FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN
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WOMAN UP!

Political, business and academic perspectives on women's representation

● A transatlantic gender dialogue ●

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F o n d a t i o n

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FOREWORD

AN INSPIRATION FOR ACHIEVING EQUAL REPRESENTATION

Ernst Stetter

FEPS Secretary General

It is a common occurrence that gender issues are marginalised within the European political sphere. The Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) has always been ready to fight this trend, putting gender equality at the top of its activity and research plan. For the fourth time in 2012, this engagement was manifested in the organisation of the transatlantic gender dialogue, the research towards it and following it up. This dialogue is entitled Woman up! as the message needs to be sent that discussing gender roles should be included in the long-term rethinking and the renewal process of social democracy. For changing gender roles according to a progressive vision and dealing with the still alarmingly wide gender inequalities, there is a need to Woman up!

The main topic of the 2012 seminar was the representation of women in political life and business, with an insight to academia. With this choice for topic, FEPS have contributed to the Europe-wide debate launched by the European Commission. Parallel, in the United States the article of Anna-Marie Slaugther entitled Why women

still can't have it all?[1] has launched a massive public debate on how gender roles are changing, but policies do not follow this change.

It seems from the great number of the pledges in this book, that the title has greatly inspired the authors. The book opens with a chapter on how the frame in which we discuss gender roles have changed and needs to be further transformed. Monique Halpern deliberates on "*old problems, new questions*" indeed on the basis of Ms. Slaughter's article. Sandra Willett Jackson then continues by reflections on new forms of subtle sexism that limit the public sphere for women in the United States. Karolina Leakovic then denounces and invites us to fight against the discriminatory deal of the phenomenon she calls double shifts for women and join the previous authors in their reflection on reconciling private and professional life. Finally, on the example of Greece Maria Stratigaki raise consciousness on the devastating effects of the economic crisis, which led to an increasing populism and extremism and by this trend affected the society's perception of gender roles in a negative manner.

The second chapter is dedicated to analyse women's representation in political life. Denise Baer gives an exhaustive overview of the American struggles by giving both good and bad examples, she points out that depending on their design, quotas can have both a mobilising, but also demobilising effect. Pia Locatelli continues by looking back critically at her professional career and based on her experience she lists the basic elements of achieving parity. Barbara Lawton invites us to get out of our safety zone and proposes an immediate best practice with the combination of two American initiatives aimed at supporting women for achieving in politics.

The issues of women's representation in business life are tackled in the third chapter. Elizabeth Ballantine shares her personal experience and reveals the importance of mentors throughout her career. Isabella Lenarduzzi clarifies a few myths linked to women's advancement in business and reflects on alternatives differing from the traditional career path. Susan Ness advocates for shifting from mentorship to sponsorship and brings up examples on why this latter concept is more suitable for increasing the number of women in the top level of management as well.

The fourth chapter analyses gender representation in the academic field. Alison E. Woodward takes a look at diverse factors which have contributed to the success of quotas in scientific decision making. Laura L. Frader examines institutional transformation in academia through the programmes STRIDE and ADVANCE. Nevertheless, achieving equal representation also necessitates redefining expectations and emotions. Andrea Pető writes about the "*heavy luggage of interiorized outside expectations*".

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1 A. Slaughter, *Why women still can't have it all?* 2012, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07/why-women-still-cant-have-it-all/309020/

Finally, Judit Tánczos gives an overview about the main issues of the seminar and relaunches the cycle for the fifth transatlantic gender dialogue.

I am much obliged to the Fondation Jean Jaurès and especially Ghislaine Toutain, Director for International Relations for being an enthusiastic, reliable and constructive partner in the framing of this transatlantic dialogue since its very beginning. Furthermore, I would also like to express my gratitude to PES Women and its President, Zita Gurmai for their engagement in the process. Lastly, I would like to thank for Judit Tánczos, FEPS Policy Advisor and Ischi Graus, FEPS Events Coordinator for their commitment to this cause and for ensuring the success of the seminar.

INTRODUCTION
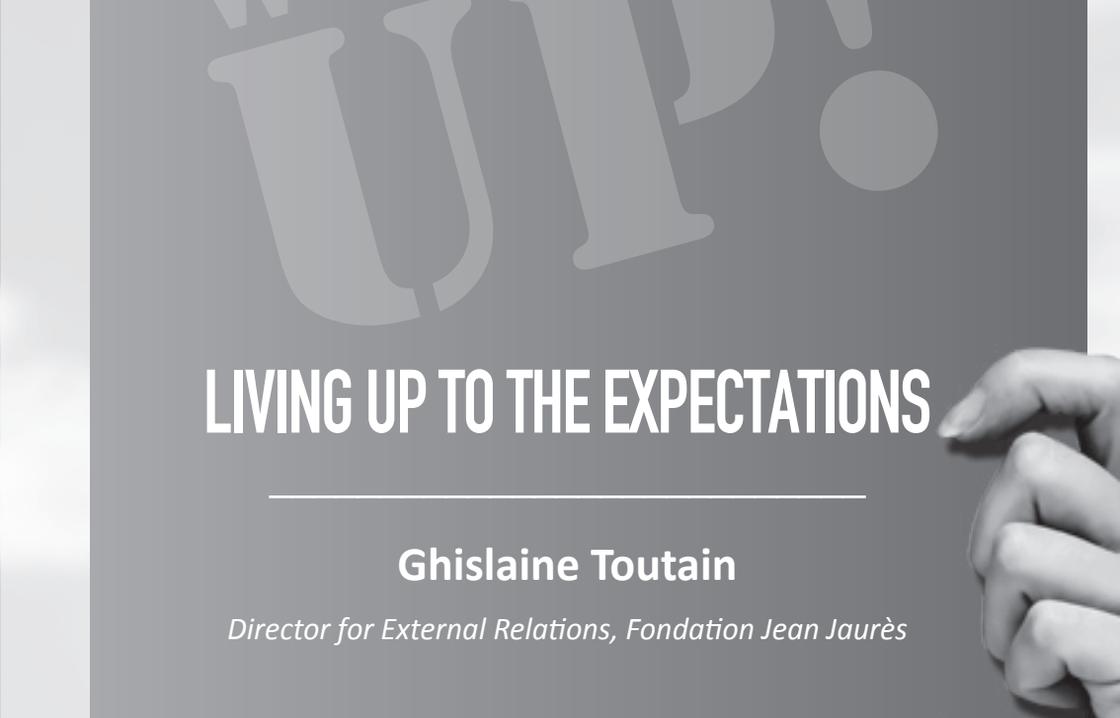
LIVING UP TO THE EXPECTATIONS

Ghislaine Toutain

Director for External Relations, Fondation Jean Jaurès

Reading this book, you get an idea of what American and European societies still have to accomplish to reach gender equality in all domains of social life. If they, each in its own way, try to advance towards this goal, they are both confronted to enduring conservative forces, willing to perpetuate an increasingly contested patriarchal model. However, year after year, if problems remain, we evolve in the way we perceive them.

Thus, the question of the balance between professional and family life, long considered in Europe and in the United States as mostly pertinent for women, is taking a new dimension. On one side, its deterring effect on women's political and professional career is better analysed. On the other, a quest for a better balance between the different phases of daily life is emerging, especially with young active couples, and becomes a claim for young women.

In the same way, American and European societies tolerate less and less the grab of decisional power by males inside firms and political parties, in elected bodies and in governments. The project of directive of the European Commission, providing a compulsory quota of 40% women in listed companies' highest decision making bodies, even if contested,

shows a rising awareness of the need to go beyond an unbalanced status quo which undermines the good governance of these institutions. The same tendency exists in the United States. Executive women from all over the world met last May for a first summit analysing the consequences of their rising presence in positions of power. The chairs of this forum were former Irish president Mary Robinson and former Canadian Prime Minister Kim Campbell. In the same way, more than one thousand guests from sixty countries, mostly women active in the private sector, the political sphere, non governmental organisations, scientists from various fields, met in France, in Deauvill, from 10 to 12 October 2012, for the 8th Women's Forum. On the agenda "looking for a 360° growth" discussed by executive women not only to tackle the crisis but also the difficulties still experienced to reach the highest levels of power. Under their influence, albeit slowly, a movement emerges.

It seems indeed that the traditional executive style, based on control and authority is more and more put aside for more open methods based on employees' autonomy and trust in their individual and collective intelligence. Firms are more numerous, although still a minority on both sides of the Atlantic, to recognise their Corporate Social Responsibility.

The world of politics must also open itself to mixity and parity, especially in the United States but also in many EU Member States, such as France which just made a step forward, forming a government based on parity, whereas this country long denied women the right to vote. This is a proof that one should never give up.

It is the duty of all social and political actors to react better to these newly emerging trends and provide for the new aspirations of equality between genders and of life balance. Firstly, this should be done by enforcing national and European legislations, especially in the professional field. In practice, going from law to reality. Secondly, a more favourable environment should be created for achieving a good quality of life for both women and men, in their jobs as well as in their familial responsibilities. This calls, as it was written many times, for a development of childcare infrastructure, and for a better share of household duties and children's education between men and women. This aspect is more and more considered by academics as the key to actually change things.

This goes through child education on gender equality at a young age by an active struggle against prejudice and stereotypes. Unfortunately these patterns are currently still enforced by school books, advertising and

media. Women are presented in a manner which is linked to their absence from history and their traditional role as mothers. We need to stand up that they must not be simply reduced to the rank of courtesan!

A social revolution is demanded in our societies, to develop not only growth but also democracy, which we cannot let be endangered by the resistance of a archaic societal model. At this level, progressive political parties need to live up to the stakes and expectations and have a crucial role to play in history for emancipation.

AIMING FOR PARITY

Zita Gurmai

Member of the European Parliament, PES Women President,

FEPS Vice-President

The fourth transatlantic seminar on gender equality organised by FEPS and FJJ on the representation of women in political or economic decision-making has gathered researchers, politicians and business leaders to discuss and put forward innovative solutions.

The situation of women's representation in decision-making still is still very poor in Europe; only 24% of Members of national parliaments, 26% of members of national governments, less than 35% of Members of the European Parliament and one third of the members of the European Commission are women. Only 13.7% of board members and 3% of board chairs are women. At the current rate, we would need more than 40 years to reach a significant gender balance!

Equal representation is on the one hand a question of democracy, equality and justice and on the other hand a question of economic empowerment for women.

In the 21st century a better reflection of our society should be a priority and thus women - 52% of the population- cannot longer be neglected. A better representation of women brings diversity on the electoral lists as well as on boardrooms: enlarging the pool of candidates - running for an election or sitting in a company board - is

an opportunity to bring fresh perspectives, new ideas, opinions and ways of thinking.

The underrepresentation of women is also economically harmful, and several academic studies show the significantly higher profitability in listed companies with the highest number of women on their boards as compared to those with no women decision-makers.

As PES Women President, I have been advocating for implementing binding measures such as quotas. We have witnessed within the political sphere as well as in the field of economics that the electoral laws on parity and binding legislation on board representation have helped women to increase their representation on electoral lists, in parliament but also in economic decision-making such as in Norway.

Although quotas are only one tool amongst others to empower women, it has proven to be an essential tool. Quotas are not against merit, this is the exact opposite; implementing binding legislation is the only way for women to be in equal competition with their male counterparts, who benefit from historical and traditional advantages. Thanks to quotas, women are enabled to reach the highest decision-making levels on their own merit.

Quotas have to go hand in hand with additional measures. Indeed, due to the male-dominated structure of the society, women have mental obstacles and barriers, which prevent them to access to decision-making spheres. Long-term measures, such as awareness-raising, trainings, self-regulation and incentives, are therefore needed, in order to change traditional and patriarchal models and representations.

In the coming year, working towards 2014 European Elections, achieving party and implementing a strong Directive for women on boards will be the priority for our Progressive family.

CHANGING NARRATIVES

OLD PROBLEMS, NEW QUESTIONS

Monique Halpern

Independent Consultant, Fondation Jean Jaurès

As I was preparing for the seminar I started thinking about its title, "Woman up!": in French, should it translate "Debout les femmes!" *or* "Les femmes debout!"?

In the first injunction, we ask women to stand up, join the arena, face challenges, cooperate; in the second one, we assert that, indeed, they do stand up: we acknowledge that they are part of the arena, that they face challenges successfully, supportive of other women, and we feel that the acknowledgement of the quality of their role in society is growing.

Obviously, both views are correct, both statements apply according to the country, even within the same country. Of course, it also depends upon the type of women and the type of activity we refer to.

Actually, these views are complementary and not opposed, and it is of utmost importance for women, and for the good of society too, to keep holding together the two tenets of women's ambitions, of what feminists would call their mission, as actors of change.

These past years, a lot of attention has been given to the issue of a better representation of women in politics and business, to break the class ceiling.

The current EU Commission's policy towards equality between men and women

mostly focuses towards passing a directive on women quotas in boards of large companies; it points to the varied and numerous policies set up by Human Resources Departments to promote women in companies or to improve work-family reconciliation, as well as to the diverse gender laws imposing quotas to political parties, to unions, to public administrations, etc.. All these measures are extremely important, they require some attentive follow-up, continuous assessment, etc. But it seems to me that while working towards these goals we should also constantly keep in mind what women already achieve in answering needs that are more and more recognized as being fundamental. We should continue to strive towards more awareness of what is at stake there. We should keep underlining how vital the part they are taking is - through their continuous, industrious, daily activities - to ensure the well-being and decent fabric of society. We must also underline the fact that women's areas of activities should be upgraded. This means that we must never stop stating that women ARE standing up, highlight the large and diverse range of their achievements, and the importance of women's work. The fact that society is largely ruled by financial operations has shown its limitations. The importance of other ingredients which build *social cohesion* is growing; this concerns genuine family-work reconciliation, or the issue of care, demographic considerations, a different attitude towards consumerism and consumption, environmental factors, and lead towards the setting up of new, different measures of society's well-being and wealth. In each of these situations, we are faced with a huge in-put of women, and a growing awareness of the importance of their contribution, causing women to actually come up from the bottom, to stand up, to have their importance acknowledged.

How does this link with the issue of a better representation of women in politics and business?

The growing recognition that more women are successfully climbing the steep road of politics and business should come as an addition, not a substitute, to the awareness of the other social production that is carried on by women at large.

Also, as this part of the conference deals with *solidarity between women*, it may seem relevant to emphasize the need to keep the interweaving, the inner connecting, between these different aspects of women's activities and strength, in mind.

Let us look at the debate that is currently making the headlines on both sides of the Atlantic, a debate that was launched during the 2008 financial crisis with such comments from IMF Director Christine Lagarde: "*If Lehman Brothers had been a bit more Lehman Sisters, we would not have had the degree of tragedy that we had*". The reference to the Lehman Sisters was picked up by EU Commissioner Vivian Reading and figured in her introduction to the yearly EU Commission report on equality between men and women[2] that also referred to a

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2   *Report on Progress on Equality between Women and Men in 2010. The gender balance in business leadership*, 2011, European Commission, quoted [in:] M. Halpern, *About uses and abuses of Feminism*, [in:] Queries, N°1(7)/2012

series of studies claiming that companies which included women in their management teams had a better business performance[3]. Since then this list of references has been enriched, as it appears whenever, these days, one reads American magazines, namely an article by Hanna Rosin[4], which also quotes another comment on testosterone by Christine Lagarde, - a male hormone supposed to make you behave in irrational and reckless ways - implying that women, who do not produce testosterone, have more than men the critical skills that can save an ailing economy. So these days the references to testosterone hit the headlines again[5], in diverse US and European media.

The message conveyed by these media is that of the advent of "a massive paradigm change" with the arrival of "a new generation of female leaders", women on the way towards professional achievement, at such a fast rate that they should soon bypass men.

3   *Does Female Leadership Boost Firm Profitability?,* A. Kotiranta, A. Kovalainen and P. Rouvinen (eds.), Helsinki 2007; *The Bottom Line: Corporate Performance and Women's Representation on Boards,* Catalyst 2007; A.Wittenberg-Cox & A. Maitlnd, *Why Women Mean Business, Understanding the Emergence of our next economic revolution,* http://www.whywomenmeanbusiness.com/view/0/index.html 2007; S. A. Hewlett, *The Business Case for Diversity: How Companies Benefit from Reevaluating the Male Competitive Model, Harvard Business Press 2007.,* quoted by M. Halpern, ibid.

4   *"In the past few years, the need for this feminine-oriented style has become urgent. In 2001, Harvard University's Quarterly Journal of Economics published a paper called "Boys Will Be Boys: Gender, Overconfidence and Common Stock Investment". Two researchers at the University of California, Davis, compared the stock market trades of men and women over a six-year period. Men, especially single men, traded vastly more frequently than women, and they did so out of a false confidence in themselves and their own judgments. Their overconfidence resulted in many more bad decisions and lower net returns."* Rosin, H., *Why Testosterone Is the New Estrogen?,* 2012, http://www.more.com/female-leader-rise

5   Ibid. *"Take the 2012 election's war on women, for example. The efforts of some conservatives to limit women's access to birth control were an irrational, almost nostalgia-driven strategy. Ninety-nine percent of heterosexual women have used contraception; every family-values conservative knows that and knows too that this particular battle was lost long ago. But what drove the right to keep fighting was not the usual fear of female sexuality but fear of burgeoning female power. America's families and their economic successes are now dependent on female advancement in the workforce, which is dependent on contraception, and that must be a scary fact for the nation to absorb into its consciousness."*

A few examples of this type of success-stories are sketched[6], some statistics[7] are thrown in to show not so much that women are currently holding positions of power, but that the current trend is oriented upwards. Whether or not these media-released data are accurate or not, whatever one makes of them, the point is about the message such media findings convey concerning what sort of achievement women should strive for, to-day.

In this context, the resignation last July of the first woman to direct policy planning at the State Department, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and her public comments about it, make up quite a thought-provoking event. She says:

"It's time to stop fooling ourselves, the women who have managed to be both mothers and top professionals are superhuman, rich, or self-employed. All have assumed and accepted that they would have to make compromises that the men in their lives were far less likely to have to make… If we truly believe in equal opportunity for all women, (something) has to change. I still strongly believe that women can "have it all" (and that men can too). I believe that we can "have it all at the same time." But not today, not with the way America's economy and society are currently structured."

These comments are part of an article entitled Why Women Still Can't Have It All[8], which was published in last July's issue of the Atlantic Monthly and launched a wide ranging discussion on her blog, 700.000 internet consultations and debates in and beyond the US.

Let us examine the main features of her article, since it has become a very open public debate, in the US and beyond. (As a matter of fact, I hope that some researcher will take a close look at the numerous responses that came on Anne-Marie Slaughter's blog, following

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6   Ibid. *"Women are now lead TV anchors, Ivy League college heads, bank presidents, corporate CEOs, movie directors, scatologically savvy comedians, presidential candidates… The job of secretary of state has been virtually co-opted by women."*

7   Ibid. *"By many measures, we live in a world in which women are not just catching up to men but surpassing them. More women than men graduate from college, at a time when a college degree is still a key to economic success. In 2009 women were the majority of the workforce, and they represent almost half the students at law and medical schools. A recent analysis of census data showed that in most of the U.S., young, childless women earn more than their male counterparts"…People talk about the scarcity of women at the very top, but in fact we are heading toward a tipping point, where the number of women in visible leadership positions, in politics and business, will be large enough that it will no longer seem unusual or anomalous to see them there. Already women make up 51 percent of management and professionals in the U.S., according to the Department of Labor. In the positions just below CEO—the top executives, or the highest paid—women make up about 15 percent, as well as 16 percent of the seats on Fortune 500 boards. The number of women with six-figure incomes is rising at a much faster pace than the number of equally successful men. Nationwide, about one in 18 women who work full-time earned $100,000 or more in 2009."*

8   A. Slaughter, *Why women still can't have it all?* 2012, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07/why-women-still-cant-have-it-all/309020/

her article. It would provide a very interesting survey on the subject).

First, she says that:

"*In Washington, "leaving to spend time with your family" is a euphemism for being fired. It is so unthinkable that an official would actually step down to spend time with his or her family that this must be a cover for something else. How could anyone voluntarily leave the circles of power for the responsibilities of parenthood?*"[9]

Ms. Slaughter goes on underlining the existence of a *generation-gap* between feminists of the seventies, and younger women:

"*Women of my generation have clung to the feminist credo we were raised with, even as our ranks have been steadily thinned by unresolvable tensions between family and career, because we are determined not to drop the flag for the next generation. But when many members of the younger generation have stopped listening, on the grounds that glibly repeating "you can have it all" is simply airbrushing reality, it is time to talk. Many young professional women feel under assault by women my age and older. I owe my own freedoms and opportunities to the pioneering generation of women ahead of me - the women now in their 60s, 70s, and 80s who faced overt sexism of a kind I see only when watching Mad Men, and who knew that the only way to make it as a woman was to act exactly like a man. To admit to, much less act on, maternal longings would have been fatal to their careers. The pioneer generation of feminists walled off their personal lives from their professional personas to ensure that they could never be discriminated against for a lack of commitment to their work.*"[10]

Then Anne-Marie Slaughter quotes Kerry Rubin and Lia Macko, the authors of *Midlife Crisis at 30*:

"*What we discovered in our research is that while the empowerment part of the equation has been loudly celebrated, there has been very little honest discussion among women of our age about the real barriers and flaws that still exist in the system despite the opportunities we inherited.*"[11]

Among the "*real barriers and flaws*" of the system, are the *working conditions*:

"*The present system is based on a society that no longer exists - one in which farming was a major occupation and stay-at-home moms were the norm. Yet the system hasn't changed.*

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9   Ibid.

10   Ibid.

11   Ibid.

Typical for the vast majority of working women (and men), working long hours on someone else's schedule. Inflexible schedules, unrelenting travel, and constant pressure to be in the office. These "mundane" issues - the need to travel constantly to succeed, the conflicts between school schedules and work schedules, the insistence that work be done in the office - cannot be solved by exhortations to close the ambition gap.[12] I would hope to see commencement speeches that finger America's social and business policies, rather than women's level of ambition, in explaining the dearth of women at the top. But changing these policies requires much more than speeches. It means fighting the mundane battles - every day, every year - in individual workplaces, in legislatures, and in the media. Ultimately, it is society that must change, coming to value choices to put family ahead of work just as much as those to put work ahead of family".[13]

Ms. Slaughter insists on "*time machismo*":

"The culture of "time macho" - a relentless competition to work harder, stay later, pull more all-nighters, travel around the world and bill the extra hours that the international date line affords you - remains astonishingly prevalent among professionals today. Nothing captures the belief that more time equals more value better than the cult of billable hours afflicting large law firms across the country and providing exactly the wrong incentives for employees who hope to integrate work and family. Yet even in industries that don't explicitly reward sheer quantity of hours spent on the job, the pressure to arrive early, stay late, and be available, always, for in-person meetings at 11 a.m. on Saturdays can be intense. Indeed, by some measures, the problem has gotten worse over time: a study by the Center for American Progress reports that nationwide, the share of all professionals - women and men - working more than 50 hours a week has increased since the late 1970s.

But more time in the office does not always mean more "value added" – and it does not always add up to a more successful organization... Time is cheap...

Armed with e-mail, instant messaging, phones, and videoconferencing technology, we should be able to move to a culture where the office is a base of operations more than the required locus of work."[14]

And Anne-Marie Slaughter proposes to *redefine the "arc of a successful career":*

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12   Mrs. Slaughter quotes Facebook Chief Operating Officer Sheryl Sandberg's widely publicized 2011 commencement speech at Barnard, about the ambition gap: "*Women do not dream big enough. I am all for encouraging young women to reach for the stars*".

