



# Parity democracy A far cry from reality

Comparative study on the results of the first and second rounds  
of monitoring of Council of Europe Recommendation Rec (2003) 3  
on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making

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## Introduction

In March 2003 the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted *Recommendation Rec (2003) 3 on balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making*. This recommendation invites member states to adopt measures in order to improve the still prevailing situation of what can be rightly called a democratic deficit, reflected in the unequal participation and representation of women in political and public life, particularly at decision-making level.

The recommendation puts forward a set of objectives, guidelines and measures that must be taken in order to correct the imbalances in political participation and ensure a balanced participation of women and men.

These objectives, the pursuit of which will express a genuine political commitment to gender equality in decision-making as a factor of and requirement for democracy, include: the protection and promotion of civil and political rights with particular emphasis on individual voting rights, the revision of legislation and practices to ensure that equality between women and men is guaranteed, and the adoption of special measures to stimulate and support women's participation in political and public decision-making, namely the establishment of time-bound targets to reach balanced participation. At the same time, the recommendation stresses the need to disseminate its guidelines to all actors and partners in social and political life and to ensure the monitoring and regular appraisal of measures taken and of progress achieved.

The recommendation is followed by an annex containing a set of concrete measures to help member states reach the

objectives. It also contains, as a starting point, an innovative and valuable feature which is the definition of "balanced participation of women and men". This definition describes balanced participation of women and men as meaning a minimum representation of 40% of both sexes in any decision-making body in political and public life. This percentage establishes, therefore, a quantitative parity threshold, with 40% women and 40% men, the remaining 20% being open to either of the sexes in a flexible way. Such a quantitative threshold with a significant number of women would pave the way for effective equal participation, not only from a quantitative point of view, but also from a qualitative one.

The recommendation further indicates two sets of measures, the first being of a legislative and administrative character, addressing both elected posts and appointments and involving different social and political actors. The second set of measures, envisaged as supportive measures, touch upon a range of sectors, groups and organisations and propose a variety of means of action, from awareness-raising to research activities, from capacity-building of social actors to specific projects, and much more.

Finally, the recommendation puts forward a list of very detailed monitoring guidelines, including the regular gathering, analysis and dissemination of quantitative indicators of women's participation at various levels and bodies of political and public life, as well as guidelines aiming at some qualitative analysis of women's and men's participation and related visibility, namely in media information and in programming.

Governments are called upon to "monitor and evaluate progress made in achieving balanced representation of women and men in political and public life, and (to) report regularly to the Committee of Ministers on the measures taken and progress made in this field".

For such purposes, and under the guidance of the Steering Committee for Equality between Women and Men (CDEG), the intergovernmental body charged with the follow-up to the recommendation, two rounds of monitoring were carried out with the help of identical questionnaires – *Questionnaire on Gender-segregated Data on the Participation of Women and Men in Political and Public Decision-making* – in 2005 and 2008, which aimed to assess the situation as at 1 September of both years.

The present study aims at comparing and analysing the data provided by member states in response to these calls in order to evaluate developments and to identify trends in the evolution of balanced participation.

On the basis of the data collected in these two rounds of monitoring, it is possible to draw a picture of women's participation in decision-making bodies in both years. This picture constitutes the essential basis for comparison to identify, on the one hand, any progress that is commensurate with the goals defined and aims proposed and, on the other hand, any emerging trends, and finally, to make recommendations for future action.

This is an ambitious exercise, which justifies some preliminary remarks to point out a number of its limitations resulting from the data at hand, and to sound a word of caution with regard to the





possibility of reaching general conclusions.

The first point to raise regards the rather short time span of three years between the two rounds of monitoring, which might render it difficult to measure progress. In many cases, the same legislature or the same government may have been in power in both years, therefore portraying a similar situation despite possible minor changes. A set of data collected at the time of adoption of the Recommendation to serve as a baseline for measuring progress would have allowed a greater level of analysis.

The second point requiring attention is linked to the time of year chosen for the analysis – 1 September in both years. Though being a defensible criteria, it may lead to some erroneous conclusions, particularly as regards the number of women and men in elected posts. In many countries, the number of women at the time of parliamentary elections is not always identical to the effective number of women parliamentarians at a later stage, as a number of elected parliamentarians, mainly men, may be called upon to participate in government following general elections, and are, as a result, obliged to leave their parliamentary posts. There are cases in which the number of women significantly increases as a result of such changes, because they were placed further down on the lists and are called upon to fill the vacant posts. Therefore, this means that this increase is not necessarily a sign of progress, but rather a sign that women were placed lower on the candidacy lists, and, had it not been for places vacated by male colleagues, would not have become elected representatives.

The question to raise for future rounds is, therefore, the following: Should the data from member states refer to the moment of the last election in the respective member state rather than to a fixed date? The example of Portugal illustrates how much this variation can signify. At the time of the last elections for Parliament on 20 February 2005, the percentage of women elected was 21.3%, while a few months later, on 1 September 2005, it was 25.2%, and on 1 September 2008 was 28.3%. An increase certainly, but a variation of 7% due to the fact that women had been placed lower in the ranking of the lists, because in this specific case the data collected at all three points in time concerned the same legislature.

Some slight variations in levels of participation might also occur within governments, but not as conclusive from this point of view. Of course, this type of problem would not be so relevant concerning other decision-making posts, namely linked to nominations or career development. However, even for these cases, the issue of a relatively short time span remains valid, as in most cases the mandates or time required for promotion are certainly longer than three years.

A third question that arises is linked to the fact that the member states which responded did not necessarily complete both questionnaires, and where they did, they did not necessarily provide data in relation to the same questions. The tables in this report show this very clearly. This explains why some tables contain a long list of responding member states, sometimes almost all Council of Europe member states, while others contain data from an extremely small number of member states only. This means that comparable data does not always exist, particularly in some areas where information is apparently more scarce than in others, as only a few member states provide it. In some cases, the number of countries which provided data is so small that it is hardly possible to draw any valid conclusions at all.

A final preliminary observation regards the type of information that was gathered in the two rounds of monitoring. It concerns mainly what is usually called data on “descriptive representation”, reflected in quantitative indicators on the presence of women in decision-making posts, closely following the list of such indicators included in the annex to the recommendation. However, this type of information does not necessarily lead to an analysis of the “substantive representation” of women, which might be provided by other, more qualitative, indicators; neither does it allow an evaluation of the impact of the recommendation from other points of view.

While some of the requested data concerns the possible evaluation of the impact of different electoral systems and that of quota laws or regulations upon the selection and election of women, the information provided in this respect does not really lead, for various reasons, including the low numbers of answers provided, to any definite or clear conclusions.

On the other hand, there are some monitoring possibilities, also listed in the

annex to the recommendation, which are not included in the questionnaire, but which might give more qualitative insight into the impact of the Recommendation. These monitoring possibilities include the collection of information on reporting to national parliaments on measures taken and the dissemination of these reports; on the regular gathering and dissemination of statistics on women and decision-making in every area and sector; and lastly, the collection of information on the regular analysis of the visibility and portrayal of women and men in national news and current affairs programmes, especially during election campaigns, as proposed in the guidelines for monitoring.

These preliminary observations above are intended to define the scope of the analysis, which, despite its limitations cited above, has significant value and could be considered as a pilot project for future, more ambitious, monitoring exercises and evaluations. It might be particularly valid, in this regard, to envisage undertaking a second similar exercise in 2013, ten years after the adoption of the Recommendation to collect data referring to the whole of the decade in order to have a full view of the developments over the span of a decade. Such evaluation, if taken, should encompass both quantitative progress and qualitative developments, not only reflected in measures taken but, if possible, also in changes in attitudes towards balanced representation of women and men and, in particular, regarding women’s participation and representation.

As for the present evaluation, it is based on the answers to the two rounds of monitoring through questionnaires mentioned above. In 2005, the questionnaire was completed, or partially completed, by 36 member states, while in 2008, the number rose to 42. However, there were variations, as some member states answered the first questionnaire but not the second and vice-versa. There was also the special case of Serbia and Montenegro, which responded as one member state in the first round and as two separate member states in the second.

The criterion used for the comparative analysis was, naturally, to analyse in each set of data the data of member states which responded to both rounds of monitoring without considering those that responded in one round only. Similarly, the data received from Serbia and from Montenegro were not included, due to the



situation already referred to and which would render any comparative analysis invalid.

The tables and graphs included in the present study and the respective averages

and other calculations have thus been adjusted to reflect only data obtained from member states which responded to both questionnaires to facilitate comparison between levels of participation of women

and men in political and public life at these two points in time.

## Analysis of data

The data collected by the two questionnaires represent the situation of participation and representation of women and men in different areas of political and public life as at 1 September of 2005 and 2008 respectively.

The questionnaire, identical in both years, was divided into four main sections:

- Legislative power
- Executive power
- Judicial power
- Diplomatic service

A breakdown of women and men participating in the different decision-making bodies of the different sections

was given, aiming at identifying any changes, both positive or negative, that have occurred, as well as any possible trends of development.

The present analysis compares the situation of women's participation and representation in each of the different bodies in both years in those member states which provided data on the matter in question in both sets of questionnaires – not always the same or the same number.

The average percentage of women's participation in each decision-making body of the comparable countries was then calculated and compared for both

years, as well as the number of cases in which such percentage increased, decreased or remained stable and the degree of such changes.

On the basis of the same data, the evolution of the situation in regard to the attainment of the parity threshold of a minimum of 40% of each sex was assessed. Another indicator that was assessed, where possible, concerned the evolution of the situation of very low participation of women in decision-making bodies, namely when placed below 20% in the respective body.

# Legislative power

## National parliaments

On the one hand, the position of women and men in national parliaments and its evolution between 2005 and 2008 was assessed, as well as the possible relationship between the percentage of women elected and the type of electoral system in use in the different member states. On the other hand, the analysis also tried to identify, whenever possible, the effectiveness of quota laws or regulations, both as regards the type of quota adopted, as well as the placement on the lists it establishes and the sanctions applied in case of non-compliance.

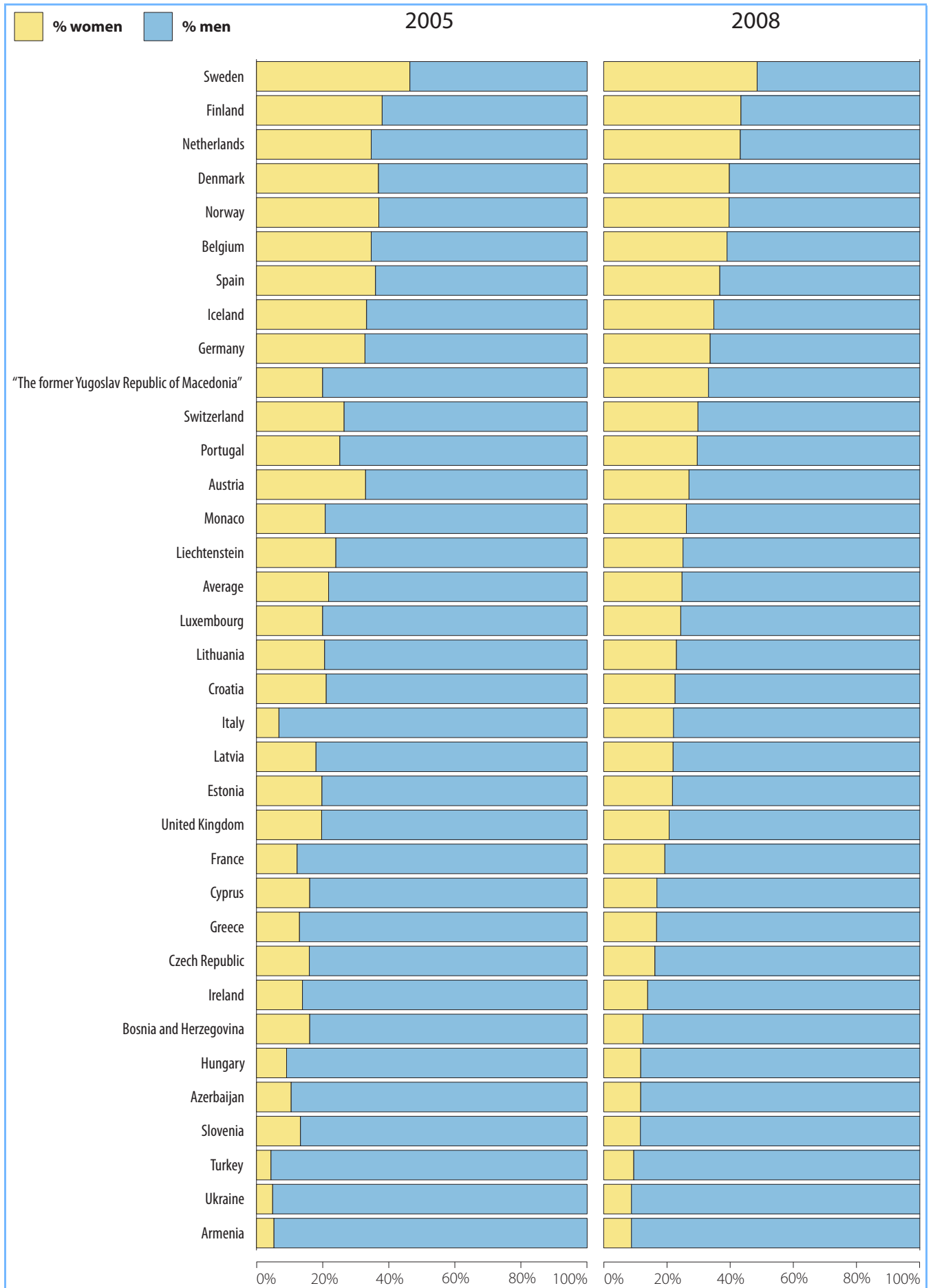


**Table 1. Women and men elected representatives in single/lower houses**

	2005			2008			Evolution
	Woman president	% women	% men	Woman president	% women	% men	
Armenia		5.3%	94.7%		8.4%	91.6%	3.1%
Austria		33.0%	67.0%		25.8%	74.2%	-7.2%
Azerbaijan		10.5%	89.5%		11.2%	88.8%	0.7%
Belgium		34.7%	65.3%		37.3%	62.7%	2.6%
Bosnia and Herzegovina		16.1%	83.9%		11.9%	88.1%	-4.2%
Croatia		21.1%	78.9%		21.6%	78.4%	0.5%
Cyprus		16.1%	83.9%		16.1%	83.9%	
Czech Republic		16.0%	84.0%		15.5%	84.5%	-0.5%
Denmark		36.9%	63.1%		38.0%	62.0%	1.1%
Estonia	☑	19.8%	80.2%	☑	20.8%	79.2%	1.0%
Finland		38.0%	62.0%		41.5%	58.5%	3.5%
France		12.3%	87.7%		18.5%	81.5%	6.2%
Germany		32.8%	67.2%		32.2%	67.8%	-0.6%
Greece	☑	13.0%	87.0%		16.0%	84.0%	3.0%
Hungary	☑	9.1%	90.9%	☑	11.2%	88.8%	2.1%
Iceland	☑	33.3%	66.7%		33.3%	66.7%	
Ireland		13.9%	86.1%		13.3%	86.7%	-0.6%
Italy		6.8%	93.2%		21.1%	78.9%	14.3%
Latvia	☑	18.0%	82.0%		21.0%	79.0%	3.0%
Liechtenstein		24.0%	76.0%		24.0%	76.0%	
Lithuania		20.6%	79.4%		22.0%	78.0%	1.4%
Luxembourg		20.0%	80.0%		23.3%	76.7%	3.3%
Monaco		20.8%	79.2%		25.0%	75.0%	4.2%
Netherlands		34.7%	65.3%	☑	41.3%	58.7%	6.6%
Norway		37.0%	63.0%		37.9%	62.1%	0.9%
Portugal		25.2%	74.8%		28.3%	71.7%	3.1%
Slovenia		13.3%	86.7%		11.1%	88.9%	-2.2%
Spain		36.0%	64.0%		35.1%	64.9%	-0.9%
Sweden		46.4%	53.6%		46.4%	53.6%	
Switzerland	☑	26.5%	73.5%		28.5%	71.5%	2.0%
"The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"		20.0%	80.0%		31.7%	68.3%	11.7%
Turkey		4.4%	95.6%		9.1%	90.9%	4.7%
Ukraine		4.9%	95.1%		8.4%	91.6%	3.5%
United Kingdom		19.7%	80.3%	☑	19.8%	80.2%	0.1%
<b>Average</b>		<b>21.8%</b>	<b>78.2%</b>		<b>23.7%</b>	<b>76.3%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>



Figure 1. Women and men elected representatives





All member states were required to complete this section and the type of bodies to consider was made clear. Thus, unicameral parliamentary states were to refer to their single house; bicameral parliamentary states were to refer to their chamber of representatives; and federal states were to refer to their national chamber.

The number of countries that responded to the questionnaire in 2005 was 36, while in 2008 the number rose to 42. However, according to the criteria established, it was possible to establish a comparison for a total of 34 countries only – those that responded to both questionnaires.

For these 34 countries in 2005 the percentage of women in single/lower houses was 21.8% – a percentage which rose to

23.7% in 2008, reflecting a small gain of 1.9% for women.

There was an increase in a total of 23 countries, a number slightly above two-thirds of the total, which is a welcome positive development. These increases range from a minimum of 0.1% to a maximum of 14.3%. There was a decrease in seven member states, ranging from 0.5% to 7.2%, while in four member states the percentage of women remained stable.

The number of countries reaching the parity threshold of 40% rose from one in 2005 to three in 2008. On the other hand, the number of countries with less than 20% of women in their single/lower house, which was 15 in 2005, decreased to 12 in 2008.

The main conclusion to draw at this stage is that there is a positive development, visible in the global evolution of the

data, but only a limited one. This positive development may be due to different factors: the effect of the recommendation itself and of its guidelines, a growing awareness of the importance of women's equal participation as a democratic requirement, the impact of the electoral system or of quota laws or regulations as well as other factors, including a simple natural evolution, particularly taking into account the minimal gain for women that 1.9% represents.

Besides seeking quantitative data, the questionnaires, both in 2005 and 2008, requested information on the type of electoral system in Council of Europe member states, as well as on the existence of quota laws, rules or regulations, in order to establish a possible relationship between these factors and any evolution in favour of gender balance.

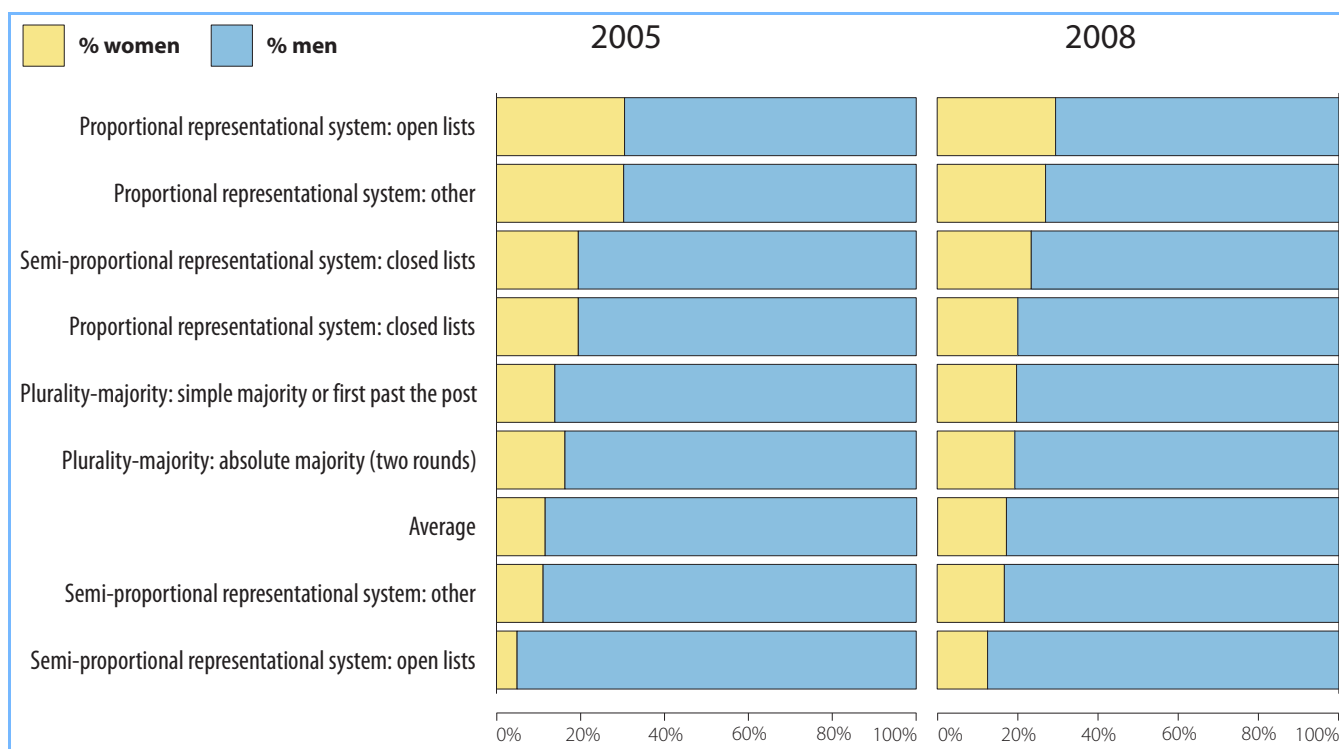
#### *Possible impact of the electoral system*

**Table 2. Women and men elected in single/lower houses by electoral system**

	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
<b>Proportional representational system: open lists</b>	30.5%	69.5%	28.2%	71.8%	-2.3%
<b>Proportional representational system: other</b>	30.3%	69.7%	25.8%	74.2%	-4.5%
<b>Semi-proportional representational system: closed lists</b>	19.5%	80.5%	22.4%	77.6%	2.9%
<b>Proportional representational system: closed lists</b>	19.5%	80.5%	19.2%	80.8%	-0.3%
<b>Plurality-majority absolute majority (two rounds)</b>	16.3%	83.7%	18.5%	81.5%	2.2%
<b>Plurality-majority: simple majority or first past the post</b>	13.9%	86.1%	18.9%	81.1%	5.0%
<b>Semi-proportional representational system: other</b>	11.1%	88.9%	16.0%	84.0%	4.9%
<b>Semi-proportional representational system: open lists</b>	4.9%	95.1%	12.0%	88.0%	7.1%
<b>Average</b>	11.6%	88.5%	16.4%	83.6%	4.8%



Figure 2. Women and men elected in single/lower houses by electoral system



Eight types of electoral system were identified and member states grouped according to such classification in the

gathering of data in the two rounds. The types identified and the number of

member states where they are in existence are as follows:

*Electoral systems in the 34 countries*

- Plurality-majority: simple majority or first past the post – 4 countries
- Plurality-majority: absolute majority (two rounds) – 1 country
- Proportional representation system: closed lists – 12 countries
- Proportional representation system: open lists – 12 countries
- Proportional representation system: other – 7 countries
- Semi-proportional representation system: open lists – 3 countries
- Semi-proportional representation system: closed lists – 3 countries
- Semi-proportional representation system: other – 1 country

Having grouped the countries according to their type of electoral system, the number of women and men and the respective percentages of participation were then calculated within the respective groups of countries. Percentages given in the tables resulting from both rounds do not, therefore, refer to individual countries but to the groups under the different systems.

The first thing to note is the fact that the electoral system prevailing in the large majority of member states (31 in a total of 42) is the proportional representation sys-

tem, either with closed or open lists, or other.

The findings to be compared are related to the trends that can be observed in relation to the global number of countries and their electoral systems, namely whether or not the systems most favourable to women are consistent in both rounds. Actually, this seems to be the case.

On the other hand, it cannot be overlooked that the numbers of member states falling into each one of the systems differ significantly, with the great majority applying proportional representation systems and very few applying plurality-majority systems or combined, semi-proportional ones.

Such an imbalance in numbers implies that changes in the number of women elected do not have the same quantitative impact within the groups, being generally more significant in those groups where the number of countries is less numerous.

According to the data provided, the systems that seem to favour higher participation of women in both surveys are the proportional representational systems, a fact that is in accordance with well-established findings of academic research.

The two lists are very similar with only slight variations, namely the changing of place between the two modalities of plurality-majority, but with irrelevant differences as far as the percentages are concerned.

It seems that the whole picture is coherent, in both cases pointing to the proportional representation system as being the most favourable for gender balance. However, another factor, which must be pointed out concerns the increase or decrease of women's participation with regard to the different systems. Percentages of women's participation show some variations between 2005 and 2008, increasing in five cases and decreasing in three. Curious enough is the fact that the decrease seems to happen under the three systems of proportional representation, particularly "open lists" and "other", that had higher percentages in the first round of monitoring. The increase occurs in the electoral systems with lower percentages of women's participation, the more significant ones occurring in countries with semi-proportional representation systems – open lists.

