

**Expert Meeting on
Gender Equality in the enlarged European Union
20 - 21 April 2007
Institute of East-European History, University of Vienna**

The aim of the Expert Meeting was to examine the possibilities, chances and obstacles for the future gender equality policy on the European Union level. The discussion in this interdisciplinary and transnational forum focused on the implementation of the EU's gender equality regulations, on independent national policies, on the history and role of the women's (rights) movement and the current situation of women, especially in the new member countries Slovenia, Czech Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria, but also in the "old" member states like Germany and France and also Austria.

The Expert Meeting formed part of a current research project on gender equality in the enlarged European Union, carried out between July 2006 and September 2007 as a co-operation between Social Change and the Institute of East-European History.

The following research questions formed the basis for discussion:

- What are the effects of the EU's gender equality regulations on a national level? Are there significant differences between the EU 15 and the new member states?
- What kind of equality measures have been introduced by the member states themselves and how have they been implemented?
- What are the correlations between the women's (rights) movement, the implementation of gender equality measures and the reality of women's lives in the individual countries and in Europe in general?
- Is it practically possible for these equality measures to have a noticeable impact on women's lives?
- Which deficits in gender equality policy can be perceived? Can we formulate recommendations for future improvements?
- What guarantees the implementation of equality measures? Are there any sanctions in place in case they are not implemented?

European Union Gender Equality Policies – An Overview

Petra Ziegler

Equal participation of women and men in all spheres of political, economic and social life is a decisive factor for steady progress and democracy. Organisations, systems and attitudes have to change to revise dominant gender stereotypes. This change has to be supported by a broad basis, but at the moment this support is missing. In the last decades laws and policies concerning gender equality have been passed in the European Union. *De iure* gender equality has been realised in several fields, e.g. the labour market, but *de facto* gender equality still does not exist. In particular, laws and binding policies do barely affect unpaid work and its traditional division between women and men.

This presentation will first give an overview of some of the most important developments concerning European Union gender equality policies. The Treaties of Rome (1957) and Amsterdam (1997) will be briefly discussed as well as the first Directives on gender equality in 1975 (Directive 75/117/EEC) and 1976 (Directive 76/207/EEC). Then the scope of EU gender policies will be analysed, citing researchers like Susanne Schunter-Kleemann, Melanie Piepenschneider, Simon Duncan, and Ilona Ostner and Jane Lewis.

In the second part of the presentation indicators concerning gender equality on the labour market will be discussed. Gender-specific data on employment and unemployment rates, share of part-time work, occupational segregation, pay gap, and imbalance of women and men in decision-making will be presented. Even after decades of introducing the first gender equality laws, large disparities in professional and private life between women and men still exist: Women's proportion of part-time workers is significantly higher (33% of women work part-time in the EU-25), women still earn less than men (on average 15% in the EU-25), the segregation of the labour market still exists and it is getting bigger in certain sectors, e.g. the service sector, and vertical segregation results in men in leading positions even for "typically female" jobs. Women are underrepresented in leading positions, but overrepresented in poverty and precarious employment.

If changes go on at the current rate, it will take decades (pay equity) or even centuries (parity in political representation) to achieve gender equality. Therefore women would strongly benefit from faster implementation of gender policies and strict compliance, intensified political representation, adequate and affordable childcare allowances, more programmes combating poverty, and additional policies supporting a more equal distribution of unpaid work.

Activities of the European Women's Lobby for Equality between Women and Men Brigitte Triems

- The European Women's Lobby (EWL) is a non-governmental organisation representing over 4.000 women's organisations in Europe. EWL brings together women's NGOs from 26 of the European Union Member States and accession countries as well as 18 European-wide and international organisations.

- The EWL mission is to work together to achieve equality between women and men, to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women, to ensure respect for women's rights and to eradicate violence against women. EWL also aims at ensuring that gender equality and women's human rights are taken into consideration in all European Union policies.

- EWL is a democratic organisation with transparent procedures of communication, decision-making and accountability. EWL recognises the diversity of women's lives and experiences and aims to include in its work the interests of the many women who face multiple discrimination.

- During the past three years, EWL was successful in setting a framework for future European gender equality policies. The main step in this process was the drafting of the EWL "*Gender Equality Road Map for the European Community 2006-2010*". The EWL Road Map, put forward as a model for the official Europe Commission Document of March 2006, presents a common vision for gender equality policies and makes concrete recommendations to the European institutions to advance women's rights in six areas.

- EWL was following very closely the process of the creation of the European Gender Institute, especially as far as the definition of the tasks and the internal structures of the Institute, in order to make sure that this new mechanism truly contributes to filling the existing gaps in terms of information, the implementation of legislation, gender mainstreaming as well as involvement of all relevant actors.

□ EWL was active in the preparation of the "2007 European Year on Equal Opportunities for All". Although this Year is devoted to combat all forms of discrimination, EWL was active to make sure that a gender perspective was included in the founding principles for the Year.

