected MPs (between 35-51 years) with a variety of professions (business, engineering, and humanitarian). Data from the last two parliaments is showing that leadership positions in committees and delegations are subject to the stereotypes of "hard" and "soft" policies. Moreover, in the current Parliament this process deepens and women are placed in leadership positions in only 4 of the 20 standing committees - all in the field of socio-cultural sphere.

Voting results of the recent parliamentary elections show that 8% more women voted for the major parties, but this has nothing to do neither with the political orientation of the parties (left / right), nor with the party candidates' sex.

3.2 Government and public administration

There is a dynamic in the sex ratio in the Bulgarian governments after the democratic changes and the last two governments after 2009 marked a slight increase in the number of women ministers.

There is a positive trend over the years in the ministries in the socio-cultural sphere headed by women, and especially in infrastructure and economic spheres where Bulgaria is 20% ahead compared to EU- 27.

Despite this result, there is a consistency in the isolation of women in economic and financial portfolio by the two coalition governments headed by the Socialist party, which is not typical of the other two parties in the early 2000s that formed government.

In the last decade there has been a gradual increase in the number of women in the first level of the state administration, which at this time is close to 40% and is 10% more than the national average in EU-27. Same even higher trend (over 50%) is also true for the second level of the state administration.

Slow changes in the growing number of women in decision-making after 2005 could be observed in public administration at the local level. The percentage of women governors is similar to those of women MPs - about 20 per cent.

3.3 Local Authorities

The positive trends in the participation of women in leadership positions at the national level are not repeated locally. Moreover, women mayors are only 11%, which is two times less than the percentage of women in parliament. The number of women elected mayors remained almost unchanged over the past three governmental mandates.

Bulgaria is not an exception to the EU-27 trend for the number of women in local government is lower than that of women involved in the processes of decision-making at the national level. Bulgaria lags behind with women councilors who are currently a quarter of all municipal councilors.

Current local government:

- 75% of women were elected mayors of municipalities with population less than 25,000 people. It should be mentioned, however, that the current mayor of the capital of the country is a woman.

- Only 3 of 28 women were appointed by independent nomination committees.
- Almost all women mayors are in the poorer northern part of the country.

Local government enjoys almost twice higher public trust than the central government.

3.4 European Parliament

The "Europeanisation" and putting gender equality more in the international activities of the country is evident by the gender parity in elected MEPs (2007-2009) and (2009). Political parties usually nominate in electable places women who enjoy / would enjoy public approval because of their professional experience and qualifications outside politics or well-known individuals with political experience, who enjoy a non-political approval.

The professional competences of women MEPs in this Parliament are mainly in the fields of humanitarian and social sciences. These specific areas less frequently include conflicts of interests (especially financial and economic) and controversial assessment of management skills on the part of public opinion. This is still an obstacle to changing the status quo in the national parliament for the limited participation of women in the "soft" policies.

Gender differences in voting for the EP are smaller than those for NA - 3 points, again in favor of women. More women than men said they vote for the EP as it is their civic duty and more men than women indicated that they vote for the European Parliament to support the party they like. The lack of confidence and dissatisfaction with politics in general is one of the main reasons for half of the Bulgarian citizens to abstain from EP voting, without distinction by gender.

4. Conclusions

1. Regarding legislation

Bulgaria has no Act on Equal Opportunities of Women and Men, but after 2007 an Action Plan on Equal Opportunities of Women and Men is adopted each year to outline the issues of women's participation in decision-making; however, no real measures (quotas, funded initiatives, etc.) have been taken.

2. Regarding electoral political participation of women

Women are more active voters than men (8% more female voters), their vote is equally divided between left and right parties unlike 10 years ago when more women voted for the BSP. It is doubtful whether women became more oriented to the right, more likely the reason for this is slight disappointment by the right policies of the BSP, and a vote for charismatic male persons - as such had been perceived the ex-tsar Simeon the Second, leader of the NMSP and ex-premier Boyko Borisov. But women as a whole do not support nationalistic parties - their vote is 20 % less compared to male vote for the nationalist parties like Attack.

At the EU level, the big issue is not so much the gender differences in voting patterns but the general dissatisfaction with politics outlined by women and men equally as the main reason not to vote.

3. Regarding women's political representation

- 1) No substantial differences with the EU. No increase in percentage of women, participating in governing bodies
- 2) The highest the level of representation, the more women are included - the highest percentage of women is in the EP (40% of Bulgarian MEPs are women), next comes the NP (about 23%), the female representation is lowest on the local level - only 11% of mayors are women.
- 3) There are specific political functions regarded as "male" one - national security, economy etc. and other regarded as "female" like social and cultural. It is interesting that in recent years the infrastructural policies had been delegated to women, unlike the situation in the EU.
- 4) There is a distinct territorial disproportion of the political representation of women in the local government - more women are mayors in the small settlements - up to 25 000 inhabitants; and enormous underrepresentation of women in the Southern part of Bulgaria.

- 5) The discrepancy between higher electoral political participation of women and their underrepresentation in political bodies shows that there is a need of elaborating specific policies which would guarantee the inclusion of more women in the governing bodies.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Introduction

Participation of women in the Czech political scene has been low for a long period of time. In the Inter-Parliamentary Union¹ ranking the Czech Republic currently occupies the 72nd place out of 189 countries together with Honduras. We can still state though that between 1993 when the independent Czech Republic was established and 2013 the participation of women increased in all aspects. At the same time it should be noted that this development was not linear and number of women in representative bodies decreased in some elections in comparison to the previous state of matter.

The Czech politics exhibits an inverse relation – the higher level of political decision the lower number of women. This same has been proved in the local governmental bodies where the highest participation of women politicians is in the smallest municipalities with lower budgets and where the mayor position is unpaid. On the contrary the situation in statutory cities resembles more the countrywide situation including the disproportion in number of men and women directly amongst the elected representatives and town leaders.

The ratio of women in membership bases of each political party is also diverse – the biggest parties have at least 30% of women members, in some case even more than 50%. The situation seems to be similar in the term of parties' leadership with women participating by one third on average. Thus low number of women in political parties does not represent the long-term issue but it is their absence in the leading and decision making positions which prevents them from influencing nomination of parties' candidates.

Women are also stereotypically linked to departments reflecting image of a woman-caretaker. A lot of women deputies or senators with only some exceptions work in committees and boards focused on family and social area, healthcare, education and culture. In these “soft” sectors women politicians also achieve ministry posts (Vlasta Parkanová was an exception as the Minister of Defence). The power sectors such as finance or defence but also transport or industry and trade still remain taboo for women.

There are many factors that influence the participation of women in politics. The most significant is the electoral system including the size of precincts and rules for granting preferential votes which relates to voter’s behaviour, participation and order of women on lists of candidates (or their proportion amongst the nominees in case of majority electoral system) and success of each individual political subject in the elections. Czech political scene proves that parties are open to women participation with different degree and that they approach their support in distinct manners. There also appear well-known phenomena, for example tokenism.

Representation in EP

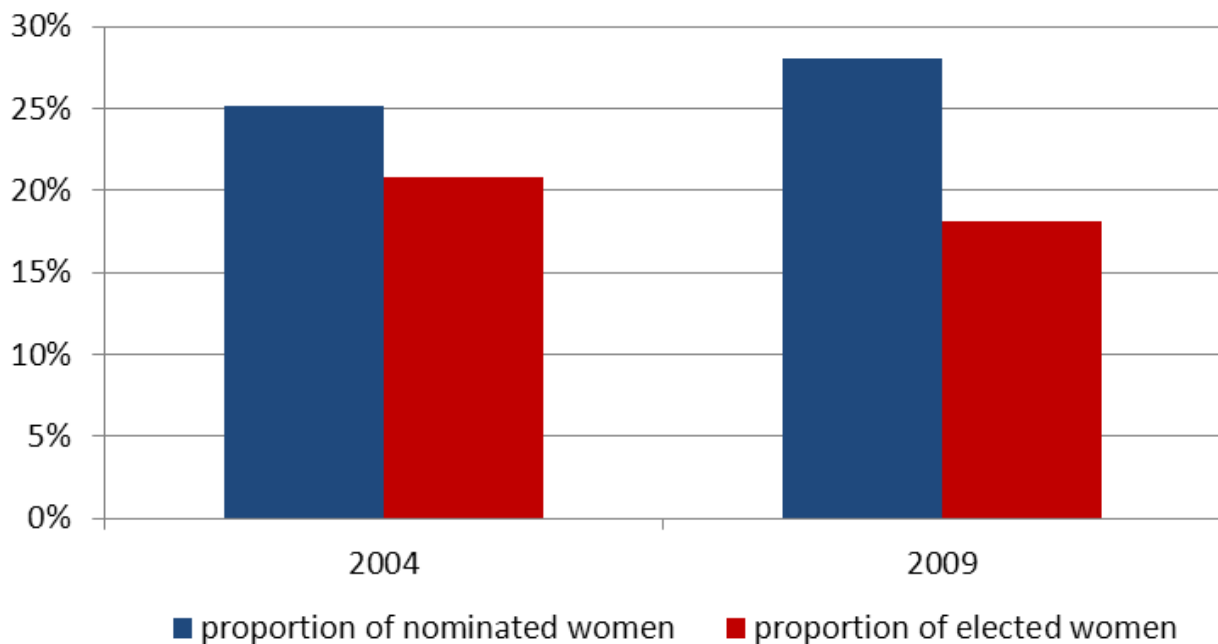
Within the entire political spectrum it is the most difficult to assess the development of women representation in the European Parliament for the Czech Republic because the elections to this body have taken place only twice in the Czech Republic up till now. The results show that representation of women seems accidental and it does not only depend on proportion of women on the candidate lists but also on their order and number of mandates taken by the particular party.

All 24 seats were taken by co-opted deputies in the period between the Czech Republic’s accession to EU and regular election in June 2004 (i.e. start of term of office of the newly elected parliament in July of the same year). Overall participation of women was 17% which represents the lowest number compared to the outcome of both regular elections. Paradoxically the most influential in terms of gender participation within the historically first Czech delegation – as well as in the following two terms of office of the European Parliament – was the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) represented by two female deputies. In the following two elections only one female deputy was elected for ODS. It is interesting that none of the co-opted female deputies of the European Parliament defended successfully her mandate. On the contrary many men deputies who got to the

European Parliament for the Czech Republic before the regular election in 2004 still keep their mandates in EP.

The chart below focuses on the Czech Republic only and it clearly shows that even though there were 25% women nominated for the Czech Republic in 2004, only 5 were elected, i.e. almost 21% of the total number. The percentage of nominated women increased by 3% in the following election in 2009, however only 4 (18%)² women were elected which is the second worst result out of all member states (only Malta had worse result with no female EP participation)³. Thought, the overall participation of women in EP increased from 30% in 2004 to 35% in 2009.

Chart no. 1: The development of women's representation in European Parliament for the Czech Republic



Data source: Czech Statistical Office

When looking at the election outcome in more detail we find out that there were big differences amongst the political subjects in terms of gained mandates and participation of women politicians. As stated above the Civic Democratic Party was the most influential subject with respect to the Czech gender representation in EP in 2004; however, only one female Euro-deputy (11%) was elected for the party; it was the worst result in terms of gender representation following the Czech Social Democratic Party that was represented by men only for the 2004 – 2009 electoral period. The other political subjects were all represented by one woman and at the same time it was the maximum for all elected parties. One man and one woman were elected for the Christian and Democratic Union –Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-ČSL) and the Independents thus the one third women participation was reached by SNK-European Democrats. The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM) was represented by one woman in EP only for this period which makes 16.7%.

The following elections in 2009 were distinct in many respects – only four subjects were successful. Contrary to the previous period women participation dropped by 4 percent from 21% to 17%. ODS had again determining impact on the total representation of women and as in the previous elections only one female Euro-Deputy (11%) was elected for the party. By contrast the Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD) suffered a great turnover ; in the previous period it was not represented by any woman but in 2009 two women were elected (which was the biggest number for one political party) – the participation of elected women thus raised to 28.6%. There was no woman elected for KSČM in these elections even though women nominees were presented in parity (44%). However, they were nominated for lower positions on candidate lists that were with respect to the party's election results unelectable. KDU-ČSL reached 50% in terms of women participation.

It is impossible to estimate outcome of next elections based on two elections. However, the present results clearly show that it is essential for political parties to nominate women candidates on electable positions. It especially regards parties with the highest number of votes as they have major influence on the final political representation of men and women. On the other hand even the political subject that gained only two seats were able to achieve exact parity in gender representation. The crucial condition was to put candidates of the opposite sex to the top of candidate lists. The order of preference votes slightly changed in both years – in some cases only

first two positions swapped, yet nobody was elected from originally unelectable position. Therefore they had no influence on the final representation of men and women. Moreover, women got to EP from last electable positions even for parties with relatively high number of votes and assigned mandates (i.e. more than two).

National Parliament

The situation in the Parliament of the Czech Republic is not much more favourable than the situation at European level. The representation of women in executive positions, i.e. in the Government of the Czech Republic is much lower.

It has to be mentioned that political parties have crucial – thus slightly less determining – influence on the percentage of men and women in representative bodies. The electorate have limited opportunity to influence the outcome of the election. The only option is granting preferential votes that can solely be used in the election to the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic (PS PČR) where the parity electoral system is applied. This option significantly helped women in PS PČR election in 2010 with preferential votes being considerably strengthened comparing to the previous elections. Given that preferential voting system has already been amended for several times and that preferential votes served against women in the last 2013 elections, this tool cannot be considered reliable solution to the considerable gender discrepancy on electable positions of candidate lists.

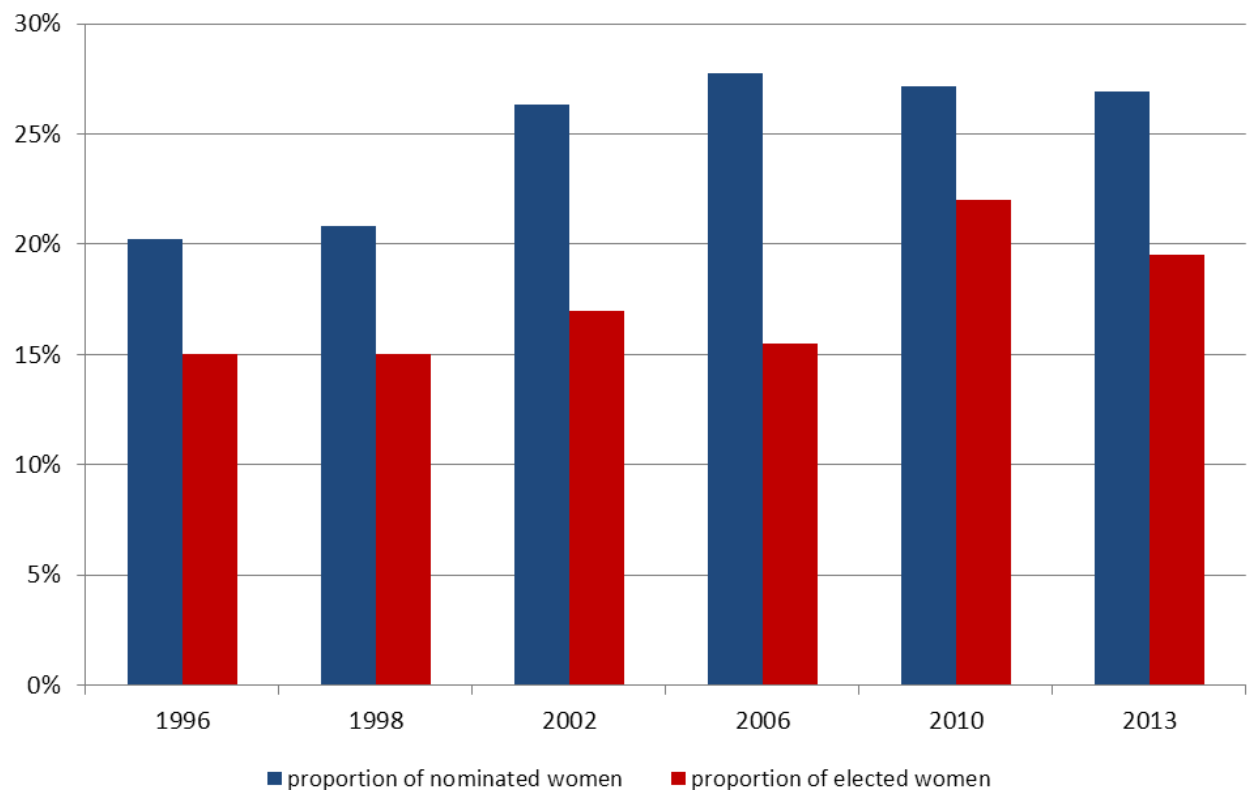
In case of Upper House the majority electoral system is applied; nomination depends strictly on political parties and voters cannot influence it at all. Contrary to that independent candidates candidate more often and their nomination does not depend on political parties' will but on the public support. Despite that the representation of women in Senate is usually lower than in the Chamber of Deputies, it alters less frequently during the electoral period as well.

The Czech governments represent far most the worst example of participation of women politicians. There have been two solely masculine governments formed in the Czech Republic. On the contrary the second government of the Prime Minister Miroslav Topolanek and the caretaker government of the Prime Minister Jan Fischer had an exceptionally high number of women presented – in both cases the participation of women was higher there than in representative bodies.

These exceptions only prove the fact, which 2010 elections clearly showed, that voters do support women candidates, however political parties disrespect their will when making nominations for executive-level positions.

Contrary to the elections to the European Parliament that have taken place in the Czech Republic only twice so far, there has been certain ongoing tendency in the Chamber of Deputies. The following chart shows that the development has not been linear until now and that women's representation was changing from one election to another. Likewise, the overall ratio of nominated women to men was changing but since 2002 it has not dropped down to the level of the previous two elections (in 1996 and 1998) when it had not reached one third.

Chart no. 2: Presentation of women amongst the nominated and elected candidates to PS PČR from 1996 until 2013



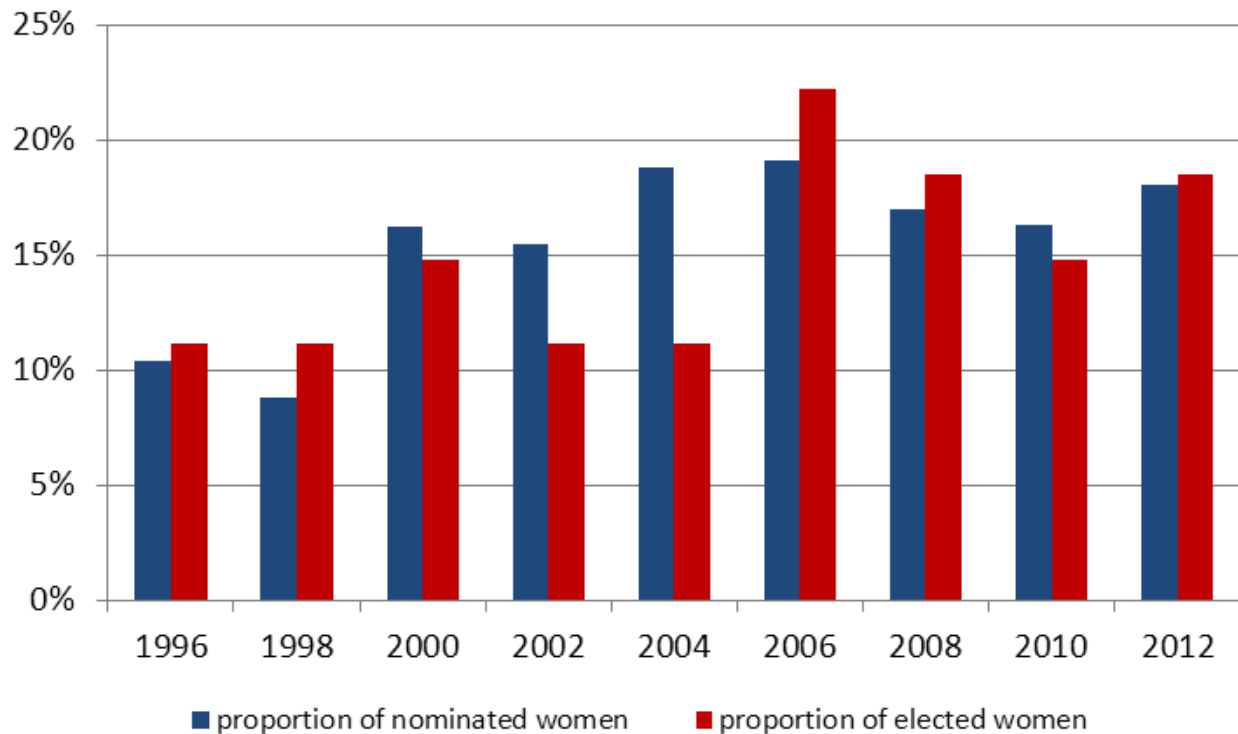
Data source: Czech Statistical Office

The red column of the chart captures the situation right after the election, however the participation of women politicians was changing during the electoral period, for example the factual representation of women in the Chamber of Deputies in 2010 was 18%. Women usually take substitute positions (meaning the first unelectable positions on candidate lists), so if for some reason there appears a vacancy during an electoral period, women get to representative bodies and thus increase their political participation.

The chart also shows that in terms of women's representation the year 2010 was revolutionary. Their political representation increased by 4% in comparison to the representation of women before the elections (and by 6.5% when comparing to the situation immediately after the elections in 2006) reaching beyond the 20% limit. However, fewer women were nominated for the elections in 2013 hence the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic is currently represented by 19.5% women only. It is important to note that such a result is not only due to nominations political parties make but also due to voters' behaviour. Preferential voting worked quite oppositely giving mandates to 8 men at the expense of female candidates. If the order on the candidate list was the only determinative factor, 5 more women were to be elected which means 22% as in the previous elections. Additionally, voters made use of preferential votes generally less and instead of changing the order of the candidates for the "traditional" political parties, they voted for new political subjects (political movement ANO 2011 and Tomio Okamura's Dawn of Direct Democracy).

In case of Upper House the development of participation of women nominees and elected women politicians seem even more coincidental. The ratio of women to men amongst the nominees was changing equally as the ratio of women senators to men senators. Women candidates were most successful in 2006 when 6 (22%) were elected in total. On the contrary, only 3 women were chosen in 1998, 2002 and 2004 in all 27 precincts making 11%. It means that the ratio equals the outcome of the historically first elections to the Upper House when women were elected in 9 out of all 81 precincts. Given that elections are only held in one third of the precincts (with the exception of the first election in 1996) the percentage of elected women (Chart no. 3) does not reflect the overall representation of women in the Senate for the given electoral period (Chart no. 4).

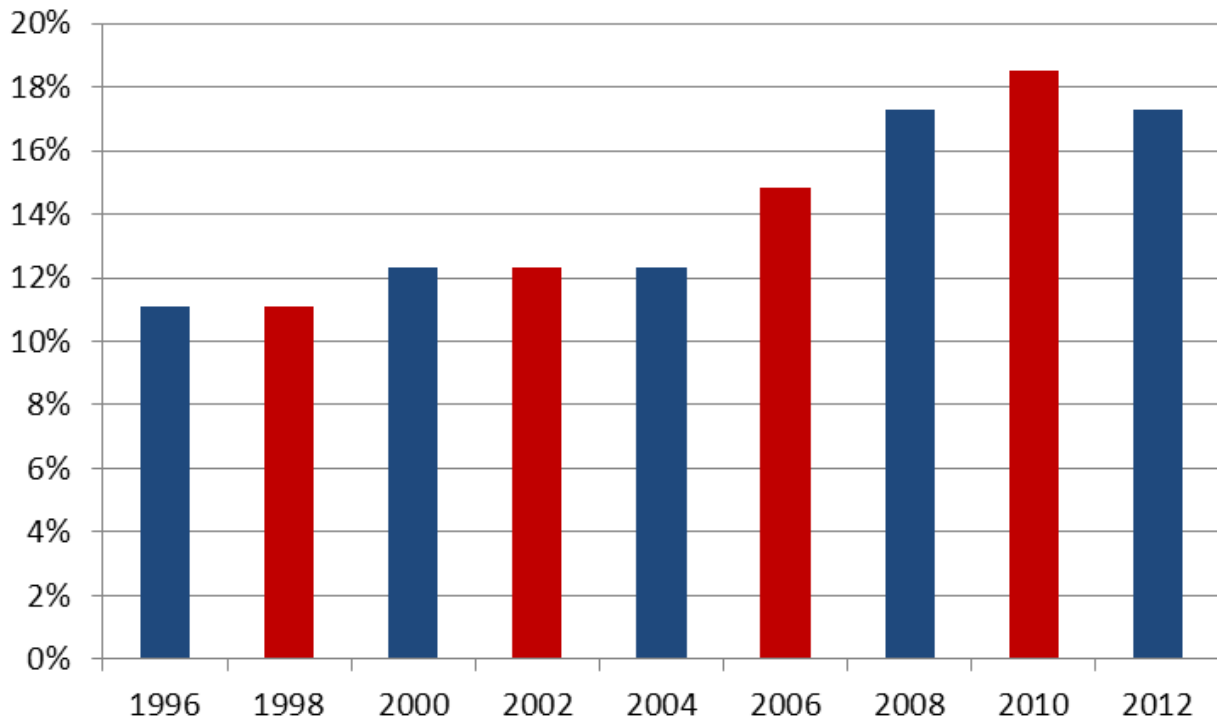
Chart no. 4: Ratio of women to men nominated and elected to the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic from 1996 until 2012



Data source: Czech Statistical Office

When comparing representation of women in the Senate any noticeably positive development is traced down either. The gender composition of the body was relatively stable in the first electoral periods – women formed 11% of the Upper House in the first two periods, subsequently there was a slight increase by 1.4% in 2003. From 2006 onwards representation of women grew sharply – at first to almost 15%, after 2008 elections by 2.5% and it reached its historical maximum of 18.5% in 2010. Women then represented 15 electoral districts in total. The positive tendency reversed in the last elections in 2012 when representation of women dropped down to current 17.3%. This fall was caused predominantly by the fact that the elections took place in the same districts like in 2006 when women achieved their best results.

Chart no. 4: Development of representation of women in the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic from 1996 until 2012



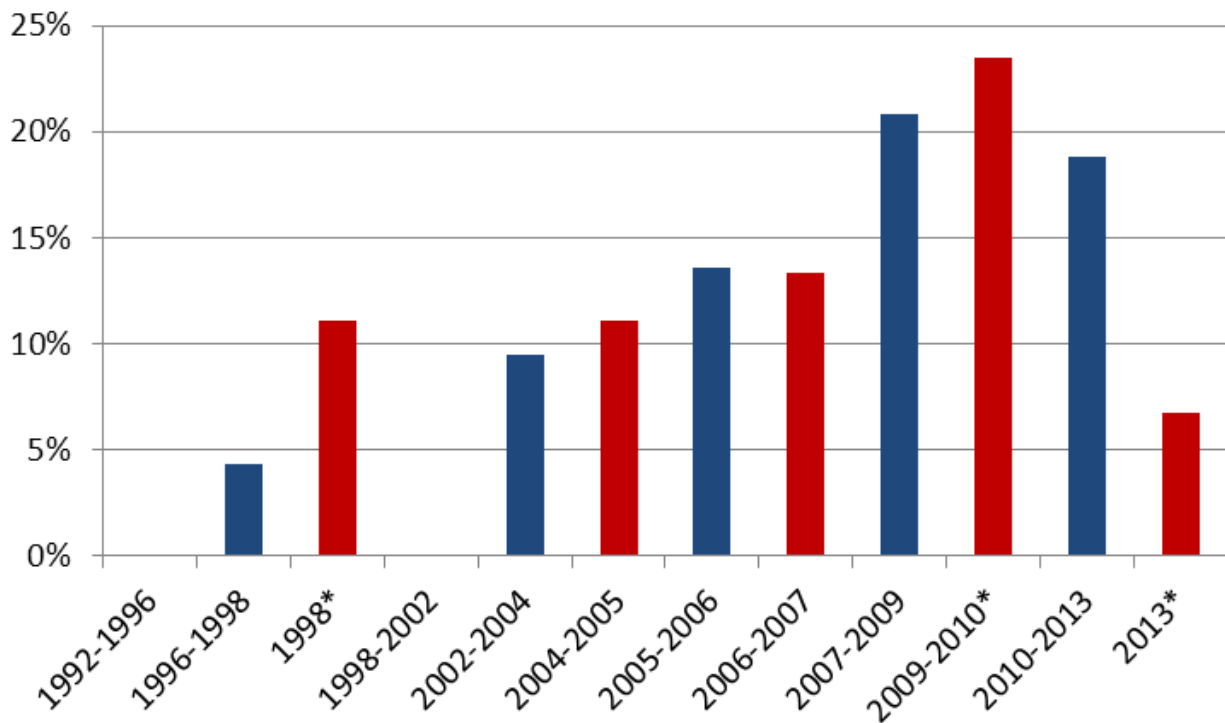
Data source: Czech Statistical Office

Position of Women in Government

The personnel structures of the governments have often, especially in recent years, changed and together with that the representation of women has also altered. The situation on the appointment of government may differ to the situation at the end of its term of office. From this point of view the government of the Prime Minister Petr Nečas can serve as an illustrative example; in July 2010 it was appointed as exclusively male cabinet and three years later upon its resignation women formed almost 19% of the government personnel.

Presence of women in the Czech governments to certain extent resembles general, often chaotic Czech political situation, especially in the top echelons of politics. Similarly to the Parliament of the Czech Republic the development of representation of women in the government was not linear (see Chart no. 5). There is no evident correlation between women representation and the fact that the government is either political, or caretaker as there have been 3 caretaker governments appointed since 1992.

Chart no. 5: Development of women representation in the Government of the Czech Republic from 1992 until 2013



Data source: The official website of the Government of the Czech Republic (www.vlada.cz)

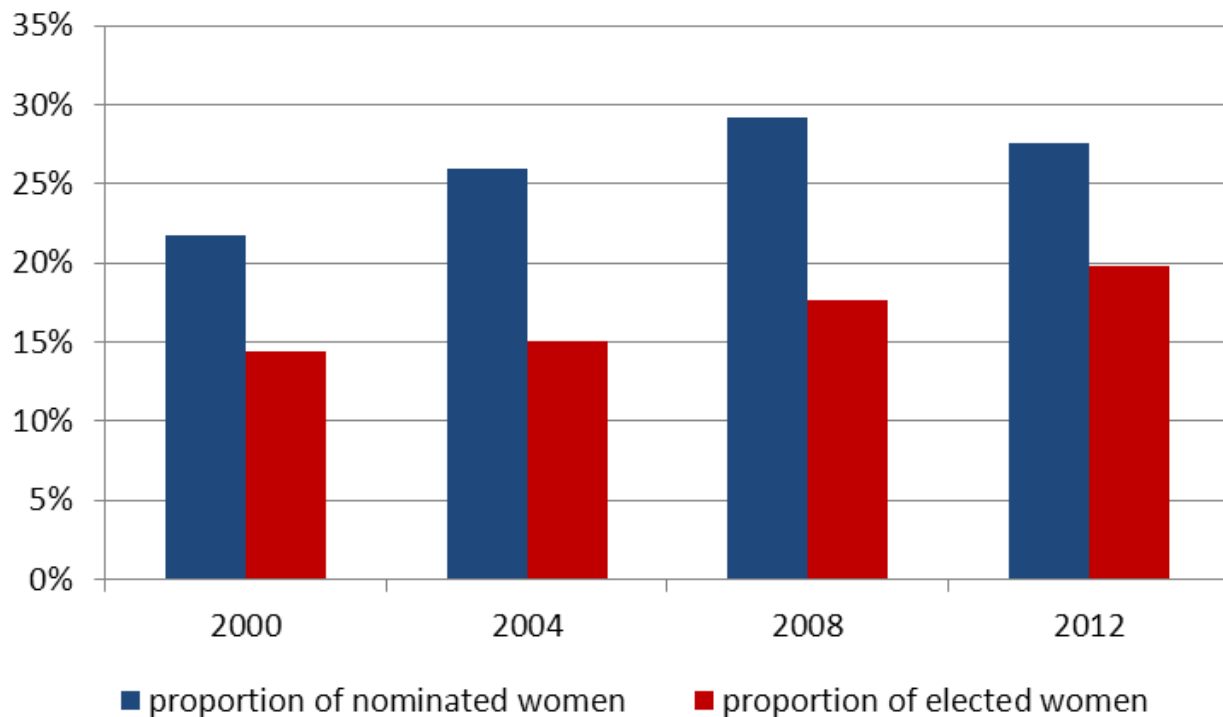
Four governments, i.e. one third of the mentioned ones, in total were composed without any female minister. There was no woman in the first government of the Prime Minister Václav Klaus between 1992 and 1996 and in the minority cabinet of the Prime Minister Miloš Zeman between 1998 and 2002 for the whole term of office. Initially the second cabinet of MP Václav Klaus had been appointed as male; however one female minister entered the cabinet about a half year after its appointment. Likewise women were appointed to the government of PM Petr Nečas only during its term of office – two got minister positions and one got a post of vice prime minister and President of the Legislative Council.

Regional and Local Politics

The representation of women in regional and local politics is more favourable in comparison to the countrywide situation. Even here the rule holds that the smaller the local administration is the more women are present. Comparison of women representation in town and municipal authorities can serve relevant illustration of the major difference between statutory cities and smaller municipalities. Similarly to the previous chapter, there is discrepancy between elected posts and executive – there are fewer women in the decision-making bodies at this level.

Elections to Regional Assemblies have been held only four times and women have not reached one fifth quota in the overall representation within the whole Czech Republic. Contrary to the top echelons of politics, percentage of women in Regional Assembly bodies has gradually increased despite the fact that there were fewer women candidates in the last elections than in the previous ones.

Chart no. 6: Percentage of women amongst nominated and elected candidates to Regional Assemblies from 2000 until 2012

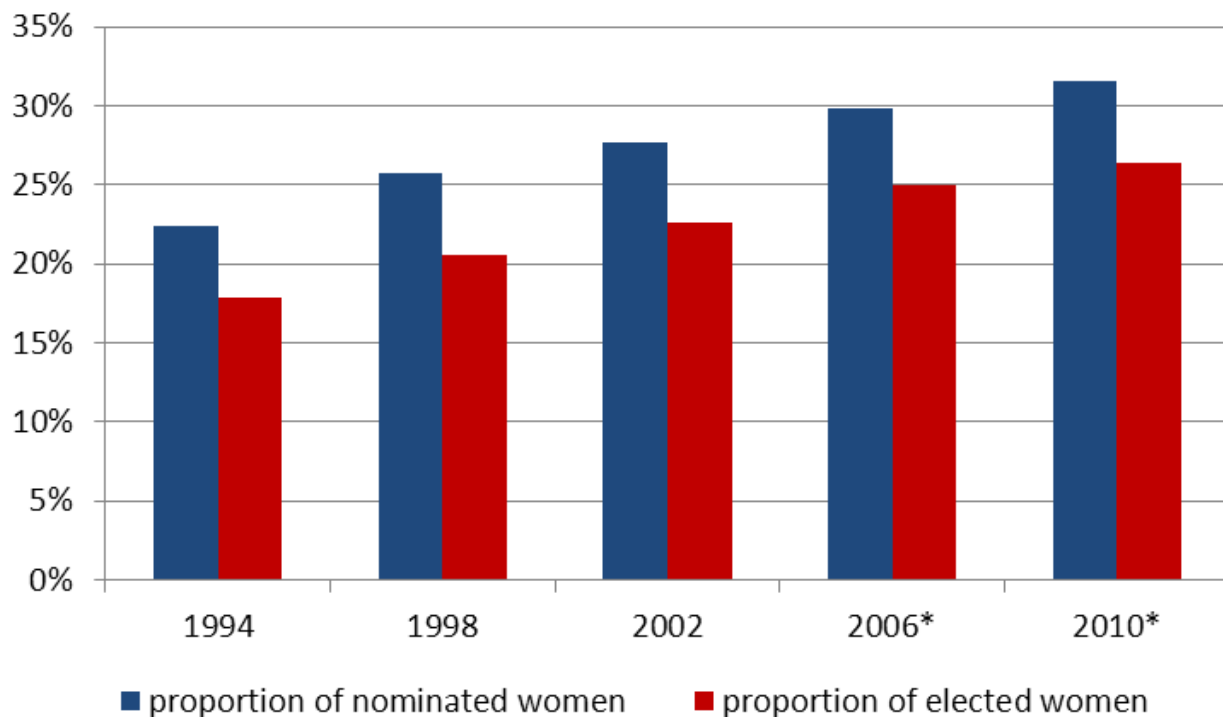


Data source: Czech Statistical Office

The impact of preferential voting in regional elections was relatively strong; however, in 2012 it slightly disadvantaged women candidates. It seems that gender composition of Regional Assemblies depends more on which political party succeeds in elections. The so far highest percentage of women representatives in the regional authorities were brought in by regional associations that were willing to nominate women (and place them on top of candidate lists) more than bigger parties. Success of left-wing parties, i.e. failure of right-wing parties was another significant factor because they had sent fewer women to the elections. Therefore there are differences between every region – the participation of women oscillates from less than 13% in Ústecký region up to 26% in Moravskoslezský region.