On the whole, and while apparently confirming that proportional representa-





tional systems seem to be more favourable for women's participation, further evaluation over a longer period of time would be

necessary to better understand this process and the reasons behind its performance and evolution, always taking into account

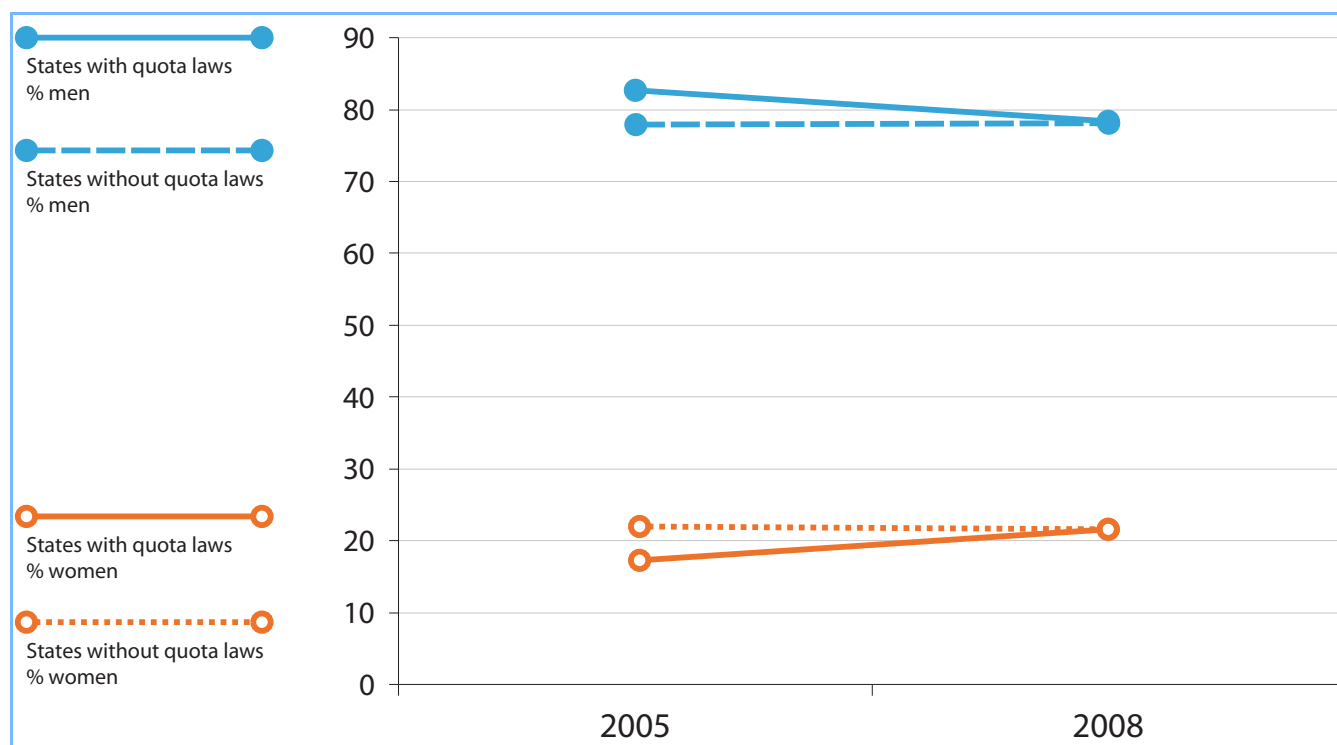
that the electoral system is but one factor which must be seen in the wider political and social context of any given country.

*Possible impact of quota laws or quota rules/regulations*

**Table 3. Member states which have adopted electoral quota laws**

Member state	2005				2008				Evolution
	Quota	Sanction for non-compliance	Rank order rules	Women elected	Quota	Sanction for non-compliance	Rank order rules	Women elected	
Armenia	5%			5.3%	15%	Lists not accepted	Plurality Other	8.4%	3.1%
Belgium	50%	Lists not accepted	Other	34.7%	50%	Lists not accepted	Plurality Other	37.3%	2.6%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	33%	Lists not accepted	Other	14.3%	0%		Ziping System	11.9%	-2.4%
France	50%	Financial penalty		12.3%		Financial Penalty		18.5%	6.2%
"The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"	30%	Lists not accepted		20%	30%	Lists not accepted	Plurality Other	31.7%	11.7%
<b>Average</b>				17.3%				21.6%	4.2%

**Figure 3. Effect of electoral quota laws**



The answers to the 2005 questionnaire indicate a total of six member states which adopted electoral quota laws. In 2008, this number rose to twelve, which is a first element of a positive evolution. Comparison between the two years for those countries that have responded to both rounds of monitoring is possible for five countries only.

The number of member states which provided information in both rounds of

monitoring is too small to draw any valid conclusions on evolution of the situation in countries which have adopted electoral quota laws. In regard to these five countries, there was a certain increase in the average percentage of women elected, which moved from 17.3% in 2005 to 21.6% in 2008, reflecting an average increase of 4.3%.

As for the evolution in the different member states we can see that there was

progress in most of them between 2005 and 2008 and that the percentage of elected women diminished in one case only. However, this somewhat negative development happens exactly in the one country where, according to other information, there was a change in the electoral system from closed lists to open lists. This change might explain the difference and confirm the theory that the proportional representation system with closed lists



works in favour of women's more balanced representation, more than other electoral systems and more than the same system with open lists.

One question that arises in view of the results is the following: Is the evolution observed in countries with quota laws a direct result of the adoption of such laws? Or is it just the general evolution that might have taken place anyway, as a result of implementing the guidelines contained in Recommendation Rec (2003) 3 or simply a trend of today?

These questions are relevant and have no final answer. However, it is evident that the evolution in the case of member states with quota laws is more significant than the general evolution of all countries (34) where comparison was made between the figures in regard to women's participation in single/lower houses in 2005 and those in 2008. Actually, in the case of countries with quota laws, the average increase doubles the one of all comparable countries, as in the first case there is an increase of 4.3% and in the second an increase of 1.9%. Further and more detailed research, including data from all countries that have adopted legal gender

quotas, would be necessary for a better understanding of the impact of such provisions.

Another aspect that must be taken into account when assessing the possible effects of quota laws upon women's representation is the variety of factors occurring that do not allow for a linear or clear assessment. The different laws contain different standards as regards minimum percentages for women or for both sexes, which can go from 5% to 50%. Different laws also have different provisions regarding placement on the lists and the sanctions foreseen vary greatly with no sanctions at all in some cases. This constitutes an amount of variables that, as stated, requires a finer analysis to reach a better understanding of their possible effects, particularly over a longer period of time and in a more significant number of countries.

As many of these laws are rather recent, another important factor to take into account would be information on the date of entry into force of the law in order to evaluate whether it covered the elections in question or whether the elections took place before the approval and

enforcement of the law – a possibility that actually happens in some cases.

Another exercise of analysis on possible effects of quota laws on women's representation in single/lower houses may be undertaken by looking at results of 2005 and 2008 separately.

In 2005 the average percentage of women elected in the totality of the countries (36 countries) is 21.1%, while the average in countries with quota laws (six countries) is 16.2%, an indicator that seems peculiar in this context.

In 2008, the equivalent average in the totality of countries (42 countries) is 21.7%, while the average in countries with quota laws (12 countries) is 21.1%.

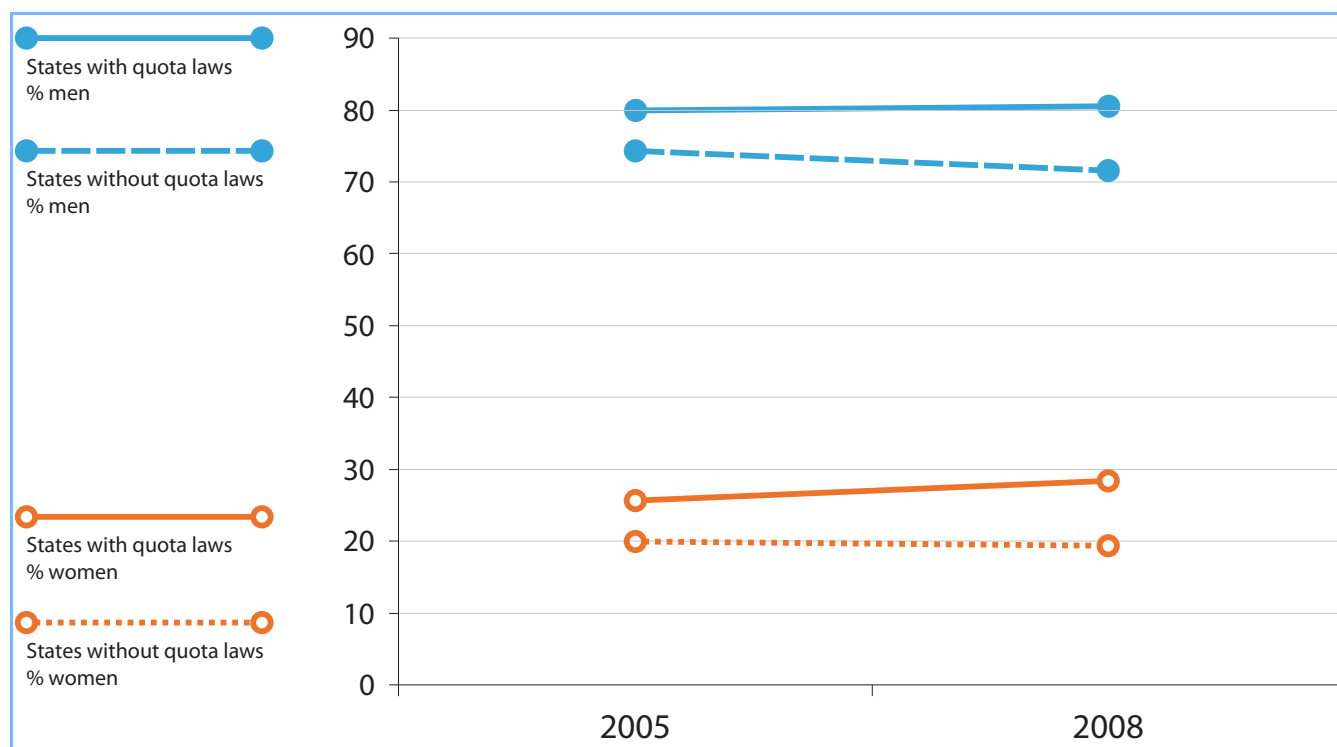
These figures show no remarkable differences, from which we might be able to draw any relevant conclusions. Certainly, there is a more positive evolution in the situation of countries which have introduced quota laws from 2005 to 2008, an assessment that is in line with the previous analysis. However, here again, care is necessary in drawing conclusions, as the countries with quota laws are not all the same or the same number in both years.

**Table 4. Member states where some/all political parties have created quota rules/regulations**

Member state	2005			2008			Evolution
	by	Percentage/ range	% women elected	by	Percentage/ range	% women elected	
<b>Belgium</b>	Some	50%	34.7%	All parties	50%	37.3%	2.6%
<b>Croatia</b>	Some		21.1%	Some parties	30-40%	21.6%	0.5%
<b>Cyprus</b>	Some		10.0%	Some parties	20-30%	16.1%	6.1%
<b>Germany</b>	Some	33-50%	32.8%	Some parties	33-50%	32.2%	-0.6%
<b>Iceland</b>	Some	50%	33.3%	Some parties	40-50%	33.3%	0.0%
<b>Lithuania</b>	Some	30%	20.6%	Some parties	30%	22.0%	1.4%
<b>Netherlands</b>	Some	33-50%	34.7%	Some parties	50%	41.3%	6.6%
<b>Norway</b>	Some	50%	37.0%		40%	37.9%	0.9%
<b>Portugal</b>	Some	33%	25.2%	Some parties		28.3%	3.1%
<b>Slovenia</b>	Some	33%	13.3%	Some parties	25-40%	11.1%	-2.2%
<b>"The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"</b>	Some	40%	20.0%	All parties	30.0%	31.7%	11.7%
<b>Average</b>			25.7%			28.4%	2.7%



Figure 4. Effect of quota rules/regulations



Besides the quota imposed by law, another type of quota was considered as a matter for gender impact analysis – the quota rules/regulations created by political parties for their electoral lists.

Information was provided on the existence of such provisions by 19 countries in 2005 and by 17 countries in 2008. However, comparison of results is only possible in regard to the eleven member states which provided data in the two rounds of monitoring.

The average percentage of women elected in the eleven countries with this type of quota was of 25,7% in 2005 and it rose to 28.4% in 2008, reflecting an increase of 2.7%. As for the changes in the various countries, improvement of the situation shows in eight countries, ranging from a minimum of 0.5% to a significant maximum of 11.7%. The situation shows no change in one country and it worsens in two countries, where the decrease is 0.6% and 2.1% respectively.

As a preliminary conclusion, some progress is noticeable albeit not a very significant one. Women's participation in all responding member states increased by 2%, only slightly lower than the 2.7% increase found in countries with specific quota rules or regulations. A similar question to the one raised above could be asked. Is this change the result of this type of quota or is it just the evolution that would naturally occur, similar to the one verified in general for all the countries?

Just as has been done in regard to quota laws there is also the possibility of looking into the results of 2005 and 2008 separately in order to establish correlations in the evolution registered in regard to countries in general and to countries with quota rules/regulations.

In 2005, the average percentage of women elected in the totality of the countries (36 countries) is 21.1%, while the average in countries with quota rules/regulations (19 countries) is very similar, 21.7%.

In 2008, the equivalent average in the totality of countries (42 countries) is 21.7%, while the average in countries with quota rules/regulations (17 countries) is more significant, 27.1%.

Again, the figures are not extremely different from one another. The only notable difference regards the higher percentage found in 2008 in countries with quota rules/regulations – 27.1%, while it was 21.7% in 2005. Is this the effect of quota rules/regulations? An affirmative answer is only indicative, as for an effective assessment of developments it would be necessary to know exactly what type of rules were introduced; whether they were introduced by all parties or only some parties, what were the standards adopted, did they establish a minimum percentage only or a certain placement in the list as well? A variety of questions that may alter the results, but which may only be answered by a more extensive, in-depth analysis on the basis of complementary information.



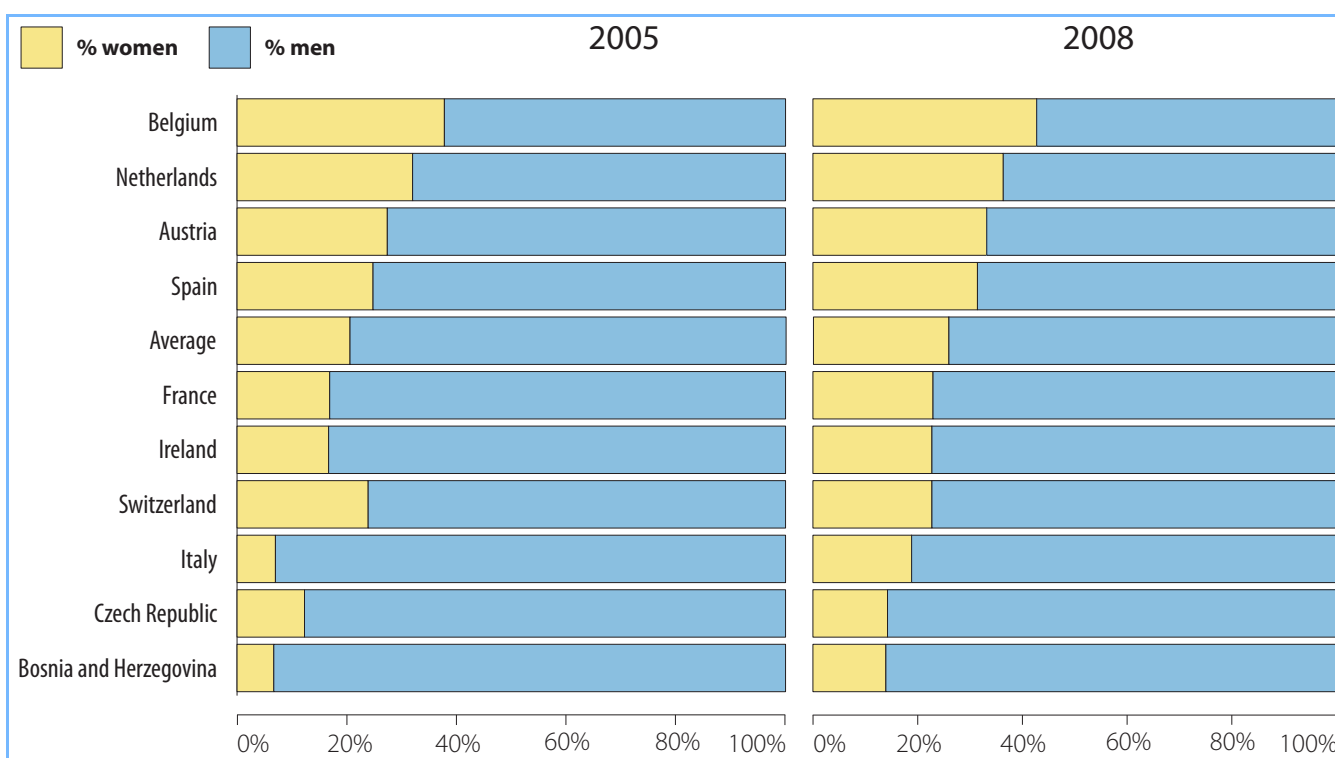
## Upper houses

### Upper houses – election

**Table 5. Women and men elected representatives in upper houses**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Austria	27.4%	72.6%	31.7%	68.3%	4.3%
Belgium	37.8%	62.2%	40.8%	59.2%	3.0%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	6.7%	93.3%	13.3%	86.7%	6.6%
Czech Republic	12.3%	87.7%	13.6%	86.4%	1.3%
France	16.9%	83.1%	21.9%	78.1%	5.0%
Ireland	16.7%	83.3%	21.7%	78.3%	5.0%
Italy	7.0%	93.0%	18.0%	82.0%	11.0%
Netherlands	32.0%	68.0%	34.7%	65.3%	2.7%
Spain	24.8%	75.2%	30.0%	70.0%	5.2%
Switzerland	23.9%	76.1%	21.7%	78.3%	-2.2%
<b>Average</b>	<b>20.6%</b>	<b>79.5%</b>	<b>24.7%</b>	<b>75.3%</b>	<b>4.1%</b>

**Figure 5. Women and men elected representatives in upper houses**



Only bicameral states were asked to complete this section. In the case of federal states, the house in question was the one which represents the interests of the component states of the federation.

In 2005 responses to the questionnaire on the presence of women elected in upper houses were given by eleven countries. In 2008, this number rose to 13 countries. However, a comparison is only possible for a total of ten countries represented in both tables.

Concerning the ten comparable countries it is evident that there is an appar-

ently positive development, as the percentage of women's participation rose from 20.6% in 2005 to 24.7% in 2008, reflecting an increase of 4.1%.

In almost all the countries (9) there is an increase, ranging from 1.3% to 11%; only in one case is the percentage lower by 2.2% than in the previous round. This is, in general, an evolution that shows a positive consistency.

On the other hand, while in 2005 no country had reached the recommended minimum of 40% women, in 2008 this target started to be reached, though just

by one country. Countries with less than 20% women also decreased from five to three.

A comparison of the evolution of the situation of women elected to upper and lower houses, which shows a similar starting point in both cases – 20.6% and 21.7% respectively – reveals that there is a better performance in upper houses, where the increase doubles the one found for lower houses (4.1% and 1.9% respectively).

This raises the question why. Is change more significant in quantitative terms because a much smaller number of coun-



tries is being considered or is there any other reason related to the status and power of the members of both houses? Or is it related to the mandate and functions of these houses, different as they may be in federal or unitary states?

A glance at member states figuring in the table that have a federal structure like Austria, Belgium or Switzerland, or those

with strong autonomic regions like Spain, reveals no significant differences regarding the evolution of women's participation in the Upper Houses which, in these cases, might hold a particular kind of power. It is true that in the case of Switzerland there might be an indication of particular difficulties for women to access the upper house, but no general or defini-

tive conclusions can be drawn from these data.

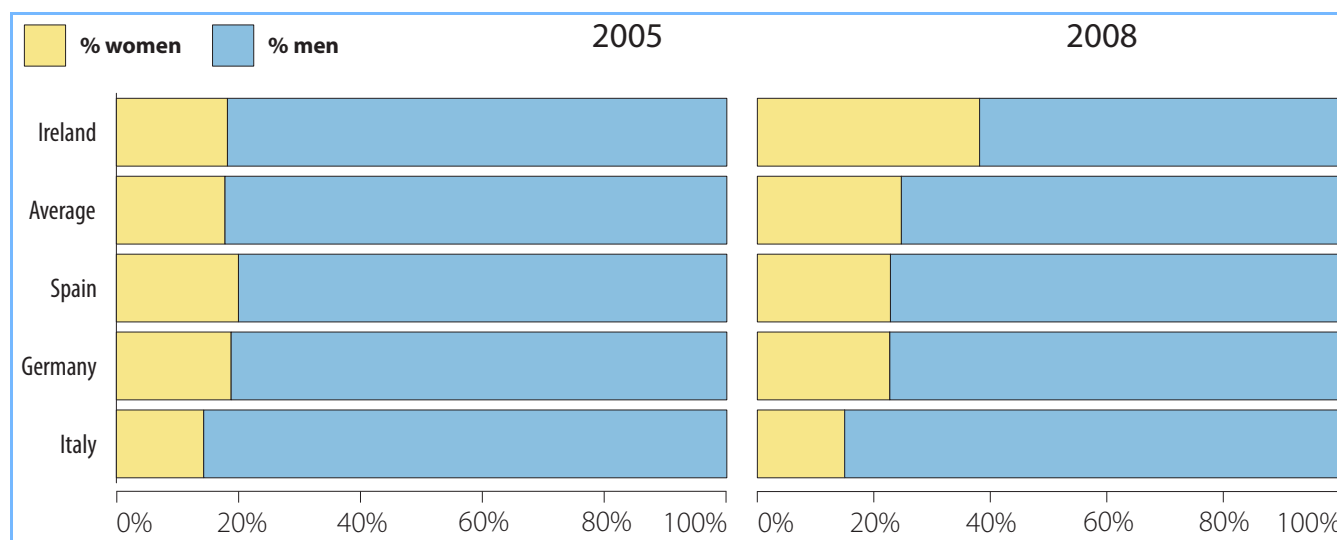
Further analysis on this subject will be pursued in connection with Table 8 on page 21, which, for purposes of comparison, places side by side the data on women's participation in lower and upper houses in bicameral states.

#### Upper houses – appointment

**Table 6. Women and men appointed representatives in upper houses**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	Women	Men	Women	Men	
Germany	18.8%	81.2%	21.7%	78.3%	2.9%
Ireland	18.2%	81.8%	36.4%	63.6%	18.2%
Italy	14.3%	85.7%	14.3%	85.7%	0.0%
Spain	20%	80%	21.8%	78.2%	1.8%
<b>Average</b>	<b>17.8%</b>	<b>82.2%</b>	<b>23.6%</b>	<b>76.5%</b>	<b>5.7%</b>

**Figure 6. Women and men appointed representatives in upper houses**



As for the case of women appointed to upper houses, the number of countries using this system is apparently small, as only four countries in 2005 and seven in 2008 responded to this item. The comparison is possible only for the four countries coinciding in both rounds.

The evolution registered in women's participation rose from 17.8% in 2005 to

23.6% in 2008, an increase of 5.7%. This is similar, though slightly higher, to the evolution registered in the case of women elected to identical functions, referred to above, where the increase corresponded to 4.1%.

As for changes occurring in the different countries, there was one case where no change occurred and three with increasing

percentages, two minimal ones and one very significant (18.2% increase).

On the other hand, while in 2005 only one country reached the level of 20% of women's participation, in 2008 there are three countries above that limit, but none reaching 40%, although one country is close to that target.



**Table 7. Quotas in upper houses**

*a. Quotas by law*

Member state	Sanctions non-compliance	Rank order rules	Percentage/range	% women elected
<b>Belgium</b>		Plurality other	50%	40.8%
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	Lists not accepted	Zippering system	0%	13.3%
<b>France</b>	Financial penalty			21.9%
<b>Spain</b>		Plurality other	40-60%	30.0%

*b. Quota rules/regulations created by political parties*

Member state	2005			2008			Evolution women elected
	by	Percentage/range	% women elected	by	Percentage/range	% women elected	
<b>Belgium</b>	Some parties	50%	37.8%	Some parties	50%	40.8%	3.0%
<b>Netherlands</b>	Some parties	33-50%	32.0%	Some parties	50%	34.7%	2.7%
<b>Average</b>			34.9%			37.8%	2.9%

As was the case for lower houses, an attempt was made to assess the possible impact of quotas on the increase of women's participation in upper houses.

The survey of 2005, however, does not include any information on countries which adopted quotas by law in upper houses. It only provides data on countries where quota rules/regulations have been created by political parties for election to upper houses. The 2008 results, on the contrary, provide information on situations where the two types of quotas have been adopted. Therefore, no comparison can be made in regard to the first type of quotas, only to the second.

It is possible, however, to look at the case of the four member states with quota laws which provided data.

The average representation of women in upper houses of these countries is 26.5%, which is higher than the general average of women elected to upper houses in the same year – 21.7%. In spite of the significant difference, however, no final conclusion can be drawn on the effectiveness of these quota laws, particularly because the number of countries is too small to be representative.

As for the case of countries where quota rules/regulations have been created by political parties, this information is

provided by four countries in 2005 and eight countries in 2008. However, only in the case of two countries (Belgium and the Netherlands) the information figures in both surveys, not really allowing for any analysis of the evolution between 2005 and 2008.

The percentages of women's representation are rather significant in both cases: 37.8% and 32% (average of 34.9%) in 2005 and 40.8% and 34.7% (average 37.8%) in 2008, reflecting an increase of 2,7% in these countries, but the sample is too small to allow a valid conclusion.

*Comparison lower/upper houses*

**Table 8. Bicameral parliamentary states: percentage of women in upper and lower houses**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution	
	% women lower house	% women upper house	% women lower house	% women upper house	Lower house	Upper house
<b>Austria</b>	33.0%	27.4%	25.8%	31.7%	-7.2%	4.3%
<b>Belgium</b>	34.7%	37.8%	37.3%	40.8%	2.6%	3.0%
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	14.3%	6.7%	11.9%	13.3%	-2.4%	6.6%
<b>Czech Republic</b>	16.0%	12.3%	15.5%	13.6%	-0.5%	1.3%
<b>France</b>	12.3%	16.9%	18.5%	21.9%	6.2%	5.0%
<b>Ireland</b>	13.9%	16.7%	13.3%	21.7%	-0.6%	5.0%
<b>Italy</b>	6.8%	7.0%	21.1%	18.0%	14.3%	11.0%
<b>Netherlands</b>	34.7%	32.0%	41.3%	34.7%	6.6%	2.7%
<b>Spain</b>	36.0%	24.8%	35.1%	30.0%	-0.9%	5.2%
<b>Switzerland</b>	26.5%	23.9%	28.5%	21.7%	2.0%	-2.2%
<b>Average</b>	22.8%	20.6%	24.8%	24.7%	2.0%	4.1%

The questionnaires of 2005 and 2008 included a specific item regarding those countries that have a bicameral parliament, aiming at comparing the presence

of women in the two bodies and the evolution of such participation.

In 2005, a total of eleven countries provided information on this subject and

in 2008 the responding countries rose to 13. However, comparison is only possible in relation to the ten countries that provided information in both cases.