13   A. Slaughter, op.cit.

14   Ibid.

"*Along the way, women should think about the climb to leadership not in terms of a straight upward slope, but as irregular stair steps, with periodic plateaus. Slowing down the rate of promotions, taking time out periodically, pursuing an alternative path during crucial parenting or parent-care years - all have to become more visible and more noticeably accepted as a pause rather than an opt-out.*"[15]

Let us reconnect to the Woman up! seminar in Brussels. **If Anne-Marie Slaughter has been able to widely raise such fundamental issues as family-career reconciliation, time-machismo, smart new technologies optimization versus excessive travelling, and thus get people, all kinds of people, including decision-makers, to question working conditions of women and men in law-offices, in large firms, in all over business places, it is because of her successful climb of the ladder.** Breaking the glass-ceiling gave her the possibility to reach a level where she would be seen and heard, by all, women and men, executives and also other categories of working men and women, to whom she precisely refers too:

"*Millions of other working women face much more difficult life circumstances. Dual incomes have become indispensable. Some are single mothers; many struggle to find any job; others support husbands who cannot find jobs. Many cope with a work life in which good day care is either unavailable or very expensive; school schedules do not match work schedules. Many of these women are worrying not about having it all, but rather about holding on to what they do have.*"

Top women connecting with "*millions of other working women*" and men:

"*But it cannot change unless top women speak out... Only when women wield power in sufficient numbers will we create a society that genuinely works for all women. That will be a society that works for everyone.*"[16]

In the same manner, and to end this article with a reference to the French language echoing the one with which I opened it, I'd like to quote one of our woman ministers: as she addressed a political enemy who was calling her "Madame *le* Ministre", she called him "Monsieur *la* Députée", which sounds funny in French. The reason she was able to say this and catch a lot of attention saying was because she was a minister, she had broken the glass-ceiling in politics!

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15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

A NEW GENDER INEQUITY: SUBTLE SEXISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Sandra Willett Jackson

Co-founder and Principal, Strategies & Structures International

● **What is the challenge?**

All of us working around the world for women's advancement know that no nation can succeed in this 21st century global economy if it marginalizes half its population – its women. To prosper, nations must invest in women and girls. It is as simple as that.

As a senior executive previously in business, government and the nonprofit sectors, I believe that, despite several decades of legal, social and economic progress in the United States, we must acknowledge that investing in and advancing women is not proceeding as deeply and as efficiently as it must. In fact, a new – more subtle – challenge to women's progress is emerging in American society.

Subtle sexism is alive and well in the United States. An old form of gender inequality is emerging from the shadows, restraining productivity and well-being of the nation. Sometime this challenge for us is noisy – in the cries and threats that block women from entering family planning clinics for medical treatment, or in the screams of Tea Party members yelling against a woman's right to choose or against

gun control. More often this challenge is quiet – simply passing over a qualified woman lawyer for partnership because she might get pregnant and leave the firm or bring in fewer clients, easing out an older woman in favor of a younger one, or contributing more resources and media attention to male political candidates than to a female candidate.

How to meet these new challenges and advance women in political and business life? That is a vital question confronting the United States right now.

● **American context 1960-2000**

In 1960-70s after graduating from a prestigious women's college, I was counseled by an older family friend – a major player in US foreign policy, a distinguished gentleman – not to apply to the US State Department's Foreign Service. He said quite honestly that my training would be a waste of taxpayers' money since I would obviously drop out of the Foreign Service and get married. At that time a married woman could not serve as a Foreign Service Officer. Then, I didn't know better and believed him. In fact, I did not get married until age 52. However, at age 22, I had to support myself and wanted interesting, substantive work.

In the 1960's women earned less than $0.59 per hour for a man's $1.00 hourly wage. And the greatest number of working women then worked as secretaries. Jump ahead to the early 21st century. Women earn about $.69 for men's hourly $1.00 wage. Journalist and author of Enlightened Sexism, Susan Douglas, reports the greatest number of women in US work as secretaries. As the number two occupation: nurses. The third is elementary and middle school teachers, followed by cashiers and retail sales persons. There is everything good about these honorable and needed (although undervalued) occupations, unless you want to contribute – and earn – more.

Return for a moment to "the bad old days." In 1960-80, women in senior management of American corporations were rare, scarce. Women were even less visible as members of corporate boards of directors. Was it any better for women in politics and business in the 21st century? Yes, it certainly was. We have seen three extraordinary women in succession serve as Secretaries of State. And 15 of the Fortune 500 companies are managed by women CEOs. But in that 50-40-30-year time span, this is – quite frankly – not good enough. We have not invested enough in women to tap fully the resources of over half of our population. Judy Rosener in a 2011 issue of Forbes Magazine authored "The 'Terrible Truth' About Women on Corporate Boards". She documented that a mere 15.7% of corporate board seats

are occupied by women.

What's happening in elected political life in the States? In the 1960s only 14 women served in Congress – 14 women out of 535 positions. In the last Congress, five decades later, that number has risen to 90 – but this is only 17% of the Senate and House. Americans elected three additional female Senators and five Members of the House of Representatives in November, increasing women in Congress to 18% of the total.

Despite legislation and law suits, despite extraordinary women organizing thousands of campaigns and millions of dollars invested, despite scholars documenting the status of women - how far have we really come? Since the 1970 first class action suit by women in the media, very few women have broken through the glass ceiling. Sexual harassment, pay discrimination and violence against women are common in the US now. This is part of a new gender Inequality, the more subtle sexism.

I would like to list some examples.

Three Air Force cadets were accused this spring of sexual harassment and rape of other cadets. In many branches of the military, a culture of harassment exists and is being exposed far too slowly.

Newsweek women reporters have recently challenged, again, their lesser assignments and lower pay, despite 40 years of apparent progress since their older sisters' successful first class action pay discrimination suit in 1970. A plaintiff in the original suit, Lynn Povich, author of The Good Girls Revolt: How the Women of Newsweek Sued their Bosses and Changed the Workplace, documents the new challenge. Povich finds that "...*many of the injustices young women confront today are the same ones (we) fought against 40 years ago. The discrimination may be subtler, but sexism still exists... Women still don't have equal rights or equal opportunities. The cultural transformation is harder than legal reform; feminism isn't finished. The struggle for social change is still evolving...*"

In the US, October 2012 was Domestic Violence Awareness Month to remind us that this horrific scourge preys on women of all backgrounds and economic status.

● **American context today: Some key aspects**

Several obviously different factors influence whether and how these new challenges play out in the United States and in European countries. I would like to give you three examples.

The different forms of government mean different accountability and funding systems shape different relationships between politicians and their constituents. In the States we elect all our federal, state and local representatives by political districts in which the candidates. This means that each candidate must address issues important to her/his district, and be accountable to the voters in that districts. Candidates depend on raising money and getting volunteer support from the district. Otherwise the national party apparatus may not support their campaigns.

The American childcare system in the US is almost non-existent. Rather than having widespread care for all ages of infants through secondary school-age children, working Americans cannot count on being able to find and afford responsible childcare. What exists in the States is sporadic, expensive and unreliable. To paraphrase Hillary Clinton: *It takes a village*. However, we don't have childcare villages in the US. If you cannot be assured your children are well cared for at an affordable rate, how can you devote time and talent to your career?

While some European countries have quotas governing the percentages of women on corporate boards and in selected public offices, no quotas exist to increase women on American corporate boards. The Democratic Party several years ago required that 50% of elected delegates to the Democratic Convention be female. However, in my opinion, the US will not mandate quotas in either the public or the private sectors.

In today's world Americans and Europeans share many of the same factors that influence how we do, or do not, advance women in political and business life, similar to those we shared in the 1930s during the Great Depression. None of our countries' economies is strong. Public debt, unemployment and financial insecurity are rising. Business and governments are nervous, unsure of how to stimulate growth. Like in the Great Depression years – these are tough times. Some politicians point to the economic crisis as a reason to cut essential spending. Some business leaders use the economic downturn to justify not promoting, not hiring, women and minorities. Gender equality, I've heard people say, is a "luxury."

But a bad economy only raises the stakes and makes "doing nothing" about gender inequality that much more unacceptable and that much more wasteful.

Dr. Deborah Tannen, professor, author and linguist at Georgetown University, has a relevant message for us. She reminds us that: women develop relationships and use rapport talk whereas men make points and use report talk. Women cooperate; men compete. Rapport talk builds trust. Trust is what government and commerce require, what society needs, to operate more effectively in the 21st global economy.

In my view, trust is an essential "glue" and "stimulus" in political and business life. It comes fundamentally from women. Trust may be a tool we need to resharpen and use more creatively to confront subtle sexism and the gender inequality FEPS is addressing with its research programme.
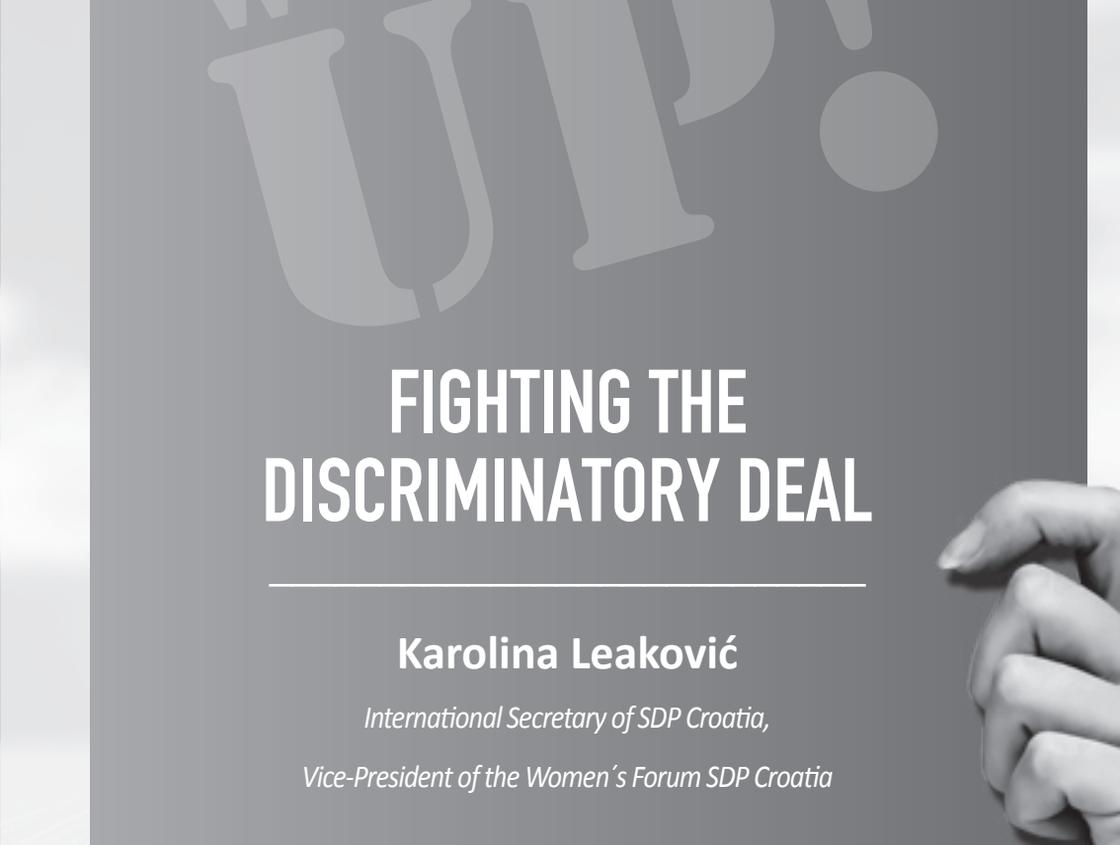
FIGHTING THE DISCRIMINATORY DEAL

Karolina Leaković

International Secretary of SDP Croatia,

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"Double shifts for women - that we have to fight."[17]

Indeed: while focusing on political rights of women and their economic independence, have we failed in fighting against the system? Systematic oppression of women is evident. Despite international conventions, antidiscriminatory legislation and mechanisms - gender-based discrimination is still one of the most wide-spread practices, even in so called mature democracies.

After the fall of Berlin wall, newly independent countries of Central and Eastern Europe have celebrated democracy, political pluralism, media freedom and - above all - free market. Individualism and consumerism featuring free and fair elections - that became a matter of political choice. One could not have been for democracy without praising free market. This was inimaginable at that time. Somehow, postcommunist (nationalistic) leaders that emerged

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17   Quote from the speech of Višnja Ljubičić, Ombudswoman for Gender Equality, Croatia, http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/ljudska-prava/nuzno-je-dokidanje-duple-smjene#news_view (In Croatian)

in the 90's forgot to inform us that capitalism is about risks and about winners and losers. Right now, it seems that the losers are about to take the risk and get their voices heard.

● **A discriminatory deal**

In last 20 years our societies have transformed immensely. That transformation has left many behind. Unfortunately, it seems like many more will be left behind in the years to come. How is that reflecting on the status of women? According to the recent research on women in political life in Croatia 2011, women tend to retreat from public life and dominate private sphere. Although political representation of women in the parliament is around 25%, local and regional decision-making bodies are still dominated by men. Despite legislation and institutional mechanism introduced almost a decade ago, not much has changed so far. Except maybe for one thing, in my opinion: women and men have become more sensitive when it comes to discriminatory practices. Research on Women and Politics in Croatia 2011[18] also shows that 61,1% of women believe that there is a gender-based discrimination in Croatia. Moreover, 94,6% women that participated in the research are aware of the double burden for women, as well as unequal conditions for women in employment (92,9%) and in career opportunities (92,1%). It is this double burden of paid and unpaid work, this double shift that we have to put into a broader political context, give it a political prefix and solve it by our political engagement.

As Sonja Lokar, SD activist and politician from Slovenia, who has been actively following transition/transformation processes in post-communist societies of Central and Eastern Europe and the impact on gender equality, rightly says: "*There has to be a shared responsibility of women and men when it comes to care work. Otherwise, women will continue to be faced with double burden - on the labour market and then at home and these responsibilities will only get more demanding. It is not a deal. It is a discriminatory deal that is right now taking place in Europe. We have to fight against that.*"[19]

Although gender equality is a legitimate part of center-left and/or center-right mainstream political parties, it is obvious that political elites are not dedicated to bringing this particular problem in focus of their political practice. It is now a standard procedure that gender equality is a chapter in political party programme, but when it comes to policy priorities and implementation - then all of a sudden, policy makers tend to be faced with a challenge they are not able to keep up to.

As a research on gender and political parity in political parties of Latin America shows

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18   Data is available at http://zenajevise.net/images/tekstovi/czs_istrazivanje_rezultati_2011.pdf

19   Quote from the speech of Sonja Lokar at the conference *Gender policies in the context of parliamentary elections and joining the EU*, http://zenajevise.net/images/tekstovi/okrugli_stol_rodne_politike.pdf

"many political parties have adopted gender equality rhetoric in their manifestos and programs in recent years, but almost half the organizations studied do not mention gender equality in their bylaws. Parties' rhetorical commitments to women's political participation should be the starting point for broader inclusion, through which such provisions can give women greater legitimacy when it comes to negotiating their demands with other sectors in the party. Although it is important that parties express a commitment to equality in their bylaws, it is even more important that they move from words to deeds, and translate their rhetorical good intentions into concrete policies for promoting women's leadership within their organizations."[20]

It is - as far as I am concerned - a matter of 1) underestimating or misinterpreting political dimension of women's empowerment 2) neglecting the emancipatory potential of advancement of women and 3) rejecting developmental potential of the concept of gender equality as such.

● Playground for the unsuccessful

Quite often, gender equality as policy issue within political parties is perceived as a playground for either *unsuccessful* or *irrelevant* female politicians without any expertise in fields considered as politically relevant such as economy, or politicians at the very end of their careers that have nothing else to keep themselves busy with but with some women's issues. And those who have nothing to lose.

Let us face it: with an exception of Scandinavian countries, how likely is it that a successful woman in politics is going to make women's empowerment or gender equality a vital part of her portfolio?

If that is true, I guess women are not alone to blame. There are quite a few important reasons for that, where explanations include: 1) mainstream media dictate the agenda and empowerment of any class (or group) is not high on their agenda; 2) political parties tend to organize their priorities following media and corporative pressure; 3) societies are driven by consumerism. It is (or it used to be?) about branding and re-branding, about spending and enjoying the momentum rather than creating alternative solutions.

I believe there is no room for negotiating when women's rights are concerned: be it right to make decisions relating to her body, be it right to work and decent pay, to mention just a few. I believe those are highly relevant political questions, as are decent care for children and clean water. These issues are or rather should be of concern both of emancipated men and

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20   V. Boza, B. Llanos, G. Garzón de la Roza, *Gender and political parties. Far from parity,* 2011, International IDEA – IDB, http://www.idea.int/publications/parties_and_parity/loader.cfm?csmodule=security/getfile&pageid=49626

emancipated women. And we desperately need them in our political life!

Women's participation and "engendered" policies can and often lead to just solutions in economy, social development, creating conditions for egalitarian society. Thus, political and other actors that do not share this vision of egalitarian society will never prioritize gender equality policy/policies neither on national nor on local level. Although many studies have shown that more egalitarian societies are more developed and more successful, that argument often is not recognized among decision-makers.

It may be since "*the ability of women to promote a gender equality agenda is limited not only by the lack of a critical mass of women at strategic levels in parties, but also because those who hold leadership positions are relegated to the least powerful positions in party structures. The division of labor within parties generally reflects the traditional sexual division of labor, which confines women to the domestic and family spheres. As a reflection of this phenomenon, women elected or appointed to decision-making positions within party structures have historically been assigned to education and social welfare committees, where their role is an "extension" of their traditional role as mothers and caretakers.*"[21]

Women in political life simply are just a few and they rarely build alliances of any kind. Thus, they are easily outnumbered and issues they might be interested in putting on the agenda are simply neglected. Recommendations from researchers in Latin America to political parties and institutions in respective countries include "*promoting alliances with civil society, because achieving many of the goals on the women's gender agenda requires the greatest possible number of committed stakeholders. Cooperation between women party members and women in civil society can be crucial to negotiating women rights, because it gives negotiators more weight by expanding their representation beyond the party*", as well as "*seeking male allies who are sensitive to the issue of promoting gender equality within political parties. The lack of genuine equality between male and female citizens is a shortcoming in democracies that can only be corrected if both men and women work to overcome it.*"

● **Ambition is the key?**

But, there are powerful women in politics and in business. Why those successful individuals then so rarely talk about gender equality as a political project, while insisting on self empowerment, ambition, dedication and very often on sacrifice that they had to go through or undertake in order to succeed. And - more relevantly - what kind of an emancipatory project is

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21   Ibid.

22   Ibid.

actually building one's own political career if that career is not just a tool for a greater cause. My point is: **if you are a successful woman, either in politics or in business, how will your success be of any significance to other women if not by your clear commitment towards creating an environment and policies that will ensure that more women will be able to contribute to development,** without just being driven by their personal ambitions. That is what I see as a sustainable emancipatory project of progressive actors in politics and business/economy. Everything else I consider to be pure careerism and self-promotion that has nothing to do with a co-ordinated and so much needed systematic approach.

Strategies that include contests for most successful woman of the year have not proven to be of much significance to women's empowerment. Honestly: what kind of impact has the nomination of a sales representative of a famous women's make-up brand for the "most successful woman in business" on life of a saleswoman? Most women could probably never even afford that particular make-up product taking into account their purchasing power.

Same is with women in politics unless they hold to emancipating strategies of inclusive and participative kind. **For unrepresented to be relevant and heard, key strategy is not individual ambition or sacrifice: it is about getting together, demanding, thinking and acting strategically,** about changing conditions that have been limiting achieving our goals so far.

● What is to be done, then: here and now?

Women - be them on top positions in politics and business, be them just members of political parties, be them workers - must unite and find common goals. Is it utopian to think of a (female) top manager to unite with a (female) worker for a common cause? Maybe not. Unless you believe that entrepreneurship and business are gender-neutral.

Feminist women must build alliances with feminist men on various issues, ranging from economy to ecology and carework. **There is no political issue that is not a gender equality issue at the same time.**

Democracy the way we know it, has to be re-newed. It has to be more inclusive, a participatory one. Our citizens simply do not want to have their say only on elections every four years or so, but to participate in making decisions more often.

Significant changes have to be undertaken at least in these three directions. As a member of a progressive, left-of-centre political party, I do believe that new directions have to be considered within my own organization, as well as across country and party borders. That is quite a challenging task I feel very attached to. I do not know whether changes will happen. But I certainly have a lot of energy to insist on them.
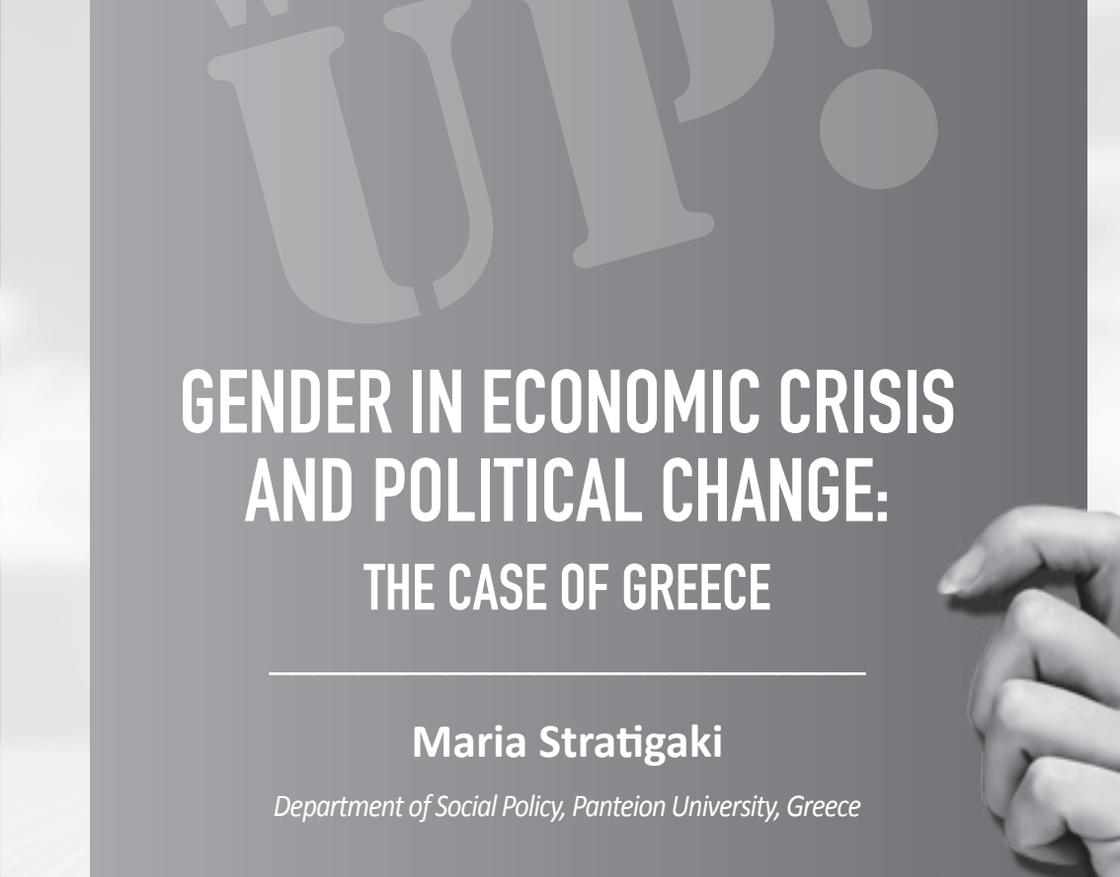
GENDER IN ECONOMIC CRISIS AND POLITICAL CHANGE:
THE CASE OF GREECE

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Promoting women's representation in politics and business is not a new issue at the European level. In 2012 there is the 20th anniversary of the EU project on promoting women in decision making initiated in 1992 at the Athens Women in Power Summit organized by the European Commission and the European Women's Lobby. Agnès Hubert was the inspiring and committed Head of the Unit on Equal Opportunities at the European Commission who orchestrated the whole policy objective and activities.

