DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES

POLICY DEPARTMENT C
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Actions for Gender Balance in the European Parliament
- EP Elections 2014 -
Workshop
Thursday, 20 June 2013

WORKSHOP

Actions for Gender Balance in the European Parliament
- EP Elections 2014 -

Compilation of Briefing Notes

WORKSHOP
Thursday, 20 June 2013
PHS 7 C 050

This document was requested by the European Parliament's Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality.

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LINGUISTIC VERSIONS

Original: EN

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CONTENTS

More women in political decision-making: The role of the media

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Abstract

The note addresses (a) legislative and research-analytic measures regarding gender equality in the media, (b) basic assumptions and some of the findings of the EIGE Project "Women in Media Industries in Europe", and (c) recommendations aiming at the increased involvement of mainstream media in the participation of women in political decision-making, in view of the upcoming EP Elections 2014.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This note is organized in four sections. First, an overview of the legislative initiatives and measures undertaken by the European Parliament, women's associations and organizations working in the field of gender equality, and research output regarding gender equality will be dealt with. Second, selected empirical data will be demonstrated in order to see how the legislative measures actually work in practice and how they reflect the implementation of these measures by the Member States. Third, basic assumptions and some of the findings of the EIGE's Project "Women in Media Industries in Europe" will be presented. And last, recommendations aiming at the increased involvement of mainstream media in the participation of women in political decision-making, in view of the upcoming EP Elections 2014, will be offered.

The discussion of the issue of gender equality in this note is looked upon from the perspective of how the initiatives undertaken by the European institutions, and other parties involved, reflect and implement the provisions established by the Beijing Conference on Women and especially the agenda stimulated by the Beijing Platform for Action. It follows from the overview of legislative initiatives presented in the first part of the note that the legal background for gender equality in EU has been successfully established. Furthermore, the implementation of regulatory initiatives by the Member States has been the concern of a number of women's organizations and NGOs and the conclusions in this regard are unsatisfactory, including the involvement of media institutions in the process of increased participation of women in decision-making and in politics. The results of the monitoring actions undertaken by women's organizations and reported on by researchers show, notably the results of the EIGE Project, that media's representations of women negatively affect the progress of empowering women.

The last section of the note proposes long-term recommendations which are directed at media institutions with a view to overcome negative representation of women and short-term recommendations whose aim is to improve participation of women in EP Elections - 2014.

INTRODUCTION

The **DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES** and the **FEMM COMMITTEE** have to be congratulated on the initiative to organize this workshop at least for two reasons, both of which are of great importance. First, the topic of women's participation in politics in general, and in EU politics in particular, is seldom taken up by researchers, which is reflected in a relatively limited number of publications on this topic. Secondly, and even more importantly, media's coverage of women's participation in political processes is not only biased but also negligent. The amount of attention paid to this neglect, as well as its roots and consequences, though present in the published research and other available sources which deal with gender mainstreaming and gender equality, is far from being satisfactory and thus it is also absent from public discourse. For these reasons, a discussion on how media deal with women's participation in political decision-making is very timely and welcome.

At the outset it has to be stressed that an exhaustive presentation of all legislative acts, recommendations, opinions, and directives of the European Parliament and the Commission which in various important ways impact on gender equality in the European Union would go far beyond the framework of this workshop and the scope of this report. For these reasons the presentation of relevant documents will be limited to these initiatives which bear on the relationship between gender equality and how the mainstream media deal with it, especially when looked at from the perspective of women's participation in political decision-making.

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. The Beijing Conference also stimulated the creation of a strategic agenda for change known as the Beijing Platform for 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.

With regard to women and the media, which is our primary concern here, this commitment boils down to respecting and implementing two strategic objectives which are defined in **the Beijing Declaration** and **Platform for Action** as **Area J** (AJ), entitled *Women and the Media*:

Strategic Objective J 1: Increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through media and new technologies of communication.

Strategic Objective J 2: Promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media.

Consequently, the access of women to decision-making functions and discrimination-free employment in the media is seen as equally important as the representation of women in the media.

1. REGULATORY AND OTHER INITIATIVES

Area J of the Beijing Platform has been the subject of concern and debate by a number of women journalists' associations and NGOs and above all by the European Parliament, whose activity in this area resulted in passing a number of legislative and regulatory documents. In this context, it is worthwhile to mention some of these documents adopted by the European Parliament and the Council, in order to be able to understand and estimate the formal, legal, background of activities which emerged from the adoption of the BPA.

1.1 Initiatives of the Council of Europe (CoE)

However, it has to be pointed out that both the the issue of equality between women and men with reference to the media was subject of discussion on the international level well before 1995. A good example is **Recommendation R (84) 17** of the Committee of Ministers of the CoE of September 25, 1984 which offers the following recommendation:

"(...) governments of member states contribute to the promotion of equality between women and men in the electronic and printed media by taking steps with a view to implementing the following measures: ..". What follows are twelve measures to be taken by the member states of the CoE which address the improvement of the situation of women in decision-making bodies in the media (Measure 6), the provision of training facilities for women in the new media technology (Measure 7), the application of the principle of equal treatment between women and men as concerns recruitment, remuneration, and promotion in media institutions (Measure 8), and "encouraging the presence of women in an equitable proportion in media supervisory and management bodies" (Measure 9).

Of particular importance are those documents which either directly address the relationship between the media and women's participation in decision-making processes as well as the media's role in promoting gender equality, or, by implication, refer to the media industry by highlighting the importance of gender equality regarding employment, the avoidance of discriminatory practices in workplaces, and other aspects of equal treatment between women and men. Therefore, **Resolution 1018 (1994)** on equality of rights between men and women, followed later by Recommendation 1555, has been particularly welcomed as it asked the Member States not only to include the principle of equality of rights in their respective constitutions and to draw up anti-discriminatory legislation but also to adopt a law on gender equality in the media.

1.2 General Initiatives of the European Union related to gender equality in the media

EU legislation

1.2.1. Directive 2002/73/EC on Equal Treatment in Employment of September 23, 2002

It amends the 1976 Equal Treatment Directive, adding definitions of indirect discrimination, and sexual harassment and requiring Member States to set up equality bodies to analyse, promote, support, and monitor equal treatment between women and men.

1.2.2. Directive 2004/113/EC of December 13, 2004 implementing the principle of equal treatment between women and men in the access to and supply of goods and services

Although the Directive does not apply to the content of media and advertising or to education, it nevertheless establishes a framework for combating discrimination based on sex in the access to and supply of goods and services.

1.2.3. Directive 2006/54/EC on Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation of July 5, 2006;

This Directive was especially relevant to equal treatment of women and men in matters concerning employment. It contained provisions to implement the principle of equal treatment in relation to access to employment, including promotion and vocational training, working conditions including pay, and occupational social security. It adds adds definitions of indirect discrimination, harassment, including sexual harassment, and requires the Member States to set up equality bodies which would promote, analyze, monitor and support equal treatment between women and men.

These directives present only a few examples of the massive amount of relevant legal actions undertaken by the European legislator with a view to urge the Member States to recognize and implement the principle of equal treatment of women and men.

Strategies, guidelines and recommendations

1.2.4. "Strategy for Equality between Women and Men: 2010-2015" of September 2010

The predecessor of this strategy, **the roadmap for gender equality of 2006**, had identified key objectives and actions in 6 priority areas which should facilitate their implementation. The areas of relevance for this note were (1) *Equal economic independence for women and men*, (3) *Equal representation in decision-making,* and (5) *The elimination of gender stereotypes***.**

The EU Strategy 2010-2015 argues that, despite the fact that women constitute nearly half of the workforce in the EU and more than a half of university graduates, yet they continue to be under-represented in decision-making processes and positions. Finally, and very

importantly, the document calls for the support of efforts to promote greater participation of women in the European Parliament elections as candidates.

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

The Pact had a number of important predecessors: the **Declaration** of EU Ministers of gender equality of 4 February 2005 and the **Council Conclusions** of 2/3 June 2005 which both reaffirmed the Council's support for and commitment to the full and effective implementation of the BPA, recognizing that gender equality was fundamental to the achievement of full employment and economic growth. Besides, Ministers emphasised the importance of strengthening institutional mechanisms for promoting, assessing, and monitoring of the progress with regard to gender equality in the EU. Gender equality was recognised as an important goal in itself, and there was agreement that steps should be taken to mainstream gender into all educational policies and programmes.

The pact was adopted by the Council five years after the adoption of the first European Pact for Gender Equality in order to give a new impetus and provide a link between 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*. Two provisions of the Pact are related to women in the media. The Council urged firstly the Member States to take action on the promotion of women's empowerment in political and economic life and, secondly, to promote equal participation of women and men in decision-making at all levels and in all fields.

It is important to note that the expressions "at all levels" and "in all fields" are especially relevant, as will be demonstrated in the following section of this report in the context of media institutions and their managerial bodies. The Council also encouraged Member States and the Commission to utilise the resources of the Eurostat and the European Institute for Gender Equality to develop statistics and indicators disaggregated by sex.

1.3 Selected special initiatives

EU legislation

1.3.1.   The Audiovisual Media Services Directive (AVMSD) of March 10, 2010

This directive requests Member States to introduce legislation and administrative actions which ensure that audiovisual commercial messages on all audiovisual media, including traditional television broadcasts, do not include or promote messages which are discriminatory with regard to sex, racial or ethnic origin, nationality, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.

Strategies, guidelines and recommendations

1.3.2.   Report of the European Commission's Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men. Opinion on Breaking Gender Stereotypes in the Media, 2010

The principal goals of the document were the following:

(a) formulate an opinion which proposes measures for the promotion of a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women and men in the media and in new communication technologies;

(b) promote equal opportunities and working conditions for women and men active in all areas of the media sector; and

(c) increase women's participation in decision-making in the media industry.

In sum, this document thoroughly reviewed Area J regarding the implementation of its provisions and recommendations by the Member States. This document also formulated recommendations amongst which a call on the media institutions and communications industry was expressed to pursue the goal of gender equality more effectively.

1.3.3. Report of the EP Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (FEMM) of December 6, 2012, "On eliminating gender stereotypes in the EU"

In this document, several important issues are dealt with, among others, the issues of

- gender discrimination based on assumptions which are rooted in religious, cultural and other socially constructed norms and beliefs;

- gender stereotyping in the media, especially in the advertising business; and

- the disproportionally low share of women in the labour market

which are highlighted as the main obstacles which perpetuate the status quo between women and men and which impede the achievement of a decisive progress in equality between women and men.

This seminal document addresses the most vital issues regarding gender equality in the European Union among which women in the media. In the section entitled "Media and Culture", attention is drawn to

- gender discrimination in the media;

- the misrepresentation of women's roles in society; and

- the promotion of role models which negatively influence the perception of women.

While 27% of women presented in advertisements are professionals, 60% of women are portrayed as doing housework or looking after children. And this is characteristic not only of the mainstream media but also of video games, educational materials (e.g. textbooks) and advertising.

The report addresses a number of important issues in relation to women in the media.

Media experts are in agreement with parts of the "Explanatory Statement" of the rapporteur, Kartika T. Liotard, who states that negative gender stereotypes based on societal beliefs and attitudes affect women and constrain their opportunities in the social, economic and political spheres. This statement is important because it not only reflects the point of view expressed in the report, which was adopted by an overwhelming number of the members of the Committee (18 members out of 21 present voted for the adoption of

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the report) but also serves as an argument against opinions which are often voiced in conservative circles in a number of Member States to the effect that "our society is just like that". In fact, experts believe this because it is exactly what our society sees, listens to, and reads in the media.

Presentation of some of the results obtained by researchers working in the media monitoring projects, that will be reported on in the following sections, substantiate and provide evidence for the claim to the effect that media play a very important function in shaping, evaluating, and influencing people's perception of the world, including the representation of women and men and the roles they play in the real world.

Another noteworthy opinion expressed in *the Explanatory Statement* of the report "*On eliminating gender stereotypes in the EU"*, one which is closely linked to the relationship between the media and women's participation in politics is the following statement: "…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…". The validity of this statement will be exemplified by empirical data in the upcoming sections of this note.