A look at all the responding countries in both rounds of monitoring reveals that, in no case there seems to be a very significant difference between the level of participation by women in the two chambers, both in the individual countries and in the global percentages.

As a matter of fact, in the data of the 2005 questionnaire, the percentage of women in the lower houses of the responding eleven countries was 21.5% while it was 19.5% in the upper houses. In 2008, the corresponding numbers for both houses of the 13 countries which responded to the questionnaire was 22.5% for the lower houses and 21.7% for the upper houses respectively. In both cases there was a slight increase in women's participation – 1% and 2.2% respectively – but not a very significant one.

On the other hand, these figures show that the level of women's participation is not significantly different in the higher and lower chambers, neither for the countries responding in 2005 nor for those responding in 2008.

Reducing the scope of the comparison to the ten countries which provided data

in the two monitoring rounds shows that the picture is not much different.

Table 8 puts together some of the data already included in previous tables. Comparing the results of the ten countries shows that the percentage of women elected to the Lower Houses rose from 22.8% in 2005 to 24.8% in 2008 – a small increase of 2%. As for the women elected to upper houses, the increase was from 20.6% to 24.7%, a slightly higher increase of 4.1%.

As for differences between the two years in these ten countries, an increase in women's participation in the lower houses in five countries, ranging from 2% to 14.3% is visible, while there was a decrease in the other five countries, ranging from 0.5% to 7.2%. As for the upper houses of the same member states, women's representation, as already noted, increased in most of the countries, exactly in nine countries, an increase ranging from 1.3% to 11%; this representation diminished in one country only, a decrease of 2.2%.

The conclusion to draw is that there is not a significant difference as regards the presence of elected women in the two chambers of those countries that have a

bicameral system. On the other hand, the evolution between the two points in time registered in the surveys, though positive, is not highly significant in neither of them.

Further elements for a more in-depth analysis would be required, particularly taking into account the specificities of the states that have a bicameral system, both federal states and unitary states; the differences related to the type of election to the upper houses, whether by popular vote or by specific electoral colleges; differences also related to the functions and importance of the two houses, namely whether they have an equivalent power and importance, which would be mainly the case in federal systems, or whether one chamber is superior to the other; whether the functions of the upper house are mainly of a scrutinizing character or of an effective one, etc.

All of these aspects are variables to be taken into account in a more in-depth analysis of evolution that the present data, limited as they are, both in the number of countries reporting in both rounds and in the time span considered, does not fully allow.

## Regional parliaments

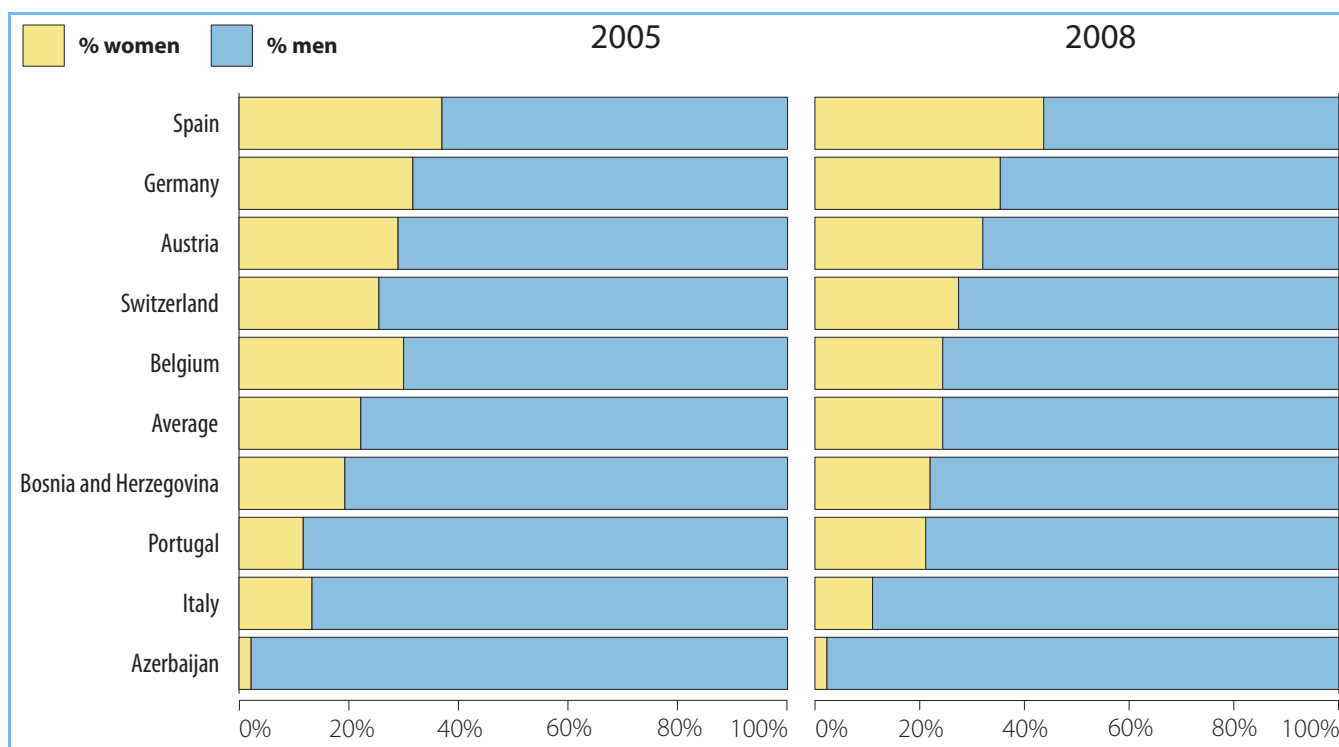
### *Women and men elected in regional parliaments*

**Table 9. Total number of women and men elected in regional parliaments**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
<b>Austria</b>	29.0%	71.0%	30.6%	69.4%	1.6%
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	2.2%	97.8%	2.2%	97.8%	0.0%
<b>Belgium</b>	30.0%	70.0%	23.3%	76.7%	-6.7%
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	19.3%	80.7%	21.0%	79.0%	1.7%
<b>Germany</b>	31.7%	68.3%	33.8%	66.2%	2.1%
<b>Italy</b>	13.3%	86.7%	10.5%	89.5%	-2.8%
<b>Portugal</b>	11.7%	88.3%	20.2%	79.8%	8.5%
<b>Spain</b>	37.0%	63.0%	41.7%	58.3%	4.7%
<b>Switzerland</b>	25.5%	74.5%	26.2%	73.8%	0.7%
<b>Average</b>	22.2%	77.8%	23.3%	76.7%	1.1%



Figure 9. Women and men elected representatives in regional parliaments



*Regions* in the present case is a term that refers to an autonomous territory with special powers of self rule, although designations can differ: autonomous republics or territories or communities or cantons or others. The regional parliament, in any of the cases, is the legislative assembly of that regional political unit and it holds the highest legislative powers at regional level.

In 2005 replies to this section were provided by a total of ten countries. In 2008, the number of countries rose to 15. However, evaluation, according to the criteria adopted, was only possible for a total of nine countries.

Considering the nine comparable countries it is evident that there was a minimal increase of only 1.1% in the percentage of women participating in regional parliaments, from 22.2% in 2005 to 23.3% in 2008.

Changes that occurred in the individual member states show that in six cases there was an increase in participation ranging from 0.7% to 8.5%, in two cases

the percentage of women decreased between 2.8% to 6.7%, and in one case it remained the same.

As for the distribution of the different member states in the scale of rates of participation, it is interesting to note that, while in 2005 no member state had reached the recommended minimum of 40%, in 2008 that threshold had been reached by one country. Furthermore, while in 2005, five countries had between 20% and 40% representation of women and four countries were below 20%, in 2008 the equivalent numbers are six (20%-40%) and two (under 20%) respectively. Again, an evolution that, although not spectacular, seems to have begun.

Not much can be said in terms of a solid conclusion regarding the position of women in regional parliaments: where there is progress, it is not to a highly significant extent. In fact, the figures for women's representation in regional parliaments are not very different from those for national parliaments, both lower/single houses or upper houses, although in

the case of regional parliaments the pace of progression seems to be slower.

As a general assessment of the position of women in parliamentary bodies at different levels, it can be said that, according to the data from the various bodies, both national and regional, rates of progress seem to be more visible at national than at regional level. In the first case, improvements range from 2% in single/lower houses to 4.1% and 5.4% in upper houses (elected or appointed members), while in regional parliaments the corresponding figure is only 1.1%.

A possible explanation might lie in the fact of regional parliaments being smaller bodies, with a smaller number of places, therefore higher competition and less space allotted to women; or to the fact of being at a level closer to the people. In more conservative or traditional communities, this might be a motive for greater resistance to women's access to power, a trend that has been found to exist in several countries.



## Executive power

The breakdown of women and men in government at each of the three different levels – national, regional and local – was assessed, as well as the changes that took place between 2005 and 2008.

The number of member states analysed at the different levels varies accord-

ing to their respective structure and depended on whether or not they provided information in both rounds. Interesting, however, is the fact that, apparently, the representation of women in governments decreases from top to bottom, from national to regional and local.

While there is a small increase at national level (3.2% in the category of ministers and 2.4% in the category of deputy/junior ministers), there is only a very slight one at the regional level: 1.2% of women ministers; and almost stagnation at local level: 0.2% of women municipality councillors.

### National governments

#### *Heads of state*

**Table 10. Heads of state**

	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
<b>Elected by the citizens</b>	13.3%	86.7%	10.0%	90.0%	-3.3%
<b>Appointed by the parliament</b>	7.7%	92.3%	0.0%	100.0%	-7.7%

The responses received in 2005 showed that two women heads of state were elected by the citizens and one was appointed by parliament – a number which, in 2008, was reduced to the two elected heads of state. In spite of the fact that this number remained the same, the

respective percentage decreased from 13.3% to only 10% because of the higher number of men as heads of state in the countries reporting in 2008.

As for countries with monarchies, the number of women remains the same in both rounds; in spite of the fact that the

reporting member states are not exactly the same, there are three queens in both cases. Women can inherit the crown in Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

#### *Heads of government*

**Table 11. Heads of government**

2005		2008		Evolution
% women	% men	% women	% men	
0%	100.0%	5.1%	94.9%	5.1%

The member states which responded to the questionnaire in 2005 had no women heads of government, while those responding in 2008 report the existence of two women heads of government. In the first case, the percentage is, of course, 0% and in the second it is 5.1%.

However, these percentages can not be compared, as they concern a different number of countries responding to both questionnaires: 31 in 2005 and 39 in 2008. Furthermore, the respective tables do not allow comparison between the countries

that have responded to both questionnaires.

The only conclusion to be drawn is that, even though the number of countries rose from 31 to 39 from the first to the second round, men remain a very large majority and women only occupy two



places as heads of government, which is certainly a very poor development.

### *Ministers and deputy/junior ministers*

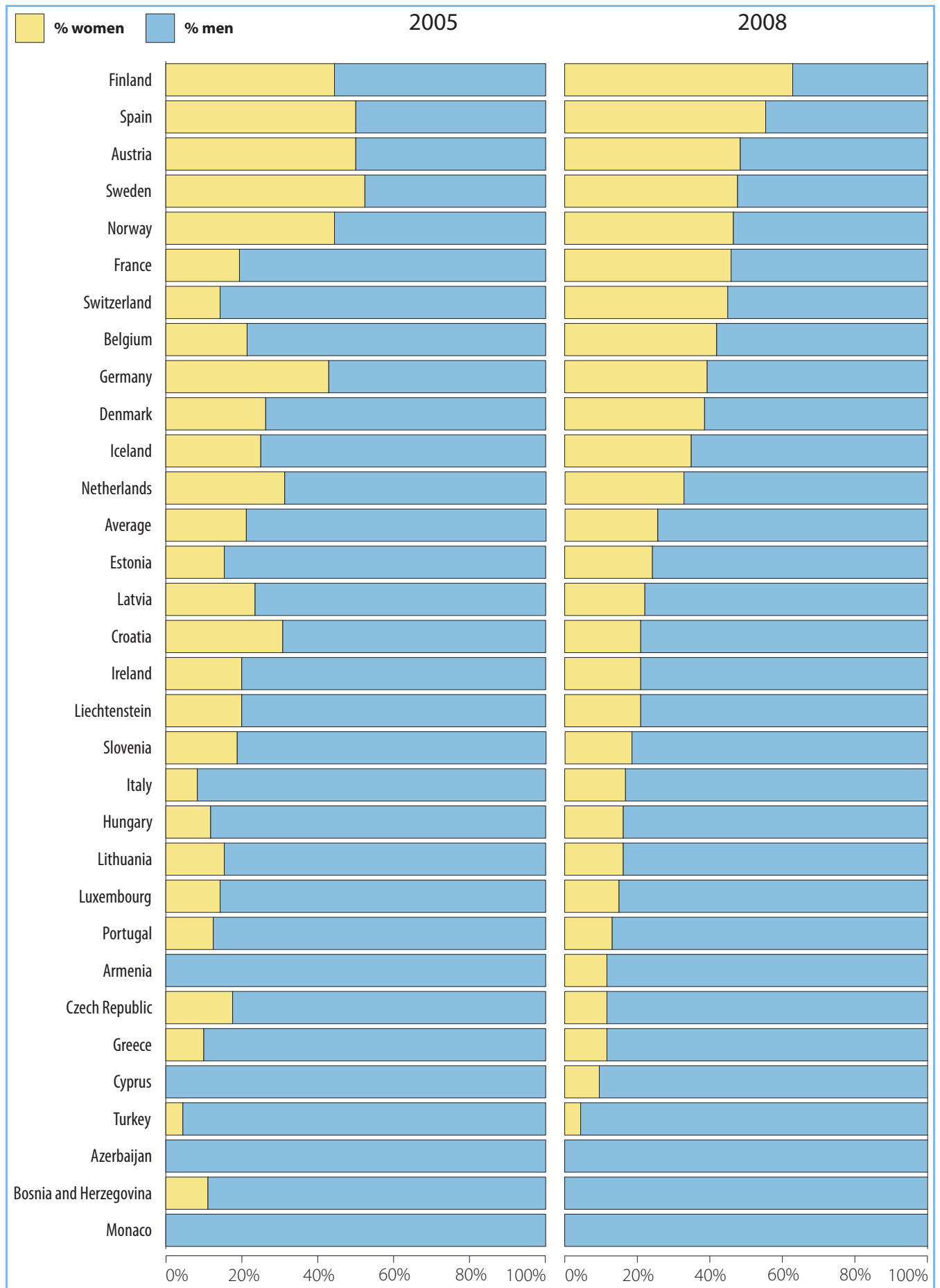
#### *Women and men ministers*

**Table 12. Women and men ministers**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Armenia	0.0%	100.0%	11.1%	88.9%	11.1%
Austria	50.0%	50.0%	46.2%	53.8%	-3.8%
Azerbaijan	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Belgium	21.4%	78.6%	40.0%	60.0%	18.6%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	11.1%	88.9%	0.0%	100.0%	-11.1%
Croatia	30.8%	69.2%	20.0%	80.0%	-10.8%
Cyprus	0.0%	100.0%	9.1%	90.9%	9.1%
Czech Republic	17.6%	82.4%	11.1%	88.9%	-6.5%
Denmark	26.3%	73.7%	36.8%	63.2%	10.5%
Estonia	15.4%	84.6%	23.1%	76.9%	7.7%
Finland	44.4%	55.6%	60.0%	40.0%	15.6%
France	19.4%	80.6%	43.8%	56.3%	24.4%
Germany	42.9%	57.1%	37.5%	62.5%	-5.4%
Greece	10.0%	90.0%	11.1%	88.9%	1.1%
Hungary	11.8%	88.2%	15.4%	84.6%	3.6%
Iceland	25.0%	75.0%	33.3%	66.7%	8.3%
Ireland	20.0%	80.0%	20.0%	80.0%	0.0%
Italy	8.3%	91.7%	16.0%	84.0%	7.7%
Latvia	23.5%	76.5%	21.1%	78.9%	-2.4%
Liechtenstein	20.0%	80.0%	20.0%	80.0%	0.0%
Lithuania	15.4%	84.6%	15.4%	84.6%	0.0%
Luxembourg	14.3%	85.7%	14.3%	85.7%	0.0%
Monaco	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Netherlands	31.3%	68.8%	31.3%	68.8%	-0.1%
Norway	44.4%	55.6%	44.4%	55.6%	0.0%
Portugal	12.5%	87.5%	12.5%	87.5%	0.0%
Slovenia	18.8%	81.3%	17.6%	82.4%	-1.2%
Spain	50.0%	50.0%	52.9%	47.1%	2.9%
Sweden	52.4%	47.6%	45.5%	54.5%	-6.9%
Switzerland	14.3%	85.7%	42.9%	57.1%	28.6%
Turkey	4.5%	95.5%	4.2%	95.8%	-0.3%
<b>Average</b>	<b>21.2%</b>	<b>78.9%</b>	<b>24.4%</b>	<b>75.6%</b>	<b>3.2%</b>



Figure 12. Women and men ministers





In 2005 the answer to this section was provided by 33 countries and in 2008 by 42 countries. Respecting the established criteria which excludes member states which did not respond to both questionnaires, the comparison is possible for a total of 31 member states.

According to the table, the percentage of women's participation as ministers for these countries in 2005 was 21.2% and it rose to 24.4% in 2008, which reflects a slight and promising increase of 3.2%.

As for the number of countries where the percentage of women's participation as ministers increased, this occurred in 13 countries out of the total of 31, the increase ranging from 1.1% to 28.6%. As for countries with decreasing percentages, this occurred in nine countries, the decrease ranging from 0.3% to 11.1% lower than former percentages. The situation remained the same in a total of nine countries.

On the other hand, among the 31 comparable countries, about a quarter of these, that is to say, eight member states have 40% or more women ministers, while in 2005, there were only six countries reaching that level. While in 2005 there were no women ministers at all in four countries, in 2008 this number had slightly improved to three countries without women ministers.

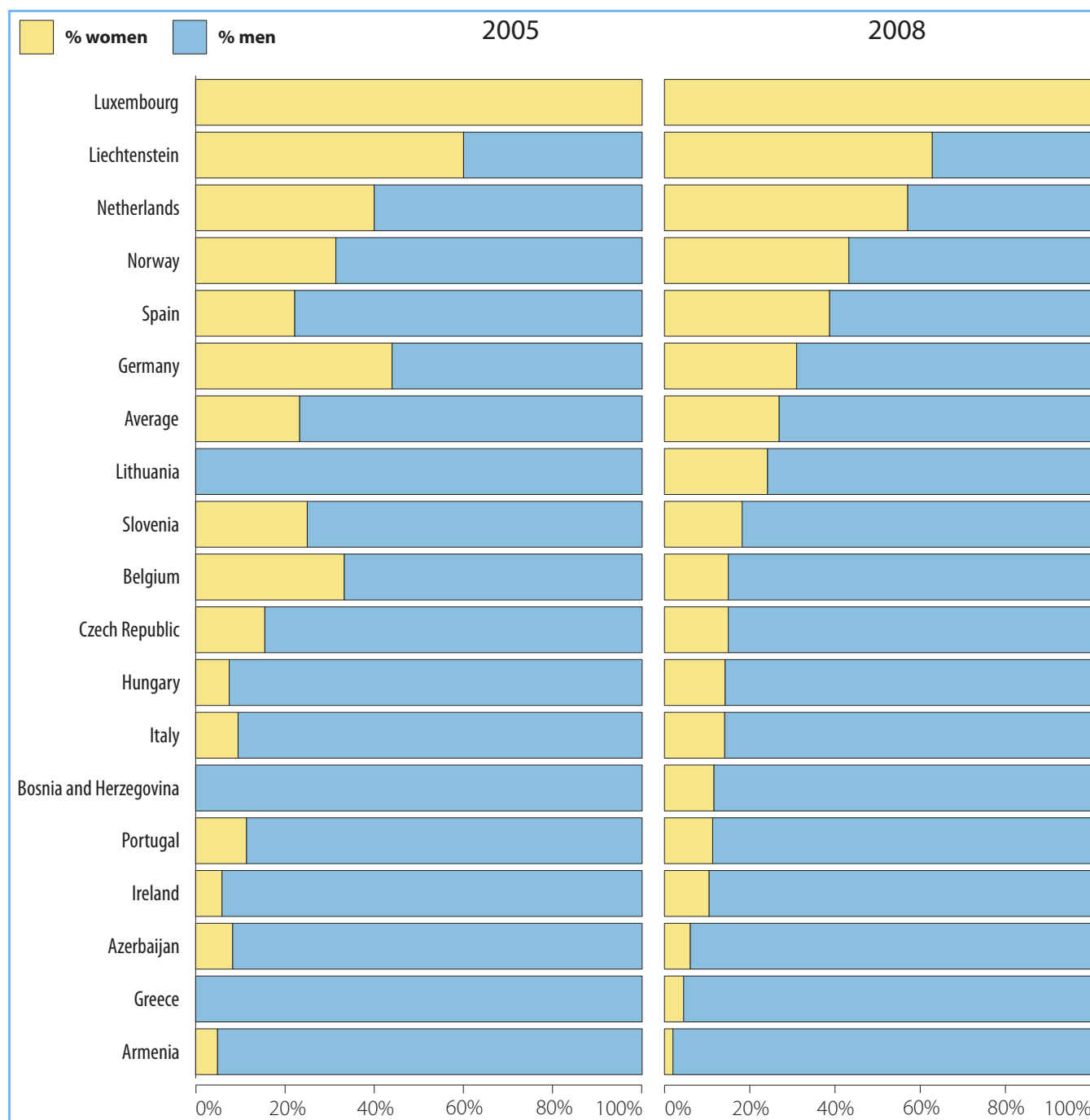
#### *Women and men deputy/junior ministers*

**Table 13. Women and men deputy/junior ministers**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Armenia	4.9%	95.1%	1.9%	98.1%	-3.0%
Azerbaijan	8.3%	91.7%	5.8%	94.2%	-2.5%
Belgium	33.3%	66.7%	14.3%	85.7%	-19.0%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.0%	100.0%	11.1%	88.9%	11.1%
Czech Republic	15.5%	84.5%	14.3%	85.7%	-1.2%
Germany	44.0%	56.0%	29.6%	70.4%	-14.4%
Greece	0.0%	100.0%	4.3%	95.7%	4.3%
Hungary	7.5%	92.5%	13.6%	86.4%	6.1%
Ireland	5.9%	94.1%	10.0%	90.0%	4.1%
Italy	9.5%	90.5%	13.5%	86.5%	4.0%
Liechtenstein	60.0%	40.0%	60.0%	40.0%	0.0%
Lithuania	0.0%	100.0%	23.1%	76.9%	23.1%
Luxembourg	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Netherlands	40.0%	60.0%	54.5%	45.5%	14.5%
Norway	31.4%	68.6%	41.3%	58.7%	9.9%
Portugal	11.4%	88.6%	10.8%	89.2%	-0.6%
Slovenia	25.0%	75.0%	17.4%	82.6%	-7.6%
Spain	22.2%	77.8%	37.0%	63.0%	14.8%
<b>Average</b>	<b>23.3%</b>	<b>76.7%</b>	<b>25.7%</b>	<b>74.3%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>



**Figure 13. Women and men deputy/junior ministers**



As for data on women and men deputy/junior ministers, 21 countries reported on this item in 2005, while in 2008 this number rose to 32. The number of countries reporting on both occasions was 18. The comparison is therefore only valid for these 18 countries.

According to these data, the percentage of women included in government as deputy/junior ministers was 23.3% in 2005 and increased to 25.7% in 2008, a minimal increase of only 2.4%. This is significantly lower than the equivalent figure in the category of ministers, which was 3.2%.

Percentages increased in a total of nine countries, such increases ranging from 4% to a significant 23.1%. However, in another seven member states women's participation went down, with differences ranging from 0.6% to 19%.

Among the 18 comparable countries, only four have reached the recommended minimum percentage of 40%, both in 2005 and in 2008. An improvement, however, can be noted as regards the indicator of countries without any women deputy/junior ministers. While in 2005 there were three countries in this position, in 2008 there are none. It may not be a very

significant indicator but it must still be noted.

Comparing developments in regard to ministers and deputy ministers shows that, even if rates of increase are lower for deputy ministers, the actual participation of women in this category remains slightly higher, ending up in very similar results for both categories of members of government.

In view of these results, the question arises whether the slightly better performance regarding women ministers already reflects some kind of political concern of making women visible in governmental decision-making in response to the



requirements of Recommendation Rec (2003) 3; or whether such a small change is no more than a natural evolution that

would have occurred with or without standards set in the recommendation.

## Regional governments

As defined in the questionnaires with a view to obtaining comparable data, “the term *region* refers to an autonomous terri-

tory with special powers of self-rule. The *regional government* is the organisation that is the governing authority of a

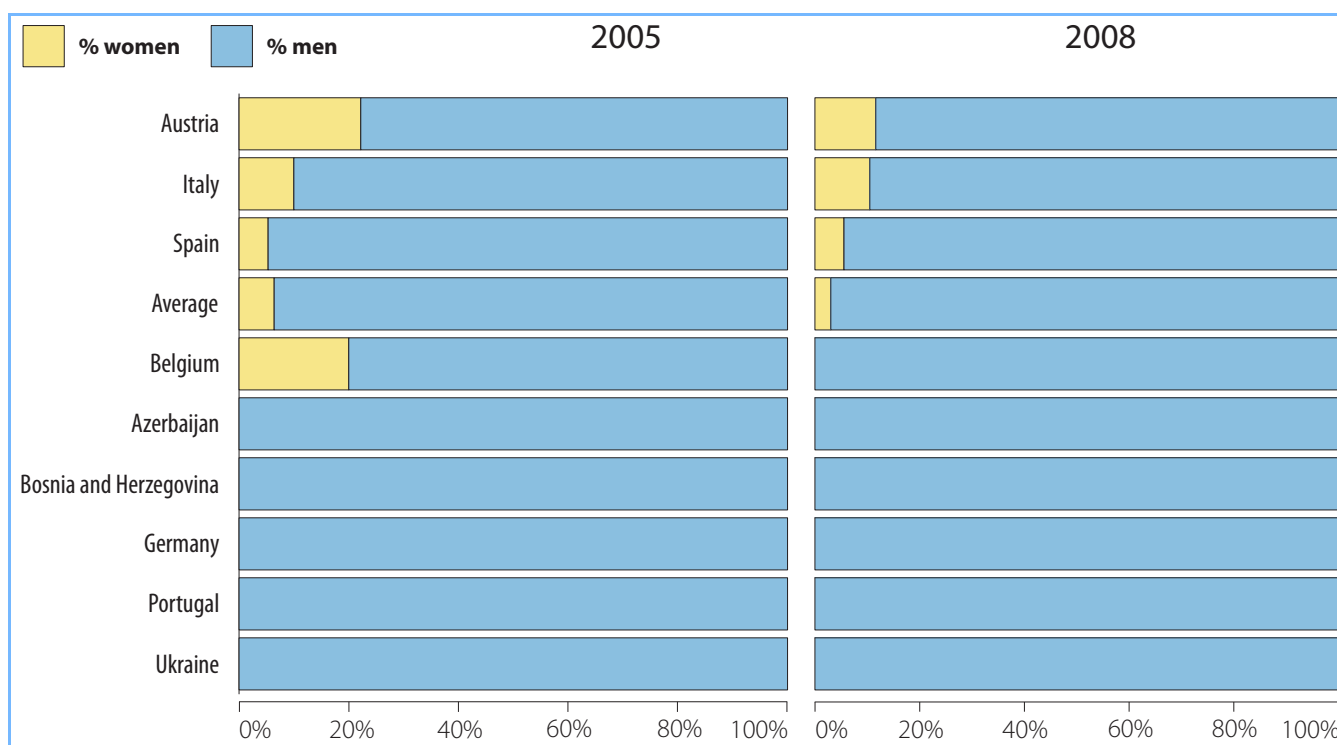
regional political unit. It has the highest executive powers of the regional level”.