Since, there is a significant progress made in Europe. Belgium, France and Greece among other Member States have adopted laws and regulations aiming at more women in politics. The percentage of women in all national governments is now 26%.[23] Women political associations have been created in

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23 Data is available at http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/gender-decision-making/database/highlights/index_en.htm

almost all Member States following the mobilization of active feminists politicians like Anna Karamanou in Greece. Even more important it is the nomination of larger number of women in government with the exceptional good practice of the socialist governments in Spain (Zapatero) and France (Hollande) who have implemented the parity of sexes (50%- 50%).

We all hoped twenty years ago that progress would be smooth and significant and that state policies and political parties would be successful to achieve a gender balance in political decision making very soon. However, the European Union faces today an unprecedented economic crisis which has direct negative effects on political life. Several EU-wide studies have shown that in the labour market there is a clear reduction on gender gap in pay, employment rate, unemployment and job segregation.[24] The EU2020 target for 75% employment rate for both women and men is getting more difficult to achieve for all member states. Gender gaps tend to reduce but not by women advancing in the labour market (as it was the case till now) but by men going down to meet women's levels in participation, salaries and segregation. But, is leveling downwards of gender gaps in employment is a sign of progress in gender equality? It is important to note that job segregation seems to have protected female employment.

Economic developments produce developments in politics and affect the participation of citizens in political life, as well as the gender distribution of wealth, labour and unpaid work. Politics, economics and gender relations are closely related in our societies. Sometimes this interconnection is difficult to grasp. Sometimes it is easier to identify. I will refer to the case of Greece in which the last three years economic crisis (a rapid and almost brutal economic recession) produced significant changes in all aspects of life including gender relations.

I will refer briefly to:

- Gender based changes in the labour market and the society;

- Gender based changes in political representation;

- Policies for gender equality;

- The increase of neo-Nazism.

In Greece, poverty in combination with the citizen's distrust to the

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24   *Progress on equality between women and men in 2011,* 2012, European Commission http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/progress_on_equality_between_women_and_men_in_2011.pdf

political system, have offered a fertile ground for the creation and development of extremism. Extremist attitudes concerning gender, racial, religious and political discriminations have appeared, revealing that social stereotypes are still dominant and creating serious concerns about maintaining social cohesion. Under such circumstances gender equality is being undoubtedly affected, as vulnerable social groups, in which women are overrepresented, face to a greater degree the impact of social and economic crisis.

● **Economic crisis and the labour market**

The austerity measures taken for confronting the public deficit included mainly cuts in salaries, pensions, social benefits, social infrastructure and other public spending related to social rights. Reduced efforts were demonstrated in tackling tax evasion, corruption and high prices in basic consumer goods and services.

In this context the constantly increasing rate of unemployment produced more poverty. Greece was hit worst with an increase in at-risk-of-poverty rate of 5.9% % for both men and women between 2007 and 2009. Data provided by the Hellenic Statistical Authority (EL.STAT.) showed that, for July 2012, women's unemployment rate was 29% while the same rate for men was 22,3%. Focusing on real and actual numbers of people and not on impersonal percentages, we can state that women's employment decreased more slowly than men's and women's unemployment increased more slowly that men's. More specifically from 2009 to 2012 in absolute numbers

- there was a reduction of 14% in employed women (1.782.300 to 1.537.600) and a reduction of 17% in employed men (2.694.400 to 2.255.000);

- there is an increase of 98% in unemployed women (290.400 to 576.900) and an increase of 164**%** in unemployed men (224.000 to 592.000).

In addition in 2010 female early-stage entrepreneurship reached only the 3,7% of total population. Women tend to start their entrepreneurial activity at a later age in comparison to men (probably because they undertake the parenting responsibilities) and despite the fact that there are not significant differentiations on the educational level of women and men entrepreneurs, women appeared

to have lower self-esteem.[25] These last three years, it is estimated that 100.000 businesses have closed down, most of them commercial and small businesses, where it is more possible to find women owners.

In the 18 largest publicly listed Greek companies, Chairpersons of the board of directors were only men and the rate of positions of Members of the board of directors covered by women is 7%.[26]

As recent studies have demonstrated in several occasions gender inequality in the labour market damages GDP records. Implementation of equality between women and men could be a response to the current economic crisis as it could lead to a potential *25%* increase of GDP.[27] In addition to the above report many organizations (eg. Catalyst, the US research organisation and McKinsey & Company),[28] have delivered studies suggesting a link between gender balance and performance and came up with very similar results: that having more women in leadership is correlated with stronger financial returns.

● **Political decision making**

Despite the fact that several steps have been made to increase women's participation in political decision-making, women continue to be under-represented in politics, political parties, the Greek Parliament and the government. Important crucial legislative regulations were adopted in 2001 and 2006 for the promotion of gender equality in politics: the implementation of quota for participation of women as a third (1/3) of the total number of candidates in national, municipal and regional elections. However, election results at all levels show that gender stereotypes are deep rooted in the field of politics which remains male dominated.

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25   Report available in Greek at http://www.iobe.gr/index.asp?a_id=853

26   *Women in economic decision-making in the EU: Progress Report*, 2012, European Commission http://ec.europa.eu/justice/newsroom/gender-equality/opinion/files/120528/women_on_board_progress_report_en.pdf

27   A. Löfström, *Gender equality, economic growth and employment*, http://www.se2009.eu/polopoly_fs/1.17994!menu/standard/file/EUstudie_sidvis.pdf

28   These reports can be consulted on the following webpage: http://www.20-first.com/9-0-better-bottom-line.html

● **In municipalities and regions**

In the last municipal and regional elections (2010) 11.099 women candidates participated in municipal level and 846 in regional level. The results[29] were as follows:

- Only 8, out of the 325 mayors in total, are women (2,4%);

- 1.588 women are elected as municipal councilors (14,4%);

- In the 13 regions of Greece there was no woman elected as a governor (0%) as the two major parties have not nominated any woman for the post of Governor;

- Only 11 women are elected as Vice Governors;

- 115 women are elected as Regional Councilors (16,13%).

It is important to underline that 2012 elections took place after a major reform of the local and regional authorities (Programme Kallikratis) by which the number of municipalities was drastically reduce and a new level of elected authorities was established the regions). More specifically, 13 (new) regions replaced 76 administrative units (prefectures/nomarchies and other) and 1034 municipalities merged in 325 new (larger) municipalities. **This significant change on the Greek local and regional institutional framework seems to have operated negatively regarding women's participation in regional and municipal decision making, because the available decision making posts were reduced and so were women's chances to be elected, as men candidates were much more competitive and less willing to find themselves outside the new decision making structure at local level.** But even in the past, the results for women's representation in the same level were extremely low. In 2006 men mayors reached the percentage of 97%, while women mayors just 3% (32 women mayors out of 1,034) although a (new) quota law was applied which requested that all parties nominate 1/3 of women in their ballots.

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29   Report available in Greek at http://www.isotita.gr/var/uploads/PROGRAMMES/gender%20mainstreaming/munipalities_regions_oct-2011.pdf

● **In the national parliament**

Regarding women's participation in the National Parliament, their percentage accounts for 16% in 2007 and 17.3% in 2009. There was a clear increase in women elected in the Hellenic Parliament at the 2012 national elections (17th of June 2012): 63 women were elected at the Greek parliament (21%) out of the 963 women that were candidates.[30] In these elections there was a significant political change in the results of almost all political parties. There was a significant move of the electorate to the left and a neo-Nazis right wing party had emerged for the first time in the Greek Parliament.

Women's participation in the Parliament is uneven among the political parties. As it happens traditionally, left parties' women parliamentarians are more than women parliamentarians of conservative parties. Indicatively, the rate of elected women for the radical left Syriza party and the country's communist party, KKE, in the elections of the 17th of June 2012 is the highest: 35,21% and 33,33% respectively. Women elected in the conservative party of New Democracy is 13,95%, which is the highest for this party since 1996. It is important to underline the rapid decrease of elected women's rate for the socialist party PASOK, which is 9,09% (2012) while in 2009 was 21,3. This is a result of the drastic decrease of the seats that PASOK holds in the Parliament now (from 160 seats in 2009 to 33 seats in 2012).

● **In the government**

The rate of elected women in the National Parliament (21%) is far larger compared to the percentage of women in the tri-partite current Government. The composition of the current government consists of 39 members (the prime minister, 18 ministers, 7 deputy ministers and 13 vice-ministers). **Among these 39 posts there are only 1 woman Minister and 1 woman vice-minister. This consists the 5,1% of the total members of the Government.** The proportion of female ministers in the cabinet fall by much more than a half since 2009 when the 21% of the members were women.

Overall, in Greece the impact of economic crisis in politics reduced the power of the two large parties that governed before the crisis and are considered to be responsible for the crisis, strengthened the left radical party and open the

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30   Report available in Greek at http://www.isotita.gr/var/uploads/MELETES/SIMMETOXI-GYNAIKON_EKLOGES_17-6-2012.pdf

Parliament to the extreme right wing. In this move, there are more women elected in parties that increased more rapidly offering opportunities to the youth and women. **Traditional parties saw the number of seats to reduce and this trend hindered women's presence as women failed to compete successfully with men in the rally for a seat in the Parliament.**

● **Policies for gender equality**

The ever highest participation of women in the Government by George Papandreou in 2009 opened a window of opportunity for gender equality policies. Since November 2009 at the General Secretariat for Gender Equality we have tried and succeeded in large extend, to develop and implement policies at all levels of public policy, in many areas of social, economic and cultural life. This was based on the assumption that the promotion of substantive gender equality was not a luxury but a requisite, especially in times of economic and social crisis, when women's rights require additional protection. Our policies were included in the National Programme for Substantive Gender Equality 2010-2013[31].

Our main priority and the primary target was combating violence against women. In this context, for the first time in Greece we have created an integrated network of 61 structures throughout the country to prevent and tackle all forms of violence against women. The project funded by the European Social Fund includes: operating a SOS telephone helpline 15900, setting up 39 counselling centres and 21 Shelters for women victims of violence, which offer support services for women victims of violence.

Recognizing that the integration of gender mainstreaming in public policies is necessary, so that men and women benefit equally from public interventions, we created a mechanism to monitor and evaluate public policies and their effects on gender and promoted the signing of the "European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life" by 155 mayors and 13 governors of regions, who made a public commitment to implement relevant policies. Furthermore, in all ministries, regions and the 15 largest municipalities the development of a Gender Equality Action Plan was funded. We have also implemented a campaign with the slogan "Vote also for Women" in the 2010 local elections.

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31   *Our goal substantive sender equality, 2010,* Ministry of Interior, Decentralisation and E-Government, General secretariat for gender Equality http://www.isotita.gr/en/var/uploads/HOME%20PAGE/NATIONAL_PROGRAMME_GENDER_EQUALITY_2010_2013.pdf

In the same period, for the first time in Greece, the significance of promoting gender equality through arts & culture was recognized. In particular, emphasis has been placed on supporting the creation of art, so that strong messages on gender identities and stereotypes can be disseminated to wide public audiences. For this purpose, we designed a large scale project to fund arts projects on the theme gender identities, gender equality, women's rights.

Unfortunately, as a result of the changes in the government in June 2012 and mainly due to the usual trend of policy makers to abolish policies designed by previous government, the project aiming at the promotion of gender equality in culture, was cancelled by the current political staff. This decision provoked important reactions by artists and politicians who highlighted its negative impact on both gender equality and art support schemes.

● **Social crisis and the growing right wing extremism**

Apart from the mentioned above evidence of major quantitative changes in women's participation in the labour market and the politics, this last period qualitative changes in the political situation have been appeared. The conservative political party of New Democracy adopts conservative (and often nationalistic) policies and methods in an effort to appeal to the general public during a period that Greeks need to face major economic problems.

The trend towards nationalism was undoubtedly strengthened to an extreme after the rise of the party Golden Dawn, a right-wing extremist political organization, a street-fighting fascist gang with all the weary symbolism of flame-waving and puffed-up synchronized shouting. Golden Dawn's success in capitalizing on widespread anger at Greek austerity measures led to a recent 10 percent rise in the positive opinion about the party, which currently holds 18 seats in the Greek parliament. Golden Down develops anti-migration actions, organizes attacks against immigrants, prevents theatrical performances that considers as blasphemous and cultivates fear. Human Rights Watch warns that xenophobic violence has reached alarming proportions in parts of Greece, and it accuses the authorities of failing to stop the trend.

The nomination of the Golden Dawn's only elected woman (wife of the leader) as a new member of the Committee on Equality and Non-Discrimination of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, has provoked reactions and was characterised as an affront to concepts of equality and non-discrimination.

Women's role in Golden Dawn's agenda is perceived as inferior to men's in one of the sites that support Golden Dawn and present the ideological background of the party, a woman member of the party notes the following:

"We, the Greek women, members of the People's Association 'Golden Dawn', having profound sense of the destruction brought about by the feminist spirit of our times, are against all sorts of pronouncements on gender equality"… The supposed liberation of woman has disoriented her from the real essence of her sublime role, motherhood; that is, the obligation and supreme honour to bring to the world and bring up the new shoots on the trunk of the Race, in order to bridge through the present the past and the future. We believe that Motherhood is a duty much sacred".

Based on the above beliefs, the Golden Dawn members are presented as the traditional model of macho man behaving violently, giving bombastic speeches, embracing their extremist role. As an example we could mention the following on-camera event.

At the pre-electoral campaign in a television talk show on a large TV channel a candidate of the Golden Dawn has even dared to punched on the face a woman candidate of the Communist Party and assaulted an other women candidate of the radical left party Syriza. The excerpt of the talk show was largely disseminated through the internet.

Political extremism in Greece and the emergence of the Golden Dawn hinders advance in women in politics, but also in the public sphere in general. Advocating the sublime role of motherhood and highlighting the evil impact of feminism are incompatible with women creating business and participating in boards of listed companies. The role of extreme right wing ideology is not only regressive for gender based equality. It is also catastrophic for the democratic and justice principles of the Greek society. Criminal actions that are invested with political terrorism damage all aspects of the social life and citizens' participation in the process of overcoming the economic crisis in Greece.

In conclusion, one may wonder if the economic crisis can provide some windows of opportunities for women and gender relations long with the degradation of all's everyday life. Gender roles and stereotypes are seriously challenged in the crisis and women seem to have more chances to keep their work. However, the shrinking of social welfare state creates, once more, more burdens for working women who have to take care of their children's survival in crisis. More women in politics is a positive outcome of the redistribution of power among political parties. The question remains: will this trend succeed to sustain,

when party politics are more stabilized and men politicians prove to be stronger than women (as always) in the political arena?.

Let's hope that in these fragile and uncertain times for gender relations, women will organize personal and collective strategies to overcome problems by creating new types and methods for social cohesion and solidarity among them, but also among all vulnerable social groups.

EQUAL BATTLES IN POLITICS?

WOMEN JOINING THE ARENA IN AMERICAN POLITICS:

LESSONS LEARNED ON THE RELATIVE IMPACT

OF MOBILIZATION AND RECRUITMENT

VS. ELECTORAL ENGINEERING

Denise L. Baer

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Institute for Women's Policy Research

● **Introduction**

It is a seeming paradox that the American political system lacks the kinds of systemic norms that support gender inclusion as are found in the European Union, and yet is widely regarded as one of the earliest and most open democracies, and is also acknowledged as boasting the earliest organized women's movement. The answer to this apparent paradox is that the basic norms of the rule and process-based American

political culture are in fact rule and process-based. Culturally, Americans share the ideal of equality of opportunity, not equality of a result. Quotas despite their global record as an electoral engineering tool to ensure gender equality (e.g., shifting the political agenda, increasing the political consciousness of women parliamentarians, and engaging female voters and constituents) have not received a great deal of popular support in the U.S. and have failed to enter the "*realm of [American] public debate*" (Krook 2006: 110).

The U.S. is generally viewed as having established rule of law and an open process for influence and advocacy. However, this does not mean that groups have always found political power open – groups seeking political rights in the U.S. have had to mobilize and organize in order to gain redress. Because of its rule and process-based culture, the U.S. system is permeable – at least over time. This is the genius of the American system and this has been true for women in the U.S. as well as other minority groups and new interests. Yet, despite the advent of three distinct organized women's movements in the U.S. spanning more than 150 years, questions arise about what is needed to ensure genuine gender parity. Nearly a century has passed since American women were granted universal suffrage in the U.S. in 1920, paving the way for the early 20th century 50/50 campaign which provided parity for women in most state party committees and on the national party committees, and nearly half a century since women's groups like the National Women's Political Caucus initiated party reform efforts in 1968-72 to include parity in the representation of women in national nominating conventions. Yet women's gains in executive and legislative officeholding remain disappointing. Not only has the percent of women in elective office not advanced much in the past twenty years since the 1992 proclaimed "Year of the Woman,"[32] heading into the 2012 U.S. elections, only 24 percent of state legislators are female as are only 17 percent of the U.S. Congress – which places the United States 80th among other nations according to the InterParliamentary Union.[33] For women, the U.S. is not exceptional – it is an anomaly.

This paper goes beyond the claim of American exceptionalism[34] as an explanation to consider the value of lessons learned from the American case by examining the nature of American political dynamics. I first raise the question of whether it ultimately matters to define gender parity as human vs. women's rights, and then situate my argument within the idea of "gendered institutions," including a review of the historical evidence around the impact of gender quotas in the U.S. both as a good and

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32   1992 saw the election of 24 new women to the U.S. House and 5 to the U.S. Senate, the largest increase in history.

33   Figures from the Inter Parliamentary Union available on the web at: http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm#2

34   The concept of American exceptionalism is usually described as part of American political culture that views the U.S. as a country whose mission is to spread liberty and democracy. For others, it also refers to the extensive religiosity typified by the "City on a Hill" mentality.

bad practice, and propose some lessons learned from what some still call the American experiment in democracy.

● **The conundrum: Is gender parity a matter of human rights or women's rights?**

The fundamental question for women is whether the goal of women's representation and parity is a human rights or women's rights issue? Typically, these perspectives are treated as one and the same given that human rights are used to justify the inclusion of a variety of diverse perspectives, which are thought to be better for democracy. Human rights are available to all because of our shared humanity and reflect the norms and values of a higher international order. The Universal Declaration, adopted by the UN in 1948 guarantees free speech, assembly, religion, and the basic necessities of life (e.g., food and housing) as well as other rights (e.g., the right to work, equal and fair pay for equal work) and the right to be free from slavery, torture, and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. These rights are clearly a prerequisite to equality – but as we have seen, they may not be enough for parity. While I do not question the value of a human rights perspective, women's rights may be limited when solely viewed through the lens of human rights. When human rights are applied to women as a matter of rights and rules of the game, their rights are individualized rather than collectivized. The problem becomes a complex question – when do women's interests become a community? Consider these factors:

- Women's status and roles vary considerably by culture and by community;

- Women are not generally considered a "people" or a nation (e.g., sharing the same language, version of history, set of beliefs about the nature of the world, and able to lay claim to specific, shared territory); and

- When women do organize collectively, their movement goals vary across time and culture.

To see this question from a different perspective, it is important to consider the fact stressed by sociologist Helen Hacker (1951) that women are the only minority group that "lives" with the "master race." What this means is that women are born equally distributed among all races, all socioeconomic classes, and all regions and countries of the world. What it does not mean is that women have equal rights and equal opportunities across all these circumstances. What women seek as women will vary considerably in different communities depending on how and in what ways women constitute a political community. This is ultimately a political question that will become invisible if quotas are utilized in all political arenas. If the mechanism for women's inclusion requires that

women be included in all groups in a 50/50 proportion, then the substantive issue of women's representation becomes decoupled from social problems and is ultimately depoliticized (thus making women's voices invisible within other peoples, other communities, and other nations) since the representation of women is artificially equal despite the proportions of women or activist women who seek notice of these issues.

Thus, there is a theoretical reason to be cautious about the use of quotas and the experience in the U.S. underscores the need for caution. Let us first consider the types of "fixes" for women's underrepresentation that come from divergent frameworks about where the major barriers lie.

● **Various fixes: Changing the rules of the game vs. supply and demand vs. gendered institutions?**

The core question here concerns the nature of the barriers against women. There are competing explanations in the U.S. where it would seem that overt barriers have been eliminated. Is the problem as Germaine Greer asked in The Female Eunuch in 1970 - "*the cage door had been opened but the canary refused to fly out*"?

● **Changing the rules of the game**

Some theorists have pointed to a variety of structural factors, including the need to raise funding for campaigns (the lack of adequate public funding), the U.S. single member plurality electoral system (first past the post rather than multi-member districts), the politics of redistricting (which protects incumbents) (Palmer and Simon, 2008: 226-33), and the lack of gender quotas, among others. This "fix" assumes that these rules of the game differentially impact women, and assumes that competitive women candidates and potential candidates are in equal supply – the "pipeline" – which is not true.

● **Supply and demand Approaches**

While many speak of the "pipeline" theory, this type of explanation is probably better understood as a supply and demand approach. The supply side of the equation examines women's motivations to run for office (e.g., Lawless and Fox, 2010)

– how many are there available to run? Recent research (e.g., Lawless and Fox, 2010) examine the motivations of women in professions likely to be found among elected officials (e.g., lawyers, education and business). The idea here is that as women become more prevalent in the pipeline, their numbers will gradually increase at higher office levels over time. Ironically, while the career paths of women and men prior to serving in the U.S. Congress have converged, and the "*political pipeline is now open to women*" (Palmer and Simon 2008:222), women's gains in office remain limited. The fact that this has not happened has led Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox (2010) to conclude that the real problem is an ambition gap, not a gap in discrimination against women candidates at any stage of the game. The demand side focuses on recruitment to office based on the idea that candidates are recruited. For example, research has shown that male recruiters may be biased in favor of male candidates (Sanbonmatsu 2006; Niven 2010). Yet, other research has shown that most candidates in the U.S. – distinctive globally – are self-starters and are self-recruited (Jacobson and Kernell, 1983; 2007).

An additional problem with supply and demand approaches is that women have achieved parity or near parity in their participation as activists within the two major parties. Yet despite this equality, women as candidates have stagnated. To the extent that women who should be part of the recruitment pool are ignored or excluded, then the supply and demand and supply approaches are limited. As Kira Sanbonmatsu concludes, *"(t)he assumption that women's representation will automatically increase with time overlooks the causal mechanisms that bring women into the legislature"* (2006: 182). It is for this reason that gendered institutions must also play a role in the processes through which citizens become transformed into strategic candidates.

● **Gendered institutions and the potential potency of informal forms of gender discrimination**

Another issue is how the nature of gendered institutions (Kenney, 1996) such as political parties and other electoral and campaign groups may continue to limit women's power in complex ways (Rosenthal 2008). Political parties – a social formation that is partly within the private sector – are at once gendered institutions *and* institutions permeable to women's political power and representation. Recruitment processes, however, are the very stuff and substance of genuinely democratic leadership, and the institutionalization of parties creates important internal party gateways and routines for leadership selection (Baer, 1993; March and Olson, 1984; 1989). The core issue here is that these institutions may erect informal barriers that cannot be so easily identified as overt discrimination. The role of these organizations remains understudied – but the U.S. example provides some key insights to which I now turn.