□ In its contacts with representatives of the European Parliament, the European Council, the European Commission and NGO networks in Brussels EWL paid special attention to the following areas:

□ *Women in decision-making*: Women and men should be equally represented whenever decisions are made that affect their lives. Parity democracy or quotas represent a shift to equality of results and real democracy. Mandatory measures are an effective way to compensate for the exclusion and discrimination mechanisms against women that are inherent to political systems and social structures in Europe.

□ *Women's economic independence*: Women's employment remains key to their economic autonomy and to greater equality between women and men in society as a whole. In the European labour markets, women face gender segregation, lower pay and poorer opportunities for advancement. That's why EWL is very active in the Lisbon Strategy refocusing process.

□ *Care*: In May 2006 EWL launched a Care Campaign aimed to highlight the essential role that good quality, affordable care services, available to all women and men whatever their financial situation, plays in promoting true equality between women and men and in enabling women and men to reconcile their work and private lives.

□ *Immigrant women*: Since 2005 EWL takes action to raise awareness about the precarious situation of immigrant women in Europe and to promote their rights in the developing framework of EU immigration and integration policies.

□ *Action to Eliminate Violence against Women*: One of the aims of the EWL action is the integration of an explicit legal provision within the European treaties that recognises violence as an obstacle to the achievement of gender equality.

□ *Action against Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation:* EWL is working to influence policy developments on trafficking, seeking to achieve a shift in focus from strict crime prevention to increased focus on the protection of women's rights.

□ *Defending women's sexual and reproductive rights:* EWL presented a set of recommendations to the Member States of the European Union aimed to set up permanent mechanisms to establish a database and clear information concerning the sexual and reproductive health of women in Europe and to develop monitoring mechanisms relating to the commitments made at the UN Conferences of Cairo and Beijing and make links with the Millennium Development Goals on this issue.

□ *Demography:* EWL highlighted that the challenges facing Europe in relation to demographic changes can only be tackled if gender, as a fundamental organising principle of society, is fully taken into account.

European Rules on Antidiscrimination. Normative Background and Problems of Implementation in Germany and France.

Sabine Riedel

The European Union has designated 2007 as "European Year of Equal Opportunities for All". It aims to inform people of their rights to enjoy fair and equal treatment without discrimination that includes racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age and sexual orientation. These rights are based on Article 13 of the Amsterdam Treaty (1997), which empowers the European Community for the first time to combat different forms of discrimination. In this framework the EU has put in place a new anti-discrimination legislation, which started in 2000 with two important directives: the Racial Equality Directive and the Employment Equality Directive. In 2004 the European commission enacted the new directive for equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women. This short overview shows us the normative background of the struggle of EU-institutions for equality between women and men, which is supplemented by a Roadmap for EU action on gender equality (2006-2010): Equality and non-discrimination are two sides of the same medal.

Within three years these antidiscrimination rules had to be incorporated into national law by all Member States. But after this deadline at the end of 2003 the two directives for racial and employment equality haven't been established in each country so that the EU-Commission initiated action against Germany, Finland, Austria, Greece and Luxembourg by the European Court of Justice in 2004. Furthermore a documentation and monitoring process reminded these countries of implementing the antidiscrimination rules including the directive for gender equality. Without this general framework the fight against discrimination would be unrealistic. The comparison between France and Germany establishing an anti-discrimination legislation on national level explains not only the different political cultures of both countries but also the differences in their political and legal systems.

Reconciliation of family with work for French women
with low qualification and income:
A case study in the region Ile-de-France
Gwenaëlle Perrier

Looking at the employment and birth rates of women in Europe it seems as if French mothers would not have to choose between children or a career.

However, distinctions should be made: Firstly, empirical studies have shown that the existing inequalities between professional careers of men and women correlate with the existing traditional male-female roles in the private sphere.¹ Secondly, cuts in public spending all over Europe endanger the provision of public child care facilities.² Taking this into consideration it is legitimate to question if France is really a model for having achieved the reconciliation of family with work.

In my presentation I would like to focus on the situation of unemployed mothers and their needs to reconcile family with work since they are particularly affected by cuts in child care provision. The question is: Does France provide equal opportunities for all women to reconcile family with work?

To answer some of the aspects involved I want to focus on a local case study on the problems related to reconciliation and on the implementation of a specific job programme.

What kinds of instruments are available to those active in labour market and social policy to enable the integration of women into the job market? Do the women have equal opportunities in these programmes as compared to men or does child care remain an obstacle to equality on the labour market?

¹ Siehe unter anderem : Fagnani / Letablier, 2001, Perraudin / Pucci, 2006.

² Rossilli, 1997. Siehe auch Salles, 2006.

Bulgaria's Accession to the EU and the Impact on Gender Equality

Policy:

Harmonies and discords

Nadejda Alexandrova

The flamboyant ceremony of Bulgarian celebrations of the accession to EU on 1 January 2007 reached its peak in the harmonious singing of Ode of Joy at the city centre of Sofia. It started harmoniously by orchestra, chorus and opera singers, urged politicians on stage and finally reached out to the Bulgarians, celebrating down the streets. There it got mixed with other Balkan rhythms of joy and echoed in the nearby administrative buildings in a strange disaccorded manner.