1.4 Initiatives of the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE)

The task of reviewing the implementation of the agenda of the critical Area J and of the BPA in general has been successfully carried out since 2010 by the **European Institute for Gender Equality** (EIGE, **Resolution (EC) No 1922(2006))** Among EIGE's impressive amount of projects, seminars, workshops and training initiatives carried out since 2010, is the recently completed project on "*Women in Media Industries in Europe*", about which more information will be given in Section 3 of this note.

It is worth mentioning in this context that Ireland, which holds the Presidency of the EU in the first half of 2013, decided to review Area J, and one of the events which will focus on the problems of gender equality and its relationship to the media will be a panel at the conference in Dublin in June, 2013 of the **International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR),** during which partial findings of the EIGE Project "*Women in Media Industries in Europe*" will also be discussed.

Another event sponsored by EIGE simultaneously will be the *Journalist Thematic Network Meeting*. The meeting will be hosting journalists, media representatives, and communications experts from a number of EU Member States and Croatia who are interested in various aspects of gender equality in relation to communication issues and will address three areas:

1. Women and Media

2. Communicating Good Practices

3. Sharing Knowledge in EuroGender

Furthermore, EIGE's *Gender Equality Index* (GEI) should be mentioned which will be presented in Brussels on June 13, 2013. The *GEI* is a monitoring tool developed by EIGE in order to effectively measure gender equality within the EU and for individual Member States and which reflects the multi-faceted landscape of gender equality.

1.5 Initiatives of selected Women's Associations and NGO's

As has already been mentioned above, besides the European Parliament and other EU's institutions and agencies, also women's associations, NGOs, and various other initiatives undertaken by women have focused on the BPA and its Area J. Out of these iniatives, three groups will be addressed: (a) Associations and NGOs, (b) Projects, and (c) Research on women and the media.

1.5.1.   European Women's Lobby (EWL)

EWL, among others, is engaged in gender equality initiatives which address the issues of balanced representation of women and men in the media as news subjects and decision-makers and avoidance of sexism and stereotyping of women in advertising. EWL provides information on international initiatives on gender equality in the media by means of publications, newsletters, and EWL's website. In their "Beijing + 10 Report" (2005), EWL called upon the EU legislator and the Member States to mainstream gender into all EU policies related to the media, to develop and fund training on gender equality for media professionals, to establish a European Media Monitoring Group, to support research on data collection on women and the media, and for implementing sanctions against those media institutions which promote a degrading images of women**.** Besides, EWL established its own *Working Group on Women and the Media*,

1.5.2.   International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR)

This association promotes research aiming at a balanced image of women in the media and on the presence of women in media institutions. It organises conferences and overlooks projects such as *Mapping Global Media Policy*, or the *European Observatory on Gender Representation* which is based at the University of Padova, Italy. In its recent press release entitled "Who makes the news in Europe?", the *European Observatory on Gender Representation* states that according to data compiled in their media monitoring project in 2012 women constituted less than one third of news subjects and/or people interviewed by the European news programmes while in their 2011 monitoring project women received only 20% representation of the political information programmes. More on this is given in the Section 2.2. below.

1.5.3.   European Federation of Journalists (EFJ)

EFJ has its **Gender Council** which undertakes actions and surveys on the situation of women journalists and promotes training for women journalists. In 2006, EFJ carried out a survey on *Women journalists in the European integration process,* and in 2012, it carried out another survey on *Gender equality in journalists' unions - Confronting the financial crisis empowering women*.

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2. SELECTED RECENT MONITORING PROJECTS

2.1 The Global Media Monitoring Project: 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010

The project was a large scale, global monitoring exercise in which mainstream news media were monitored during one and the same day from a gender perspective in 1995, 2000, 2005, and 2010. During the 2010 edition of the project, 130 countries of the world participated, including the Member States of the EU. As is easy to predict, the results of the monitoring in 2010 were not optimistic for European women. Women as central part of a news story were found to occupy only 10% of the time, which is below the 12% globally, and this figure did not change since 2000. The conclusions of the project link the low representation of women in the news in Europe with a low representation of women among the managerial staff of media companies. The results of *the Global Media Monitoring Project* (available from the project's website: www.whomakesthenews.org) will not be presented in this study, despite the fact that they concern EU Member States, because more attention will be drawn to the EIGE Project on "*Women in Media Industries in Europe*" which is more recent. Additionally, *the Global Media Monitoring Project* does not cover all Member States: Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, and Slovenia are left out from the analysis. However, it has to be stressed once again that this is the largest and the most extensive monitoring project in the world and its results enhance comparative analyses internationally and regionally. Parenthetically, it can be added that the author of this study acted as coordinator for Poland for both *the Global Media Monitoring Project* and the EIGE Project "*Women in Media Industries in Europe*".

2.2 Mapping Global Media Policy Project

The project was initiated by *the Global Media Policy Working Group* which was established by the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) in order to monitor, analyze and categorize key issues and developments in the media on a global scale. The project focuses on issues such as actors, processes, outcomes, and resources of media policy as well as on current trends, best practices, and policy and research gaps. It maintains and updates a database which is freely available on the electronic platform and is thus an excellent resource for media researchers and other interested actors.

In 2012 *the European Observatory on Gender Representation,* a media monitoring initiative of *the Mapping Global Media Policy Project* established that when the appearance of popular professionals in TV news programmes was the subject of monitoring, the results which represent the European average scores were the following:

Politicians:	16% were women
Business persons, executives, economists:	14 % were women
Law enforcement bodies (police):	8% were women
Sportspersons:	14 % were women

The data collected in the *Mapping Global Media Policy Project* show how biased the news programmes are in their under-representation of women across the EU. They are also indicative of the very slow progress of the requirement of equal representation and visibility

of women and men in all spheres of public life. As shown above, these issues have been the concern of many legislative initiatives on the European level.

2.3 Research projects on women and the media

A vast number of university centres and research institutions across the EU are involved in various aspects of theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical study of an array of phenomena related to the topic of women's place in contemporary Europe, including the way media deals with and presents women in their coverage. A number of respected publishing houses have specialized series in which research on gender is published.

While the EU has been at the forefront of policy-making regarding gender equality for more than half a century, women's involvement in European politics has not received the attention they deserve from the scholars in the field. Although a number of scholars have produced an impressive amount of insightful research on various aspects of the women-and-the media topic, that the relationship between media coverage and women's participation in political decision-making and political processes, like EP elections, let alone women's participation in decision making in the media industry, was rarely a subject of research projects.

2.4 Conclusions

The vast amount of legislative initiatives undertaken on the EU level with the aim to strengthen the participation of women in all spheres of public activity and to contribute to the increase of gender equality in the Member States, has provided a solid regulatory ground upon which gender equality, including participation of women in politics, should be founded. There are also regulations concerning the involvement of media institutions in the process of empowering women, which should eventually lead to their increased participation in decision-making and in politics. However, as the results of the monitoring actions undertaken by women's organizations, NGO's, and researchers show, notably the results of the *EIGE Project* and *the Global Media Monitoring Project*, the media continue to perpetrate stereotyping of women. The progress of empowering women is therefore slower than expected.

Evidence shows that the media hardly contribute to the improvement of women's participation in politics and decision-making by misrepresenting women's roles and potentials in their programmes. The most current picture of how the media institutions respond to continuous calls of women's organizations and how they implement EU regulations is presented in the next section devoted to EIGE's Project "Women in media industries in Europe".

3.   EIGE'S PROJECT: WOMEN IN MEDIA INDUSTRIES IN EUROPE

Here, the project "Women in media industries in Europe" will be referred to as "EIGE Project". Before the basic information on and some of the findings of the EIGE Project are presented it is important to note that this is the only to date project which was monitoring selected media institutions and programmes in all 27 Member States and Croatia and is at the same time the most recently completed project of this type.

3.1 What is the EIGE Project about?

Putting the theoretical research assumptions of the project aside, it looked at the practical areas of media institutions' activities across the EU Member States and Croatia with a view to provide data on the actual participation of women in the media business organizational structure and the presence of women and men in the programmes as hosts and reporters, as well as invited guests, commentators, experts, and other types of attention-drawing individuals.

3.2 Rationale and Scope

This project aimed at developing a set of gender indicators which respond to recommendations of the BPA, Area J, regarding the improvement of the position of women in decision-making across the media landscape to be used by media organisations in Europe.

The three primary objectives were:

a) to check the distribution of women and men in decision-making positions across selected, major mainstream print and electronic media companies across the EU and Croatia, both in terms of their administrative and programming positions but also their membership on boards and committees within their organisations. Two to four major media companies were checked per country, both public and private;

b) to identify the extent to which media organisations have developed gender equality policies and check their content and approach; and

c) to execute a TV monitoring exercise across the 27 Member States and Croatia in order to compare the visibility of women and men media professionals in factual programming.

3.3 Authors

The project was coordinated by the *Project Consortium* under the leadership of Prof. Karen Ross, Univ. of Liverpool, UK, and it was executed in close cooperation with and with guidance from EIGE. Each of the 28 participating countries were represented by 1 to 6 researchers per country, depending on the number of institutions to be monitored and the amount of work to be done. Altogether, the EIGE Project Team consisted of 66 researchers.

3.4 Time frame and structure of the project

The project began its activities in May 2012 and was completed by April 2013 but the final results in terms of analyses, conclusions, and recommendations are still going on.

3.5 Partial results of EIGE's project

As mentioned above, analytic work on the material collected in the EIGE Project has not been completed, yet, and only thanks to EIGE's management's and Prof. Karen Ross' understanding, it is possible to make some of the results available for the purposes of the Workshop on Actions for gender balance in the European Parliament - EP elections 2014.
These partial results are presented in the form of charts and tables in the Appendix. Results obtained in the indicators developed through the EIGE Project confirm that women are

grossly underrepresented in the overwhelming majority of areas and at all stages, including the organizational structure of media companies (Table 1.). The indicators allowed for monitoring across the Member States and Croatia and covered women's visibility as media professionals, as experts, celebrities and politicians both in public and private TV channels (Chart 2., Table 2. Table 4.).

A preliminary conclusion to be drawn from the obtained results indicates that there is a link between political success of women as represented in the EP and national parliaments and the amount of attention devoted to women in their respective national media channels. On the whole, the Member States which are well represented by women MEPs in the EP, for example, Finland, Estonia, or Sweden, demonstrate a better representation and visibility of women in the media as reflected in the EIGE Project results.

The results obtained in the EIGE Project also confirm a very low representation of women as politicians in the media. According to data demonstrated in Chart 2, only 16.1 % of women politicians were recorded during the monitoring exercise while the appearances of men politicians amounted to 83.9%. This is a dramatic difference, which confirms findings of *the European Observatory on Gender Representation* (Section 2.2), in which the corresponding figure was 16%.

4.   RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are divided into general recommendations aimed at the media industry and another set of recommendations addressing the upcoming *EP-Elections 2014*:

1.   **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 coverages and the way women are presented in the media.

2.   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.

3.   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.

4.   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.

5.   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

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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.

6. 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.

7. 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.

8. Monitoring projects, such as the EIGE Project, should be continued to cover print media, radio stations, and advertising companies using the experience and methodology worked out in the EIGE Project for the monitoring of TV channels.

9. Independent gender experts and scholars as well as gender equality organizations could assist the appointments of officials responsible for overlooking gender equality in the Member States at central and regional levels for greater efficiency. This is rarely realised resulting in situations in which the appointed officials in fact do not realize gender equality policy but rather follow the policy of the current government which they represent. Therefore, a pool of gender equality experts for each Member State should be created.

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.

What is also needed are recommendations for measures which can be realised in the short term and will improve the participation of women in the European Parliament elections in 2014:

1. Attention of media companies should be drawn to the fact that they can actually make a difference regarding gender balance in the European Parliament as well as to the measures they could undertake to realise this change.