Women’s participation in Local Assemblies is traditionally the highest; it is also the only decision-making sphere where they have one third participation. As we implied at the introduction to this chapter it is necessary to distinguish statutory cities, where the representation of women resembles countrywide political scene, from smaller towns and municipalities. As the below chart outlines municipality scene is the only one where women’s participation on candidate lists and in elected bodies has developed linearly and has increased by percentage from one election to another.

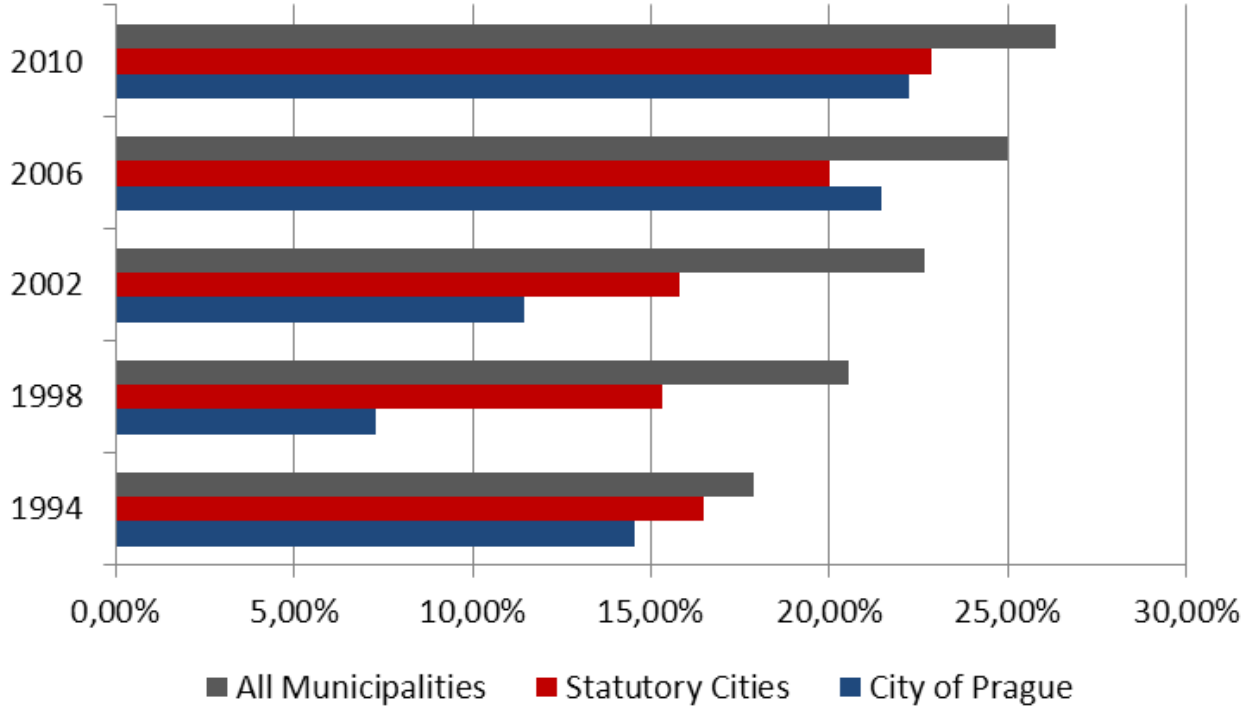
Chart no. 7: Percentage of women nominated and elected to Local Assemblies between 1994 and 2004



However, at town and municipality level their sizes must be considered. Traditionally the representation of women in statutory cities is lower than the overall ratio. As the following chart

implies the lowest number of women representatives is traced in Prague City Assembly which approximates to women representation in regions. This holds with the exception of the year 2006 when the percentage of women in Prague City Assembly plummeted by almost 10% comparing to the previous elections.

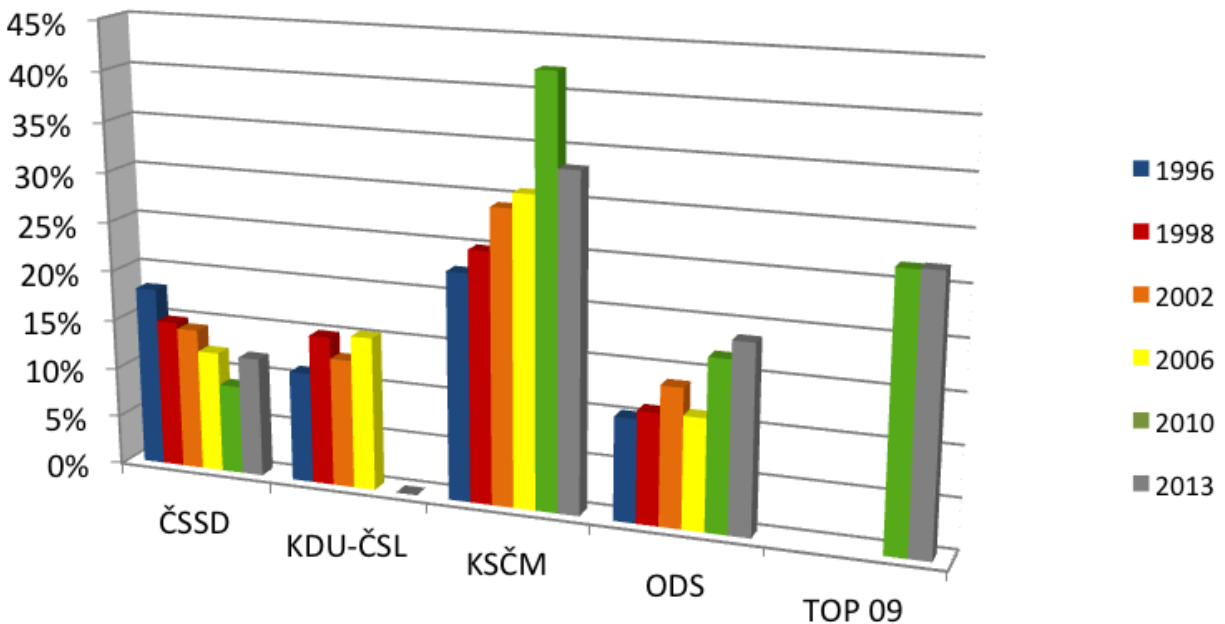
Chart no. 8: Comparison of representation of women in Local Assemblies leadership with City of Prague and statutory cities between 1994 and 2010



Women in Czech Political Parties

It is the political parties that have the fundamental influence of status of women in the Czech politics. As there are no measurements to countervail representation of women and men in decision making positions at the state level, it is purely within the competences of political parties to decide whether they should self-impose any countervailing measurements (in the form of mandatory quotas or recommendations). The following chart illustrates different approaches to gender equality; it captures the development of representation of women in the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic for each political party:

Chart no. 9: The development of representation of women in the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic from 1996 until 2013 for selected political subjects



Data source: Czech Statistical Office

Most evidently there are major differences in terms of representation of women in the representative bodies for each party and period. These alternations can be partially caused by the overall number of votes and mandates obtained in each election; however, the attitude towards greater support of representation of women in politics can be tracked for each political subject because it reflects women in parties' leadership positions as we will see below. We have to mention that two Czech political parties apply quota or recommendation for compilation of candidate lists – it is the Green Party and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia.

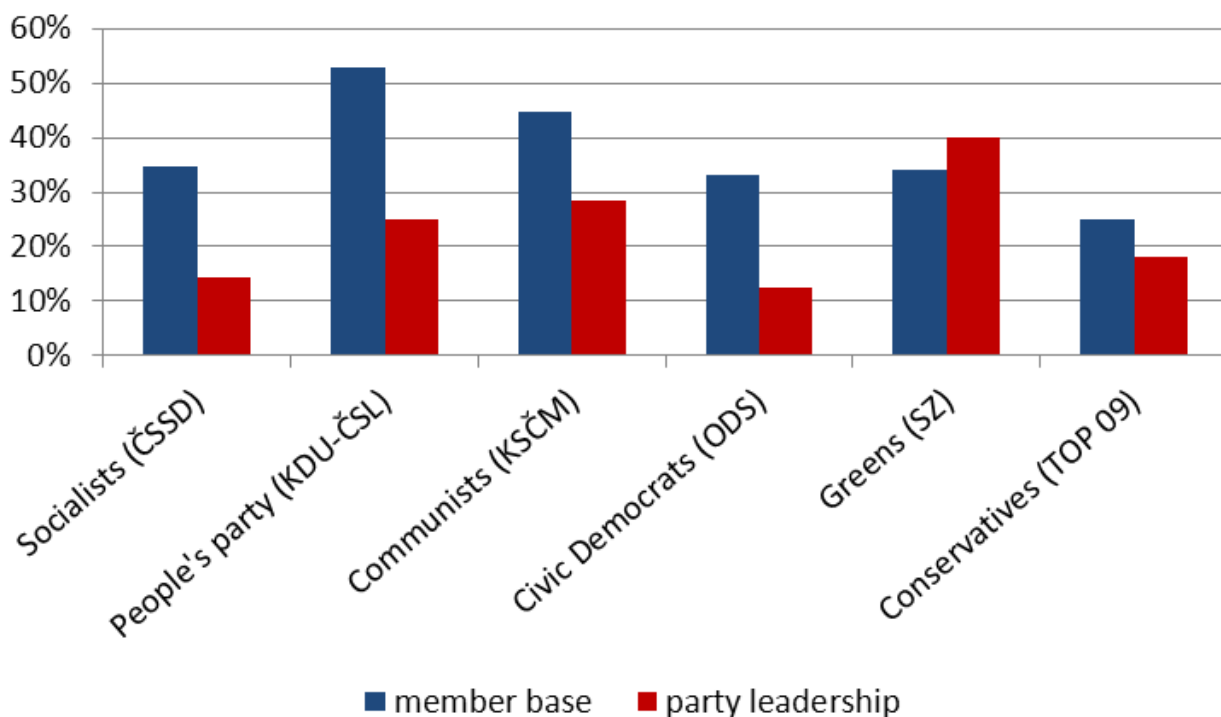
The statutes of the Green Party embed that at least one person of the opposite gender has to be presented on a list of candidates in order to reach the minimal one third female representation. At the same time two people of opposite gender have to be placed on top of a candidate list. The party met the obligation to taking into account gender of the candidates when drawing up candidate lists even before the formal ratification of quota was passed in 2011 and for example after the elections in 2006 women formed exactly half of the club of deputies of the Green Party.

The case of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia seems extraordinary as the party has not applied any formal quota yet. However, mandatory recommendation for nominating at least one woman within first three positions on a candidate list is issued for every election. Although the recommendation is not met in all regions, it is followed by the vast majority of regions, hence influencing directly the final participation of women in decision-making bodies for this party. In the elections to the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic in 2010 KSČM achieved parity as historically second party after the Green Party – women formed more than 42% of the club of deputies; after the elections in 2013 it is one third. Women represent this party in lower echelons of politics (contradictory to the general tendency) less; nevertheless in comparison to other parliamentary parties KSČM excels in participation of their women politicians.

The following chart captures the disparity between representation of women in member base and leadership. Except for the Green Party the presentation of women in member base is higher than their representation in the leadership for all relevant subjects. Two political parties apply gender quota for nomination of leading posts. It is the Czech Social Democratic Party with 25% quota for

women representation (it means it is not gender-neutral) and the Green Party. Its statutes define that the first vice-chairperson has to be of the opposite sex to the chairperson. At least one person of the opposite sex has to be represented in the elected bodies in order to gain the minimal one-third limit within each triad.

Chart no. 10: Representation of women in member base and leadership for selected* political subjects



It is therefore clear that when comparing the parties it is necessary to take into account the political level and course of electoral period during which representation of women can change. In general we can state that out of all observed parties the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia deals with supporting women at all levels of politics in the best way. Percentage of women representing this party reaches beyond one third at all levels. Contrary to that the two “political stars” of the political scene the Czech Social Democratic Party and the Civic Democratic Party evince the worst attitude to inclusion of women in politics.

ESTONIA

Parliamentary election

There are 101 members in the Estonian parliament – Riigikogu. The elections use the proportional representation voting system and the election threshold of 5% is applied. Table 1 shows the overview of the gender breakdown of the candidates and the elected members that took part of the Parliamentary elections of the Republic of Estonia during the period of 1992-2011. The percentage of women among the candidates was the lowest during the first Parliamentary election after the Restoration of Independence – 14% of all the candidates were women. However, comparing the percentage of the women who were elected and the female candidates shows a rather similar outcome.

Table 1. Elections of Estonian Parliament - Riigikogu, 1992-2011

	1992	1995	1999	2003	2007	2011
	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Candidates' %						
Men	86	82	73	79	73	77
Women	14	18	27	21	27	23
Elected candidates' %						
Men	87	88	82	81	76	80
Women	13	12	18	19	24	20

Source: Elections in Estonia 1992-2011 Statistics and explanations.

The percentage of female candidates during the following two Parliamentary elections was higher but the percentage of the women elected was lower. Compared to the previous elections the most

successful for women were the Parliamentary elections held in 2007, in which 27% of the candidates and 24% of the elected members were women. However, during the elections in 2011 the growing trend did not continue but rather decreased. Although the influence of different methods used to increase the political participation of women cannot be proven, it can still be noted that in the beginning of the 21 century various campaigns and projects were used to bring more attention to increasing the involvement of women.

There were altogether 12 constituencies during the elections held in 2011. The basis for being elected to the Parliament is either personal, district, or compensation mandate. Receiving a personal or district mandate does not depend so much on what the position in the list of constituencies is but that position is strategically important for the party to receive a compensation mandate. For the former two mandates the number of received votes is crucial, and of course we cannot deny that for some voters a candidate's position in the district list is very significant and, therefore, (s)he might give his/her vote to a candidate that is placed on top of the list, in other words, the total number of votes may be in a positive relation to being on top of the list. Taking a look at the percentage of women among the ones who received the compensation mandate, it can be seen that with the last 3 Parliamentary elections the proportion of women has decreased. In 2003 women received 30% of the compensation mandate, in 2007 it was 27%, and 11% in 2011.

Table 2. Method of acquiring mandates during the Parliament election in 2011

		Mandates total	in Personal Mandate	District Mandate	Compensation Mandate
Men	N	81	12	52	17
	%	80%	86%	76%	89%
Women	N	20	2	16	2
	%	20%	14%	24%	11%
TOTAL	N	101	14	68	19

At the Parliamentary elections in 2011, 23% of all participating candidates were women and the method of acquiring mandates was as follows: 14 people were elected to the Parliament with the personal mandate, out of whom 2 were women (14%), district mandates brought in 68 people, of whom 16 were women (24%), and the compensation mandate added another 19 members, of whom 2 were women (11%) (See Table 2). Therefore, it can be said that, on one hand, it is more difficult for women to gather a number of votes that would ensure a personal mandate, on the other hand, the positioning of women in the overall list is not very favourable to receive compensation mandates. In the district lists of constituencies, however, where the ranking is based on votes received, women are rather successful. The district lists of constituencies are usually led by a man, but the 2nd or 3rd place is more likely reserved for a woman. Therefore, the positioning of women is better in the district lists of constituencies than the overall ones, which can also explain women's rather modest representation among the ones elected to the Parliament by compensation mandate.

Analyses have shown that even when omitting candidates (mainly male), who have received over 10 000 votes, the differences between the number of votes gathered by men and women are not that big. If in 2007 the difference was 100 votes, then during the elections in 2011 men and women received approximately the same amount of votes .

Government of the Republic

Women were elected as ministers for the first time during the government-in-exile. Renate Kaasik was a member of Heinrich Marga's government-in-exile in Sweden in 1971 – 1990 and the attorney-general during Enno Penno's government-in-exile in 1990 – 1992 was Aino Lepik von Wirén. The transitional government period in 1990-1992 saw Siiri Oviir as Edgar Savisaar's government's Minister of Social Care and Klara Hallik as the Minister of International Relations during Tiit Vähi's transitional government.

At the moment the government of the Republic is formed by 14 ministers. Never before have there been that few female ministers in the government as there is at present. The only woman in the Cabinet is the Reformist Minister of the Environment, Keit Pentus. During the previous elections in 2007, women still held the fifth that is 21% of all the ministerial positions, when 3 female

ministers were sworn into the Cabinet: the minister of Culture and Social Affairs from the Reform Party and minister of Population from Social Democratic Party (the latter position was abolished in 2009). Take a look at Table 3. Female ministers through the years by Party and governing area.

Table 3. Female ministers 1992-2011 by governing area and party.

	1992 *	1995	1999	2003	2007	2011
	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Primeminister						
Minister of the Justice						
Minister of the Economics and Communication		Liina Tõnisson	Liina Tõnisson			
		Kesk	Kesk			
			2002-2003			
Minister of the Education and Science			Mailis Reps(Rand)	Mailis Reps(Rand)		
			Kesk	Kesk		
			2002-2003	2005-2007		
Minister of the Defence						
Minister of the Environment						Keit Pentus

Refor
m

**Minister of the
Culture**

Signe Kivi

Laine

Reform

Randjärv

1999-2002

Reform

2002

**Minister of the
Finance**

**Minister of the
Social Affairs**

Marju

Lauristin

Mõõdukad/
social.dem

1992-1994

Lagle Parek

Isamaaliit/IR

L

1992-1993

Siiri Oviir

Kesk

... 1996

Tiiu Aro

Koond.

1996-1997

1997-1999

Siiri Oviir

Kesk

2002-2003

Kristiina

Ojuland

Reform

Kristiina

Ojuland

Reform

**Minister of the
International
Relations**

	2002-2003	2004-2005
Minister of the Agriculture		Ester Tuiksoo Rahvaliit 2004-2005 2005-2007

Minister of the Population	Klara Hallik 1992 Rahvussuhete minister	Andra Veideman n Kesk 1996-1999 1997-1999	Katrin Saks Sots.dem. ...2002	Urve Palo Sots.dem . Kuni 2009	----- -
-----------------------------------	---	---	-------------------------------------	---	------------

Minster for Regional Affairs

Minister for Reform	Liia Hänni Mõõdukad/ sots.dem. 1992-1994 1994-1995	-----
----------------------------	--	-------

During the years 1992 – 2011 there have been three women on average who have been part of the executive power. The greatest number of women has been in Reformist Siim Kallas’ government in 2002 – 2003 that had five women working as ministers, forming 36% of the government members.

Election of the municipal council

Women’s participation in the local government elections’ electoral lists and the number of the elected women has through the years been higher than it has been during the Parliamentary elections. Allik (2010) brings out that while in 1993 there were little over 28% of women among the candidates and the percentage of elected women turned out to be up to 24%, then in 2005 and 2009 the corresponding percentages were 39 and 30 (See Figure 1). As can be seen from the graph, the last two elections have been the most successful for women, and during that time also the Parliamentary elections of 2007 took place which have been the most successful for women so far.

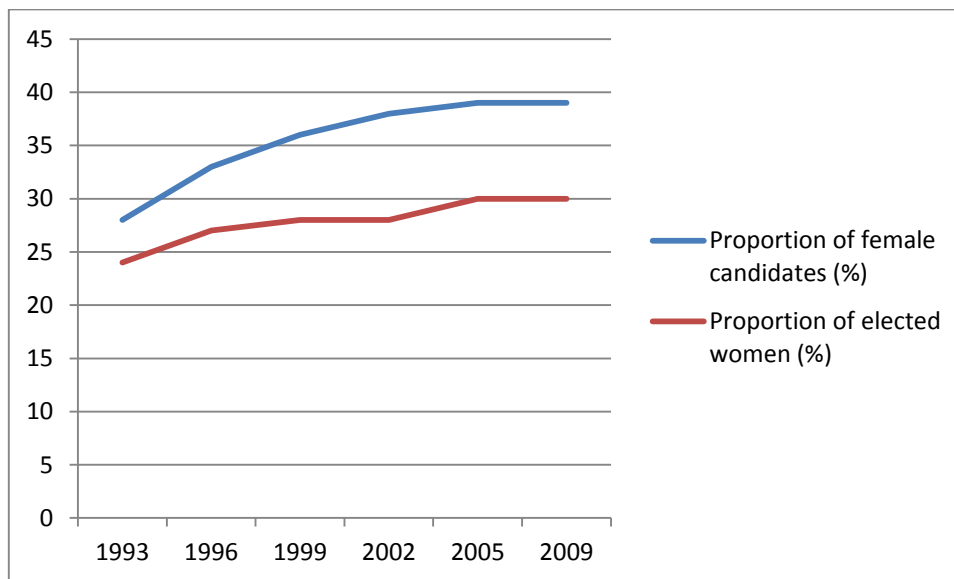


Figure 1. Proportion of female candidates and of elected women, elections of municipal councils (local level), 1993-2009.

However, to compare Figure 1, illustrating the ratio between female candidates and elected women at the level of local elections, to Figure 2, which illustrates same values at the level of Parliamentary elections, it can be seen that women’s standing at the local level is not that much better from the national level. The difference between the proportion of female candidates and elected women during the last three Parliamentary elections was 2-3%; at the local level the percentage of the candidates was 9-10% higher than the percentage of the elected women.

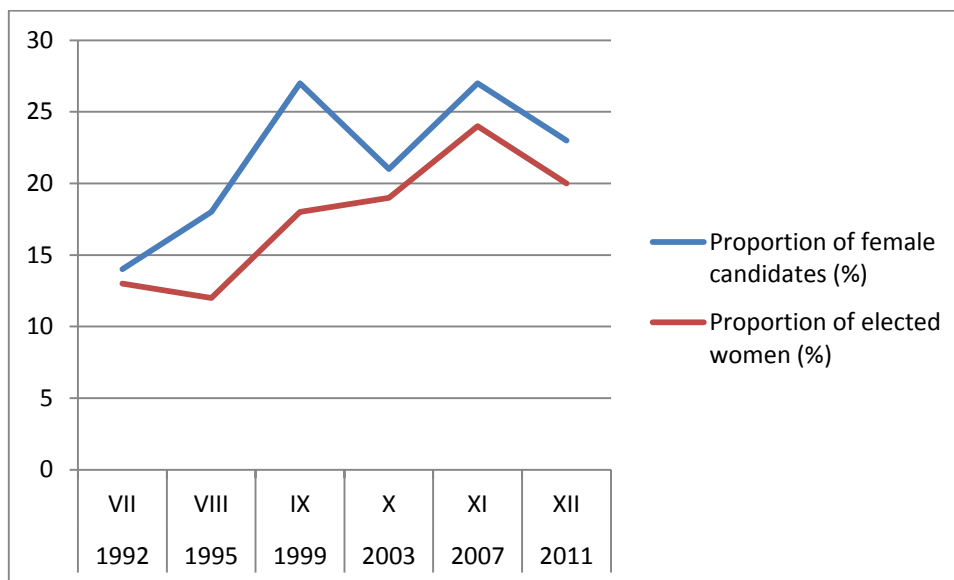


Figure 2. Proportion of female candidates and of elected women, Estonian Parliament Elections 1992-2011.

The probability of becoming elected is much higher among men than it is among women (Table 4). Namely, during the latest election, 23-24% of all men who ran for Parliament got elected, for women that number was 15%. Therefore, it can be said that nearly every fourth male candidate became elected; as a comparison, every seventh female candidate became elected to the municipal council during the last election. It should still be emphasized that the likelihood of becoming elected depends on how many candidates there are altogether. In the beginning of 1990s much fewer people ran for the municipal council than for the most recent elections – the number of

candidates has increased by 6351 people, whereas the number of seats in the council has diminished by 407.

Table 4. The proportion of elected women and men among candidates of municipal councils.

	Elected male candidates		Elected female candidates	
	Number of elected/number of candidates	%	Number of elected/number of candidates	%
2009	2166/9385	23%	910/5937	15%
2005	2191/8893	25%	920/5763	16%
2002	2345/9464	25%	928/5739	16%
1999	2404/8239	30%	951/4562	21%
1996	2533/7454	34%	920/3674	25%
1993	2649/6434	41%	834/2535	33%

- Source: Own calculations based on the data from Estonian National Electoral Committee

To take a look at the increasing numbers of men and women among the candidates separately, we can see that in 1993-2009 the number of male candidates has increased 1,46 times and female ones 2,34 times. Therefore, it can be said that at the level of local elections women's participation has increased more rapidly than men's.

In consequence, two important aspects appear: 1) even though the proportion of women among the candidates has increased considerably, there are still much fewer female candidates than there are male ones. Hence, the first obstacle for women's participation is their lesser involvement among candidates. 2) Female candidates' chances to become elected are smaller than male ones';

consequently, the second obstacle could probably be cultural-historical, which shows men as more preferable candidates. Of course it cannot be denied that the candidates' education, occupation, earlier political experiences, and the positioning in the electoral list should also be taken into consideration.

European Parliament election

Estonia became the full member of the European Union on the 1st of May, 2004, immediately after which the first European Parliament election took place for Estonia. The composition of Parliament consists of six Estonian members and during both periods half of them have been women and half men. It is important to point out that, in reality, during both years there were four men and two women elected. However, on both occasions a woman was accepted as a substitute member, which created the gender balance. Looking at the gender breakdown on the background, it could be said that women were more successful than men. While women formed a fourth of the candidates in 2004 and 30% in 2009, third of them got elected at both times. Of the members of the European Parliament that started working, already half were women.

Table 5. Elections of the European Parliament, 2004 and 2009

	2004		2009	
	Number	%	Number	%
Candidates				
Men	72	76%	71	70%
Women	23	24%	30	30%
Elected members				
Men	4	67%	4	67%
Women	2	33%	2	33%

Source: Valimised Eestis 1992-2011, Statistikat ja selgitusi.

The proportion of women politicians in Riigikogu by political party

While until now we have viewed women's representation in politics irrespective of the party, then at this point we are taking a look at the representation of women in the parliament by political party. To do this, we have examined the last four year's compositions of parliament after registration of the members that immediately followed the voting results, leaving out the substitute members. As the main political forces were not yet established during the first elections of the republic (many candidates were running in electoral alliances, electoral lists of the unions, and as an individual candidates) we have left out the results from the elections held in 1992 and 1995.

From the Table 6 it can be seen that within the last four compositions of parliament, the Central Party faction has the greatest number of women – as the summary of the last four elections, every fourth member is a woman which means one woman for every three men. On the second place, considering the amount of women, is the Social Democrats Party, where for every woman there is three and a half men. The Reformist Party has 5,3 men for each woman, and there are even fewer women in Isamaa and Res Publica Union (includes the number of women before the merging of the two parties) – 5,5 men for each woman.

Table 6. Ratio of elected women (number of men divided by number of women = ratio) by political party, Elections of Estonian Parliament, 1999-2011.

	1999	2003	2007	2011
	IX	X	XI	XII
Central Party				
Men	23	21	19	19
Women	5	7	10	7
Ratio	4,6	3	1,9	2,7

Reformist Party				
Men	15	16	26	28
Women	3	3	5	5
Ratio	5	5,3	5,2	5,6
Social Democrats Party				
Men	14	4	7	16
Women	3	2	3	3
Ratio	4,6	2	2,3	5,3
Isamaa Union				
Men	14	7	---	---
Women	4	0	---	---
Ratio	3,5	7	---	---
Res Publica				
Men	---	23	---	---
Women	---	5	---	---
Ratio	---	4,6	---	---
Isamaa and Res Publica Union (IRL)				
Men	---	---	19	19
Women	---	---	17	4
Ratio	---	---	8,5	4,75
Rahvaliid*				---

Men	12	13	3	0
Women	4	1	3	0
Ratio	3	13	1	0
Estonian Green Party	---	---		
Men	---	---	5	0
Women	---	---	1	0
Ratio	---	---	5	0

* Data of IX Riigikogu, the members of Estonian Maarahva Party and Estonian Koonderakond are added together.

At this point let us say that during the last election, the Central Party used the zipper system, placing women and men at the top of the electoral list alternately, and also 6 of the 12 candidates set up for European Parliament elections were women. This has also been a subject in Social Democrats Party, but the zipper system has so far not been put into practice.

The representation of women by political party can be seen as anticipated. On one hand, it is logical that in the left-wing parties that stand for participatory democracy, social policy, and state intervention, representing so called soft values that are associated with women rather than men, women get more voted for. So far it has been a global trend. On the other hand, the left-wing parties can be taken as „women friendly“ (Lovenduski and Norris 1993) because more attention is paid on promoting gender equality and involving marginalised groups into politics on a wider scale (Matland & Studlar 1996). Thus it is logical that supporting women takes place even inside the left-wing parties, which results in more female candidates.

The position of women in political parties

There is no exact data concerning members of a party, but the earlier overviews have brought to attention that 48% of Estonian parties' ordinary members are women (Naiste diskrimineerimise

kõigi vormide2004). The balance between men and women is not reflected in the inner hierarchy of a party. The size of a party executive varies from 7 to 24 members. Women's proportion in the party executive is nonetheless rather modest, from 1 to 5 members (Table 7). Proportionally, the Reformist Party has the largest number of women in the party executive – 28,6%, followed by Estonian Central Party with 25%, and Social Democrats with 23,8%.

Table 7. Female members in party executives (08.09.2013).

	Number of members executive	of Female in members	Proportion of female members (%)
Isamaa and Res Publica Union	24	4	16,7
Estonian Central Party	16	4	25
Estonian Reformist Party	14	4	28,6
Estonian Conservative People Party	14	2	14,3
Social Democrats	21	5	23,8
Estonian Green Party	7	1	14,3

Women's participation in elections

The general election turnout varies depending on whether it is Parliamentary, Municipal Council, or European Parliament elections. Taking a look at the general election turnout during the period of 1992 – 2011 in Estonia shows that the Parliamentary elections are much more popular than the local or European Parliament elections. 63,5% of all eligible voters participated in the last Parliamentary election. There is no exact sociodemographic statistics about the turnout, but it is still possible to view voting activity separately for men and women thanks to electronic voting

system and also based on data from different surveys and researches. Since the local elections held in 2005 it is possible to vote electronically in Estonia. This in turn allows to establish the gender composition of the e-voters. Year by year the number of e-voters increases (from 9317 to 140764) and also the percentage of women among the e-voters. While in 2005 women made up 46% of all e-voters then the latest Parliamentary elections increased their proportion up to 54%.

Based on the data from European Social Survey in 2010 it can be pointed out that, taking voting activity into consideration, there is not much difference between younger men and women, 58% of 18-35-year old men and 57% of women gave their vote in the last Parliamentary election. The activity is greater among 36-65-year olds, but the differences between the genders are also larger. Namely, at the given age category women are more active than men (65% of men and 80% of women participated in the election). There are not many differences between 66-years and older men and women, on both cases the participation was 78%. The unemployed and people with lower level of education made up proportionally the largest part of the people who decided not to vote. Women under 35 with low level of education form one of the groups that is least interested in political involvement.

Practices that support the involvement of women in politics

Increasing women's involvement in politics and other assemblies that require leadership and decision making is not a national priority. Legally binding acts as well as funding to promote gender equality have been provided primarily thanks to international human rights agreements, European Union's directives concerning gender equality, and funding from Europe.

Increasing the involvement of women in politics has been a priority for Estonian-based women's associations since before the Restoration of Independence. Major social changes took place in Estonia already in the end of 1980s.

Support for women from 1990s until present day has come from the bottom up, from the grassroot level, where the main, if not the only role has been played by women's associations. Back in the

day, women's organisations acted in four main fields, one of which was to increase women's involvement in decision-making organs. Other fields were self improvement and education, supporting small businesses and charity (Laja 2006).

Grassroot level

The first organisation to unite women, Estonian Women Union (Eesti Naisliit) that was active during the first Republic, was recreated in 1989. The following years saw the increase in women's organisations. Other key organisations next to Women Union were Women's Training Centre (Naiskoolituse keskus) and Estonian Business and Professional Women Association (Eesti Ettevõtlike Naiste Assotsiatsioon, presently BPW Estonia). Most of those organisations were founded with the support of development programs and foundations (for example, the EL PHARE program, Open Estonia Foundation, foreign embassies in Estonia, UN Development program, Nordic Council of Ministers, etc).

Organisations, whose sphere women's involvement in decision making processes belongs to, have been presented in the chronological sequence according to the year of foundation. In addition to the short descriptions, projects concerning women and politics directly or indirectly have been brought out.

Table 8. Organisations that deal with supporting and promoting women's involvement.

Name, year of foundation	Implemented projects/programs	Project's/program's purpose
Estonian Women Union (1989)	Campaign „Woman support woman!“ (2003)	Women should vote for women in Parliamentary elections
Women's Training Centre (1991)		Creating networks for women entrepreneurs, international contact seminars, women's democracy

		training, training for gender equality, etc.
BPW Estonia (former EENA e. Ettevõtlike Naiste Assotsiatsioon - Estonian Business and Professional Women Association) (1992)	Women onto key positions (2012)	Women were called up to take leadership positions in society. Training for women leaders trainers took place (How to help women to key positions) and learning the best practices on the example of the Nordic Countries.
	Memorandum: Parties to use zipper system when creating electoral lists.	
Tartu University gender research group (1995)	Equality Gender and Governance (EGG) (2002-2005)	Analysis of the EU candidate countries' institutions' and organisations' contribution to increase the involvement of women in political decision processes.
Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre ENUT (former Naisuringute Keskus) (1995)	Together on the way to gender-balanced society(2011)	Elaborating policies promoting gender equality
	Sustainable civil society is gender-balanced society (2009-2010)	To improve the skills of the members of civil organizations to be able to follow the principles of gender equality in one's activity

		and to create equal opportunities for men and women to take part
Estonian Rural Women's Association (1996)		The greatest network that strives to create a social, cultural, educational, and developmental network for Estonian rural women. To increase the proportion of women in the local decision-making bodies.
Centre of Civic Education (former Women's Civil Training Centre) (1998)	Women into Parliament (1998-1999)	Increasing women's readiness to run for elections
	Support for women (2001-2002)	Increasing the competitiveness of female candidates for local and parliamentary elections.
	Women decide (2001-2002)	Seminars with the network partners and study trips to Nordic countries to learn from the experience of Finnish, Swedish, and Danish women in the local government councils.
	Awareness campaign (2005)	Increasing the awareness of women's role on the level of decision making.

	Changing attitudes (2006)	To influence young people's attitudes in a positive direction towards gender equality and women elected and running for political positions; develop cross-party cooperation policies between women trying to get into politics.
Estonian Women's Associations Round Table Foundation (EWAR) (2003)		In 2007 EWAR presented CEDAW committee with a shadow report, in which among other spheres attention was brought to lack of support in increasing women's involvement in decision making processes.
Enterprising Women in Estonia (ETNA) (2003)	Women entrepreneur in local politics (2005)	Training for women who run for local elections and wish to act as politicians.

National level

Activities supporting women's involvement on a national level are handled on two levels. The level of national politics, which includes international conventions, the passing of national laws, and establishing gender equality promoting organs; and the level of cooperation between women in political parties, which has largely taken the form of the third sector.

Policies supporting the involvement of women in politics

Government / Ministry level

Preparations for joining the European Union gave impetus to developing policies promoting gender equality. Although the idea of adopting the Equality Act did not receive a warm welcome in the parliament, adjusting Estonian legislation to European Union's directives regulating gender equality was the prerequisite for the accession to the European Union. The Equality Act underwent repeated readings due to not finding approval among the members of the Parliament.