I accepted this mingling of tones as a metaphor of the way the national legislation introduced measures that concerned women and gender equality, declaring the political will for EU harmonization. Besides the declarations in this respect the legislation process is progressing slowly for a number of reasons. First, there is the conviction in the society that communist legislature had already done enough with respect to women and gender. Pre-1989 ideological claims were frequently treated as if they were a fact. Former legislative measures did have effect on gender equality but were never articulated on a grass roots level, which continues to produce obstacles to the present day efforts at gender mainstreaming. Second, even though certain laws and bills are already in paper -the Anti-Discrimination Law, the Law against Trafficking in Humans and the Law against Domestic Violence - the process of putting them into practice by creating national and regional councils, shelters, etc., suffers from scarce budgeting and operational mechanisms.

In this ambience of existing discords in implementing gender equality policy, there is a hopeful feature in the Bulgarian social life with respect to gender activism. This is the climate, formed by the cooperation between NGOs, certain political structures and academic institutions, which keeps the issue of gender equality active in the public sphere. At present there is a strong lobby for passing a Bill of Equal Opportunities as a separate legislative measure, which did not get approval four years ago. This time the draft seems to receive larger political approval in the government and in a number of commissions in the Bulgarian parliament. Despite certain ideological and terminological discords, this new draft of the Bill of Equal

Opportunities could be interpreted as a demonstration of the raised awareness among politicians, administrators and society on the questions of equal treatment of men and women.

Equality between Women and Men in Slovenia. The Impact of EU Accession and the Inclusion of Men in Gender Equality Policy

Ž iva Humer

In the EU many recent theories and research projects as well as policy mechanisms aim at involving men in the private sphere as a step toward gender equality. Why men? Because it was finally perceived that they are the lacking gender for establishing conditions for gender equality. If we take a closer look at the last 50 years, we can see enormous work that was done in the field of feminist theory, women massively entered the labour market, went to the universities, feminism as a theory entered the universities in the form of gender studies programs, etc. Many policies, documents, declarations in the 70's and 80's and also in the 90's aimed at gender equality in the public sphere and were focusing on women and how to establish more equal conditions for women in the sphere of paid labor and in politics. On one hand, the result is double burden for women, meaning their work in the private sphere and in the public sphere. On the other, hand men stayed in the public sphere, slowly loosing their status of the main breadwinners. I will focus mainly on Slovenia and point out recent policy efforts of gender equality politics focusing on the inclusion of men in the private sphere as active fathers through introducing paternity leave. Active fatherhood in Slovenia has been promoted by the Act on Paternity Leave (2003), by the information campaign of the Office for Equal Opportunities "Daddy, be active", as well as by "Daddy's race" and several research projects on active fatherhood.³

³ "Daddy's race" is another information and promotion campaign concerning the role of fathers in families. Every Saturday during September 2006 there was a race for fathers and children organized in different municipalities in Slovenia (Office for Equal Opportunities).

Slow progress of the women's representation in politics on the »sunny
side of the Alps«
Milica Antiæ Gaber

This paper is organised along two different and in some discussions exclusive concepts, one is the concept of descriptive representation (mostly occupied with the question why the proportion of women in representative bodies is so low) and the other is substantive representation (occupied with the question whether women make a difference once enter the politics). The first argues for the critical mass of women in political bodies and the second disapprove the first as non-important or even misleading and argues for the critical acts or actors. I would like to stress that this two approaches despite the fact that they are different are not exclusive; they are both important and productive and both matters. It is true that sometimes few women can introduce changes but on the other hand more women can introduce more changes.

According to the mentioned analytical approaches this paper will concentrate in the first part on the question of women's representation in politics and more precisely on the obstacles on their way to the political power in Slovenia and in the second part on the question how women (once they take an active part in politics) perform their role as politicians. The aim In the first part will be to explore the different elements which have an impact on women's prospects to be elected in larger numbers in Slovene National Assembly among others: socio-economic factors, political culture, electoral system, party system. And in the second part I will concentrate on the way in which women do politics in Slovene parliament and show that it differ from the ways men behave and act in the same settings. The conclusions in the first part will be drawn from the quantitative and qualitative researches I've done in the last couple of years and in the second part from the interviews among male and female MPs in the previous parliamentary term, when the share of women MPs was 13 percent.

Reconciliation of family with work in Austria

Verena Kaselitz and Petra Ziegler

As the title of the presentation suggests the issue of reconciling family and work life is rather a one-way matter – reconciliation of family with work. And it mainly concerns women. The presentation will nevertheless start off with a description of the employment situation for women; it will then focus on the gender-divide in unpaid work and characterise the situation in child care provision and society's attitudes towards child care and education.