2. In this sense, media companies should be encouraged to introduce into their offer special *programmes for the elections to the EP in 2014* in which women, as their male peers, are presented as professionals, and as competent and responsible citizens. Preferably, these programmes should be prepared and conducted by women journalists acting as hosts. Female guest experts and celebrities should also increasingly be invited.

3. Financial resources should be provided to organize contests for the best coverage of women candidates for the *EP 2014 elections* and awards should be established to honour leading people and programmes promoting women candidates across the Member States, especially in countries in which women are poorly represented in the EP as MEPs.

4. Women MEPs who represent their countries in the present EP should be encouraged to appear in media programmes and encourage other women to run for the EP-2014.

5. Financial resources should be provided to repeat the experience of the European Women Lobby's and the KVINFO's projects in which MEPs provided guidance and encouragement to women interested in running for the EP-2014.

6. Celebrations of the International Women's Day in March 2014, should highlight women as politicians, managers, and deserving citizens by means of national and regional conferences, seminars and workshops so that women's perception is improved and their presence in the media is enhanced.

7. European Parliament Information Offices across all Member States should be involved in the dissemination of materials for the national media promoting female candidates in the same way as male candidates. As they are affiliated with the European Parliament, they could be very useful in invigorating the campaign of female candidates across party lines.

8. A role in the preparation of information materials for the media could also be played by the university centres across Member States which are involved in the promotion of and teaching on gender equality.

9. Media programmes and press coverage of candidates for *EP-Elections 2014* should not discriminate women candidates and be biased toward male candidates.

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APPENDIX 1

Table 1: Women and men on boards of media institutions in EU-27

Country	Ownership	Board of Directors		Executive Board	
		Women	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**
AT	Public / Private	7 / 6	28/ 10	3 / 1	10 / 5
BE	Public / Private	7 / 0	7 / 9	1 / 1	3 / 12
BG	Public / Private	1 / 1	3 / 2	3 / 0	1 / 0
CY	Public / Private	1 / 0	7 / 0	0 / 2	6 / 7
CZ	Public / Private	1 / 1	4 / 12	0 / 10	9 / 26
DE	Public / Private	2 / 0	6 / 11	3 / 0	12 / 10
DK	Public / Private	2 / 4	7 / 8	5 / 4	4 / 12
EE	Public / Private	0 / 0	4 / 2	9 / 2	3 / 2
EL	Public / Private	1 / 0	7 / 6	0 / 0	5 / 9
ES	Public / Private	8 / 1	16 / 9	5 / 2	12 / 10
FI	Public / Private	11 / 5	9 / 8	7 / 2	5 / 4
FR	Public / Private	1 / 2	5 / 11	0 / 1	2 / 5
HU	Public / Private	3 / 1	7 / 3	0 / 3	4 / 5
IE	Public / Private	5 / 1	6 / 3	2 / 0	6 / 6
IT	Public / Private	2 / 0	6 / 8	0 / 1	3 / 6
LT	Mixed / Private	6 / 2	6 / 6	3 / 1	2 / 0
LU	Public / Mixed	1 / 2	9 / 9	3 / 2	16 / 5
LV	Public / Private	1 / 2	1 / 0	6 / 0	3 / 0
MT	Public / Private	2 / 0	2 / 0	1 / 0	1 / 4
NL	Public / Private	2 / 1	4 / 4	4 / 0	4 / 1
PL	Public / Private	1 / 1	8 / 7	2 / 3	7 / 4
PT	Public / Private	1 / 1	4 / 6	1 / 1	8 / 2
RO	Public / Private	5 / 6	8 / 6	1 / 1	5 / 0
SE	Public / Private	5 / 2	6 / 4	1 / 3	3 / 5
SK	Public / Private	2 / 0	7 / 6	3 / 2	7 / 2
SI	Public / Private	3 / 2	4 / 3	3 / 10	5 / 14
UK	Public / Private	6 / 1	6 / 6	3 / 2	5 / 8
TOTAL	Public / Private	**129**	**346**	**125**	**315**

Source: compiled on the basis of EIGE Project "Women in Media Industries in Europe."

Chart 1: Role type of people appearing in TV programmes in EU-27 + HR

	Women	Men
Expert	25,30%	74,70%
Celebrity	36,30%	63,70%
Politician	16,10%	83,90%
Ordinary Person	45,70%	54,30%
News subject	24,60%	75,40%
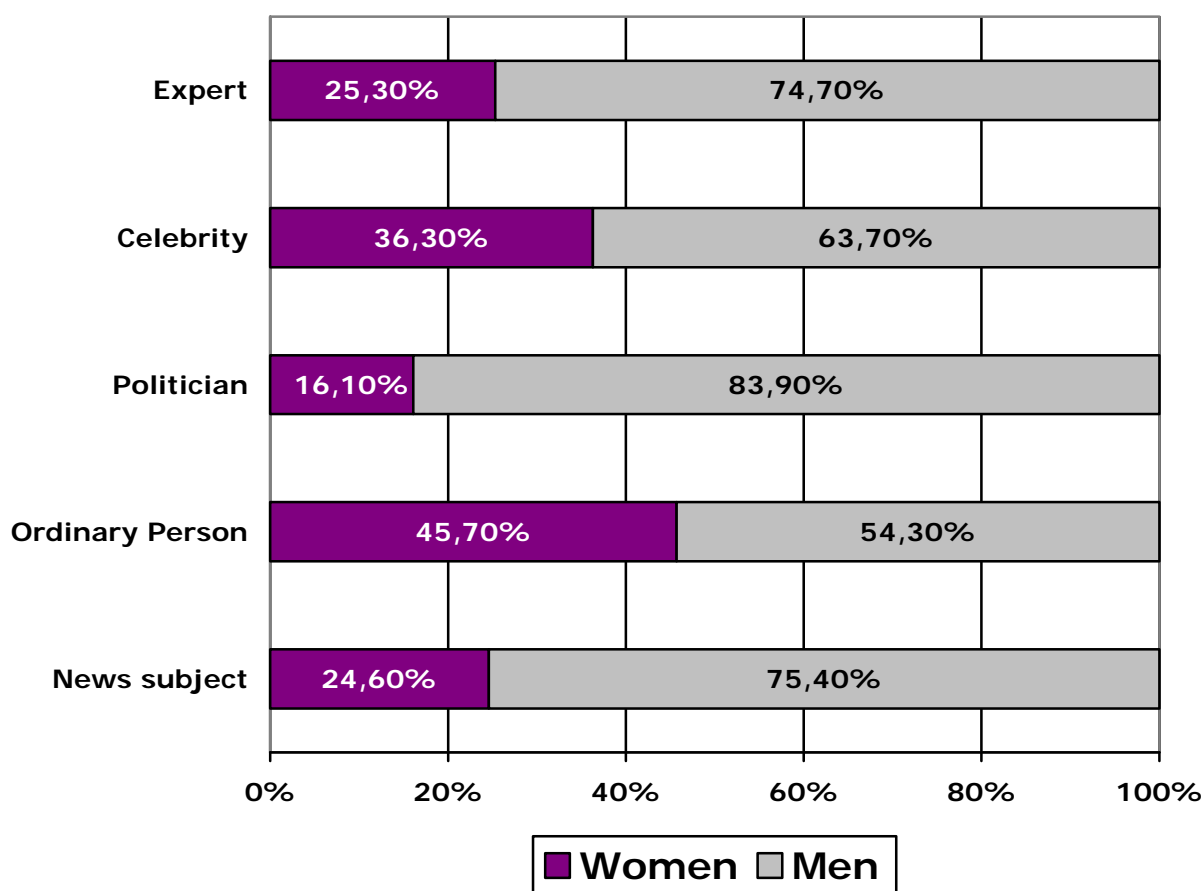
Source: adapted from EIGE's Project "Women in Media Industries in Europe."

Table 2: People by Role, Sex and Type of Channel in EU-27 + HR

People, Role	Public Channel		Private Channel	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Main Presenter/ Host	557	581	401	412
Reporter/Journalist	1771	2227	1347	1615
Expert	1290	3976	998	2762
Celebrity	458	953	514	755
Politician	383	1970	207	1098
Ordinary Person	2242	2812	2317	2598
News subject	321	1021	298	878

Source: adapted from EIGE's Project "Women in Media Industries in Europe."

Table 3: Women and men across all monitored programmes in EU-27 + HR

| Country	Women	Men
AT	33%	67%
BE	34%	66%
BG	35%	65%
CY	27%	73%
CZ	32%	68%
DE	35%	65%
DK	35%	65%
EE	33%	67%
EL	32%	68%
ES	45%	55%
FI	41%	59%
FR	37%	63%
HU	35%	65%
IE	38%	62%
IT	38%	62%
LT	42%	58%
LU	32%	68%
LV	44%	56%
MT	26%	74%
NL	34%	66%
PL	29%	71%
PT	41%	59%
RO	39%	61%
SE	41%	59%
SI	38%	62%
SK	35%	65%
UK	33%	67%
EU-27	36%	64%
HR	34%	66%

Source: adapted from EIGE's Project "Women in Media Industries in Europe."

Table 4: Presence of women & men in news genres

NEWS GENRE	Women	Men
Newscast	34,7%	65,3%
News magazine	35,4%	64,6%
Other News	27,1%	72,9%
TOTAL	**34,3%**	**65,7%**

Source: adapted from EIGE's Project "Women in Media Industries in Europe."

Chart 2: Women in European Parliament and National Parliaments of Member States (lower houses)
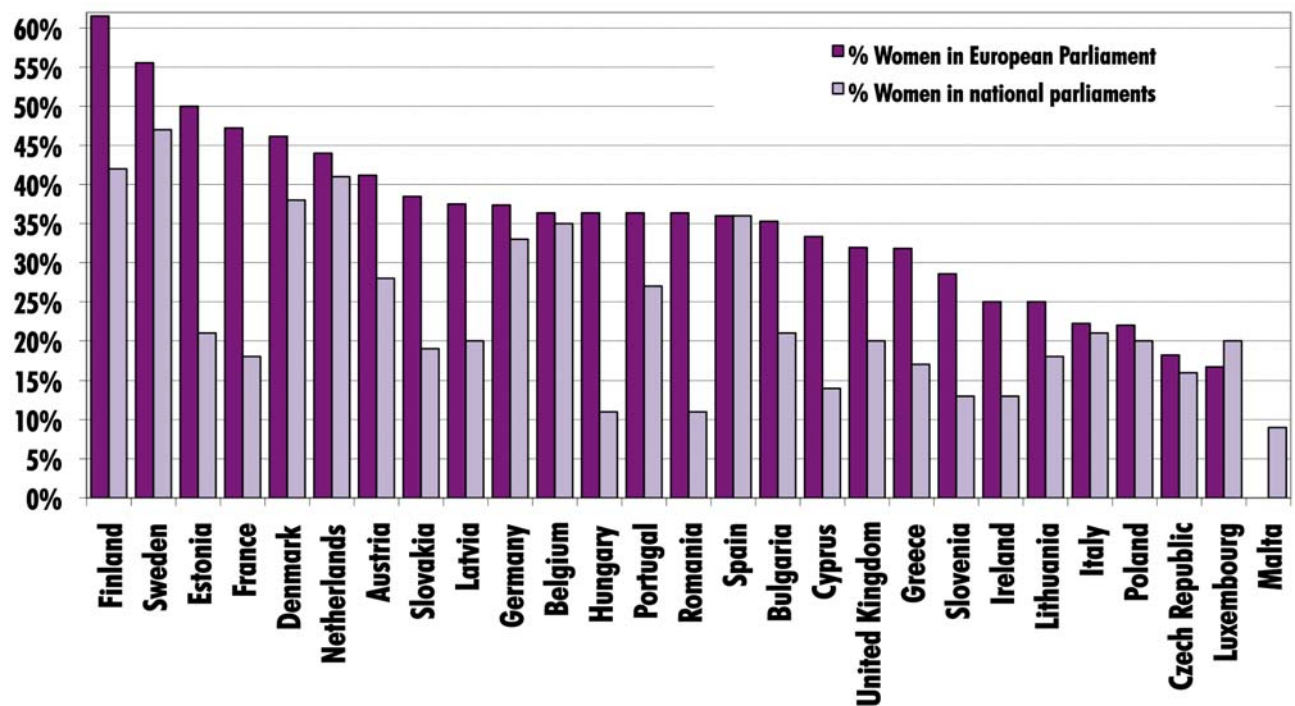
Source: www.ipu.org as of 30/11/2010./ Equality and Diversity Unit Directorate-General for Personnel Webpage: http://persluxsweb/uec

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APPENDIX 2

Organizational Structure of EIGE Project

Stage 1: Researchers were selected, media institutions to be analysed were proposed for each participating country, responsibilities, deliveries, outcomes and deadlines were established.