### Heads of regional government

**Table 14. Heads of regional government**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Austria	22.2%	77.8%	11.1%	88.9%	-11.1%
Azerbaijan	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Belgium	20.0%	80.0%	0.0%	100.0%	-20.0%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Germany	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Italy	10.0%	90.0%	10.0%	90.0%	0.0%
Portugal	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Spain	5.3%	94.7%	5.3%	94.7%	0.0%
Ukraine	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
<b>Average</b>	<b>6.4%</b>	<b>93.6%</b>	<b>2.9%</b>	<b>97.1%</b>	<b>-3.5%</b>

**Figure 14. Heads of regional government**



While acknowledging the fact that different countries may have different appointment methods for the head of a regional government – election by the citizens, by the parliament or by way of even more complex systems – the present anal-

ysis does not consider such differences as being significant for its current purpose.

In 2005, 13 countries provided data regarding regional governments, while in 2008 that number rose slightly to 16 countries. However, comparison is only

possible for nine countries according to the established criteria.

Out of these nine member states, six have no women heads of regional government, one more than in 2005, and none reach the recommended threshold of 40% in either year.



In the first evaluation, the percentage of women heads of regional government was 6.4%. Although in most member states the situation did not change, the fact is that changes in two countries made the previous percentage decrease significantly to 2.9%.

Also interesting to note is the fact that the European average found in answers to both questionnaires and involving all the

responding member states (13 in 2005 and 16 in 2008) changes drastically from 17% to 2.8%. Of course, these numbers are not comparable, as they do not apply to the exact same countries. However, there seems to be a strong negative trend here, both concerning the member states where comparison is possible and the general evolution of all the countries in both years.

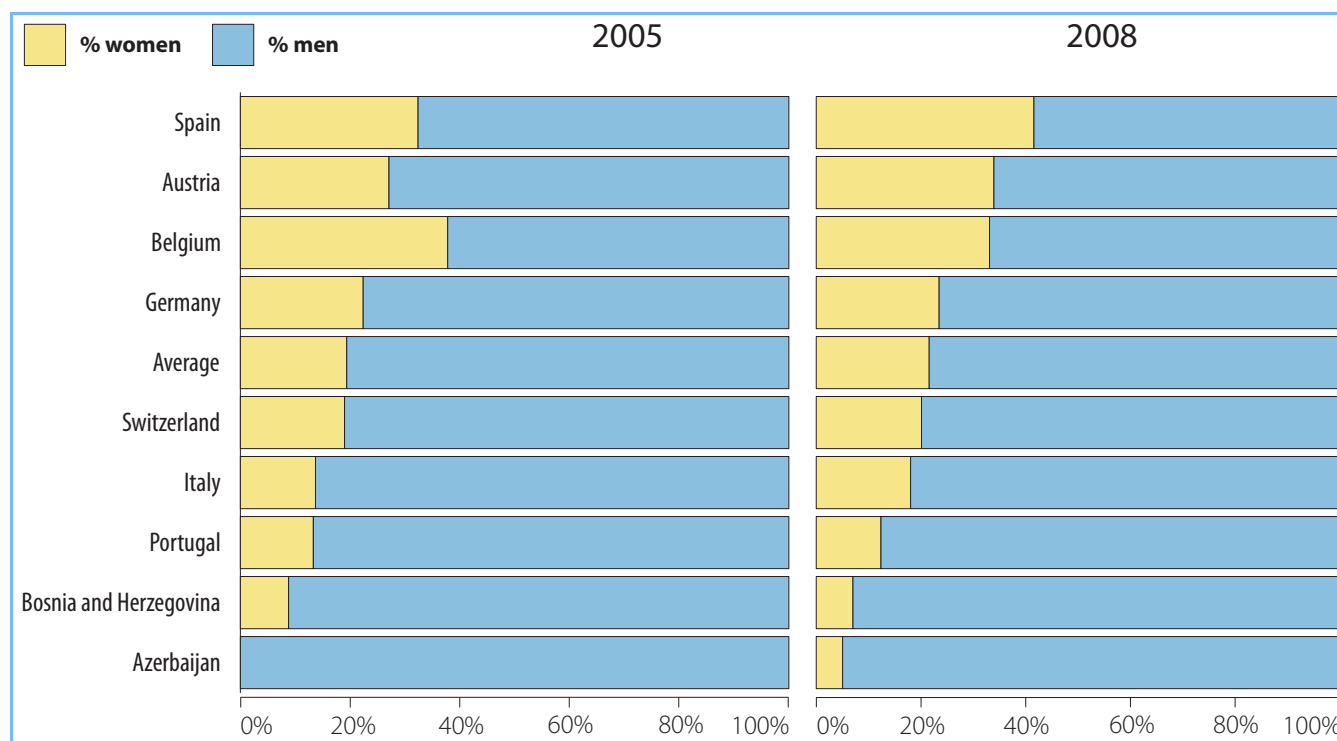
A question which arose above also arises in this context. It is related to the specific difficulties faced by women in access to decision-making posts at regional level. Such specific difficulties to advance would naturally be exacerbated, as the numbers show, in relation to the number one decision-making post, that is the head of regional government.

### Members of regional governments

**Table 15. Women and men members of regional governments**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Austria	27.1%	72.9%	32.4%	67.6%	5.3%
Azerbaijan	0.0%	100.0%	4.8%	95.2%	4.8%
Belgium	37.8%	62.2%	31.6%	68.4%	-6.2%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	8.8%	91.2%	6.7%	93.3%	-2.1%
Germany	22.4%	77.6%	22.4%	77.6%	0.0%
Italy	13.7%	86.3%	17.2%	82.8%	3.5%
Portugal	13.3%	86.7%	11.8%	88.2%	-1.5%
Spain	32.4%	67.6%	39.7%	60.3%	7.3%
Switzerland	19.0%	81.0%	19.2%	80.8%	0.2%
<b>Average</b>	<b>19.4%</b>	<b>80.6%</b>	<b>20.6%</b>	<b>79.4%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>

**Figure 15. Women and men members of regional governments**



Without going into the methods – election by citizens or appointment by the head of regional government or others – comparison is possible only for a total of nine member states since, as in the case of heads of government, there is a big dis-

crepancy between those that responded to the first questionnaire and to the second one, 12 and 16, respectively.

In 2005, the percentage of women members of regional governments of these nine member states amounted to 19.4%,

increasing to 20.6% in 2008, a slight increase of 1.2% which is hardly significant.

The data from these nine member states show that there was an increase in women's participation in five of them, an



increase ranging from a mere 0.2% to 7.3%. In one country, the situation did not change and in the three others the percentage decreased, a decrease ranging from a minimum of 1.5% to 6.2%.

On the other hand, none of these member states reached the level of 40% of women, although one came very close to achieving that target. Four member states came within the range of 20% to 40% and five have under 20% of women members of regional governments.

On the whole, the performance regarding the increase of women's participation in regional governments is not good. As previously noted, we might wonder why this development seems to be

more difficult at regional level than at national level, where levels of participation, although not remarkable, are slightly higher. The number of women ministers has increased by 3.2% and that of deputy/junior ministers by 2.4%. Furthermore, with about a quarter of those member states going beyond the strategic target of 40% of women in national governments, this is far ahead of the level of participation of women in regional governments, where no member state has reached the 40% threshold and more than half report averages below 20%.

Similar difficulties had been identified in regard to regional parliaments, where the pace of progress seems to be slower

than at national level, even though the actual difference in participation averages at both levels is not so pronounced. Could it be that the closer proximity to the people, both of parliaments and of governments, facing a more conservative attitude on women's roles and a stronger social control in regard to change, poses more difficulties for women's participation? Apparently, that seems to be the case, which means further and special actions are required, not only of a legal nature but also in terms of promotion of cultural and social change.

### *Possible impact of quota laws or quota rules/regulations*

**Table 16. Effects of quotas in regional governments**

#### *a. Quotas by law*

Member state	Sanctions non-compliance	Rank order rules	Quota/percentage	% women elected
<b>Belgium</b>	Yes	Plurality other		31.6%
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	Financial penalty	Ziping system		6.7%
<b>France</b>	Financial penalty			37.8%
<b>Greece</b>	Lists not accepted		33.3%	20.7%

#### *b. Quota rules/regulations created by political parties*

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
<b>Germany</b>	22.4%	77.6%	22.4%	77.6%	0.0%
<b>Portugal</b>	13.3%	86.7%	11.8%	88.2%	-1.5%
<b>Switzerland</b>	19.0%	81.0%	19.2%	80.8%	0.2%
<b>Average</b>	18.2%	81.8%	17.8%	82.2%	-0.4%

As for parliaments, an attempt was made to assess the possible impact of quotas on the evolution of women's participation in executive bodies. The 2008 questionnaire requested information on the existence of quota by laws and on quota rules/regulations created by political parties in regional governments. Since data for the first request made – quota by laws – do not exist for 2005, a comparison of the effects of such quotas is not possible. It is, however, interesting to look at the information provided in 2008 by countries with quota laws in place for regional governments.

In 2008 only four countries give information on the existence of such laws, including on sanctions for non-compliance, on rank order rules and on the percentage of women elected. This percentage runs from a minimum of 6.7%, a very low result that may raise questions on the

effect of the laws, to a maximum of 37.8%, a result close to the required minimum threshold of 40%.

The average percentage of women's participation in regional governments of these four countries is 24.2%, which, in any case, is higher than the average percentage in the global number of countries which provided data for the same year, which is 21.4%. Apparently, the existence of quota laws seems to have some significance in terms of results achieved, but the number of countries providing data on this matter – four countries only – is not representative enough to draw significant conclusions.

As for information on quota rules/regulations created by political parties and their possible effect on women's participation, data are available for both 2005 and 2008. In 2005 information was provided by six countries and in 2008 by another six

countries. Since they did not coincide in both years, comparison is only possible for three countries, where no positive evolution is to be found.

While in 2005 the percentage of women in the regional governments of these member states amounted to 18.2%, in 2008 it decreased to 17.8%, a slight decrease of 0.4%. Of the three member states which reported, one experienced a slight increase of 0.2%, another a decrease of 1.5% and the third remained stable. On the whole, this represents neither a significant difference nor a significant number of countries to draw any conclusions.

On the other hand, some puzzling data can be noted, as regards two of the member states where some form of quota exists. In spite of these quotas, the percentage of women is lower for these countries in 2008 than it was in 2005. A significant decrease from 37.8% to 31.6%





occurred in one case (Belgium – quotas by parties in 2005 and quotas by law in 2008), and from 13.3% to 11.8% in the

other (Portugal – quotas by parties). This raises doubts on the implementation or

effectiveness of the quotas and of the sanctions foreseen.

## Local governments

As regards local government, the data requested from member states concerned both mayors and municipal councillors.

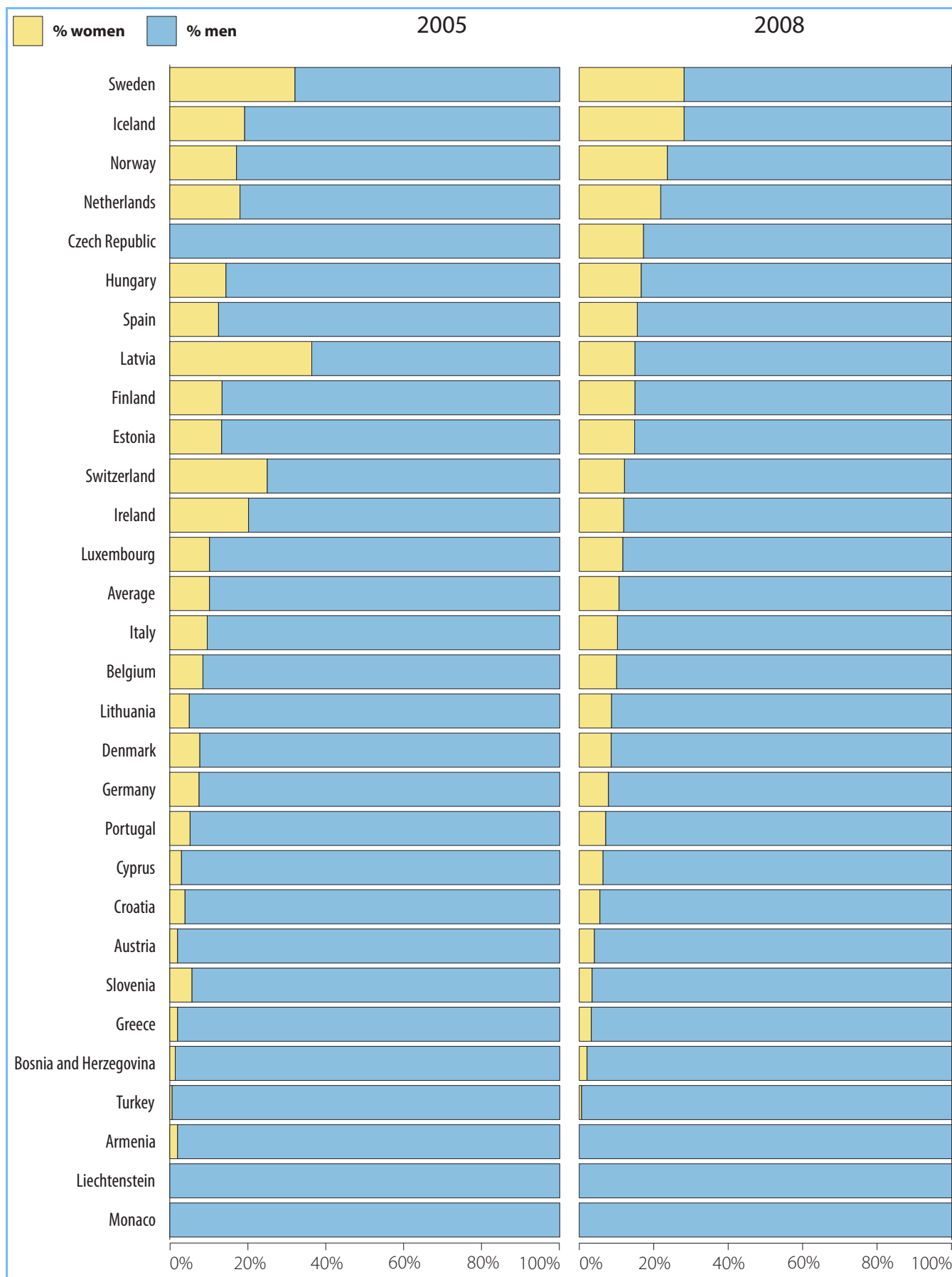
### Mayors

**Table 17. Mayors**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Armenia	2.0%	98.0%	0.0%	100.0%	-2.0%
Austria	2.0%	98.0%	3.9%	96.1%	1.9%
Belgium	8.5%	91.5%	9.6%	90.4%	1.1%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1.4%	98.6%	2.0%	98.0%	0.6%
Croatia	3.9%	96.1%	5.3%	94.7%	1.4%
Cyprus	3.0%	97.0%	6.1%	93.9%	3.1%
Czech Republic	0.0%	100.0%	16.5%	83.5%	16.5%
Denmark	7.7%	92.3%	8.2%	91.8%	0.5%
Estonia	13.3%	86.7%	14.2%	85.8%	0.9%
Finland	13.4%	86.6%	14.3%	85.7%	0.9%
Germany	7.5%	92.5%	7.5%	92.5%	0.0%
Greece	2.0%	98.0%	3.1%	96.9%	1.1%
Hungary	14.4%	85.6%	15.9%	84.1%	1.5%
Iceland	19.2%	80.8%	26.9%	73.1%	7.7%
Ireland	20.2%	79.8%	11.4%	88.6%	-8.8%
Italy	9.6%	90.4%	9.8%	90.2%	0.2%
Latvia	36.4%	63.6%	14.3%	85.7%	-22.1%
Liechtenstein	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Lithuania	5.0%	95.0%	8.3%	91.7%	3.3%
Luxembourg	10.2%	89.8%	11.2%	88.8%	1.0%
Monaco	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Netherlands	18.0%	82.0%	20.9%	79.1%	2.9%
Norway	17.1%	82.9%	22.6%	77.4%	5.5%
Portugal	5.2%	94.8%	6.8%	93.2%	1.6%
Slovenia	5.7%	94.3%	3.3%	96.7%	-2.4%
Spain	12.5%	87.5%	14.9%	85.1%	2.4%
Sweden	32.1%	67.9%	26.9%	73.1%	-5.2%
Switzerland	25.0%	75.0%	11.6%	88.4%	-13.4%
Turkey	0.6%	99.4%	0.6%	99.4%	0.0%
<b>Average</b>	<b>10.2%</b>	<b>89.8%</b>	<b>10.2%</b>	<b>89.8%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>



Figure 17. Mayors



Regarding mayors, information was provided by 32 countries in 2005 and by 41 member states in 2008. Comparison, however, is only possible for a total of 29 member states responding to both questionnaires.



For these 29 member states the percentage of women mayors was the exact same in both years (10.2%), despite changes that have occurred in various member states. In 19 countries the percentage of women mayors increased, while it decreased six countries and remained the same in four.

As for the increase, it is a very small one in most cases, with one exception – an increase of 16.5%. However, this specific case of positive performance raises serious doubts due to the inconsistency of numbers in both questionnaires. It is the case of the Czech Republic, which indicates a total number of 6 304 mayors for 2008 and only 14 for 2005. Other similarly puzzling cases requiring confirmation or explanation of criteria are the cases of

Denmark, Latvia and Switzerland, where numbers for both years are equally inconsistent. In the two last cases, the percentages show a decrease of 22.1% and 13.4% respectively. However, similar to the case of the Czech Republic, these percentages may not mean much, as they result from such different numbers in both years, that in all likelihood they reflect different realities.

Furthermore, it must be noted that no member state has reached the parity threshold of 40% of women's participation, while only four member states have more than 20% of women mayors and three have no women mayors at all. A situation that is exactly the same as it was in 2005 and an indication confirming the trend that noticeable in other cases – a

trend of increasing difficulty for women from national to regional and from regional to local level.

A trend that is even more marked in the case of the number one post at local level, which is that of mayor, and which is naturally the object of higher dispute, as was also the case for the post of head of regional government. In both situations, men hold the large majority of these posts, in one case representing 89.8% and in the other 97.1%, with no progress reported at all, but even regression. As mentioned above, this constitutes a special case requiring special actions aiming at cultural change and an increase in social acceptance of the equal right of women to representation at all levels.

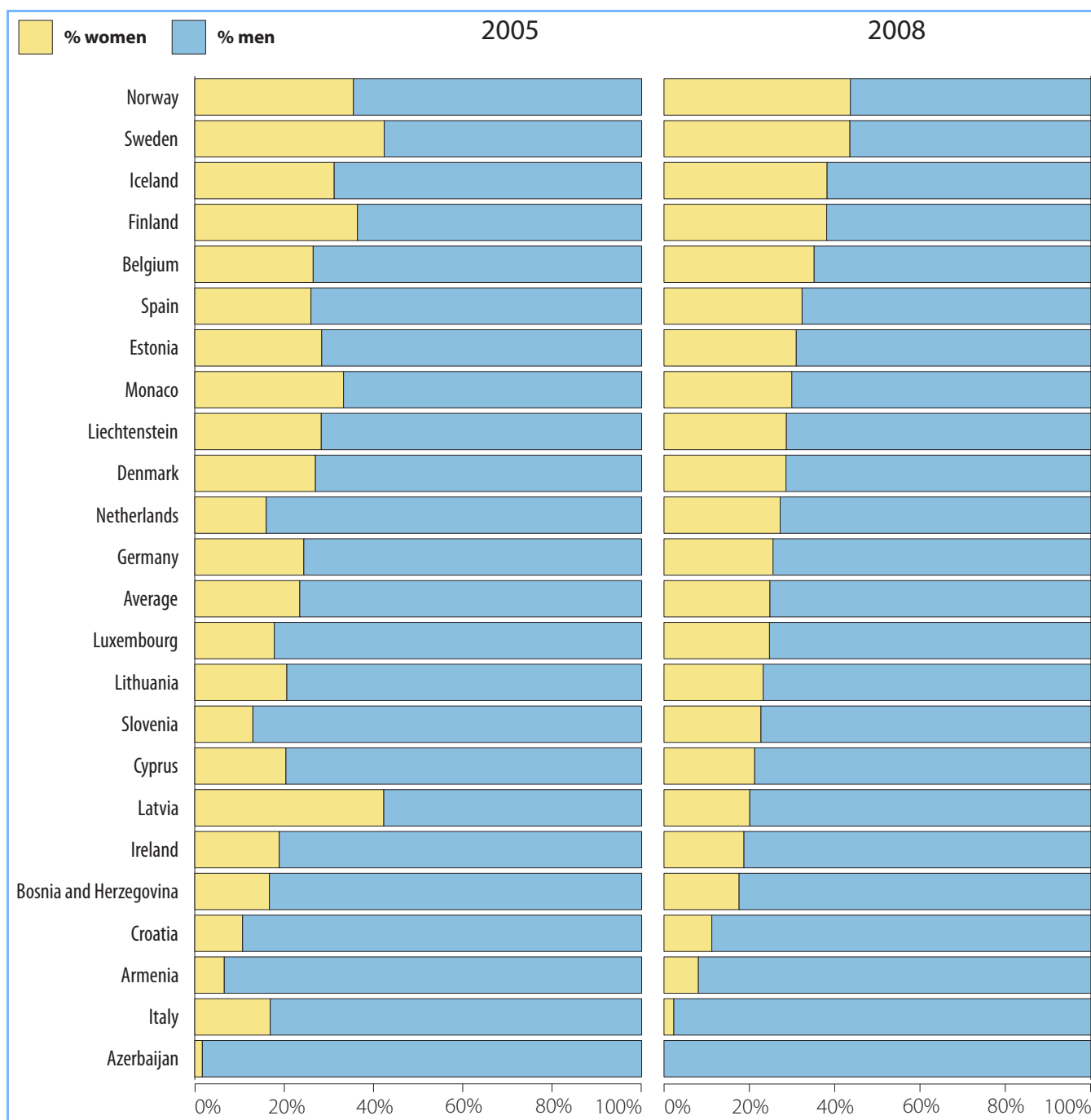
## *Municipality councillors*

**Table 18. Municipality councillors**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Armenia	6.6%	93.4%	7.7%	92.3%	1.1%
Azerbaijan	1.7%	98.3%	0.0%	100.0%	-1.7%
Belgium	26.5%	73.5%	33.6%	66.4%	7.1%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	16.7%	83.3%	16.8%	83.2%	0.1%
Croatia	10.7%	89.3%	10.7%	89.3%	0.0%
Cyprus	20.4%	79.6%	20.3%	79.7%	-0.1%
Denmark	27.0%	73.0%	27.3%	72.7%	0.3%
Estonia	28.4%	71.6%	29.6%	70.4%	1.2%
Finland	36.4%	63.6%	36.4%	63.6%	0.0%
Germany	24.4%	75.6%	24.4%	75.6%	0.0%
Iceland	31.2%	68.8%	36.5%	63.5%	5.3%
Ireland	18.9%	81.1%	17.9%	82.1%	-1.0%
Italy	16.9%	83.1%	2.2%	97.8%	-14.7%
Latvia	42.3%	57.7%	19.2%	80.8%	-23.1%
Liechtenstein	28.3%	71.7%	27.4%	72.6%	-0.9%
Lithuania	20.6%	79.4%	22.2%	77.8%	1.6%
Luxembourg	17.8%	82.2%	23.6%	76.4%	5.8%
Monaco	33.3%	66.7%	28.6%	71.4%	-4.7%
Netherlands	16.0%	84.0%	26.0%	74.0%	10.0%
Norway	35.5%	64.5%	41.7%	58.3%	6.2%
Slovenia	13.0%	87.0%	21.7%	78.3%	8.7%
Spain	26.0%	74.0%	30.9%	69.1%	4.9%
Sweden	42.4%	57.6%	41.6%	58.4%	-0.8%
<b>Average</b>	<b>23.5%</b>	<b>76.5%</b>	<b>23.7%</b>	<b>76.3%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>



Figure 18. Municipality councillors



Data for municipality councillors were given by 27 countries in 2005 and by 37 in 2008. Comparison, however, is only possible for a total of 23 member states represented in both tables.

Similar to the situation of mayors, change is almost inexistent at the level of municipality councillors. The percentage of women local councillors was 23.5% in 2005 and 23.7% in 2008, a mere increase of 0.2% in spite of changes that have occurred in different member states.