Like in many other EU-countries the developments on the labour market can be characterised by a steady rise in the employment rate which has been qualified in recent years by a disproportionate rise in part-time jobs and/or atypical forms of employment for women. The prevalent segregation on the labour market also plays a key factor why women in Austria earn between 15% (Eurostat calculation) and 40% (calculation by the Chamber of Labour) less on average than men.

The other main influencing factors can be found in private/family life. Women are taking the overwhelming burden of unpaid work (mainly house and care work). For every hour of paid work economically active women do 51 minutes unpaid work, men just 11 minutes. Women almost exclusively take care of especially small children (but also for the sick and elderly) when out-of-house care is not available. State benefits and the lack of provision of care facilities encourage women to withdraw from the labour market or reduce their work-time considerably, at least for the time being when their children are small. That this is not a strictly voluntary decision can be clearly seen in the statistics for those regions (mainly the urban areas) where more care facilities are available. However, it has to be noted as well that men who take parental leave tend to make use more often of the possibility to do paid work / be employed as well and also use out-of-house care for the children.

Women in the Hungarian Labour Market and in Leadership

Beáta Nagy

The presentation will focus on the main labour market processes since the early 1990s. It will give an overview about the changes in employment level, unemployment and inactivity, which influence the depressive character of the Hungarian labour market until today. It will point to the main gender differences and the inequalities in both wage work and care work.

Socialism placed a high value on women's emancipation, they still suffer from serious problems in managerial role. Women's share in the economic life increased, however they are badly underrepresented in higher management.

The overview about the main tendencies of the present-day Hungary will be followed by a summary of reasons responsible for this unfair situation, and by the presentation of some companies' good practices in order to promote women into higher positions and to exploit the advantages of the female elite pools. It will also produce some evidences that it is not enough to increase the numbers and rates, women's acceptance in leadership roles is also deeply debated in Hungary.

Gender Equality in the Czech Republic: EU Accession and Membership

Alena Krizkova and Hana Haskova

The process of the EU accession, that followed the process of (mainly on the economic goals based) transition of the Czech society in the 90's, stressed mainly the economic side of the process. Despite of growing number of women's NGOs and their impact on promotion of gender equality, the enforcement of equality legislation during and after the accession period has been neglected. Not only the Czech government, but also the EU has failed to realize its influence in promoting gender awareness in Czech society. In order to illustrate the persisting gender inequalities in Czech society, we will point on the changes in relation between the labour market and the family in historical and international data; e.g. increasing gender pay gap, decreasing number of public childcare facilities, high impact of motherhood on women's employment, etc. , in context of changing social policies and increasing gender inequality awareness in the country. We suggest that the increasing awareness means growth in gender sensitivity as well as gender discrimination on the labour market.

WORKSHOP

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

Milica Antic-Gaber

In our workshop we will discuss the following questions related to the main topic:

- The question of descriptive representation or - more precisely - the problem of the low level of women's representation in politics;
- What are the obstacles on their way to political power?
- What are effective measures, which can help to bring more women into politics?
- Do we need mandatory quotas, quota laws or something else?
- The question of substantive representation, do women in politics make a difference, do they really represent women?
- How women (once they take an active part in politics) perform their role as politicians: Do they support women's issues or gender equality?
- What is the connection between higher number of women in politics and the outcome of the political decisions they make? Can we speak of their positive influence on gender/women's policy?

The first four questions are concerned on the descriptive representation approach and last three on substantive representation, which also correspond to most academic literature in this field, which are based on these two approaches.

The first approach – descriptive representation – claims that the number and proportion of women in the representative bodies is an important issue and discusses the reasons why their proportion is still so low which lead to a critical mass debate. The second is developed from the understanding of the substantive representation and explores the question whether women make a difference once they enter the politics or more precisely do they act on behalf and for women, does their politics differ from the one performed by male politicians.

I would like to argue that this two approaches despite the fact that they are different are not exclusive like some other authors would argue in these debates (Childs); they are both important and productive and both matters. It is true that sometimes

few women can introduce changes but on the other hand more women can introduce more changes.

When we speak about representation we are aware that we talk about politics in liberal democracies where not everybody and not at every stage can participate in the decision making process and that's why we decided to have some representatives to represent us (the number depends on how large the community or the state to be represented is).

Under these circumstances few questions are important to answer. Here I refer to Squires who says that four questions are important:

What is to be represented, how and where it is to be represented, and what is the purpose of representation (Squires, 2002).

What is to be represented?

If these are beliefs – than we speak of ideological representation; if these are constituencies – than we speak of geographical representation and if these are interests – than we speak about functional representation; if these are identities – than we talk about social representation. In most parliaments we can observe all of these aspects of representation: MPs as members of political parties represent ideological orientations. In some parliaments MPs represent their local communities, regions etc. In some parliaments upper chambers represent some of the interests that are not present in the lower chambers. In some parliaments national minorities have reserved seats for there representatives (Canada, New Zealand, Slovenia) – but what about gender identity?