The Gender Equality Bureau was established at Ministry of Social Affairs already in 1996 which became Gender Equality Department under the ministry after Estonia joined the European Union in 2004. Although there were only a couple people working in the department at the beginning, the number of workers has now increased to approximately ten. In 2005 a Gender Equality and Equal Treatment Commissioner started work there whose task was to monitor the enforcement of the equal treatment laws. The commissioner is also helping people with discrimination disputes and provides expert advice about incidences of discrimination.

The Gender Equality Department has been related to the field of women's involvement in politics only indirectly, it has coordinated the funding of project competitions that promote gender equality and the subject has always figured in the ministry's publications (See The monitoring of gender equality 2005, 2009; On the road to balanced society I, II).

The collaboration between women in political parties

The cooperation among women belonging to parties has over time worked through and with the help of non-political women's unions. Very often the initiator has been the women's assemblage of Social Democratic Party.

Parliamentary level

The round table of female members in Riigikogu.

The collaboration between women at a parliamentary level started in February 1998 when Riigikogu Women's Association (RKNÜ) was founded among the female members of the parliament. Into this union all twelve female members of parliament aggregated with the purpose of increasing the representation of women in politics, acknowledging social problems that mattered to women and finding solutions to those problems, but also improving the political culture. (Laja 2006; 2013). The goal was to put forward three female candidates into electoral lists of ten. The Association also helped to spread the local round tables around Estonia.

Estonian Women's Chain Cooperation (2004)

The Chain Cooperation was founded in addition to the round table of the parliament's women which in the beginning joined together only women belonging to parties. At the moment there are other female organisations that have joined but not many.

Local level

Local round tables(1998)

In August 1998 the Socio-Democratic women's assemblage Kadri in cooperation with (women's) Civil Training Centre (See also project „Women into Parliament“) organized a seminar “Women can!”, the result of which were round tables that were formed locally to promote joint activity. That helped women's cross-party cooperation to grow locally as well. In 1998 the Round table movement took a clear direction to influence the Parliamentary elections of 1999. The round table for the association of women in parties, with which by that time women's training centres were joined, worked out tactics on how to better women's position in electoral lists. The steps for that were the following:

- Suggestions for parties to include at least one woman among every three candidates in the electoral list. The formula was introduced to the party leaders by well-known but politically inactive women.
- Short electoral video clip “Woman vote for woman” was produced which pointed out the need to vote for women.

There are reasons to believe that as a result of the cooperation between women, the Parliamentary elections of 1999 were successful – compared to year 1995 the representation of women rose from 12% to 18%. Its prerequisite, of course, was wider representation already in the electoral lists. No following election period has managed to do such a significant leap. In 2013 twenty women were elected to the Parliament which is only 2 more than in 1999.

Conclusion

Starting from the Restoration of Independence, the proportion of women in different level decision-making bodies has increased, but remains significantly lower than men's nonetheless. The percentage of female candidates is higher at a local level but the likelihood of being elected is lower than at a national level. The European Parliament elections have proved to be most successful for women. During both elections a fourth of the candidates were women but a third of them were elected. While the overall number of women among party members is approximately equal to the number of men, their proportion in the party secretary remains under 30%. Therefore, women's lower representation is clearly evident in decision-making bodies. However, voting activity among women is equal to men's or occasionally even higher; but, be that as it may, there is a rather alarming amount of young women with lower levels of education among the people who have chosen not to vote.

Analysing what has been done in Estonia so far to support women's involvement in politics, it can be said that it is mostly women organisations that have stood for it. Also joining European Union in 2004 and the accompanying directives have forced society to pay wider attention to the subject of equal rights. Still, increasing the proportion of women in the political field has not been a direct subject of equal rights programs and project competitions announced by different foundations. Nonetheless, there has been a chance to implement respective projects on a wider scale of gender equality theme and corresponding projects have been carried out by non-profit organisations that deal with women questions. As those projects have been in various forms and have happened in different years, it cannot be said how successful in its sphere a project has been.

At the level of political parties it could be argued that the most prominent in this sphere have been leftist parties. While Socio-Democratic women have done it to great extent in collaboration with

other women organisations, their goal being supportive of women on a wider scale, the attention of women in the Central Party is directed to increasing the number of female members inside the party and making women more successful in elections.

Every party's women assemblages signed a memorandum in 2012 with which they showed support to the idea of parties making it a principle to use the zipper system when creating the electoral lists – male and female candidates are placed alternately in the list. However, this system has not been used in the upcoming elections (October 2013) as to the knowledge of the author of this work.

GREECE

National level: National Assembly

Although the percentage of elected women in the Greek parliament appears to be increasing during time, especially over the last few years, this increase is still lower than the European average of women MEPs (average 35%) and solemnly fails to meet the minimum standard of the 40% of elected women, let alone a total parity inside the Greek parliament. The important social changes that took place in the past decades, such as urbanization, the diminution of the percentage of illiterate population, the advancement of women's position in the job sector and her active presence in it, a decline in gender segregation within work environment and so on, had a notable impact on young women's political perception and participation in political life. Also, the most recent socio-political changes in the country and the great impact of economic crisis, have necessarily led women to take a more politicized position inside society. The same reasons have resulted in the entrance of more women in the job sector, in order to cope with the family's financial difficulties and contribute to the continually reduced family income. This fusion of rapid changes and social pressures have virtually introduced most Greek women into the current socio-political struggles that cannot but affect all members of society and have been the motive to make most of them politically active. Nonetheless, age is actually a factor of great importance in Greek political culture, where gender differences are usually smaller than age differences with regards to political participation; indicatively, there is a bigger similarity between young women and men in the age group 18-29 than between young and old women in the age group of 60+ in their interests in politics and active political participation. However, in spite of the above observations on the political

outlook of younger women, it is still evident that Greek women continue to participate less in the formal political process and decision-making area.

In order to pave the way for a more thorough analysis, it would be useful to have a look at the historical evolution of women's presence in the national political scene since the first official recognition of women's political rights in 1945. That day marks the official consolidation of women's right to vote and stand, with a resolution of the National Council, which explicitly indicates for the first time that all Greek citizens, both men and women, have the same political and civil rights. This was a temporary constitutional charter which was solidified in 1952 with Law 2159, which guaranteed the right of all women to vote and stand. However, the new electoral law included an arbitrary amendment according to which women could not actually vote in the general elections in November 1952, because of a mistake by the agents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who had not registered all women electors. The said amendment was deemed unconstitutional by the Women's Committee and the League for Women's Rights and after several complaints, in 1953, a by-election took place in Thessaloniki, where Eleni Skoura was the first woman to be elected in the Greek parliament (with the Greek party "Greek Alert"). Subsequently, in 1956 women finally participated on equal terms with men, when another woman, the right-wing Lina Tsaldari, was elected and was the first ever female minister in Greece. Moreover, in 1964, 135 women were elected as members of the city council and in 1975 the first Greek Constitution included the provision for equality between men and women before the law, including their political rights.

In the parliamentary elections of 1958 three out of 16 women candidates were elected in the Greek parliament. Accordingly, in 1961 three women out of 19 were elected, and in 1974 six women were elected by vote and 1 woman from the ballot of territory candidates. In 1977 the percentage of women MPs was only 3,7% and in 1981 the same percentage reached the 4,3%. According to the available official data, from 1996 until today, women's presence in the Greek parliament shows a steady increase that escalates from the woeful 6,3% in 1996 to the 21% in 2012. However, as mentioned above, the specific percentage is still considerably low; lower than the European percentage of women MEPs and even lower than the average percentage of women MPs in National parliaments of all EU Member States (26%)(GSGE, 2012).

Table 1: Participation of Elected Women in the Greek parliament between 1996 and 2012 by political party:

	TOTAL WOMEN MPs	PASOK	N.D	KKE	SUNASPISMO S/ SYRIZA	LAOS	INDEPEND ENT GREEKS	DEMOCRA TIC LEFT	GOLDEN DAWN	DIKKI
Year	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1996	6,3	4,3	5,6	18,2	30					11,1
2000	10,3	10,8	8	18,2	33,3					0
2004	13	15,4	10,3	25	16,7					0
2007	16	20,6	11,2	31,8	14,3	10				
2009	17,3	21,3	12,1	19	15,4	6,7				
2012 May	18,7	9,8	11,1	26,9	32,7	-	27,3	31,6	4,8	
2012 June	21	9,09	13,9	33,3	35,21	-	35	29,41	5,56	

Source: General Secretariat for Gender Equality (Ministry of Interior), 2012

Furthermore, it has to be noted that, as seen in table 1 above, based on the percentages of women MP's from each elected Greek political party, only one party (SYRIZA) actually managed to exceed the 1/3 desired proportion of elected women MPs, during the last national elections. Additionally, 3 political parties (KKE, Independent Greeks, and Democratic Left) almost reached the 1/3. Although, the percentage of women candidates from all political parties is indeed in the desired level (34, 7%), as provided by existing law (i.e. more than 1/3 of the total number of candidates), the percentage of elected women is still considerably low. In short, Greek parliament is currently consisted of 63 women MPs (21% - the highest percentage that the country has ever reached); 18 from 'New Democracy'(ND), 25 from SYRIZA, three from PASOK, seven from 'Independent Greeks', four from KKE, one from Golden Dawn and five from 'Democratic Left'. These numbers have slightly increased in contrast with previous national elections (52 women MPs in total), without making a significant difference though.

Table 2: Number of women MPs from each political party today:

 New Democracy (ND)		 SYRIZA		 PASOK		 Independent Greeks		 Golden Dawn		 Democratic Left		 KKE	
18	111	25	46	3	30	7	13	1	17	5	12	4	8
Women	Men	Wom en	Men	Wom en	Men	Wom en	Men	Wom en	Men	Wom en	Men	Wom en	Men

Source: Hellenic Parliament, 2012

Concerning the representation of each sex executive bodies, such as Ministries and other public administrative bodies, the typical gender stereotypes and the obvious segregation in key political decision-making positions (i.e. women mainly undertaking care distributive tasks and men the

more powerful, resource-related tasks, such as economics or external affairs) is far from evident in Greek society. Based on a large scale research project undertaken by KETHI in 2006, most participants interviewed agreed that men give more priority and are more likely to be involved in the political economy sector (62,6%), in external affairs (58,5%) and in national security (43,6%), while for women, citizens believe that they are more effective and inclined to participate in policies concerning gender equality (49,9%), social protection and social policy sector (42,5%), education (42%) as well as in the cultural sector (39%). These stereotypical patterns can indeed reliably depict the country's political scene and are similar to those identified in the European level.

With regard to the representation of Greek women politicians inside the European Parliament, the percentage is quite higher than that of female MPs in the Greek parliament (32% in contrast to 21%), however it still fails to approach the desired standard of 40%. According to the official available data, there has been a steady evolution of Greek women's presence in the EP during the last few years, proportional with the overall increasing percentages of most Member States. In 1980, only two Greek women had a seat in the European Parliament (8, 3%) and during the period 1981-2000 eight Greek women MEPs were elected. Nonetheless, a rapid increase took place in the elections of 2004-2009, when 29% of Greek MEPs were women. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that 2007 was an important year, since for the first time a Greek female politician was elected as Vice President of the EP. Finally, in the last elections (2009-2014) the percentage further rose to 32% of Greek female MEPs - seven Greek women currently standing in the EP (European Parliament, 2013).

At the legislative level, Greece has proceeded to several legislative regulations in order to enhance women's participation in political and decision making positions and promote the universal principle of gender equality in the political sphere. The most important measure within the national legal framework was the establishment of mandatory gender quotas in national parliamentary elections, with article 34 of the Presidential Decree 26/2012, entitled "Codification into a single text of the legislation for the election of MPs"(Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 2011). This recent article codifies the current legislation on quotas on the number of parliamentary candidates, and more specifically articles

34 of the Presidential Decree 96/2007 and 3 of Law 3636/2008 (“Amendment of Law 3231/2004 on MPs election”). The said article states that at least one-third (1/3) of the total number of a political party's candidates in an electoral district must include candidates of each sex (Quota Project: Global Database of quotas for women, 2013). This step played an important role in the increase of women elected MPs in the last two electoral periods (from 2009 to 2012). However, concerning the gender quotas for candidates included in the ballots of political parties, in Greece only one party (PASOK) among those represented in parliament has officially established the measure of voluntary political party quotas. More specifically, PASOK has a 40 percent minimum quota for women on party lists, which actually exceeds the percentage/number of the national quota legislation.

In addition Greece has ratified the Convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (1979, UN) with law 1342 in 1983 (1342/1983), which was amended by law 4096/2012. Particularly, article 7 of the same law requires that all Member States should take measures to eliminate discrimination against women in political and public life of the country and to guarantee women’s right to vote and stand in national elections and any public referendum. Moreover, it provides for the right of women to be actively involved in the state policy and its execution, to occupy key public positions and exercise all public tasks at all levels of government, as well as to take part in NGOs and Unions that are concerned with the country’s public and political life.

In comparison to European legislative framework, Greek legal provisions on women’s political rights and their political representation are almost in the same line of thought with the European standards, with the advantageous difference that Greek laws have included the legal, mandatory provision of gender quotas in parliamentary elections (as well as in management boards and other public administrative bodies); something that in the European Parliament is still among labyrinthine discussions, because of the aforementioned dispute between Member States. However the tantalizing question still remains: why are the percentages of women involved in politics still in such low rates in Greece, and even lower than the corresponding percentages/gender proportion in the European Parliament? Moreover, to what extent is the aforementioned law on mandatory quotas implemented? As mentioned in the previous section,

this may well have occurred due to various reasons, such as the different internal organization and approaches of political parties, the latter's different procedures and criteria for selecting women candidates for the EP on the one hand, and for the Greek parliament on the other, as well as factors that have to do with women's occupation versus family responsibilities (problems in reconciling family and professional life). Also, another important obstacle includes the well-rooted socio-cultural bias, such as gender stereotypes, that has not yet been extinguished in Greek society, as well as the strong Greek 'clientistic' political system. In addition, it should be noticed that "the design and implementation of gender policy in Greece has been guided by the framing of equality in terms of women's "difference". In this context gender is conceptualized as a clear dichotomy, with specific roles and duties belonging to each side, without putting into question prevailing conceptions of gender." (Meier et al 2005, p.48). This has thus favoured the legitimization of a traditional perception of women and their roles.

With regard to the national official policies in order to promote and ensure women's participation into politics, it is important first of all to note the legal establishment, for the first time in the country, of the position of a 'Special Advisor for Gender Equality Issues to the President' in 1982, under the strong influence of women's organizations and the corresponding legal framework that operates in all EEC countries. Alongside the specific department, the 'Council of Gender Equality' was established with Law 1288/82 and was upgraded to the 'General Secretariat for Equality' (from now GSGE) in 1988 with Law 1558/88 (operating under the Ministry of Interior). One of the primary priorities of the GSGE, is the reinforcement of women's participation in decision-making centres, and especially in the political domain in order to "give a fresh impetus in our political culture", consorted with the practice of 'National Priorities and Lines of Action for Gender Equality (2004-2008). Within the specific framework and the general State policy for gender Equality, the GSGE provides a number of services and actions in order to support and promote women in politics and in the country's social life. These include: a) the regular organization of informative and sensitization campaigns, such for instance the sensitization campaign entitled "Defy Stereotypes in these elections, Vote more Women"(2010), under the project "Encouragement and sensitization for the enhancement of

women's participation in positions of political responsibility", b) the active support of women's organizations and NGOs concerned with women issues –basically by funding 2-year action plans that promote gender equality, c) the pilot operation of a monitoring system of Greek politicians, with both qualitative and quantitative data and gender indicators, as well as d) training programmes for public servants and staff in the public administration. Specifically for the year 2013 the attention of the “National Programme for substantive Gender Equality 2010-2013” falls to the national and European elections and the participation of more Greek female politicians to them. The said action plan focuses especially in the strengthening of the administrative organization of national feminist and women's organizations and NGOs, by staffing them with extra personnel etc., and has also provided for the creation of a separate section in GSGE's webpage for uploading proposals.

Furthermore, the operational programme “Administrative Reform2007-2013” of the National Strategic Reference Framework(NSRF) includes, inter alia, the support of women candidates in order to increase their representation in the political institutions at the European, national and local levels (i.e. informative campaigns, networking activities for women politicians at national and local levels, events for diffusion of experiences, creation of a reliable database for all elected women per political party and ‘experiential seminars’ with women politicians and candidates). Finally, a highly relevant and important project within the specific framework is currently implemented by the Research Center for Gender Equality (KETHI) and aims at the support of women candidates in order to enhance their participation in positions of political responsibility. Within the project, KETHI has formed three thematic working groups: a) the working group for the empowerment of women who belong in vulnerable social groups concerning their participation in the political decision-making centers, b) the working group for gender mainstreaming in the executive bodies and decision-making processes of political actors-parties and c) the working group for the configuration of a new framework for the empowerment of women in decision-making centers.

Other important actions and examples of good practice in the specific domain include, the cooperation of the GSGE with the media, such as the Greek Radio and the National TV Channel

(ERT) in order to eliminate the representation of gender within sexist stereotypes and promote the face of women in the social and political field (i.e. imposition of sanctions, creation of relevant documentaries, advertisement spots etc.). Moreover, Greek women organizations and political parties' women sectors (wherever these exist¹²), have played and continue to play a vital role in the combat of women's political exclusion, with their constant pressures towards public bodies and political parties for the proportional representation of women in political decision-making structures. These pressures and struggles eventually led, in 1988, in the establishment of the Committee of women organizations and political parties' women sectors, which among others achieved the establishment of gender quotas or the unofficial self-regulative measure of more proportional gender representation by some big political parties. In addition, the GSGE has undertaken the realization of an Action Plan entitled: "Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Public Administration" within the framework of the Community Program "PROGRESS" 2007-2013, which is mainly addressed to senior political and administrative officials of Ministries who design, recommend, implement and monitor all policies and actions of their respective competency on equality between men and women. Its goal is training/awareness-raising of the relevant officials as well as to provide motivation and present the necessity of gender mainstreaming in all fields, from politics to the business sector and public affairs.

Most political parties(among those forming the current government), have also set the issue of women's political representation and enhanced participation in the country's socio-political affairs high in their agenda, with relevant actions and examples of good practice towards this direction. For example, the women's network of SYRIZA has often organized several awareness raising events, such as the event organized on the 25th of November 2013 (International Day for the elimination of violence against women), has submitted proposals for the amelioration of women's position in the political, economic, social and private space, often initiates activist

actions in favour of women, and has also published many articles for several crucial topics concerning gender equality, including in the political field. Also, the Women's sector of PASOK, has published proposals for the strengthening, improvement and enforcement of existing legislation (on gender quotas etc.) in order to guarantee the equal participation of both genders in the political life of the country, or for the establishment of new special programmes on the enforcement of women in Greek society, as well as for the establishment of strict ethical rules by the Media with the purpose to cease the display of gender stereotypes. It has also proceeded with several public awareness events for the promotion of more women in the Greek parliament.¹³ Along the same lines, the 'Secretariat of women and the protection of the family' sector of the Independent Greeks has recently published proposals for State reforms and other public actions in order to enhance women's position in the socio-political domain.¹⁴ Finally the 'Secretariat of Women' of KKE is often publishing papers and brochures on women's issues and, in spite the fact that it has not officially established voluntary gender quotas for candidates in ballots, in 2012 the percentage of women reached 50% of their representatives in the parliament (4 elected men and 4 women), which apparently shows a promotion of female voices in the parliament by KKE and a serious consideration/appreciation of their abilities. It is worth noting that some political parties (i.e. Democratic Left, New Democracy, PASOK, Ecologist Greens, L.A.O.S) are also participating in KETHI's ('Eleni Skoura network') new thematic working group on 'Enhancing the participation of women belonging to vulnerable social groups in political decision-making' that will research, record and submit proposals to State and Non-state actors and further plan special actions on the said topic.

Besides the representation of women in the political field, other important provisions have been set by the State concerning women's participation in leadership positions in the job sector, with the ultimate purpose to enhance their leadership skills and provide them with the necessary knowledge and experience that is needed for an active contribution in key decision-making positions. First of all, it should be noted that the percentage of women on boards of large listed

companies in Greece for the year 2012 was 28%. Greece has prescribed gender requirements mainly for the composition of boards of state-controlled companies. In particular, it has legally established gender quotas with article 6 of Law 2839/2000, under which quota of women on company boards of the public sector is officially ensured (at least 1/3 of members in administrative positions). Along the same lines, the Gender Equality Act 53 imposes a one third quota requirement for state-appointed portion of a board of all executive bodies consisting of members appointed by the state or local authorities, including companies fully or partially state-controlled. Moreover, relevant sanctions are imposed when these requirements are not met by the said companies, such as annulment by administrative or civil courts when appointment decisions fail to respect the quota requirement.

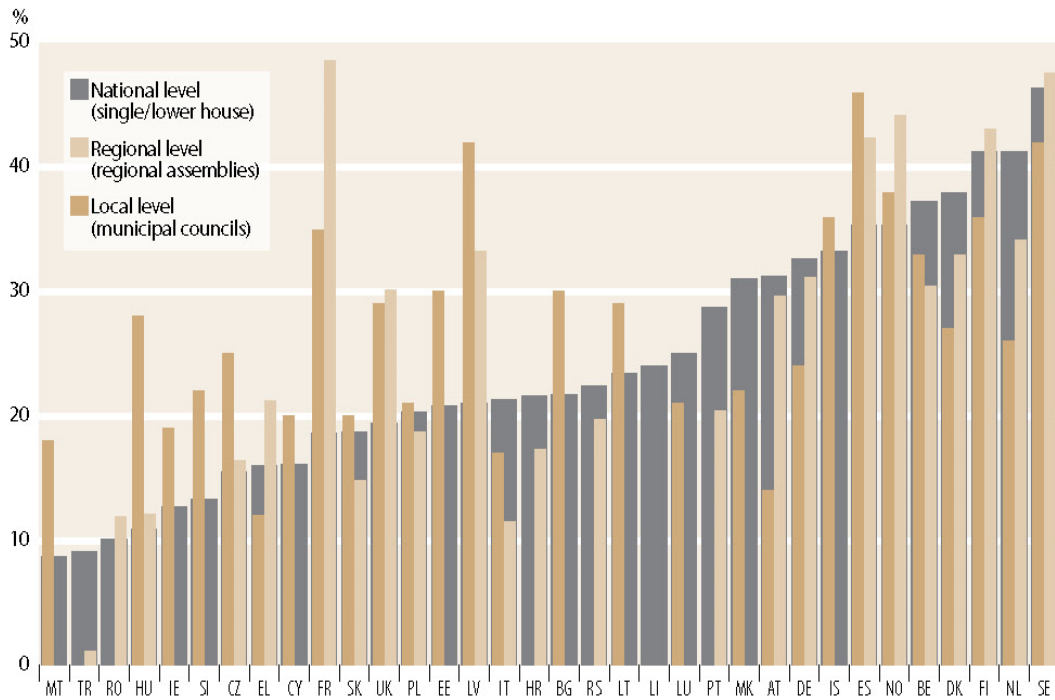
Also, some legislative measures have been undertaken by the State for the establishment of gender quotas in service councils and administrative boards or other collective administrative bodies. Specifically, with article 4 of Law 3839/2010 (FEK51/A'/29.3.2010), entitled "Selection of directors of organizational units with objective and meritocratic criteria – Establishment of a Special Council (E.S.E.P.) for selecting directors and other provisions". This law replaced article 161, entitled "Gender Representation" (before article 160, par.3 of the "Status Code for public policy administrators and other public entities" (Law 3528/2007, FEK/A'/26/9.2.2007), with the purpose to define that in the Councils of articles 157,158 and 159, the number of members from each gender should be equal with at least 1/3 of the total number of members, insomuch a sufficient number of officers serves in the relevant services and members are more than one (1). Similar provisions are included in par. 5 of article 7 in the Status Code of municipal officials" (Law 3584/2007, FEK/A'/143/28.6.2007) (General Secretariat for Gender – Ministry of Interior). Moreover, with article 57 of Law 3653/2008, entitled "Institutional framework for research and technology and other provisions" regulates the percentage of researchers and scientists to the minimum of 1/3 for each gender in the staffing of National instruments and Councils of research and technology, under the condition that candidates acquire the necessary skills for the relevant positions.

Local level

Mayors and Members of city and local councils

In general, the participation of women in local governments in developing, and especially in the developed countries, is apparently bigger than their participation in the national governments. This is mainly due to the fact that local government is mostly focused on issues that historically/stereotypically concerned women and thus, the latter seem more comfortable in occupying themselves with such matters and furthermore, voters tend to prefer women in such positions. Even in the electoral campaigns for local government, it is usually stressed (by both sexes) that women are especially useful at the local level because of their “special abilities”. In general, community issues are traditionally concerned to be easier handled and acquiring a more ‘sensitive’ nature, which is mainly connected with women’s nature, whereas big scale political matters that need more dynamic policy are left to be managed by men. Also, reduced cost and less fierce competition are usually important factors that facilitate women’s access in local government. Nonetheless, in Greece the situation is rather different and is pretty disappointing in this respect. As seen in figure 4, in contrast to other European States and despite the apparent traditional linkage of women with community affairs, the presence of women in the local government of Greece is notably weak, even weaker than in the national parliament.

Figure 3: Percentages of women in national and local governments in the EU Member States



Source: European Commission, 2009

In order to make a more integrated evaluation of the situation at the local level, it would be useful to provide a short retrospect to the historical evolution of women’s presence in local councils. After the first Greek Constitution that fortified the rights of all Greek citizens, men and women, to participate in the country’s political life (1975), the local elections held in 1978 highlighted 337 elected women in local governments. While this was an initial positive step in the active participation of women in local political affairs, the percentage was still considerably low in relation to the total female population of the electorate. Based on the available official data, some notable increase in the percentages of female participations in local government took place only after the “Kapodistrias Reform” in 1998. Before that period numbers were woefully low; in the 1994 elections only one woman prefect was elected, Aleka Makrogianaki, in the prefecture of Chania, (out of 54 prefects in total), 10 women mayors (out of the 463 mayors in total) and 77 women prefectural advisors (out of the 1242 in total) (E.E.T.A.A – Hellenic Agency for Local

Development and Local Government, 2005). These trends actually represented the wider picture in the whole EU in the early 1990, where women mayors acquired 2% -8% of the total number of elected mayors, and the corresponding percentage for women members of city council were average 20% of all elected members of city council (Mastromixalis, 2011). As seen in table 6 below, after the implementation of “Kapodistrias Reform”, while the number of women prefects and mayors was not increased and the contrast in relation to men was still much provocative, the percentages of women prefectural advisors managed to reach 11% in 1998 and 18% in 2002 (in contrast to the meager 6.5% of the year 1997). In addition, during the same period the percentage of women members of city councils was 12%. Furthermore, the imposition of mandatory quotas in the prefectural and municipal elections (Law 2910/2001) was another positive action to slightly boost the relevant percentages in the local elections of 2002.

Table 4: Total candidates elected to local government after the “Kapodistrias Reform” and the imposition of quotas (2002)

	1998	2002
Women Candidates	14%	34%
Elected women prefectural advisors	11% (54)	18%
Elected women members of city council	7%	12%
Prefects	3,5% (2)	1.75% (1)
Mayors	1.45% (15)	2.13% (22)

Source: E.E.T.A.A, 2012

Similar results were also presented in the subsequent local elections, in 2006, where again only two women were elected as prefects and 32 (3%) as mayors, out of 1030 of all elected mayors (Ministry of Interior, 2012). Regarding the current situation in local government, eight women were elected as mayors in the 325 new ‘Kallikratian’ municipalities during the last local elections in 2010 (i.e. 2.47% of all elected mayors). However, in the regions, which have after the “Kallikratis Project” became part of the local government, while 4 women appeared as candidate regional governors in the 2010 local elections none was ultimately elected (KEDKE – Central Union of Municipalities and Communities of Greece). Finally, as seen in tables 8 and 9 further below, currently Greek municipal council’s have 1558 women, i.e. 14.40% of the total, which is slightly higher than the percentage of previous elections, and 115 women (16.3%) in district councils.

Table 5: Percentages of Women candidates as Mayors, Members of city council and Local Advisors in the elections of 2006

Percentages of Women Mayors candidates	Percentage of Women Members of city council candidates	Percentage of Women local advisors candidates	Total percentage of women candidates
6%	29%	36%	32%

Source: Ministry of Interior, 2012

Table 6: Women City Councillors 2010 local elections

Regions	Number of Members in Municipal Councils	Number of Women	Percentage of Women
East Macedonia & Thrace	660	66	10%
South Aegean	668	105	15,72%
Thessaly	745	85	11,41%
Attica	2251	548	24,34%
Crete	656	92	14,20%
North Aegean	228	40	17,54%
Central Greece	750	108	14,40%
West Greece	595	72	12,10%
Central Macedonia	1286	217	16,87%
West Macedonia	363	57	15,70%
Peloponnese	784	83	10,59%
Epirus	498	56	11,24%
Ionian Islands	210	29	13,81%
Total	9694	1558	14,40%

Source: General Secretariat for Gender Equality, 2011

Table 7: Women Regional Advisors

Regions	NumberofRegionalAdvisors	NumberofWome n	PercentageofWom en
Attica	101	23	22,77%
EastMacedonia&Thrace	51	7	13,73%
NorthAegean	41	6	14,63%
WestGreece	51	5	9,80%
WestMacedonia	51	7	13,73%
Epirus	51	4	7,84%
Thessaly	51	9	17,65%
IonianIslands	41	10	24,39%
CentralMacedonia	71	15	21,13%
Crete	51	8	15,69%
NorthAegean	51	10	19,61%
Peloponnese	51	7	13,73%
CentralGreece	51	4	7,84%
Total	713	115	16,13%

Source: General Secretariat for Gender Equality, 2011

With regard to the positive legislative measures and reforms on the part of the State in order to increase women's participation in local government, some basic changes have taken place in the

local electoral system within the last few years. The most important step that Greece has undertaken in order to ensure a relevant equity, was the legal establishment of mandatory gender quotas in the prefectural and municipal elections, with article 75, paragraph 1 of Law 2910/2001, which explicitly stipulates the mandatory and minimum 1/3 quota for each gender's participation as candidates in prefectural and municipal elections. Along the same lines, article 34, par.3 of Law 3463/2006 basically confirms the above mentioned law, by stipulating 1/3 quota for each gender's participation as candidates in the ballots of municipal or community councils, local councils and municipal department councils. Similar provisions for 1/3 gender quota regarding candidates as municipal community councillors, local community councillors and regional councillors, are indicated in article 18, par.3 of the recent Law 3852/2010 entitled: "Kallikratis Project". At the same law, article 186 also stipulates the constitution in each district of Regional Committees for Gender Equality that should have broader and more representational membership and jurisdictions. On that point however, it is important to note that the aforementioned law, has received serious criticisms, in terms that it represents a legislative setback and impinges to the Greek Constitution concerning gender quotas. Specifically, as the Marangopoulos Foundation for Human Rights, for instance, stated in an officially published complaint letter: "it was a great disappointment and setback that based on the new law the quota of at least 1/3 of candidates by gender will no longer be calculated on the number of *candidates*, as stipulated by previous laws (2910/2001 and 3463/2006) and as the Greek Constitution explicitly indicates, but rather on the number of members of the municipal council or of the local community, which seriously contradicts with the Constitutional provisions." (Association for Women's Rights, 2010). Finally, it is also interesting to mention that new supervision mechanisms have been established by the Ministry of Interior in order to monitor all the aforementioned legislative provisions and other regulations for gender equality.

In evaluating the measure of mandatory quotas in local elections, it is important first and foremost to stress the fact that the said measure is not directly addressed to the heads of the electoral lists, i.e. potential mayors and prefects. Nevertheless, one could estimate that even the implementation of quotas in the ballots, would have some positive effects in the election of more women mayors and prefects. Unfortunately, this never happened, since numbers were only increased with regard

to women councillors (i.e. prefectural advisors and city councillors), while for prefects and mayors the same numbers remained almost immutable. Hence, one could say that although the evolution of women's presence in local government, and especially the imposition of mandatory quotas, have resulted to a more enhanced participation of women, as we move to the higher positions in the hierarchy (i.e. prefects - mayors), women's numbers are considerably reduced. Furthermore, Greece has still the lowest percentage of women members of local government within the EU.

The State has also proceeded to several important actions within the framework of enhancing women's representation in local government and encouraging more women to take part in local elections. Among the most important projects currently implemented in the country's local level, is the project entitled: "Encouragement and support of women's participation in positions of political responsibility and representation at regional and local level", (under the "Operational Programme: Human Resources Development 2007-2013"), which was financed by the NSRF and implemented by a consulting company in collaboration with the Central Union of Municipalities of Greece (KEDE). This project included the setting up of two offices for networking and promoting Gender Equality within the Greek Association of Municipalities and Municipal Committees and the Greek District Association, the creation of a data basis and Work Portal design (www.airetes.gr), actions for exchange of good practices of women participating in institutions and formations of the local political life, research, assessment and recording of proposals, as well as the realization of various education and training seminars on the promotion of gender equality in politics (Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 2011).

Along the same lines, in 2010 the GSGE gave a special emphasis on the visibility of women in the regional and municipal elections, and on gender mainstreaming in local governance, by implementing relevant co-funded programmes and actions that aim to overturn existing gender stereotypes in the political field and encourage more women to participate in local government. One of these positive actions was the sensitization campaign for the last regional and local elections, launched in November 2010, with the theme: "Defy the stereotypes in this election, Vote for Women" (including a TV spot, dissemination of informative printed material, all-day conference etc.) (KETHI, 2013). Moreover, within the wider project "National Programme for substantive Gender Equality 2010-2013" mentioned in the previous section of this report, the

GSGE has set the target to implement, inter alia, various substantive actions especially in the Greek municipalities. These actions include the promotion of gender mainstreaming in the policies of local government (including the creation of instruction guides with an emphasis on women belonging to socially vulnerable groups, such as Roma, immigrants etc.), training seminars in the officials working in the local government as well as the support of elected women holding any post in the local government. (GSGE, 2012) Another much relevant example of good practice on the specific field was the participation of KETHI (as a partner in a transnational level) in the project “Taking Gender Equality to Local Communities”, coordinated by the National Committee for the Promotion of Equality in Malta, which basically aimed at the enhanced participation of women into actions of local societies, and especially concerning the decision-making milieu. Within the overall objective set by the GSGE for the renewal of local government’s policies, the latter has also organized various informative conferences and experiential workshops with elected women and candidates in order to train and encourage more women to occupy themselves in local government.

Last but not least, through a GSGE initiative, the European Charter for Gender Equality in Local Life (2011) was adopted and adapted by Local and Regional Authorities in Greece, which, despite its non-legal status, represents an important formal public commitment by the side of local and regional authorities to promote the principle for gender equality and implement, within their territories, the commitments set in it. More particularly, local and regional authorities that have signed the Charter are committed to promote and apply the principle of balanced gender representation in their own advisory bodies and decision-making bodies.

However, despite all the afore mentioned steps undertaken by the State and other public bodies, the same problematization keeps coming to the fore: Why, despite the establishment of gender quotas in the electoral lists and the general trend towards gender mainstreaming in local political scene, are women still underrepresented in local government? More specifically, why this stability in numbers insists and no important changes have taken place alongside the legal reforms? It is true that the measure of gender quotas has not in practice brought substantial

changes in the presence of women in local government since it has not managed to overturn the basic structures, partisan practices and political priorities. What should be understood is that the establishment of quotas per se is not the basic crucial element in that case, but rather its effective and consistent implementation, as well as the well-rooted bias that still exist in Greek society. Such an efficient implementation and obliteration of gender stereotypes in the political field and local government cannot be realized without the establishment of a comprehensive mechanism of promotion and support of women politicians. Although women are given the opportunity to be part of local government with their mandatory participation in ballots, this opportunity risks of becoming totally meaningless if it is not accompanied by a relevant policy that aims to inform women candidates as well as the organization of seminars and training seminars within a general negative projection of gender stereotypes, and the political support of the already elected women; both at the level of educating them and of facilitating their effort to reconcile family life or other professional obligations with their duties in the field of local government. In addition, as mentioned above, the State's special initiatives and examples of good practice in the field of women's participation in local government were intensified mostly around the period of the last local elections and after that no further actions took place in the specific domain, as the focus turned basically to the national and European elections.