Stage 2: Survey of organizational structure of selected media institutions was carried out which identified the number of women and men in decision-making positions, both in terms of posts and membership in oversight committees and boards. Also the existence of gender equality policy for each monitored media institution was checked on, the formal status and practice of the policy, and any instances of formal court cases brought by women employees against their media employer were exemplified;

Stage 3: Interviews with two to four senior women journalists were carried out in order to have feedback from them on their experiences of being women in the media industry. At least one of the interviewees represented one of the media institutions which were surveyed in Stage 2. Interviews were carried out on the basis of guidelines prepared specifically for this project. At this stage, also a bibliography of printed sources on women and employment in the media was compiled for each country.

Stage 4: This was the last, monitoring stage of the project. In each participating country one or two TV stations were monitored during the same prime time (from 18.00- to -23.00) in order to record the percentage of women and men appearing as _presenters/hosts_, _reporters_, _experts_, _celebrities_, _politicians_ and _news subjects_ who contribute verbally and are seen on the screen as appearing in factual programs such as newscasts, newsmagazines, political discussions, chat/game shows, reality/game shows. A total of 1960 hours of TV programmes were monitored, during the monitoring week from February 17 to February 23, 2013 and a total of 1829 separate programmes were monitored, more than 200 per day across 29 public service channels and 27 private channels in 27 Member States and Croatia. The monitoring was coded according to the Monitoring Grid prepared for the purposes of the project.

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Political Parties: Door-keeper or Door-opener for Women's Pathways into Politics?

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Germany

Abstract

Political parties are central to who runs for and who gets elected to political office. Moreover, electoral systems play an important role for women's pathways into politics. This paper will show that ultimately the interaction of party and electoral system can determine women's chances to get elected to public office. Case studies of France and Germany show how different party strategies and electoral systems influence women's participation in politics and women's ambition to run for public office.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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 indentifying 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 door-keepers 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.

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.

1. FROM RUNNING TO GETTING ELECTED

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. Fox and Lawless (2004) have done extensive studies on gender and the decision to run by analyzing the pipeline for potential candidates. What they consider the '**eligibility pool**' of men and women consists of individuals with professional backgrounds, experiences and economic status that are similar to those who comprise the majority of today's elected officials. 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 (Fox and Lawless 2004).

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 favorable 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. (Fox and Lawless 2004). 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. Sanbonmatsu (2009) studied male and female office holders and found that 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. In Sanbonmatsu's sample one third of female office

holders reported that **someone tried to discourage them from running**, most often another office holder or party official. For men this was much less likely. 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.

2. THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES: SOLUTION OR OBSTACLE?

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 (Sanbonmatsu 2009). 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 (Davidson-Schmich 2009).

2.1. Characteristics of political parties enhancing or blocking women's recruitment

Studies of party organizations and the recruitment of female candidates show how parties differ in encouraging or discouraging women's access to parliament. After all there are parties that have already reached parity among their female and male members and office holders and others, where the share of women is still below 20%. This of course has a bearing on the number of women that emerge as candidates from the respective parties. Factors that determine women's chances to run are political parties' organizational structures, the degree of institutionalization, affirmative action measures, the party's access to the eligibility pool of potential candidates, and party ideology.

2.1.1. Organizational structures

Scholars find political parties' organizational structures an important factor to determine women's chances to be elected to political office. It is commonly assumed that **highly centralized** party structures are **in general advantageous** to female candidates. Either strong party-leaders that have the power to create openings for women or bureaucratically-based systems that have incorporated rules guaranteeing women's representation are regarded a significant advantage (Kittilson 1997, Ballington/Matland 2004). When the rules are unwritten, it becomes much harder to devise a strategy or break into the inner circle of power. "With weak internal organization and rules of recruitment that are not clear,

decisions are made by a limited number of elites, typically men. Women are usually on the outside and excluded from the all boys network." (Ballington/Matland 2004: 7).

2.1.2. Degree of institutionalization

Further the degree of institutionalization determines the nature of the rules by which candidates are recruited. "Highly institutionalized parties provide all potential MPs, especially those without ties to the power-center, with a **set of understandable rules**" (Kittilson 1997: 2). These two characteristics of party organization – strong leadership and a high degree of institutionalization – can work together to shape the process by which women-friendly party policies are created and implemented. After all, a central party organization can more directly be **held accountable** for a low proportion of women. The active promotion of women usually happens in response to **external pressure** when political parties aim to gain votes by broadening the diverse face of the party and by presenting candidates that are believed to maximize their vote.

2.1.3. Affirmative action

Parties and party leaders who aim to overcome the shortage of women in political positions often propose and implement affirmative action measures. Therefore they develop **strategies to promote women internally** into decision-making positions within the party organization and externally into elected assemblies and public appointments. Those strategies vary in intensity and may range from developing incentives to attract women to the party in the first place, to providing training and skill development for female candidates to stand for election, and to setting a target within the party that a certain number of executive positions will be held by women (Ballington and Matland 2004). Ballington (2012) distinguishes five different internal party strategies in further detail: Addressing gender equality in the **party's legal framework**; adopting measures, including internal quotas, that ensure women's **participation on governing boards**; setting targets for participation in **party conventions**; establishing **women's wings and sections** within parties; and ensuring that **gender is mainstreamed** into all of the party's policies. Unarguably the most effective of these strategies to increase women's participation in political parties **combine reforms** to political institutions with targeted support to women party activists.

2.2. Different pathways into politics

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, Sanbonmatsu (2009) detected that the single most important reason that women decided to seek office was their concern about one or more specific public policy issues. Fox and Lawless (2004) 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 (Ballington and Matland 2004).

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 (Kittilson 1997).

3. THE ROLE OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Ballington and Matland (2004) argue that three major factors influence the representation of women in political office: District and party magnitudes, party lists, and electoral thresholds.

3.1. Major factors influencing the electoral system

3.1.1. District magnitude

District magnitude is the total number of seats per district and party magnitude is the number of seats a single party can win in a district. If district magnitude is one (as in a majority system) only a single party can win a single seat; in this case 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.**

3.1.2. Proportional representation

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. The latter is the case in regions with a short history of women in politics or conservative views about the role of women like rural communities. On the other hand, in rather liberal and progressive regions like bigger

cities or suburban areas women might even have better chances to win than the traditional male candidates.

3.1.3.   Electoral thresholds

Electoral thresholds can influence the number of women elected. When the thresholds are low and very small parties with one or two seats are elected to parliament women's chances to win are usually pretty low, as typically parties are headed by males who invariably take the **first slot** on the party lists.

3.2. Party influence under single-member constituency system and PR system

Data on women's political representation in different countries as well as a broad body of literature leave no doubt that not only political parties but also different electoral systems can greatly affect women's chances of elections. While electoral systems alone cannot determine the level of women's representation, proportional representation (PR) systems in general are viewed as more women-friendly than single-member constituency systems.
Most EU member states have **some form of PR system** where the distribution of seats corresponds closely with the proportion of the total votes cast for each party. In these systems, parties put together lists of candidates to be elected and voters choose parties rather than candidates. In a **closed list system** the order in which a party's list candidates get elected may be pre-determined by some method internal to the party, while in an **open list system**, it may be determined by the voters at large. Since the parties decide who appears on the list, the system removes the voters somewhat from the elected, giving the political party a vital role in selecting its candidates. Closed party lists reflect a political party's complete control over its candidates since the rank individuals occupy on the list indicates their likelihood of a parliamentary seat based on the number of seats won by the list.

Table 1: Women's representation in EU countries and electoral system

	Women (N)	Men (N)	Women (%)	Electoral System
Sweden	151	198	43	PR/Open List
Finland	86	114	43	PR/Open List
Belgium	60	88	41	PR/Closed List
Spain	140	210	40	Mixed System
Denmark	72	107	40	PR/Open List
Netherlands	58	92	39	PR/Closed List
Slovenia	32	57	36	PR/Open List
Germany	205	415	33	Mixed System
Portugal	69	161	30	PR/Closed List
Austria	53	130	29	PR/Closed List
Italy	179	451	28	PR/Closed List
France	150	423	26	Single-Member Majority
Lithuania	34	101	25	Mixed System
Poland	110	350	24	PR/Open List
Latvia	23	77	23	PR/Open List
Bulgaria	55	185	23	Mixed System
United Kingdom	146	504	22	Single Member Plurality system ("first past the post")
Czech Republic	43	157	22	PR/Open List
Luxemburg	13	47	22	PR/Open List
Estonia	22	79	22	PR/Open List
Greek	63	237	21	PR/Closed List
Slovakia	28	122	19	PR/Closed List
Ireland	25	141	15	PR/Open List
Romania	55	357	13	Mixed System
Malta	7	53	12	PR/Single-transferable-vote
Cyprus	6	50	11	PR/Open List
Hungary	35	350	9	Mixed System
EU-27	1 920	5 256	27	

As Table 1 indicates, the electoral system alone cannot be held accountable for female political representation. While in general PR systems are viewed as more women-friendly than single-member constituency systems countries that apply PR systems find themselves both at the top and the bottom of the list while the example of France shows that even in an unfavorable majority electoral system it is possible to improve gender balance.

3.3. Case Study: The French Parity Law

France has a **single-member majority system** in two rounds. A candidate is elected in the first round if he/she obtains an absolute majority of the total votes cast, provided this amount is equal to a quarter of registered voters in a given constituency. At the second ballot – which usually takes place on the Sunday following the first ballot – a relative majority of cast votes is enough to get elected.

Until 2000 the level of female representation in France was below that of most other European countries[1]. In 2000, France was the first country in the world to introduce a so-called **parity law on equal access of women and men to electoral mandates and elective positions**. However the impact of the law has remained well below its original expectations with a rise of women in parliament from 10.9 per cent in 1997 to 12.3 per cent in 2002 and 18.5 per cent in 2007 (Murray 2012).

In practice it shows that for elections conducted under proportional representation (including local, regional, European elections and some senatorial elections), the law is fairly effective. Party lists are rejected if they do not comply with the requirement of parity. The French law also contains a placement mandate for local and regional elections; three in every six candidates must be women, while in senatorial and European elections, one in every two candidates must be a woman. However, the use of a placement mandate is significant since it helps to place women in positions where they stand a reasonable prospect of election (ibid.). By contrast, the regulations for elections conducted under single-member-plurality (SMP) show less impact.

"For all SMP elections except the legislative elections, parity was not applied at all, and for legislative elections there was only a weak penalty and no placement mandate. The penalty consisted of a reduction in state finance in proportion to the defection from parity, and applied only to the first portion of state finance (based on votes obtained). (…) The use of a financial penalty provided parties with an incentive to implement parity where they could, but also provided an opt-out where a party could or would not achieve parity immediately. Furthermore, the law only applied to the number of candidates and not to the number of women elected, thus permitting parties to place women in unwinnable seats if they so chose." (Murray 2012: 12)

However, there are is also a ray of hope: at every election since the introduction of the parity law, the **proportion of women has risen**. Meanwhile, the law has been strengthened on several occasions since its inception over ten years ago, and its **various loopholes are slowly being closed**. While women are still not close to achieving political equality, their trajectory is upwards and they are gaining momentum in many aspects of political life (Murray 2010).

4. STRATEGIES TO ADVANCE WOMEN

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 favorable to women, and show real commitment to change.