How this "what" is to be represented?

Or rather by whom we prefer to be represented. We can therefore discuss the questions of symbolic or principal-agent or a kind of representative as delegate. Do we care who are those who represent us, do we want them to be similar to us, do we want to have an impact on them? Do we want to share at least some common believes, experiences and interests etc.? We most definitely do! Precisely for this reason a national minority can not be represented by the representatives of the majority of the population, one locality can not be represented by the representative of the other and men can not represent women (at least not as a rule), etc.

Where do these representations take place? The answer of this question is not very complicated. Most often it takes place in local councils, national parliaments and/or European parliament.

What is the purpose of representation? I agree with Squires that this question is a complex one and it has to do with the notion of justice.

In this respect we have many questions, more than answers and many doubts more than beliefs occur when we discuss the question of the representation of women. Which form of representation is the right one? Why to talk about women, do we really want to be represented, only by women? What about men? I will here stick to J.S. Mill's argumentation that there is no need that one group's voice is heard if representatives of this group are not present in decision-making and Phillips' (1995) argumentation that women are to be present in politics and with I. M. Young's argument (1989) that there is the question of a group representation of women and it is not the question if any women are there.

So for me there is no doubt that descriptive representation is an important question and that women's more numerous presence in politics is a need even more that there is a problem if it does not exist.

The question then is: What are the obstacles to a more numerous women's presence in politics? What are the elements to be discussed in the effort to describe these obstacles?

Let me therefore quickly go through some important elements, which have an impact on women's prospects to be present in politics in larger numbers. These are:

1. Socio-economic and historical factors,
2. Political culture with the emphasis on electoral system and party system and
3. Special measures.

ad.1 Broader socio-historical context and four thresholds

When we try to explain the broader historical context there is always a question where (with which phase) and when (which period of time) to start. Analyses of the

women's presence in politics in the new democracies (previous socialist and communist states), for example, most often (me included) start with the fall of the Berlin wall or with the time after the first results of multi-party elections, which are known and labelled as "women as the losers of democratic change".

In this discussion I would like to pay attention to the broader context and point out that the whole process is important – from the early stage of women's mobilisation on, that's why I would like to stress the importance of Rokkan's four thresholds that are to be overcome in the mobilisation of one group in order to enter into parliamentary democracy, these are: legitimisation, incorporation, representation and executive power. Despite the fact that there are some reservations to this model (Christiansen, Skjeije, Simm, Raum) and awareness that the way of one group to parliament can be more complicated we will refer to it in order to better understand the whole process.

I won't go into further investigating these four thresholds; I would only like to mention what has to be done:

The first of the three thresholds – legitimisation. The question therefore is when did women as a group begin to claim their right to be involved in public life and politics, to organise themselves in women's groups and women's organisation (maybe not only the suffragette movement is important but some others as well).

The second threshold – incorporation – i.e. the introduction of the women's right to vote. How long was a period of organised activities until women got the right to vote? When and how did this happen? Who were the most important actors etc.? Was the country among the pioneers or among the latecomers?

We now come to the third threshold – representation. After women had got the right to vote and to stand for elections how high was their representation in the beginning and how quickly did it develop to higher numbers. Has it reached the critical mass which is most often defined around 30 percent of the elected body. How far is it from a gender-balanced representation?

Here we could go in the wide debate on what is critical mass:

- Why is the critical mass approach important?
- Should we rather give it up?

The concept of critical mass came to the fore in political science after the publication of Dahlerup's 1988 article "From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics." On the basis of the idea that the form of a legislative assembly will shape the process and policies of that body, Dahlerup drew on a 1977 study by Rosabeth Moss Kanter on the interactions in groups composed of people of different cultural categories or statuses (like race, sex and ethnicity).

Kanter in this study identifies four different compositions of the group:

- uniform groups: 100- 0
- skewed groups: large preponderance of one type: 85 - 15
- tilted group: group with less extreme distribution: 65-35
- balanced group: more or less equal composition: 40-60 to 50-50.

Kanter (1977, 966–67) presented a typology of four group types in order to investigate the effect of changing group dynamics on organisational culture. From her work, two group types have emerged as the most important in critical mass debates—the skewed group, where the minority constitutes a maximum of 15% and are "tokens," and the tilted group, in which the minority has between 15% and 40% membership and is "becoming strong enough to begin to influence the culture of the group." While Kanter's article is central to the concept of critical mass, her proportions only rarely appear in critical mass inquiries, with Dahlerup's suggestion of 30% as the point of critical mass making it into both political science and into the political imagination of many nations (Childs 2004; Grey 2002; McAllister and Studlar 2002; United Nations Economic and Social Council 2004).

There are different opinions if this really works. Do we need a "critical mass" or "critical acts" (Dahlerup 1988; or "safe spaces" (Childs 2004).

There are some researches showing that sometimes gaining 15% of the seats in a political body may allow female politicians to change the political agenda, but it may take proportions of 40% to have women-friendly policies introduced.