HUNGARY

In international comparison the participation of women in the Hungarian parliament is very low. According to the list of the Inter-Parliamentary Union Hungary is in the 100th place out of 131 countries. So Hungary belongs to the third of the countries of the world where the representation of women is the lowest. Following the Hungarian elections, out of the EU-27 countries it was only in Malta where there were less female representatives than in Hungary. Since 2002 Hungary has steadily had the least women representatives in the Parliament. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the proportion of women MP's is the most constant in Hungary.

Since the political transition the proportion of female representatives only exceeded 10% twice; between 1990 and 2010 the number of women was between 28 and 43 persons out of the 386 MP's.

Women's participation was lowest in the first Parliament after the transition, only 7,3 %, while it reached 11,1 % - the highest number so far - as a result of the 1994 elections. After the 1998 elections, however, only 8, 3 % of the MP's was women, then 9, 1% in 2002. In 2006 women's participation reached 10, 6%. Finally, the 2010 elections brought decline again since only 9% of the representatives are women. As far as parliamentary parties are concerned, in Hungary – just like in other countries – left wing parties offer better opportunities for women than their right wing counterparts. Out of the two parties permanently present in the Parliament it was MSZP that gave better chances for women; until 2006 more than 10% of the MP's was women at each election while the proportion of women has never reached 10% in Fidesz. At the 2010 elections, however, both parties had practically the same number of women representatives.

After the transition the number of women in the highest positions has been very low, in each and every parliamentary session. Right now the situation is the most unfavourable: there is only one female notary in the Parliament. All the other positions are staffed by men. Women are disadvantaged in standing committees as well: out of the 155 chairpersons there were only 9 women between 1990 and 2013.

The landscape is more favourable in case of the local governments but women's participation does not comply here either with the standard of parity democracy where the whole population's gender equilibrium should be considered. In 2002 the proportion of women in the districts of the capital city and county seats was 15, 8 %, slightly increasing since then; in 2010 it was nearly one fifth. Opportunities for women in the Budapest districts are significantly more favourable than in the countryside. Regarding MP's, it is true for Hungary as well that left wing parties support women's participation more than right wing parties. This, however, is not necessarily true for representatives in the capital city and county seats.

There are relatively very few women mayors in the various districts of Budapest and in the county seats: 8, 9 % in 2002 and 4, 3 % in 2010.

The proportion of women in the standing committees of the Budapest city council and county seats is relatively better in 2013. Every 4th member of the standing committees is a woman and every

5th committee is chaired by a woman. In the various districts of Budapest there are significantly more female committee members and chairpersons than in the county seats.

After the transition there have been much less women in the Hungarian governments than men. In the Antall administration there was only one female minister; there were two in the Horn government and one in the first Orbán government. Between 2006 and 2009 the left wing administrations offered government positions for more women: there were 5 female ministers in Péter Medgyessy's government – 20% -, 3 in Ferenc Gyurcsány's first government (13%) and 5 in his second government (16%). In the Bajnai administration, however, there were no female ministers at all. Similarly, the second Orbán government has only one woman minister. Likewise, women's participation in the leadership of democratic institutions is very low.

Internationally – and in Hungary – women participate in the work of the European Parliament in bigger numbers than in the national parliaments. In 2004 one third of the Hungarian representatives at the European Parliament were women. At present 36% of the EU MP's are women. This way Hungary belongs to the average of the EU-27 countries. The Hungarian political left sends more female delegates to the European Parliament than the right wing parties.

At present there are most women among the leaders of the two left wing parties – LMP and MSZP -; more than one fifth each. 16% of the leaders of KDNP and 14% of FIDESZ are women. There is only one woman among the 7 top leaders. In the leadership of Jobbik there are exclusively men. LMP has two chairpersons, a man and a woman, all the other parties are led by men. Since the transition only two parties – MDF and MSZP – have had women as chairpersons. Out of the parties registered before the 2010 parliamentary elections only one (the Civilian Movement) had a chairwoman, and before the municipal elections there were three parties – Civilian Movement, SZEMA Liberal Party and the Alliance for the Future – with women leaders.

One way of increasing women's participation in politics could be the introduction of gender quotas. In Hungary so far there are only two parliamentary parties that volunteered to introduce such a quota: MSZP and LMP. There have been three attempts to introduce the quota into the constitution since the transition, first by the SZDSZ in 2007, then by the Nők a Pályán Egyesület (Association

of Professional Women) in 2009 and by LMP in 2011, but none of these attempts proved to be successful.

We have analysed the 2010 programs of the parties and found that equal opportunities for women are not a central issue in any of them. The issue of women is missing from the programs altogether. Gender equality is only mentioned by LMP but not in their election program but in a separate special program. The marginal position of women's issues in political programs proves that in 2010 Hungarian parliamentary parties did not consider gender equality a major issue – not even at the level of promises. Similar analyses of the parties' election programs had arrived at the same conclusions earlier.

Since 2006 World Economic Forum has published their Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) which gives a survey of gender equality in four areas (economy, politics, education, health.) In their latest, 2012 report they scrutinized 132 countries and Hungary was the 81st on their list, whereas Latvia is 15th, Lithuania is 34th, Slovenia is 38th, Poland is 53rd, Estonia is the 60th, Slovakia is the 70th and the Czech Republic is the 73rd. So Hungary with its 81st place gave the worst performance out of the EU-8 countries. In the field of health Hungary has a relatively good position (34th place), in the fields of economy and education we belong to the average (68th place), but in politics Hungary is at the 117th place. This is the result of the fact that very few women take part in politics.

ITALY

Today the presence of women in the Italian parliament exceeds the 30%, even in the absence of any regulatory change and persisting the electoral law of 2005. The current situation is due to the importance given to the presence of women in politics by new statutes of some political parties (like PD and SEL).

Articles 1 and 2 of the Statute of the Left Ecology and Freedom (SEL), for example, emphasize that “Left Ecology Freedom is a liberal, secular, democratic and open political organization of women and men based on the principle of liberty, solidarity and equality of ecology, nonviolence and of sexual difference” (art. 1) and that “SEL is inspired by the Constitution and the values of the Resistance. SEL provides full political participation of women and men in its executive bodies

and executive in the selection of candidates in elected assemblies. SEL also promotes the full participation of the younger generation in politics” (Art. 2).

Finally in the first months of 2014 a new electoral law was debated in the Parliament, after 14 years of Porcellum and of blocked lists, of premium majority so large that it has been found to be unconstitutional by the Court; options mentioned above to ensure a balance of representation between the sexes are proposed. But that debate, which was expressed in the letter of the aforementioned parliamentary and looked at the quality as well as quantity of the elected seems to have turned off: sexual difference does not seem to speak with equal political and cultural awareness from the halls of institutions.

But the fact remains that a new electoral law that guarantees the presence of women at 50% or none of the two genres is represented more than the two thirds, is considered essential, as well as the reform of the law on citizenship and access to the vote and institutions of more than half a million young women of the second generation, in particular with respect to which our project is based. Supporting this instance represents a new contribution to the objective “more women in politics”.

These second generation young women are not definable with categories of “foreign” or “immigrants”, but at the same time are not legally considered as Italian citizens – they ironically call themselves “Italian with a residence permit” or “foreign non-immigrant” disputing the fact that the quality of being a migrant can be inherited, can pass from father to daughter, or should be measured with a sort of ethnic blood tests. Our project, addressing the issue of women's relationship with politics, at the same time intends to be an instrument to bring out in the public space of both the heavy discrimination still suffered by second generation women, both political and cultural initiatives that many forms and in many places they themselves have produced and produce. These initiatives show a reflection on their identity, who wants to be free from stereotypes and hierarchies; this reflection is culturally rich because of the diversity of experiences and the different worlds which it refers to. Unfortunately strong negative reactions still resist at this regard: sons and daughters of migrants are considered just like a “inappropriate posterity”, because they break the myth of temporary migration and questions the role of migrants as guest, useful but subordinate; it should make difficult to claim of many European governments to choose which immigration

accept, rather than endure from immigration considered as “sudden”. The second generation’s manifest subjectivity tends to be universal in that it puts into question the limits and boundaries to the concept of nation. The actual citizenship law, in fact, is based on an authoritarian dynamic: it tries to incorporate the migrants’ children into an abstract and ideal concept of Italian identity, deprived of any critical issue, which works as normative tool and produces exclusion and seclusion. This authoritarian integration concept rests on nationalistic and assimilationist concepts, as shown by the more recent legislation (see, for example, the integration agreement provided by the security law, a sort of “life to merit points”).

The political representation of women at national level

In terms of political representation of women at the national level, we can first highlight some statistical data relating to Italy. Our country, in fact:

— has a higher percentage of women in the House equal to 17, 3%

— has a more modest percentage of women senators (13, 7%);

Overall, between the House and Senate, there is a presence of women equal to 16.1%;

— is characterized by a discontinuous trend of their presence women in both houses of the parliament, so that the House has passed from 15% in 1994 to 11% in 1996 before rising to 16 % as present only in 2006;

—is placed in a lower position compared to other EU countries (whose average total is 22.0%) because of the low proportion of women in the House;

— is poorly positioned, at the 59th place, also in the list of women present in the lower houses of more than 180 countries around the world, surpassed by many countries of the South.

The regional political representation

Even in the regional political institutions women's representation is marginal. With regard to

Italy, in the 2005 regional elections two women won (in Piedmont and Umbria). But looking at the table below there would appear to be other positive signs.

Women's representation in the regional administrations, 2009 (%)

REGION COUNCIL	COUNCIL %	GIUNTA %	REGION COUNCIL	COUNCIL %	GIUNTA %
Tuscany	26,6	21,4	Emilia Romagna	10,2	10,2
Trentino	20,0	20,0	Veneto	10,2	15,4
Lazio	15,7	29,4	Sardegna	9,4	50,0
Abruzzo	15,4	18,2	Valle D'Aosta	8,6	12,5

The political representation at the local level: municipalities and provinces.

In common opinion, the local area would be a more favourable environment for the presence of women in politics. A recent survey shows that 76% of Italians think the presence of women to be crucial to good governance, as women would put in some fields of knowledge specific skills: such as pragmatism, ability to listen, ability to mediate between diversity . In fact, paradoxically, this opinion is not reflected in the voting behaviour. The mayor women are just the 9.6%, while the percentage of women councillors and advisers is around 18%.

The situation is worse at the provincial level. The percentage of women presidents of the province is just 7.6%, amounting to 8 provinces out of 106. Councillors are 11, 7%, while the

Assessors reached 19.2%.

Even in the provincial representation is detected a discontinuous temporal trend of proportion of women: for example, from 1992 to 1993 the percentage of women president of the province rose from 3.3 to 11%, 1% and then decreased in 1995 to 5.1%. The increase in 1993 is probably due to an electoral reform that included, in fact, the introduction of quotas (Law 81/93), then suspended

three years after because it was declared unconstitutional. It should be emphasized, however, that this “leap forward” has not led to equality, but to exceed the proportion of just one woman for every 10 men. It then recorded a negative peak in 2002, with 4 women president of a total of 102 (3.9%), a figure grew slowly until the aforementioned current percentage of 7.6%.

If you observe, also, the administrative offices of the 14 municipalities around which metropolitan cities are being built, we realize that only two are headed by a female mayor (Milan and Naples). We notice, then, that if the presence of women in the council of these areas is slightly higher than the national average (22.6% vs. 18.1%), in contrast, within the municipal councils is only 10.2% (vs. 17.7% nationally). Finally, only 13 of the 123 municipalities (or districts) in the municipalities of the metropolitan cities are chaired by women (10.6%).

The transformations that took place in Italy after the 2013 elections,

Since the elections on 24 and 25 February 2013, the voters have given life to a revamped Italian Parliament for generations and gender. For the first time in the history of the Italian Republic women exceeded the 30% threshold.

It is a profound change that brings Italy to the highest standards in Europe and worldwide with a higher proportion of women than that of the European Parliament (25 per cent) but also of

France, which stops at 25 percent, UK with 22 percent, and the United States (18 percent). The higher values recorded only among the women elected to the House in Spain where 38 per cent and Germany with 32 percent.

In Italy, therefore, women amounted to nearly one-third of the newly elected parliament, an increase of ten percentage points higher than in 2008 and almost doubled compared to 2006.

In the recent European Parliament elections, which took place May 25, 2014, Italian women are the 45% of the elected.

LATVIA

Women political representation at National level

The Saeima (Latvian Parliament) elections are held in five multi-member constituencies – Riga, Vidzeme, Latgale, Zemgale and Kurzeme. The number of members of parliament to be elected from each constituency is determined proportionally to the number of voters registered in each constituency four months before Election Day.

Women representation in Saeima

Event	Women	Men	Women% age	Men% age
Candidates 9 Saeima (Y2006)	269	755	26,30%	73,70
Elected in 9 Saeima	19	81	19,00%	81,00
Candidates 10 Saeima (Y2010)	353	882	28,60%	71,40%
Elected in 10 Saeima	18	82	18,00%	82,00
Candidates 11 Saeima (Y2011)	331	761	30,30%	69,70%
Elected in 11 Saeima	21	79	21,00%	79,00%

Saeima committees

From 15 Saeima committees in 11th Saeima, 6 or 40% are headed by women, and this figure is well above the average percentage among all MPs, additionally no fundamental decisions made by women- commission leader were criticized.

Women representation at Ministry level

Ministers by Year	Women Total number	Men Total number	Women percentage
2004 (Total 17)	6	11	29%
2007 (Total 19)	4	15	21.05%
2009 (Total 14)	4	10	28.
2010 (Total 13)	4	9	30.77

Women representation at Ministry level Y2004-2010, Latvia

Although statistically situation with women in charge of ministries seems satisfactory- around 30% average versus 20-25% in overall women involvement in decision making roles in Latvian politics, women are in charge for welfare, health and culture and with only one case, when women (L.Murniece) was in charge for “power” ministry- Defence ministry,- exception, which only confirms the common rule. In the current Cabinet of Ministers, the Minister of agriculture position- the masculine symbol for the first time in Latvian history belongs to women- Mrs. Laimdota Straujuma.

There are 5 leading political parties, represented in Saeima and the biggest municipalities. In the Saeima elections, votes are cast for candidate lists submitted by political parties or associations of political parties. A candidate may be included in only one candidate list distributed in only one constituency. In order for the party or the association of parties to be represented in the Saeima, it must receive at least 5% of the total number of votes cast in all five constituencies. In the 11th Saeima elections (September 17th, 2011) total number of 13 Parties took part, 1092 candidates,

and 5 lists of them were elected, 100 MP's. Voter turnout in the 11th Saeima elections was 59.45 percent or 917 713 voters.

According to the election result five parties and associations of parties gained seats in the 11th Saeima: the Association of Political Parties “Harmony Centre” (Politisko partiju apvienība “Saskaņas Centrs”), “Zatlers’ Reform Party” (“Zatlera Reformu partija”), "Unity” (“Vienotība”), National Association “All For Latvia!” - “For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK” (Nacionālā apvienība “Visu Latvijai!” – “Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK”), the Union of Greens and Farmers (Zaļo un Zemnieku savienība).

Latvian women presence in politics at regional (Municipal level).

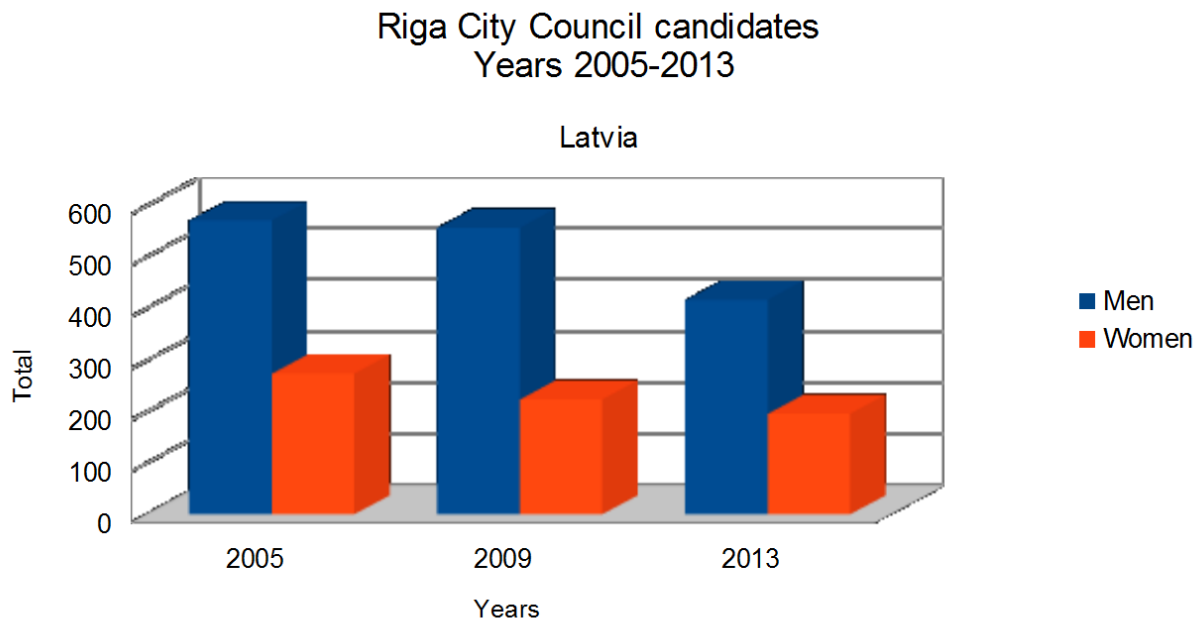
On June 1, 2013 in 9 cities and 110 municipalities of Latvia local elections took place. 685890 or 45,99% voters cast their votes in the elections. The highest voter turnout – 55,55% – was in Riga. In Vidzeme, 44,93% of eligible voters participated in the elections, in Latgale - 42,17%, in Kurzeme – 40,51%, but in Zemgale – 39,39%. (3)

45,99% attendance was the lowest figure since 2005 year elections- 52,85% in 2005; 53,80% in 2009**, showing the decreasing interest of Latvian society in taking part in local political processes and diminishing faith in positive changes among potential voters. Additionally, the reason for decreasing level of voters in regions is the result of migration to the big cities for better employment opportunities, without changing the official declaration address, according to which the general voter’s lists are prepared. The proportion of voted female and male is almost the same as the total population gender proportion, however the average voter becomes “older”- 48,6% 45 years old or older.

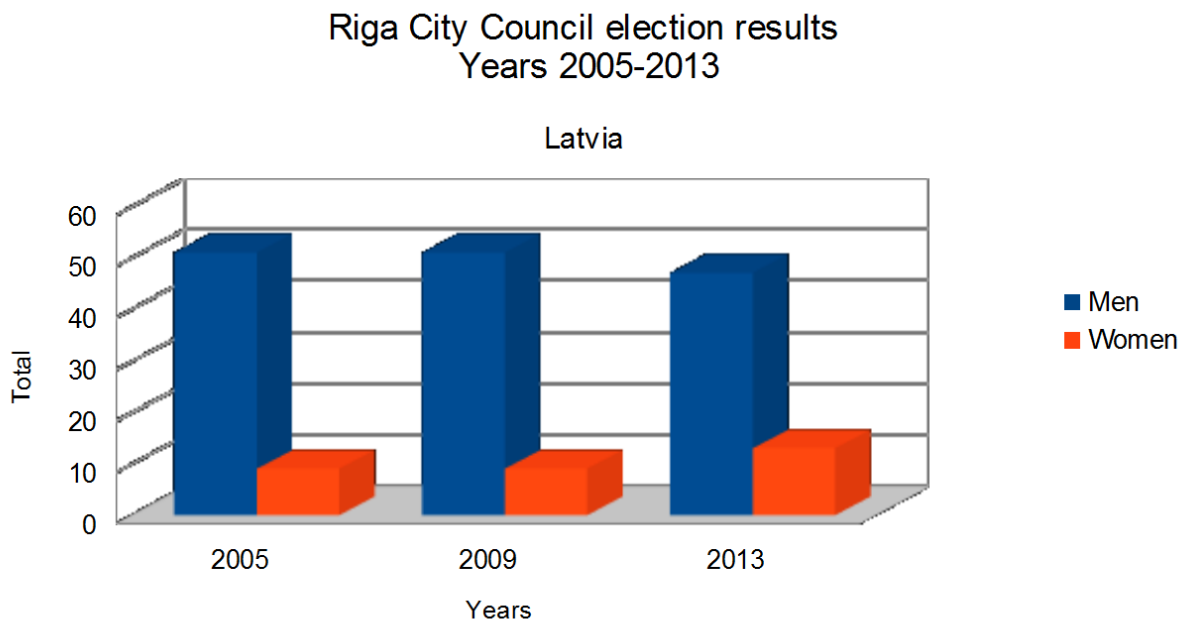
Looking at the dynamics of women representation at National level, we can regrettably conclude, that women representation have decreased in among both total candidates from all election lists, as well as from candidates elected, from 45,3% (year 2005) to 40,56 (year 2013) accordingly.

One of the reasons of the relatively higher percentage of women candidates in 2005 was the situation before the administrative reform, when smaller districts were united into bigger ones, and

changed the situation, when in small regions mostly all the candidates were well known to the voters and evaluated by their performance and accomplished works, not the gender.



Riga City council election candidates 2005-2013.



Riga City council elections 2005-2013.

Voting at both national and municipal level, every voter may not only choose the particular political party list, it is also possible to draw + (promote) or – (demote) the particular candidate. Analysing the data from the biggest municipality- capital Riga, we can see that women held 3 places, including first two, from the top 5 among the demoted candidates

In general, according to Gender Equality Index data⁸ the “Political power” figure for women in Latvia- 38,9% is about 10% below the average in European Union (49,9%), which, in terms of weighted evaluation is about 3/4 away from the desired 100% equality situation.

The tendencies reflected in the Figure 1, where we can see the percentage of elected women was less, comparing with women percentage figures for all parties, elected- from minus 2,3% for Alliance of political parties “Saskaņas centrs” and “Gods kalpot Rīgai” to minus 12,7% for “Vienotība

There was typical average representation of women in the voting lists 26, 3%, but the percentage of elected women was much less for every party, passed the threshold to be elected. This again is caused by two main reasons already mentioned-

1) Despite the fact that parties include higher percentage of women in their lists, as a common practice, they are located in the “cellar” part of the list, without any relevant chance to be elected.

2) The voting pattern shows us even less optimistic scene- from the total estimated percentage of all women voters- 55%, only about less than 40% from them voted for women-candidates, taking the assumption that all women and men voted for their gender candidates, which is statistically correct.

Due to the lack of statistical breakdown of women voted for the particular political party and their gender based preferences, it is impossible to evaluate exact voting pattern figures for each one of them, however fact remains- statistically from 55% of women voted, the overall percentage of women elected shall be around 30%, instead of real life figure- 20, 3%, or about 10% less. Patterns similar to this were spotted at all local election subjects both in big cities (Daugavpils, Ventspils, Jelgava, Liepāja) and small regions.

According to research among women- heads of the local authorities the women leaders are more tended to adopt reconstruction and rebuilding leadership style, whereas men- the one of commanding. Women leaders unlike men:

1) Are more likely to share information and power, thus improving faithfulness atmosphere at work;

2) More often refuse to use privileges, provided by service status;

3) More often highlight dependent input in common work result, thus diminishing her own input.

In order to understand tendencies of women becoming politicians it is critical to follow the whole route “travelled” by particular women- leader and her current perception of self-realisation in politics. Looking along every particular case, we can follow the roots of every respondent political competencies and how they've reached the current position and status. Ironically, but not

accidentally, the answers of women leaders they also support the stereotypic gender role division and indirectly they stimulate gender discrimination in Latvian society.

One of the most important characteristics for women in politics is ability for leadership, but not dominating as for men politicians, but more personality oriented. Being asked about family role in becoming and maintaining political leadership status, the majority of respondents stressed out the importance of family support in their political carrier and denied the assumption, the family could be an obstacle for successful political career. There are more and more cases of young, family women join the political environment, they are ready to undertake responsibility, organize their time schedule, and firmly hold seized positions in political activity over an extended period of time.

Overview of practices carried out by political parties to attract more women into politics.

As a general rule none of the parties have stated or announced the gender equality, regarding the politics as their priority task either by the reason there are too many more important issues to take care about or they do not observe any specific problem, believing the current situation with the women involvement into political decision making is close to optimal. However there are some ad hoc initiatives:

- Saskaņas centrs¹¹ within the political party, the women leaders club “Women for harmony” is established. The club has carried out a number of conferences- among which “Women for the future of Latvia” (2011), “Latvian women and demography problem” (2013), with participation of MP's, NGO representatives etc. financed by SC itself.
- National Union “Visu Latvijai! - Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK” .No particular activities spotted, as their main target audience is youth and seniors, although there is almost 50% rate between women and men party members, still no women among 13 party board members.
- Vienotība (Unity) - currently leading political party in Latvia. Currently do not see any problems with women involvement in politics in Latvia, situation is better than average in EU. Lot of women among party member and there is no obstacles for them to be promoted for party leaders - let us not forget the part Chairwomen and Saeima speaker

is Solvita Aboltina herself; among 15 party board members 7 (47% !!!) are women. Currently they promote more active women involvement in politics, by asking popular women politicians (not only from their own party) and celebrities to meet women from regions with common message to join political and commercial environment. Used communication channels were more in form of targeted discussions about women role in society and participation in political processes, rather than extensive meetings. These types of events are usually organised by Party office as “Open door” activity by Vienotība - at their regional branches in Cēsis, Jelgava, Jūrmala. As mentioned these were relatively small scale activities, financed by the Party itself, with mostly Party women members as speakers and role models. Attendance shown- mostly young women. Party members are divided 46% women and 54% men; Saeima representation 7 women 12 men.

- Reformu Partija (Latvian Reform Party). Founded in year 2009, as stated in the name of the party to conduct the reform processes in Latvian political and social scope, including the gender equality issues. 5 of 16 or 31% of Party board members are women, however 0 women from 5 ministers representing the Party in Minister Cabinet. Reform Party ideology states movement “to reduce inequality and people's life chances disparities”
- Latvijas Zaļā Partija (Latvian Green Party). In order for women to be involved in political decision making and increasing the chances of being elected, LGP stresses out the art of introducing herself, good performance skills as well as public speech experience. Also importance of media and social advertisement involvement in women/politics promotion campaign
- Latvijas Zemnieku Savienība. Quoting Artūrs Graudiņš, the Secretary General of Latvian Farmers Union, about 50% of party members are women. The party absolutely supports the gender equality, but or because of the current situation among the party members no particular activities are scheduled or planned.
- Practices carried out by official bodies (Ministry of Welfare). Recently initiated by the Ministry of Welfare and accepted by Saeima changes in legislation, dedicated to more active men (father) participation in raising and educating their children, thus eliminating the major obstacle for successful women participation in politics and professional

career. As important part of the newly accepted law is men's right to use paternity leave, as well as parents leave according to spouse choice. Beginning from 3rd quarter of 2013 especial benefits are introduced for the families, whose children in the age group of 1,5 - 4 years are not provided with state kindergarten places. This and similar benefits represent the real helping mechanisms for women "outside family", including political activities. The possibilities for more equal input distribution of children and household care between both parents, guaranteed by the state are impeded by various disputable stereotypes- i.e. good and critical impact of mother care in children development from birth up to 6-7 years of age. More relevant practices of children education and family role distribution could be adopted by organising practical trainings and courses by state and municipal bodies for the young families and secondary school graduates. This, of course would require the involvement and coordination of various ministries, however such cooperation often is facing the complications due to different political background of the ministers responsible for particular decision making. This would be the ideal case for the women MPs from various Parliament fractions to take the step forward and to overcome internal contradictions inside Governmental coalition to solve this matter.

- Pre elections positive media action campaign 2009. At Saeima elections campaign no party presented any colourful accents underlining idea of women-politician. At very seldom cases women appears on some heavyweight party pre-election poster, but more just to dilute 100% masculine team idea, without any especial message, almost lost among men-politicians and without an attempt to play out their gender as a trump. Although one of the political parties allocated first positions in election list for women it has not changed the overall advertising style and dominating message. Thus the possible range of women-politicians role is deliberately narrowed. Comparing with previous national level elections there were much more women observed in advertisements, pre-election debates, interviews, etc., however in election lists women presence was 0, 96% less than 4 years before (Figure 3) (17). On the other hand women are not only decorative element to refresh solid raw of male party members, but announcing themselves as serious politicians being ready for power re-distribution. Political parties mainly concentrate on national questions, and show no respect to the

equal gender representation topics in their political programmes, most probably considering the minor importance of such topic for their electorates.

- Gender Equality Award .G E Award is introduced by Latvian Women NGO Network (WCNL) since 2006. The idea is to evaluate Latvian politicians on the input of men and women living and working conditions in improving and promoting gender equality. Candidates are nominated by Latvian Women NGO Network (WCNL) member organizations, they evaluated a panel comprised of independent experts and a network board member. Aim of the award is to promote public awareness of gender issues and to evaluate the MPs and Cabinet members contribute to gender equality. The prize is awarded every second year and among winners are famous Latvian politicians, both women and men denying stereotype it is just women duty promoting gender equality issues on the top level.
- European Academy of successful women (2012-2014).During years 2012-2014 the Mentoring Model to Progress Young Women into Leading Role in Different Areas (enterprises, not-for-profits, politics) – European Successful Women’s Academy is due to be organised organised, with the following objectives: 1/ To popularize mentoring idea in Latvia and establish mentoring model which could be used in a number of female organisations and implementing with a limited resources; 2/To promote development of leadership skills by creating an opportunity for women of different age groups, backgrounds and professions to share experience, know-how and create cooperation Network; 3/ To promote development of female careers and progressing female into leading roles in different areas (enterprises, not-for-profits, politics etc.)

Conclusion and obstacles for women self-realisation in Latvian politics

The intensity of women involvement in politics in Latvia at all level has always been lower than one for men. The good means for changing that and ensuring more equal female/male distribution- advertisement messages of political parties- kept fulfilling the opposite function in all recent Saeima pre-election campaigns (2004-2011) - to confirm to both gender voters and beginner women-politicians that decision making in politics is still responsibility area for anybody but women, thus, excluding part of our society for making politics possibly better and more balanced.

More specifically our work has identified 6 specific obstacles that women face in climbing the greasy pole of politics.

- 1) The overall thinking habits and stereotypes in Latvian society, considering men as the only “real” participants and leading force of political processes. Women are not recognized as political leaders and evaluated more critical.
- 2) Lack of motivation- as it is mutually accepted- all the important decisions will be made by men anyway.
- 3) Lack of announced political commitment for gender equality- i.e. National action plan or other political documents
- 4) Minor representation of political opinion, expressed by decision making women in mainstream mass media.
- 5) The non-formal relationship of men-politicians, with no-entry for women
- 6) Non-equal distribution of family duties and finances, also the male domination in decision making issues at family level (both public and private) thus limiting and controlling women engaging with political processes.

LITHUANIA

Overview of women's participation in politics on the EU, national and local levels

Theoretical literature analyses various factors influencing women's political participation. It covers different impact of electoral systems, as well as the "supply" and "demand" factors. The supply shows that women have the capacity, experience and willingness to be included on the lists of potential candidates. Whereas the demand illustrates traits and institutions stimulating or hindering the shift from the lists of candidates to the political positions. Typically, it is noted that women have much lower ambitions (supply) to participate in political elections which influences their poorer representation in various decision-making bodies. However, the situation in Lithuania

shows that the supply of women candidates does not meet the level of demand. Thus it is important to assess the institutional aspects of the political system.

Election legislation

Law on Elections to the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania and the Law on Elections to Municipal Councils of the Republic of Lithuania provide universal and equal rights to elections by secret ballot. Mixed electoral system (voting in single-member and multi-member constituencies) is applied at the elections to the Parliament. Whereas the elections to municipal councils is based on proportional electoral system where individual multi-member constituencies are organised in every municipality. There is no legislation foreseeing requirements of equal gender representation.

Elections to the European Parliament

After joining the European Union, the residents of Lithuanian has already had two opportunities to participate in the European Parliament (EP) elections (in 2004 and 2009). In 2004 Lithuanian delegation consisted of 13 Members of the European Parliament (MEPs), in 2009 – 12. The comparison of both election cycles shows that the “supply” of both male and female candidates increased (Fig. 1). In 2004 there were 126 candidates registered, whereas in 2009 there were 3 times more candidates (377).

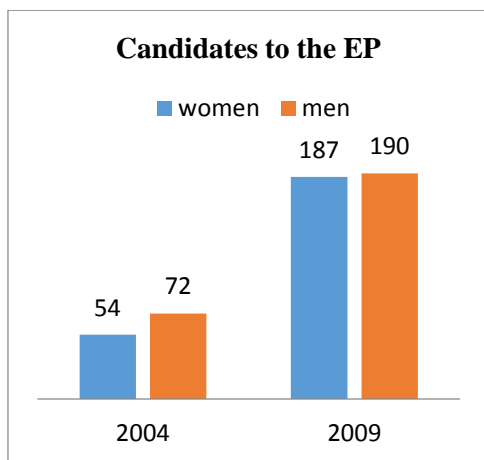


Fig. 1. Candidates to the EP.

The number of women candidates grew much faster than the one of men. In 2009 the number of women candidates increased by 346.3 percent (or 133 candidates) and became almost the same as the number of men candidates which increased by 263.9 percent (or 118 candidates). However, in 2009 the number of women elected to the European Parliament declined. In 2004 women accounted for 46.2 percent of the Lithuanian delegation, whereas in 2009 – only 25 percent (Fig. 2 and 3). Thus the gender-equal supply of candidates to the European Parliament did not have a positive effect on the outcome of the elections.

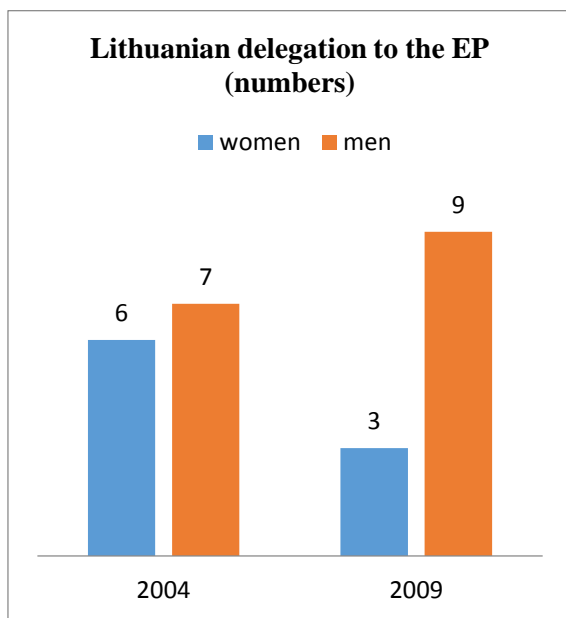


Fig. 2. Lithuanian delegation to the EP in numbers.

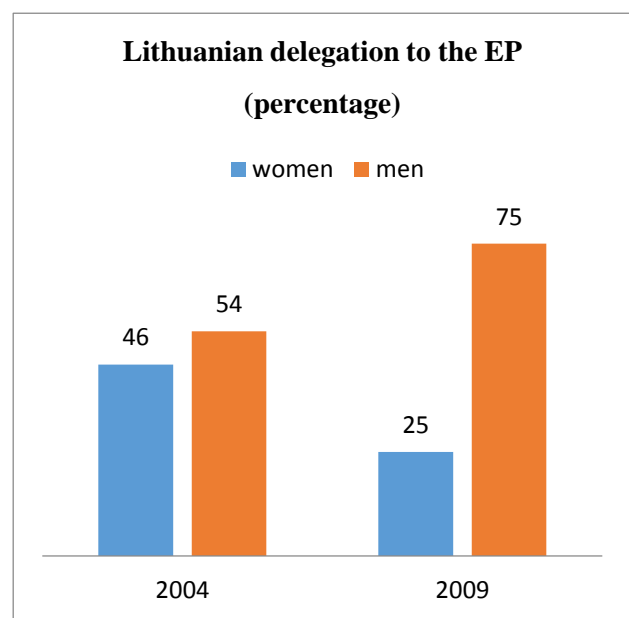


Fig. 3. Lithuanian delegation to the EP in percent.