● **The United States: A distinctive political and cultural context**

If we reject the intellectual trap of American exceptionalism the U.S. – however distinctive – is explicable within a comparative context. **Changes in the U.S. democracy are intimately tied to movement organization.** The expansion of American democracy (and not coincidentally the advent of genuine political parties) is usually dated to 1832 after the expansion of white, male suffrage (previously limited to (male) taxpayers and property owners) and the increase in grassroots participation. This era, referred to as the Jacksonian revolution where "*an aroused and demanding citizenry [nudged] the officeholders at Washington to develop the political skills and the political organization necessary to satisfy popular demands*" (Young 1966), demarcates the advent of political mobilization as the spur to change in the U.S. After Andrew Jackson's presidency, American political culture was noted for its lack of deference to established authority – an essential element for democratic organizing. This, combined, with the strong associational aspect of American culture noted early on by de Tocqueville, has created a fertile ground for social and reform movements. But the ability to mobilize is also a bar to progress because social movements tend to be episodic in nature. As a result, U.S. democracy tends to expand and contract rather than progress universally forward.

● **Mobilization as the major bar to empowerment in the U.S**

Overtime, groups in the U.S. gained power by individually mobilizing, and each group has its own distinct history. Women were granted the vote not by fiat but only after significant organizing by women (including after more than 70 years of organizing dating from the mid-1850s in what are historically counted nationally as two distinct women's movements[35], but also a state-level effort that was fought state-by-state). Union members gained political clout after the two major labor organizations (the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations) joined forces and became part of the 1932 New Deal coalition which then created the political will to institutionalize labor union organizing rights. Other large ethnic and racial groups such as African-Americans, Latino-Americans and Asian-Americans have all had their own distinctive fights for recognition. African-Americans have a particularly tangled history as both free blacks and as slaves prior to the Civil War, inclusion during the post-Civil War Reconstruction, and then exclusion from the 1890s constriction of legal rights (e.g., the white primary, poll tax, and grandfather rules) and outright intimidation (violence and lynching) common

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35   This includes the suffrage movement developing in 1890 out of the merger of the two rival woman suffrage groups; and the contemporary Women's Rights Movement usually dated to the 1966 organization of the National Organization for Women.

during the Progressive Era[36] (1890-1920) – a legacy only reversed during the 1960s Civil Rights movement and legal and political party reforms. Native Americans were not granted citizenship until 1924, and endured many restrictions on voting until the 1960s as well. Latinos have nationality-specific histories based upon immigration and how each nationality (Mexican, Cuban and Puerto Rican[37]) came to be a part of the U.S. Cubans who arrived after the Cuban Revolution tend to be Republican-leaning, while Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans tend to be Democratic-leaning. Asian-Pacific Islanders have suffered distinct discrimination – Chinese who were recruited as laborers were labeled as "aliens" and lacked citizenship under exclusion acts in the 1800s – which were not repealed until 1943 when Chinese were permitted to become naturalized citizens. Japanese-Americans (even citizens) were held in internment camps during World War II, and it was not until after the 1965 following passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act that Asian-Americans gained citizenship rights. Youth gained a federal right to vote at age 18 in the U.S. following their mobilization against the Vietnam War in 1972. And following the gay rights movement, gays and lesbians have also gain expanded rights – in 2008 gaining inclusion in the Democratic Party affirmative action for convention delegates and in 2012 the endorsement by President Obama and the 2012 Democratic Platform in favor of gay marriage. As each of these groups organized, there were advances in their inclusion – often within a specific political party -- but they were often followed by ebb in their political clout.

● **Women's movements in the U.S. and political empowerment**

There have been three distinct, organized movements for women: the Equal Rights Movement arising from the 1848 Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments; the Suffrage Movement developing in 1890 out of the merger of the two rival woman suffrage groups; and the contemporary Women's Rights Movement originating in 1961 when the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women was appointed by President Kennedy which stimulated new organization. The Equal Rights movement stressed women's equality in all spheres – including family/civil law, and access to education as well as voting. The Suffrage movement focused solely on suffrage and used conservative arguments, including an emphasis on white privilege popular during the Progressive Era where xenophobic, racist and anti-immigrant sentiments were dominant. The more

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36   Despite the label of "progressive," the U.S. Progressive Era despite its attack on corruption and the passage of child labor laws is also known for its constriction of access to the franchise (Baer and Bositis, 1993).

37   Mexican-Americans include those born in the U.S. as well as those who lived on land acquired from Mexico after the Mexican-American War. Their history dates from the mid-1800s. Cuban-Americans are relatively recent immigrants, many of whom have become naturalized since the 1960s. And Puerto Ricans can vote while on the continental U.S., but lack a vote while residing in Puerto Rico.

contemporary Women's Rights movement has stressed reproductive rights and equal access to education and within institutions. Thus, each movement had different goals and each built on the successes achieved by the previous movement. In the U.S., the history of the organization of women demonstrates a singularly episodic nature to women's empowerment distinct from other groups and communities. Noteworthy is that for each women's movement historically, new organizations had to be created to represent women with each new movement organization.

● **Best and worst practices: Quotas**

Quotas in the U.S. have existed, but do reflect both the best and the worst for women. The two major parties (the Democratic Party was founded in 1796, and the Republican Party was formed in 1860) for the most part predate the three identified women's movements. This fact greatly limits opportunities for forming a political party for women and until recently, American women have been active in both major parties. In fact, as Jo Freeman has noted, women entered American political parties "*one room at a time*" as they also engaged in women's movement activities (2000). While there have been many third party efforts in American history, "*suffrage activism normally institutionalized itself in interest group activism*" rather forming a new party (Gillespie, 1993). Each of the three American women's movements sought different goals at different times, which, in turn, impacted their relationship to the political parties. Let us now examine how the mobilization of women has been related to the failures and successes of quotas in the U.S.

● **Quotas: Worst practice, the impact of the 50/50 rule after the granting of suffrage**

The 50/50 Rule which focused on providing equal representation of women on party committees in the U.S. occurred not coincidentally alongside the suffrage movement and the Progressive movement where there was an effort to weaken political

parties as public utilities through public regulation[38]. It is also noteworthy that major arguments for suffrage were designed to support existing dominant groups. This meant that the adoption of the quotas occurred as the women's suffrage movement was demobilizing (the major suffrage organization disbanded and became the non-political League of Women Voters).

Colorado was the first state to require equal representation of men and women on all party committees from the precinct to the state central committee in 1910. Most of this change occurred through state laws. By 1947, nine states (Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, Oregon and South Dakota) had done so by state statute. Other states had provided for a parallel female vice chair structure without parity on state committees. Yet a survey of state party committee women in this era found that these were primarily honorific posts, lacking equality of influence (Fisher, 1947).

The same trend can be seen at the national levels. In 1920 – the year of the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment granting suffrage to women, the Democratic National Committee at its convention required that the national committee be composed of one man and one woman from each state and territory. The Republican Party followed suit in 1924 at its convention for its national committee and in 1940 also mandated that all RNC committees be evenly divided between men and women. The 50/50 balance on the RNC (but not RNC committees) ended in 1952 with the addition of Republican state chairs to the RNC — traditionally an overwhelmingly male group (which means that the RNC today has only a minimum of one-third female representation). But in 1960, Republican women gained an advance when the Convention adopted a rule providing for 50/50 representation of women delegates with men on all Convention committees. The decline of movement politics however, meant that increasingly women found the inner circles of party power closed to them in the immediate post-suffrage era. By the 1960s, one study found as many as half of Democratic national committeewomen, and about one-third of Republican committeewomen were rated quite unimportant by their peers – what Cotter and Hennessey called politics without power (Cotter and Hennessy, 1964).

The lesson of the successful 1920s 50/50 campaign is that quotas forced by statute and enacted universally by both parties can and have been used to depoliticize

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38   Leon Epstein (1986) developed a concept of parties based on this experience called the public utility party. This status represents a half-way house between full public ownership and a completely private association. Public utilities comprise "*an agency performing a service in which the public has a special interest sufficient to justify governmental control, along with the extension of legal privileges, but not governmental ownership or management of all the agency's activities.*" (Epstein, 1986:157). Like the electric or water companies, Epstein argues some governments view parties as a monopoly imbued with privilege, yet are or should be highly regulated to ensure the public good. A considerable body of research on American parties views these regulations as greatly weakening parties, freezing alignments to limit inclusion of African-Americans, women, youth and other minorities, and separating national parties from the grassroots.

● **Quotas: Best practice, the impact of party quotas adopted in 1980 by the democrats**.

In contrast, the Democratic Party adopted a party quota for women at the cusp of the third U.S. women's movement – as women were mobilizing as women and the gender gap in voting became a factor considered in presidential election strategies after its discovery in 1980 by Eleanor Smeal. Prior to 1980, women tended to vote more Republican and by 1980, they had switched to a gap favoring the Democratic Party. Over a period of 12 to 22 years, quotas in the Democratic Party led to advances for women in the U.S. not only within the party, but nationally. Nonetheless, both parties are gendered institutions in which women still face barriers.

By 1968, there were growing demands for inclusion of women following the disastrous 1968 Democratic convention. The watershed event for women between 1968 and 1972 was the demand for parity at the conventions — here the Democrats reformed and the Republicans refused (to be discussed below). Prior to the 1970s, there had been no organized efforts to demand parity in convention delegate selection. Political opportunities expanded for women in 1968 when the Democratic Convention authorized the appointment of a reform commission (later known as the McGovern-Fraser Commission) to study Democratic Party rules (Abzug and Kelber, 1984; Baer and Bositis, 1988). The newly organized (1971) National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) took the lead and chose as its inaugural initiative the reform of the Democratic and Republican parties – a battle which succeeded in doubling and tripling women's representation in the post-party reform era. The dominance of the Democratic Party by the southern wing (traditionally least supportive of women's rights) and by organized labor (then quite hostile to the women's movement) meant no change would come easily. But the McGovern-Fraser Commission, under pressure from NWPC (and other groups) in 1971-72, *mandated* proportional representation for women, blacks, and youths (those under 30) for the 1972 Democratic convention. As a result, the proportion of women tripled from 13% in 1968 to 40% in 1972. Following McGovern's defeat, party reform came under attack by dominant party forces. In response, the Mikulski Commission rewrote delegate selection rules, banning "quotas" in favor of affirmative action efforts. Since states which filed an affirmative action plan were granted immunity from credentials challenges, efforts to include women were dependent upon local party culture and traditions. The proportion of women dropped sharply in 1976 to 34%.

In 1974, Democratic women gained a significant advance by using the historical precedent of the 50/50 Rule. First, the 1974 Democratic Party Charter established

the supremacy of national party law, a move which permanently reduced the power of sectional and local interests to oppose inclusion of women. *And second,* while the McGovern-Fraser quotas were "banned," the Charter expressly exempted equal division of men and women from the ban (Article Ten, Section 11). This was done at the behest of women delegates into the 1974 Mid-Term Convention following a contentious session in which both black and women delegates walked out, protesting efforts to undermine party reform. In 1980, the Democratic National Committee, acting under the Charter exemption, adopted the 50/50 Rule for delegates.[39] In 1988, at the behest of presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, the 1988 Convention amended the Charter to extend the 50/50 Rule from the final statewide delegation to *each* candidate's delegation within each state.

The American women's movement has decreased as an active movement since the mid-1990s and is now in a latent phase. While some may argue about the date, I have dated this to 1994 when the Republican Party regained a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives (Baer 2009). By 1996, the women's movement no longer organized the women's caucus meetings for delegates at the quadrennial Democratic Conventions – a process originated and led by the NWPC from 1972 until 1992. Nonetheless, the growth in women's clout within the Democratic Party has been accompanied by a taxpayer supported National Women's Conference in 1977 and passage of landmark legislation when Democrats are in power such as the Title IX ban on education discrimination (1972), Pregnancy Non-Discrimination Act (1978), Violence Against Women Act (1994), the Medical and Family Leave Act (1993), and the Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay Act (among others).

The lesson of the successful 1968/1972/1980 campaign for parity in the Democratic Party shows that quotas within parties can and have been used to advance women's interests where they are backed by an aroused and expanding mobilization of women.

● **Quotas: A rejected practice, the Republican Party and the growth of the gender divide, 1994 - 2012**

Until 2012, the Republican Party has traditionally and volubly regarded the selection of delegates as ONLY a state matter. While there were two reform commissions appointed (DO (Delegates and Organization) - and Rule 29 committees (authorized by the

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39   The Democratic Party Charter was also amended in 1980 to provide equal division for all party groups - namely "the Democratic National Committee, the Executive Committee, Democratic state central committees, commissions, and like bodies" (Article Eleven, Section 16). Interestingly, the DNC has not tried to demand compliance with this rule since an early and incomplete effort in 1981-82.

1968 and 1972 Republican conventions respectively)), party and confederal traditions prevailed when women's issues came to the fore. The national Republican Party adamantly refused to mandate gender parity and to-date remains unreformed on representation of women. It is true that following the dramatic upsurge of Democratic women delegates in 1972, the proportion of Republican women delegates also rose in the years in 1972-80 to about one-third of the delegates. Even as women's organizations found the 1980s increasingly difficult for organizing after failure of the ERA ratification, discovery of the gender gap after the 1980 election focused increased attention on women's issues and representation of women nationally. In particular, Republican leaders have grown more concerned about how the low proportion of women at Republican conventions makes the party look unresponsive. In the absence of official rules and quotas, however, efforts to include women rests with the traditional mechanism of personal intervention by influential leaders - which is affected by whether an incumbent is running for reelection. In 1984, the proportion of Republican women increased to a record 44% largely through the intervention of President Reagan's campaign manager, Ed Rollins, who personally called each state party. In 1988 however, when the race involved a contested primary and no incumbent, the proportion of women delegates returned to one-third. With an incumbent president, Republican women delegates increased to 41% in 1992, only to drop in 1996 and 2000 to 33% following a contested primary campaign. In 2004, with efforts from the Republican National Committee, the proportion of women delegates rose to 44%. In 2008, this dropped to 33%. Without extraordinary efforts, there seems to be an informal glass ceiling for Republican women of about one-third of the delegates.

The failure to reform – due to a claimed respect for the grassroots structure and given its confederal structure – was dramatically brought into party consciousness in an underreported coup d'état organized from the top at the 2012 Republican convention. Focused on what are known as Rules 12 and 15, the Republican rules changes have the net effect of consolidating the power of the national party to control the delegate selection process. In doing so, the RNC and the insider or frontrunner presidential candidate can now limit insurgent candidates and control the platform process from the top-down. Combined with Ron Paul's absence from the speaking podium at the convention and the decision of the Credentials Committee to strip Paul of half of the Maine delegation and to award these delegate slots to Romney supporters, this demonstrates a nearly complete reversal of what had been claimed as basic party principles. The rules changes now permit winner-take-all primaries (contrary to 2012); allowed binding primaries; increased the number of states won for formal nomination from 5 to 8; and now allows the RNC to make changes to party rules in-between conventions. While these rule changes may be applauded on the left as limiting what are viewed as fringe anti-progressive (e.g., the libertarian, Tea Party, and conservative Christian) movements, what is central here is that these reform changes DO make it more difficult for grassroots, insurgent or movement groups to gain clout within the Republican Party.

From a feminist perspective, it is obvious that the Republican Party's argument against quotas was a pretext rather than an unchangeable party tradition that was so basic that it could not be changed without changing the character of the party. This is all the more obvious when one considers what a longterm feminist activists and Republican, Tanya Melich, has labeled "The Republican War Against Women." This "War" has meant that the Republican Party – instead of welcoming Republican women who were pro-choice on abortion and in favor of women's rights – systematically welcomed anti-feminist groups and excluded feminist Republicans. This has created a gendered partisan divide between the two parties where the Republican Party now represents different types of women than is true of the Democratic Party.

● **The shape of the American contemporary gendered partisan divide**

Polarization of American parties over the past thirty to forty years has occurred coterminous with the women's movement and congressional and political party reforms of the 1960s and 1970s. If there were gender quotas enforced by federal or state law by parties, the shape of this gendered partisan divide over women's issues would be invisible. Polarization is dramatically misunderstood in the U.S. which is not friendly turf for ideological parties. Beyond the fact that coalitions within the two major parties are more homogeneous within party, the nature of the realignment also includes gender issues. Women and politics scholars have argued the parties are realigned on women's rights issues (Wollbrecht, 2000; Sanbonmatsu, 2002; Baer, 2004), a process which began in 1976 (Freeman, 1993). This realignment follows and has accentuated existing differences in party culture.

The two parties represent different types of women, and women at different stages of their lives. By 1996, the Republican Party had successfully mobilized a different community of women – women who increasingly seek to represent the traditional family, and who are relatively conservative ideologically. These women were mobilized largely through Pro-Life and Evangelical movements, not through the mainstream women's movement. This process included mobilization through a top-down, candidate strategy-based approach that targeted religious and political movements external to the Republican Party. If women have made gains toward gender parity in both parties, what is the shape of the gendered partisan divide? Democrats overall are proportionately less married (ranging from only about one in two to as many as two in three delegates) than is true of Republicans (more consistently about four in five delegates). With the exception of 1980, Democrats overall tend to be employed at higher or equal levels of Republicans. A declining, but sizeable and statistically significant proportion of Republican women volunteer that their occupation is "homemaker." This ranges from a high of 47% in 1980 to a low of 15% in 2000. Republican women are also significantly

less likely to be employed, ranging from a low of 49% in 1980 to a high of 78% in 1996. In contrast, employment among Democratic women ranged from a low of 76% in 2004 to a high of 90% in 1996. Republican women delegates are less educated. Only about a quarter to a third of Republican women delegates have advanced training beyond a bachelor's degree. This stands in contrast to somewhat less than half (a low of 42% in 1984) to about half of Democratic women delegates (in 1980, 1996, 2000 and 2004). This is consistent with cross-party comparisons. More Democratic delegates overall tend to have advanced training or an advanced degree. However, the gap between Republican women and Republican men is larger than is true for Democratic women and Democratic men. Church attendance sharply differentiates the parties. More than half of Republican delegates overall, including Republican women delegates, claim to attend church once a week. This is compared to only around a third who do so in the Democratic Party. While not all of the comparisons are significant, the trend is for about twice as many Republican women to attend church more than once a week than is true for Democratic women (Baer and Bositis, 1983; Baer, 2005; 2010; 2012).

As a result, the two parties have taken alternative positions on issues such as the ERA (in 1980, the Republican dropped endorsement of the ERA in its platform), and on reproductive choice. And this is linked with the type of women who are recruited within the two parties. For example, there is a large and growing partisan gender gap in officeholding that favors the Democratic Party. In 2009, for example, seven out of ten women state legislators are Democrats and even after the Republican wave in 2010 midterm elections, for every two women Republican state legislators, there were three Democratic women.[40] The partisan gender gap in officeholding is also evident in federal elections. Since the early 1990s, there has been a marked party differential in the U.S. Congress. For every Republican woman House member and Senator, there are more than three women Democrats. This means that polarization is not just about policy, it is intimately tied to how parties recruit and nominate women within their parties.

The lesson of the unsuccessful 1968/1972 campaign for parity in the Republican Party shows that the rejection of quotas does reflect political values than can have anti-feminist and anti-woman consequences while reflecting traditional gender roles that deny women equal access to the public sphere.

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40   Calculations based upon figures provided by the Center for the American Woman and Politics, Rutgers University. Available on the web at: http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/index.php.

Jean Jaurès
Fondation

● **The Achieving Parity project: A new look at the flat-lining of women's progress in the U.S.**

The American experiment is a work in progress and the *Achieving Parity* research being conducted by the Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR). Funded by the Hunt Alternative Fund, the project is intended to add more information about what promotes and what hinders women's progress in achieving elective office by examining how women construct political careers in the U.S. across time based on the framework of gendered institutions. It includes the following assumptions:

- Running for office is a relatively rare political activity. As such, even individuals with high level professions or political participation levels (measured using mass-level indicators) may have fantastic or unrealistic ideas about what is involved and how to address the challenges of mounting a candidacy.

- Standard measures of ambition treat it as an attitude rather than an intention – and fail to consider impact of party culture and appointive offices as well as elective office – as well as the political opportunity structure which varies by locality, state and region (Baer, 2012).

- Contrary to some existing assumptions, there remain barriers not detectable by standard methods to women running for office (Sanbonmatsu, *Where Women Run*, 2006).

- Women do take multiple and different paths to political office (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2010).

- Women candidates seem to be more strategic (i.e., sensitive to political opportunities) than is true of men (Fulton, Maestas, Maisel, and Stone, 2006).

- Political opportunity structures are better measured within parties and using perceptions of different party and candidate routes to office.

- Women's organizations as well as other political groups within polarized party factions structure party recruitment (Sanbonmatsu, 2010; Baer and Dolan, 1994; Baer and Jackson, 2009; Baer, 2010).

- Regression equations which identify the statistical impact average differences when all other factors are statistically controlled for are imperfect tools for examining how political careers are constructed (i.e., they are not constructed on average and many existing elected women would not likely be predicted to have run for office based on existing models) – i.e., there will be multiple and diverse career paths.

● Conclusions: Lessons learned from the American example

The impact of gender quotas in the U.S. tells us that when they are included as part of an effort led by women in an organized women's movement, they can have a beneficial impact such as they did for the Democratic Party since 1972. However when the active phase of the women's movement declines, the success of women may become lessened. Quotas can also be used to depoliticize women's clout when – as was done in the 1920s 50/50 campaign – they are adopted as the women's movement enters the latent phase. And finally, when there exist parties which represent different social formations, different parties may take differing positions on women's rights. This has occurred in the Republican Party in the U.S. which has moved backwards on its policies toward women – e.g., dropping its endorsement of the ERA and switching to an anti-choice position on reproductive issues. In this case, inclusion of women (with or without quotas) can be used in anti-feminist and anti-woman ways.

The growing question – in the U.S. and globally – is to decide what is substantive representation for women? This is more than a human rights or a numerical question. For this reason, I would argue that we work to consider quotas as merely one tool among others rather than a desirable outcome in and of itself. Electoral engineering is much more common outside of the U.S. – but is better considered as a family of practices ranging from the more fluid to the less fluid.[41] For example, placing regulations in the constitution (or statutes) are least fluid, which expanding participation through enabling devices are more fluid. In between, there are a variety of devices ranging from voting devices, special districts, to party-based quotas This is because placing particular forms into fixed law may actually undermine representation by "essentializing" it (e.g., assuming that any woman can represent all women) or making them void and non-political by freezing existing political alignments or else making them invisible by assuming women have the same point of view and are equally represented in each community. As Anne Marie Goetz (2007) has argued, where parties do active recruitment (unlike the U.S.), quotas may be used to appoint women who support existing leaders rather than women acting as change agents. Jane Mansbridge (1999) cautions that measures for women should – to maintain their democratic nature – be fluid, dynamic, and easily changed. The U.S. example supports this argument and encourages us to pay much more

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41   In the U.S., political parties are private entities. While the states have been allowed to legislate party structures in the Progressive Era (1890-1920), a number of these have been undone by the U.S. Supreme Court. Globally, the tradition in legislating party law has continued to provide for a party law that regulates a variety of aspects of political parties. Dan Avnon (1995) looked at party law recently adopted or amended in nine democratic countries (Venezuela (1965), Germany (1967 and 1949), Finland (1969), Austria (1975), Spain (1978), Turkey (1980 and 1965), Argentina (1982), Poland (1990) and Israel (1992). In seven of these nine countries, Avnon notes that the content of these laws encompassed their legal status, registration requirements, internal organization, political finance, and provided for legal sanctions for non-compliance. Ken Janda (2005) has similarly found that more countries are now writing party law and that much of this is placed in constitutions.

attention to the informal structures within political parties as we consider what parity truly means. From the translatlantic and global perspective of democracy and women's issues, what is the ideal approach? Politics may be a unique arena different from others – such as business and education – since politics needs to be able to be responsive to new movements, new ideas, and to the ability of men and women to define what their needs are and to recruit among themselves for new leadership. **Democracy requires women's participation – but for effective democracy – it must permit women themselves to define their participation as women rather than as members of other groups and communities or as defined by the men in their lives.**

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PATH TO EQUALITY

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I have been requested hundreds of time to speak or write about women's presence and representation in all domains of life, starting from politics, the world where I feel most at home. The fourth edition of the transatlantic seminar on gender equality gave me a special stimulus. It led me to go back over my path of institutional and political commitment to verify the validity of existing narrative and theories. So I have decided to write over my own experience and share the thoughts which have come out of this self-analysis, which has certainly been honest and I hope useful too. It has not always been easy to be honest. You care for your image, whether you want it or not.