Where is the line of critical mass: 15%, 20 or 25% or 30%? This we can leave for the later discussion!

ad 2. Political culture

Looking at the political culture we here understand political culture as it was defined by Almond and Verba: "The term political culture refers to the specifically political orientation - attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system. It is a set of orientations toward a special set of social objects and processes." (1965, 12). Or as Kavanagh would say: "... political culture then may be seen as the overall distribution of citizens' orientation to political objects (parts of political system as the executive, legislative and judiciary, the political parties and pressure groups), the individual views of himself as a political actor, and his views of other citizens" (Kavanagh, 1972, pp. 10, 11).

Important questions here are:

- What are the attitude of the citizens toward political system and its various parts (state, political parties, value of gender equality and self in this system).
- Do their attitudes change? Or are constant?

The attitudes of Slovene citizens towards the state, for example, changed overwhelmingly since the eighties until now. In socialist times citizens' demands and expectations from the state were high, one could say that they were dependant on the state – or we could label these times as the thinking in line with "the state must ...". In the mid-eighties this attitude started to change to the more mobilised stage in which organised groups of civil society started to put demand towards the state and politicians which could be labelled as the "we demand" phase. We demand nation state, political plurality, FREE MARKET, de-militarization, care of the environment, gender equality. In the last decade we moved towards more self concentrated attitudes – (it moved from we to me) and it goes in line with "I want": better education, better access to public health care, free media, etc. Therefore the citizens' attitudes moved from a rather passive to a more active phase and from more collective to more individual demands and expectations.

If we put the question of gender equality in this context, we see that we moved from the period of so-called state feminism (during the previous regime) to the phase of collective civil society activities in eighties and to the more institutionalised activities in the nineties (when the Office for Women's Politics in government and the Parliamentary Committee for Equal Opportunity were established). During the last

few years we saw more concentration on legislative initiatives of the politically active women in political parties (when the Law on Equal Opportunity etc. was accepted) supported by the activities of the women's groups.

As in other fields in gender equality public attitudes moved from the phase in which the notion "this should be guaranteed by the state" prevailed to the phase in which the notion that "this should be secured by our own activities", that's why more women in politics is needed.

Important questions are:

- How high is gender equality positioned at the political agenda of a particular country?
- What can systemic factors do to change this?
- In most analyses political parties are seen as a very important factor:
- What are important characteristics of the party system in the country?
- How many parties do exist, what ideological spectrum do they cover, what are the parties' attitudes to gender equality (party programmes)?

Important party characteristics which have an impact on women's participation in politics are: a party's organisational structure, a party's ideology, formal rules, informal rules, women's activities, etc. (Norris and Lovenduski 1993). It seems that especially the party's ideology figures as an important element of a party's attitude towards women entering into the politics. It can be found out that parties from the left of the centre on the scale of ideological orientation (liberal, socialist, social-democrat and green) are more friendly to women entering into politics than parties right of the centre. The first group of parties see women more or less as equal partners in politics with men (but most often do nothing or too little to make this real) and the second most often see the role of women in the private sphere and if they appear in the public sphere their role is to deal with charity work or to help their male colleagues, so they work more in the background. These parties also hardly support any special activities, which could ease women's efforts on their way to politics.⁴

⁴ In 1996 in Slovenia an attempt to introduce mechanisms for easier entrance of women into politics as a supra-party initiative have failed precisely due to the opposition of women from the parties right of the centre.

But on the other hand this is not true for some regions like the Nordic countries. It is accepted by many researches (Lovenduski and Norris, Matland and Montgomery, Jalušič and Antič) that parties have direct influence on women's chances to be elected: parties serve as gatekeepers, as important hindrances on their way to parliament, placing on the lists of candidates often depends on the party gatekeepers.

ad 2. The electoral system

In addition to party gatekeepers the electoral system is often mentioned as an important factor for female representation. It is very important which kind of electoral system exists in a country, what are the procedures which parties have to follow in the candidate selection processes.

I agree that there is no ideal electoral system which as such will serve for women's interest, but it was proved by many researches that in most countries with PR systems women are better represented than in most countries with majority systems (Darcy et.al 1994, Norris and Lovenduski 1993, Matland and Montgomery 2001). There are considerable differences among PR systems as well, women's chances are better in the ones with party lists which exist in almost all the Nordic countries where the women's share in politics is the highest. Apart from the type of electoral system some of its elements are important as well. These are: district magnitude (the higher the number of candidates in an electoral district the less votes are required to gain a seat); party magnitude (the higher the party's expectations are to gain the seat the higher is the possibility that they place more women on the list and that they follow the rule to give every second place to a woman, etc.)