In 2004 11.11 percent of women candidates and 9.72 percent men candidates were elected to the EP. Whereas in 2009 – only 1.6 percent of women and 4.73 percent of men candidates (Fig. 4). However, these figures do not fully reflect the attitudes of the voters. Even though there were less women than men elected to the EP, women candidates received more support from the voters. Women's positions in the party voting lists rose by the average of 0.67 point in 2004 and 1.21 point in 2009 elections to the EP. Meanwhile, the men's positions fell by the average of 0.07 point in 2004 and 0.43 point in 2009 (Fig. 5). This suggests that the lack of women's representation in the

EP might be caused not as much by the attitudes of the Lithuanian voters as by the way the lists of candidates are arranged.

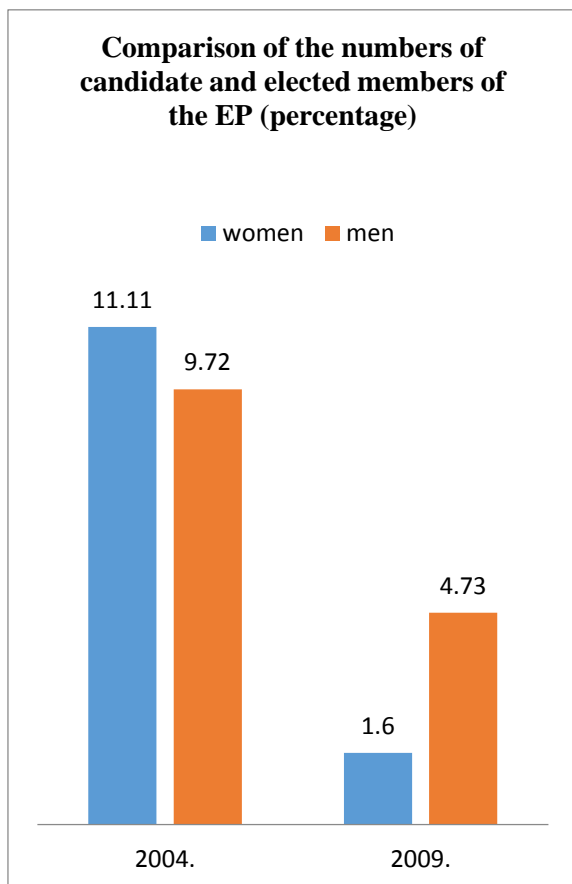


Fig. 4. Candidate and elected members of the EP parties' candidate lists

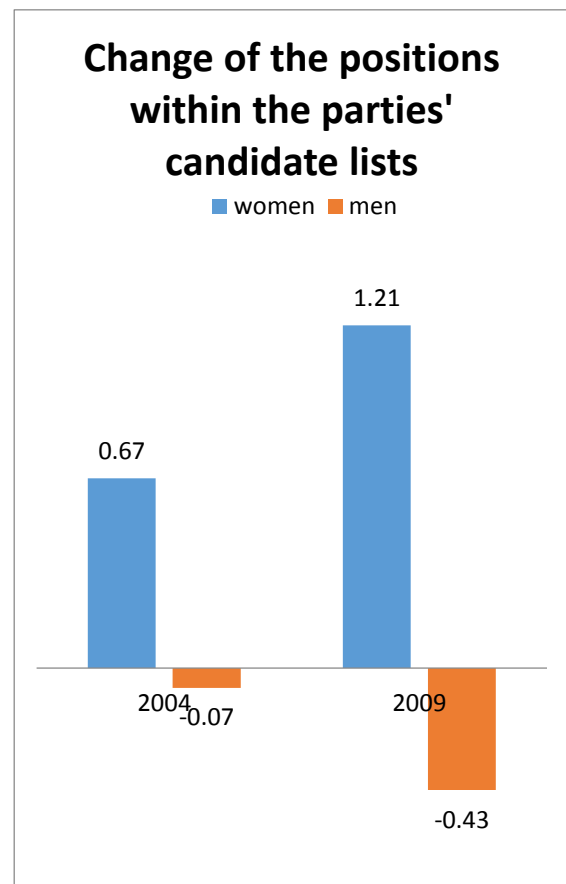


Fig.5. Change of the positions within the

Elections to the Seimas (Parliament)

Overview of the national parliamentary elections shows that the political activity of women and men has been consistently growing. In 2004 there were 320 women (and 931 men) candidates, in 2008 – 459 women (and 1144 men) candidates, and in 2012 – 611 women (and 1316 men) candidates (Fig. 7).

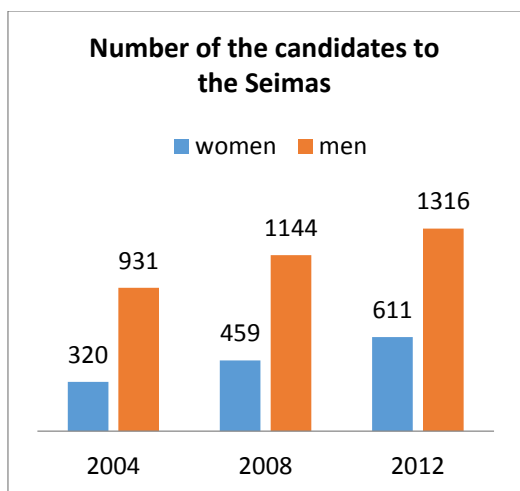


Fig. 7. Number of the candidates in the parliamentary elections.

The number of women candidates for the parliamentary elections has grown by 43.44 percent from 2004 to 2008 and by 33.12 percent from 2008 to 2012. Both times the growth was much higher compared to the increase in men candidates (which was 22.88 percent from 2004 to 2008 and 15.03 percent from 2008 to 2012). The overall increase in women's political activity was 90.94 percent and increase in men's political activity was 41.35 percent from 2004 to 2012. Even though the percentage of women candidates is still much lower than the one of men, it is constantly. In 2004 women accounted for 25.58 percent, in 2008 – 28.63 percent, and in 2012 – 31.7 percent of all candidates (Fig. 8.).

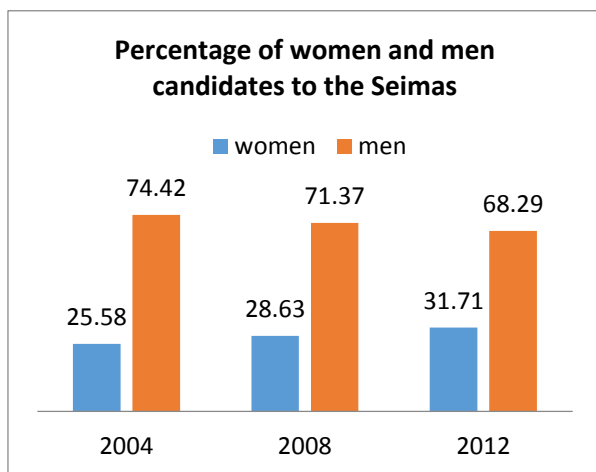


Fig. 8. Percentage of women and men candidates to the Seimas.

Women are not equally represented in both single-member and multi-member constituencies. The overall change in the number of candidates could be observed in the Table 1, and the comparison of percentage of women candidates to the Seimas in the single-member and multi-member constituencies could be seen in the Figure 9.

Table 1. The number of candidates in single-member and multi-member Parliament constituencies

Parliamentary elections	Women	Men
2004		
Single-member constituencies	130	472
Multi-member constituencies	302	881
2008		
Single-member constituencies	188	602
Multi-member constituencies	454	1123
2012 m.		
Single-member constituencies	279	677
Multi-member constituencies	599	1273

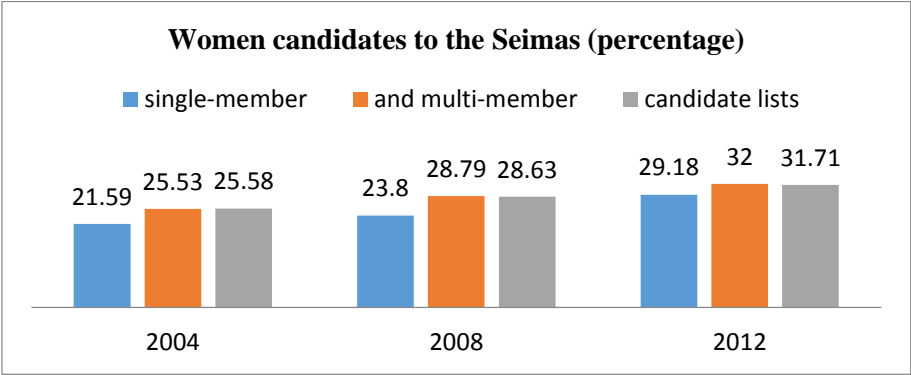


Fig. 9. Percentage of women candidates in single-member and multi-member constituencies and on candidate lists.

As it can be seen in the Figure 9, the percentage of women candidates in single-member constituencies has grown alongside with the total number of women candidates. However, it still remains relatively low compared to the latter one. Even though it could be noted that the situation was slowly changing, ensuring greater parity, the parties were still inclined to devote the top positions of the candidate lists to men.

The consistent increase in women's political activity by greater participation in the elections did not have a direct impact on women's representation in the Parliament. In 2004 women accounted for 20.57 percent, in 2008 – 18.44 percent, and in 2012 – 23.74 percent of all the members of the Parliament (Fig. 10). These figures are lower than the percentage of women candidates in the parliamentary elections (Fig. 11). The proportion of women elected to the Parliament was lower than the one of the listed candidates by the average of 8 percent, whereas the situation was different for men (Fig. 12). This suggests that in order to understand the low representation of women in the Parliament it is important to assess not only aspects of the "supply" (such as possible women's passivity, lack of preparation, etc.), attitudes of the voters and aspects of the "demand" but also how parties and electoral system rejects or enables women.

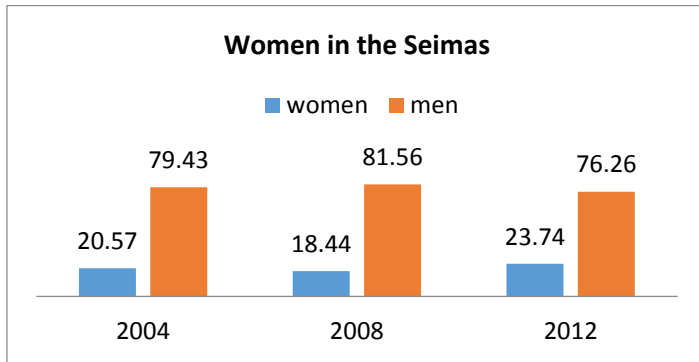


Fig. 10. Percentage of women and men in the Seimas.

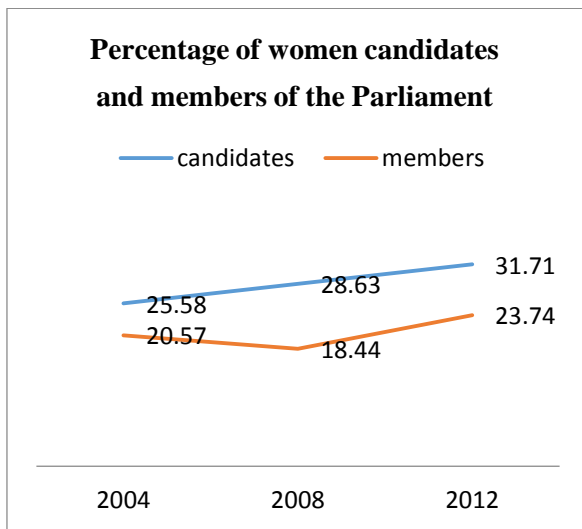


Fig. 11. Women candidates and members of the Parliament

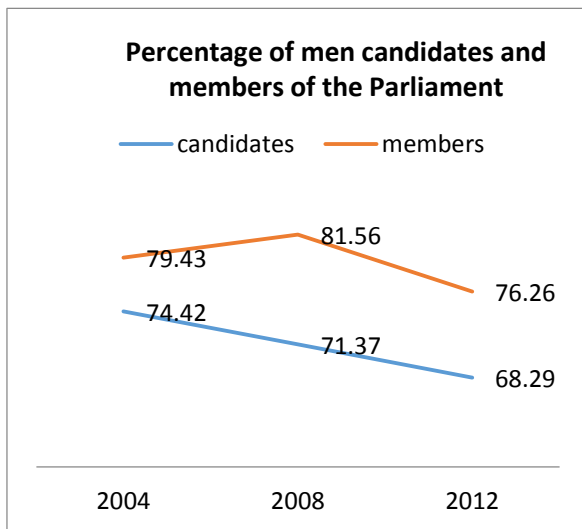


Fig. 12. Men candidates and

In 2008 the voting procedure of the parliamentary elections has been changed – the closed candidate lists were replaced by the open lists. It is difficult to make generalizations about the impact of these changes for women's political representation. However, it is doubtful if these changes of the voting system can have a positive effect for the women's situation. In 2012 women's position on the electoral lists fell by 1.37 positions, whereas in 2008 it increased by 1.16 positions (Fig. 13). On the other hand, even with these changes there were 6 percent more women elected to the Seimas in 2012 than in 2008.

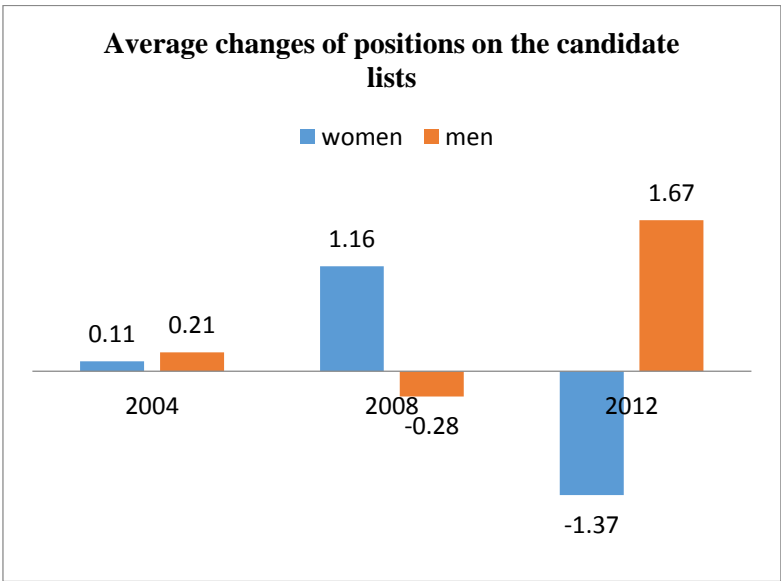


Fig. 13. Average changes in positions on the candidate lists after the ranking.

Women are misrepresented in the governing bodies of the Parliament, especially in the Board of the Seimas (Table 2).

Table 2. Women's representation in the governing bodies of the Seimas

	2004-2008 (%)	2008-2012 (%)	2012-2016 (%)
Board of the Seimas	0	29	11
Conference of Chairs	24	14	21
Chairs of the Political Groups	57	0	50
Chairs of the Committees	20	7	20
Chairs of the Commissions	25	22	23

Table 3 reveals the distribution of women in the leading positions of the Seimas' committees. According to the overview of the last three terms the percentage of women among the chairs and deputy chairs of the committees is much lower than their percentage in the Parliament.

Table 3. Distribution of members of the Seimas in the committees according to their gender

Committees	2004-2008			2008-2012			2012-2016		
	Chair	Deputy chair	Members (%)	Chair	Deputy chair	Members (%)	Chair	Deputy chair	Members (%)
Environment Protection			13			11			20
Audit			13	1		43	1		38
Budget and Finance			10			11			23
Economics			7			10			8

European Affairs			24			8			20
Development of Information Society	1		30			14			29
Rural Affairs			0			0			0
National Security and Defence			17			17			9
Social Affairs and Labour		1	70			55	1		33
Health Affairs	1		43			20			56
Education, Science and Culture			36			23	1		43
Legal Affairs			27			0			25
Foreign Affairs			0			8			0
State Administration and Local Authorities			22		1	20		1	40
Human Rights	1		13			43			25
Total:	3	1	--	1	1	--	3	1	--

Municipal Elections

The results of three most recent local election show that the political activity of both women and men has increased. In 2002 there were 3468 women (and 6671 men) candidates, in 2007 – 5393 women (and 8029 men) candidates, and in 2011 – 7037 women (and 9367 men) candidates (Fig. 14). From 2002 to 2007 the number of women candidates increased by 55.5 percent and from 2007

to 2011 – by 30.48 percent (whereas for men candidates the increase was only 20.36 and 16.66 percent respectively).

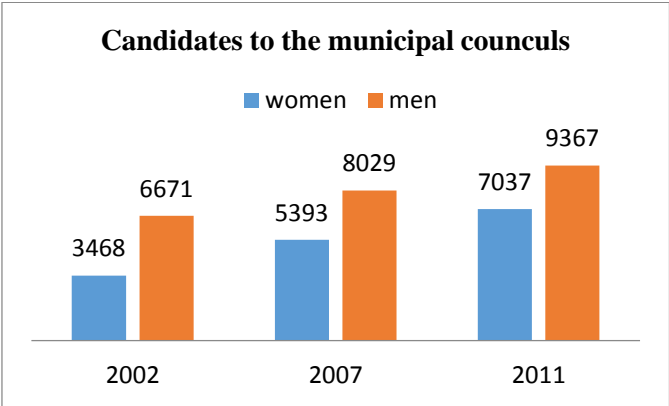


Fig. 14. Number of candidates to the municipal councils

However, the increase in activity did not have a direct effect on women's representation in local councils (Fig. 15). From 2002 to 2011 the number of women in the municipal councils even declined slightly. In 2002 women accounted for 25.28 percent, in 2007 – 22.19 percent, and in 2011 – 22.41 percent of the members of the municipal councils (Fig. 16).

Currently there are 60 mayors in Lithuania – 54 men and only 6 women.

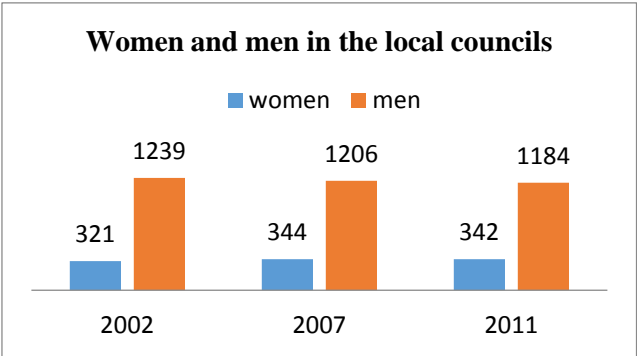


Fig. 15. Women and men in the local councils

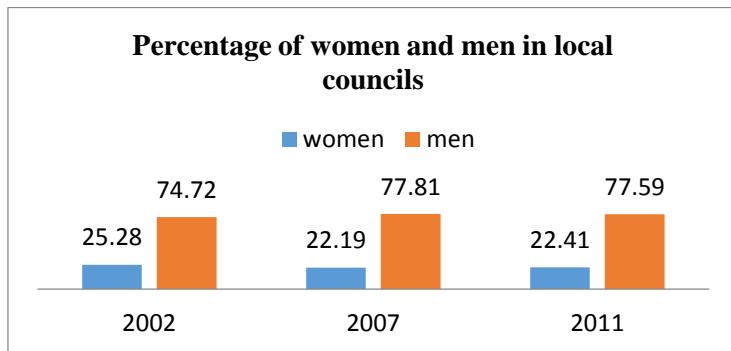


Fig. 15. Percentage of women and men in local councils

Women’s Involvement in Political Parties and Women’s Votes

Women in Political Parties

The results of the long-term survey “Women in the Lithuanian Society” (1994, 2000 and 2009) reveal that the public opinion regarding women's participation in the politics became more favourable, although the change of the opinion of men and women varies considerably (the results of the years 1994 through 2009 can be observed in the Table 4).

Table 4. The opinion of women and men regarding women's participation in the politics

	1994		2000		2009	
	Men,%	Women, %	Men,%	Women, %	Men,%	Women, %
Women should not participate in the politics	31	23	22	15	12	5
Women should participate in the politics the same as now	43	41	61	55	55	42
Women should participate in the politics more than now	18	28	16	30	15	36

The number of women who think that women should be more involved in the politics, has increased gradually over 15 years (from 1994 to 2009) growing by 8 percent (from 28 to 36 percent). Whereas the number of men who think that women should be more involved in the politics decreased by 3 percent (from 18 to 15 percent). The number of respondents who believe that women should not participate in the politics has declined steadily among both women and men – by 18 per cent (from 23 to 5 percent) and 19 percent (from 31 to 12 percent) respectively. However, the number of men who think that women should not participate in politics is still 2.4 times higher than the respective number of women. The experts conclude that for the majority of the Lithuanian population it is not important whether women are involved in the politics or not (in 2009 there were 55 percent of men and 42 percent of women who were satisfied with the status quo). Therefore, the change of the public attitudes did not affect the voters' behaviour.

The study also showed that the politics is considered to be the least important field of life for both women and men. The interest in it has declined sharply since 1990, and in 2000-2009 the number of residents for whom politics is important has stabilized. They account for 5 percent of men and

3-4 percent of women. In 2009 37 percent of women and 50 percent of men said that they were interested in the politics (Fig. 16)

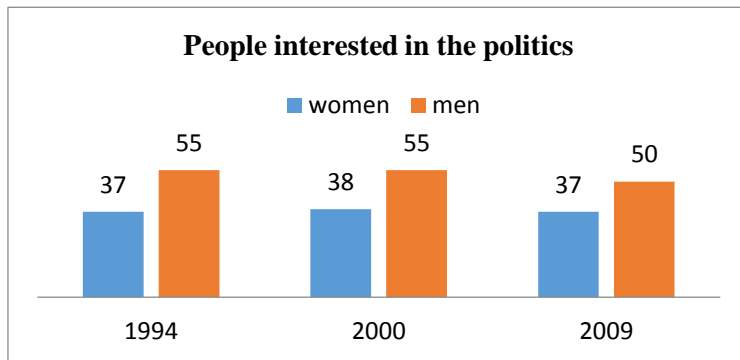


Fig. 16. Lithuanian residents' interest in the politics.

Similar proportion of men and women for whom the politics is important is reflected in the composition of the parties. In general, there are more women party members than men. In Labour Party they represent about 55 percent, Lithuanian Social Democratic Party – 52 percent, Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action – 61 percent, Liberal Movement of the Republic of Lithuanian – 45 percent of all their members. However, there is no party led by a woman in Lithuania. Women's representation in the councils, boards or presidiums of the parties is less than their percentage on the party lists (Table 3).

Table 3. Percentage of women in the governing bodies of the major parties.

	Council	Board	Presidium	Members
Labour Party	--	27,77	30,61	55
Lithuanian Poles' Electoral	--	30	--	61

Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	23,5	34	36,58	52
Liberal Movement	7,69	--	--	45

Voting Activity

In Lithuania data on voters' participation in elections is being collected only since 2011, when the voters were started to be registered at the polling stations. Therefore there is no possibility to compare the dynamics of the voters' behaviour. The voting results from 2012 indicate that women voted more in all age groups except the youngest voters under 24 (Fig. 17). This reflects the demographic situation of Lithuania in regards to gender. The older voters are, the greater gender imbalance is. Amongst 25-34 year-old voters there were 5 percent more women than men, whereas amongst the voters over 75 – 47.72 percent more women than men. In general there were 25.41 percent more women than men voters. Therefore, it can be noted that women's political choices have a significant impact on the election results

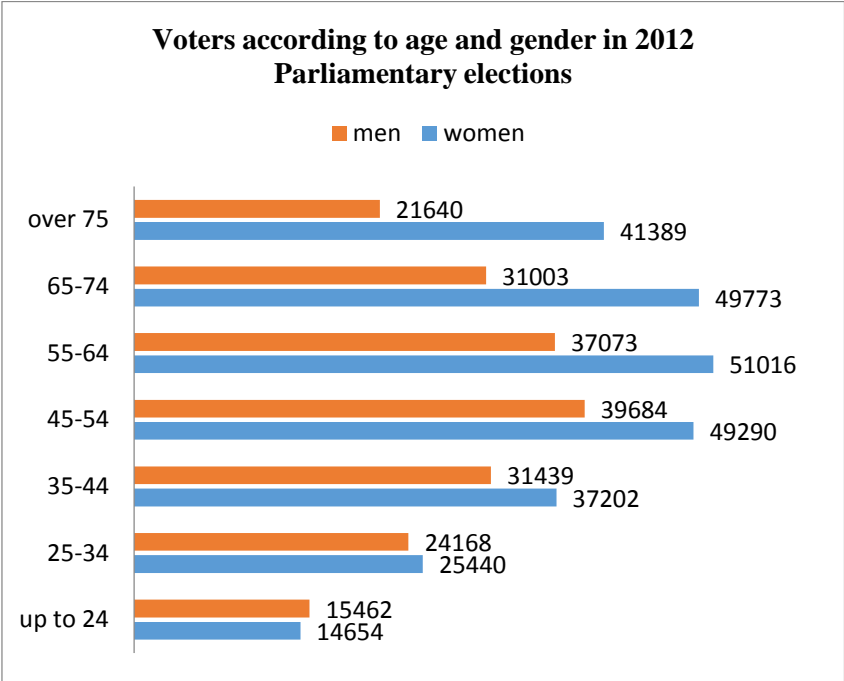


Fig. 17. Voters according to age and gender in 2012 Parliamentary elections

Almost in all age groups women voters’ political activity is higher than the one of men (Fig. 18 and 19). The exception is the 65-74 years old and older voters.

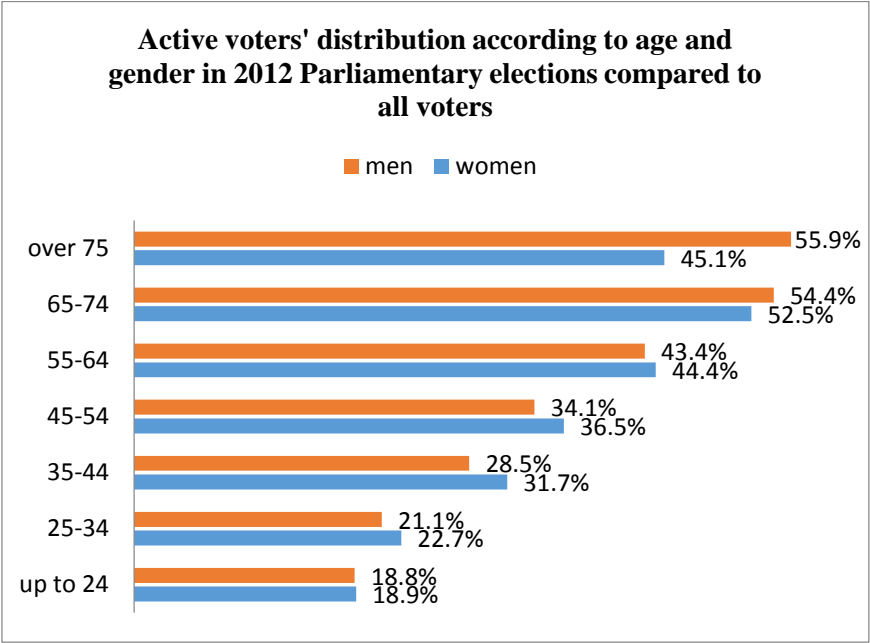


Fig. 18. Active voters' distribution according to age and gender in 2012 Parliamentary elections compared to all voters

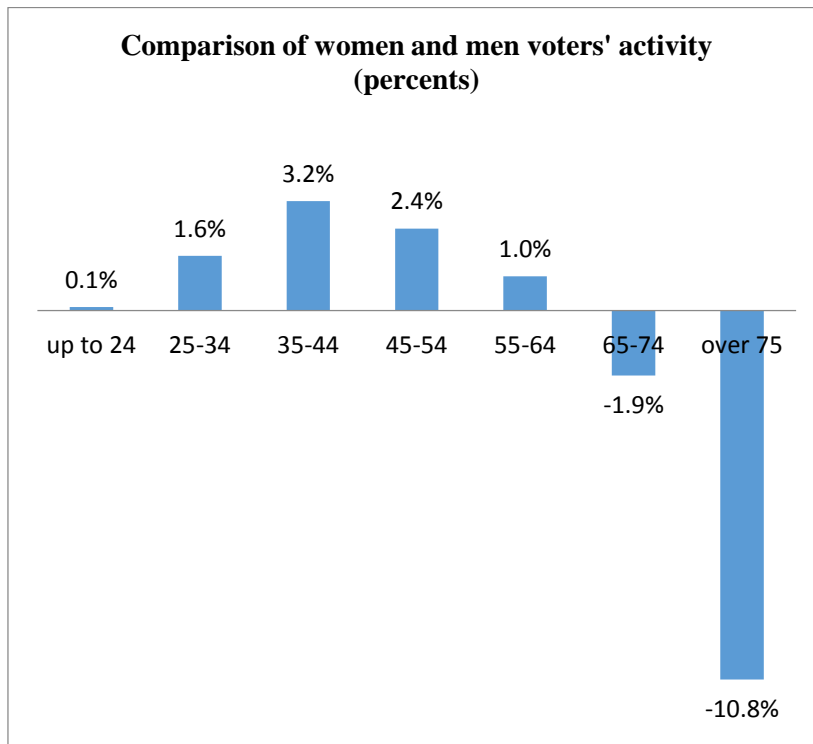


Fig. 19. Comparison of women and men voters' activity (in percent). Positive numbers show higher women's activity, negative – men's.

Initiatives to Attract More Women into Politics

General Initiatives

Kaunas Women's Employment Information Centre (WEINC) has implemented several projects on women political empowerment:

- Building on research about career skills needed for leadership and effective participation in contemporary political life there were trainings organised for women leaders. The participants became more self-confident and gained knowledge on how to stand for local elections.
- Club of women politicians "MILDA" was created in order to facilitate networking among different parties and women NGOs in Lithuania. At the moment, the club members represent six different political parties. The club started in Kaunas and since then has been

expanding to other regions of Lithuania. “MILDA” organizes meetings and training for club members, helps to keep contacts and networking among women in politics, designs media campaigns in support of women in politics.

- Open discussion forums are arranged, where representatives of different parties and NGOs gather for networking, sharing good practices and debating. The activities contribute to developing political culture which is more open for women’s political participation.

Initiatives of Political Parties

Among six most influential political parties only the Lithuanian Social Democrat Party implements special measures to encourage women’s political participation and networking. It is the only party which has included gender equality and non-discrimination principles in its statutes. It also applies gender quotas. The Lithuanian Social Democrat Party has established the Union of Women Social Democrats. The union has its women clubs in every larger city or town of Lithuania. Activities of the union:

- Networking within the party and with women social democrats from other countries;
- Informational and educational activities for the union members;
- Political statements and public initiatives on the issues related to women’s rights and gender equality;
- Monitoring of implementation of the principles of gender equality within the party.

ROMANIA

The electoral system in Romania

Romania has a multi-party system and the elections are organised at local level (communes, cities/municipalities and counties), national (Presidential and Parliamentary) and European level (for the European Parliament).

The Romanian legislature, the Parliament, is elected for a four-year term through the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system. The electoral system was reformed in 2008, when the MMP representation system was introduced over the past List Proportional Representation System. The MMP is a mixed system in which the choices expressed by the voters are used to elect representatives through two different systems—one List PR system and (usually) one plurality/majority system—where the List PR system compensates for the disproportionality in the results from the plurality/majority system. Under the new system, a candidate who obtains over 50% in his/her constituency wins a seat. The unelected seats are then allocated among the political parties in proportion of their share of the votes obtained nationally. Currently, there are additional 18 members representing national minorities and one 'overhang seat' (which parties receive if they win more constituency seats than their share of votes). 5% is the threshold for parties to win parliamentary representation.

Romania elects directly the President in a two round system for a five-year term. If one candidate obtains a majority of 50%+1 of all registered voters in the first round, he or she is declared the winner. If none of the candidates achieve this, then there will be a second round between the two contenders with the top scores in the first round. The candidate who obtains any majority of votes in the second round is declared the winner.

At the local level, Romanian citizens elect directly the mayors for communes, cities/municipalities and the president for the city council, meaning that the candidate who wins most of the votes gets elected for a four years term. For the election of local and county councils, the people vote for the parties list of candidates within the closed party list proportional representation system. The deputy mayors are elected by the local council among its members.

The prefect is nominated by the government and is not allowed to be politically affiliated. Romanians voted for their members in the European Parliament for the first time in 2007. For the term, 2009 – 2014, Romania had 33 MEPs. Regarding the voting system, for the European elections, Romania is considered a single constituency and the system used is the same with the

one for electing the local and county councils, the closed party list proportional representation. A 5% threshold of the votes is required for independent candidates or political parties.

Political representation of women in Romania at local, national and European level

In Romania, the legal framework generally enables an environment with equal opportunities for women and men in the public sphere. Starting with the national Constitution, the state guarantees equal chances between women and men for employment in public positions (Art. 16., Line 3). Romania also has a law regarding equal opportunities and treatment for women and men, law number 202 from 2002. According to this law, the public institutions and public authorities at central and local level, civilian and military, economic entities and social ones, political parties, trade unions and other not for profit organisations that work based on their own statutes, promote and support a balanced participation of women and men in leadership positions and at decision making processes and adopt the necessary measures to ensure this participation (Art. 21, Line 1).

The election law for local public administration also specifies at Art. 6, Line 1 that “the lists of candidates for the election of local and county councils should ensure the representation of both genders”. The Romanian law does not specify though any quotas for women representation at local or national level.

Local administration

The local administration encompasses the following decision making bodies:

- County level: county councils (elected) and the prefectures (nominated);
- Local level: local councils (elected).

Women participation in these bodies varies from one mandate to another, but generally stays below 15%. The period 2004 – 2008 had the biggest percentage of women councillors in the county councils, 15.37%. Counties with lowest representation of women were Caras-Severin with 3.2% and Bistrita-Nasaud with 5.7%. At the local councils level for the same mandate there were only

11.55% women councillors. Counties with lowest representation of women were Caras-Severin with 6.8%, Bistrita-Nasaud with 7.2% and Bihor with 7.5%.

In the 2008 – 2012 mandate the percentage of women councillors in the county councils decreased to 12.6%, with the lowest representation in the counties Neamt (0%), Brasov (2.8%) and Caras-Severin (3.3%). At the local councils level there were 10.8% women councillors.

In the current mandate, 2012-2016 there are 14.22% women councillors in the county councils (190 out of the 1336 councillors). No data was found regarding the representation of women in the local councils.

In the local administration the most important leadership positions are:

- County level: President of the county councils (directly elected by citizens) and prefect and sub-prefect (nominated by the central government);
- Local level: Mayor (directly elected by citizens).

Vice-presidents of county councils and vice-mayors, are also important and are elected among the counsellors. The current administration has no woman president for any of the 41 county councils.

When it comes to women mayors, the percentages are also very small, only 3.5% during the mandate 2008 – 2012 and a slight increase of 3.65% (116 out of 3179 mayors) for the mandate 2012 – 2016. However, there is no county with a percentage of women mayors exceeding 12%. When it comes to the prefectures, the percentages show an increasing trend, from 4.7% women prefects and 10.7% sub-prefects during the mandate 2008 – 2012 to 11.9% women prefects and 25.58% sub-prefects starting with 2012.

The percentage of women is higher on the lists of candidates than among elected officials, but the difference is not considerably higher. For the position of counsellor in the county councils there

are 14.22% women elected out of 22.62% of women candidates, comparing with no women elected out of 5.16% candidates for the position of president of the county councils and 3.82% elected mayors out of 6.96% candidates. It should be mentioned that the counsellor positions are obtained via voting a party list of candidates while the positions of mayor and president of county councils are voted directly by citizens, in a one round system.

Romanian Parliament

The women representation in the Parliament has been rather low in the post-communist Romania. While Romania stays at an average of 11%, the European average is of about 20%.