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[1] At this time EU 15, for reference see: http://www.idea.int/publications/wip/upload/CS-French_Exp-sineau.pdf. "As of early 2002, the representation of women was still lagging, for in the National Assembly elected in June 2002, they held only 12.3 per cent of the seats, making France 13th among the 15 member countries of the European Union and 60th worldwide in the percentage of women parliamentarians."

4.1. Enlarge the number of female candidates

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.

4.2. 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 favorable 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.

4.3. Parties' commitment to advancing women

The parties' commitment to advancing women is essential for the progress to be expected. There appear to be different degrees of commitment that Lovenduski (2010) diversifies as follows: **Rhetorical strategies**, whereby women's claims are included in public statements, party platforms, and frequent references are made to the importance of advancing women. **Affirmative action**, that offers special training and considerable encouragement to women that aspire to run for office and finally **positive discrimination**

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with set targets and reserved places for women on decision making bodies and candidate lists. Thereby the level of commitment can be measured according to whether the measures are formal or informal, written or unwritten, pure rhetoric or incorporated in the party statute with clear targets that are linked to sanctions for non-compliance.

4.4. 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 (Kürschner 2009).

5. CASE STUDY: THE GERMAN PARTY AND ELECTORAL SYSTEM

The correlation of political parties' and electoral systems' influence on women's representation in politics can be demonstrated thoroughly by the example of Germany. The country uses a **mixed electoral system**, with both single member constituencies and a proportional representation system with **closed party lists**, each of which select half of the members of the Bundestag. In addition Germany has a multi-party system with two major parties and three smaller ones that pursue different ways not only in choosing their candidates but also in how the party rules and cultures influence the chances for women to get elected.

In Germany politics and political participation were not very attractive for women until the 1970s. The political arena was looked upon as men's domain, to which few women aspired and indeed were admitted (Hoecker 1988/89). At the beginning of the 7th legislative period, (1972 – 1976) there was an all-time low of 5.8 % women in the German federal parliament, the Deutsche Bundestag. Today the number is up to 32 %. As Figure 1 indicates, there was an incremental growth in the 1980ies and 1990ies which has leveled off in the last decade. This development can be traced back to the Green Party's entry in the German Bundestag in 1983 which brought an exceptional number of women to Parliament. The share of female Members of Parliament (MPs) rose from 9.8 % to 15.4 % within a single legislative period. This increase continued throughout the next twenty years, reaching almost 33 % in 2002. By then the Greens were not alone in sending a considerable number of women to the Bundestag: Fear of losing votes, especially among women, caused the other parties to also increase their number of female officeholders.

Figure 1: Share of Women MPs in the German Bundestag since 1949 (in percent)
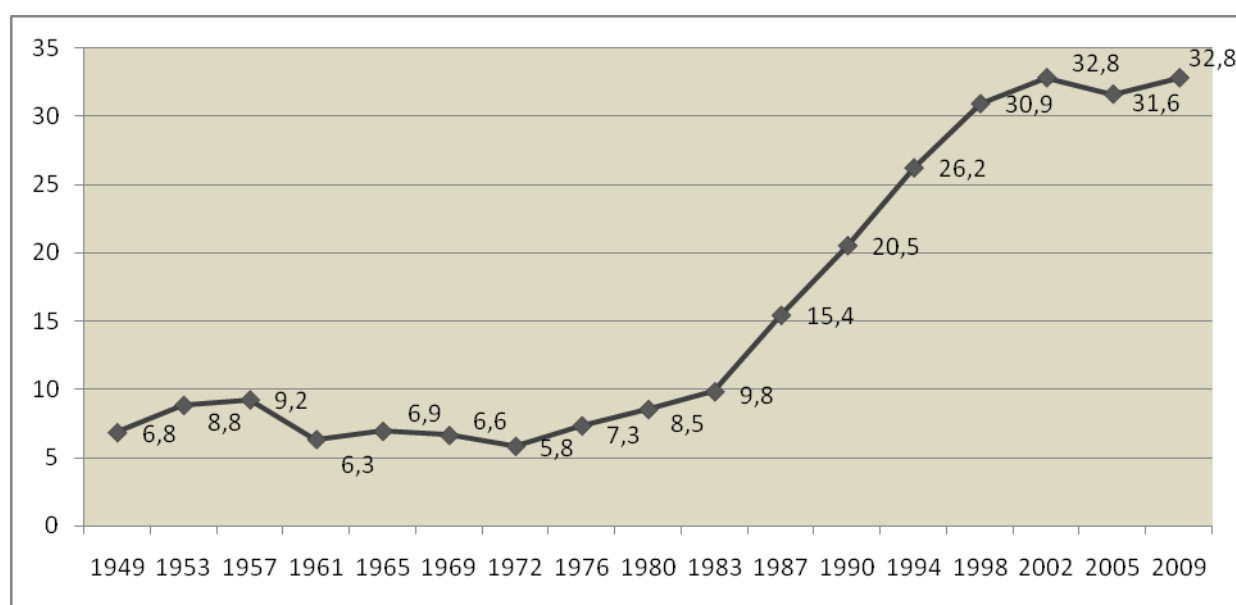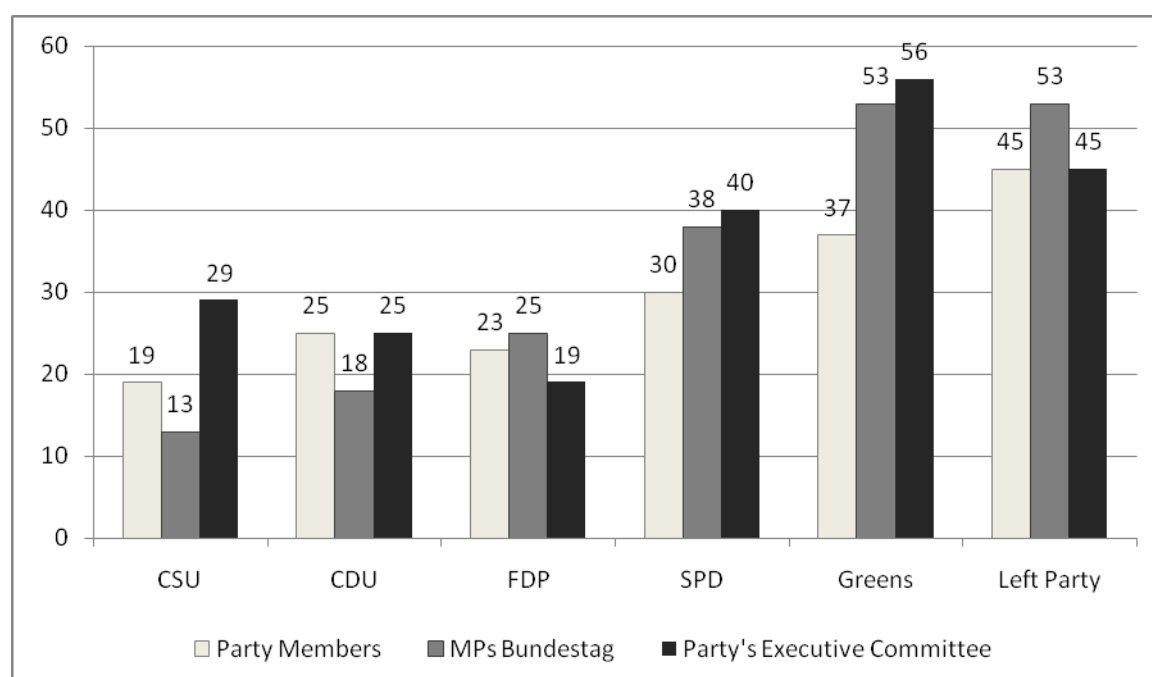

Source: Kürschner 2010

5.1. Measures by political parties

Although all parties agree that women need to be advanced, they take very different approaches towards that goal. Consequently German parties provide unequal opportunities for women to participate in the political process and gain access to powerful political positions.

While leftist-parties like the Greens and Left Party **actively promote gender parity** and make at least half of their public and inner party offices available for female candidates, the more liberal FDP has so far not taken any active steps towards more gender balance. The stronger support for women in the left parties can be traced back to these parties' endorsement of more **egalitarian ideologies** that justify intervention in the recruitment and nomination process. Partly emerging from the **women's movement**, the German Greens imposed conditions for their elected officials from the beginning. In the early 1980s they pioneered the use of gender quotas in Germany, requiring at least 50 % of electoral list places and party leadership positions for women, with the top slot reserved for a female candidate. The Social Democrats adopted a **quota** in 1988 for fear of losing increasing numbers of their female voters to the Greens. They require both men and women to have at least 40 % of the slots on their electoral lists and inner-party offices. The Left Party commits itself to providing equal representation of men and women at all levels.

The more conservative parties CDU and CSU have **softer quotas** of 30% and 40% respectively that can be circumvented without any sanctions for non-compliance.
The liberal FDP so far has not adopted a quota for women's representation in party positions and on the electoral lists, referring to the concern that **quotas in general undermine individual achievement**. Accordingly the three right-of-center parties have a significantly lower share of women on all levels – party members, MPs and party committees – than the three left-of-center parties as Figure 2 indicates.

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Figure 2: Share of Women in German Political Parties (in percent)


Source: Kürschner 2010.

5.2. Influence of electoral system

Another important reason for the different shares of women the parties send to parliament is the election process. The German electoral system is a mixed one: half of the Bundestag is elected by plurality system and the other half by proportional representation. **In 2009 women were twice more likely to have been elected via PR than via plurality**. Two-thirds of the 196 women in the Bundestag won their seats by PR as a candidate on their party's list. That means that women won 44 % of the total seats by proportional election and 21 % by plurality election. Men won 56 % of the total number of seats by proportional election and 79 % by plurality election. In the 2009 federal elections, four of the five parties that are represented in the Bundestag received their majority of seats from list candidates and only one – the CDU/CSU parliamentary group [2]– has a majority of directly elected MPs.

As has been shown on the previous pages, PR systems and party lists are in general more favorable to women's chances of getting elected. Therefore it is easier for the parties that send a majority of list candidates to parliaments to actively increase their share of women than for parties that get most of their MPs elected through direct seats. With the exception of the FDP, this proves to be true for the German parties.

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[2] While the CDU and CSU are two different parties they form one parliamentary group in the German Bundestag and are thereby regarded as one party unity.

Figure 3: Women Elected to the Bundestag by Party List and Direct Seats
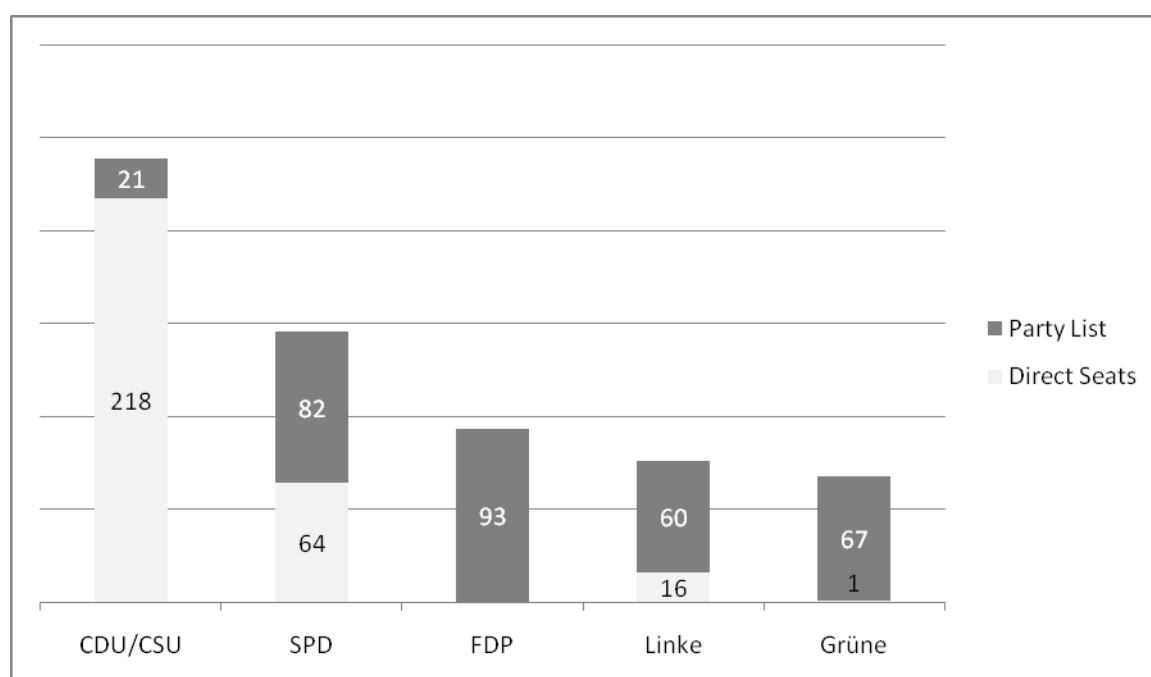
Source: *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2009.*

5.3. Obstacles remaining for women

While women in Germany certainly profit from the party system, there are also a number of hurdles they still have to overcome when entering the political arena.