Throughout my career, I have served in several positions, which engagements have been completed by my private commitments to a number of causes. I would like to underline that when I became a member of the European Parliament, this commitment became my job; before that, my political activity was completely voluntary and I had to cope with it alongside my family and professional life. The following considerations concern my political "career" and my life in institutions, in particular the work I did in the European Parliament.

I have been in various decision-making bodies and have had roles of

considerable responsibility and importance, from when I was 40 onwards. It is so typically Italian to have some success when you are not so young anymore. Italy is not a country which promotes young people, in particular young women. I have done my best in all situations, doing or trying to do work of high quality. Firstly because it was a good thing in itself and also because I wanted to promote myself at the same time, I have always felt committed to promoting other women. I made mistaken assumptions and I paid for it, which hurt me deeply as well as led to defeat. For example, when I was a candidate to lead my small party (the Italian Socialist Party – PSI), I had no support from the women of the party. I had taken their support for granted and I thought I deserved it, since I had dedicated a lot of commitment to the cause of women inside and outside the party.

My commitment to the cause of women and their/our promotion has been part of the evaluation of my identity, not as a duty chosen rationally, but as an instinctive reaction to discrimination against women in various forms that I have considered an injustice since I was a child. I have always felt part of a female universe.

In my work I have often found myself in the position of having to choose in terms of priority and loyalty: who or what to give priority to, in the case of a conflict situation: the national interest or the European one? Care for the constituency or the quality of the job I was doing, for example by spending the weekend writing a good report? Above all and more and more often, I had to choose between my loyalty to the cause of women or to my party, my group, my delegation. Now that I am not that young anymore, but maybe more expert and wise, I am sure that for me gender loyalty must come first.

I have been in leadership in different situations without bothering about the nature of this leadership very much. I used to have difficulties in exercising leadership. Sometimes this was due to my personal characteristics (eg. shyness, uncertainty, need for recognition). At other times it was due to others' difficulty/inability to recognize different models of leadership. However, when I had reached a greater awareness and I no longer needed external acknowledgement, or at least my need was not so strong, I fulfilled the role comfortably.

I have worked extremely hard, with passion and commitment. I have had satisfaction and recognition. I have almost always reached my objectives. I am quite sure, though, I have taken much more time than my male colleagues to reach my objectives, for instance the parliamentary seat. In conclusion, I have had to be twice as good and take more time than my male colleagues.

Sometimes I have suffered loneliness and this feeling has helped me to think about things and to mature. I have needed time and help to think it over and to understand the difference between being alone and feeling lonely. Being aware of this difference has made me stronger.

My election to the European Parliament was both the achievement of a very important target and the result of an enormous effort. I pursued this with all my will-power and means, feeling abandoned by my party leaders who, after making me a candidate and advising me about the funds, disappeared off the scene. During the electoral campaign on the other hand, I found great support from comrades, women and men, who were also good friends of mine, and from women in general, and not only from my party. I owe them my election success which brought me great fulfilment. In fact it gave me the chance to be part of the only European institution legitimized by a popular vote, an institutional level which I had thought I could not even aim at, as it was so high up for me, at least as high as the project of the United States of Europe. In this new role I had to face new challenges, really exciting but very hard as well. The following paragraphs refer to my term as a Member of the European Parliament but in fact are true of my whole political life.

● The sense of duty: a sort of obsession

The duty of doing an excellent job: I have always taken my job seriously, never neglecting the quality of my work. The duty to "be good" has cost me much - maybe too much - time and energy. I spent nights and weekends reading others' reports in order to prepare mine, to understand ever more, to be more and more competent, to know everything about the subject, consuming energy, time, even personal abilities.

The duty of being always present, or present as much as possible. I was present a lot, I did an incredible quantity of work, taking part in the sessions of the working commissions, more than in the plenary sessions where a personal contribution is not so helpful. In commissions you discuss, in plenary sessions you make statements. In my effort to be present, another way of doing your job well, I neglected my constituency, not only failing to keep them informed about my parliamentary activity but also omitting to make myself visible with a view to re-election. I think that the choice of prioritising my activity in the European Parliament rather than taking care of my constituency was due to a sort of difficulty I have in working for myself, to secure my own advantage.

The duty of keeping good relations: I grew up with the concept of good behaviour. I was taught to express opinions and reasons calmly, and sometimes I confused the positive concept of firmness with the unacceptable one of aggressiveness. I have learnt, maybe a little too late from Madeleine Albright, that you do not have to wait until *they* give you the chance to speak, but that you must take it when you have something to say, even interrupting. Otherwise others will say what you were about to say and they will even be complimented for the brilliant idea that you also had had.

The duty of reconciliation: Reconciling all these duties presented a very difficult

challenge. It meant I had to compose inside myself a sort of split between the competing demands on my life: following the duty to provide a regular presence and be diligent in Parliament *versus* taking care of my constituency, having re-election in mind; satisfying the need to be ready, well prepared on everything *versus* being able to select, among the many, those files that deserved priority; being determined and positive in relationships with colleagues and companions *versus* not looking or being too aggressive. I lived a sort of continuous split among three aspects: "wanting to be", picking an ideal model to take inspiration from; "having to be", the commitment to comply with that ideal; "being able to", having to face reality as to available resources of time, knowledge, energies… Meeting this challenge has helped me to overcome this constant split and to integrate the different aspects of role management, or perhaps power management. Being able to integrate means you can live under the range defined by "and" not by "or".

Women, I should say all women, have to face the problem of reconciliation. It has always been part of our experience to be called on to cope with the demands of family life, care, time for ourselves and time for a professional job. This has also been a form of reconciliation that sometimes I have been able to manage, other times I have not been able to, because the challenge becomes enormous when you have to cope with the complexity of public life alongside the private one.

● **Conditions enabling women to cope with challenges and becoming more effective and influential**

There are internal and external conditions, the former connected to the person, the latter to the context, and also situations in which these two aspects are woven together. They are associated with the use of tools which are valid and helpful in any context, not only the political one, and for both men and women. I am going to highlight ten of these conditions, without claiming to be exhaustive.

Self-esteem: you must be able to legitimate yourself, to recognize for yourself the full right to occupy the position and carry out the role that the position implies. The awareness of being adequate means that you have the right dose of self-esteem. For some of us this is the starting point, for others it is the end of a process which may be difficult and tiring. Believing in your own abilities is indispensable. Trying to reach a target without trusting yourself means being condemned to miss it. Moreover, the institutional responses (either public or private) often emphasize the social representation of a woman as a disadvantaged subject, instead of emphasizing her innovative potential. It is indispensable to weigh up one's own abilities, which also include the ability to ask for help if necessary, and value one's talents. Women usually note what their deficiencies, instead of emphasising the positive aspects of their actions.

Capitalization: acquiring the ability to capitalize on the positive results you reach, for which it is necessary to identify the mechanisms and means to emphasize and advertise these positive achievements. You need to give time and attention to making the results pay off, whether they follow from an individual action or a collective one with the help of supporting networks. Believing that an acknowledgement can be taken for granted is an illusion, and it is a sort of expression of arrogance as well: they owe me this acknowledgement. I would like to bring up a personal example. I was honoured as the best member of the European Parliament 2009 in the field of innovation and research but I have almost never advertised this acknowledgement. Was it an act of modesty? No, it was rather a wasted opportunity, if not stupidity.

Training: you not only have to acquire competences but they have to be continuously updated and a training programme is necessary. This may be enhanced by the systematic building of career paths, by organizing successive passages to higher and higher levels: real training courses, updating courses which may cover both content and communication techniques.

Determination: this is a pre-condition to exercising leadership, fundamental in order to achieve the objectives you have in mind. It is a necessary quality to guide processes, involve others in your projects, and have a positive influence on the context in which you operate.

Knowledge of rules: it is fundamental to know the rules and to be able to comprehend that there are implicit rules besides the explicit ones. This ability means you understand the environment you live in. It is more difficult to interpret the unspoken rules of a situation - or to be aware of their existence. This difficulty affects new participants in any situation, institutional or not, as they represent competitors for those who are already part of the group. There is a conflict of interests between the old ones, who already know explicit and implicit rules and have the map of power positions, and the new ones with whom they may have to share power. The old ones have a vested interest in not passing information to the new ones.

The relationship with power: this is a thorny problem that most women - although not all of them - have not been able to solve, since power is perceived as a sort of black hole that raises diffidence, fear, that makes you keep your distance, reluctant to get involved. Power is a concept full of different connotations, more negative ones than positives, and it deserves serious and deep consideration. It is considered to be more elegant or rather less embarrassing to claim access to a decision-making position than to claim power. This leads me to suggest that there is a great misunderstanding, which comes from how power is often used, mainly by men. In prevailing behaviours, the dominant aspect of power is that it rules out the power of others - what you gain I lose -, neglecting the emancipating aspect which may grow and expand in synergy with different subjects

at the same time. According to me, this is the reason why women tend to keep away from power. Power is the ability to generate necessary activities, to mobilize resources, to obtain and make use of what is indispensable in order to reach the objectives that a person, a group, a party have in mind. There is a mixture of giving and having when exercising the freeing/emancipating power. You ask for power to have (jobs, positions) with the objective of giving and doing. Therefore, I believe that the world would be very different if power were equally split between men and women.

Relations among women: this is another thorny problem, since relations among women have to be built and nurtured. We feel obliged to speak always positively of ourselves and in this way we deny problems which, if not faced, risk compromising not only relations, but even the effectiveness of our actions. We must have the courage to admit the difficulties that sometimes are present in relations among women. The topic of envy and betrayal, true or alleged, is real and we must face it. The conviction, widely-held in Italy, that women do not cooperate to achieve a common goal, which happens more in countries where the women's political movement is weak, has indeed to do with feelings such as envy, in addition to lack of experience. The stereotype of envious women conceals the fact that women have been obliged to be envious by a patriarchal culture. Women might be considered envious not because of a presumed revengeful, poisonous, devious, female nature, but because they have been suffering for a long time from an undeserved and unjust status of marginality and impotence. Their reaction to all this can even show different manifestations of envy. The usual "why her and not me" reaction must be overcome, putting us together in a common path of unifying forces. Men are able to keep together because they have a long experience of exercising power. We still have to learn but it depends on us because we cannot expect or hope that a monopolist will voluntarily break his monopoly.

Networks: they need to be built and maintained. In particular networks among women must be prioritized, not only because they make women's actions more visible and efficient, but also because they may help to make it clear that this is a topic of women's collective interest. A network is a particularly effective way of helping overcome the gap between recognized competences and denied presences. There is a collective dimension in promoting a gender perspective.

The relevance of numbers, a quota system: a gender-balanced presence is indispensable for effective women's action. Some surveys on man-woman relations and on the potentials of role have shown how much numeric relations interfere with the possibility of proving men's and women's abilities and competences to be equal, as happens above all when women occupy high levels of decision-making positions. It has been actually pointed out that numeric relations between men and women in the population are so important as to predetermine a lot of behavioural phenomena in a positive sense (ability to express one's value in a positive and direct way, openly)

or a negative one (conformism and adaptability being the answer to the fear of losing relationships or of prefiguring loneliness). It is not only about affirming the principle of equality and of promoting equality within democracy, but it is also allowing the expression of the existing potentialities and the full and effective use of resources and talents at hand. This is why it is necessary to promote the use of a quota system in parties, in electoral systems, in boards of directors of public and private companies - in all decision-making positions.

Witnesses of values and good practices: To connect up the world where we operate, institutional and/or political and fill the gap between politics and civil society, this is a duty that women feel intensely. It is necessary though that we identify and use the most effective tools and methods for this purpose and that they become testimonials of values and good practices.

Transparency: our commitment to be transparent is not sufficient, we must be the promoters of transparency by spreading information about the mechanisms (implicit or explicit rules) and by demanding transparency from others.

Accountability: it is important to be responsible for what we do, but it is important as well to promote and demand accountability from others.

Competences: we must give examples of the increase in value of competences, which must be the basis of assignments, appointments, nominations. A very useful tool is to prepare databases of women's competences, a systematic collection of women's skills sets. We must then promote the construction of a register of competences and encourage its use and promotion, something which was lacking in the few cases where this initiative of keeping a register has taken place.

These examples of values to be promoted and good practices to be repeated are some of the long term aims which can be encouraged in various contexts. This also applies to the ten areas I have listed as being the conditions for women to cope with the daily challenges and to become more effective and influential.

This is a sort of summary of my experience as a woman in politics and institutions. I am now 63 and still willing to fight for the cause of women. There is still a long way to go for gender equality so we cannot give up. I cannot say that it has always been easy to promote our common cause - sometimes my fight has not been understood in the right way even by women. Yet I think that this commitment has been the field which was most worth fighting for in all my life. I have always felt at home when I am in a women's environment, I have felt sisterhood around. A good feeling, the same as I have experience when I am at home with my family where my eight sisters set the tone, a good one, for the entire family.

GETTING OUT OF THE SAFETY ZONE

Barbara Lawton

Former Lieutenant Governor of Wisconsin

Gender equality still eludes us in the U.S., even and especially in the political realm. After a rough and tumble election season just ended, one that saw a record number of women running for Congress, we see only modest gains in both houses. Twenty women will be seated as U.S. Senators in January, including the first openly gay woman to serve, a 3% increase to 20%, a historical high for women. In the House, with a few elections still to be called, it appears we will see an increase from 16.8% to 18.6% in the 113th U.S. Congress. But as the cheering dies down, we must admit this progress comes at a glacial pace. Numbers for women in state legislatures have not been tallied yet, but we know fewer women ran for office at this level than the session before so prospects for real progress are grim. And as we compare ourselves to our sisters in other countries, we can't help but note the bitter irony in strong opposition to gender quotas here in the U.S., even as our government insists, for example, they be inserted in the constitution of a new democracy in Iraq.

How do these stagnant, low levels of women in government at all levels impact life in the U.S.? Without critical mass of women in leadership roles and in legislatures, issues that define the lives of families are stuck in another century and dysfunctional politics prevail. For example:

- The U.S. is one of only 3 countries in the world with no guarantee for maternity wage benefits. The other two are Papua New Guinea and Swaziland.

- Only half of U.S. children get any early childhood education, and there is no national strategy on the horizon to increase enrollment.

- Male politicians of both parties broker policy deals over the bodies of women. Democrats offered up the Medicaid Family Planning Waiver as the first (unsolicited) bargaining chip in the stimulus debate in 2009 – and gave it away getting nothing in return. Republicans used Planned Parenthood funding and abortion to control budget negotiations. State legislatures across the country in 2011 proposed 700-1100 restrictions on women's health care.

- Their own party cannibalizes Republican women officeholders unless they hold a firm line against policy that would recognize a women's autonomy over her reproductive cycle.

- We see an increasingly untenable absence of infrastructure for care – of children, the disabled, the elderly - at all levels, too many defensive "progressive" male leaders, a scarcity mentality used to legitimize inaction in face of data, and back-sliding in women in leadership positions in decision-making bodies.

The younger generation of women doesn't see it, doesn't even think about it. They aspire to achieve in a gender-neutral setting. If there's still a mess out there, they assume their mothers will clean it up. Older women – in the work place, talking to the press, in social settings - are certain they'll be penalized for bringing it up, labeled a whiner, shut out, vilified. And so the discussion of that rapid aging process human resource professionals call "work-life balance" expands to include fathers, but inevitably draws our focus away from lingering habits and structures of gender discrimination.

At the heart of the fight are three inextricably linked issues that define how we as a society value women: a woman's autonomy over her body and control of her reproductive cycle; equal pay; and zero tolerance for sexual harassment or violence against women. Those issues show us the path to progress, because we know that

- when we value women, support and honor their reproductive role in society rather than perpetuate wage practices that punish mothers,

- when we insist that women enjoy full citizenship with the right to privacy in their medical decisions and autonomy over their own bodies,

- when we have zero tolerance for violenc,e to women and children,

- when we insist on pay equity,

- then women will earn more, enjoy secure retirement, families will be more stable, communities stronger and the integrity of our democracy will be strengthened.

Long experience tells us that these issues will only be fully addressed when more women hold leadership positions in elected office. Women tend to over-prepare, over-credential and over-achieve before *thinking* about accepting an invitation into the political arena. And the majority of women wait to be asked to run. A best practice to remedy the paucity of women at the helm right now would be a strategy to empower and embolden the abundance of situational leaders already at hand. A worst practice would be defined by governmental institutions or organizations that, by design or practice, undercut their purported purpose.

I offer as an immediate best practice a combination of Emerge America and Women's Campaign Fund. Emerge America operates today in twelve states. They identify, train and encourage women to run for office, get elected and to seek higher office. Their intensive, cohort-based seventy-hour, seven-month training program is unique and uniquely effective. It covers ten areas essential for a candidate to master. They recruit and train, build a network among participants and then connect them to a broader statewide network of women political leaders. At its best, Emerge chapters are incubators for a leadership talent pool, mechanisms that would then funnel those women into growth experiences. **Active mentorship is key to its success.** I suggest combining the Emerge model with Women's Campaign Fund because if trained women candidates were also provided seed money and ongoing research, the province of WCF, we would see more women taken seriously by the male-dominated political establishment.

A much-needed supportive plan to move girls into position to participate would power up this best practice. I suggest we develop a structure in public schools for girls to lead oversight of the implementation of Title IX's fullest protection against gender discrimination. It would open opportunities for mentoring linked directly to girls' empowerment.

In the U.S., the worst practices are to be found within state government itself. There are only seven women's legislative caucuses in fifty states, and five of the seven appear to be inactive. There are twenty-five statutory commissions on the status of women whose very design for membership and/or lack of funding guarantees their dysfunction. The worst part is that the public perceives that, because a women's caucus or council exists, someone is on the job to address gender inequities. But of those twenty-five commissions, some are inactive, some list no policy agenda, some serve narrow departmental goals, and only twelve apparently function at some level.

We must get out of the safety zone of incremental politics and reverse our civic recession if there is to be any hope of gender equality. I believe the only possibility lies in the public funding of campaigns. A woman led public funding for state races in one state, when she succeeded the Connecticut governor who left office in a scandal. They boast 75% participation in a voluntary funding program, and a higher-than-average 30% of state legislature and statewide offices held by women. The program is at risk today as the current legislature tries to rob the fund for other budget purposes.

Public funding faces an uphill climb. The political consultant industry in the U.S. runs $6 billion a year; that's a lot of players with clients with deep pockets opposed to losing their influence. Campaigns face the double dynamic of the expense of increased paid communication and reduced earned coverage. The increase in highly partisan media indicates the value of these markets. In the end, the race for money governs what policy proposals advance and drives away potential candidates disinclined to beg for money while watching their family and integrity under attack.

If we are to progress toward gender equity, we must change the way we speak of the challenges ahead. Talk of triumph as breaking through the glass ceiling obscures the reality that no one goes through a glass ceiling without risking serious injury, and the ceiling may be reinstalled right behind you. Instead, we must focus on strategies to drive change in this culture that keeps women at meager leadership levels.

That will require examining the relationship between political messaging and trends in gender equality: how can we harness one in the service of the other? How can we free women to lead and to advance a bold agenda for progress?

BUSINESS AS UNUSUAL

MENTORING AND SPONSORSHIP OF WOMEN:
TOOLS TO ACCELERATE GENDER DIVERSITY IN THE CORPORATE WORLD

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In the United States, mentoring programs long have been a staple of human resources departments for integrating new or high potential employees into the corporate culture and for advising them on career paths within the company. **But increasingly, sponsorship, rather than mentoring, is the key factor enabling women to enter the pipeline for board of directors and senior executive positions.** Although often the terms *mentorship* and *sponsorship* are used interchangeably, the participation, strategic focus, and outcomes of these arrangements are quite different. This essay will examine various forms of professional support and how such efforts can be marshalled to increase the percentage of women in senior executive positions and on corporate boards.

● Mentorship

Mentoring is a one-on-one relationship-based arrangement, deployed to integrate new employees into a corporate structure, provide career guidance, encourage employee retention, and increase employee diversity. Mentoring programs have achieved varying degrees of success, as measured by the career advancement of the mentee.

Mentoring programs are both structured and unstructured. Structured mentoring programs might take the form of assigned mentoring, where an experienced employee is tasked with making sure that a new employee is integrated into the firm and is made aware of available professional and social opportunities. In some firms, as part of their training and evaluation, mid-level managers are required to mentor new employees in their department. Not all mentees are high potential employees.

The mentor may or may not be the same gender as the mentee. Often the mentoring discussions are informal and take place over lunch or coffee several times a year. The topics range from practical tips on navigating "the system" to career paths and work/life balance issues.

Mentoring may also be informal or *ad hoc*. An employee may decide to help a new employee learn the ropes – or a family friend may offer career advice to a recent college graduate. The mentor could be someone in the same field as the mentee but at a different company.

Mentoring programs focus on the mentee and on the company, but the mentor generally does not put his/her career or reputation on the line. Simply put, the mentor has no skin in the game. If the mentee does not advance onto the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, it usually is not considered a reflection of the performance of the mentor.

● Sponsorship

In contrast to the traditional mentoring programs, senior executives increasingly see "sponsorship" as a highly effective way to increase the percentage of women and racial and ethnic minorities in the C-suites and on corporate and not-for-profit boards. Sponsoring and mentoring are vastly different activities: the sponsors are top executives; the undertaking is highly strategic; and the stakes are much higher for both the candidate *and* the sponsor.

A sponsor is often the chairman, CEO or senior executive. The executive carefully selects one or two candidates to sponsor. The candidates may be "c-suite-ready" individuals within the company or rising executives at another company. Usually the goal is very specific – the candidate is positioning to be selected as CEO or CFO within a three year horizon or to join a corporate board.

Sponsorships require trust, candidness, communication and determination. To be effective, a candidate and sponsor must be able to speak forthrightly with each other about the candidate's strengths and weaknesses.

Because there are so few positions available at the top, sponsorship has become a vital component of any campaign to ascend to the board or to executive leadership. And for women, sponsorships address the double bind that women often face in that women may be penalized for self-promotion.

Sponsorship can be a much more intensive, time-consuming undertaking than mentorship. The sponsor counsels the candidate on leadership styles and politics within the organization, and provides visible support in and outside of meetings so that the protégé's talents will be apparent to decision-makers. The sponsor also proactively introduces the sponsored executive to industry peers who may be helpful in the future, and, as part of the strategic plan, may propose the individual for membership in an important country club or business organization.

A sponsor stakes his or her reputation on the quality of the individual being promoted. Similarly, the candidate's chance to advance may be enhanced or impeded within the firm by the reputation and "political" standing of her sponsor. Thus, before agreeing to be sponsored, a candidate seeking to join a corporate board or to be tapped for a C-suite position should make certain that the sponsor is held in high esteem by the firm's decision makers. Association with a sponsor who is not respected might not advance the candidate's cause and could impair her future advancement.