The Inter-parliamentary Union data and International IDEA org. show that

	Country	Electoral system	Other electoral specifications	Quota	% Women
1.	Rwanda	list PR		reserved seats	48.8
2.	Sweden	list PR	closed party list	party targets	47.3
3.	Costa Rica	list PR		quota law	38.6
4.	Finland	list PR	preferential vote	?	38.0
5.	Norway	list PR	closed party list	party quotas	37.9

6.	Denmark	list PR		no	36.9
7.	Netherlands	list PR		party quotas	36.7
8.	Cuba	TRS	plurality/majority	?	36.0
9.	Spain	list PR		party quotas	36.0
10.	Argentina	list PR		quota law	35.0
11.	Mozambique	list PR		party quotas	34.8
12.	Belgium	list PR		quota law	34.7
13.	Iceland	list PR		party quotas	33.3
14.	South Africa	list PR		party quotas	32.8
15.	Austria	AV	plurality/majority	party quotas	32.2
16.	New Zealand	Mixed	MMD	?	32.2
17.	Germany	Mixed	MMP	party quotas	31.6
18.	Burundi	list PR		quota law - 30%	30.5
19.	Tanzania	FTTP	plurality/majority	quota law	30.4

From this table we see that from the top 19 countries which have more than 30% women in their parliaments the majority (14) of countries has a variant of PR electoral system, two have mixed and three have a majority systems.

ad 3. Special measures or strategies (quotas), which could help bringing more women in parliament

I'll finish this introduction to our workshop stating that I strongly believe that the numbers matter, that women's low presence in politics is a problem for democracy, for women's lives, for gender politics, etc. Even if there is a disagreement about the share of women which can bring difference in politics I believe that there must be a certain share, a certain plurality of women, not only few but many. We can disagree on the concept of the critical mass (Kanter, Dahlerup) or on the question how many (15, 25 or 30 percent) are enough to introduce changes (Dahlerup, Grey, Childs) in politics – in the way in which they can transform the political rules or bring different results – more women's friendly or rather gender awareness in politics as a result can be still opened question for further debates, if it is important at all, the goal to be reached is political equality and parity democracy.

It was been proved by many researches that quotas are the effective mechanism to bring more women into politics (Dahlerup). Even if there are no direct or strict quotas but targets as in some Nordic countries it can help. The discussion around special measures became more lively after the 1995 Beijing conference.

In most of the countries in the 19 top positions of the Inter-Parliamentary Union's (IPU) list of women in national parliaments have some kind of gender quota in place. Five of the countries in the top 20 (Argentina, Belgium, Costa Rica, Burundi and Tanzania) have candidate quota laws that require a certain percentage of all legislative candidates to be women, others (Austria, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Mozambique, the Netherlands, Norway, South Africa, Spain, and Sweden) have party quota regulations.

Gender quota laws are a fairly recent phenomenon. In most cases, countries with gender quota laws have adopted them within the last 15 years (since 1991). Quota scholar Drude Dahlerup (1998) and others have suggested that a kind of „quota fever“ is spreading around the world. I find the global cachet of gender quotas intriguing. How did quotas get to be such a popular idea in the international community?

It is widely accepted that quotas work and they work quickly — under the right conditions. What are the right conditions? Pippa Norris (2004, 187) provides a concise summary of some of the main factors:

Variation in the effectiveness of the quotas can be explained by

- Whether the PR list is open or closed (with the latter most effective),
- The existence of placement mandates (requiring parties to rank women candidates in high positions on closed party lists),
- District magnitude (the higher the number of candidates in a district the more likely quotas are to work),
- And good faith party compliance.

In Slovenia quotas have a negative connotation even from the previous regime where some kind of quotas existed and were disapproved to bring real changes. But critics and opponents fail to see that the political situation was pretty different from the one we experience now. Namely that when a 40 percent quota was accepted as a rule for the elections into the EP the result was that Slovenia now has 42 percent of

women among the MEPs and the latest result from the local election was similar. After the acceptance of the 40 percent quota at local elections – but starting as low as with 20 percent in 2006 election and increase it at each election by 5 percentage point until it will reach 40 percents –it led to almost the double share of women in the local councils.

Quotas are – as we can see – an effective measure, which can help to bring more women in parliament but whether only the number as such can change the politics towards becoming more women-friendly or gender-sensitive is a different question. But this does not mean that we have to reject the need for a more numerous women's presence in parliament. On the contrary, in our research we found out that there is no doubt that quotas influence party attitudes and party policies on women at least indirectly. Namely, parties – once quotas are accepted – have to work on the promotion of women, would-be candidates must have support and important party politicians have to work with them and prepare them for the election and for work in politics and this would probably have an impact on their attitude towards women in politics and awareness on gender issues as a result.

We can leave for the discussion in the workshop what a difference women make when they enter into the political decision making bodies in large numbers.