One of the biggest handicaps for women is seen at the **nomination stage**. Political parties in Germany have the constitutional mandate to encourage and to educate men and women to take on political responsibility and run for political office. The law grants them exclusive autonomy to select their candidates for the ballot and parties in turn select these candidates from within their own ranks. Rank and file members of the political parties control candidate nominations and therefore it depends on the **gender balance of the respective party assemblies** not only to set the political agenda, but also to determine which women are elected into responsible positions.

With shares between 19% and 45% women still are the minority in all German parties and in order to reach their share of participation, they have to play by the rules.

Those who make the decisions often favor the kind of women that do not question the existing order but condone the status quo. In order to promote women's representation it is essential that those whose job it is ultimately to select among competing candidates are sympathetic to their demands. After all, those **gatekeepers** have the ultimate responsibility for creating party lists and selecting direct mandate candidates in accordance with their parties statute (Davidson-Schmich 2009). Additionally, to ensure a promising single-member district or to be at the top of the party list, it is necessary to constantly work one's way up through the party ranks. This is based on the experience that active party membership helps potential candidates to train their political skills, **learn the political process from the bottom up** and ultimately show their commitment by paying their dues with several years of service to the party.

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6. CONCLUSION

6.1. 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 indentifying 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 door-keepers 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.

6.2. 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.

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Dr. Isabelle Kürschner has extensive expertise on issues of women and gender in the context of corporate governance, organizational culture, and work-family-effectiveness. In her capacity as a researcher and consultant she provides support to political institutions and companies that are interested in advancing women. In this role she frequently speaks to corporate and public audiences on topics including women's leadership and advancement, talent management strategies, and barriers to women's political and corporate advancement. Isabelle studied Political Science at Friedrich-Alexander University in Erlangen, Catholic University in Eichstätt and McGill University in Montréal.

Individual support: How coaching supports women to stand for election to the European Parliament

Ms Michelle Randall (USA),
author of "Winning without compromising yourself" (2008)

Abstract

The benefits of providing coaching to support female MEPs and those considering pursuing such a role are multifold, and will be discussed at length throughout this report. The greatest potential, however, is beyond enticing more women to become MEPs. Coaching can extend the leadership of women serving in the European Parliament to create the real, tangible result of enhancing their impact beyond what would be expected of their current numbers in Parliament. Effective and powerful women beget more effective and powerful women. As a result, coaching for equality can alter the gender balance in the European Parliament, in the short term and permanently.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report was commissioned to examine the viability and potential impact of professional coaching on the candidacy and careers of women in the European Parliament. There will be brief evidence of why coaching has become a highly valued professional service in the business arena, explore the obstacles coaching has faced in being widely adopted amongst members of parliament, and offer some solutions that may remedy this situation.

The research shows that professional coaching is a proven, impactful professional service creating performance enhancement for high performers in business and government worldwide. This has evolved over the past 20 years in highly competitive and meticulously measured environments. Businesses and government entities measure the enhanced productivity of employees and leadership effectiveness of senior executives that coaching has created. Despite the multitude of longitudinal proof that coaching creates significant positive impact, and the widespread desire to receive coaching, this critical tool remains underutilized amongst members of parliament.

If women, and the institutions committed to their electoral parity, can overcome the surmountable obstacles to engage with coaches, there will be tremendous opportunity for them to increase their impact and well-being. This will also mean that existing female members of Parliament will be able to soar in their effectiveness and resulting status as role models. Additionally, coaching can act as a vital support for women who are trying to determine whether becoming a Member of Parliament is right for them, and can also support them during the exertion of campaigning and, hopefully, the transition into office.

The combined effect of coaching women who are aspiring to office and women who are already serving can have the significant result of women becoming more impactful than their numbers would imply.

1. ABOUT COACHING

KEY FINDINGS

- Coaching is a professional service that has proven very effective in business and government, although it has yet to be widely adopted amongst members of parliament.

- Coaching is a structured process that is goal- and action-oriented toward achieving the success of the client, in which the coach holds no agenda other than the client's success on his or her own terms. Coaching is not psychotherapy.

- Confidentiality is key to the success of the coaching relationship.

- The coaching profession is a self-regulated service sector with €1.5 billion in annual revenues.

- If women in the European Parliament were to be the first to tap the potential that coaching offers, there would be an opportunity to amplify women's impact beyond their numbers, and make being a female MEP more attractive to potential aspirants.

1.1 Defining Coaching

> Executive coaching is an interactive process that is designed to help individuals to develop rapidly. It is usually work related and focused on improving performance and behaviour.
> The essential features of executive coaching are that it is a short-term, time limited, paid for, goal specific, action oriented, personally tailored approach to learning [for the busy professional].[3]
>
> The Institute for Employment Studies

All high-performing athletes have one thing in common: They have coaches. Coaches help the best performers push further and tap deeper resources in order to set new records and forge new territory in the quest to fulfil the athletes' potential.

Professional coaches in the business and political arenas serve the same purpose. We help leaders at the highest corporate and political levels achieve their visions. In fact, for these powerful leaders, the coach is often **the only person who holds no agenda** other than to make sure his or her clients are successful on their own terms. It is also the coach's commitment to speak blunt truth to power in order to serve the client in the achievement of the client's goals. Obviously, this is not a role that any peer, staff member, or even

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[3] Carter A, "Executive Coaching: Inspiring Performance at Work", IES Report 379, Institute for Employment Studies, 2001.

family member can play. Everyone else employed by the leader has an incentive to cultivate the leader's favor, and while family members may be interested in the leader's work, a harmonious life together takes precedence.

1.1.1. Coaching Is

Leaders have used the services of professional coaches since the mid-1990s, in the pursuit of many goals. Those goals largely fit into the following categories:

- Optimize individual/team work performance
- Expand professional career opportunities
- Improve business management strategies
- Increase self-esteem/self-confidence
- Manage work/life balance

Coaching is mainly delivered in the following three modalities:

- **Telephone**
  This takes the form of regular telephone calls between the coach and the client. While this is convenient and effective, some clients wish for face-to-face interaction.

- **In-person meetings**
  This method is also effective, and addresses the desire for personal contact. However, travel to the coach's office can be time-consuming, and the coach's appearance in the client's office at regular intervals can raise questions that potentially compromise confidentiality.

- **Shadow coaching**
  In my experience, this is the most effective and time-advantageous method for coaching members of parliament. In this method, the coach "shadows" the client by accompanying him or her for a few days to observe the client in action. There are two main benefits to this approach:

  o The coach does not have to depend solely on the client's perception of events, as is the case with telephone and in-person meetings.

  o The coach can address observed behaviours with the client as immediately as appropriate.

  Shadow coaching does not take additional time, as the other modalities do. Concerning the matter of client confidentiality, in my experience I have always let my clients determine the reason with which they wish to explain my presence to other meeting attendees. They have never had a challenge in doing so in a way that assures the continued confidentiality of the coaching relationship.

No matter how it takes place, professional coaching always has the following characteristics:

- Purpose-driven
- Action-oriented
- Forward-thinking
- Uses a structured work plan
- Involves focused conversation

1.1.2. Coaching Is Not

When people are unfamiliar with coaching, misconceptions can arise about the nature of the work. In order to avoid any confusion, it should be clearly noted that coaching is *not*:

- personal counselling or therapy,
- advice on appearance or attire,
- speech preparation.

1.1.3. Core Tenets of Professional Coaching

Professional coaching is a self-regulated component of professional services, such as consulting. There are a number of agencies defining and regulating coaching worldwide, which I will discuss later in this report. According to these agencies, there are a few core tenets of professional coaching, which are critical to its success:

- **Confidentiality**
  In the case of coaching, the content of the discussions between coach and client is completely confidential. This means that while the client is free to discuss and share with others what he or she has learned, the coach is not.

  The coach is bound not to disclose any aspect of the content of the discussions, or the name or role of any client. Confidentiality can be modified with the client's express permission, which is often required in writing.

  For the most part, the popular assumption is that members of parliament and senior managers have "made it." There is a legitimate worry that if they are seen undergoing development, they may be perceived as admitting that they have a weakness. The confidential nature of the coaching relationship ensures privacy and protects against the public gaze.

- **Assumption of Mental Health**
  While coaches have sometimes been brought in to remedy the behavior of certain leaders, professional coaching assumes that the client is in a state of full mental health.

  As I tell my clients at the outset of every coaching engagement, I assume that there is nothing wrong, and nothing to fix. The client has chosen to pursue coaching because of a desire to achieve different, and better, results.

- **Courage**
  Well-trained coaches have made a professional commitment to engage in every conversation so honestly, and to present truths so brutal, that they could be fired. They do this not to injure the client, but to help the client achieve his or her stated goals.

  It is difficult for any governing body, and even the client, to identify and enforce this tenet. At some point, it relies on the professionalism, training, and character of the coach.

1.2 Coaching Qualifications

To begin, we must acknowledge that anyone can call him or herself a coach.

Despite the fact that the global revenue from coaching is more than €1.5 billion,[4] coaching is a self-regulated profession. As such, the training and certification of any coach is entirely voluntary. Since coaching is a young profession, many of the longest-tenured and well-respected coaches in the world have found submission to a certifying body superfluous.

However, many coaches have chosen to pursue fundamental training in adult development and coaching practices, and select coaches undergo the rigor of advanced certification programs. Not all training and certification programs are regulated. The gold standard is training and certification regimes that are accredited by the following bodies:

- International Coach Federation (ICF)

- Association for Coaching (AC)

- European Mentoring and Coaching Council (EMCC)

- International Association of Coaching (IAC)

- Worldwide Association of Business Coaches (WABC)

No one can categorically say that coaches without training provide substandard services or are lacking in client results. As a certified coach myself, I can say that I chose to pursue training and certification in coaching a decade ago, despite already having an undergraduate degree in sociology and a master's degree in business (MBA), and having led companies as a member of the executive ranks. As a result of this additional training, I guarantee that my clients and my profession are better served.

Naturally, while there is a degree to which years of training, expertise, and experience may influence the pricing of coaching, paying more does not guarantee better coaching. Prices are set by individual firms, and, as with any professional service, how this is done is rarely transparent. It is far better to verify that qualifications are playing a role in pricing than to assume that this is the case.

1.3 Executive Coaching in the Business Sector

> Forty years ago, no one talked about executive coaching. Twenty years ago, coaching was mainly directed at talented but abrasive executives who were likely to be fired if something didn't change. Today, coaching is a popular and potent solution for ensuring top performance from an organization's most critical talent.[5]
>
> Harvard Business Review

Business success is relatively easy to measure. The prevalence of professional coaching in the business sector has exploded due to careful tracking of the measures of coaching success, including increases in productivity, as well as customer and employee satisfaction.

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[4] *2012 ICF Global Coaching Study*, International Coach Federation, Lexington, KY, USA, 2012.
[5] Peterson, D. "What Can Executive Coaches Do For You?" Harvard Business Review, January 2009.