There was an increase of women's percentage in twelve countries, a decrease in eight countries and in three countries the numbers remained stable. However, all of

these changes are rather slight, which results in the fact that the final average shows no significant difference. Improvements range from a minimum of 0.1% to a maximum of 10%. Again, this last result must be considered with caution as it refers to data from the Netherlands, which indicated a total of 100 councillors in 2005 and 9991 in 2008, thus requiring confirmation of data and of criteria used.

Either these data reflect different realities or there has been a profound organisational change in the country or criteria are not the same for both years. Similar difficulties of inconsistency are also raised by the data provided by other member

states, such as Azerbaijan, Denmark, Italy, Latvia and Germany. In the case of the latter, there seems to be an obvious mistake in the provision of data as the last figure of the number of each of the three results is missing in the data reported in the second round of monitoring.

Similar problems arise when analysing the data of those member states where the percentage of women councillors decreased. In all cases, the decrease is very slight, from a minimum of 0.1% to a maximum of 4.7%, unless we take into account the member states where data are inconsistent (cases of Italy and Latvia already mentioned), and where the



decrease amounted to 14.7% and 13.1%, respectively. Due to the doubts already raised, these data should not be included in the analysis.

Further comparison of the scale of member states shows that, like in 2005, only two member states among the comparable 23 have more than 40% of women

municipality councillors. Seven member states in 2008 have less than 20% of women in these posts, while in 2005 that was the case for nine countries. Furthermore, while in 2005 all reporting member states had women councillors, in 2008 one did not.

On the whole, and while considering the limitations arising from the doubts raised by the inconsistency of some data, it can be noted that no progress has been achieved regarding the participation of women in municipality councils.

#### *Possible impact of quota laws or quota rules/regulations*

**Table 19. Effect of quotas in local governments**

##### *a. Quotas by law*

Member state	2005			2008			Evolution
	Quotas	Rank order rules	% women elected	Quotas	Rank order rules	% women elected	
Belgium	50%	Plurality other	26.5%	50%	Plurality other	33.6%	7.1%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	33%	Plurality other	16.7%	33%	Plurality other	16.8%	0.1%
Slovenia	40%	Plurality other	13.0%	40%	Plurality other	21.7%	8.7%
<b>Average</b>			<b>18.7%</b>			<b>24.0%</b>	<b>5.3%</b>

##### *b. Quota rules/regulations created by political parties*

Member state	2005			2008			Evolution
	by	percentage/ range	% women	by	percentage/ range	% women	
Belgium	Some parties	50%	26.5%	All parties	50%	33.6%	7.1%
Croatia	Some parties		10.7%	Some parties	30-40%	10.7%	0.0%
Germany	Some parties	33-50%	24.4%	Some parties	33-50%	24.4%	0.0%
Iceland	Some parties	50%	31.2%	Some parties	40-50%	36.5%	5.3%
Lithuania	Some parties	30%	20.6%	Some parties	30%	22.2%	1.6%
Luxembourg	Some parties	30-50%	17.8%	Some parties	30-50%	23.6%	5.8%
Norway	Some parties		35.5%	Some parties	50%	41.7%	6.2%
Slovenia	Some parties	33%	13.0%	Some parties	20-40%	21.7%	8.7%
<b>Average</b>			<b>22.5%</b>			<b>26.8%</b>	<b>4.3%</b>

As was done for other executive bodies at national and regional levels, some analysis was also made on the possible impact of quotas, both as regards quota laws and quota rules or regulations.

Information on electoral quota laws applying to elections to local government was provided by six member states in 2005, although the respective percentages of women's participation were only given by four countries. In 2008, information is available in regard to nine member states, seven of which provided the related percentages. Comparison is, however, possible for only three member states: those which provided information and data in both rounds of monitoring.

A comparison of the average percentage of women in both years in these member states shows a meaningful increase of 5.3% from 18.7% in 2005 to 24% in 2008. Since this increase applies to

these three member states only it is not highly significant in general terms.

As regards data on member states in which political parties have introduced quota rules/regulations in local governments, the tables for 2005 and 2008 show that there was information on 13 countries in 2005 and on 17 countries in 2008. However, comparison is possible for only eight of these as they responded to both questionnaires.

Apparently there is an increase of 4.3% in women's participation, rising from 22.5% in 2005 to 26.8% in 2008. Again, although this may seem like visible progress, it is not to be considered as a highly significant development in general terms, as it refers to a limited number of member states.

However, it is to be noted that in both these cases – member states with quota laws or those with quota regulations – developments seem to be significantly

higher than in comparable countries in general, where women's participation increased from 23.5% to 23.7%, an insignificant 0.2% evolution.

On the other hand, comparing the average of women councillors in member states which have introduced quotas by law or by internal regulations with the same average in the total number of countries which responded to both rounds of monitoring reveals no significant difference. This would seem contradictory to the above statement were it not for the fact that the data applies to different realities.

A glance at the whole picture shows that in 2005, in the total of 27 member states which responded to the questionnaire, the percentage of women councillors corresponded to 24.7%, while the percentage in the six countries with quota laws corresponded to 19.6% and that of



the twelve countries with quotas by internal regulations corresponded to 20.8%.

In 2008, the percentage of women councillors in the total of 37 member states which responded to the questionnaire corresponded to 24.5%, while the percentage in the nine countries with quota laws corresponded to 24.3% and that of the 15 countries with quotas by internal regulations corresponded to 22.6%.

While recognising that the different universe of member states reflected in these results does not allow for reliable comparisons, it is apparent that there are no significant differences despite the differences in approach.

As a general conclusion on the evolution of the position of women in executive power in general and according to the respective data of both rounds of monitoring, the following can be stated:

First and foremost, the percentages of women's participation in the different

bodies of executive power at national, regional and local level are not so different from one another, as they range between 20% and 25%. There is one notable exception – that of heads of regional government and of mayors – which show much poorer and unacceptable results in democratic terms.

Secondly, the more significant positive changes happen at the highest level and the rate of increase diminishes from top to bottom. The highest increase occurs at national level – 3.2% for women ministers and 2.4% for deputy/junior ministers – followed by the regional level – 1.2% for women members of regional governments – and finally by the local level – a minimal increase of 0.3% for women municipality councillors.

Even taking into account that the data in the different bodies do not correspond to the exact same countries, it looks like a significant trend, to which the compara-

tive analysis of the evolution in the different bodies has given enhanced visibility.

Definitely, the participation of women in decision-making at regional level and, even more, at local level, is a critical area of concern where states must invest to create the conditions necessary for the effective participation of women. As stated above, this needs to be achieved not only by using rules and norms, but also by taking pro-active measures aiming at raising awareness in society, increasing the levels of information and capacity of women, educating men, improving the social organisation of the community and achieving cultural change necessary for attaining the aim of a more balanced participation of women and men in the ruling of the community, where decisions are taken that affect the lives of women and men and which, therefore, can not be taken by one of the sexes only or almost exclusively.

## Judicial power

Data requested in the field of judicial power aimed at obtaining information on the number of women and men judges in the high/supreme courts as well as the constitutional courts of Council of Europe member states. It aimed, as much as possible, at discovering a possible relationship between appointment methods and the

number of women in these high level posts.

The request for data was divided into two parts: data concerning high/supreme courts and data concerning constitutional courts.

All member states were requested to complete the first section on the high/supreme court. In some countries, this is

the highest court and functions as a court of last resort, the rulings of which are binding on all other courts and cannot be appealed.

As for the section on constitutional courts, it was not to be completed by those member states whose high/supreme courts also have jurisdiction on questions of a constitutional nature.



## High/supreme courts

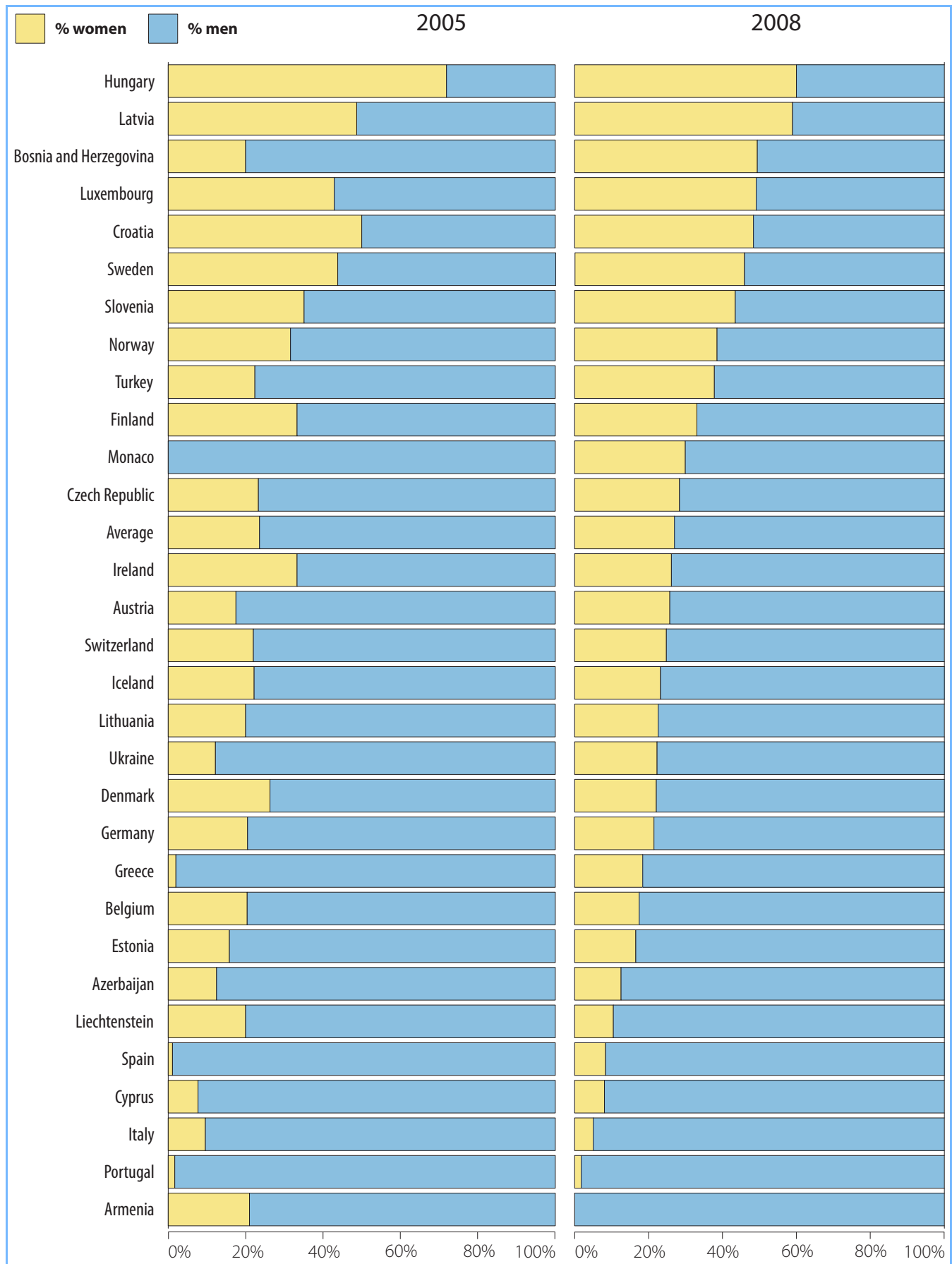
**Table 20. Women and men judges in high/supreme courts**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Armenia	21.0%	79.0%	0.0%	100.0%	-21.0%
Austria	17.5%	82.5%	24.6%	75.4%	7.1%
Azerbaijan	12.5%	87.5%	12.0%	88.0%	-0.5%
Belgium	20.4%	79.6%	16.7%	83.3%	-3.7%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	20.0%	80.0%	47.2%	52.8%	27.2%
Croatia	50.0%	50.0%	46.2%	53.8%	-3.8%
Cyprus	7.7%	92.3%	7.7%	92.3%	0.0%
Czech Republic	23.3%	76.7%	27.1%	72.9%	3.8%
Denmark	26.3%	73.7%	21.1%	78.9%	-5.2%
Estonia	15.8%	84.2%	15.8%	84.2%	0.0%
Finland	33.3%	66.7%	31.6%	68.4%	-1.7%
Germany	20.5%	79.5%	20.5%	79.5%	0.0%
Greece	2.0%	98.0%	17.6%	82.4%	15.6%
Hungary	71.9%	28.1%	57.3%	42.7%	-14.6%
Iceland	22.2%	77.8%	22.2%	77.8%	0.0%
Ireland	33.3%	66.7%	25.0%	75.0%	-8.3%
Italy	9.6%	90.4%	4.8%	95.2%	-4.8%
Latvia	48.7%	51.3%	56.3%	43.8%	7.6%
Liechtenstein	20.0%	80.0%	10.0%	90.0%	-10.0%
Lithuania	20.0%	80.0%	21.6%	78.4%	1.6%
Luxembourg	42.9%	57.1%	46.9%	53.1%	4.0%
Monaco	0.0%	100.0%	28.6%	71.4%	28.6%
Norway	31.6%	68.4%	36.8%	63.2%	5.2%
Portugal	1.7%	98.3%	1.7%	98.3%	0.0%
Slovenia	35.1%	64.9%	41.5%	58.5%	6.4%
Spain	1.1%	98.9%	8.0%	92.0%	6.9%
Sweden	43.8%	56.3%	43.8%	56.3%	-0.1%
Switzerland	22.0%	78.0%	23.7%	76.3%	1.7%
Turkey	22.4%	77.6%	36.1%	63.9%	13.7%
Ukraine	12.2%	87.8%	21.3%	78.8%	9.1%
<b>Average</b>	<b>23.6%</b>	<b>76.4%</b>	<b>25.8%</b>	<b>74.2%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>





**Figure 20. Women and men judges in high/supreme courts**



Data on the presence of women in high/supreme courts were provided by 34 member states in 2005 and by 38 member states in 2008. 30 member states replied to both rounds of monitoring, the only ones where comparison is possible.



Change from 2005 to 2008 is not very significant. In 2005, the average participation of women in high/supreme courts corresponded to 23.6%, while it rose to 25.8% in 2008, a small increase of 2.2%.

Increase is registered in 14 countries, ranging from 1.6% to some significant increases of 15.6% or even more, 27.2% in one case and 28.6% in another. As for cases where percentages decrease, there are ten member states where this occurs, a decrease ranging from a mere 0.5% to some significant 10% in one case, 12.4% in another and 21% in yet another.

Like in other cases previously noted, there are some puzzling data which must

be attributed to a certain inconsistency in some answers to both rounds of monitoring. Either the number of judges have drastically changed in the case in countries like Armenia, Belgium, Hungary and Turkey, or the criteria for the information provided have changed.

Some interesting developments must be pointed out as far as member states are concerned where the percentage of women in these courts reaches more than 40%. Among the 30 countries under consideration, this is the case in only five countries in 2005 and seven countries in 2008. The number of countries with less than 20% of women in high/supreme

courts remains the same and amounts to ten, one third of the total and, while in 2005 there were two states with a woman president of the high/supreme court, in 2008 this number has risen to three. In both years, one member state, though not the same one, had no woman at all in this court.

As a global assessment of the evolution of women's presence as judges in high/supreme courts, it can be stated that although some slight progress has been achieved, it is too small to be significant.

### *Possible relationship between appointment methods and the number of women*

A close look at the evolution of the percentage of women in the high/supreme court of the different member states and the respective appointment methods shows no evident or apparent connection

between higher percentages or higher increases in such percentages and the method of appointment.

Data on this type of information was available for a total of 34 member states in

2005 and 38 countries in 2008, but only 32 responded to both rounds of monitoring.



**Table 21. Appointment methods of judges to the high/supreme courts<sup>1</sup>**

Member state	2005			2008			Evolution
	Appointed by	% women	% men	Appointed by	% women	% men	
Armenia	SCM	21.0%	79.0%	HS	0.0%	100.0%	-21.0%
Austria	O	17.5%	82.5%	HS	24.6%	75.4%	7.1%
Azerbaijan	O	12.5%	87.5%	O	12.0%	88.0%	-0.5%
Belgium	HS	20.4%	79.6%	HS	16.7%	83.3%	-3.7%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	O	20.0%	80.0%	HS/HG	47.2%	52.8%	27.2%
Croatia	SCM	50.0%	50.0%	O	46.2%	53.8%	-3.8%
Cyprus	HS	7.7%	92.3%	HS	7.7%	92.3%	0.0%
Czech Republic	HS	23.3%	76.7%	HS	27.1%	72.9%	3.8%
Denmark	HG	26.3%	73.7%	O	21.1%	78.9%	-5.2%
Estonia	O	15.8%	84.2%	O	15.8%	84.2%	0.0%
Finland	HS	33.3%	66.7%	HS	31.6%	68.4%	-1.7%
Germany	O	20.5%	79.5%	O	20.5%	79.5%	0.0%
Greece	SCM	2.0%	98.0%	SCM	17.6%	82.4%	15.6%
Hungary	HS	71.9%	28.1%	HS	57.3%	42.7%	-14.6%
Iceland	O	22.2%	77.8%	HS	22.2%	77.8%	0.0%
Ireland	O	33.3%	66.7%	O	25.0%	75.0%	-8.3%
Italy		9.6%	90.4%	O	4.8%	95.2%	-4.8%
Latvia	O	48.7%	51.3%	O	56.3%	43.8%	7.6%
Liechtenstein	O	20.0%	80.0%	O	10.0%	90.0%	-10.0%
Lithuania	O	20.0%	80.0%	O	21.6%	78.4%	1.6%
Luxembourg	HS	42.9%	57.1%	HS	46.9%	53.1%	4.0%
Monaco	HS	0.0%	100.0%		28.6%	71.4%	28.6%
Norway	HG	31.6%	68.4%		36.8%	63.2%	5.2%
Portugal		1.7%	98.3%	SCM	1.7%	98.3%	0.0%
Slovenia	O	35.1%	64.9%		41.5%	58.5%	6.4%
Spain	HS	1.1%	98.9%	SCM	8.0%	92.0%	6.9%
Sweden	O	43.8%	56.3%	O	43.8%	56.3%	-0.1%
Switzerland	O	22.0%	78.0%	O	23.7%	76.3%	1.7%
Turkey	O	22.4%	77.6%	HS/SCM	36.1%	63.9%	13.7%
Ukraine		12.2%	87.8%	O	21.3%	78.8%	9.1%
<b>Average</b>		<b>23.6%</b>	<b>76.4%</b>		<b>25.8%</b>	<b>74.2%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>

According to the data, the highest increase – above 10% – in the percentage of women’s participation in high/supreme courts occurs in member states like Bosnia and Herzegovina, Greece, Monaco and Turkey. However, no clear indication of a more favourable system can be drawn from the information, since seniority is relevant in two cases, appointment by the Superior Council of the Magistracy occurs in two cases, in one of them also by the head of state, in another by the head of state and head of government and one country does not indicate the method of appointment at all. It is, therefore, not possible to come to any conclusion in regard to a possible correlation between the method used and a more favourable result in regard to equality of women and men.

Similarly, an assessment of the data of the countries with the highest percentages – above 40% – in the year of 2008 allows no conclusions to be drawn. The member states with the highest percentages of women in these posts were: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Luxembourg, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia and Sweden. As for methods of appointment, seniority is relevant in two cases, appointment by the head of state occurs in two cases, in one case it is by the head of state and head of government, in six cases the indication is “other system” and in one case there is no indication at all.

The assessment to be made from both exercises is that there is no possible conclusion, so far, to be drawn on any relationship between the method of appoint-

ment and the percentage of women and men in high/supreme courts. However, one point of interest to be noted is the fact that the highest percentages of women’s participation in high/supreme courts are registered mostly, but not exclusively, in central European member states.

This is a fact that might be important to analyse in order to understand the reasons behind this situation. Are they linked to a greater percentage of women in law studies and in judicial training? Apparently not, as rates of participation of women are not so different across Europe. Are they linked to a different status or prestige of the profession in different regions of Europe? Or are there any other reasons? Or is it just a coincidence? This phenomenon lends itself to further

1. The appointment methods indicated are the following: appointment by head of state (HS), head of government (HG), superior council of magistracy (SCM) or other (O). In order to establish a relationship between the methods of appointment and the percentage of women, two categories of countries have been assessed: those where the highest increases are found and those with the highest percentages in the last round.



research that might be worthwhile pursuing.

## Constitutional courts

Data on the presence of women judges in Constitutional Courts are provided in regard to 25 member states in 2005 and to

28 member states in 2008. However, comparison is only possible for those coincid-

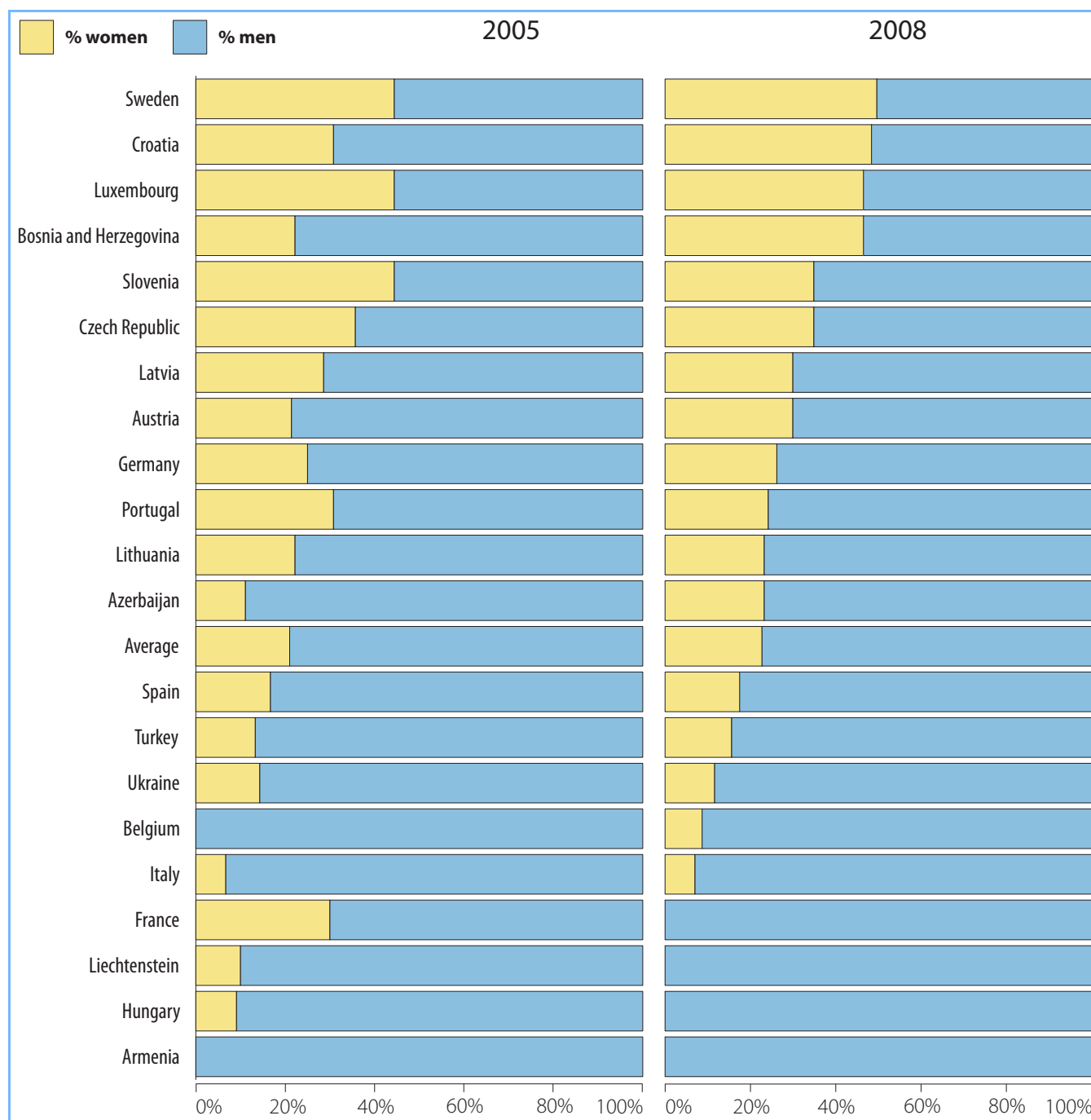
ing in answering to both questionnaires, which is a total of 21 member states.

**Table 22. Judges in constitutional courts**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Armenia	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Austria	21.4%	78.6%	28.6%	71.4%	7.2%
Azerbaijan	11.1%	88.9%	22.2%	77.8%	11.1%
Belgium	0.0%	100.0%	8.3%	91.7%	8.3%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	22.2%	77.8%	44.4%	55.6%	22.2%
Croatia	30.8%	69.2%	46.2%	53.8%	15.4%
Czech Republic	35.7%	64.3%	33.3%	66.7%	-2.4%
France	30.0%	70.0%	0.0%	100.0%	-30.0%
Germany	25.0%	75.0%	25.0%	75.0%	0.0%
Hungary	9.1%	90.9%	0.0%	100.0%	-9.1%
Italy	6.7%	93.3%	6.7%	93.3%	0.0%
Latvia	28.6%	71.4%	28.6%	71.4%	0.0%
Liechtenstein	10.0%	90.0%	0.0%	100.0%	-10.0%
Lithuania	22.2%	77.8%	22.2%	77.8%	0.0%
Luxembourg	44.4%	55.6%	44.4%	55.6%	0.0%
Portugal	30.8%	69.2%	23.1%	76.9%	-7.7%
Slovenia	44.4%	55.6%	33.3%	66.7%	-11.1%
Spain	16.7%	83.3%	16.7%	83.3%	0.0%
Sweden	44.4%	55.6%	47.4%	52.6%	3.0%
Turkey	13.3%	86.7%	14.9%	85.1%	1.6%
Ukraine	14.3%	85.7%	11.1%	88.9%	-3.2%
<b>Average</b>	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>79.8%</b>	<b>21.7%</b>	<b>79.7%</b>	<b>-0.3%</b>



**Figure 22. Judges in constitutional courts**



Evolution between 2005 and 2008 is not significant, since the percentage of women in these courts corresponded to 22% in 2005 and to 21.7%, in 2008, only a small difference of less 0.3%.

In spite of this apparently static situation, there were changes in various member states. In seven countries the percentage of women in the constitutional court increased, while it decreased in another seven member states. In a further seven member states the situation remained the same. Despite these changes at individual country level, and although some of these changes were significant,

the final balance does not result in changes in the overall average.