Similarly, **to increase the odds of success, a sponsor must be invested in the sponsorship.** This example illustrates the critical importance of personal investment. In an effort to increase the low percentage of female members, a prestigious professional organization called upon a woman who was a member of its board to recommend other women to apply for membership. The board member encouraged successful women in her network to apply, but she did not put any skin in the game. She did not advise her female recruits on the culture of the organization and its high threshold for selection. Nor did she actively promote them for membership. The application process was very competitive, and most of the women she encouraged to apply were rejected by the membership committee. Unfamiliar with the process, they had over-relied on the weight of her sponsorship, and were unaware of the need (or had failed to take the necessary

steps) to engage in a full throated membership campaign.

Sponsorships are harder for women to obtain than for men. They frequently grow naturally out of business relationships or friendships. Often the decision makers – primarily male – do not have many female executives in their personal networks. As one male CEO admitted, his colleagues and business circles generally do not include women. Therefore, when it came time to fill vacancies on his board of directors, it did not dawn on him to reach beyond his circle to consider female candidates.

● **Public endorsements**

To address this issue, business organizations promoting diversity in C-suites and in the boardroom have compiled lists of candidates who have been recommended by a CEO or board chairman as possessing the qualifications and ability to serve in an executive capacity or on a corporate board. Often the name of the endorser is listed alongside the candidate.

The recommended candidates are included in rosters of potential board candidates. Executive search firms and nominating committee chairs are invited to search the database when seeking to fill a board seat or senior executive position. **Such endorsements may be one-off events and usually are not part of an intensive strategic campaign associated with sponsorships. But they do help to increase the exposure of qualified candidates and to enlighten decision makers of the availability of a wide pool of untapped talent.**

● **The Australian use of sponsorship to increase the percentage of women on corporate boards**

As part of a comprehensive campaign to increase the representation of women in the top echelons of Australian business, an advisory committee of the Australian Stock Exchange encouraged corporate CEOs and board chairmen to reach out and "mentor" women whose experience and credentials warranted consideration for openings on corporate boards. Using peer pressure, the male executives challenged their colleagues to participate in the program.

During the course of the year, 60 CEOs and chairmen began working with women whom they had identified as board-ready. The corporate leaders engaged their personal networks and connections to encourage their peers in other companies to

consider their "mentees" for an open board seat. With their own ego and reputation on the line, the executives were highly successful in getting their candidates to join a corporate board. The outcome? In the first quarter of 2012, 25% of the vacant board seats were filled by women. Perhaps as importantly, during the process, the male CEOs and chairmen learned a great deal about leadership styles and the many benefits of gender diversity in corporate governance.

● Conclusion

Mentoring programs have long been a tool to acclimatize new employees to the corporate culture, and to provide them with advice on career and work/life balance. If well designed, such programs can benefit both the employer and the employee, leading to greater employee satisfaction, employee retention and a more diverse employee base.

Sponsorship, however, is a far better tool to accelerate the selection of women to top management and board seats. Sponsors insure that the candidate has visibility and is actively considered for C-suite openings and board seats, while avoiding the pitfalls along the way. For sponsorships to be successful, however, both the sponsors and their protégés must exercise diligence in selecting each other; as both may be judged on the outcome of their efforts.

CAN WOMEN REALLY GET AHEAD EVEN IF THEY DO EVERYTHING RIGHT?

Isabella Lenarduzzi

Founder and Managing Director of JUMP

When somebody raises the question about why women do not make it to the top, you hear very often both men and women explaining that if ever there is a problem with women being under represented it is their own fault! They are not that much interested of a career and neither do they want to do the efforts of having one.

To go against this type of prejudice, the latest study from Catalyst "The myth of the ideal worker" is essential reading. More than 3000 women and men who followed an MBA course were questioned for this study. The results are staggering:

- The women questioned were as ambitious as the men;

- Women went for the same jobs and levels of responsibility as the men and used all the elements set out in the bestselling management books (e.g. networking, negotiation, self-marketing, and understanding of the unwritten rules).

That is exactly what makes this so interesting and which sweeps aside the prejudices even if the analysis was based on a small category of women – those who had recently completed an MBA. **It is the difference in the results obtained by women and men, who nevertheless adopt the same strategies, which are so surprising.** The study reveals that: men still outpace women in the rate at which their careers advance. Among those questioned, women's salaries seemed to be performance related whereas men were paid on the basis of their potential. Nearly double the number of men reached senior leadership positions (21%) compared to women (only 11%). In fact the study shows that even if women follow a traditional career path, "do all the right things", adopt the same strategies as men, they are still unlikely to advance as far or earn as much as their male peers. "*This study busts the myth that women do not ask. In fact, they do! But it does not get them very far. Men, by contrast, do not have to ask. What's wrong with this picture? Just as individuals need to manage their careers effectively or risk lagging behind their peers, organisations must learn how to attract, develop, and retain high-potential women—or risk losing out to their competitors.*" explained Ilene H. Lang, president & CEO, Catalyst in a press release.

During the last Economic Forum at Davos, Manpower referred to the "human era". In other words it is no longer the capital of a company that is the engine for growth and performance but individual talent. So after the industrial era, the spatial era, the information era, we now have the human era. Performance is only possible if we have the right skills, at the right place and at the right time. Finding the talent will be more important than finding the finance. Manpower calls this a pass from capitalism to "talentism". It is no longer the company but the talented people who determine when, where and how to work.

We know that women are three times more likely than men to leave a company or their position when the pressure of responsibility starts to accumulate. This includes: long working hours, business trips, constant availability, profit and loss responsibility, unforeseen workloads, and number of people to manage.

So stop and think before saying that it is the fault of women if they are not satisfied with their careers. This is a simplistic prejudice that does nothing to promote women but blinds companies from understanding why so many high potential women between 35 and 45 years old start to leave! These losses for a company arrive at a time when managers start to take on more managerial functions (around 40 years old). A waste of talent at this stage is devastating for the company. It is only for the women who have taken on these roles throughout their careers that at the age of 56 their professional ambitions become on an equal footing with men.

The consultancy firm Bain & Company published a report at the end of 2010 studying the impact of the measures of flexible working time and the levels of careers of

women and men. Their findings were twofold:

In order that these flexible programmes work effectively they have to be tailored to correspond to an individual's needs.

Employees need to be convinced that flexibility will not penalise the careers of those who use it. So, company leaders, men and women, should set the example by using the system.

From the moment when these two basic principles are respected, the results are very effective in retaining the best employees, ensuring that they remain satisfied and loyal: 25% increase in retaining men but 40% in retaining women.

Deloitte has launched the "Mass Career Customisation" in France, Belgium and the Netherlands. The principle is that from now on all careers change and are no longer linear "from corporate ladder to corporate lattice". All Deloitte employees can speak about their careers every year with their line managers, covering four areas: the path, the role, the workload as well as the hours and place of work. The pilot projects were highly successful and users were satisfied with this new tool giving them the power to constantly reassess their careers, in function with their family lives. It is even more important now in the US where 87% of couples both work!

What is good for women is also good for men and we know that satisfaction is becoming more and more important for younger generations. So what can companies do? Catalyst suggests that corporate leaders ask: To what extent are employees in our organisations advanced and compensated based on strategic career tactics versus skills and performance? How are people being coached to get ahead? Are assumptions being made that what worked for men in the past will work for women? And when women and men apply the same career strategies, are they being reacted to and evaluated differently?

MENTORING – A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

Elizabeth A. Ballantine

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I have benefited greatly from individuals who have advised and supported me in my professional life. Many people have gone further than they thought because someone else believed that they could. **The importance of mentors (and I would add, role models) is a key aspect of careers for women in my generation in particular.** The changing cultural, political and economic landscape in the US thrust women into work outside the home starting in the 1960s. It is not only professional expertise but also social skills and the ability to learn from and to support other women that brings us into top management positions.

I can divide my professional career into roughly four stages, all in which I have benefited from mentors. Although the brief for this conference is to discuss one good and one bad mentoring experience, I believe it is important for me to note several mentors who were vital at different stages of my now long professional experience. Today's workplace is often a series of different jobs and much retraining. My path reflects that reality from an early stage.

I first began in the early 1970s as a graduate student and young history

professor. Then I became disillusioned and tried my hand as a political and cultural journalist. This experience brought me into contact with law and the legal profession. After a mid-career journalism fellowship in 1982 at the Yale Law School, I completed my law degree and worked for several years as a lawyer in Washington, DC. Simultaneously, I served in a volunteer and professional capacity on non-profit and corporate boards in several locations dealing with corporate governance and strategy. I liked the flexibility of focus and freedom of working independently outside of a formal business structure. Serving on boards is what I do today.

● **What do mentors do?**

First of all, mentors pick you, you don't pick them. At critical stages in your life, a mentor can see potential talents in a person that he or she has no idea they possess. I had no idea that in my 20s I would fall in love with Russian history and become a student of Firuz Kazemzadeh, a Russian history professor at Yale University. Professor Kazemzadeh first sparked my interest, encouraged it and pushed me to succeed in my research and writing about a faraway culture and exotic language. He understood the larger research landscape and engaged me and my colleagues as junior partners in his meaningful academic work. He saw something in me, he believed in me, but also wanted me to have a good opinion of my own potential, boosting my confidence. He showed me how to profit from mistakes and to continue even under criticism. I had no thoughts of pursuing an advanced degree, until by that random selection (of a callow youth faced with choices on a rainy day) I started to read Russian literature and enrolled in his basic history survey course.

My mentor Professor Kazemzadeh was not able resolve all my career problems. In the 1970s, the academic market in the US was very tight, constrained by economic recessions, a new generation of graduate students and a cyle of change as new courses were introduced into the academy and others eliminated. I also found the world of a graduate student very isolating and insular. I wanted a broader cultural experience than that of a college professor. I turned to journalism.

My second mentor was Michael Gartner, editor of The Des Moines Register, an influential regional newspaper in Des Moines, Iowa. I had grown up in a family of newspaper publishers and editors. As a child I worked on a small town newspaper run by my parents and had more distant relatives and connections with other publications. But I had not published articles or had

serious newspaper job experience. Michael offered me an entry level reporting job. I was 28, a shy, introverted specialist in Russian history. Switching fields was one of the biggest decisions of my life and one of the best ones I ever made. I discovered another part of the country and its culture. This expanded my academic world and taught me new skills. I learned how to write effectively, quickly and carefully. I learned how to use factual information in a living, immediate context. I observed how government agencies work on a daily basis. Michael provided backing during the inevitable mistakes and miscalls of a rookie reporter from the big city. If Michael had not taken a chance on me and encouraged me through both good times and bad, I would not have developed into the next stage of my career. Taking risks is a key part of the mentoring process, on both sides of the equation.

My next career stage involved a professional university fellowship. I cannot underscore how important in the US is the opportunity to step back from a daily job and reflect in an academic setting. Our university systems offer continuing educational programs for both public and private executives. Taking advantage of this opportunity is vital as it frequently brings new upgraded skills sets back to the work place but also offers a convenient time to develop a new professional direction. My fellowship, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and supported by The Register, was a return to Yale, my alma mater, as a journalist enrolled for a year at the Yale Law School. This led to my becoming a lawyer in Washington, DC.

My work in a law firm came at a more demanding family time. The fast tempo, long hours and the formal structure of the legal work cut across the need for flexibility with younger children. I was (and continued to be) an unconventional lawyer, with a broad background, and was able to carve out work that allowed me some independence. My firm was willing to be flexible and encouraging but I was never on a path to become a full-fledged partner. I worked with colleagues, but none who rose to the level of mentors. This absence of a senior career partner, who can help to navigate the professional path ahead, is a frequent problem in US law firms

My board service, both in profit and non-profit institutions, has evolved gradually out of the academic, journalistic and legal threads of my experience and constitutes my work today. I joined my first board of trustees at Grinnell College in Iowa in 1980. I was recruited to the board by a member who knew of my academic background in history. My first role was to serve on the academic affairs committee dealing with faculty issues.

My mentor at Grinnell was Joe Rosenfield, a legendary investor and

philanthropist who had graduated from the college in 1925. His friendship with Warren Buffett and Robert Noyce resulted in an enormous growth in the school's endowment from $250 million in 1980 to $1.5 billion today. He was a progressive Democrat, an important supporter of women's issues. I worked to recruit a younger generation of trustees and developed a new strategic plan. In 1994 I became chair of the board and wrote articles on college governance for Trusteeship magazine. From Joe I learned the dynamics of board leadership, the importance of building agreement behind important policies and strong support.

This volunteer experience was very satisfying and I have since that time been a volunteer or a paid director on many boards in areas of private and public education, newspapers and journalism, and finance. I am currently a director of a two newspaper companies and a mutual fund complex and the American University of Paris, France.

The mutual funds industry in the United States and the European Union is a highly regulated field. At Principal Mutual Funds ($75B USD in assets) where I have been an independent director since 2004, we work hard to protect the interests of shareholders in a complex financial and economic time. It is a technical work that requires financial acumen, but also a broader strategic picture, common sense reflection and the ability to ask pertinent questions in a fast-moving time frame. My mentor there is a fellow director, Richard Gilbert, a former newspaper executive, who demonstrates the ability to build board coalitions and to reduce complicated issues to manageable levels for decision.

The president and CEO of the Principal Mutual Funds is a woman who came up through the ranks, Nora Everett. Our current board of 11 members has four women and it is routinely noted as one of the top 50 companies for executive women by the National Association of Female Executives.

The individuals or "mentors" at key moments in my professional career have all been male. However, the professional achievement of my female ancestors has provided is a legacy inspiring the courage and initiative needed to pursue the new opportunities that emerged in my generation.

My great grand-mother, Florence Call Cowles, attended university in the 1890s in Chicago and taught elementary school in Algona, Iowa. My grandmother, Elizabeth Bates Cowles, was a founder of the Iowa Maternal Women's Health League in the 1930s. She persuaded her friends to finance medical care and birth for indigent women. She joined forces with Margaret Sanger in the promotion of Planned Parenthood and traveled to India in 1953 to

discuss the birth control movement with Indira and Jawaharlal Gandhi, daughter and father of the famous political dynasty.

My mother, Morley Bates Cowles and my father, Arthur Ballantine were co-editors of a small town newspaper. We four children grew up writing for the newspaper, delivering missing newspapers, gathering scraps of newsworthy information, selling ads, meeting neighbors, candidates, officials. Mother wrote editorials, held political meetings, traveled widely and went to her office everyday.

The social and cultural conditions in the US in the 1960s and 1970s created a new and positive environment for the professional development of women. First, the Civil Rights legislation of 1964 (Pub L 88-352, 78 Stat 241) banned discrimination of the basis of race, religion and gender. The generation that protested against the Vietnam War also shattered social conventions. People of all races and socio-economic backgrounds were promised brighter futures. The best public and private universities (such as Princeton and Yale or the University of North Carolina or the University of Virginia) that had only accepted men, (mostly from the upper classes) began to accept women and other minorities in the 1960s. I entered Yale in 1969 as a transfer student in the first class of women admitted as undergraduates. It was a very stimulating and idealistic period and I did not find the vestiges of male chauvinism intimidating. I remained intermittently at the university to earn a PhD and MSL as well as my BA. Today I still serve on several volunteer university organizations.

Second, several US Supreme Court cases allowed the sale of contraceptives and the possibility of abortion. The landmark case, Griswold v Connecticut (381 U.S. 479) (1965) found that the prohibition on contraceptives violated a "right to marital privacy." Women were no longer destined by biology to become mothers at a very young age Another case, Roe v Wade (410 U.S. 113) (1973) found a right to privacy in the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution extended to a woman's right to have an abortion. Dangerous procedures in dodgy doctors' offices were no longer the only method to terminate an unwanted pregnancy.

Third, Title IX, a part of education legislation passed by U.S. Congress in 1972 under President Richard Nixon, required that all institutions that receive federal funds for sports programs must have equal programs for men and women. The impact of this requirement on society took many years to unfold. The upshot is that women's participation in university and high school sports has been beneficial to their professional work.

All this legislation has helped to create an environment beneficial to women's professional careers. Without this hard work none of the gender progress from which I benefit would have been possible.

(RE)SEARCHING FOR EQUALITY

GOOD AND LESS GOOD PRACTICE IN SCIENTIFIC DECISION-MAKING:

THE ROLE OF QUOTA[42]

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The most recent She Figures on gender in European Scientific Activities[43] again underline that the progress of women in research in Europe is astonishingly slow, despite the great improvements in women's achievements as students in higher education. Despite policy initiatives, mobilization of

women scientists in bodies such as European Platform for Women in Science, Helsinki Group, Platform for Women in Higher Education, and increasing pressure to better utilize the highly educated science potential in Europe in pursuit of excellence and competitiveness; the numbers are changing very slowly.

As science is an international community, it is also important to look at the competitors, and while women are also underrepresented in the top research universities in the United States, things do look somewhat better there, as a recent German-US research project has demonstrated (Bauer, Villa, Ferree, Zippel, Zimmerman 2012). It was also clear that there is a continued need to share practices in getting more women into research decision-making.

The reasons for the lack of women at the top of scientific research and in universities are multiple. The EU and other organizations have commissioned large meta-studies of all that has been published about the lack of women in science and technology (Addis 2010, GenSET meta research, Caprile, et. Al, 2011, 2012). There is also substantial national level research, as in the case of Belgium. D. Meulders et al examined the position of women in francophone universities (Meulders, et al 2011), while the Flemish VLIR presents regularly statistics and commentary about the situation of women in universities in Flanders (VLIR 2010) demonstrating a persistent lag in the top regions even after 25 years of activism.

Summarizing these national and international studies, there seem to be three main solutions to improve the position of women in universities and science organizations (Caprile et al 2011: 120):

- Support to women through specific measures such as work-life balance, measures mentoring, career structural adjustment, skills training, or mentoring;

- Including the gender dimension in education through gender studies and mainstreaming gender research into scientific programs;

- Change in academic and scientific management and institutions by using incentives, targets, legislation, and quota's.

One area which is particularly relevant here is the role of the gatekeeper. 'Peer'-review and evaluation procedures are dominated by senior scientists who are usually men, given their location at the top of the heap. **The composition the top of the university decision making hierarchy itself is also notoriously male.** These people form the gatekeepers to promotion but

also control the necessary resources to achieve promotion through decisions on research funding. From the beginning, the role of these bodies has been seen as playing an important role in the progress for researchers. In studies commissioned by the EU to address women in science, data began to be collected on these bodies a decade ago. The second She Figures in 2006 used data looking at composition of boards from 2004 and showing disproportionate dominance of men. The subject became the focus of a specially commissioned expert report by the EU, The Gender Challenge in Research Funding (2009), which demonstrated that transparency concerning the appointment procedures to such boards and sometimes even gender composition of these bodies was far from self-evident and that dramatic differences in gender composition were apparent across Europe.

How to change the dominance of men at the gate has been a concern in all areas of decision making since the seventies. On the one hand, appointed public bodies would seem to be more malleable, as their composition is in the hands of policy-makers rather than the electorate. In a reflection of policy, the composition of a board can be adjusted. In a number of countries, particularly in Scandinavia, gender balance became important criteria in the appointments to boards, often times with legally required balances.

However, two sectors in European decision-making have been particularly hard to change - the top of business and the top of science and research. In both of these sectors it is frequently argued that other criteria than representation and presence are paramount when it comes to who decides and how they are chosen. Success (in terms of profit) is the rule in business. In science, the key word is 'Excellence'. Excellence, like profit is increasingly measured quantitatively. (See e.g. Sealy and Vinnocombe 2011; EC 2004; EC 2009). Changing the composition of scientific peer review and decision-making bodies has been a major challenge.

Very briefly in our research we have been examining practices to make research councils more gender balanced. In the countries we chose (Sweden, Finland and the two cultural communities of Belgium) targets have been set by the government to have at least a third, sometimes 40% or even parity in national research decision making bodies**.** At the European level, the target for scientific boards such as the European Research Council is the same as for all advisory bodies of the European Commission, 40%.

Proportion of women on boards, 2010
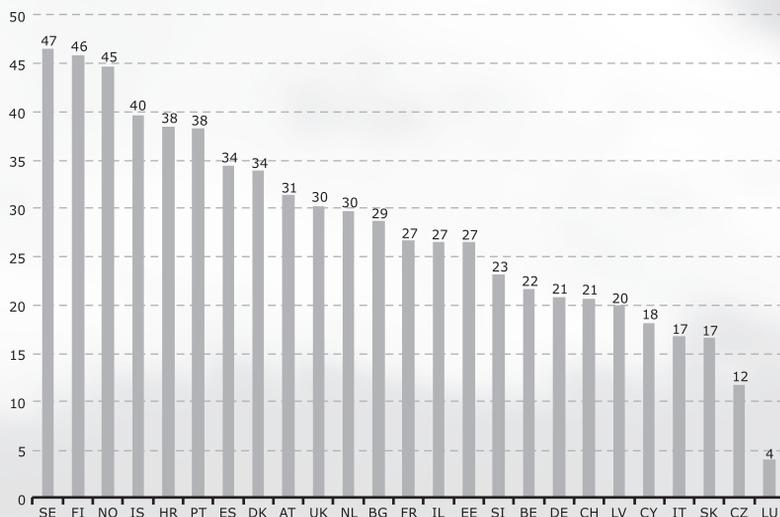
Thus one practice we could examine is the use of quota to change scientific gatekeeping. In our research we identify four countries with strong quota traditions and a low percentage of women in the top regions of academia. We find very different results. Not surprisingly, the Nordic countries take a leading role in the statistics. Norway, Finland and Iceland all use legally based quota's in their boards, while Sweden complies with firm policy statements on equality (EC 2009) In Finland 47% of the scientific board members are women (already since 2006). In 2004 Francophone Belgium began at the bottom of the heap, while Flemish Belgium was at 12%. This is despite the fact that in Belgium there were national and regional quota regulations in force for advisory councils at the time.

Sweden does not have legally mandated targets yet has voluntarily managed to reach almost 50%. Finland is also nearing 50% and has been working with a quota for years. However, in Finland the national policy making body of the research board had already passed thirty percent without any quota. Yet, Belgium, which has had significant quota legislation for electoral lists and for the composition of advisory bodies since 1997 has lagged significantly.

The Research Councils in both sections of the country resisted being considered as advisory bodies in the same sense as other boards covered by quota regulations. In Belgium today, representation has improved dramatically in Flanders where it is 30% on Flemish side (FWO) yet it has gone backward to 18% on the side of the Francophone Belgium (FNRS). For the Francophone case, it seems that the FNRS is not statutorily covered by the quota laws.

The research made clear that quota regulations are not enough. So what explains the 'good practice' of reaching gender balance in the Scandinavian Boards, and the medium to bad practice in Belgium?

First of all, in the Scandinavian cases, the organizations not only were responding to pressures from the outside to look more gender balanced, but also internally there was a commitment on the part of many to see the improvement in the position of women in science become a reality. The organizations prepared gender action plans and audited their organizations for gender equality. In the case of Flanders, it took a change of management plus an extremely determined minister to bring the Research Council in under the authority of the quota law. Further procedural changes in the recruitment of board members made it possible to increase the pool of female candidates[44]. In the case of the French community however, the statutes say that gender balance is an aim, but only in the amount possible. The result is, as we said above that the figures have gone backward.

In summary what can we learn for Europe? In the countries that have succeeded in breaking the 30% barrier in She Figures in terms of Research Council representation (Bulgaria, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the UK) it does seem that

"What is common to all, with the exception of Bulgaria, is that the funding organizations are engaged in equality planning, and gender mainstreaming has been adopted as a policy strategy. All countries have more than EU-average women in higher education research and the overall gender gap is smaller than EU-average, except in Bulgaria." (EU 2009: 38)

The leadership of Belgian organizations has made statements about increasing the number of women in science, but it is hard to see evidence of gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy.