WORKSHOP ON EFFECTIVENESS OF GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES

Verena Kaselitz and Petra Ziegler

Obstacles to effectiveness

- Since the accessions in 2004 and 2007 new member states often have seen growing stagnation and loss of momentum. The rise of conservative, nationalist or religious forces undermines new developments for improving women's rights.
- EU and national legislation is focusing too much on gender equality in the labour market. Therefore other areas that are very important for achieving gender equality, like the unequal distribution of unpaid work or gender stereotypes, are insufficiently addressed and not covered by legally binding instruments.
- Concern is raised that gender equality could get lost in the general anti-discrimination legislation. Reduction of gender equality aims through increased application of equal opportunities or equal treatment concepts could be a problem in the future. Over-emphasis on gender mainstreaming instead of targeted positive actions for women has to be critically observed.
- There are no legal grounds to establish policies against multiple discrimination – women from disadvantaged groups on several grounds are not taken into account.
- In the new member states gender equality laws and policy frameworks are inadequately enforced. Poor implementation has led to low awareness of the laws and is an outcome of stereotypes that cannot be overcome through legislation alone.
- New institutions on gender equality in the new member states suffer from lacking capacity. They are often part of the government and therefore lack stability and independence, as well as inadequate staffing, unclear mandates and insufficient resources.
- EU funding is complex and smaller women's organisations often do not have the possibility to get funding by the EU due to big application forms and low approval rates. So the hope for increased possibilities for resources for organisations working to achieve greater gender equality was not fulfilled.

Action

- More pressure by NGOs
- More cooperation between governmental organisations and NGOs as well as among NGOs – national and EU-wide.
- Legislation has to be enforced: National governments have to ensure effective enforcement through capacity building at all levels and targeting all bodies responsible for implementation. Awareness-raising about the laws on gender equality among the society at large is necessary and has to be carried out. Progress of enforcement has to be monitored by EU and national institutions in cooperation with expert groups and civil society.
- Ensure adequate financial support for work on gender equality within as well as outside the EU. Ways to provide smaller NGOs who lack the resources to fulfil the funds requirements of the EU should be sought, especially if looking at the recent phasing-out of non-EU donors among the CEE and accession countries.
- Exchange of best-practice policies as well as advocating for change where governmental mechanisms for achieving gender equality have failed (monitoring). Support for systematic networking among gender equality institutions to facilitate exchange of experience.
- Special measures for women from vulnerable groups, like ethnic minorities, elderly women and women with disabilities should be undertaken and monitored.

STRATEGIES OF INCLUSION OF MEN IN GENDER EQUALITY POLICY

Nadejda Alexandrova

The workshop on "**INCLUSION OF MEN IN GENDER EQUALITY POLICY**" held within the conference on "Gender Equality in the enlarged European Union" at Vienna University was the perfect environment for suggestions of various practices of inclusion of men in societies which have already introduced and accepted policies concerning the status of women. In the workshop participated experts from Hungary, the Czech Republic, Germany and Bulgaria.

After short introductory remarks concerning terminological issues concerning concepts such as "gender", "masculinity" and "discourses about men", the group discussed how these concepts have been accepted and applied, and what is the concrete usage of them in each country, mentioned above. The group agreed that one premise for inclusion of men in GEP (Gender Equality Policy) is a broader disciplinary approach to gender, combining specific geo-political and social research about countries in the EU with statistical data and prognosis on the condition of men and their social activism and spheres of listlessness.

Each participant shared observations on the level of participation of men in mainstream politics and the gender sensitivity in both male and female politicians which is one major premise for further inclusion of men in decision-making on gender issues. A common observation was made that the awareness of male politicians is often informed by international good practices and EU requirements that require local activism. Besides, the representatives of those countries that have been accepted to the EU lately shared that there is there is stated awareness about the presence of women in party structures and electoral lists. However, women are needed as quantity (which was not the case for Hungary but was observed for Bulgaria) but they are not always put in front positions.

Another way of bringing men into GEP was targeting male-specific problems some of which, such as high male unemployment in rural regions, high levels of suicides in post-socialist countries, alcoholism, etc. The group at the workshop outlined several means of targeting those issues. The first way of approaching those issues is by involving men in specific kinds of research, such as interviews and field studies, which can create visibility upon masculinities that have long been kept

invisible- a process that lead to a serious identity crisis among men in the discussed countries. The second way of targeting male-focused gender problems is to enter the discourses about men, which are highly reproduced by media, and to try to subvert the high accent on hypermasculinity or to normalize the issue of homosexuality – both very hot media issues in the discussed countries. And thirdly, experts should pay attention on the ways gender mainstreaming is introduced and practiced on wider European level.

The workshop was very informative on that aspect of the role of media in reaffirming stereotypes and again on the role of media in creating tolerance to new types of masculinities – new men, metromen, transsexual men, etc. The participants shared how different are the levels of visibility of homosexuality in their particular societies and all agreed on the low sensitivity of media on the ideas of correctness and tolerance. Religion, education and family (presenting personal examples of mutual participation in domestic work) seem to be decisive for creating awareness of the different forms of masculinity and femininity that exist today.

The inclusion, although the activism implied in the term speaks more of political strategies of bringing men into GEP, is about issues of comfort and balance and since the era of feminist activism and sexual revolution, in view of the new hypermasculine images of terrorism, comfort and balance are highly desired, but very rare.