In cases where the percentage of women increased, this increase ranged from a minimum of 3% to a significant maximum of 22.2%. In cases where such percentage decreased, the decrease ranged from a minimum of 2.4% to an equally significant 30%.

As for the position of member states on a growing scale of women's participation, three member states reached the target of 40% in 2005, which rose to four in 2008. As for member states with less than 20% of women, the number remains the same in both years: a total of nine

countries. A negative development to note concerns the number of countries with no women in the constitutional court, which was the case in two countries in 2005, a number which doubled to four countries in 2008. Finally, a positive aspect worthy to point out regards the number of countries where there is a woman president of the constitutional court, a number which rose from two to three women between 2005 and 2008.

Assessment of developments, in view of these figures, is not one of visible progress in general, but a rather static one. Or even negative, in global terms.



On the other hand, it is interesting to note that women's participation in constitutional courts is significantly lower than in high/supreme courts. Is there any specific reason for such difference? May this

again be linked to an eventually higher prestige of constitutional courts or to a more relevant scope of action as far as political implications of its decisions are concerned? Again a set of questions that

goes beyond the present scope of analysis, but which would deserve further attention.

### *Possible relationship between appointment methods and the number of women*

The appointment methods considered in this section were the same as for high/supreme courts. Using the same criteria, an analysis was made of methods used in

those countries where women's participation increased more significantly (above 10%), as well as those with the highest percentages (above 40%), in the replies to

the questionnaire in 2008. In 2005, information was provided by 25 countries and in 2008 by 28, which makes a comparison possible for 21 member states.

**Table 23. Appointment methods for judges to the constitutional court<sup>2</sup>**

Member state	2005				2008				Evolution
	By seniority	Appointed by	% women	% men	By seniority	Appointed by	% women	% men	
Armenia		HS	0%	100%		O	0%	100%	0.0%
Austria		HS	21.4%	78.6%		HS	28.6%	71.4%	7.2%
Azerbaijan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	O	11.1%	88.9%		O	22.2%	77.8%	11.1%
Belgium		HS	0%	100%		HS	8.3%	91.7%	8.3%
Bosnia and Herzegovina		O	22.2%	77.8%	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HS	44.4%	55.6%	22.2%
Croatia	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		30.8%	69.2%		O	46.2%	53.8%	15.4%
Czech Republic		HS	35.7%	64.3%		HS	33.3%	66.7%	-2.4%
France		HS/O	30%	70%		HS/HG/O	0%	100%	-30.0%
Germany		O	25%	75%		O	25%	75%	0.0%
Hungary			9.1%	90.9%		O	0%	100%	-9.1%
Italy		O	6.7%	93.3%		SCM	4.8%	95.2%	-1.9%
Latvia		O	28.6%	71.4%		O	28.6%	71.4%	0.0%
Liechtenstein		O	10%	90%		HS/O	0%	100%	-10.0%
Lithuania		O	22.2%	77.8%		O	22.2%	77.8%	0.0%
Luxembourg		HS	44.4%	55.6%		HS	44.4%	55.6%	0.0%
Portugal		O	30.8%	69.2%			23.1%	76.9%	-7.7%
Slovenia		O	44.4%	55.6%		O	33.3%	66.7%	-11.1%
Spain		HS	16.7%	83.3%		O	16.7%	83.3%	0.0%
Sweden		O	44.4%	55.6%		O	47.4%	52.6%	3.0%
Turkey		SCM	13.3%	86.7%	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HS	14.9%	85.1%	1.6%
Ukraine	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	O?	14.3%	85.7%		O	11.1%	88.9%	-3.2%
<b>Average</b>			<b>22.0%</b>	<b>78.0%</b>			<b>21.6%</b>	<b>78.4%</b>	<b>-0.3%</b>

As for the first case, the member states where there was a more significant increase in the number of women in constitutional courts between the two years were Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia. Among these, seniority is relevant for appointment in one case and methods used are appointment

by the head of state in one case and "other" in the two remaining cases.

Regarding the second possibility, the analysis of the situation of those member states with the highest percentages of women's participation in 2008, these countries are: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Luxembourg and Sweden. As for methods of appointment, appointments

are the responsibility of the head of state in two cases and "other" in the other two countries, seniority also being relevant for one country.

On the whole, and similarly to what was the case for high/supreme courts, it does not seem possible, at this stage and with this data, to establish a close relationship between appointment methods and a

2. The appointment methods indicated are the following: appointment by head of state (HS), head of government (HG), superior council of magistracy (SCM) or other (O).



higher or lower percentage of women in constitutional courts on the one hand, or on the impact of such methods upon the evolution of that percentage.

## Diplomatic service

The data requested for this section aimed at obtaining an overview of the participation of women in the higher ranks of the diplomatic service, such as: ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary, envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, minister counsellors and general consuls.

### Ambassadors

In 2005 the data provided concerned 27 member states, while in 2008 this number rose to 38. However, a comparison is only possible in regard to the 22 member states which provided data in both rounds of monitoring.

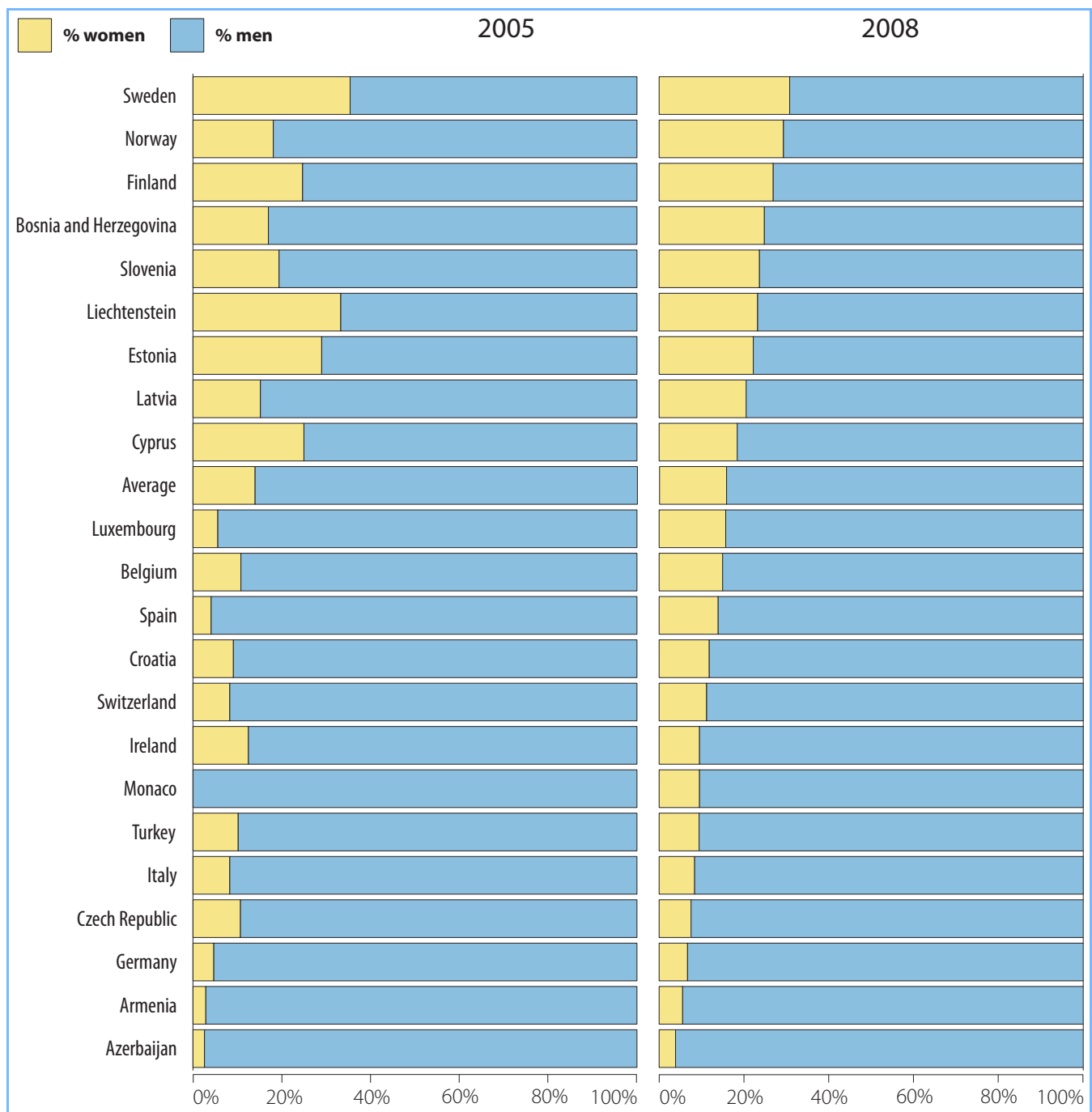
**Table 24. Women and men ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Armenia	2.9%	97.1%	5.3%	94.7%	2.4%
Azerbaijan	2.6%	97.4%	3.7%	96.3%	1.1%
Belgium	10.8%	89.2%	14.3%	85.7%	3.5%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	17.0%	83.0%	23.7%	76.3%	6.7%
Croatia	9.1%	90.9%	11.3%	88.7%	2.2%
Cyprus	25.0%	75.0%	17.6%	82.4%	-7.4%
Czech Republic	10.7%	89.3%	7.2%	92.8%	-3.5%
Estonia	29.0%	71.0%	21.2%	78.8%	-7.8%
Finland	24.7%	75.3%	25.7%	74.3%	1.0%
Germany	4.7%	95.3%	6.4%	93.6%	1.7%
Ireland	12.5%	87.5%	9.1%	90.9%	-3.4%
Italy	8.3%	91.7%	8.0%	92.0%	-0.3%
Latvia	15.2%	84.8%	19.6%	80.4%	4.4%
Liechtenstein	33.3%	66.7%	22.2%	77.8%	-11.1%
Luxembourg	5.6%	94.4%	15.0%	85.0%	9.4%
Monaco	0.0%	100.0%	9.1%	90.9%	9.1%
Norway	18.1%	81.9%	28.0%	72.0%	9.9%
Slovenia	19.4%	80.6%	22.6%	77.4%	3.2%
Spain	4.1%	95.9%	13.3%	86.7%	9.2%
Sweden	35.4%	64.6%	29.4%	70.6%	-6.0%
Switzerland	8.3%	91.7%	10.7%	89.3%	2.4%
Turkey	10.2%	89.8%	9.0%	91.0%	-1.2%
<b>Average</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>86.1%</b>	<b>15.1%</b>	<b>84.9%</b>	<b>1.1%</b>





**Figure 24. Women and men ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary**



The average participation of women as ambassadors was 14% in 2005 and 15.1% in 2008, reflecting a minor positive development of 1.1% in general terms. The situation has improved in 14 member states with differences ranging from 1% to 9.9% and it has worsened in eight member states with changes ranging from 0.3% to 11.1%.

However, the diplomatic service seems to be a difficult area for women to climb up the hierarchical ladder, as in 2005 not a

single member state reached the required minimum of 40% of women and only very few member states came close to that target. In fact, only two member states were above 30%, five were above 20%, while all others were under 20% and one member state had no woman ambassador at all.

In 2008 there is still no member state which has reached the 40% threshold, although one comes very close to it. Curious enough is the fact that a wider gap exists now in relation to the other coun-

tries which are placed below 30%, with the following distribution: seven member states come between 20% and 30%; six member states between 10% and 20% and all the others, eight altogether, below 10%.

In view of these figures, the only possible conclusion to draw is that there seems to be no significant progress in women's access to the highest and most representative rank in the hierarchy of the diplomatic service.



## Envoys and ministers plenipotentiary

In 2005 the data provided concerned 17 member states and in 2008 this number rose to a total of 26. Again, a

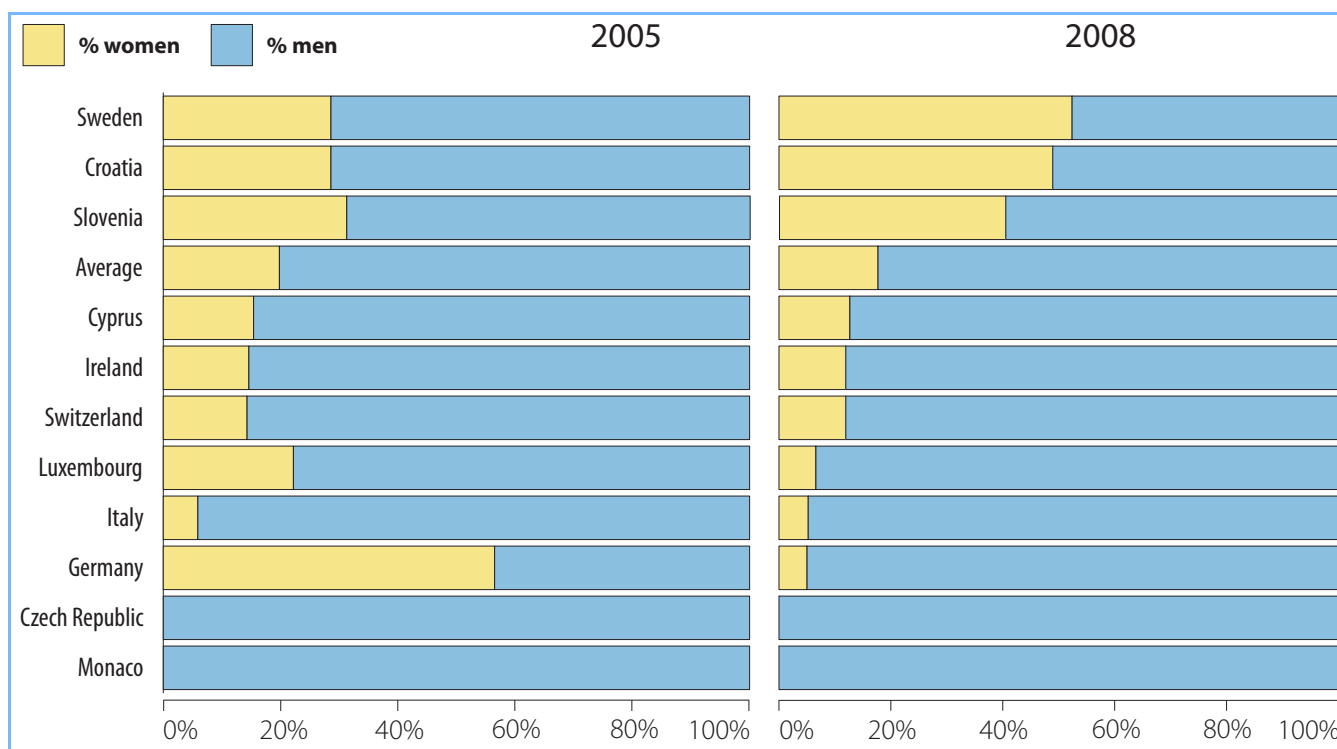
comparison is only possible for a limited number of countries, in this case a total of

eleven countries reporting in both rounds of monitoring.

**Table 25. Envoys and ministers plenipotentiary**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Croatia	28.6%	71.4%	46.7%	53.3%	18.1%
Cyprus	15.4%	84.6%	12.1%	87.9%	-3.3%
Czech Republic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Germany	56.5%	43.5%	4.8%	95.2%	-51.7%
Ireland	14.6%	85.4%	11.4%	88.6%	-3.2%
Italy	5.9%	94.1%	5.0%	95.0%	-0.9%
Luxembourg	22.2%	77.8%	6.3%	93.8%	-15.9%
Monaco	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Slovenia	31.3%	68.8%	38.6%	61.4%	7.4%
Sweden	28.6%	71.4%	50.0%	50.0%	21.4%
Switzerland	14.3%	85.7%	11.4%	88.6%	-2.9%
<b>Average</b>	<b>19.8%</b>	<b>80.2%</b>	<b>16.9%</b>	<b>83.1%</b>	<b>2.9%</b>

**Figure 25. Envoys and ministers plenipotentiary**



The average participation of women in these posts in 2005 was of 19.8% and it decreased to 16.9% in 2008, a considerable drop of 2.9%.

As for changes that occurred in the various countries, the percentage of women increased in the case of three member states, it decreased in six others while it remained stable in the case of two

member states, both with 0% women in this category. However, some numbers might need confirmation, as they seem rather inconsistent between the first and the second round of monitoring, showing drastic changes in numbers of posts for these functions. This is the case, for example, in Croatia, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland.

As for the eleven member states under comparison, only one country had more than 40% women envoys or ministers plenipotentiary in 2005, while in 2008 this was the case in two member states. On the other hand, percentages of women dropped in a considerable number of countries. While in 2005, only five member states had 20% or less women



among their envoys or ministers plenipotentiary, in 2008 this number has gone up to seven. The two member states which had no women as envoys and ministers plenipotentiary remain unchanged.

On the whole, this represents another area in which women's participation regresses rather than progresses. This

raises serious questions, as the evolution is worse in this rank than in the higher rank of ambassador, although it is important to note that participation of women is slightly higher in this category of the diplomatic service than in the top post.

Taking into account the fact that, in most countries entry of women into diplo-

matic careers has significantly increased, the explanation for this negative trend, which is to be found also in other lower career categories, must also be worthy of attention by states in terms of empowerment strategies to be adopted.

## Minister counsellors

The data on the number and percentages of women and men minister counsellors

are provided by 21 member states in 2005 and by 29 in 2008. Comparison,

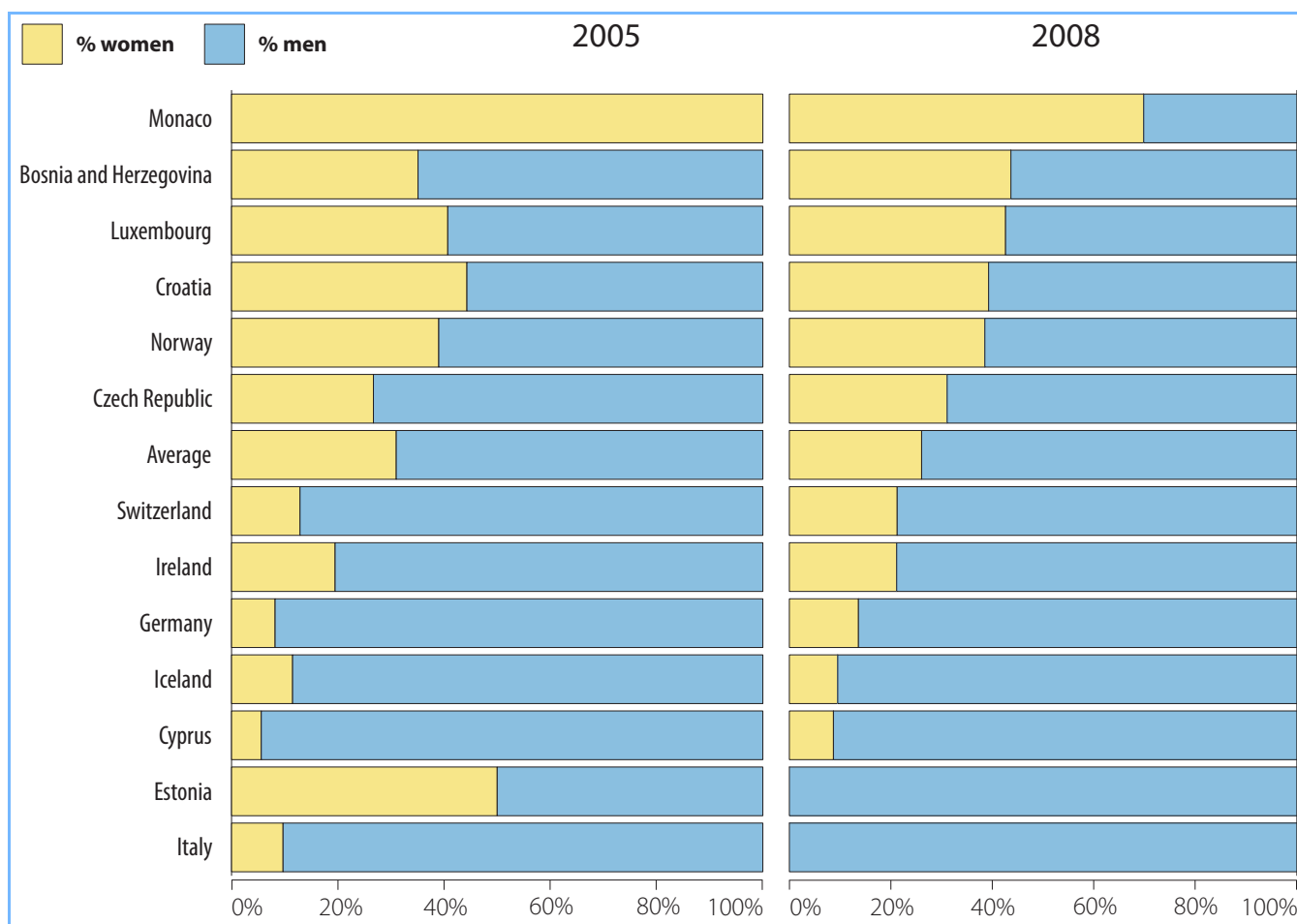
however, is only possible for a total of 13 member states.

**Table 26. Minister counsellors**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Bosnia and Herzegovina	35.1%	64.9%	41.7%	58.3%	6.6%
Croatia	44.3%	55.7%	37.5%	62.5%	-6.8%
Cyprus	5.6%	94.4%	8.3%	91.7%	2.7%
Czech Republic	26.7%	73.3%	29.7%	70.3%	3%
Estonia	50%	50%	0%	100%	-50%
Germany	8.2%	91.8%	13%	87%	4.8%
Iceland	11.5%	88.5%	9.1%	90.9%	-2.4%
Ireland	19.5%	80.5%	20.2%	79.8%	0.7%
Italy	9.7%	90.3%	0.0%	100.0%	-9.7%
Luxembourg	40.7%	59.3%	40.7%	59.3%	0%
Norway	39%	61%	36.8%	63.2%	-2.2%
Monaco	100%	0%	66.7%	33.3%	-33.3%
Switzerland	12.9%	87.1%	20.3%	79.7%	7.4%
<b>Average</b>	<b>31.0%</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>24.9%</b>	<b>75.1%</b>	<b>-6.1%</b>



Figure 26. Minister counsellors



A comparison of averages of women's participation in these diplomatic posts shows that participation decreases from 31% in 2005 to 24.9% in 2008, a significant loss of 6.1%.

Changes have occurred in most countries, as the situation remained the same in one member state only. In six member states the percentage of women increased and in the other six countries this percentage decreased. Increases are rather small and range from 0.7% to 7.4%; decreases range from 2.2% to 33.3% and even 50%. It is important to note, however, that these are two special cases with an extremely low number of such posts, therefore the percentages are less mean-

ingful in terms of posts occupied by women or men.

Similarly to other sections, there are some puzzling data to be found in this section. As they appear to be inconsistent in both rounds of monitoring, further checking or clarification is required. This is the case, for example, of data for Italy and Norway, where there is a drastic reduction in the total number of these posts between the two years.

As regards the number of member states with higher or lower percentages of women in these posts, there is a somewhat negative development to be registered between 2005 and 2008. While in 2005 there were four countries with more than

40% women, in 2008 the number of member states reaching that target has been lowered to only three countries. On the other hand, while in 2005 women accounted for less than 20% of women minister counsellors in six countries, in 2008 this is the case in five countries, a very slight improvement. In two other countries in 2008 there is no woman at all, a situation that was not found in 2005 in the 13 countries under comparison.

On the whole, this is a negative development similar to the one in the previous category of envoys and ministers plenipotentiary, where the percentage of women's participation is declining in very meaningful terms.

## General consuls

Data on numbers and percentages of women and men as general consuls were obtained from 25 member states in 2005

and from 38 member states in 2008. Comparison is only possible in regard to

21 member states providing data for both years.