These measures are then evaluated in terms of the ultimate hard measure of the worthiness of an investment from a business perspective: return on investment (ROI). Of companies that measure the ROI of coaching, the median company return is 700%, indicating that, typically, a company can expect a return that is 7 times the initial investment.[6]

1.4 Coaching in the Political Arena

Despite the proven benefits of professional coaching in the highly competitive and metric-frenzied business world, so few members of parliament engage in coaching as to make the service a veritable non-entity in the political arena. One reason for this is that the political arena is not measured in terms of return on investment. Instead, individual candidates are measured simply by wins and losses.

Government entities, on the other hand, are measured quite extensively. Perhaps as a result of this, coaching has been embraced as a way to increase performance in the government sector. Because their ROI is so hard to measure, areas of the U.S. government that utilize coaching, including the U.S. Treasury Department, are using a measurement called Return on Value (ROV).[7]

I am personally aware of appointed officials, from municipal directors up to and including the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States military, who are utilizing the services of professional coaches. To better understand the extent of coaching in the U.S. government, please see the list in the Annex.

Remarkably, the extensive use of coaches in the government sector has failed to translate into the large-scale engagement of professional coaching by and for members of parliament. Later in this report, a section explores the obstacles and potential solutions for utilizing coaching in the political arena.

A handful of books have been written by professional coaches in an attempt to expand coaching to the political arena. The first was my own book, *Winning Without Compromising… Yourself: Unlocking personal and professional mastery in the political arena* (edited by me, and written by me and a consortium of leading North American coaches). The second was *Nachhaltig denken und handeln: Coaching für Politiker*, by Elke Esders, a professional coach and political adviser for the European Parliament.

Because the potential of professional coaching for members of parliament has remained largely untapped, if women were to be the first to harness it successfully, they could have a larger impact than their numbers would imply.

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[6] *Global Coaching Client Study 2009,* International Coach Federation, Lexington, KY, USA, 2009.
[7] Salmon, L., "The Evolution of Coaching in the U.S. Federal Government", *International Journal of Coaching in Organizations,* 2008, 6(1), 7-17.

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2. APPLICATION OF COACHING

KEY FINDINGS

- Women make up 65% of coaching clients worldwide, and significant desire for coaching amongst the general population implies a readiness for coaching among women serving in, or aspiring to, the European Parliament.

- Coaching is used to accelerate the success of minorities in the business world, and can serve the same purpose for women in the European Parliament.

- The timing of coaching can play a role in its overall results.

The U.K.-based Institute for Employment Studies reported that in Europe, corporations were providing executive coaching for the following reasons:

- to support the **induction or appointment of a senior person into a different, or more senior role,**

- to **accelerate the personal development of** individuals defined as having "high potential," or **individuals from a minority group identified for affirmative action.**[8]

2.1 Managing the Gender Burden with Coaching

Coaching has been proven to be beneficial for all leaders, regardless of gender. However, coaching can be a critical support for female leaders as they manage the gender burden.
For female representatives, or women who are considering running for office in the European Parliament, the gender burden is heaped on top of the already substantial load that male MEPs face. Specifically, this gender burden includes the following:

- the additional demands of the caregiving role that many women play for their children and elderly parents;

- standing firm in the face of public judgment for forging a non-traditional path;

- adapting a feminine leadership style for effectiveness in a male-dominated organization;

- the implied responsibilities of being a minority role model in the public eye.

Research shows that women comprise 65% of coaching clients worldwide,[9] which indicates that women may already be embracing this service to overcome the gender burden in the general population.

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[8] Carter A, IES Report 379.
[9] *Global Coaching Client Study 2009,* International Coach Federation, Lexington, KY, USA, 2009.

Additionally, the top three motivations for obtaining coaching are 1) Self-esteem/Self-confidence (40.9%); 2) Work/Life Balance (35.6%); and Career Opportunities (26.8%).[10] All of these topics are critical in balancing and overcoming the gender burden faced by female MEPs.

2.2 Desire for Coaching

> With all this talk of the benefits of coaching, can we assess whether women who are considering running for the European Parliament, or are already serving, would have any interest in engaging in a coaching relationship? This is a particularly important question, since motivation is an essential aspect of coaching success.[11]

While there isn't ready data on this particular population, we can look at the desire for coaching in the general population for indications of interest. The following graph shows the expressed desire for coaching amongst people who were aware of coaching, but had not yet received coaching. This was a global study, and data specific to EU member countries, are included, as available, to illustrate existing national cultural attitudes toward coaching.

Data from International Coach Federation, 2009 Global Coaching Client Study

This shows that, for the most part, there is a great interest in coaching among those with some awareness. The same study showed that 96.2% of coaching clients report they would repeat their coaching experience.[12] As a result, it is likely that if MEPs were to engage in coaching and share that experience with their peers, the desire to receive coaching would intensify.

2.2.1. Timing of Coaching

2.2.1.1. Pursuing Office

When coaching begins can also influence how successful it will be. As stated before, times of transition are often catalysts for beginning a coaching engagement.

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[10] *Global Coaching Client Study 2009,* International Coach Federation, Lexington, KY, USA, 2009.
[11] Peterson, D (January 2009). "What Can Executive Coaches Do For You?" Harvard Business Review.
[12] International Coach Federation, *Global Coaching Client Study 2009.*

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Coaching could be helpful in encouraging more women to pursue becoming MEPs. It may help them make that decision if they knew that they had the option of receiving coaching support through the travails of campaigning and, hopefully, their transition into office.

2.2.1.2. Serving as a Member of the European Parliament

A critical point to consider when encouraging women to seek election as MEPs is the successes and lifestyles of the women who are already serving in those positions.

> By extrapolating coaching successes in the business arena and considering anecdotal evidence from coaching members of parliament, I have determined that the following would be effective topics for coaching serving MEPs:
>
> - Enhancing overall leadership effectiveness
>
> - Managing staff and team issues
>
> - Amplifying the ability to create their desired impact while in office
>
> - Fortifying resilience in the face of defeats
>
> - Managing oneself in the face of the temptations that accompany positional power

2.2.1.3. Following Training

Finally, there is evidence that adding individual coaching to training interventions increases the impact of the training 400%.[13] In other words, when MEPs use their training funds, adding coaching would greatly extend the value of the expenditure.

3. COACHING RESULTS

KEY FINDINGS

- Coaching has been carefully measured in business and government to prove that it is a useful tool for success.

- Case studies evaluating the coaching of members of parliament show significant success in this arena as well.

3.1 Measurements of Coaching

Corporations demand that any expenditure be justified in terms of impact on business results. As executive coaching has become an institutionalized tool for business success, material evidence of the impact of coaching has been produced.

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[13] Oilvero, G., Bane K.D., and Kopelman, R.E. (Winter, 1997). *Executive coaching as a transfer of training tool : Effects on productivity in a public agency*. Public Personnal Management, 26, 4, 461-469.

- **Coaching effectiveness**
  Of the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development's 135,000 member organizations, 69% are using external coaches, and 92% of them judge this coaching to be effective.[14]

- **Retention of working mothers**
  The investment banking industry has return-to-work rates following maternity leave averaging approximately 90%. One of the key resources employers provide to achieve this is "maternity coaching."[15]

- **Leadership effectiveness**
  Thatch (2002) found that a development-oriented combination of feedback and coaching increased leadership effectiveness by up to 60%.[16]

- **Personal productivity**
  The company Nortel Networks recently calculated the return on its $2.26MM (€1.73MM) investment in coaching at 788%. Individual respondents reported capturing 3-5 hours/week through behavior changes from coaching.[17]

- **ROI**
  An international study measuring the ROI of coaching showed that the median company return is 700%, indicating that, typically, a company can expect a return that is 7 times the initial investment.[18]

3.2 Case Studies in the Political Arena

Because of the rarity of coaching for members of parliament, I will offer case studies to illustrate the effectiveness of coaching in the political arena from experience with my clients. The exception is the final case study, which is offered by Elke Esders, who provides an example from the European Parliament.

Case Study 1 - Prioritizing for Results

Situation: A long-term representative transitioning into the new role of majority leader was overwhelmed with time commitments. The members of her caucus, who had voted her as their leader, perceived her as being so busy that, in an effort to limit their burden on her, they were not coming to her office.

Intervention: The coach shadowed this client, which means accompanying her for two days to observe all of her interactions. Together, they identified that lobbyists were flooding her calendar with appointments, and effectively squeezing out her caucus members.

Resolution: The Member told her assistant that lobbyists could no longer set appointments in her schedule. She set daily times for members of her caucus to drop in to her office. She was elected speaker of the House the following year.

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[14] Jarvis, J., Lane, D., Fillery-Travis, A., *The Case for Coaching*, Charted Institute for Personnel and Development.
[15] Roxburgh, H., "How maternity packages shape up in accountancy", *Economia*. http://economia.icaew.com/business/march2013/how-maternity-packages-shape-up-in-accountancy.
[16] Bickman, L., Goldring, E., De Andrade, A., Breda, C. and Goff, P., *"Improving Principal Leadership Through Feedback and Coaching", Society for Research on Educational Effectiveness*, Spring 2012.
[17] Anderson, M. (November 2001). *Executive Briefing: Case Study on the Return on Investment of Executive Coaching,* Metrix Global, LLC.
[18] *Global Coaching Client Study 2009,* International Coach Federation, Lexington, KY, USA, 2009.

Case Study 2 - Staff Management

Situation: A newly elected member of the U.S. House of Representatives was struggling to align his staff in Washington, D.C. with his staff in his district. This was costing him significant time, and was impeding his ability to engage fully in his new role.

Intervention: Together, the coach and the Member identified areas of development for staff members, as well as ways in which the congressman had been deferring to his chief of staff. As a result, the congressman confronted his chief of staff, who then exploded in anger, saying that the congressman was a neophyte who didn't know what he was doing, and that the chief of staff was trying to "save him from himself." The chief of staff was revealed as a saboteur.

Resolution: The chief of staff was replaced with a professional who supported the congressman's agenda. In the next election, the congressman won his district by 20%.

Case Study 3 - Improving Impact

Situation: A new MEP succeeded a predecessor in the middle of a parliamentary term. As a result, he did not benefit from any general introductions for new MEPs. After six months, he felt frustrated and lost. What made matters worse was that he felt he could not share this with anybody because everyone expects elected MEPs to know everything.

Intervention: Together, the coach and the Member were able to identify how much he had already learned, what he had already achieved, and what he needed to learn and do next.

Resolution: By acknowledging his accomplishments, he gained confidence, drew up a plan for learning and delegating, and knew what he needed to do.

4. OBSTACLES AND SOLUTIONS FOR IMPLEMENTING COACHING

KEY FINDINGS

- Significant structural obstacles have hindered the adoption of coaching for members of parliament to date. The most significant of these is a fundamental expectation that members of Parliament "know it all" upon being elected.

- The obstacle of time constraints can be overcome by "shadow coaching," which eliminates the time demand, and is extraordinarily effective at delivering client results.

- The obstacles of compromised confidentiality and personal financial burden could be overcome if coaching were paid for by the institutions with a vested interest in the success of women in the European Parliament.

4.1 Obstacles

4.1.1. "Sink or Swim" Mentality

There is a fallacious assumption that upon election, a normal citizen is somehow endowed with all of the leadership capacity and knowledge, both managerial and general, needed to successfully represent his or her constituency.

This attitude used to exist in business as well. However, businesses showed dismal success rates for new leaders, which they could measure in monetary terms of cost of recruitment, cost of orientation, lost productivity of staff, and lost opportunity. As a result, today, corporations engage in a form of coaching called "onboarding," which helps leaders make sense of their new environment and adjust their leadership, management, and communication styles to the needs of a new organization.

Coaching the transition of newly elected members of parliament into office and higher levels of responsibility in the political arena has been very successful.

4.1.2. Time

Members of parliament have extraordinary demands on their time. Staffers jokingly say that their representative needs a scheduler and an unscheduler, as they call to cancel a coaching meeting at the last minute.