Other factors that are present in these cases may also have contributed:

- The climate and best-practice comparisons with other science bodies in EU (both are active in European science);

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44   The Flemish Research Council now recruits board members internationally so that the traditional underrepresentation of women in top science in Flanders is somewhat evaded.

- The role of leadership at the top (female directors).

The exception that might explain the relative Flemish success is the pre-condition that there was a hard law with sanctions and pressure from Flemish government to comply.

The cases show that there has been some progress in transforming the major gatekeepers for research funding. The studied councils all demonstrate that it is possible within a time frame of 2-3 years to reach 30% or better representation on these bodies and nowhere is there documented evidence that the quality of the science being funded by these agencies has suffered. These bodies also demonstrate that there are strategies to locate qualified female researchers to fill these posts, as is also demonstrated by 20 years of research (see also EC 2009). **There is no lack of excellent women, only lack of excellent opportunities.** Elements present at the national level include binding targets. While strong and even binding goals seem to have been decisive in changing the composition of scientific research councils at both the national and EU level, there are also lessons.

First of all, the experience in Belgium after 15 years of attempting to balance advisory councils with quota law is that it is notoriously difficult. The difficulties appear particularly in application and monitoring. Systematic collection of data requires dedicated administration, and even at the Flemish level this seems to have been an almost insurmountable problem. The recipe seems constant (but conditioned on an accepting context- see corporatist tradition as part of this):

- Law: Targets (either binding in law or binding as a commitment underwritten by a management efficient enough to make commitments real);

- Leadership: Political will and resources, women's presence in decision-making bodies within the management;

- Likeness to best practices and political culture harmony;

- Continuous monitoring by vigilant gender aware stakeholders/watchdog.

Gatekeepers and gender of course are only one part of a complex puzzle of the continuing struggle to achieve a fairer world for women and men in scientific careers. These structures are just one part of the context that needs to change to eliminate roadblocks on the way to gender equity and new forms of scientific excellence.

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MENTORING IN THE ACADEMY:
SOME EXAMPLES FROM THE US

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Interest in mentoring in the academy in the US is relatively new (over the past 20 years) and has been inspired in part by the attention to affirmative action in American colleges and universities. Here we focus on mentoring of faculty and efforts to promote women within the academy to the highest ranks of the professoriate and to leadership positions. What has become increasingly clear over the years is that although American universities are doing a better job of recruiting and hiring women and minority faculty, the tenure rates of women and minorities remain lower than for white males in almost all disciplines, as do the rates of promotion to full professor.[45] So in the academy achieving gender equity is both a matter of hiring

45   See, for example, R. Drago, C. Colbeck, K.D. Stauffer, A. Pirretti, K. Burkum, J. Fazioli, G. Lazarro, T. Habasevich, *Bias against caregiving*, 2005, Academe 91(5), pp. 22-25; D. Krallman, *Tenure rate by gender, 1982-1995, Miami University – all campuses,* 2003, Office of University Budget and Institutional Research, Miami University, Miami, Ohio; M.A. Mason, M. Goulden, *Do babies matter?* 2002, *Academe* 88(6), pp. 21-27; M.A. Mason, M. Goulden, *Do babies matter (Part II)?* 2004, Academe 90(6), pp. 11-15; http://www.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=12062&page=117

practices - improving gender balance within the academy - and a matter of mentoring and support for women and minority faculty through the process of tenure and promotion; that is, ending discrimination or achieving a level playing field between women and men to ensure faculty success. Achieving equality requires the adoption of an institutional culture and perspective that differs from the old idea of hiring faculty, assuming that the playing field is level, and then letting faculty sink or swim. **When academic institutions hire they are making an investment in human capital, so from one perspective, the question is how to get the best return on that investment in a way that gives the same opportunities to women as well as to men.** Academic institutions are beginning to recognize that by failing to hire and promote women they are failing to take maximum advantage of the talent they recruit. But putting this into practice requires institutional transformation.

● From affirmative action to mentoring

Awareness of the need for mechanisms to promote gender balance in the American academy was a product of both second wave feminism and the pressure of groups such as the National Organization of Women and affirmative action. Affirmative Action began as a government policy in the 1960s in part inspired by the Civil Rights movement and established by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. President Kennedy's original executive order effectively barred discrimination in hiring on the basis of "race, creed, color or national origin."[46]

President Lyndon B. Johnson expanded equal employment opportunity to bar discrimination on the basis of sex in 1967.[47] Affirmative Action at first applied to government contractors, establishing the principle that any body or institution that received government funding must make demonstrable efforts to achieve racial balance within the institution, particularly in matters of hiring, and all such institutions were required to submit an Affirmative Action plan. Because most academic institutions receive at least some government funds in the form of grants to faculty or student loans, universities were particularly vulnerable to the repercussions of failure to comply with Affirmative Action guidelines. And Affirmative Action applies to all individuals' entry into the institution – from the admission of students to the hiring of faculty and administrators. In the US all academic institutions that receive any form of government funding are now required by federal law to state their compliance with EEOC guidelines in public advertisements for positions. But Affirmative Action

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46   President John F. Kennedy, "Executive Order 10925" (1961) establishing the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, which later became the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

47   President Lyndon B. Johnson, "Executive Order 11375."

does not require that women and minorities are hired, it merely stipulates that institutions demonstrate that they have taken steps to do so – by interviewing women and minorities for positions on the faculty - and much discrimination persists at that level. Thus, despite the efforts of professional associations ban interview questions about marital status, children and other dimensions of a woman's personal life, for example, members of hiring committees frequently ignore these guidelines. **Because women's professional careers are indeed often interrupted because of childbearing or the responsibilities of care, their careers and scholarly records may look different from those of men – there may be gaps in the publication record for example, that hiring committees may hold against them at the point of hiring and that promotion committees scrutinize further down the line.**

But even when women and minorities are hired, as studies have revealed, hiring is only part of the picture. Given the persistence of sexist and (yes, racist) biases, advancing and promoting them through the academy proves even more challenging. And this is where universities have begun to call attention to the importance of mentoring: mentoring of junior (assistant professor) faculty in preparation for tenure (the status that provides permanent employment at the institution) and promotion to the ranks of Associate Professor and Full Professor.[48]

In most American universities, the laboratory sciences have been a major focus of institutional innovation and of attention to gender imbalance – not only in hiring but also in the tenure and promotion of women faculty. Nancy Hopkins, a distinguished molecular biologist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and a member of the National Academy of Sciences and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences took a major step in this direction. In the early 1990s, Hopkins began to notice glaring inequalities between men and women in the allocation of laboratory space at MIT, when she asked for an additional 200 square feet of space to complement the 1,500 square feet she had. Men, she found were hired with 2,000 square feet, whereas women found themselves competing with each other and with men for relatively small amounts of space. Women were making hugely important discoveries, but their research was discounted alongside that of men. She and a team of colleagues went around the MIT campus taking measurements of laboratory space and gathering

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48   In American universities, the first rank at which most faculty are hired on a "tenure track" is that of Assistant Professor; in the sixth or seventh year of university service, the university conducts a tenure review to determine whether the teaching, scholarship and publication and service records of the faculty member are of sufficiently high quality to warrant permanent employment (tenure). With few exceptions, faculty members who receive tenure are simultaneously promoted to Associate Professor. The highest rank in the professoriate is that of Full Professor, a rank that is achieved following a post-tenure review where the expectations for reputation, scholarly contribution and teaching as well as professional service are higher than those for tenure. The attribution of tenure began in the US before World War I as a way to protect the academic freedom of faculty who previously served at the pleasure of university boards and could be fired by trustees and donors who disagreed with their political views.

data on salary and promotion of women scientists at the Institute in comparison to their male counterparts and what she found was a systematic pattern of discrimination against women. In 1995 she and her team published a 150 page confidential report outlining these patterns of discrimination.

In addition to the problems of space allocation she found discrimination against women who had children and family responsibilities that made it difficult for them to spend as much time in the lab as men. Unsurprisingly the School of Science that Hopkins documented in her report contained 15 tenured women as compared to 194 men. This was bad enough, but as Hopkins argued, even after women scientists received tenure, they continued to suffer discrimination, being denied resources such as funds for equipment for their labs, and admission into the upper ranks of the Institute as heads of important committees or as department chairs or deans. Although Hopkins' report was not published, the details quickly circulated; her story made the front page of the *New York Times* and the Ford Foundation funded a similar set of studies in four other schools at the Institute. Needless to say her findings deeply embarrassed MIT and administrators immediately took steps to address these discriminatory patterns. In 1999, MIT issued a Report on the Gender Equity Project that emerged from the Hopkins study and the Committee on Faculty Diversity that MIT established in its wake.[49] Although the provision of laboratory space may seem to be very different from some forms of mentoring, in fact it is part and parcel of the conscious effort to provide academic women with the same resources as men and to scrutinize their opportunities for promotion. Raising awareness of the existence of discrimination and getting the institution to monitor the equitable distribution of resources lies at the very foundation of good mentoring.

The developments at MIT did not prevent Larry Summers as President of Harvard University from making his now infamous comment six years later 2005 that the under-representation of women scientists stemmed from women's "innate" difference from men. This comment led to a firestorm of controversy that eventually resulted in Summers' stepping down as president, and an aggressive policy designed to demonstrate that in everything from hiring to promotion, the Harvard administration rejected Summer's essentialist and discriminatory comment.

In some respects Summers' remark proved to be a catalyzing moment in the academy and in 2007, Harvard appointed its first woman president, Drew Gilpin Faust. Thus a combination of factors drew attention to discrimination against women in the academy and to women scientists in particular and led to initiatives on the part of US government agencies to increase the numbers of women in the sciences and social sciences in universities and provide greater opportunities for their success. Beginning

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49   Available at: http://web.mit.edu/fnl/women/women.html

Jean Jaurès
Fondation

in the 1990s many universities had already begun mentoring programs to provide guidance to junior faculty prior to the tenure process, in order to clarify the expectations for tenure in the disciplines and help faculty meet those expectations. These programs have involved the assignment of a senior faculty mentor whose job is to meet a few times throughout the year with the junior faculty member and coach them on their research and publication strategy. But this practice has had mixed outcomes. **Often the senior faculty member is unaware of how they should be coaching faculty and think of mentoring as periodically "checking in" with their junior mentees or taking them to lunch.** Research has suggested that tenure expectations remain unclear and faculty reluctant to take advice from senior faculty who could appear hectoring or harassing.[50] Mentoring workshops that bring senior faculty mentors and department chairs together with junior faculty to discuss expectations for tenure in different disciplines can be helpful. Over the past 10 years or so, institutions have taken a hard look at what kind of mentoring has the potential for success. The example of the mentoring in the sciences is instructive and offers a potential model for other areas of the academy and outside of the academy.

● Mentoring in the academy

American academic institutions have approached the mentoring of women faculty at two levels in the promotion process: preparing junior faculty for promotion to associate professor (a position which at most universities carries tenure or permanent employment) and by encouraging mid-career women faculty to seek promotion as full professors. Growing awareness on the part of academic institutions about discrimination against women has also led institutions to gather data to document the extent of discrimination, particularly in the fields of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM fields). This in itself has been a critical first step despite decades of feminist research that has demonstrated discrimination. Although the numbers of women obtaining degrees in STEM fields has increased over the past few decades, women are still severely underrepresented in these fields and have great difficulty advancing into the senior ranks of the professoriate and to leadership roles. But how gender equity is framed makes a difference to how readily academic institutions have been to sign on to the advancement of women: the realization that the failure to advance women inhibits institutional growth has been a powerful catalyst. Indeed, recognizing that the underrepresentation of women in the STEM fields is an obstacle to global competition and the creation of a diverse workforce, the National

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50   In the Higher Education Research Institute Faculty Study conducted in 2011, women reported less clarity than men about the criteria for advancement and promotion: http://www.heri.ucla.edu/PDFs/surveyAdmin/fac/Fac10MonographAppendix.pdf.

Science Foundation (one of the major government funding agencies in the sciences) established the ADVANCE Program of Institutional Transformation Awards currently funding 37 universities in the US. Three social science disciplines – economics, political science and sociology are incorporated into the program. As the NSF ADVANCE website states, [51]

"Research has shown that women's (lower) representation and advancement in academic STEM positions are affected by many external factors that are unrelated to their ability, interest and technical skills Such factors include, but are not limited to: stereotype threat, societal impacts, organizational constraints of academic institutions; differential effect of work and family demands; implicit and explicit bias; and lack of women in academic leadership and decision-making positions. The cumulative effect of such diverse factors has been to create infrastructural barriers that impact the number of women entering, persisting and advancing in STEM careers."

Thus, the goal of the ADVANCE program is to develop systemic approaches to increase the representation and advancement of women in academic STEM careers, thereby contributing to the development of a more diverse science and engineering workforce. ADVANCE also has as its goal to seminally contribute to and inform the general knowledge base on gender equity in the academic STEM disciplines.

The experience of ADVANCE at Northeastern University in Boston (the only university in Massachusetts to have received an NSF ADVANCE grant) is an example of how one institution attempts to advance women in the STEM fields through the provision of resources and a high level of mentoring. Prior to winning an ADVANCE Institutional Transformation Award Northeastern had pioneered a program that began in the 1990s to hire, advance and promote women in Engineering (The Women in Engineering Program) and in 2005 the Office of the Provost (the chief academic officer) established a position to oversee the advancement of women in the sciences overall. In 2008, Northeastern received the NSF ADVANCE grant and began institutional interventions to increase both the recruitment of women and career advancement. The program includes attention to building gender equality and diversity in hiring by educating department chairs, deans, and faculty; and using mentoring and institutional support to help women develop networks and international and interdisciplinary research collaborations to advance their careers. The hiring process is obviously a fundamental element. Northeastern has adapted a model pioneered at the University of Michigan, STRIDE, to help hiring committees develop Strategies and Tactics for Recruiting to Improve Diversity and Excellence. STRIDE works across the disciplines –not only in the STEM fields; thus STRIDE helps search committees insert assertive language into job advertisements that goes beyond merely "welcoming women and

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51   http://www.nsf.gov/funding/pgm_summ.jsp?pims_id=5383.

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minorities to apply," and indicates that the institution is particularly interested in recruiting individuals who will increase the diversity of the faculty and contribute to the excellence of the University; STRIDE provides resources to search committees to enable them to build a diverse pool of applicants and advice.

Finally, STRIDE encourages academic departments to take advantage of conferences held in the Boston area to hold interdisciplinary networking workshops that bring prospective faculty to campus.

But hiring women and minorities is only the beginning and here is where aggressive mentoring comes into the picture. One form of mentoring incorporates the advice-giving model of senior faculty mentors in the discipline who meet regularly with junior faculty and counsel them about the research on which they should focus, which grants to apply for, and how best to disseminate their research, including what kinds of conferences to attend and journals in which to publish. But not everyone agrees that the advice-giving model of mentoring is the sole successful strategy for advancing women. As Nancy M. Carter and Christine Silva point out in their study of 4,000 recent graduates with an MBA in Asia, Canada, Europe and the United States, many women feel "mentored to death" with little to show for all the advice they receive.[52] Where men and women are fairly equal in their access to senior mentors, mentoring alone does little to close the gender gap: men receive more promotions and more (and greater) raises. In their study, "*men who had a mentor were 93% more likely to be placed at mid- manager level or above than men without a mentor. Women with a mentor increased their odds of being placed at mid- manager or above by 56% over women without a mentor... Men who had a mentor received $9,260 more in their first post-MBA job than women with a mentor. Men with a mentor were paid $6,726 more than men without a mentor. Mentoring made less of an impact on women's compensation. Women with a mentor were paid only $661 more than women without a mentor.*"[53] Within academic institutions, giving advice alone does not guarantee that a woman colleague will be promoted. So, indeed, mentoring is essential but it does not erase profound gender gap in promotion and pay.

Clearly best mentoring practices go further than dispensing advice; mentoring is an active process that requires that mentors be proactive in helping to further the careers of the women they are mentoring. Good mentors advocate for junior faculty in helping them to get their hands on resources for research or to expand labs, for example. At the University of Michigan, also a holder of an ADVANCE award, the administration makes small grants available to junior as well as mid-career women

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52 N. Carter, C. Silva, "Mentoring: Necessary but Insufficient for Advancement," Catalyst http://www. catalyst.org/file/415/mentoring_necessary_but_insufficient_for_advancement_final_120610.pdf

53 Ibid.

faculty to help them jump start new research or purchase materials (such as data sets) or equipment. They also help junior faculty make connections in their discipline and build networks that will help them advance their careers. **Indeed network building has become a critical piece of innovative mentoring to advance women in the academy and increase their visibility in the larger world of the discipline.**

As the Northeastern ADVANCE website states[54] one strategy for female assistant professors is to strengthen their external professional networks. A well-developed professional network can increase interdisciplinary research, create visibility for the junior professors, and develop networks for future international research collaborations. External Career Mentors (ECM) are a component of the NU ADVANCE program to strengthen women's national and international networks. The goal of the ECM is to identify mentors from outside [the University] who can support the establishment of professional networks [beyond] the institution.

A pilot ECM program in 2010-11 focused on the departments of Biology, Chemistry and Chemical Biology, Chemical Engineering, Civil and Environmental Engineering, and Pharmaceutical Sciences; in 2012-2013, ADVANCE is sponsoring ECM for junior female and ethnic minority faculty in Sociology, Economics, and Political Science. An effort is made to pair successful senior women faculty with junior women and the ADVANCE award provides funds to bring external mentors to campus for consultations on a regular basis. The networks established between women faculty can also be enhanced through networking workshops held in conjunction with local or regional conferences that bring groups of mentors to campus.

An additional goal of ADVANCE is to strengthen the opportunities for international research collaborations by mentoring women faculty for such collaborations and helping them to network internationally. International collaborations enable innovative research and establish the international visibility of researchers. Yet, whereas men have engaged in international research collaborations for decades and have benefited from the international profile and career advancement that they can bring, significant gender barriers exist. As Kathrin Zippel et. al. State:[55]

"Indeed, there is some evidence for a gender gap in international research collaborations. An analysis of the National Science Foundation Survey of Earned Doctorates of 2006 shows that the rates of international collaboration vary by field, yet that the gender

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54   http://www.northeastern.edu/advance/advancement/mentoring/

55   K. Zippel, A. Lubitow, E. Smylka, S. Chaudhry and K. Uhly, *International Collaborations* http://www.northeastern.edu/advance/wp-content/uploads/International-Collaborations-Exec-Summary-Aug-2010.pdf. See also P. Caligiuri, Wayne F. Cassio, *Can we Send Her There? Maximizing the Success of Western Women on global Assignments*, 1998, Journal of World Business 33:4, pp. 394-416.

gap persists across these fields and is particularly high for senior women faculty. Given such findings, ADVANCE's mission is to find ways to prepare women faculty to fully participate in these opportunities."

As Zippel et. al, also point out, international research can be challenging for women. Not only is it difficult for them to leave family obligations to go abroad, women encounter different gender norms and expectations, and gender stereotypes that limit women's freedom in mixed-sex settings. The gender gap in international research is of particular concern because of the globalization of science and because some of the best research opportunities exist outside of the United States. The recruitment of graduate students from overseas, for example, depends on women's international visibility and has a feedback effect on the work and prominence of women's research.

So at Northeastern in conjunction with ADVANCE and with the full support of the university's senior leadership, efforts are now being made to bring together women who have successfully engaged in international research collaborations with women who are interested in international work and to provide more institutional supports for women in the international arena.

● **Outcomes**

The limited data that we have gathered thus far suggests that aggressive mentoring through ADVANCE has had positive effects on the recruitment and promotion of women faculty in the STEM fields. Between 2007 (the award of the ADVANCE grant in) and 2011 women have counted for 50 percent of the increase in STEM faculty across the university, more than the increase in women faculty in the University overall (38.8 percent). The number of women full professors has increased by over 40% and the number of women associate professors has doubled. This is obviously not the entire picture, but strongly suggestive of the effects of aggressive mentoring taken in its broadest sense. The lesson from ADVANCE is that universities cannot just "let things happen," or assume that once they have let women in the door that the job is done. Institutional transformation requires a sustained and conscious effort to recruit, mentor, advance, and promote women in the academy.

MENTORING IN SCIENCE:
A DIFFICULT EXPERIMENT

Andrea Pető

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"Three of my most talented female graduate students have not ended up in those academic appointments where they were predestined to be at the beginning of their graduate studies: stars of our profession. My daughter, your colleague and a wife of graduate student, who was much smarter than her husband, still he became a star and she is just a lecturer in a small liberal arts college" said very self-reflectively a legendary senior professor evaluating his long career as a supervisor and promoter. This response was prompted by my question. I used the opportunity of meeting him to discuss one the issues I consider as a great challenge for senior academics: what do you do when you see more academic potential in a graduate student than the graduate herself? How can you stop yourself wanting her to realize her potential when that necessarily means a more difficult life for her? I think I dared to ask this question to him, who is only a couple of years older than my own mother because recently I started to think very critically about mentoring programs. Working as a professor in the more than twenty years I faced several times the dilemma how to make female graduates more ambitious and to armor them with all necessary skills to fight for their deserved (or at least I consider a deserved place for them) in the present structure of academia. In this article I am describing how the mentoring programs were discovered as one of the remedies for the "leaky pipeline" for women in academia and how I see structural problems with these programs but still

a possible solution to avoid disappointment of the senior academics looking back at the end of their academic career on wasted female scientific talents under their supervision.

First I will briefly discuss the phenomenon of the "leaky pipeline" in academia in the European context, then I will map the different European attempts to fight against the phenomenon then I will analyze my mentoring experience in a German mentoring program and then I conclude with suggesting some points for consideration for future mentoring programs.

● Explaining the "leaky pipeline": Towards a kind of European unification?

The fact that academia is very slowly admitting and it is only party integrating female academics is one of the well-known results of recent research on women's presence in academia. The report of the ENWISE group in 2003 described this phenomenon under two important headings: wasted talents and private issue to public.[56] The first argument of this report is an economic one: European countries cannot afford wasting the female talent (meaning the investment in educating female university students) in our competitive global world. It also assumes that there is another issue than objective evaluation of professional performance which influences ones career in academia. The second argument of the report is structural: namely how this disappointment of the senior male academic regarding the academic career of three former female students from the generation of her daughter is not a private issue but a public one. His explanation regarding the phenomenon of their "non-performance" in the present institutional framework, namely "It is surely gendered" requires a more detailed discussion.

Reports about women in academia are usually framed in a way to pinpoint the low percentage of women in men's world of academia. Academia is an activity in the public sphere, which has been originally "men-only" space. However we need to understand the origins of this present situation which also caught the attention of EU level decision makers and how it has been evolved differently on both sides of the Iron Curtain but shows a surprising similarity after 1989.

Women have been slowly admitted in academia as a result of the statist feminist emancipation policy of the communist countries after the Iron Curtain has divided Europe. The leadership made a point of having enough women in academia but of course the glass wall and glass ceiling walled women in different positions and sites of doing research. The relatively high percentages of women in academia in the so called Eastern Europe quickly evaporated with the trembling down of the Berlin Wall and victorious occupation of research by neoliberal rhetoric of efficiency and productivity together with the collapse of child support system. The legacy of the statist feminist emancipation policy actually made any contemporary attempts of top down policy attempts

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56   *Waste of talents: turning private struggles into a public issue. Women and Science in the Enwise countries*, DG Research, Brussels, 2003, at http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/document_library/pdf_06/enwise-report_en.pdf

to secure place for more women in academia not only as a legacy of the discredited communist regime but also as an attack on "excellence" which allegedly has nothing to do with gender.