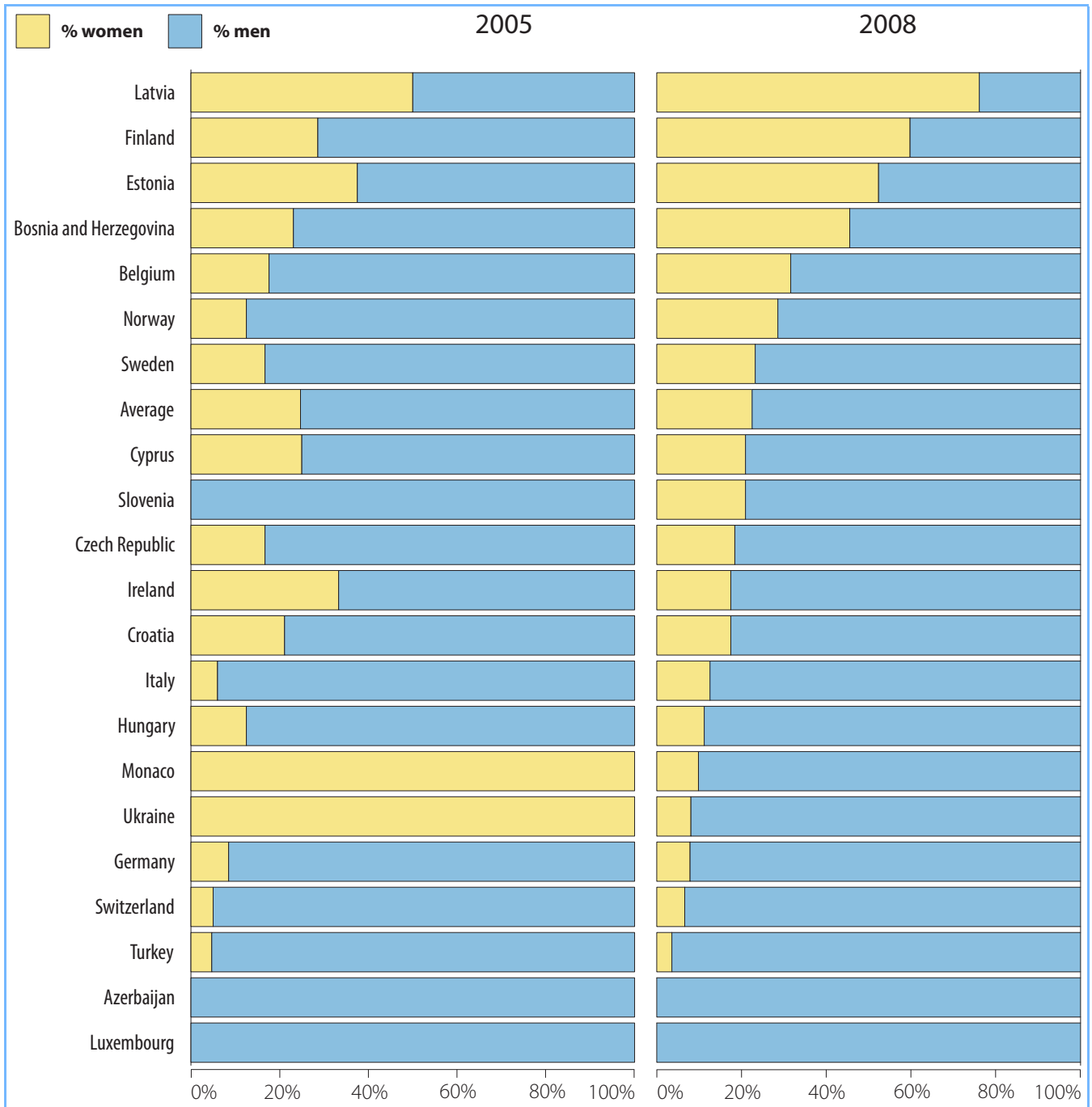


**Table 27. General consuls**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
<b>Belgium</b>	17.6%	82.4%	30.2%	69.8%	12.6%
<b>Bosnia and Herzegovina</b>	23.1%	76.9%	43.5%	56.5%	20.4%
<b>Croatia</b>	21.1%	78.9%	16.7%	83.3%	-4.4%
<b>Cyprus</b>	25.0%	75.0%	20.0%	80.0%	-5.0%
<b>Czech Republic</b>	16.7%	83.3%	17.6%	82.4%	0.9%
<b>Estonia</b>	37.5%	62.5%	50.0%	50.0%	12.5%
<b>Finland</b>	28.6%	71.4%	57.1%	42.9%	28.5%
<b>Germany</b>	8.5%	91.5%	7.5%	92.5%	-1.0%
<b>Hungary</b>	12.5%	87.5%	10.7%	89.3%	-1.8%
<b>Ireland</b>	33.3%	66.7%	16.7%	83.3%	-16.6%
<b>Italy</b>	6.0%	94.0%	12.0%	88.0%	6.0%
<b>Latvia</b>	50.0%	50.0%	72.7%	27.3%	22.7%
<b>Luxembourg</b>	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
<b>Monaco</b>	100.0%	0.0%	9.4%	90.6%	-90.6%
<b>Norway</b>	12.5%	87.5%	27.3%	72.7%	14.8%
<b>Slovenia</b>	0.0%	100.0%	20.0%	80.0%	20.0%
<b>Sweden</b>	16.7%	83.3%	22.2%	77.8%	5.5%
<b>Switzerland</b>	5.0%	95.0%	6.3%	93.8%	1.3%
<b>Turkey</b>	4.7%	95.3%	3.4%	96.6%	-1.3%
<b>Ukraine</b>	100.0%	0.0%	7.7%	92.3%	-92.3%
<b>Average</b>	24.7%	75.3%	21.5%	78.5%	-3.2%



Figure 27. General consuls



A look at the data shows that the average of women's participation as general consuls is 24.7% in 2005 and 21.5% in 2008, which means there was a significant decrease of 3.2% in such participation.

Changes have occurred in most member states, as two member states without women general consuls in 2005 did not have any in 2008. Improvement of percentages have occurred in eleven countries and a decrease took place in eight countries.

Such improvements range from a minimum increase of 0.9% to a maximum of 28.5%. Decreasing percentages are much more significant, as they range from a

minimum of 1% to as high as 90.6% in one case and 92.3% in another.

As for countries reaching the established target of 40%, the situation has not changed much between the two years under analysis. In 2005, three member states reached the required threshold while in 2008 this number rose to four. Among the 21 comparable countries, more than half, altogether twelve countries, had less than 20% of women both in 2005 and in 2008. As for those without any women in such posts, in 2005 this was the case in three member states and in two member states in 2008.

Here again, some data might need checking or clarification, as they seem to be rather inconsistent in both surveys with drastic changes in the numbers of these posts. This is the case, for example, in Belgium, Italy, Monaco and Ukraine.

As in the other high-level posts of the diplomatic career, the situation here is definitely not one of positive evolution towards achieving a balanced participation of women and men; on the contrary, the global picture seems to be one of stagnation or even of regression.

On a concluding note on this section, as regards diplomacy, access to decision-making levels remains a critical area for



women, worthy of special attention and of special measures to improve the situation. Difficulties faced by women have been identified and the Council of Europe has promoted an interesting seminar on this subject. By way of explanation it should be recalled that in some countries, women's entry into the diplomatic service took a significant time to be allowed and, once allowed, was subject to practical restrictions not imposed upon men.

Although these situations have changed, progression for women in the career is still hampered, both by practical

aspects of life, like the difficulty to reconcile a career in diplomacy with family life, particularly in the early years of its development, and also by social and cultural constraints linked to sex roles determined by traditional stereotyped views. As regards diplomacy, the specific status linked to the function may be added, aggravating factor of difficulty for women to access the highest posts. In fact, these posts carry the power of representation of the state and the power of dialogue on its behalf which have a strong political and symbolic dimension, which tends to

exclude or marginalise women from its realm.

Yet, it is fully acknowledged nowadays that women's presence in diplomacy, in regular bilateral or multilateral work, in preventive diplomacy, in emergency and humanitarian situations, in peace-building or post-conflict reconstruction or in any other area of diplomatic work, besides constituting a basic right in itself, is an added value that must not be overlooked, but rather promoted and developed.

## Council of Europe

In addition to the national data collected by means of the questionnaires, the two documents *Sex-disaggregated statistics on the participation of women and men in political and public decision-making in Council of Europe member states*, from 2005 and 2008, which are the basis for the present analysis, also include data on the presence of women and men in Council of Europe bodies, namely the Parliamentary Assembly, the Congress of Local and

Regional Authorities of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights.

In this section, the issue under consideration – assessing the evolution between the two dates – is, however, not linked to replies from individual member states in answer to both rounds of monitoring, but rather to the consideration of these bodies as a whole, in spite of the very slight variations of member states shown in the data of 2005 and 2008.

It is thus mainly the composition of the given body in two different points in time which is assessed in order to identify any progress or regression in balanced participation of women and men. This does not mean that no consideration will be given to the evolution reported in regard to certain member states, which is reflected in the changes in numbers of their representatives.

### Delegations to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe

The number of member states in both rounds of monitoring is not exactly the same, as in the data of 2005 Serbia and Montenegro appear as one country while, in 2008, it appears as two separate ones. On the other hand, Bulgaria does not

appear in the table of 2005; therefore the number of member states in the table referring to 2005 is 45, while the number in the 2008 table is 47. Mention should also be made of the fact that data of 2005 refer to the month of January and those of

2008 refer to the month of December. In spite of these differences, the data will be considered as a whole and the global change reflected in the global data, as well as some changes visible in the individual member states themselves.



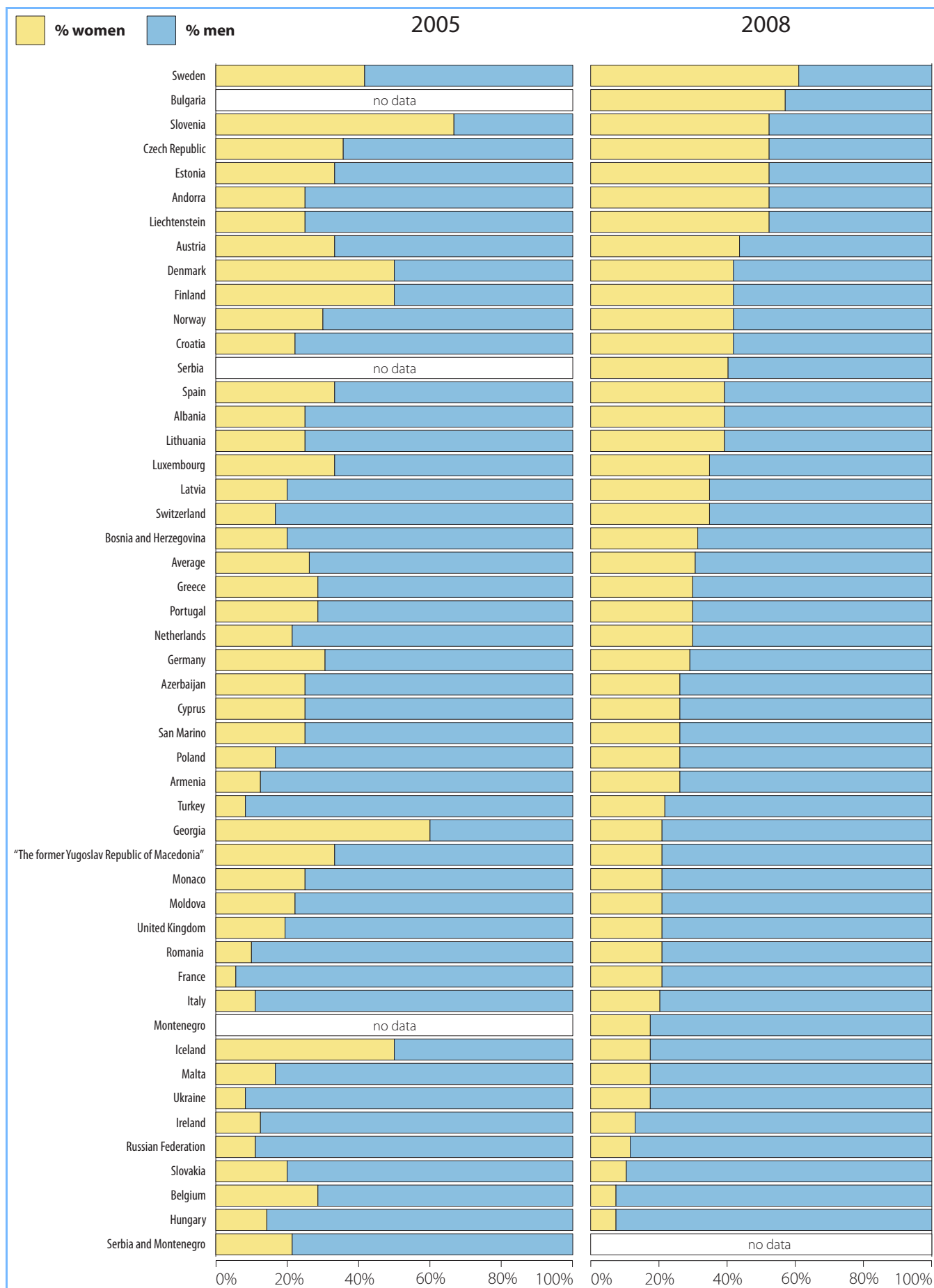


**Table 28. Representatives and substitutes to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Albania	25%	75%	37.5%	62.5%	12.5%
Andorra	25%	75%	50%	50%	25.0%
Armenia	12.5%	87.5%	25%	75%	12.5%
Austria	33.3%	66.7%	41.7%	58.3%	8.4%
Azerbaijan	25%	75%	25%	75%	0%
Belgium	28.6%	71.4%	7.1%	92.9%	-21.5%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	20%	80%	30%	70%	10%
Bulgaria	-	-	54.5%	45.5%	-
Croatia	22.2%	77.8%	40%	60%	17.8%
Cyprus	25%	75%	25%	75%	0%
Czech Republic	35.7%	64.3%	50%	50%	14.3%
Denmark	50%	50%	40%	60%	-10%
Estonia	33.3%	66.7%	50%	50%	16.7%
Finland	50.0%	50.0%	40%	60%	-10%
France	5.6%	94.4%	20%	80%	14.4%
Georgia	60%	40%	20%	80%	-40%
Germany	30.6%	69.4%	27.8%	72.2%	-2.8%
Greece	28.6%	71.4%	28.6%	71.4%	0%
Hungary	14.3%	85.7%	7.1%	92.9%	-7.2%
Iceland	50%	50%	16.7%	83.3%	-33.3%
Ireland	12.5%	87.5%	12.5%	87.5%	0.0%
Italy	11.1%	88.9%	19.4%	80.6%	8.3%
Latvia	20%	80%	33.3%	66.7%	13.3%
Liechtenstein	25%	75%	50%	50%	25%
Lithuania	25%	75%	37.5%	62.5%	12.5%
Luxembourg	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	0%
Malta	16.7%	83.3%	16.7%	83.3%	0%
Moldova	22.2%	77.8%	20.0%	80%	-2.2%
Monaco	25%	75%	20%	80%	-5%
Montenegro	-	-	16.7%	83.3%	-
Netherlands	21.4%	78.6%	28.6%	71.4%	7.2%
Norway	30%	70%	40%	60%	10%
Poland	16.7%	83.3%	25.0%	75.0%	8.3%
Portugal	28.6%	71.4%	28.6%	71.4%	0.0%
Romania	10%	90%	20%	80%	10%
Russian Federation	11.1%	88.9%	11.1%	88.9%	0.0%
San Marino	25%	75%	25%	75%	0%
Serbia	-	-	38.5%	61.5%	-
Serbia and Montenegro	21.4%	78.6%	-	-	-
Slovakia	20%	80%	10%	90%	-10%
Slovenia	66.7%	33.3%	50%	50%	-16.7%
Spain	33.3%	66.7%	37.5%	62.5%	4.2%
Sweden	41.7%	58.3%	58.3%	41.7%	16.6%
Switzerland	16.7%	83.3%	33.3%	66.7%	16.6%
"The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"	33.3%	66.7%	20%	80%	-13.3%
Turkey	8.3%	91.7%	20.8%	79.2%	12.5%
Ukraine	8.3%	91.7%	16.7%	83.3%	8.4%
United Kingdom	19.4%	80.6%	20%	80%	0.6%
<b>Average</b>	<b>26.2%</b>	<b>73.8%</b>	<b>29.3%</b>	<b>70.7%</b>	<b>3.1%</b>



Figure 28. Representatives and substitutes to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe





The average participation of women in 2005 corresponds to 26.2% while it increased to 29.3% in 2008, an improvement of 3.1%.

While looking at developments in individual member states, and not taking into consideration for comparison purposes the cases of Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro, positive developments in the numbers and percentages of 23 member states are noticeable between the two dates, while the situation of women's par-

ticipation has worsened in eleven member states and in ten member states there have been no changes. Improvements range from 0.6% to 25% and decreases in percentages range from 2.8% to a considerable difference of 40% less in participation.

As for the recommended minimum of 40% representation of both sexes, this target was reached by six member states in 2005 and by twelve member states in 2008. Some improvement is visible as regards the number of member states

remaining below 20% of women which was 13 in 2005 and which slightly diminished to ten in 2008. As for those member states with a percentage of women ranging between 20% and 40% the number has not significantly altered, as they were 26 in 2005 and 25 in 2008.

On the whole, there is a slight improvement in general terms, but there are also cases of concern where the percentage of women's participation significantly dropped.

## Delegations to the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe

### Chamber of Local Authorities

A glance at the totality of members and substitutes of the Chamber of Local Authorities reveals that the number of women, both as members and substitutes, has increased from 76 in 2005 to 110 in

2008, while the number of men has decreased from 238 to 198.

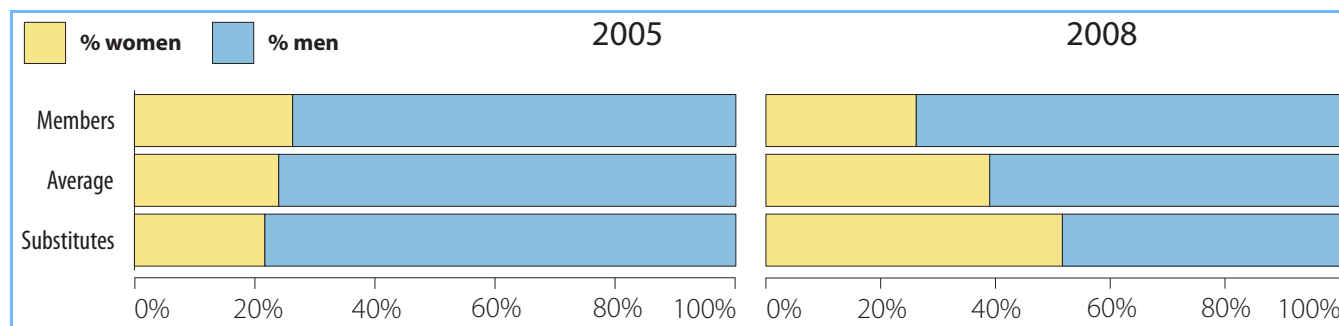
However, looking at the two categories separately makes the picture less hopeful. While the number of women as members was at 45 in 2005, in 2008 it has not

increased, but rather decreased to 43. This means that it is only the number of women as substitutes that increased considerably, from 31 in 2005 to 67 women in 2008.

**Table 29. Members and substitutes of the Chamber of Local Authorities**

	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
<b>Members</b>	26.3%	73.7%	25.0%	75.0%	-1.3%
<b>Substitutes</b>	21.7%	78.3%	49.3%	50.7%	27.6%
<b>Average</b>	24.0%	76.0%	37.2%	62.9%	13.2%

**Figure 29. Members and substitutes of the Chamber of Local Authorities**



The really notable thing is, therefore, that while there is a slight decrease in the number of women as members, there is a considerable increase, practically reaching parity, as substitutes. It is important to ask for the reasons for this difference. It cer-

tainly means that women are placed low in lists of candidature, and therefore do not reach the level required to have effective and equal participation. Therefore, the increase is mainly symbolic. It might even be said that parties seem to consider

women useful to be in the lists, or at least necessary for the purpose of political correctness, but not good enough, or necessary enough, to be placed higher on the lists to be given equal chances of effective participation.

### Members of the Chamber of Local Authorities

For a closer and more detailed look at results achieved it is necessary to look at the situation of members and substitutes, not only in the totality of numbers, but

separately and differentiated by member states.

The data available for 2005 and 2008 include data for 46 member states in the

first round and 47 in the second. This change in numbers is due to the division of Serbia and Montenegro into two separate countries.

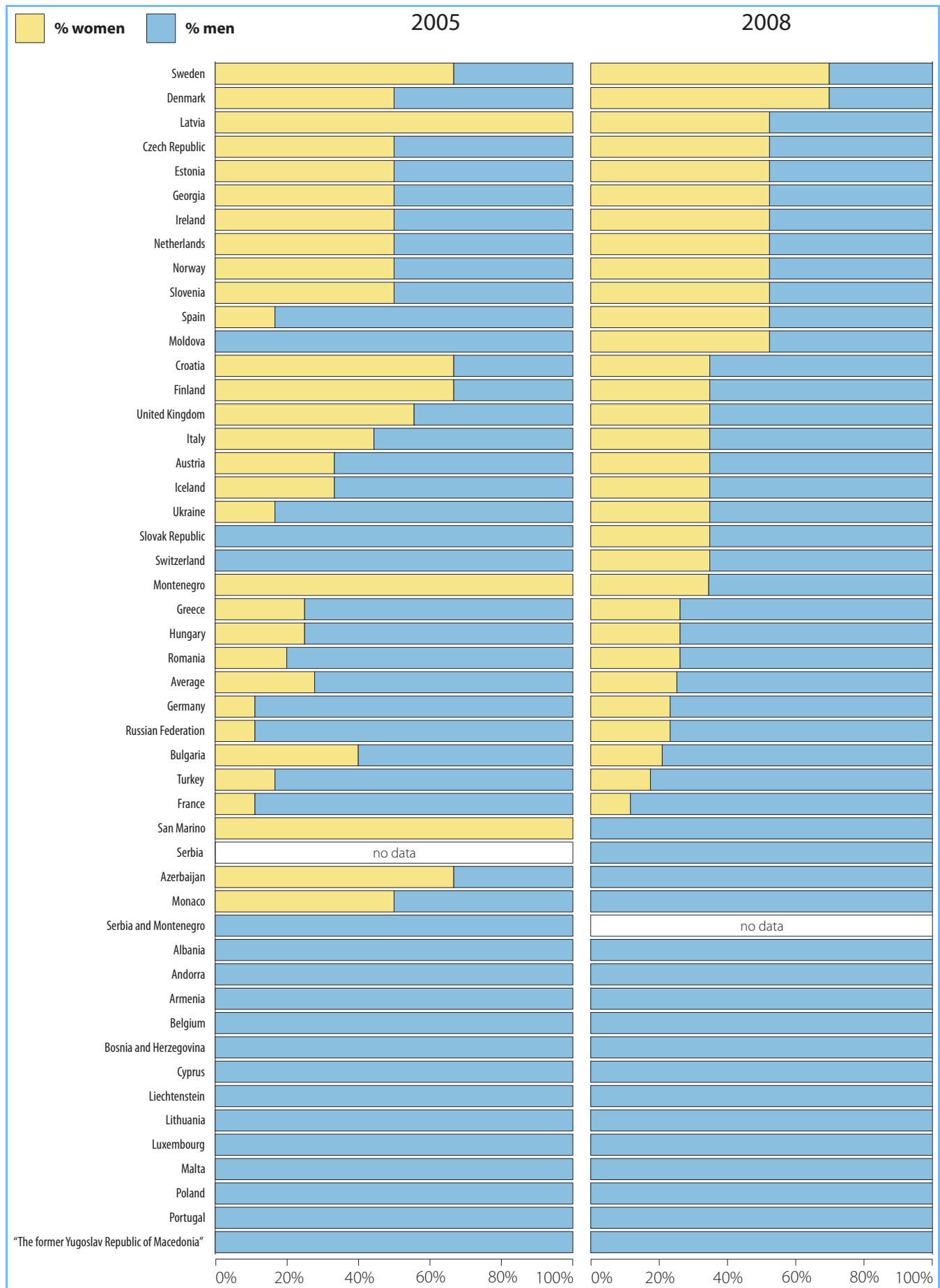


**Table 30. Women and men members of the Chamber of Local Authorities of the Council of Europe**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Albania	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Andorra	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Armenia	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Austria	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	0%
Azerbaijan	66.7%	33.3%	0%	100%	-66.7%
Belgium	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Bulgaria	40%	60%	20%	80%	-20%
Croatia	66.7%	33.3%	33.3%	66.7%	-33.4%
Cyprus	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Czech Republic	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Denmark	50%	50%	66.7%	33.3%	16.7%
Estonia	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Finland	66.7%	33.3%	33.3%	66.7%	-33.4%
France	11.1%	88.9%	11.1%	88.9%	0%
Georgia	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Germany	11.1%	88.9%	22.2%	77.8%	11.1%
Greece	25%	75%	25.0%	75.0%	0%
Hungary	25%	75%	25.0%	75.0%	0%
Iceland	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	0%
Ireland	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Italy	44.4%	55.6%	33.3%	66.7%	-11.1%
Latvia	100%	0%	50%	50%	-50%
Liechtenstein	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Lithuania	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Luxembourg	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Malta	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Moldova	0%	100%	50%	50%	50%
Monaco	50%	50%	0%	100%	-50%
Montenegro	-	-	33%	67%	-
Netherlands	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Norway	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Poland	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Portugal	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Romania	20%	80%	25.0%	75.0%	5%
Russian Federation	11.1%	88.9%	22.2%	77.8%	11.1%
San Marino	100%	0%	0%	100%	-100%
Serbia	-	-	0%	100%	-
Serbia and Montenegro	0%	100%	-	-	-
Slovak Republic	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%
Slovenia	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Spain	16.7%	83.3%	50.0%	50.0%	33.3%
Sweden	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	0%
Switzerland	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%
“The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Turkey	16.7%	83.3%	16.7%	83.3%	0.0%
Ukraine	16.7%	83.3%	33.3%	66.7%	16.6%
United Kingdom	55.6%	44.4%	33.3%	66.7%	-22.3%
<b>Average</b>	<b>27.8%</b>	<b>72.2%</b>	<b>24.1%</b>	<b>75.9%</b>	<b>-3.7%</b>



**Figure 30. Women and men members of the Chamber of Local Authorities of the Council of Europe**





The global percentage of women sitting as members of the Chamber of Local Authorities was 27.8% in 2005 and 24.1% in 2008, which reflects a considerable decrease of 3.7%.

A glance at the table shows that the situation, again not considering the case of Serbia and Montenegro, has not changed in 27 member states, a large majority. It has changed for the better in nine member states and it has worsened in the remaining nine member states. These differences in terms of percentages are,

#### *Substitutes of the Chamber of Local Authorities*

The two rounds of monitoring have yielded data for 41 member states in 2005 and 42 member states in 2008. Following

sometimes, very significant. However, it must be noted that due to the low number of places allotted to each member state – often only one or two places, particularly in the case of smaller member states – the change of a man or a woman can make a big difference in the percentage of the respective state. Improvements can range from a 5% to a 50% increase, while decreases can range from 20% to a 100%.

On the other hand, both in 2005 and in 2008, 17 member states, more than a third of the total number, had no women

members in this chamber. As for those with more than the recommended 40%, the situation has considerably worsened. In 2005, this target was reached by 18 member states and in 2008 this number decreased to twelve member states. It is thus evident that, in general terms, no positive evolution is to be registered in women's participation in this chamber, but rather one of negative development.

the usual criteria the figures of the body as a whole will be analysed for both years.