	Total	men	%	women	%
Senate	176	162	92	14	8,0
Chamber	412	359	87,14	53	12,86
Total	588	521	88,60	67	11,40

Table 1.Number of women and men Members of Parliament during the current legislature, 2012 – 2016

As we can see in Table 1 the representation of women during the legislature 2012 – 2016 is 8% in the Senate and 12.86% in the Chamber of Deputies, comprising a total of 11.4%. By comparison, in 2008 – 2012 legislature there were 5.83% in the Senate and 11.3% in the Chamber of Deputies. In 2004-2008 legislatures there were 9.48% women in the Senate and 10.54% women in the Chamber of Deputies.

The current legislature was elected in 2012. There were 12.78% women candidates for Senate (97 out of the 759) and 14.80% women candidates for Chamber of Deputies (251 out of the 1696), out

of which 7.95% women were elected for Senate (14 out of the 176) and 12.86% women were elected for Chamber of Deputies (53 out of the 359).

Romanian Government

At the level of Ministries, while in 2008 there was no woman Minister, in 2009 there were 4 women Ministers (19%) and in 2012 there were 5 women Ministers (19%). Regarding the level of decision at national level, Romania has a pretty good situation among the 27 EU Member States, concerning the degrees of decision 1 and 2. Degree of decision 1 includes the following positions: secretary general, deputy secretary general, director-general, deputy director general. Degree of decision 2 includes the following positions: director, deputy director, head of unit, and head of office.

European Parliament

In the legislature 2009-2014, the percentage of Romanian women in the European Parliament is 37%: 3 from EPP, 5 from S&D and 4 from ALDE. While the representation of women in the National Parliament is very low, the representation of women in the European Parliament is higher than the global women representation in the European Parliament, 34%.

Quotas in political parties

Currently in Romania there are only two parties that have introduced in their statutes quotas for women representation, the Social Democratic Party and the Liberal Democratic Party.

The Social Democratic Party (PSD) status says, at Art. 43, Line 3, that “*in the leadership positions of the party at all levels it is recommended to have a leadership representation of women, youth and elders proportional with their membership in the party, meaning 30% for women, 25% for youth and 10% for the elders*”. However, this is only a recommendation that doesn’t meet the reality. Currently, women cover only 15% (5 out of 33) positions in the National Permanent Bureau of PSD, the decision making body of the party.

In the Democratic Liberal Party (PDL) the situation is more or less the same. Its status, at Article 13, Line 1, says that “*with the aim at contributing actively for equal opportunities of women against men regarding their political engagement, the party adopts a share system for women participation*”.

to a quota of minimum 30% in all its activity areas". In practice, the National Permanent Bureau of PDL has a women membership of 16% (8 out of 49).

Practices, projects, initiatives regarding the presence of women in politics

One of the most active initiatives is the website created by Andreea Paul Vass, a public consultation initiative for the improvement of the representation of women in politics:

<http://www.femeileinpolitica.ro/>

His initiative brings to the public debate topics that more often than not are omitted by the media, which in general present the woman as beneficiary of public policies mainly in relation policies to increase birth rates. The woman as a "political subject" is rarely a topic of interest.

About 70 women accepted the invitation to write about their professional and political career, answering the following question: "Is there any difference between women involved in politics and men in similar situations? Their reflections were published in a volume coordinated by Andreea Paul Vass, along with a few reflections of notorious men involved in politics.

One of the most debated subjects regarding involvement of women in politics is related to the "quota of women" or "gender quota". There are many voices against this possible practice, voices that ignore the stipulations in the Constitution that affirms „equal rights for all citizens, regardless of their sex, religion, etc.” and voices that fail to understand or to admit that there is actually discrimination in Romania against women.

Even when certain practices are put into place to promote the involvement of women in politics, they are mainly tokenistic. For example, the elections are based on lists of candidates per party and women often find themselves at the bottom of the list. When women are promoted at the forefront of political parties or public institutions they are often seen as obedient spokespersons, not as decision-makers, they are a "front image" than has a group of men in the background.

As mentioned above, even the parties that mention the "gender quota" in their official documents do not comply with this commitment. Indeed, the quota is a recommendation rather than an

obligation, with no sanctions foreseen in case the recommendation is not respected (which is the case for all parties).

Over the years there have been several proposals for laws that would set a quota of representation of women in the Parliament (in 2003, 2004 and in 2010) and in the local administration (in 2004), none of which managed to pass the vote.

More recently, in March 2013, a man Senator from Constanta, Marian Vasiliev from the populist PP-DD party, declared that his party will initiate a bill that would compel political parties to have at least 20% women candidates on their lists for the next Parliamentary elections.

At the beginning of 2013, Romanian Centre for European Policies published a policy memo entitled “Romania needs a competitive electoral system for European Parliament” which makes no reference to the involvement of women in politics or women voting pattern in general.

Nevertheless, a simple web search regarding “women in politics” leads to media articles like: top 5 most beautiful women in politics, top 7 poorly dressed women in politics, etc. And it is not only media that abounds of stereotypes and prejudices; recently a man Senator promoted the idea to initiate a Miss Parliament contest. His proposal was publicly criticized by women MPs.

At institutional level, the main initiative to promote equal changes was taken in 2005 when the National Agency for Equal Chances was set to function. The main attributions of this Agency are:

- Development of policies and national action plans of the Government in the field of equality of chances between women and men and coordination of their implementation;
- Receiving complaints about breaking the laws and regulations regarding equal chances principle, non-discrimination based on sex;
- Elaboration of reports and studies regarding the application of equal chances principle in all fields of activity;
- Exchange of information with European bodies and other international bodies in the field of equal chances between men and women.

Conclusions

Overall, the percentage of women in politics in Romania, compared to European average is quite low. The average representation of women in the National Parliament is around 11%, slightly higher in the Chamber of Deputies and a bit lower in the Senate. At the level of the local administration, there have been no major changes in the last three mandates that were analysed. Also at the local level, the percentage is quite similar with the national situation, an average of around 10% women councillors in city councils and around 14-15% women councils in the county councils. However, the percentage of women at the top of local and regional institutions is even lower. There are currently 3.5% women mayors, 0% women presidents of the city councils and 12% women prefect.

At Ministry level the percentage of women ministers is 19, while at the decision levels, there are 46% women at the degree of decision 1 (compared to the average of 29% at EU level) and 56% women at the degree of decision 2 (compared to the average of 37% at EU level). The highest percentage is found in Ministries in the category of socio-cultural functions, while the lowest percentage is found in Ministries in the category of basic functions.

The highest percentage of women is found at the level of European Parliament, 37% women in current legislature, higher than the level of representation in the European Parliament. Unfortunately very few initiatives are taken both at institutional level as well as at the level of civil society to increase the representation of women in politics. Not only is the percentage of representation of women in institutions at national level quite low, but also there is no trend of increasing the percentage can be noticed in the last decade.

Quotas have been known as a method to increase political representation of women, but as we can see in the Romanian case, quotas are not THE answer. In the case of the two parties that have a 30% quotas for women in their official statuses this are filled only by half, 15% in one case and 16% in the other case.

The laws do not mention anything about quotas when it comes to public decision making bodies. However, another important factor that influence the political representation of women is the voting system used. According to relevant studies⁵ in the field, the most advantageous voting system for

women is the List Proportional Representation and the least advantageous is the majoritarian system in one tour. Romania currently has a Mixed Member Proportional System, partially majoritarian, partial proportional.

The legal framework is in general supportive when it comes to equal representation of women and men, but it lacks in specifying how the equality of chances or the balanced participation of women and men are guaranteed. The laws do not have implementing norms or sanctions in this regard.

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

The current government consists of one political party and except of one woman, who is a Minister of Health, it is only male. In the National Council of the Slovak Republic there are 16 % of women. The long-term marginalization of women in high politics is one of the most visible and internationally most criticized problems of the Slovak Republic, but at the same time this problem is one of those less discussed and remains unsolved. Already in 2008 The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) suggested to adopt temporary compensatory measures in Slovakia to fasten the process of achieving gender equality, predominantly on the high decision-making level, but till now no steps have been done. The current number of women MPs is supposed to double to achieve 30% critical mass.

Currently there are two basic national documents regarding gender equality – *The National Gender Equality Strategy 2009-2013* and *The National Gender Equality Action Plan 2010-2013*. While the Strategy defines frames, basic problematic fields and goals, the Action Plan is supposed to state particular steps how to achieve these goals with exact time plans for all the actions. One of the goals is to achieve equal representation of women and men in politics and decision-making, while among tools are e. g. compensatory measures; financial mechanism to motivate political parties to adopt quota system for their lists; analyses of legislation in various European countries to prepare a base for an election law changes in Slovakia (2013); discussion with political parties about their inner gender equality policies; social campaign to raise awareness about a need for more women in politics and decision-making, etc. Even though there is supposed to be an evaluation this year and preparation of the new Strategy as well as the Action Plan, it is possible to conclude that almost

none of these activities have been done. No analyses has been presented so far, no legislative changes have been done, no positive action or compensatory measures or financial mechanisms for political parties have been adopted or even suggested. Struggles to achieve gender equality in politics and decision making are completely formal without real activities. Those who try to open discussion about political representation of women and to achieve gender equality in this field are mostly Slovak NGOs and international organizations and institutions.

Political representation of women

Representation of women in local and regional politics

There is slightly growing number of women in local politics, at the moment 22,6% of all the mayors are women. When comparing to the national and regional level of politics, here the women representation is the highest, but still does not reach the critical mass 30%. Women are successful mostly in villages and smaller cities; bigger cities – mostly county seats – are ruled by men. As the sociologist Zora Bútorová claimed, it is caused by the fact that people in countryside know each other better and the position of political parties is not so strong there. It seems that political parties and their ways of setting the election lists is disadvantaging for women.

Table 1

Rate of women mayors in Slovakia

	Total Number of Mayors	Number of Women	Rate of Women (%)
1994	2750	418	15,2
1998	2766	484	17,5
2002	2913	541	18,6
2006	2905	601	20,7
2010	2927	622	21,2

Compared with local politics, the situation in regional politics is even worse situation. None of the regional self-government has been ever led by a woman. Rate of female members of regional parliaments is very low with slightly increasing tendency in long-term perspective. In 2001 there

were 12,7% of women in regional parliaments, four years later the rate of women was 14,3% and after the election in 2009 there was 15,4% of female members of regional parliaments. As *The Report on Gender Equality 2011* explains, this situation might be a result of weaker economic power of women who cannot afford as expensive election campaigns as men can do; another factor might be that women usually run for marginalized parties or as nonpartisan politicians.

Table 2 Representation of women among candidates, governors and members of regional parliaments

Election Year		2001			2005			2009		
		Total Number	Number of Women	Rate of Women	Total Number	Number of Women	Rate of Women	Total Number	Number of Women	Rate of Women
Mayors	Candidates	133	13	9,8	64	7	10,9	57	5	8,8
	Elected	8	0	0	8	0	0	8	0	0
Members of Municipal Councils	Candidates	3976	690	17,3	2833	526	18,6	3473	708	20,4
	Elected	401	51	12,7	412	59	14,3	408	63	15,4

Representation of Women in National Politics

Representation of women in the National Council of the Slovak Republic has no increasing tendency. The highest number of women in the parliament was in 2002 when it was slightly more than 19%. After the next election the rate of women fell down to 16% – the same rate as it is nowadays. The number of women in the parliament fell down after the election in 2012 even though there was the highest number of women candidates so far – 26,2%. An important factor is not just the rate of women candidates but the position of women on the political parties' lists as well. And one of the problems is the rule the higher you go on the list the fewer women you find.

Table 3 Representation of women among candidates in the national elections and MPs

Election year	Number of Political Parties	Number of Candidates			Number of MPs	
		Total Number	Number of Women	Rate of Women (%)	Number of Women	Rate of Women (%)
1994	18	1 929	N	N	22	14,7
1998	17	1 618	274	16,9	19	12,7
2002	25	2 618	604	23,1	29	19,3
2006	21	2 340	532	22,7	24	16
2010	18	2 397	545	22,8	23	15,3
2012	26	2 967	778	26,2	24	16

N = Data unavailable.

Table 4 Rate of women and their position on the political parties' lists in the national election 2010

Number of Men	123	126	123	116	121	131	740
Number of Women	27	24	27	34	29	19	160
Rate of Women (%)	18	16	18	22,7	19,3	12,7	17,8
Position of Women on the Lists*							
1 – 10	1 (10)	2 (1;3)	1 (4)	2 (5; 6)	0	1 (2)	7
11 – 20	2 (17;18)	1 (18)	2 (12; 14)	2 (17; 19)	1 (12)	1 (14)	9
21 – 30	1 (22)	3 (23; 26; 27)	2 (21; 28)	2 (29; 30)	2 (22;28)	0	10
An Average Position of all the Women Candidates**	76,9	68,2	80,9	86,2	77,7	92,6x	
Rate of Elected Women							
Rate of Elected Women (%)	16,1	21,4	18,2	13,3	0	11,1	15,3
Number of Elected Women (Number of all the Mps)	10 (62)	6 (28)	4 (22)	2 (15)	0 (14)	1 (9)	23 (150)
Rank voting							
Rate of Rank Votes for a Political Party (%)	72,79	72,6	68,09	82,88	77,12	73,74	73,55
An Average Number of Rank Votes for one Voter	3	2,83	2,86	2,97	3,11	2,82	2,95
Rate of Preference Votes for Women in Comparison to all the Candidates (%)	5,6	45,8	13,1	7,3	14,5	25,6	15,9
Rate of Preference Votes for Women in Comparison to all the MPs	4,8	49,8	11,4	0	10,5	30,3	15

* Numbers in brackets stand for particular position of women on the list (in the first thirty places).

** An average position of women is counted as an average of all the positions of women and men on the list. Since there are 150 places, number lower than 75 means better than average position.

In Slovakia open list system means that voters may give maximum four rank votes within one political party and so change the order of the candidates on the list. When political parties do not want to adopt compensatory measures to increase number of women on their lists, rank voting is one of a few tools to strengthen chances of women to get into the parliament. So the question is if rank voting really helps women candidates. In 2012 rank voting was used by 80,6 % voters compared with 73,6% voters in 2010. So the number of people who decide to change the candidates' order is increasing but at the same time the most of the rank votes are given to the party list leaders. Compared with 2010 the number of rank votes for women running for centre-right

political parties decreased. The current governmental party Smer-SD is the only party in which rank voting for women did not increase or decrease but is very low in the long-term perspective.

Table 5

Representation of women among candidates and MPs in the national election 2012

Political Party	Smer-SD	KDH	OLaNO	Mosť-Híd	SDKÚ-DS	SaS	Total number
Candidates							
Number of Men	123	123	87	115	118	121	687
Number of Women	27	27	23	33	31	28	169
Rate of Women (%)	18	18	20,9	22,3	20,8	18,8	19,7
Position of Women* 1 – 10	0	1 (8)	2 (3; 7)	0	1 (3)	2 (6; 8)	6
11 – 20	2 (11;12)	1 (17)	3 (13; 15; 17)	3 (15; 17; 19)	1 (11)	1 (11)	11
21 – 30	2 (21; 29)	2 (23; 27)	2 (28; 30)	2 (27; 29)	2 (28; 30)	1 (29)	12
An Average Position of all the Women Candidates**	79,19	87,11	64,65	74,64	72,77	81,53	x

An Average Position of all the Men Candidates**	74,69	72,95	67,57	75,7 7	76,65	74,6	x
Women MPs							
Rate of Women MPs (%)	18,1	12,5	25	0	18,2	9,1	16
Number of Women MPs (Number of all the MPs)	15 (83)	2 (16)	4 (16)	0 (13)	2 (11)	1 (11)	24 (150)
Rank Voting							
Rank Votes for a Political Party (%)	77,08	83,23	87,68	85,4 2	86,28	80,66	80,55
An Average Number of Rank Votes Given by One Voter	3,05	3,2	2,69	3,09	3,17	3,06	3,07
Rank Votes for Women in Comparison to all the Candidates (%)	4,8	12,8	19,1	8,5	35,3	11,1	10,6
Rank Votes for Women in Comparison to all the MPs (%)	4,3	10,7	18,3	0	40,8	6	8,62

* Numbers in brackets stand for particular position of women in the List (in the first thirty places).

** An average position of women is counted as an average of all the positions of women and men on the list.

Representation of women in the Slovak government is low in the long term. The situation did not change when the Prime Minister was a woman (2010-2012) or after the last election in 2012. After 2010 election when the government was led for the first time by a woman premier there was just one other woman in the 14-member government – the Minister of Justice Lucia Žitňanská. After

the last election in 2012 there is just one woman – the Minister of Health Zuzana Zvolenská. From qualitative perspective it is obvious that after the last election not only representation of women decreased moreover the woman minister leads the Ministry of Health which stereotypically belongs to so called woman political agenda.

Table 6

Rate of women in the Slovak government

Period	89-90	90-91	91-92	92-94	94-94	94-98	98-02	2002-06	2006-10	2010-12	2012-
Total Number of Seats	19	23	23	21	18	19	22	16	16	14	14
Number of Women	1	0	2	3	1	3;4	3;2	0; 2	1; 2	2	1
Rate of Women (%)	5,2	0	8,7	14,3	5,5	15,8 ; 21	13,6 ; 9	0 ; 12,5	6,3 ; 12,5	14,3	7,14

Representation of Women in European Politics

The election to the European Parliament took place in Slovakia twice, every time with very little public interest. In June 2004 the turnout was just 16, 99%, in June 2009 it reached 19, 64%.

Table 7 Representation of women among candidates and MPs in the European election 2009

Political Party*	Sme r-SD	SDK Ú-DS	SM K	KD H	ES- HZD S	SN S	Sa S		KDS- OKS	KS S	SF
Number of Women Candidates	5	3	2**	2	5	1	3	7* **	2+0	2	7
Number of Women MPs	3***	0	1***	1** *	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Number of MPs	5	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

* Parties/coalitions with more than 1% votes.

** The list was led by a woman.

*** Woman got the highest number of rank votes among all the candidates.

When comparing all the levels of politics it is obvious that the highest rate of women is on the European level. In 2004 representation of women was 36%, four years later it was 38%. This was not a result of political parties' decision but a result of rank voting. Out of six parliamentary parties just one was led by a woman but in three parties women got majority of rank votes. Seven out of ten voters used a chance to give a rank vote – 71% male voters and 66% female voters. Women candidates got together 60% of rank votes given by women voters.

Representation of Women in Decision Making

Table 8 Representation of women in civil service decision making

		2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Constitutional Court Judges	Total Number	11	10	13	13	13	13
	Number of Women	1	1	3	3	3	3
	Rate of Women (%)	9,1	10	23,1	23,1	23,1	23,1
Bank Board of the Slovak National Bank	Total Number	7	7	10	10	10	6*
	Number of Women	2	1	2	2	2	1*
	Rate of Women (%)	28,6	14,3	20	20	20	20
University Rectors	Total Number	30	33	33	33	33	33
	Number of Women	1	3	3	2	2	4
	Rate of Women (%)	3,3	9,1	9,1	6,1	6,1	12,1

* Date 31. 10. 2010

Representation of women in judiciary has its specificities in Slovakia. Out of all the judges 64% are women, however the higher position the lower number of women representatives. The specificity of the situation has its genesis in 90s' when lots of male judges left judiciary to find more profitable jobs within the legal system.

In economic sphere there was a negative trend in 2011 even though Slovakia became a part of the European initiative with the aim of attaining a 30% objective of the under-represented sex in board-member positions in publicly listed companies in 2015 and 40% in 2020. In 2011 the rate of women in the highest executive positions in the publicly listed companies in Slovakia decreased from 22% (2010) to 15%. This trend went on in 2012 when the rate of women on publicly listed companies' executive positions was 13%.

Table 9 Representation of women in executive positions of the listed companies

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012
Rate of Women in Executive Positions (%)	18	22	15	13

Conclusions

Among the main obstacles that women need to face when they decide to enter the field of politics or when they are in the process of decision making whether or not to enter politics are gender stereotypes. Normative picture of an ideal woman combines three dimensions: a good mother and housewife; the one that can cheer others, a sympathetic person that can listen to others; a person whose attractiveness helps her to achieve success in public as well as private sphere.

At the same time there is a paradox shown by public opinion polls – on the one hand people want equal participation of women and men in political decision-making and on the other hand according to public it is not important for an ideal woman to participate in public life. This phenomenon might be explained as non-internalized support of political participation of women.

So when women decide to enter politics and run for a political party what are their opportunities? What obstacles they need to face and what might be helpful for them?

At first the majority election system on the regional level is disadvantaging for women, on the contrary in the national elections proportional representation system in combination with low 5% threshold might be supportive for women politicians. In both cases the way how political parties propose their lists – how many women they include and on what positions – is more than important.

Gender equality as well as particularly political representation of women is not a long-term and serious agenda of any political party in Slovakia. In case that gender equality has been a part of a manifesto, it has not been fulfilled in political practice. It is obvious from the fact that despite of all the appeals and suggestions by international institutions and organizations (e. g. CEDAW Committee) and pressure by the Slovak NGOs nothing has been done in this field. Since 2004 when the third bill regarding 30% quota on the political party lists and other compensatory measures was proposed (the first two bills were proposed in 2001 and 2002), no other bills were proposed.

SLOVENIA

Statutory measures for applying and providing a balanced representation of women and men

The 2002 Election of Members of the European Parliament from the Republic of Slovenia Act (ZVPEP) was amended in 2004 by the provision: "On the list of candidates, neither gender may be represented by less than 40 percent. Every list must be composed in such a way that at least one candidate of each of the genders is placed on the upper half of the list".

Other measures for applying and providing a balanced representation of women and men

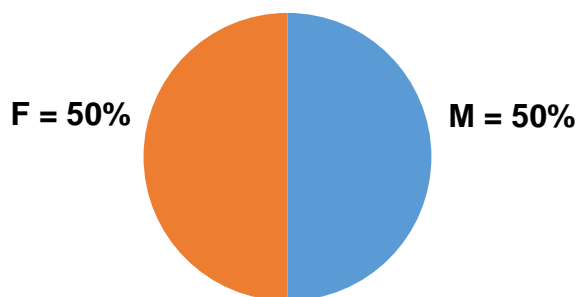
Prior to the European Parliament elections in 2009, a campaign run by the Women's Lobby of Slovenia titled "50-50" took place. It was aimed at both the political parties and at voters. The former were invited to put female and male candidates on the lists alternately and place as many women as possible on top of the list. Voters were encouraged to vote for female candidates regardless of the small impact of the relative preference vote.

Current situation

The proportion of female members immediately after the 2009 elections was 28.57. Due to the additional seat in the parliament under the Lisbon Treaty and the resignation of one of the members of parliament, this proportion increased to 50% in the next two years.

In the European Parliament today there are eight seats for Slovenian members equally distributed between the two genders: four women and four men.

Graph 1: Proportion of female and male members of the European Parliament, May 2013



Women's representation in politics at the national level

President / Female president of the Republic of Slovenia

In its twenty year history Slovenia has not yet had a female head of state. In December 2012, the fourth president of RS was sworn in for the fifth mandate. He was elected among three male candidates.

In all the five elections for the president of RS only 5 women stood as candidates, or almost 14% of all the female and male candidates. Women participated only in three elections: two in 1992, one in 2002 and two female candidates in 2007.

National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia

National Assembly of RS is the highest legislative institution where the people's female and male representatives are elected by universal and equal suffrage in free and direct elections by secret ballot. National Assembly of RS has 90 female and male members.

President / Female president of National Assembly of RS

During the six National Assembly terms, 10 individuals have so far performed the function of the president; among them there have been no women.

Female members in the National Assembly of RS

The Slovenian National Assembly election legislation determines a proportional representation or the proportional election system which also includes certain elements of the majority election systems. In our case the proportional election system, more in favour of women, does not work. It does not work due to the inclusion of certain majority system elements that are less favourable for women and it is precisely these elements that are the key reason for a low participation of women in the National Assembly of RS.

The proportion of female members in the Slovenian parliament until the last early elections in 2011 did not exceed 13.3%.

Statutory measures for applying and providing a balanced representation of women and men

The National Assembly Election Act was amended in July 2006 by the provision: "On the list of candidates none of the genders may be represented by less than 35% of the total actual number of female and male candidates on the list". The exception to this rule applies to the list of three female and male candidates on which at least one representative of every gender must be placed.

The legislator decided to apply quotas gradually. In the transitional provisions for the next elections after applying the Act he prescribed a 25% quota which was used in the 2008 elections.

On the lists of candidates there were consequently at least 25% of women and 12 female candidates were elected members of parliament or 13.3%. The measure to enhance gender equality obviously did not work. The reasons may be both of an institutional nature (inadequacy of election system) and the lack of political will.

The quota prescribed by the law namely does not affect the classification of female and male candidates on the list. "Female and male candidates from the list are namely classified in individual electoral districts within the constituencies and it is entirely understandable that it is impossible to prescribe by a law, how they will be distributed by gender. This is why the actual impact of the minimum quota on the election of women depends on the political parties' treatment as well as on their readiness to apply the principle of equal female and male representation in practice".

Other measures for applying and providing a balanced representation of women and men

At the end of 2011, the Women's Lobby of Slovenia performed a detailed analysis titled "The impact of electoral districts on women's eligibility".

The results clearly showed that "the success of a female or male candidate depends on how eligible is the electoral district where he or she appears. A multiple appearance at the elections allows political parties quite a reliable assessment as to which electoral districts or female/male candidates in these districts will be allocated the terms in the constituency.

The results of the analysis were presented to the public only a few weeks before the early elections that took place in December 2011. A strong external pressure and the awareness of female candidates that for their eventual election it is important in which electoral district they are classified had the following consequence: the political parties which are granted seats in this term in the National Assembly introduced 41.7% of women in the lists of candidates (the prescribed quota requested at least 35% of one gender).

The key reason why the statutory measure on equal women's representation in the National Assembly is not efficient however remains. As long as the constituencies are divided into electoral districts and the elements of the majority election system exist, there is an institutional obstacle for applying the parity between the genders, because "from a formal legal aspect it is impossible to

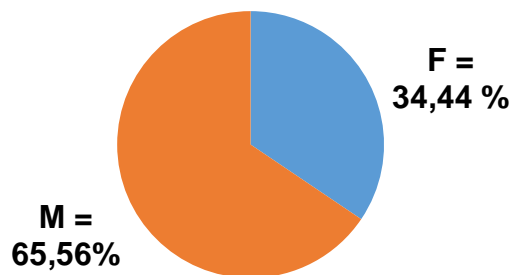
prescribe the classification of female and male candidates in electoral districts pursuant to their eligibility level".

Current situation

It was precisely the analysis performed by the Women's Lobby of Slovenia and the activities, as well as the knowledge based on it which *inter alia* contributed to the fact that during the early December 2011 elections, that is the second elections after the introduction of quotas in the National Assembly Election Act, there were 32.2% or 29 female members elected.

After the formation firstly of one government and then the other one (20 March 2013) and other changes (resignation of a male, female member), the number of female National Assembly members changed so that in May 2013 the proportion of female members was the highest so far, namely 31 female members or 34.4%.

Graph 2: *Number of female and male members in the National Assembly of RS, May 2013*



National Council

The National Council of RS is a representative body defined by the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia as an agency of social, economic, professional and local interests. Female and male councillors, 40 in total, perform their function non-professionally. National Council elections are indirect through relevant interest organisations or local communities.

The National Council is even a tougher stronghold of men than the National Assembly; the highest proportion of women in all the previous five terms amounted to 12.5%.

Government of the Republic of Slovenia

In the period since the creation of an independent state to this day, there have been eleven governments in Slovenia. The current RS Government was appointed on 20 March 2013. For the first time it is led by a woman. Besides her there are also 11 ministers in the government and 2 female ministers of whom one is without portfolio.

Statistics indicate an extremely poor women's representation in the previous RS Governments:

- Of eleven governments only one is led by a woman,
- In four of the eleven governments also the vice-prime ministers, 11 in total, were all men,
- Of all the 233 ministers there were only 30 women or 12, 87%,
- The percentage of women in the government has never exceeded 28%,
- In less than one half of the governments (five), the percentage of women was lower than 10.

Women's representation in politics at the local level

In contrast with other EU Member States, a single-level local self-government system has evolved in Slovenia; broader local communities have not (yet) been established, although they are envisaged in the Constitution.

Locally governed communities in Slovenia are municipalities. Elections take place every four years. In independent Slovenia so far there have been 5 elections, the first ones in 1994 and the last in 2010. The current number of municipalities stands at 212.

The analysis below of women's representation in local politics is performed on two levels, namely between mayoresses and female municipal councillors.

Mayoresses

During all the mayoral election so far there have been altogether 3,739 women and men who stood as candidates, of whom 346 female candidates or 9.25%.

The representation of women, elected mayoresses, was after all the elections even lower than the representation among the female candidates for the mayor's position. The number of mayoresses in the entire Slovenia has never exceeded 11 or 6%. The lowest number of mayoresses was after the first elections in 1994, namely just 2. There are currently 10 mayoresses, which is less than 5% of all the persons performing the mayoral function. None of the women is the mayor of an urban municipality (during the last elections there were 20% female candidates for the mayor's position).

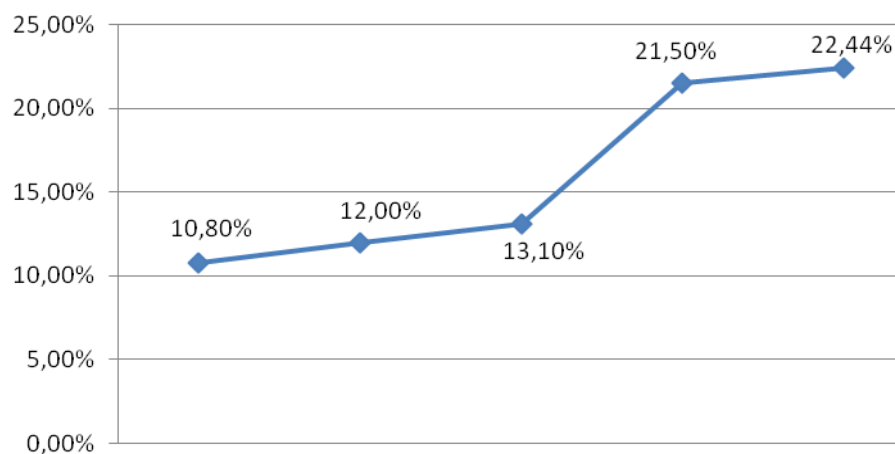
Female municipal councillors

Municipal council elections are performed under two different election systems pursuant to the number of female/male municipal councillors – the majority system applies to municipal councils with up to 11 male/female members, and the proportional system applies to the rest.

Under the majority system, people vote for an individual female/male candidate and under the proportional system, for the lists of candidates.

Of the five previous local elections the first three took place without the measures for an equal gender representation provided by the law. These were adopted before the fourth local elections. The proportion of female councillors otherwise slightly increased after every election, therefore also after the second and third elections. We can nevertheless see that the legislative changes had effect immediately after they had been applied, therefore during the 2006 elections when the proportion of women in municipal councils doubled compared to 1994.

Graph: Proportions of female municipal councillors by individual local elections, 1994 - 2010



Statutory measures for applying and providing a balanced representation of women and men

In 2005 the Local Elections Act was amended by the provision: "A political party or voters who designate more than one candidate in a constituency as a member of the municipal council must determine the candidates or lists of candidates in such a way that that each of the two genders is granted at least 40% of candidatures or places on the list of candidates. The candidates or the candidates on the first half of the list must be classified alternatively by gender". The exception to this provision applies for the lists containing three candidates on which at least one representative of each gender must be established. The legislator chose a gradual achievement of this quota, so that the basic provision will apply only during the local elections in 2014.

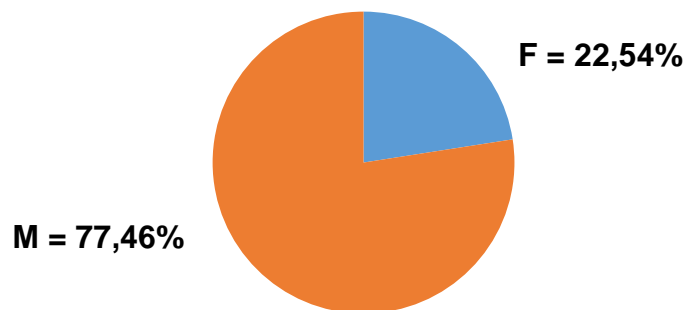
As regards the elected female municipal councillors, the legislative changes had a positive impact. Their proportion after the first election when the quotas were already enacted, therefore in 2006, increased from 13, 10% to 21, 5%. The proportion during the next or the second elections in 2010 when quotas already applied it rose to 22, 54%. "Since the introduction of positive measures the trend of raising the level of women's representation in city and municipal council's amounts to 4, 5% per term.

Other measures for applying and providing a balanced representation of women and men

Before the 2010 local elections, in a similar way as before the European Parliament elections the year before, the Women's Lobby of Slovenia again organised a parallel election campaign "50–50". "The project was conceived as an organised pressure on the leaderships of political parties at the time when they establish their lists of candidates, so that as many women as possible would be placed on eligible posts. Female and male voters were informed before the elections on how to identify the parties that are truly committed to gender equality and called upon them to vote for these parties or their list of candidates. They were also invited to cast their preference vote for a woman on the list of candidates that they will choose".

Current situation

Graph 4: Proportion of female and male municipal councillors in municipal councils, 2012



Political parties

Since all the social political life takes place in political parties, it is crucial for the women's political participation how much space they acquire in the political parties. All the newly established and remodelled political parties from the early 90's were run by men and with two or three exceptions in an individual term they have maintained this leadership to this day. In the collective bodies of

political parties women (were) are also rather an exception than the rule. In their response to such a situation individual women politicians and politically aware women started to establish special women's groups within political parties. During the past twenty years, with the exception of two of all the parliamentary parties, the so called women's factions operated or still operate. And precisely these women's political groups in cooperation with civil society movements reached numerous normative foundations for applying a balanced representation of women and men in making political decisions.

The Act on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men provides that political parties that are included in the register of political parties shall adopt, every four years, a plan in which they shall adopt the position on the issue of balanced representation of women and men and, in accordance with this position, determine methods and measures for the promotion of a more balanced representation of women and men within the bodies of the party, on candidate lists for elections to the National Assembly and to bodies of local communities as well as for elections of the female or male President of the Republic.

The Political Parties Act provides that parties should determine the procedure and the authority, determining female or male candidates in elections for the National Assembly and for the female or male President of the Republic of Slovenia and female or male candidates in elections for the local community bodies, as well as the manner of ensuring equal opportunities for both genders when determining female and male candidates in the above elections.

In order to learn more about how political parties implement the above two provisions we addressed them directly with a questionnaire that we prepared for the purposes of this situation analysis. The questionnaire contained six questions which are all of a closed type, except one. We asked the respondents whether they have special women's organisations/groups; if they have a transparent funding of women's organisations/groups; if they adopted an action plan for enhancing and creating equal opportunities for both genders; and if their articles of association include the

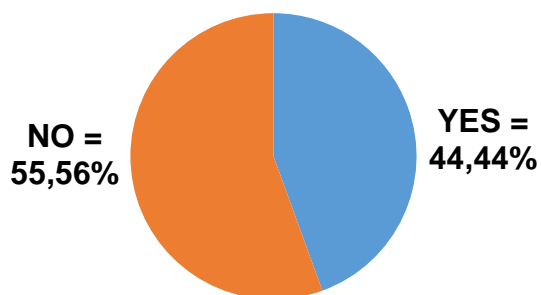
prescribed minimum proportions for the individual gender in the bodies of the party. We also asked about the representation of individual functions in the bodies of the party by gender and number.

We addressed the questionnaire to the political parties that are or were represented in the parliament during the last two terms. These are: Social Democrats, Slovenian Democratic Party, Slovenian People's party, Democratic Party of Pensioners of Slovenia, Positive Slovenia, Citizen's List, New Slovenia, Liberal Democracy of Slovenia, ZARES – Social Liberals and the Slovenian National Party.

Only 5 of the 10 requested political parties replied to the questionnaire. For the remaining parties we could only use the information available on their websites. This is unfortunately why the picture is not perfect because we could mainly obtain the information on the structure of the last, i.e. the operational leadership: female or male president, female or male vice-presidents, party's council and executive committee. Since we were unable to obtain information on the Slovenian National Party needed for the purposes of this analysis even from the internet, we did not consider this party in data processing. Hereinafter we therefore speak about nine parties.