Shadow coaching, in which the coach accompanies his or her client over the course of several days, creates a tremendous, immediate impact without requiring additional time or scheduling headaches.

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4.1.3.   Confidentiality

Confidentiality is crucial, especially when the act of a client wisely seeking development could be twisted into a detractor. The transparency in financial reporting for members of parliament precludes privacy for the client.

4.1.4.   Payment

As discussed earlier, employers pay the fee for coaching in business and government. For members of parliament, there is no employer, per se. Their options are to pay for coaching using taxpayer funds given to them for development, or to pay from their personal income.

While studies show that people who pay "out of pocket" for coaching believe they recoup their investment,[19] it is likely that the coaches in this scenario were not highly expert, and that fees were accordingly lower. Members of parliament function in a demanding environment, and thus require the best coaching available. Paying for this, however, would likely be an undue financial burden on them personally. Unfortunately, there is a sense of taboo around using taxpayer monies to improve their performance, despite empirical evidence showing that coaching has been successful for even the highest performers in business and government.

4.2 Solutions

My recommendation is for political groups with vested interests in the leadership impact of their members, and in the success of women in the European Parliament, to undertake an initiative to amend the rules in a way that would include the reimbursement of costs related to professional coaching, just as language and IT training are currently reimbursed. For existing MEPs, this would mean that, just like a corporation pays for the coaching of its employees, coaching would be provided at no personal cost to MEPs, and without impacting their training budget.

Although this would be difficult to implement during a time of austerity, it would **ensure the quality of the coaches**. Besides, the EP administration could ensure adequate standard setting for coaches who would be interacting with MEPs. It would also be a means to provide MEPs who are pursuing coaching with the confidentiality required to enter into a coaching relationship.

The benefits of providing coaching to support female MEPs and those considering pursuing such a role are multifold, and have been discussed at length throughout this report. The greatest potential, however, is beyond enticing more women to become MEPs. Coaching can **extend the leadership of women** serving in the European Parliament to create the real, tangible result of **enhancing their impact** beyond what would be expected of their current numbers in Parliament. Effective and powerful women beget more effective and powerful women. As a result, coaching for equality can alter the gender balance in the European Parliament, in the short term and permanently.

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[19] *Global Coaching Client Study 2009,* International Coach Federation, Lexington, KY, USA, 2009.

ANNEX

Parts of the U.S. federal government utilizing the services of professional coaches:

- U.S. Department of Agriculture
- U.S. Department of Commerce
- U.S. Department of Defense
- U.S. Department of Education
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
- U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
- U.S. Department of the Interior
- U.S. Department of Labor
- U.S. Department of the Treasury
- U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs
- U.S. Office of Personnel Management
- Central Intelligence Agency
- Corporation for National and Community Service
- Environmental Protection Agency
- National Aeronautics and Space Administration
- National Security Agency

Source: The Federal Consulting Group website http://www.fcg.gov/coaching.shtml

For the last decade, **Michelle Randall, MBA, PCC** has coached members of the U.S. House of Representatives, business executives, and legislative leaders around the globe.

She has authored more than 100 articles and several books on strategy development and executive performance as well as one of the seminal books about coaching in the political arena.

EWL 50/50 Campaign for Parity Democracy

Ms Serap Altinisik,
European Women's Lobby,
Fundraising Coordinator and Policy Officer,
Brussels, Belgium

EUROPEAN WOMEN'S
LOBBY
EUROPEEN DES FEMMES

For the EWL, women in decision-making is a key advocacy area

For the EWL equal representation of women and men in decision-making is a fundamental right. The under-representation of women constitutes a serious democratic deficit, which undermines the legitimacy of the contemporary democratic ideal and the European Union. A modern and genuine democracy requires gender equality.

Following the success of the 50/50 campaign ahead of the European elections in 2009, which was endorsed by more than 300 prominent personalities across Europe including MEPs, EU Commissioners, Heads of States, and National Ministers - collecting a wide level of support from individuals and organisations - the European Women's Lobby and a cross-party alliance of MEPs committed themselves to put gender parity on the European agenda ahead of the 2014 European Parliamentary elections.

The **EWL 50/50 Campaign for Parity Democracy is again on track** with relevant activities, in order to create greater awareness and support of all actors about the need for the equal representation of women and men in political decision-making, particularly in view of the next European elections in 2014.

Under the title: *"No Modern European Democracy without Gender Equality!"* the EWL with the support of the 50/50 cross-party alliance[20], organised already several actions and events to put parity democracy on the EU political agenda.

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[20] The campaign is led by the European Women's Lobby. In the lead up to the 2014 elections, some actions and seminars throughout the campaign will be supported by a Campaign Core Group, including representatives of the five political groups in the European Parliament. The core group members are Anneli Jäätteenmäki /ALDE, Franziska Brantner /Greens/EFA, Kartika Liotard/GUE-NGL, Sirpa Pietikäinen/EPP and Zita Gurmai/S&D.

Commitment Event with high-level MEP's

The first visible action of the 50/50 campaign with the support of the Campaign Core Group members took place in September 2012. This event served as a Commitment event for the MEP members of the cross-party alliance to push for parity and to take part at actions that are explicitly dealing with parity democracy in the context of the 2014 EP Elections and appointments to the European Commission and EU Top Jobs.

Joint Declaration

One of the highlights of the 50/50 campaign was the adoption of a Joint Declaration of the EWL and the 50/50 core group which includes demands for parity democracy in relation to EU institutions. This 50/50 Joint Declaration was launched on the 21st of November in Strasbourg, where more than 50 MEPs attended the event to sign the 50/50 Declaration for equal representation of women and men in European decision-making. This is clear evidence of the need for the 50/50 campaign led by the EWL with more than 50 MEP's attending to state that there is still a long way to go to achieve parity!

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Until today more than 100 MEP's have already showed their support for parity democracy by signing the Joint Declaration and the EWL continues to receive requests continue to arrive for support of and for the 50/50 campaign.

Europe back on Top with 50/50

50/50 Campaign Core Group was holding a high level event as Campaign gained momentum ahead of the International Women's Day. The event provided an opportunity for MEP's, Commissioners, NGO's and party leaders to come together and to hear practical experiences about the challenges, opportunities and importance of gender parity in decision making at all levels, including concrete examples of how people can get involved and support the campaign. The MEP's and the EWL therefore continued with an action outside the European Parliament to get in touch with citizens and to raise awareness of the 50/50 Campaign and to involve them by signing the Joint declaration.

50/50 campaign continues as the Countdown for the elections in 2014 starts end of May – One more year to put gender equality on the European political Agenda

EUROPEAN WOMEN'S LOBBY
EUROPEAN POLITICAL MENTORING NETWORK
Mentoring for Change ahead of the 2014 European elections

A PROACTIVE NETWORK TO TACKLE GENDER AND ETHNIC INEQUALITIES

The EWL **European Political Mentoring Network** aims to empower women from ethnic minorities ahead of the June 2014 European elections and, ideally, to increase their representation in the European Parliament (EP), in order to address the lack of gender parity and ethnic diversity in political decision-making at European level. The Network was officially launched on 09 April 2013 at the European Parliament in Brussels. The mentoring network is the first of its kind at European level and it is inspired by a political mentoring programme developed by KVINFO in Denmark.

From January 2013 to the European elections in June 2014, this network will connect 11 women MEPs (the mentors) with 11 women from an ethnic minority background from different EU countries and different political parties, who are interested to run for the 2014 European elections (the mentees). The purpose is to prepare the mentees to compete for the next European elections, by sharing advice and experiences during one-to-one meetings. In addition to the relationship with their mentors, the mentees will benefit from workshops with the European Women's Lobby and communication experts.

A POLITICAL MENTORING NETWORK: WHAT FOR?

The EWL Mentoring Project is closely related to the broader EWL 50/50 Campaign, in view of the European elections 2014, which aims to improve the representation of women in the EU institutions and put issues related to women's rights and gender equality high on the EU agenda. Therefore, activities within the 50/50 Campaign also feed into the Mentoring Project in terms of ensuring visibility, linking with relevant stakeholders and bringing forward the message of parity and ethnic diversity within EU institutions.

- Parity democracy and ethnic diversity are far from being achieved in (European-level) decision-making: women represent less than 35% of t MEPs and it is estimated that less than 20 MEPs are of foreign origin or belong to an ethnic minority group. Women from ethnic minorities face double discrimination and exclusion, and are almost absent from political decision-making.

=> The **equal representation of women and men and the representation of ethnic minority women is a question of democracy and justice**.

- This underrepresentation contributes to the **continuation of gender and racist stereotypes** among voters and decision-makers about the role of women, in particular ethnic minority women and their relationship with political power.

=> By increasing the representation of women from an ethnic minority group, we aim to deconstruct those stereotypes and move closer towards the equal representation of women and men in decision making.

- Today, we have to face a backlash regarding women's rights and a rise in xenophobia and populism. We have to fight this growing movement through proactive projects such as mentoring.

=> **The European Year of Citizens in 2013 and the European elections in June 2014 are key opportunities** to raise awareness about the values of parity democracy, equality and diversity and to lobby to increase the representation of women, including women from ethnic minorities, in EU decision-making.

WHAT IS CONCRETELY "MENTORING"?

The EWL Mentoring Network aims to create personal links between MEPs and women from ethnic minorities throughout the duration of the Programme, in order to enable the mentees to engage in politics at EU level. The 11 mentees come from different EU countries / political parties (and are politically active in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, The Netherlands, Sweden and the UK. Mentees are European women originally from Algeria, Congo, Gambia, Jamaica, Pakistan/Syria, Turkey, Uzbekistan, and a Roma woman from Hungary).

Mentees will make three visits to Brussels, Strasbourg and/or to their mentor's home country. During these visits, they will have the opportunity to shadow their mentor in the European Parliament and during their election campaign. Contacts between visits are maintained via e-mail, telephone or Skype, based on agreed individual activity plans. In addition, mentees will have the opportunity to attend leadership capacity-building sessions for communications skills (also on social media), EU policies and procedures and responding to populism, xenophobia and racism (through the iPOPPER Programme). They will also have the opportunity to learn from the experience of other MEPs who are supporting the network.

The following MEPs are Mentors in the EWL Mentoring Network:

- EPP: Edit Bauer (Slovakia)
- ALDE: Marian Harkin (Ireland)
- S&D: Zita Gurmai (Hungary), Mojca Kleva (Slovenia), Pervenche Berés (France), Brita Thomsen (DK)

- Greens: Marije Cornelissen (NL), Franziska Brantner (DE), Franziska Keller (DE), Ulrike Lunacek (Austria)

- GUE: Kartirka Liotard (NL)

Left to right: Karima Zahi, Coordinator of the EWL Political Mentoring Network, Britta Thompson MEP, Mojca Kleva MEP,
Edit Bauer MEP, Zita Gurmai MEP, Beatriz Hernandez de Furh from KVINFO, and Ulrike Lunacek's Parliamentary Assistant

The mentoring project is funded by the Open Society Foundations and European Commission.

The project implementation began in September 2012 and it is ongoing (it ends in June 2014).

VISIBILITY OF THE PROGRAMME

During the Programme, mentees and mentors will be invited to share their experience on a **blog**, in social media, in the EWL Newsletter, at **conferences** (e.g. EWL 50/50 Campaign for Democracy events and a hearing at the European Parliament) and in a **documentary**.

Contact: Ms Karima ZAHI, Policy Officer and Projects Coordinator at EWL
Coordinator of the European Political Mentoring Network
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EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES

POLICY DEPARTMENT C
CITIZENS' RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS

Role

Policy departments are research units that provide specialised advice
to committees, inter-parliamentary delegations and other parliamentary bodies.

Policy Areas

- Constitutional Affairs
- Justice, Freedom and Security
- Gender Equality
- Legal and Parliamentary Affairs
- Petitions

Documents

Visit the European Parliament website: **http://www.europarl.europa.eu/studies**

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