In the Western part of the Iron curtain however the path was different. The movements of 1968 have changed the way how women were looked at in the science. Or has it been really changed? Caroline Walker Binum, who made her career as a member of the generation of 68 in the US published an remarkable article in The Chronicle of Higher Education where she analyzed how academia has been opened up for some women based on her own experience. "For all the heady possibility of the 60s, academic leaders were male; the anger that spurred the idealism and the rebellion was male anger; the danger of being killed or killing in Vietnam was a male danger. And because women were on the sidelines of this predominantly male drama, a conflict of fathers and sons, our 60s and 70s were different from theirs." writes Caroline Walker Binum and she continues: "I want to point out exactly what broke in academe in the years between 1968 and 1972—and how that rupture allowed the margins, the unperceived, the absent to move to the center. I want to suggest that what broke in the late 60s was what I call male "filiation," the long chains of academic fathers and sons that had forged academic careers during the whole of the earlier 20th century...

But it was the anger of fathers at their rejection by "academic sons" that produced a gap into which women could move. Women in the university had never been considered "academic daughters." So they presented no threat of rejection to the fathers. Their repudiation of older values was as unperceived by the generation in power as they were themselves. And, never having been academic daughters, they expected little, were more or less unruffled by the fathers' anger, as they had been earlier more or less oblivious to the sexism that made only men heirs... Women, who had never been in the club, didn't notice much when it disappeared. Sometimes quietly, sometimes aggressively, they began to fill some of the few places that were available."[57]

I would like to challenge Walker Binum on the issue of women not ever being in the club therefore transition was going on smoothly for them from not being admitted to academia to being a tenured professor. As I pointed out this change has happened very recently and rapidly in both sides of the Iron curtain because of different reasons. We (meaning the academic community) have not sorted out how to deal with the emotional and psychological consequences of this change of the past fifty (!) years. The opening quote of this article from the senior male professor actually underlines the existence of an equally strong relationship to father-son bonding and that is father-daughter connection. The powerful and successful senior male professor is being disappointed that his "academic daughters" have not fulfilled *his* dream, namely they have never became "academic sons" or so called "stars" of their profession. They "only" became happy academics with more than one child and with successful husbands**. Is this really a personal issue or it has wider structural and emotional explanations?**

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57   C. Walker Binum, *Gender, Generations, and Faculty Conflict Will Academe's Mothers and Daughters Repeat the Errors of its Fathers and Sons*?[in:] *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 19 November, 2012.

● European structural responses

The fact that female scientists are not fulfilling their potentials has also caught the attention of the European decision makers. In the European universities 60% of the graduates are women but as far as research positions are concerned women are very far away from the target which was set by the *Horizon 2020 Framework Program for Research and Innovation:* namely parity. How to deal with this „leaky pipeline" in the European level? In 2001 the Commission published a preliminary report on the matter, the *ETAN Report Promoting Excellence through Mainstreaming Gender Equality* that, for the first time, provided a global view of the position of women in science in Europe. That was followed by the ENWISE report in 2003 and *Gender and Research Beyond* by the Helsinki Group in 2009. Gender is a priority issue in the Commission Communication adopted in 2012 on European Research Area entitled *A Reinforced European Research Area Partnership for Excellence and Growth.* The League of European Research Universities has issued a *Report on Women, Research and Universities* in 2012 also with recommendations addressed to various sets of actors and a selection of best practice from among its institutional membership. The recommendations on the one hand demand top down involvement in monitoring hiring and publication activity on the other hand recommend mentoring programs for young women scientists.

● Mentoring experience: Helping only the selected few?

The recent booming of mentoring programs all over in Europe as magic weapon to change women's underrepresentation in academia is one of those structural means changing the present trend. The European Women's Lobby has recently started a political mentoring program for the upcoming 2014 EP elections.[58] It is definitely easier to set up a mentoring program for the already selected few promising female scientists than to combat other structural factors of discrimination. Therefore these mentoring programs have been criticized by underlining that these programs ignore the gendered nature of science and the knowledge produced by science and altogether they are doing nothing more than put their trust in the concept of "critical mass". Namely if there will be more women in academia these women will be able to change "the rule of the game". Another form of criticism is pointing out that there has been nothing new in mentoring as even the German term: *Doktorvater* (father of the dissertation or doctorate) indicates that professors have always expected to do a kind of mentoring work for their young colleagues. However the picture is more complex. I would like to discuss my mentoring experiences which sharpened my understanding what these programs actually can do for balancing structural gender inequalities in the field of academia.

All these mentoring programs are based on the assumption that advancement in academia is not only dependent on professional excellence but also on a kind of special "craft" which can be learned only through interpersonal communication. This communication shapes the identity of

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58   http://www.womenlobby.org/spip.php?article4391&lang=en

the young academic as a professional and also as a gendered subject in the academic world. Germany is especially performing low in the field of women's presence in academia. As Ulrike Beisigel, the recently appointed president of University of Gottingen pointed out: "The German system is extremely hierarchical and professors have a lot of power. The professors are predominantly men, and they seek out other men to be their assistants and successors. The men have excellent networking systems, and the unwritten rules of the academic game have been designed by them. It is no surprise, then, that men dominate academic committees, and continue to perpetuate themselves in academia."[59] This recognition led, among other measure (such as gendering the German Excellence Initiative) to launching the program by Cusanuswerk for promoting women's careers.[60] Between 2007 and 2009 I worked as a mentor for the first program of this kind launched by the Cusanuswerk.

An open call was inviting PhD students at the beginning of their fellowship and MA students looking for internship to join the program. As a part of the program the successful applicants for this program were offered the chance to meet with their mentors four times in two years and to participate in couching sessions. The relaxed informal meetings at the weekends opened up space for asking questions from their mentors, "who made it" how one balances family and career in practice, how to deal with unfair criticism or somebody stealing ones ideas in research. It was also possible to raise those questions which are usually not being asked from a senior colleague such as how do you handle a notoriously professionally conservative senior colleague especially if he is also disrespects women (two unfortunate characteristics which usually go together). The questions I received from my mentee and also from others whom I also met there, in an informal setting basically varied from technical details of academic life management know-how to foundational and strategic issues of identity formation as a professional.

The novelty of the program was that we, the mentors have been also mentored. And that is the point I would like to elaborate on how myself, who is intrinsically skeptical to all couching techniques found the training about leadership style and communication techniques very useful. Role games made me rethink back in time when I was a young researcher and how did I solve back then bad or a good way the problems which looked very personal but by now it is clear they were structural and very public issues. How can use my newly acquired retroactive wisdom and how much responsibility should I take for the life choices my mentee in this program made?

The trainings tailored for mentees were reaching beyond the traditional approach teaching them how to write a successful resume for a job application; however that has been also prioritized. One needs to speak the technical language of academia to be admitted. But the trainings tried to map those psychological boundaries which we all have in us as a part of our socialization. I particularly learned a lot from the exercise when we were expected to list our expectations towards our mentees career: in what sense was that list a projection of our hopes and fantasies based on

59   *German university head lauds progress of women scientists*, Interview with Ulrike Beisigel, *Nature*, 10 April, 2011, at http://www.nature.com/news/2011/110410/full/news.2011.223.html

60   http://www.cusanuswerk.de/de/karrierefoerderprogramm/warum-karrierefoerderung-fuer-frauen/

professional evaluation on her future or that was what the mentee really qualified for.

If I look back to the results of the program of course it is easy to be proud of the achievements of those young women who were selected after a fierce competition for this training program. They were already the best from the best in Germany: determined to make it while acknowledging the present structural hurdles. They were trained how to handle these hurdles not to change them but only with their presence as "women". No matter that there was no structural change at sight most of them managed to adapt to the existing standards. But still not all of them "made it" according to the mainstream standards. Those who did not made not that much career enhancing decisions (switching from lab work to administration etc.) due to family commitments which proved the old wisdom that balancing career and family is more difficult for women demanding more compromises or the redefinition of what career means and to how to measure it.

● **Conclusions: Replacing emotional expectations with structural change and redefining emotions**

In the conclusions I would like to refer back to the opening quote from the conversation with this distinguished senior male academic. His comments were raising several questions: is the intergenerational dialogue of mentoring necessarily a constitutive part of academic life? Is mentoring by senior female academics a good way of coping with gendered hierarchies and horizon of expectations in academia? Is micro-management of careers (namely mentoring) is a useful tool to fight against structural discrimination at all?

Discrimination is always structural but the space where discrimination actually happens is the individuals' life and it operates through expectations and fantasies. If I *a priori* expect a male professor hostile to my research, it very often this turns to be the case. Therefore changing women's life trajectories in academia should start on two levels. First, from a top down way to offer means for a structural changes such as special age limit for young researchers (calculating the time spent with child care) or quotas in boards and among peer reviewers. These structural means even if they happen, which is not the case in most European countries, will not guarantee in itself the success.

Secondly, what is needed is to redefine the father/son, father/daughter relationship in science. I argue this redefinition should not to be only to switch to an uncritical mother/daughter relationship but to a cultivation of a relationship which is not wearing the heavy luggage of interiorized outside expectations but opens up space for new generation of women to decide upon their priorities. First of all opening a space to define what is the meaning of a career for them. "Happiness functions as a displacement of a social wish, and a defense against an imagined future of loss" wrote Sara Ahmed.[61] Maybe teaching in a small liberal arts college with a husband who is a "star" is not a successful (according to the standard of a senior male academic) but definitely a happy way of living somebody's life.

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61   S. Ahmed, *Multiculturalims and the Promise of Happiness*, [in:] *New Formations*, 63, pp. 121-137., 2008, p. 121.

WOMAN UP THE AWARENESS
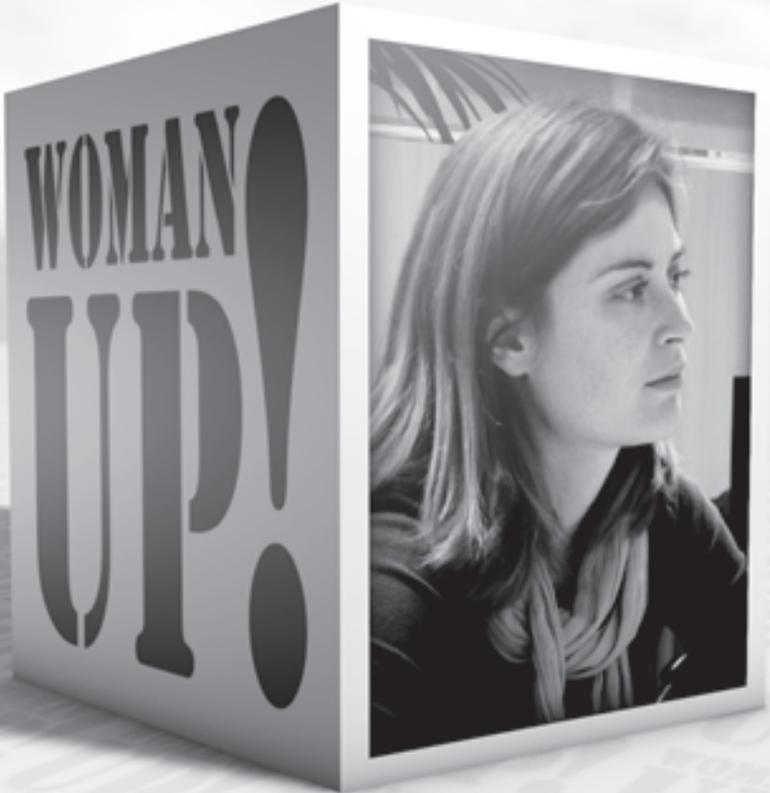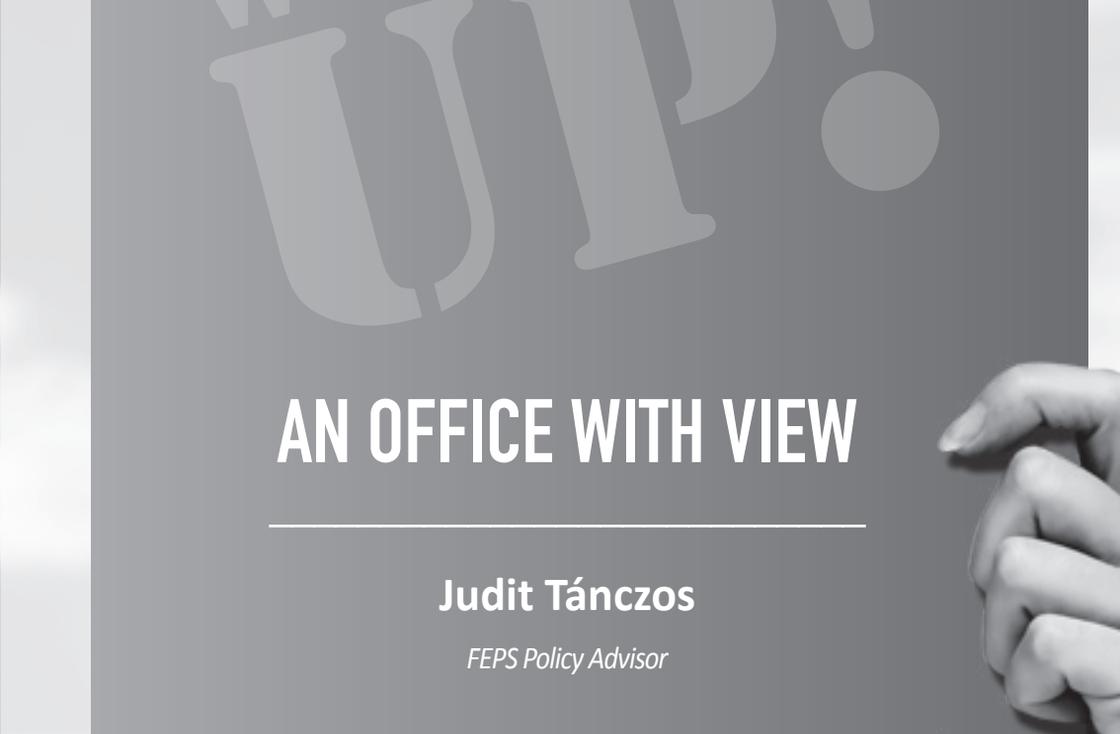
AN OFFICE WITH VIEW

Judit Tánczos

FEPS Policy Advisor

"This is my dad's new office". This real estate advertisement covering the whole facade of a building remained for months and months merely 100 meters away from the European Parliament and just opposite some buildings of the European Commission. It did not have a pair, making space for mom as well. Not to mention that our society does not include only dads and moms. One might argue by making a long list of reasons why equal representation should be important in our society, but this advertisement symbolised in a perfect manner the stakes of the discussions at the fourth transatlantic gender dialogue organised by FEPS and the Fondation Jean Jaurès (FJJ).

Last year's European Commission proposal on introducing quotas in company management boards definitely stirred up the debate on women's representation in business. As a spill-over effect, the discussion's scope went beyond to the representation in other professional fields like politics and academia. It cannot be denied, that it led to some positive developments. Most importantly, it raised awareness successfully about the appalling situation. Some bigger companies took on voluntarily the pledge for adhering to quotas. Others might have denied accepting the quotas, but at least engaged in a constructive discussion on what other options they would have to increase the number of women in company boards. Austria, Belgium, France and Italy rcently joined the club of Denmark, Finland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain and the non-EU neighbours Iceland, Norway and Switzerland on introducing some sort of quota laws for company boards. On the negative side, one year has passed again, and there is no proof of beginning a

Europe-wide revolutionary change within company boards, let alone within the European society. With more women graduating from tertiary education than men, still too many voices dared to use the old and lame excuse of "we don't have enough competent women" or stated that "women have all the possibilities, but somehow it seems they have less ambition". Articles covering the discussions cited a long list of similar sexist statements based on traditional stereotypes. Arguments highlighted the importance of a voluntary adaptation – a method which has brought us only to 16% women in supervisory boards or board of directors in the largest quoted companies in the EU, and 3% of female presidents within the same companies. Some governments have stepped up, stating that this is indeed an important issue, but seeing the proposal as a serious breach in their nations' sovereignty – and not coming up with alternative ideas on how to tackle then this challenge.

Nevertheless, this public debate remained on a superficial level and was largely limited to quotas. The fourth edition of the transatlantic gender dialogue went successfully beyond this approach. It was more than just a mere exchange of best practices. The practical approach was combined with the need to better frame the debate on progressive values and to embed and enhance existing instruments in a progressive narrative. To refer back to the first paragraph, the aim was to find ways to transform the male dominated public sphere to a more equal domain where there is space for everyone. The seminar's roundtables followed a life cycle approach. Firstly, the issues at the beginning of the career were tackled under the title "Joining the arena". Then participants analysed how women embrace their achievements in the session on "Facing challenges on the field". As the final part of the dialogue, a separate time slot was offered to discuss achievements and concerns around mentoring. Additionally three overarching questions prevailed during the sessions.

It arose firstly, what kind of societal vision should progressives offer and how this vision relates to gender roles? This question is closely linked with the reflection on the definition of progressive feminism. The perception that being feminist inherently meant being progressive has been challenged. With the fragmented character of the struggle, the view has become prevalent that feminism means a freedom of choice among a wide range of attitudes and lifestyles. It led to the fact that even conservative choices were described and perceived as a manifestation of feminist attitude. Consequently, this has made it essential to redefine the relations between progressivism and feminism. Against this background, there is a need to reflect on what makes progressives currently different from other political parties and movements concerning gender issues. In the case of women's representation it seems that the majority of the progressive political family currently deems the introduction of binding quotas is essential. However, they are not alone with this position in the political arena. Additionally, we also have to take into account the strongly emotional side of politics. In these circumstances supporting quotas without a distinctive narrative is not enough to make the progressive standpoint characteristically outstanding. This redefinition is an opportunity to make a shift from tackling women's issues on rethinking gender roles within the society. One of the pledges of progressive feminism is that it is an inclusive concept, benefiting both women and men. Shifting the debate to changing gender roles would allow to express that the group concerned and effected by these challenges are not exclusively women, but it is the society

as a whole. Hence this approach supports better the objective. Participants agreed that it would also serve as a clearer guideline in case of other concerns around the issue of equal representation. As an example the advantages and limits of cross-party action to advance equal representation were raised several times. At first it seemed that there is an irreconcilable opposition between the two causes. In the possible case of forming a cross-party coalition which should prevail: enhancing equality or political conviction and loyalty to the party? However, this dilemma manifests in a contradicting manner only if we see it as a women versus men issue in course of a power struggle. On the contrary, the proposed transformation of the progressive narrative would aim to change the public sphere itself with its power structures. Therefore, it would open new ways in discussing and finding a possible resolution to the by-party predicament.

These examples support the conviction of the seminar participants that **this deliberation on changing gender roles is an a priori to find the best suitable measures on achieving equal representation**. This brings the conversation to the closely interlinked second and third overarching questions of the seminar.

Activism is essential in transforming the public sphere into a field of equality. As the previous paragraph pointed out, a progressive vision is important to point to the direction where we want to go. However, we need to take into account the current constraints, both in terms of financial means and societal thinking. With that in mind, **the questions arose what kind of measures are to be taken to achieve equal representation and how to make sure that these measures not only induce a mere quantitative change, but also a qualitative one**. The current public debate focuses on having more women in the diverse professional fields. This increase in numbers is supposed to launch automatically a qualitative transformation of the public sphere. Nevertheless, it was agreed that this approach is one of the myths of the debate on gender equality. Yet next to the measures aiming at equality in terms of numbers - like affirmative action, target numbers and of course quotas – there are also other options more suitable for the progressive vision on changing gender roles. **Majority of these actions aspire for combating stereotypes and sexist language.** Openly misogynous views and comments are still far too often present without an immediate strong political condemnation. When disapproval is raised, it usually comes firstly from women politicians, and as it is still perceived as a rarity, the justified reaction makes a political sensation in media coverage. We have seen this in the cases of Australian prime minister, Julia Gillard[62] or French senator Laurence Rossignol[63]. But these smart and sharp reactions still remain individual answers and are not yet part of a pattern. Subtle forms of sexism are still persistent. Pointing them

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[62]   Julia Gillard replied strongly on the attacks of the opposition leader Tony Abbott by denouncing him being a misogynist. The transcript of her speech can be accessed on the following website: http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/political-news/transcript-of-julia-gillards-speech-20121010-27c36.html

[63]   Laurence Rossignol awarded the palm of misogynist "beauf" to UMP senator Bruno Sido for asking during her intervention at the debate on women-men binomial lists for canton elections "who is that chick?" - The video can be accessed on the following website: http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/video/2013/01/17/vous-avez-gagne-la-palme-du-misogyne-beauf-seance-electrique-au-senat_1818786_823448.html

out often equals with a second wave of sexist comments in the form of character assassination, being described as a humourless, frustrated woman. The lack of role models is often cited as a factor in inspiring more women to aim for top positions. However, there is an additional issue of how these few existing progressive role models are treated and how their merits are discussed. For example, in case of Hillary Clinton, the discussion about her hairstyle received almost more media coverage than the factual balance of her term as Secretary of State. **Most importantly, stereotypes about the traditional role of women and men are not only present in political debates, but they also reign over all other issues,** from contributing to the existence of gender pay gap to professional and private choices and supposedly expected behaviours. **This seriously limits both sexes options and makes emancipation impossible.** For this reason, as a first concrete step on the way to equal representation, we need to combat and end these externally binding stereotypes. From this perspective, the "Name it. Change it."[64] initiative is one of the best examples. Several forms of mentoring and sponsorship schemes were discussed. The particular challenge of these measures is ensuring that they do not only contribute to the reinforcing of stereotypes and merely teach women to survive in a male dominated field. Some good examples are listed in the previous chapters. Without these qualitative accompanying measures, quotas will not make a substantial difference. Nevertheless, as history has shown only these qualitative measures – often considered as voluntary and lacking financial means - will not induce a quick change on the perception of gender roles. Hence it is important to emphasise that these different measures have all an integral part in the overall design of achieving equal representation in the various professional fields.

Established as a process, the conclusions of the FEPS-FJJ transatlantic gender dialogue might be the end of a reflection cycle, but they are not the final pint of the process. On the margin of the main discussion topic of equal representation new issues and questions emerged that will require further analysis. It seems that two major elements will shape the fifth dialogue. Overcoming the negative effects of the financial and economic crisis is still one of the main struggles on both sides of the Atlantic. In search for progressive alternatives the discussion on welfare provisions is central. As it was noted during the concluding session, the main challenge from a gender perspective is that often welfare provisions are reinforcing gender stereotypes. This was underpinned by the example of the framing of childcare provisions. As a second influential element, it should be emphasised that the welfare debate will also be a decisive part of the upcoming European Parliamentary elections in 2014. Hence, **the upcoming dialogue will seek to analyse how the changing gender roles are reflected in different levels of the electoral campaign in Europe and in comparison what can be the lessons learnt on this respective angle from last year's American campaign.** The dialogue will continue with its approach on combining the elaboration of a progressive vision with its translation into policies and practical steps.

It seems that this approach works indeed quite effectively. The appalling advertisement mentioned in the first paragraph was finally gone on an exceptionally sunny day in Brussels' grey weather.

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64   More information on this initiative can be found on the following website: http://www.nameitchangeit.org/

Jean Jaurès
Fondation

WOMAN UP!

Woman up! was the title of the fourth edition of the transatlantic dialogue seminar on gender issues which was organised in October 2012 by the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) with the support of the Fondation Jean Jaurès.

This event brought together politicians, business representatives and academics from both sides of the Atlantic to discuss the representation and advancement of women in their fields of expertise. This diversity in professional backgrounds and experiences led to articles which tackle the issue from various angles. Their findings are collected in this publication.

It raises awareness about the most pressing challenges and gives an overview of concrete proposals to attain gender equality.

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