The analysis showed that out of 9 only 4 parties have an organised special women's organisation or group and only 1 of them a clearly defined funding of this group.

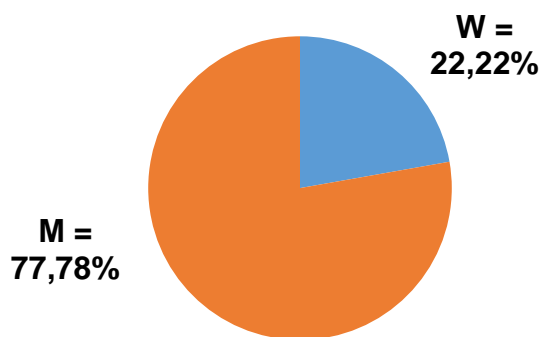
Graph 5: Relation between the political parties that have women's groups and those that do not have them



2 parties have an action plan for enhancing and creating equal opportunities and gender equality. There are 4 parties that have minimum proportions for individual genders in the party's organs prescribed in their articles of association.

Out of nine parties considered in this analysis there are currently 2 headed by women. These are parliamentary parties. One of them is in the government. She is the leader of the party and at the same time Prime Minister. In the past there was also another parliamentary party that had a female president.

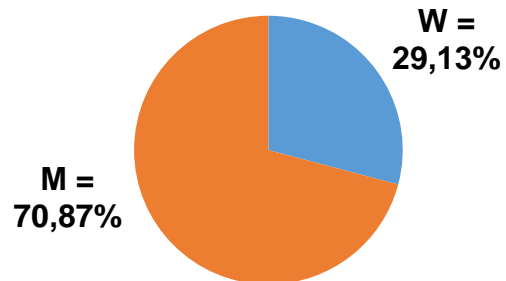
Graph 6: *Relation between women and men, presidents of political parties*



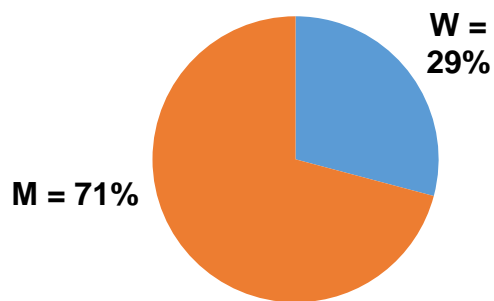
On average, political parties have 2 to 3 female vice-presidents or male presidents. The relation between them is in favour of women since as much as 7 out of 9 parties have a perfectly balanced composition in case when they have 2 vice-president positions or 2 vice-president positions are occupied by women in case when they have 3.

Less convincing is the representation of women in the collective bodies of political parties. On the average (7 parties considered) there is 29,13 % of women in parties' councils. In this case the highest percentage is 47% and the lowest 11,76 %. On the parties' executive committees there is on the average also almost 29% of women or maximum 54% and minimum 20% (8 parties considered).

Graph 7: Relation between women and men in political parties' councils



Graph 8: Relation between women and men in political parties' executive committees



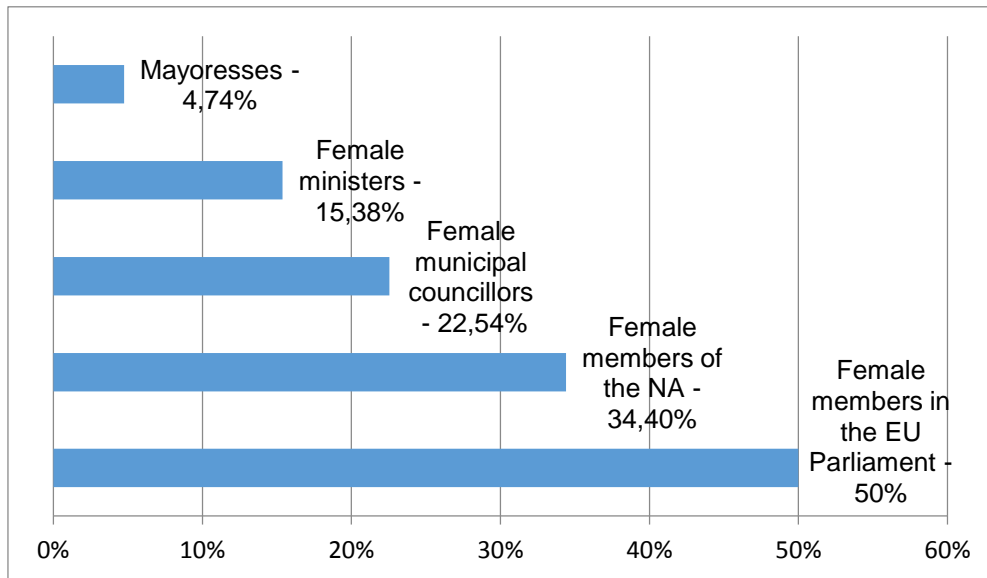
There are no essential discrepancies between left and right-wing parties. Information indicates that the proportions of women in political parties' bodies are slightly higher in left-wing parties. It is nevertheless interesting that both new political parties, established shortly before the 2011 elections, have a relatively high percentage of women in their collective bodies.

Conclusion

The representation of women in politics on this day can be recapitulated and summarised in the following points:

- So far there have been no women performing the highest state functions, like the head of state and the president of the Slovenian parliament. We got the first female Prime Minister as late as March 2013.
- As indicated in the graph below, out of five representative functions only one acquired the democratic 50 percent proportion of women's representation. These are the female members to the European Parliament.
- In the meantime, the proportion of mayoresses is lower than 5%.
- The proportion of female members in the Slovenian parliament and the proportion of female municipal councillors are between 20% and 34,4%.

Graph: *Proportion of women in Slovenian politics on 1.5.2013*



As we can see, the proportions of women are higher in those positions in respect of which the statutory measures for enhancing the gender parity were adopted in the past, therefore among the female municipal councillors, female members in the Slovenian, as well as the European Parliament.

The fact that despite the changes adopted in the Slovenian legislation, the proportions of women, except the proportion of female European Parliament members, the proportions do not exceed 34% remains at the same time of crucial importance.

Conclusions

European Parliament

The existing balanced representation of the Slovenian female and male members in the European Parliament (50:50) is rather a coincidence than the result of the current provision on a uniform women's representation on the lists of candidates and political will.

Therefore we find it is necessary:

1. To amend the existing law so as to upgrade the provisions concerning the classification on the lists of candidates in such a way that an alternative classification in the first place be applied.

Until the request for this amendment enters into force, it is however urgent:

2. To enhance the pressure on political parties to classify women candidates in the 1st place on all the lists.

National Assembly of RS

The proportional election system, otherwise more in favour of women, does not work in Slovenia due to the input of certain majority election system elements. The existing election system is despite the provisions on quotas the main reason for a low women's representation in the Slovenian parliament.

Consequently, it is necessary:

1. To persist in amending the law in such a way as to abolish the division of constituencies into electoral districts and at the same time:
2. To raise awareness among female and male voters about the biased election system which covertly and efficiently prevents women from being elected;
3. To introduce single lists of candidates with an alternative classification of women and men on these lists and an alternative classification of gender in the first place on the lists of candidates;
4. To enhance national and international pressure on all the parliamentary parties to agree to urgent systemic changes.

Mayoresses

The proportion of women who performed in Slovenia the mayor's function is disgracefully low. It currently amounts to 4.74%, but has never exceeded even 6%.

The introduction of quotas when we cast our vote for individual functions in an individual environment is not adequate. It would be therefore:

1. Necessary to seek levers and enhance the pressure on political parties to become more willing to implement a balanced representation of the two genders in all the municipalities at the entire state level.

Municipalities

As we have already established a part of the problem of unbalanced representation of the two genders is a huge fragmentation of municipalities and very big differences in the number of inhabitants among individual municipalities and consequently among their representative bodies. The Municipalities Act therefore prescribes proportional elections in a part of municipalities and majority elections in the other one.

This is why it is necessary:

1. To demand a change in the law where it prescribes proportional elections so as to introduce an alternative classification of women and men in the first places on the lists of candidates;
2. To exercise pressure on the political parties in the municipalities with the majority election system to provide, by the selection of their female and male candidates, a balanced representation of both genders in all the municipalities at the entire state level.

SWEDEN

EU level

Sweden currently has 20 members of the EU Parliament, 9 women and 11 men. The gender distribution among the nominees for the European Parliament has remained relatively fixed while the proportion of women elected has increased in the last two elections (2004 and 2009) and are now over 50%. The Swedish EU commissioner is a woman, Cecilia Malmström.

The national level

The report Gender, Power and statistics found that the gender balance in senior positions vary in a systematic way between social levels, occupations, and heads of various fields of activities. In general, noticeable positions are affected by the policy of gender balance, while the reverse is true for positions without public scrutiny to which the recruitment is done through informal procedures and where the notability is limited. The national or central level seems to provide better conditions for even more gender balance compared to regional and local levels. There are also differences between areas such as politics on one hand and industry on the other. Government principals usually provides greater opportunities for quantitative equality than municipal or private principals. There are also differences between urban areas on one hand and small towns and rural areas on the other. Further investigation found differences between different types of positions. Executives officers are usually men as well as chairpersons (eg in municipal councils). Women in leading positions are often included as members of boards.

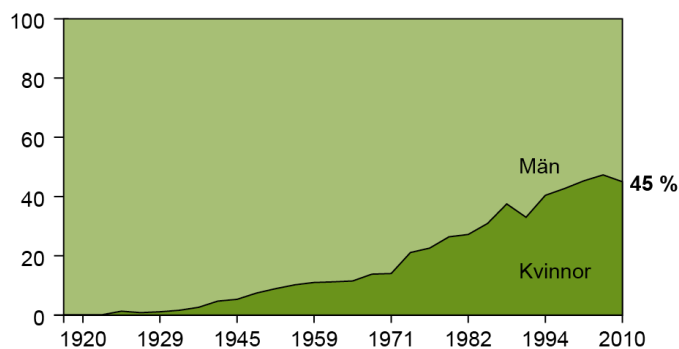
The Government

Of the government's 24 ministers 13 are women (54%) in 2013. Sweden has never had a female prime minister. Among the state secretaries, however, the proportion of women is 38%.

In the dealing of the major issues, the Government can choose to appoint a commission or a committee. In 2011, the proportion of female presidents were 32%, while the proportion of female secretaries was 56%.

The Swedish parliament

The distribution according to gender



Källa: Kammarkansliet, Sveriges riksdag

The Swedish Parliament has an equal composition. The figure above shows graphically the extent of the political power of women and men since 1921. The question why no changes take place now that women have half the power can be answered by comparing the "power areas" for women and men in almost 100 years.

When it comes to age distribution, the proportion of both men and women in the low and high ages is small. This reflects another problem: the difficulty of attracting young people to engage in politics. The same applies to people over 64. You can possibly expect increased participation in politics among elderly people when the current middle aged politicians get older.

A known problem is that the proportion of politicians who are born outside Sweden is significantly lower than the proportion of Swedish-born. In the parliament, 10% of the elected women and 13% of the elected men are foreign born.

When it comes to the Parliaments committees it is clear that some committees are predominantly female and some male. The distribution has become more equal over the years. Today five committees have a male dominance (more than 60 %); finance, defense, culture, constitution and taxation. No committee has a female dominance 9 out of 15 parliamentary committees have a male president.

The local and regional level

There are 290 *municipalities* and 20 *counties/regions* in Sweden. Municipalities and counties are governed by politicians directly elected by the citizens. This means that citizens have great opportunities to influence and control how the municipalities carry out their mission. Politicians in counties and regions are also known as trustees. Most politicians at the local level are leisure politicians and perform their duties outside their normal work.

Municipalities are governed by directly elected political bodies, called the City Councils. Moreover, there are political missions in the municipalities' executive boards and in the various boards and committees. In 2011, the proportion of women in the municipal councils and the municipal executive boards is generally lower than that of men. Women are less represented in general, but the difference increases with heavier assignments. In 2011, the proportion of women chairpersons were about 33 %. The proportion of women among chairpersons in the municipal executive boards is even smaller than the proportion of women as chairperson in general. In 2011, the proportion of women mayors was around 29 %.

The County Councils or the Regional Council are appointed by the council and leads as well as coordinates all work within the county or the region. It is also responsible for the council's or region's economy. The gender balance in the County Councils are similar to that in the municipalities, but the proportion of women is slightly higher, 48% of women and 52% for men. The gender balance in different positions was nearly equal in 2011. But given that over 80 % of

the employees in the County Councils office are women, the number of women politicians could be higher than 48 %.

Women and men are found in different areas. Typically, the “female” councils in the municipalities 2011 were health and social care, children and youth, while men are found in the areas of culture / leisure / tourism and technology / environment / traffic / property. The same division can be found in the counties/regions.

Other factors besides gender that can be observed among the elected representatives are age, marital status, children and foreign origin. Women are better represented among younger than among older politicians. But even here, there are more men than women. Among those under 30, the proportion of women is 45%. Regarding marital status it can be noted that the proportion of married men is higher than the proportion of married women (65% vs. 57%). The proportion of women and men with children among the elected officials are approximately equal.

People of foreign origin and foreign-born persons are underrepresented among elected representatives in local government in 2007. Approximately 8 % of the elected representatives in the municipalities are born abroad, while the corresponding proportion in the population is 15 %. The percentage of foreign-born women in Parliament and the County Council is slightly higher than that of men. In the local government, the proportion of foreign-born men is slightly higher than the proportion of foreign-born women.

Of the elected representatives in the municipal executive boards, 6 % are foreign-born. Even in the case of foreign-born there are differences in representation after the weight of the assignment. This becomes more apparent if you study the group’s representation by position, only 4 percent of the member of boards are foreign-born persons, this is an increase since 2007 of one percentage point.

The horizontal segregation in politics means that women and men are represented in different policy areas. Women are relatively well represented in the cultural and social committees, while women are significantly under-represented in finance, transport, industry, defense and tax committees. Women are relatively well represented in the so-called "soft" activities, such as health care, education, culture and leisure, while women are significantly under-represented in the "hard" technical committees. Some researchers connect "soft" policies to "weak" values, and argues that

the horizontal division of labor is about the marginalization where women are squeezed out to boards that have less power. One can of course question whether the "soft" areas actually have less power as the majority of municipal activities lies within the soft sector.

Among all elected representatives in local government in 2011, the proportion of women are 43 % and men 57 %. Women are over-represented in the committees in charge of care and social issues (57 % women), while men are over-represented in the committees in charge of technical issues (70 %). In the committees responsible for children, youth and education, there is an equal gender distribution. Men are slightly over-represented in committees responsible for culture and recreation issues. Compared to 2007, the patterns are the same and only small changes can be noted.

If the gender balance is studied in different age groups, some differences can be noted which could result in changed horizontal gender patterns over time. Young women are found to a greater extent than older women in specialist committees responsible for technology issues. There is also a higher proportion of younger men than older men in charge of committees responsible for care and social issues. These age patterns may show that existing gender patterns may change over time.

The situation is the same in the county councils. Women are over-represented in the committees responsible for health care and social issues and men are slightly over-represented in committees responsible for the engineering, environment and traffic.

Several researchers have pointed out a vertical division of labor between the sexes, which means that the leading positions are reserved for men. Previous analyses of the elected representatives in local government have shown that this type of pattern implies that women are underrepresented in bodies of high status and in positions of high status. Also other underrepresented groups, such as foreign-born and younger people, have proven to be underrepresented higher up in the power hierarchy.

Among the representatives of the city council women are 43 %, which is the same as the proportion of women among all elected officials. If you see to the county councils executive boards, the proportion of women is lower, 41 %. The under-representation is even more prominent when

studying the positions of high status. Only one of the three chair positions are held by women in local government. Even the vice-chairs the gender distribution is uneven. There is, however, a higher proportion of women in heavier authorities and higher positions in 2011 than in 2007 and 2003. Compared to 2007, the proportion of women in the municipal executive boards increased from 39 to 41 percent. When it comes to top chairmanships held by women the corresponding increase is 2 percentage-units.

The share of women in total is larger among elected county councils representatives than within municipalities, 48 compared to 42 %. The gender distribution in the County Council is also more even than in the city councils. Also regarding chairpersons the gender balance in the county councils are more even. It is thus found that women not only are represented to a greater extent in the counties than in the municipalities, but also the gender patterns in the counties are less visible. Compared with 2007, the proportion of women on chairmanship positions increased significantly, from 41 to 48 %.

Other factors affecting the gender distribution

Women are less represented among both the nominated and the elected. However, one can see that the nominated women are more likely to be elected than nominated men as they are increasingly positioned at eligible positions. The fact that women have a higher probability of being elected, does not mean that women have a higher probability for achieving more heavy assignments. The heavy positions go to a larger extent to men, the heavier the assignment, the more distorted gender distribution. However, there are no results that indicate that women with heavy assignments are disadvantaged in the allocation of heavier positions in the next election.

Other factors that affect women's opportunities are; place on the list, the number of acquired personal votes and turnover.

List placement and first name

In the last election in 2010, the number of nominees were just over 52000. Among these, just under 13,000 got a place in the municipal councils (SCB 2011). A large number of candidates were thus listed on the ballots, but whose names were at the top of the ballots? How was the ranking of the candidates carried through by the political parties? From the results it can be noticed that women in total were better represented among the candidates than among the nominees at both municipal elections in 2006 and 2010. This is applicable both totally and for all political parties. This is indicating that the parties are working to improve the gender balance among their elected representatives by taking into account the candidates' gender when candidates are ranked on the ballot papers.

A group of persons is said to be gender balanced when the underrepresented sex's share is at least 40 percent of the total. One can observe that almost all parties have an equal distribution among both its nominees and its candidates on eligible positions on the lists.

Analyses of the first names on the ballot-papers give a slightly different picture than the results reported above regarding the group eligible for voting. The proportion of women among the candidates listed as the first name was in the 2010 election 32 % overall, which is 10 percentage-units lower than the proportion of women among the nominees overall. The people who are listed at the top of the ballot are the party's top names, those that are mainly highlighted. One could consider them as the parties prime candidates to the highest positions. The highest positions within the municipalities are the chairpersons of the Municipalities executive Boards. In 2011, the proportion of women in this position was 29 %, which was an increase of two percentage-units since 2007 (Statistics Sweden 2012). The proportion of women is thus less than that of men among the top names and in the highest positions.

Personal votes

One conclusion to be drawn is that the parties' ranking of their candidates largely determines which candidates will be elected. Despite voters' ability to vote for persons, it was at the 2010 election to the Municipal City Council, only 19 % who were elected by personal votes and only about 2 % that were elected *only* because of personal votes. The parties' influence is obvious when studying

gender distribution over time. Efforts to place women as candidates on the ballots appear to have contributed to an improved balance in the council. But the gender distribution is still unequal among elected. Could it be because the turnover among politicians?

Turnover and drop-outs

The proportion of re-nominated and re-elected is higher for men compared with women. The proportions are quite stable over time. One way of studying the turnover among the nominees in a longer perspective, is to study those who were elected in 2010 elections to the municipal councils and follow them back in time. Of those elected in 2010, it is a higher proportion of men than of women who have been elected also in previous elections.

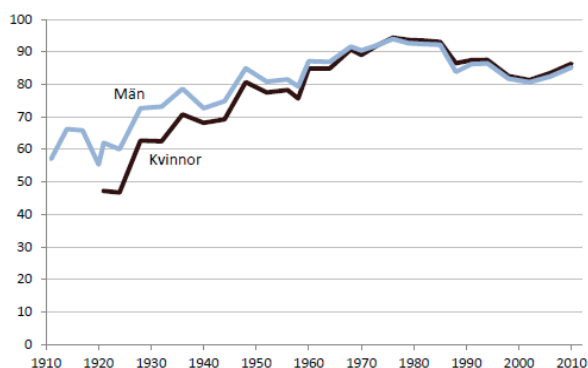
During the last two terms of office, it was 16 to 17 % of the members of the local councils who choose to leave their assignments before they were supposed to leave. It is young people, especially young women who drop out of their duties during their term. During the last two terms of office, 41 % of the elected women aged 18-29 years chose to resign. The corresponding figure for men in the same age group is 36 %. Studies of the group who choose to drop out of their missions show that dropout most predominantly occurs among young women. There is a higher proportion of elected women who resign their position in relation to men - 18 % versus 16 %. The proportion of politicians that drop out of their missions is at its highest among young women. Among the elected politicians in the 18-29 age group, over 38 % quit their assignments; 41 % of the women and 36 % of the men. The tendency to drop out of their missions is lowest among those aged 50-64 years, about 12 %. There is a larger proportion of unmarried persons who resign than among married. The difference can be seen among both women and men. Looking at education, one cannot notice much difference, but if you study the dropout rate by income, it is shown that the drop-out rate decreases with higher income.

About 28 % of the elected have indicated that family relationships played a role in their drop-out. There is a greater proportion of women than men that consider family circumstances as the reason, 33 % versus 22 %.

Participation in elections

The men constituted the majority of voters until the 1960 elections. For the first time more women than men voted in that election. These conditions have existed for all the subsequent elections to parliament. It should be mentioned that the voter turnout in 1960 was still lower among women than among men, 85 % versus 87 %. That women still constituted a majority of the voters was because there were more women than men in the general population and among voters. Since the late - 1960s, women and men have voted in about the same degree. From 1990's, women's participation in elections, is only about one percentage unit higher than men's. On the whole, therefore voting in general elections is an equal form of political participation.

Participation in elections for women and men 1910- 2010. Percent



Källa: SCB:s valstatistik
 Kommentar: Statistiken är totalräknad fram till och med 1960 års val. Därefter baseras skattningsarna på urvalsundersökningar och har därmed en viss osäkerhet. I undersökningarna 1973 – 1985 ingår inte personer 75 år och äldre i urvalet.

Initiatives for gender balance in politics

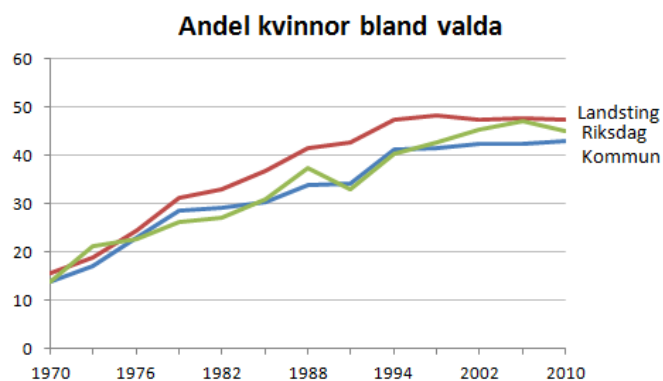
In Sweden, different ways to achieve the goal of equal power and influence is constantly discussed, especially the issue of quotas. Other initiatives and activities, such as list placement, alternating lists (every second name is a woman's), mentoring, educational programs and various types of internal rules are tested and examined with the aim to reach a gender balance. It is difficult to single out individual decisions or rules that have been crucial to reach the relatively high proportion of women compared to other countries, at least at the national level.

The proportion of women elected is higher in areas with quotas, although the differences are small. Generally, women are favored by the party's specific formal rules regarding women's

representation, women's associations' support for increased representation of women and the voters demands for an equal distribution between the sexes.

When it comes to the nomination process, you must also take into account whether the principle of a woman at every second place on the list has a real impact. This so-called implementation issue is partly explained by the fact that the central party organization makes the decisions regarding different measures, while the nomination process is usually handled by the local party organization.

The chart below shows the percentage of women elected to counties (red), parliament (green) and municipalities (blue) during the years of 1970-2010. Large increases occurred in primarily the 1970s, after that the proportions have increased in a slower rate.



A change that occurred in the 1994 election was that the proportion of women elected to the city councils for the first time was larger than the proportion who were elected among men. This has been the case since then for both counties and municipalities and since 1998 for parliament. This means that the probability to be elected is greater among nominated women than among nominated men. It is not the actual process where members are screened out among the nominees that lead to the underrepresentation of women. Instead, it depends on that the gender distribution is more even among those who are eligible candidates on the ballots than for those further down. Thus, it is the political parties themselves that mainly have the influence over who is elected. Besides that it's problematic that women do not reach the highest positions to the same extent as men, it has consequences further down the lists. Although a party has been alternating men and

women on the ballot, the proportion of women who actually are elected will be lower, as long as it is common that a man stands at the top of the ballot. If the party is given one mandate, 100 % men will be elected. If the party is given two seats there will be 50% of each gender. If the party gets three seats there will be again 66.67% of men, and so on.

The percentage of women can never be higher than the proportion of men as long as a man is at the top.

Gender quotas are controversial. Proponents of affirmative action's emphasize the importance of different experiences that come from different characteristics of the representatives. Opponents tend instead to emphasize that what matters is the representatives' expertise. It has been found that it was mainly the "mediocre" men hit by quotas. In municipalities where there were the greatest changes due every two women raised the average skills of men. It is not impossible that men without quotas had certain advantages which enabled them to get seats despite lack of skills.

Conclusions

Equality in society, both quantitative and qualitative, is influenced by a variety of interacting factors. To achieve sustainable results, the work must be conducted on a broad front to change norms and structures in society. This applies both at the individual and societal level. It is therefore difficult, almost an impossible task for specific actions to attain a lasting change. Gender equality is achieved with the help of a committed, long-term and scheduled work at all levels of society.

When reading this base line study, it seems that the gender equality situation considering representation is quite good in Sweden. There are more female ministers than male in the government, 45 % of the members of parliament are women and nearly all gender proportions in counties and municipalities are within the scope of 40 % – 60 %. But even if the differences in some cases are quite small, they all add up and totally result in a “power gap” that has an influence in the society as a whole.

There are still conditions in the Swedish society where there is a severe lack of gender equality and a need to focus upon. These are the gender segregation in the society. Horizontally, as you find women and men mainly in different circumstances when it comes to interests, education and

work. Vertically, especially in business where there still is a “glass-ceiling” for women who want to make a career.

UK

The current estimated population for Northern Ireland is 1,806,873. Out of this population it is estimated that 888,527 (49.17% of the population) are male and 918,346 (50.83% of the population) are female. However, the population of the adult working age range between the ages of 20 and 65 is a total of 1,060,146. Of this total population 526,631 (49.68% of the population) are male and 533,515 (50.32% of the population) are female, therefore this range is closer to a 1:1 ratio than the entire population taken into consideration.

From these statistics for Northern Ireland we can see that there is slightly more women than men, however very close in equality of population. Therefore, we should be able to assume that these statistics would be similar for women and men in working life or in politics; however, this is not the case in Northern Ireland.

Looking at the United Kingdom entirely, including Northern Ireland, the total population that was estimated in the 2011 census at 63.2 million. This is the highest population of the UK on record as well as recognising that between the years of 2001 and 2011 the population of the UK increased by 7%. Of this total population 31 million are men and 32.2 are women. Therefore, there is an estimated 1.2 million more women than men within the United Kingdom.

Even though from these statistics it can be clearly seen that there are more women in the population than men, it is considerably disappointing when reviewing the following statistics in the last NI Assembly elections; May 2011.

Party	No. of Women	No. of Men	% of Women
Alliance	2	6	25%
DUP	5	34	12.82%
SDLP	3	11	21.42%
Sinn Féin	8	21	27.58%
UUP	2	13	13.33%
Other	0	3	0%
Total:	20	88	18.51%

Figure 1: Statistics of Northern Ireland Devolved Assembly Elections May 2011

From these statistics in Northern Ireland, it is clear to see how little power women have in politics. In relation to the population ratio of women to men in Northern Ireland; the fact that the percentage of women having any authority or level of decision making within politics in Northern Ireland at 18.51% seems almost unrealistic. However, it is also important to take into consideration that “Most political parties have a membership which is at least 50% female” (Rooney and Woods 1995:27). Although the political parties are made up of at least 50% female, this does not mean that they have any power in decision making or at all have any authority over any political agreements of decisions. It is generally recognised that a critical mass figure of 30% or above is required in any decision making institutions before women can begin to have any influence on policy matters.

In the UK parliament we see a similar pattern to the Northern Ireland Political Parties:

	Con	Lab	LD	Other	Total
Men					
<i>House of Commons</i>	257	171	50	25	503
<i>House of Lords</i>	172	157	63	265	657
<i>National Assembly for Wales</i>	10	15	4	7	36
<i>Scottish Parliament</i>	9	20	4	51	84
<i>Northern Ireland Assembly</i>	-	-	-	88	88
<i>London Assembly</i>	8	7	1	1	17
<i>European Parliament (UK Members)</i>	19	8	5	16	48
Women					
<i>House of Commons</i>	48	86	7	6	147
<i>House of Lords</i>	38	63	26	53	180
<i>National Assembly for Wales</i>	4	15	1	4	24
<i>Scottish Parliament</i>	6	17	1	21	45
<i>Northern Ireland Assembly</i>	-	-	-	20	20
<i>London Assembly</i>	1	5	1	1	8
<i>European Parliament (UK Members)</i>	6	5	6	7	24
% Women					
<i>House of Commons</i>	16%	33%	12%	19%	23%
<i>House of Lords</i>	18%	29%	29%	17%	22%
<i>National Assembly for Wales</i>	29%	50%	20%	36%	40%

<i>Scottish Parliament</i>	40%	46%	20%	29%	35%
<i>Northern Ireland Assembly</i>	-	-	-	19%	19%
<i>London Assembly</i>	11%	42%	50%	50%	32%
<i>European Parliament (UK Members)</i>	24%	38%	55%	30%	33%

Figure 2: Men and women in the UK Parliament and devolved legislatures

In both Figure 1 and Figure 2, we can justify that women in politics do not have much authority in both Northern Ireland and UK parliament. In Figure 2 we can observe that in the European Parliament only 33% of the UK members are of women. Therefore, it can be justified from these statistics that although political parties may be made up of at least 50% of women the authority and levels of decision making are limited due to political hierarchies. It must be noted that with the Scottish and Welsh devolved Assemblies, special action measures were taken to improve the representation of women. It is as a direct result of these special measures that there is a higher representation of women in their respective devolved Assemblies. “Proportional Representation in Scotland and Wales has enabled political parties to adopt proactive measures to ensure a better gender balance compared to elsewhere under “First Past the Post” system.

Northern Ireland Political parties chose not to adopt the same special measures as their devolved counterparts as the focus was on a mandatory coalition post the Good Friday Agreement signed on 11th April 1998. This was a missed opportunity in Northern Ireland considering the parties had signed up to the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement 1998 which made a provision under the heading: Rights, Safeguards and Equality of Opportunity, Human Rights Section for the “right of women to full and equal political participation”. The Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition was set up in 1996 to contest seats during the election of the Northern Ireland Forum with the aim of increasing women’s representation in the peace talks and subsequently in the political institutions set up post Agreement 1998.

EU Level

As previously pointed out in section one, 33% of UK members represent women in at EU level of Parliament. “In July 2009, 255 of 736 MEPs were women (35%). The proportion varied from 62% in Finland to 0% for Malta. One third of the 72 UK MEPs elected in 2009 were women, so that the UK had the 17th highest ratio of the 27 EU Member States.”

Year	Men	Women
1979-1984	84%	16%
1984-1989	82%	18%
1989-1994	81%	19%
1994-1999	74%	26%
1999-2004	70%	30%
2004-2009	69%	31%

Figure 3: Total Members of EU Parliament

From the information gathered from Figure 3 statistics we can observe the increase in the number of women in EU parliament since 1979. The percentage of women within the EU parliament has almost doubled in 30 years. The UK has a total of 73 MEP’s. In the last 2009 elections, England has a total of 60 MEP’s with 18 female MEP’s out of 60 with a 30% female representation. Scotland has a total of 6 MEP’s with 1 female MEP which gives them the lowest female representation of 16% at a regional level. Wales has a total of 4 MEP’s with 2 female MEP’s thus has 50% representation. Northern Ireland has 2 female MEP’s out of the 3 MEP’s – they are Diane Dodds (DUP) and Martina Anderson (Sinn Fein). In effect Northern Ireland has 66.6% female representation at EU level.

The following Figure shows these statistics:

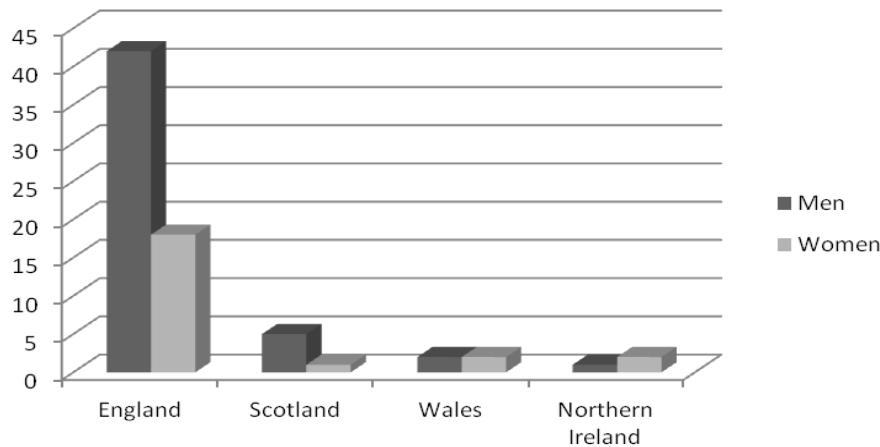


Figure 4: 2009

Election's Statistics for England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

The Prime Minister

In history of politics, there has only ever been one female Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. Margaret has been one of the longest serving Prime Minister for 150 years, being in office 4 May 1979 – 28 November 1990. It is un-deniable that she made a huge influence in the economy and in UK politics even more so that she has been the only ever woman in history of the UK parliament to be Prime Minister.

Houses of Parliament

In the Houses of Parliament, nearly a quarter of MP's in the House of Commons are female. In the House of Lords, only one fifth of the total members are female. Overall, the total number of women in both Houses of Parliament is still less than 25%. However, there were no women at all just over 100 years ago.

Speaker of the House of Commons

The statistics for Speaker of the House of Commons is also astonishing in terms of gender equality to women in politics. It is similar to the statistics for the Prime Minister role being that only one woman in history has ever played the role. Betty Boothroyd was the first and to this day the only female speaker of the House of Commons being elected as Speaker in 1992.

MP's

There are currently 503 male MP's and there are currently 147 female MPs. Just over 22% of the total MP's are female, not even one quarter.

Devolved Northern Ireland Assembly

The Devolved Northern Ireland Assembly is the devolved legislature of Northern Ireland that has the power to legislate a number of areas that are not explicitly reserved to the UK parliament. It is one of two 'mutually inter-dependent' institutions created under the 1998 Good Friday agreement, the other, North/South Ministerial Council with the Republic of Ireland. This agreement was made with the intention of bringing an end to the Northern Ireland's violent 30 years of troubles. It is also based on the principle of 'power-sharing' under the D'hondt method to ensure that Northern Ireland's largest political communities, the unionist and nationalist, are able to both participate in governing the region. The assembly is a unicameral and democratically elected body currently comprising 108 members known as 'Members of the Legislative Assembly, or MLA's (20 of which are women). These members are elected under the single transferable vote in the form of proportional representation.

First Minister and Deputy First Minister

These roles are joint heads of the Northern Ireland Executive, with the overall responsibility for the running of the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister; also known as (OFMDFM).

Since the formation of the assembly on 1st July 1998 there has only ever been one woman to play an active role as First Minister for Northern Ireland for a brief period of time between the dates of

11th January 2010 to 3rd February 2010. Arlene Foster stepped up to this role to fulfil the duties of Peter Robinson while he dealt with the scandal. Arlene was Minister for the Environment between 2007 and 2008 and is currently Minister for Enterprise, Trade and investment which she took on in 2008.

Jennifer McCann is one of two Junior Ministers assisting the First minister and Deputy First minister in carrying out the work of their department. Jennifer is also jointly accountable to the First Minister and Deputy First Minister.

Northern Ireland Executive

The Executive exercises executive authority on behalf of the Northern Ireland Assembly. It takes decisions on significant and controversial issues - matters which cut across the responsibility of two or more ministers, or which require a common Executive position, and on legislation proposed by ministers.

The Executive agrees a Programme for Government and the Northern Ireland budget for approval by the NI Assembly. Northern Ireland Executive Ministers are nominated by the political parties within the Northern Ireland Assembly. The amount of ministers which a party can nominate is determined by its share of seats within the assembly. The First Minister and Deputy First Minister act as chairmen of the Executive.

Out of 15 Northern Ireland executive ministers, including the First and Deputy First Minister, there are only 4 women who play active roles on the decision making of the committee. Looking at these figures, only 27% of the committee is made up of women, not even one third of female influence. This also makes gender equality deplorable within Northern Ireland. In relation to women in politics in the Northern Ireland Executive, it could be debated that gender equality is more evidently practiced by Sinn Fein, as they have nominated more female Ministers since the Devolved Assembly elections 2011 in Northern Ireland. They currently have three out of 15 Ministerial posts headed by women. As mentioned above, the other female Minister being Arlene Foster DUP.

MLA's (Member of the Legislative Assembly)

There are currently 108 MLA's for Northern Ireland. Of these 108 MLA's 21 are women and 87 are men. Just fewer than 20% of MLA's are women. It has to be noted that the numbers of women being put forward for the NI Assembly elections has improved, but this was in response to the setup of the Women's Coalition in 1996 when the local political parties need to ensure that votes for female candidates are not cast for the Women's Coalition. From this, more women have been included in NI party lists during subsequent N.I. Assembly elections. However despite an increase from 16.8% to 20% this still shows an under-representation of women in all the NI political parties.

The following graph puts into perspective the current NI Assembly parties and how many MLA's for both male and female they include.

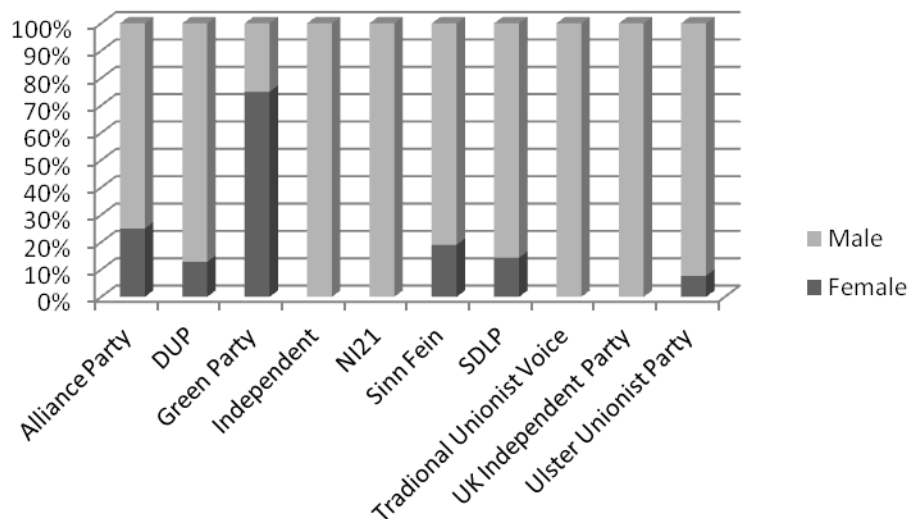


Figure 6: Male and Female MLA's in Northern Ireland

It is clear from this graph the volume difference of both male and female MLA's in Northern Ireland. It is interesting that the majority of the Green party consists of women cannot be seen in any other political party. Therefore, it is a question that women may only want to enter into politics for specific intentions and not the intentions of current political parties or either a case of the parties preventing women presence to be MLA's.

Local Government

Currently, Northern Ireland is divided into 26 different districts for local government purposes. They do not however carry out the same range of functions as the rest of the United Kingdom such as responsibility for education, road building or even for housing, although they do nominate members to the advisory Northern Ireland Housing Council. Their main functions and duties include waste and recycling services as well as leisure and community services, building control, local economic and cultural development. This does not mean that they are planning authorities but they are consulted on some planning applications.

The councils of the 26 districts are variously styled 'district councils', 'city councils' and 'borough councils'. As discussed and outlined in Section 1 and 4 of this report, the statistics of women involved in these local government councils can be quite astonishing in comparison to the population of Northern Ireland. Currently 22% of NI elected local councillors are women. Lynn Carvill, Women's Lobbyist for the NI Women's Resource and Development Agency states that, "Political leadership and decision-making should mirror the society it represents, and this is not the case in Northern Ireland".

The Good Relations Unit Belfast City Council produced a booklet in May 2013 titled "Women in the Council" as part of their Decade of Centenaries programme. In May 2013 Belfast City Council was 40 years old. In 1973 only six of the Councillors elected were women, but that number steadily rose over the years with currently 16 women members. The booklet states "women are still significantly under-represented in public life". Over the 40 years Belfast City Council has only seen two women Lord Mayors Grace Bannister (UUP) in 1981 and Naomi Long (ALL) in 2009.

Northern Ireland Women in local council's initiative

The Equality Commission for Northern Ireland is a partner in the Women in Local Councils initiative. The initiative aims to encourage the integration of men and women into non-traditional roles and ensure equality of opportunity in terms of access to all levels of employment, leadership, and training and also in relation to promotional opportunities. The initiative specifically wishes to address the under-representation of women at senior officer levels and as elected representatives.

The partner bodies in the development and implementation of this initiative include

- The Local Government Staff Commission
- The Equality Commission for NI
- Queens University Belfast
- SOLACE
- NI Local Government Association
- Business in the Community
- NIC-ICTU
- National Association of Councillors
- Women into Politics

The Initiative features a series of events and programmes designed to attract women into councils as employers of choice, to encourage those already employed to apply for higher graded positions and to raise the profile of women in local politics.”
(http://www.equalityni.org/sections/default.asp?cms=employers_Employment%20equality%20plans_case%20studies_local%20government%20gender%20initiative&cmsid=129_311_389_449&id=449&secid=3)

As part of this initiative, in September 2010 – March 2011, Women into Politics partnered with the Northern Ireland Local Government Association and the Local Government Staff Commission to deliver a Local Elections Mentoring Programme. This targeted the local council elections of May 2011. All five main political parties signed up to the programme and nominated 2 councillors each to mentor a woman who had completed a Women into Politics Political Leadership programme. As a result of this programme, one woman was elected onto Belfast City Council, one

put herself forward for selection as a council election candidate (though not selected another female candidate was selected), one joined a political party and a fourth one has declared an interest for selection at the next local council election. Six mentees did not proceed onto the Mentoring programme as they felt they would prefer to be party activists. Due to funding restrictions, Women into Politics have not been able to continue with the Mentoring programme on a larger scale.

Conclusions

In conclusion to each topic discussed and outlined, it is clear that Northern Ireland, United Kingdom and the EU parliament have made small improvements where women in politics are concerned. More women are now becoming more involved in decision making roles and roles with further authority. It could be debated that legislations, special action measures and different programmes introduced to improve the number of women in politics could be improving the percentage of women present across all governing bodies or political parties. It is clear however that as more of these organisations and special action measures are introduced we should see an increase in women in politics in the EU and at national levels. However as mentioned earlier, for women to influence policies and practices in our political and decision making institutions an increase to a critical mass of 30% of female representation is required.

To bring a proper representation of women into decision-making at an EU level the UK Government and the EU should consider the following:

- All political parties within the UK/EU need to consider how they can ensure better female representation and adopt a fair and transparent recruitment and selection policy of prospective election candidates. This to include recruitment for all the political institutions at a national level i.e. from Local Councils, devolved Assembly, House of Parliament and the EU Parliament.
- Setting achievable and realistic targets for balanced representation in the institutions for which it is responsible and introduce strategies to achieve this.
- Introduce a Code of Practice for Political parties and institutions for which it is responsible to enable women to combine their private and public lives.

- Ensure the statutory bodies and NGO's which promote equality and support women to participate in decision making are adequately resourced to do so.
- Establish acceptable and accessible mechanisms to ensure proper consultation with women's groups and organisations at local level to ensure women's experience is brought into the political mainstream.
- An EU directive is required to set up a Gender Equality Committee with special powers to recommend action aimed at improving the disadvantaged position of women within the EU Parliament.
- There should be a comprehensive review of the EU roadmap for equality between women and men COM (2006) 92 and identify and address any emerging gaps and take action to deliver on one of its six priority areas for action "the equal representation of women in decision-making"

PART FOUR

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Overall, the hotly debated issue of women's participation into politics, is a theme that is addressed in different ways at different levels mentioned in this report (European, national and local level). Specifically at the European level, the number of women in the European Parliament has notably increased within the last decade and appears to be the most gender balanced political composition, in relation to national parliaments or local governments. The EP has recently undertaken significant efforts to enhance women's presence inside the parliament and attract more women to take part at the forthcoming elections, through several action plans that bind all member States to comply to a general gender mainstreaming approach. However, basic legally established provisions that supposed to be the basis of achieving the desired parity in the European political scene have not yet been officially set in place due to certain obstacles and lack of consensus between the member States. The areas of dissent specifically concern the establishment of gender quotas in the European elections as well as the

mandatory provision of women's wings inside political parties. On the other hand, the European Commission has also proceeded to some actions that aim to support women in the political field and in leadership positions of big businesses, which however need to be further intensified in order to achieve certain parity. Co-operation between the European Commission and other European bodies is indeed an important initial step to move towards the implementation of the current action plans that should boost the, currently slow, progress of women's increased representation in the EP and in company boards. In short, at a European basis, there is still a lot to be done in order to achieve a total parity in parliament (or at least the 40% for women MEPs); both the EP and the European Commission should exert more pressure to all Member States in order to agree and legally establish gender quotas for the European elections, as well as approach distinct political parties more closely and collaborate with them in raising public awareness, defying gender stereotypes and attracting more women candidates.

Thus, educating the public, and especially young people, and approaching all political parties in order to find ways to promote more women in the political scene, are two themes of great priority; especially a co-operation with political parties is vital, because of their power to select and nominate candidates. Young generations function in a new climate of gender awareness and it seems that new independent political interventions could eventually be born in favour of women and beyond public measures taken in accordance with European decisions/directives. It is obvious that legal equality and welfare provisions, although necessary, are not enough to eliminate sexism in the political field and increase women's participation in the decision-making realm. Gender inequalities are far deeper than legal and thus what is mostly needed is a more profound dissemination of gender equality issues alongside the contribution of young, broadminded generations. As in the case of the national level, initiatives should primarily focus on educating the public, raising awareness on the importance of women in local political life (through campaigns, media promotion etc.) and supporting them to better reconcile family and political life.

Political parties: door-keepers rather than door-openers

For women's advancement in politics and their presence in public offices political parties play an essential role. Depending on their commitment to or refusal of women they can either act as door-openers or door-keepers. Political practice as well as scientific research show that women's pathways into politics differ from those of men's: Women need more encouragement than men to run for office but receive less. Men are more likely to be self-starters and on top receive more encouragement to run for office than women do. This consolidates the status quo and hands-on solutions with tailored strategies are needed in order to recruit women and support them on their way into elective office. From identifying women that are qualified for a political career to attracting them to the party, encouraging them to run, and ultimately ensure their election, parties and political officials need to align with the special needs and interests of potential female candidates.

However in many cases the opposite can still be observed and parties rather act as doorkeepers than door-openers. Traditional social networks and local party committees have an infrastructure that hinders women's participation through mundane mechanisms, such as holding meetings at times when women are bound to family commitments or in locations like the legendary smoke-filled backroom, including beer consumption and smutty jokes. Women frequently point out that they experienced the meeting rituals as quite forbidding and as subtle mechanisms to keep women out.

PR systems most beneficial for women

The electoral system is another factor that needs to be considered when paving the way for women into politics. It often interacts with the parties' strategies since different systems require different candidate line-ups. If in a majority system only a single party can win a single seat it is not possible to balance the party ticket with a male and a female candidate. Since either a female or a male candidate can be chosen per district the party has to make an exclusive decision whereas in PR systems parties receive a number of seats in direct proportion to their overall share of votes with seats being filled with several candidates from a respective list. Provided that female candidates are sufficiently and cautiously placed on the list, this system can be the most beneficial for women. In practice the more seats are won by a certain party, the more women get a chance to gain elective

office since they are usually placed further down on the party list with fewer chances of getting elected. Some PR systems allow preferential voting through open lists where the electorate can influence the ranking through personal voting. Depending on the composition of the electorate this can either benefit or disadvantage women.

In conclusion neither the party nor the electoral system alone can be held responsible for the representation of women in politics. It is rather an interaction of both that can benefit as well as disadvantage women who are potential candidates for political office.

Suggestions and ideas for enhancing women's participation in European politics

Some of the most widespread and realistic proposals and ideas for future changes and improvements in order to enhance women's representation in the EP and in political life in general, include:

- a) the transnational exchange of experiences programmes in order to increase transnational female participation in the next European elections and spread the message in a broad context,
- b) joint training sessions for both men and women (parliamentarians, officials working in the EP, candidates etc.), more intensive campaigning to promote more women candidates and encourage others to actively participate in politics, and most importantly,
- c) an organized and collaborative effort by all Member States to proceed to the necessary legal reforms and establish a common European law that would render gender quotas in ballots mandatory (while simultaneously monitoring the procedures and imposing sanctions on States that do not comply). As the European Commission and other European institutions have repeatedly pointed out, the first and vital step within this framework is to attract and ensure as many women candidates as possible for the European Parliament. This could be initially targeted to political parties that should first and foremost incorporate a gender sensitive renewed policy in their agendas and increase the number of women candidates in their ballots (through campaigning, advertising, establishing quotas etc.). Therefore, it comes naturally that a strong cooperation between Member States should take place in order to establish and consolidate this refreshed approach at a European level.

A substantial change in current political structures that has resulted in the enhancement of women in the political field and should be further updated and intensified, could be summarised in 4 dimensions, institutional/procedural change, representation change, influence on output and discourse. “Institutional/procedural change” entails basically cultural changes, such as greater gender awareness, which should be accompanied by procedural changes designed to attract more women members. “Representation change” could include actions to secure women's continued and enhanced access to equality legislation, encouragement of women candidates and appropriate changes in electoral and campaigning laws. It also foresees that parliaments should better promote and place women in important parliamentary positions and secure their presence in government. This dimension must also include similar changes within political parties. “Impact/Influence on output “refers to the ‘feminization’ of legislation and other policies, i.e. changes in laws and policies altered in women’s favour. “Discourse change” includes not only efforts be made to alter parliamentary language so that women's perspectives are normalized, but also the necessary actions to make use of the parliamentary platform to alter public attitudes and to change the discourse of politics so as to establish women politicians as ‘normal’ political entities .

Among the proposals/ideas for enhancing women’s participation into politics, especially in the country’s context, is the increase of cooperation between State actors and women’s organizations, groups and networks or other NGO’s and the active support of the latter (by funding, promoting their actions/campaigns in the wider public etc.). Furthermore, most stakeholders focus on the need for increasing the representation of women politician candidates through the media and most crucially on the imperative need to make the necessary reformations/additions to current legal provisions for ensuring women’s more powerful presence in the political scene. Specifically for the use of the media, it is important to approach the means in a more inclusive way and in co-operation with other public bodies/institutions, in order to better promote women’s face in the political milieu (e.g. presentation of positive outcomes due to the contribution of women politicians etc.) within a general anti-discrimination promotion. Moreover, other proposals are related to the need for more national campaigns and mentoring programmes, as well as local actions, in order to raise citizens’ awareness on the said sensitive issue and encourage more women to occupy themselves with politics, and even

participate as candidates in national and European elections. In addition, measures should be taken in order to help women in the crucial issue of reconciling family and professional/political life, which is often a serious obstacle that prevents the latter to occupy themselves with politics. This could be done first of all by financially supporting those women and secondly by organising mentoring programmes and seminars with other more experienced female politicians, who would share their experiences (and their dual identity as mothers and politicians) in order to persuade and encourage other women to enter the political arena. Also, the promotion of gender equality in education and the creation of special gender equality programmes in schools, can play a crucial role in the general public's education and perception (especially directed to younger generations) on those issues and in the subsequent change of mentality, both by men and women of the country. Finally, the dissemination of relevant research studies to a wide variety of bodies and institutions would be an important step towards promoting the idea of women's more active entrance in political life.

Suggestions and ideas for future changes/improvements in order to enhance women's participation into politics at the local/regional level

As in the case of women's participation into politics at the national level and national parliament, initiatives at the local level primarily presuppose a strong co-operation between State and non-state actors (i.e. women's/feminist organizations, networks, NGOs etc.). Such a collective effort would more easily lead to the formation of a comprehensive and clear Action Plan in order to promote and support women's presence in local government. Some indicative measures that would prove substantially useful in ameliorating the existing situation concerning women's scarce presence in the country's local government, could include a more intensive trend towards campaigning; awareness-raising and sensitization campaigns with the presence of successful elected women politicians in local governments, who will share their experiences and encourage people to vote for more women. The campaigns would preferably focus on spreading the message about the imperative need of more women in local government who would eventually bring a fresh impetus to local issues and refresh the old, rusty structures of local political scene, where men's dominance is still highly prevalent. Furthermore, a crucial point of focus should be given in the role of the media, which should be used at its full extent in order to advertise and promote women into the local political life. There is a need to make

public issue by cooperating with the media and find ways of referring to women in local government, as well as on issues of sexual stereotypes and bias that should be overturned. In short, the powerful means of the media would be the most appropriate for promoting the existing good examples of women's contribution to local political life and for eliminating gender stereotypes on the specific field. Moreover, the financial support of women candidates as well as of the already elected women in local government is an issue to be addressed and given priority by the heads of regions and municipalities/communities; funding is a crucial issue and great motive that could encourage more women to occupy themselves with politics and facilitate them in better reconciling their family and professional life with a political career. Finally, it is important by the State and other non-state actors to organize more seminars and mentoring programmes with senior women mayors, prefects etc. in order to create a sense of confidence and encourage young women to participate in local political affairs.

Quotas

Quotas attempting to maximise the number of educated and skilled women in executive positions could improve corporate performance and help raise national productivity. But doing so will depend on keeping ambitious, well-qualified women moving up the management ranks. Gender quotas will encourage more women to pursue education and career options leading to the top of executive positions. Quotas create incentives for women to adapt their job preferences to the more accessible boardroom positions and develop necessary skills which would reduce the need for positive discrimination in the future. Encouraged to develop relevant skills, women will contribute to the long-term talent pool and the economy. According to McKinsey report, women's interest in being leaders increases as they progress from entry level to middle management", which is exactly what the principle behind quotas aims to encourage - more women following professional career development.

The National Gender Equality Strategy as well as The National Gender Equality Action Plan

In the process of evaluation of the current national documents as well as the process of preparation of new ones it is necessary to focus also on the legislative changes that would establish compensatory measures on different levels of politics (party politics, local, regional, national, European level).

To make initiatives effective it is needed to connect nongovernmental sector with politicians, political parties and state institutions. Such a coalition with clearly defined goals, particular priorities, suggestions and actions is supposed to be connected with the social campaign to gain also a public support and to mobilize public. A public discussion with all these actors is inevitable and needed. One of the necessary actors in such a coalition is also women's organizations within particular parties. Therefore it is necessary to start a discussion with these organizations, respectively women politicians from these organizations.

Other areas of required action

- All political parties need to consider how they can ensure better female representation and adopt a fair and transparent recruitment and selection policy of prospective election candidates. This to include recruitment for all the political institutions at all levels.
- Setting achievable and realistic targets for balanced representation in the institutions for which it is responsible and introduce strategies to achieve this,
- Introduce a Code of Practice for Political parties and institutions for which it is responsible to enable women to combine their private and public lives.
- Ensure the statutory bodies and NGO's which promote equality and support women to participate in decision making are adequately resourced to do so.
- Establish acceptable and accessible mechanisms to ensure proper consultation with women's groups and organisations at local level to ensure women's experience is brought into the political mainstream.

- An EU directive is required to set up a Gender Equality Committee with special powers to recommend action aimed at improving the disadvantaged position of women within the EU Parliament.
- There should be a comprehensive review of the EU roadmap for equality between women and men COM (2006) 92 and identify and address any emerging gaps and take action to deliver on one of its six priority areas for action “the equal representation of women in decision-making”
- There are good practices included in the case studies that could inspire individual MEPs, and others involved with supporting women in politics, may learn from the good practice points of the case studies, including tips regarding design and usability but also engagement on Twitter and Facebook.
- Individual MEPs and others involved with supporting women in politics should consider gaining professional advice from social media marketing agencies on how to build and engage networks of supporters.
- Political groups should use social media networks to actively search for women who may be interested in running for selection.
- All new media projects, including large institutional projects, should avoid duplicating existing platforms and, instead, develop strategies for making the best use of existing ones such as Twitter and Facebook.
- Direct projects with lean business models which support political activities in the fields of women’s rights and issues may be encouraged and supported through seed funding as a means to empower women. Financial incentives should be provided or supported by the EU budget. However, the projects themselves should not be over-managed. Projects that address cultural and social barriers to women’s involvement in politics would be suitable candidates for initial funding.
- New media projects should be developed using a gender mainstreaming approach but this should avoid marginalising women’s online communication.

- Media companies, whether public or privately owned, should be made accountable for the implementation of all those provisions of the EU legislation which are directly targeting media institutions in order to increase the presence of women in senior management and programming sections of their companies and on advisory and governing boards so that women employed in the media business have a greater influence on the content of media coverage and the way women are presented in the media.
- Negative stereotyping of women should be avoided and this especially concerns the advertising business, in which negative, unrealistic presentation of women is notoriously practiced and is disseminated by other media companies which profit from it and whose employees and decision-makers are mostly men.
- Financial support should be provided to train women journalists in managerial and media logistic skills. The financial resources could be channeled through established women's organizations and research institutions which have experience in the above matters by means of open calls and projects.
- Media companies in all Member States should be obliged to adopt Codes of Ethics which specifically and formally contain clauses related to gender equality concerning the policy of promotion, equal pay for equal work, avoidance of sexual harassment and other forms of discrimination of women.
- The dissemination of information on gender equality regarding decision-making, equal pay, representation of women in media organizational and programming bodies, and the results of studies obtained by projects and surveys, which show the actual state of affairs concerning gender equality in the media business, should be made available through

journalist/media associations, periodic publications and electronic platforms prepared and maintained by media oriented research institutions and NGOs.

- Gender equality in the media should be introduced to academic programmes for journalism students and to teaching and training materials, both at secondary and university levels, which deal with media literacy.
- Media companies should be surveyed periodically by means of external initiatives, e.g. research institutions and NGOs, so that analysis and monitoring of their conduct regarding gender equality is possible.

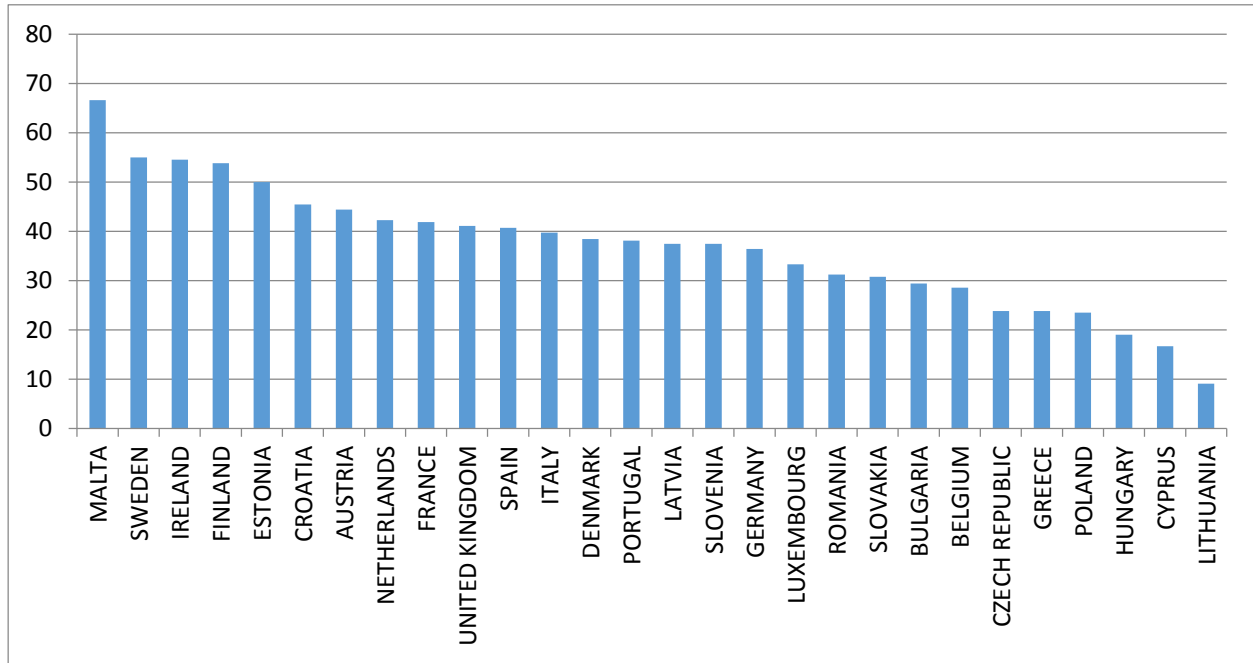
These measures have to be considered as improving the perception of women in society in the long term, which in turn may lead to the improvement of the participation of women in political processes.

Finally in concluding this report it is obviously salutary to review the outcomes of the EP elections in 2014.

The representation of women in the European Parliament 2014

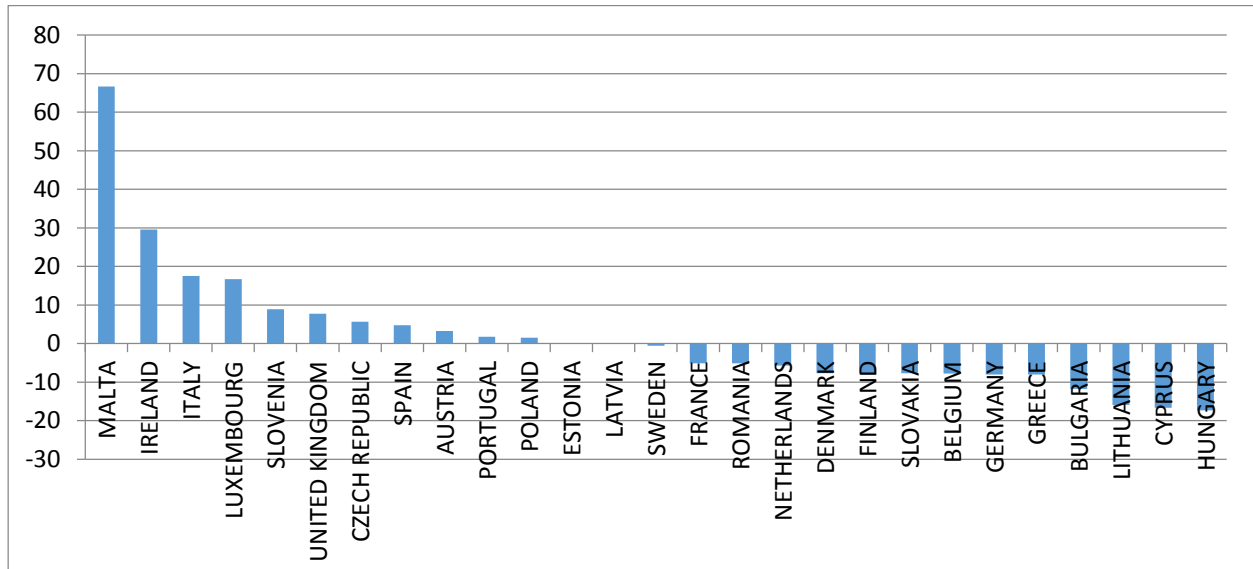
In the 2014 opening session there were 276 women MEPs out of a total of 751; therefore women MEPs constituted 37 percent of members, up two percent from 35 percent in 2009.

Figure One: Percentage of Women Elected to the European Parliament July 2014 by Member State



Source: European Parliament Directorate General for Communication Public Opinion Monitoring Unit

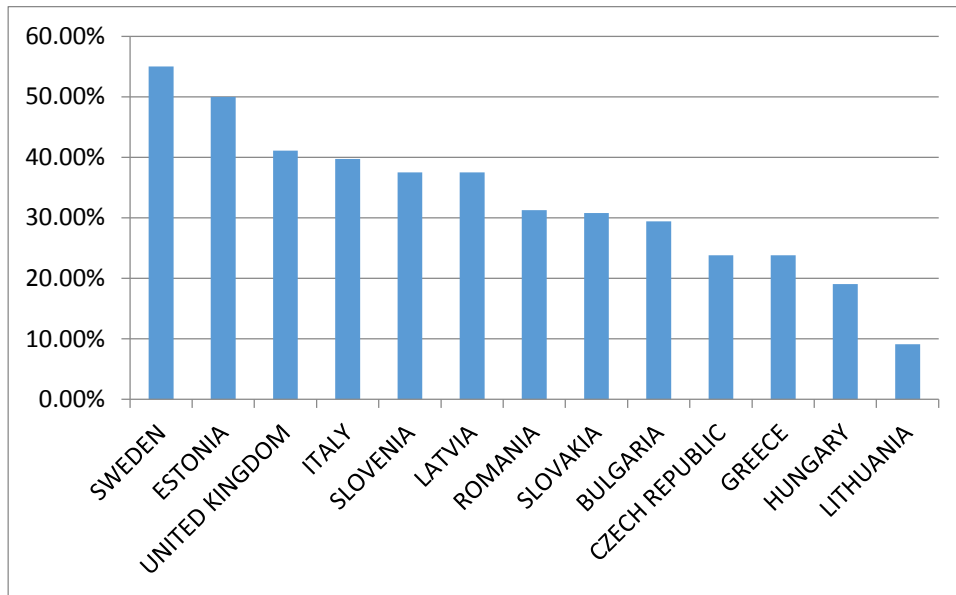
Figure 2: Change in the Percentage of Women Elected to the European Parliament July 2009- July 2014 by Member State



Source: European Parliament Directorate General for Communication Public Opinion Monitoring Unit

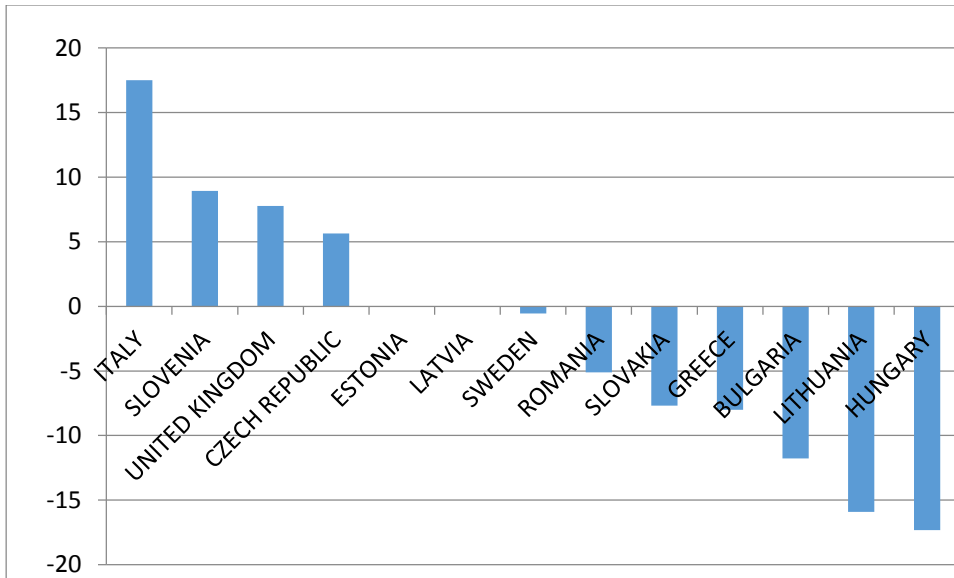
The minor, two percentage point, increase in the total percentage of women elected to the European Parliament in 2014 masks a great deal of country variance. Figure two illustrates the percentage change in the representation of women in the European Parliament, by member state, between 2009 and 2014. The percentage of women MEPs elected increased in eleven member states, remained the same in two and declined in fourteen member states.

Figure Three: Percentage of Women Elected to the European Parliament July 2014 *More Women in European Politics Partner Member States*



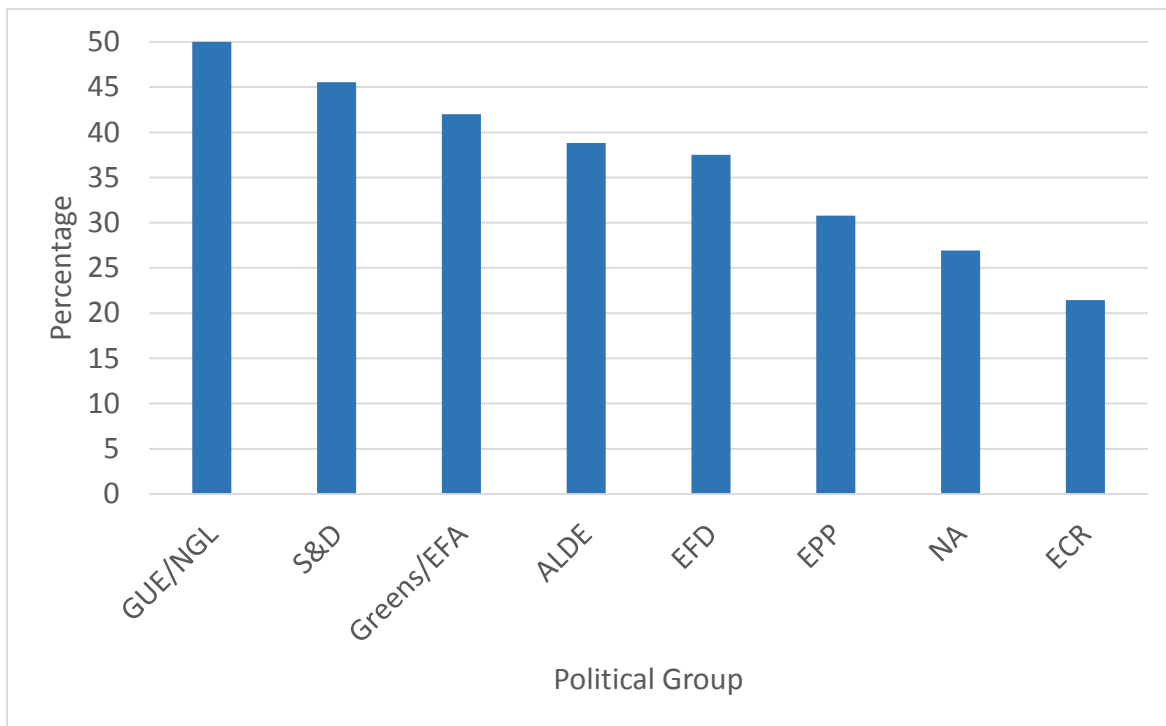
Source: *European Parliament Directorate General for Communication Public Opinion Monitoring Unit*

Figure Four: Percentage point change in the proportion of women elected to the European Parliament July 2009- July 2014 *More Women in European Politics Partner States*



Source: European Parliament Directorate General for Communication Public Opinion Monitoring Unit

Figure Five: Proportion of Women in the European Parliament July 2014 by Political Group



Source: European Parliament Directorate General for Communication Public Opinion Monitoring Unit

The proportion of women elected to the 2014 European Parliament by political group is represented in figure five. The group with the greatest proportion of women members is the *European United Left–Nordic Green Left* (GUE/NGL), this political group has achieved gender parity with 26 men and 26 women members. The political group with the lowest proportion of women members is *European Conservatives and Reformists* (ECR), with 15 women out of a total of 70 members (21 percent). The pattern of women’s political representation by party group follows the well-established international trend that, on average, women tend to be better represented by parties on the political left.

PART FIVE: APPENDICES

- **Appendix One** provides an overview of the Local Action Groups established by partners.
- **Appendix Two** provides documentation related to the project steering group meetings.
- **Appendix Three** provides documentation linked to the transnational events
- **Appendix Four** provides documentation relating to Local Actions
- **Appendix Five** provides copies of other reports produced
- **Appendix Six** provides links to useful resources
- **Appendix Seven** provides feedback and evaluations undertaken during the life of the project
- **Appendix Eight** provides an inventory and examples of the promotional materials produced.
- **Appendix Nine** provides details of how many women stood as candidates in the 13 member states represented in the partnership.