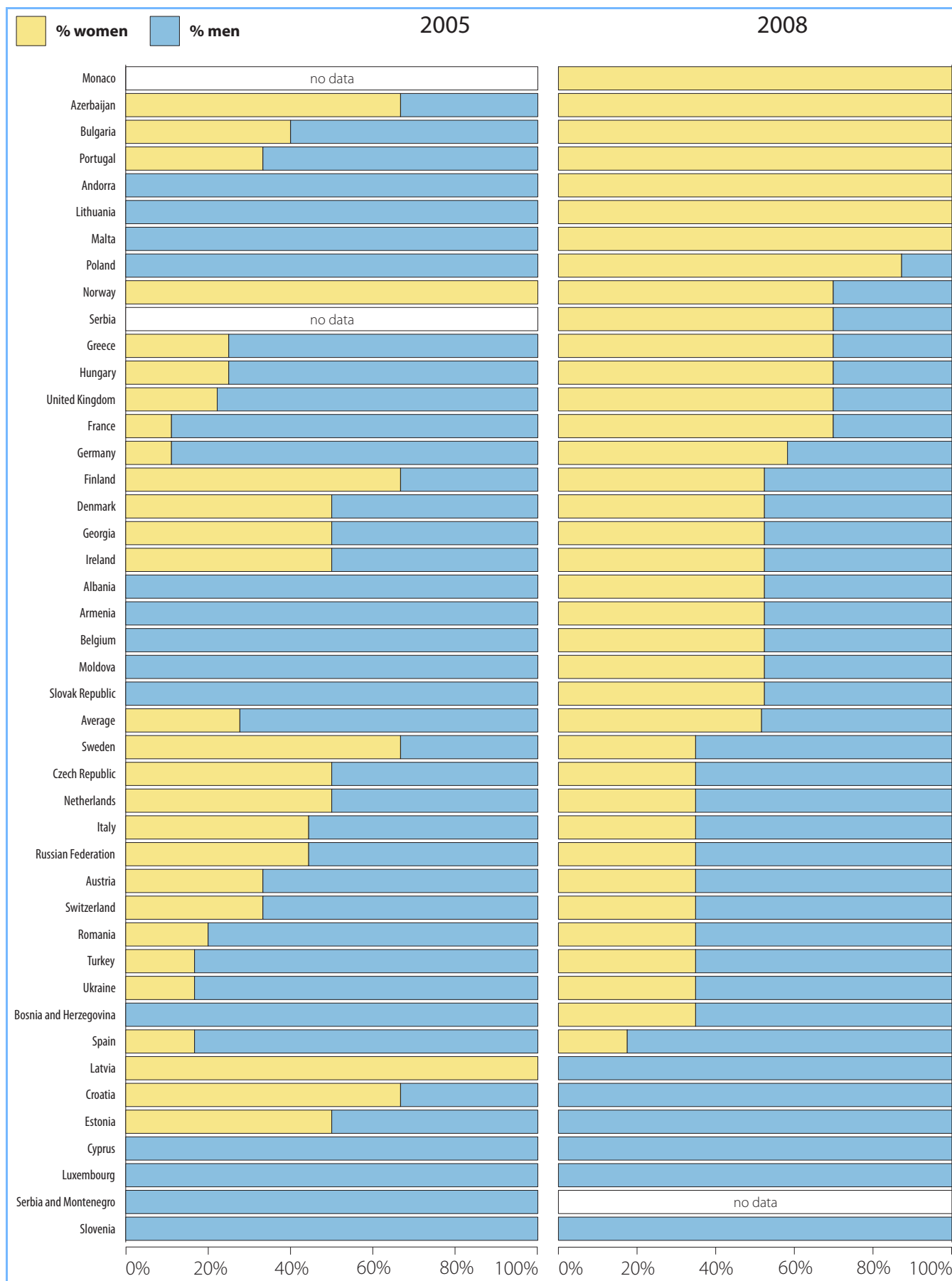


**Table 31. Substitutes of the Chamber of Local Authorities**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Albania	0%	100%	50%	50%	50%
Andorra	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%
Armenia	0%	100%	50%	50%	50%
Austria	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	0%
Azerbaijan	66.7%	33.3%	100%	0%	33.3%
Belgium	0%	100%	50%	50%	50%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%
Bulgaria	40%	60%	100%	0%	60%
Croatia	66.7%	33.3%	0%	100%	-66.7%
Cyprus	0%	100%	0%	100%	0.0%
Czech Republic	50%	50%	33.3%	66.7%	-16.7%
Denmark	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Estonia	50%	50%	0%	100%	-50%
Finland	66.7%	33.3%	50%	50%	-16.7%
France	11.1%	88.9%	66.7%	33.3%	55.6%
Georgia	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Germany	11.1%	88.9%	55.6%	44.4%	44.5%
Greece	25%	75%	66.7%	33.3%	41.7%
Hungary	25%	75%	66.7%	33.3%	41.7%
Ireland	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Italy	44.4%	55.6%	33.3%	66.7%	-11.1%
Latvia	100%	0%	0%	100%	-100%
Lithuania	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%
Luxembourg	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Malta	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%
Moldova	0%	100%	50%	50%	50%
Monaco	-	-	100%	0%	-
Netherlands	50%	50%	33.3%	66.7%	-16.7%
Norway	100%	0%	66.7%	33.3%	33.3%
Poland	0%	100%	83.3%	16.7%	83.3%
Portugal	33.3%	67.7%	100%	0%	67.7%
Romania	20%	80%	33.3%	66.7%	13.3%
Russian Federation	44.4%	55.6%	33.3%	66.7%	-11.1%
Serbia	-	-	66.7%	33.3%	-
Serbia and Montenegro	0.0%	100.0%	-	-	-
Slovak Republic	0%	100%	50%	50%	50%
Slovenia	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Spain	16.7%	83.3%	16.7%	83.3%	0%
Sweden	66.7%	33.3%	33.3%	66.7%	-33.4%
Switzerland	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	0%
Turkey	16.7%	83.3%	33.3%	66.7%	16.6%
Ukraine	16.7%	83.3%	33.3%	66.7%	16.6%
United Kingdom	22.2%	77.8%	66.7%	33.3%	45.5%
<b>Average</b>	<b>27.7%</b>	<b>72.3%</b>	<b>49.3%</b>	<b>50.7%</b>	<b>21.6%</b>



**Figure 31. Substitutes of the Chamber of Local Authorities**



As verified above, the situation is much better in the category of substitutes than as members. The percentage of women's participation as substitutes is 27.7% in 2005 and 49.3% in 2008, which represents a considerable gain of 21.6%.





Looking at the behaviour of individual member states, and again not counting Serbia and Montenegro, it becomes clear that, while in twelve member states the situation has not changed, there has been a significant increase in women's participation in 22 member states and only six member states register a decrease.

The problem referred to above, that of percentages changing drastically in some countries, is also noticeable here, again mainly due to the low level of numbers of

substitute members allotted to most member states. It can, however, be noted that the most significant changes can represent up to a 100% increase in some cases and up to a 100% decrease in others.

As for the number of member states with more than 40% women, in 2005 this was the case for twelve member states and, in 2008, this number rose to 24 member states, almost double the number.

As far as member states without women representatives in this body are

concerned, a significant evolution has taken place. In 2005, there were 18 member states without women representatives, a number which has drastically decreased to only six member states in 2008.

On the whole, it can be said that there is quantitative progress, although as this progress mainly occurs in positions as substitutes, it can also be considered as more symbolic than real progress.

### Chamber of Regions

A look at the totality of members and substitutes of the Chamber of Regions shows that, in both cases, the proportion of women has increased significantly. Just like in the Chamber of Local Authorities,

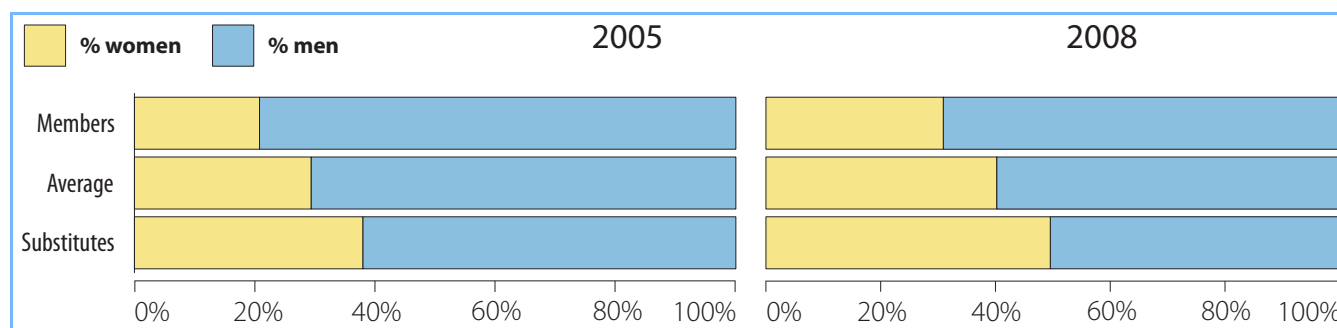
the most significant development occurs in the category of substitutes. As members, women were 30 in 2005 and rose to 41 in 2008; as substitutes they were 46 in 2005 and rose to 79 in 2008. As for men,

their number also increased significantly as substitutes, much more than women, from 121 to 167, while as members the number of men slightly decreased from 144 to 139.

**Table 32. Members and substitutes of the Chamber of Regions**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
<b>Members</b>	20.8%	79.2%	29.5%	70.5%	8.7%
<b>Substitutes</b>	38%	62%	47.3%	52.7%	9.3%
<b>Average</b>	29.4%	70.6%	38.4%	61.6%	9%

**Figure 32. Members and substitutes of the Chamber of Regions**



In view of these numbers it can be concluded that, apparently, in the Chamber of Regions as a whole, and differently from the situation in the Chamber of

#### Members of the Chamber of Regions

In order to arrive at a more detailed analysis of results achieved, the situation of members and substitutes, not only in the totality of numbers, but separately and

Local Authorities, there is a more regular positive development with the percentage of women rising, both as members and as substitutes, reaching almost a third in the

differentiated by countries, must be assessed.

Taking a closer look at the different member states which figuring in the table

first case, almost parity in the second and almost the recommended percentage of 40% in the total of both categories.

for both, 2005 and 2008, shows that, in 2005, data are provided for 41 member states, a number which rose to 42 in 2008.

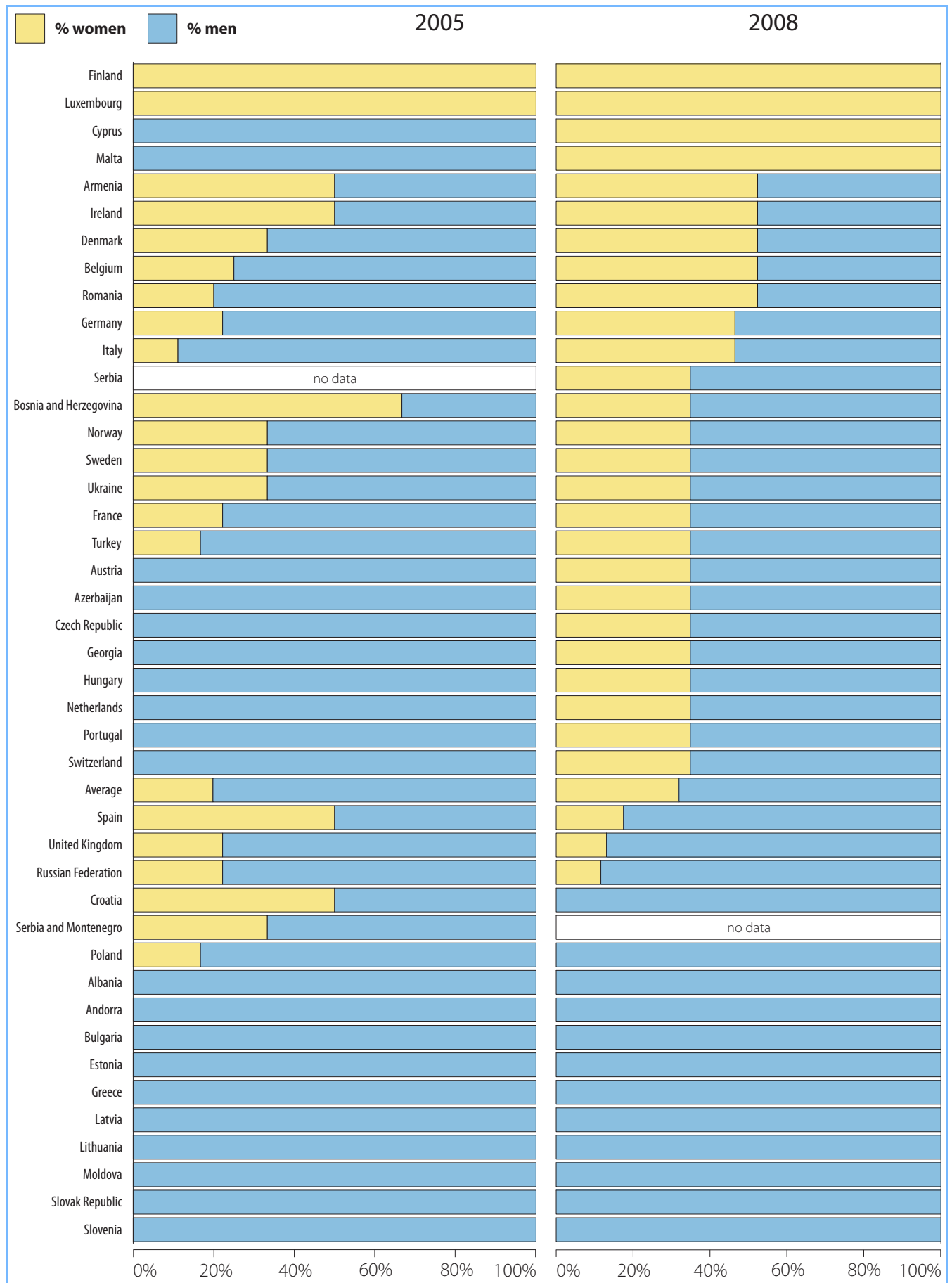


**Table 33. Women and men members of the Chamber of Regions**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Albania	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Andorra	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Armenia	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Austria	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33%
Azerbaijan	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33%
Belgium	25%	75%	50%	50%	25%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	66.7%	33.3%	33.3%	66.7%	-33%
Bulgaria	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Croatia	50%	50%	0%	100%	-50%
Cyprus	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%
Czech Republic	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33%
Denmark	33.3%	66.7%	50%	50%	17%
Estonia	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Finland	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%
France	22.2%	77.8%	33.3%	66.7%	11%
Georgia	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33%
Germany	22.2%	77.8%	44.4%	55.6%	22%
Greece	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Hungary	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33%
Ireland	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Italy	11.1%	88.9%	44.4%	55.6%	33%
Latvia	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Lithuania	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Luxembourg	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Malta	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%
Moldova	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Netherlands	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33%
Norway	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	0%
Poland	16.7%	83.3%	0%	100%	-17%
Portugal	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33%
Romania	20%	80%	50%	50%	30%
Russian Federation	22.2%	77.8%	11.1%	88.9%	-11%
Serbia	-	-	33.3%	66.7%	-
Serbia and Montenegro	33.3%	66.7%	-	-	-
Slovak Republic	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Slovenia	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Spain	50%	50%	16.7%	83.3%	-33%
Sweden	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	0%
Switzerland	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33%
Turkey	16.7%	83.3%	33.3%	66.7%	17%
Ukraine	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	0%
United Kingdom	22.2%	77.8%	12.5%	87.5%	-10%
<b>Average</b>	<b>19.8%</b>	<b>80.2%</b>	<b>30.5%</b>	<b>68.8%</b>	<b>10.7%</b>



**Figure 33. Women and men members of the Chamber of Regions**





The presence of women is reflected in the global percentages of 19.8% in 2005 and 30.5% in 2008, a change that represents a significant positive development of a 10.7% increase.

Looking at the behaviour of individual member states which can be compared, 40 altogether, we can see that, between 2005 and 2008, the percentage of women

#### *Substitutes of the Chamber of Regions*

Data are provided in regard to 45 member states, both in 2005 and in 2008. Similar to developments in the Chamber

increased in 18 member states, decreased in six and remained stable in 16.

On the other hand, it is also interesting to note that, while in 2005 only seven member states had more than 40% of women members of the Chamber of Regions, in 2008 this target was reached by eleven member states. As for the number of those with no women at all in this Chamber, in 2005 such a situation

of Local Authorities, the number of women rises much more significantly in

existed in 20, half of the member states, and decreased to 13, which is equivalent to less than a third of the total of countries.

Clearly, the evolution of women's participation in this forum seems to be a positive one, the average representation of women being slightly above 30%, an average often assessed as being the critical minimum to make a difference.

the category of substitutes than in that of members.

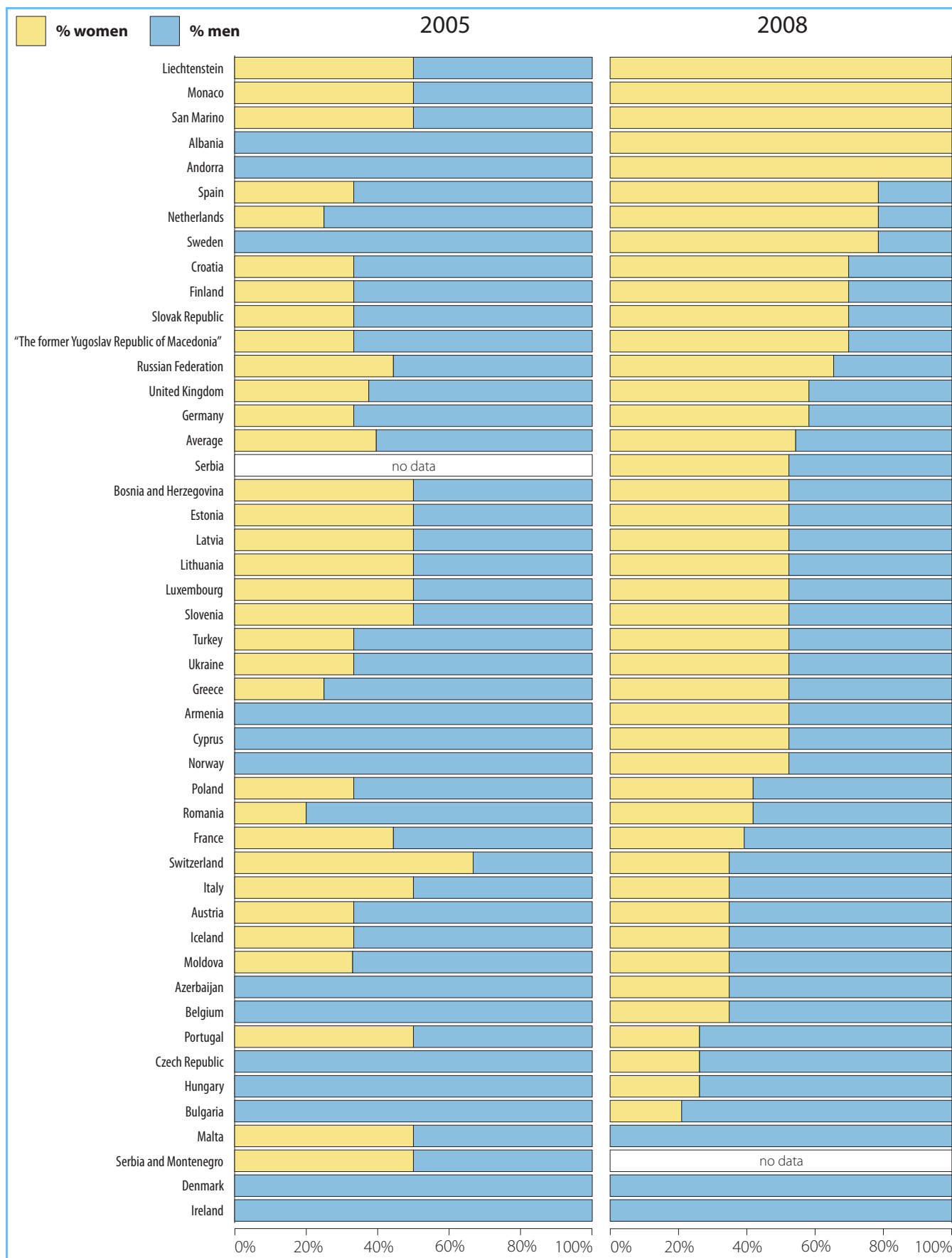


**Table 34. Substitutes of the Chamber of Regions**

Member state	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
Albania	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%
Andorra	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%
Armenia	0%	100%	50%	50%	50%
Austria	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	0%
Azerbaijan	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%
Belgium	0%	100%	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Bulgaria	0%	100%	20%	80%	20%
Croatia	33.3%	66.7%	66.7%	33.3%	33.4%
Cyprus	0%	100%	50%	50%	50%
Czech Republic	0%	100%	25%	75%	25%
Denmark	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Estonia	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Finland	33.3%	66.7%	66.7%	33.3%	33.4%
France	44.4%	55.6%	37.5%	62.5%	-6.9%
Germany	33.3%	66.7%	55.6%	44.4%	22.3%
Greece	25%	75%	50%	50%	25%
Hungary	0%	100%	25%	75%	25%
Iceland	33.3%	66.7%	33.3%	66.7%	0%
Ireland	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
Italy	50%	50%	33.3%	66.7%	-16.7%
Latvia	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Liechtenstein	50%	50%	100%	0%	50%
Lithuania	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Luxembourg	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Malta	50%	50%	0%	100%	-50%
Moldova	33%	67%	33.3%	66.7%	0%
Monaco	50%	50%	100%	0%	50%
Netherlands	25%	75%	75%	25%	50%
Norway	0%	100%	50%	50%	50%
Poland	33.3%	66.7%	40%	60%	6.7%
Portugal	50%	50%	25%	75%	-25%
Romania	20%	80%	40%	60%	20%
Russian Federation	44.4%	55.6%	62.5%	37.5%	18.1%
Serbia	-	-	50%	50%	-
Serbia and Montenegro	50%	50%	-	-	-
San Marino	50%	50%	100%	0%	50%
Slovak Republic	33.3%	66.7%	66.7%	33.3%	33.4%
Slovenia	50%	50%	50%	50%	0%
Spain	33.3%	66.7%	75%	25%	41.7%
Sweden	0%	100%	75%	25%	75%
Switzerland	66.7%	33.3%	33.3%	66.7%	-33.4%
"The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"	33.3%	66.7%	66.7%	33.3%	33.4%
Turkey	33.3%	66.7%	50%	50%	16.7%
Ukraine	33.3%	66.7%	50%	50%	16.7%
United Kingdom	37.5%	62.5%	55.6%	44.4%	18.1%
<b>Average</b>	<b>39.6%</b>	<b>60.4%</b>	<b>51.9%</b>	<b>49.8%</b>	<b>20.5%</b>



**Figure 34. Substitutes of the Chamber of Regions**



Looking at the global results reveals that the percentage of women in this body, as a whole, rises very significantly from

31.4% to a majority percentage of 51.9% women, which represents a 20.5% increase. In relation to the comparable

countries it is apparent that in 28 member states the percentage of women representatives increases, in ten member states it



remains stable and it decreases in five member states only.

As for the number of member states reaching the highest percentages of women, there were 17 member states with more than 40% in 2005, while in 2008

that number rose to a large majority of 31 member states. On the other hand, the number of member states where women are totally absent from this Chamber decreased substantially from twelve in 2005 to four in 2008.

This definitely represents visible progress, but again mainly in the field of substitute members, which seems to be considered as the more suitable category for women.

## The European Court of Human Rights

In 2005, out of the 45 judges of the European Court of Human Rights, twelve were women judges and 33 were men

judges, which amounts to 27% and 73% respectively.

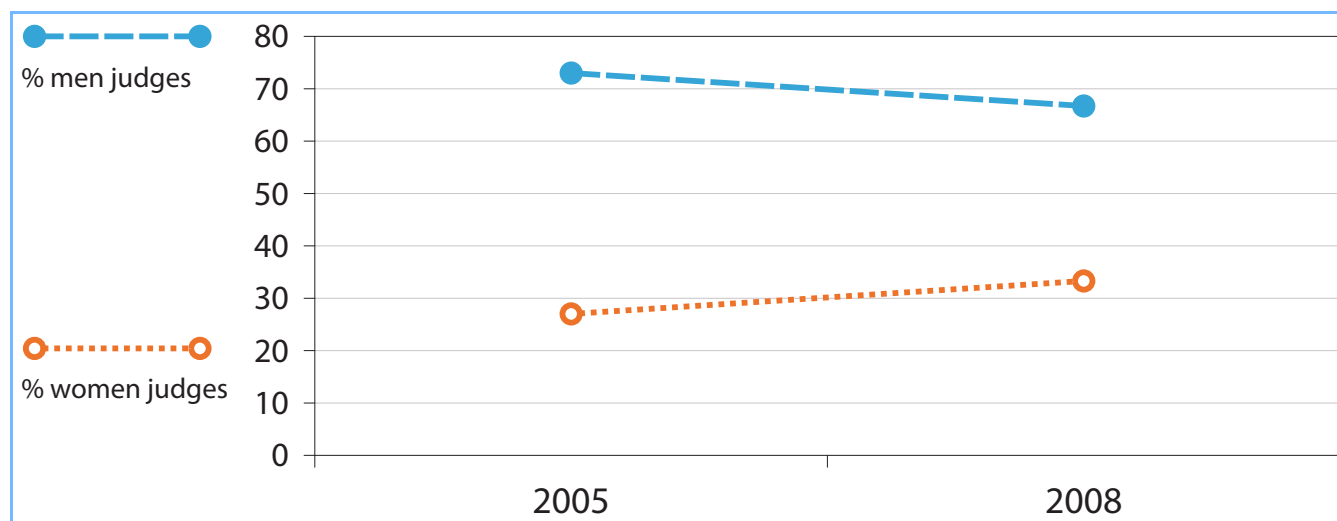
In 2008, the overall number of judges rose to 48, with 16 women judges and 32

men judges and the corresponding percentages of 33.3% women and 66.7% men.

**Table 35. Women and men judges in the European Court of Human Rights**

2005		2008		Evolution
% women	% men	% women	% men	
27.0%	73.0%	33.3%	66.7%	6.3%

**Figure 35. Women and men judges in the European Court of Human Rights**



The percentage of women judges at the Court has thus risen from 12 to 16 in absolute numbers and from 27% to 33.3% in terms of percentages. It is certainly a meaningful third of the total of members,

but still far from the more relevant and recommended 40% minimum of representation of both sexes.

As for the composition of the Court as regards its leading posts of president, vice-

presidents, section presidents and section vice-presidents, the picture seemed much more gloomy in 2005, but a certain evolution can be noted.

**Table 36. Composition of the European Court of Human Rights**

	2005		2008		Evolution
	% women	% men	% women	% men	
<b>President of the Court</b>	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
<b>Vice-presidents</b>	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
<b>Section presidents</b>	0%	100%	20%	80%	20%
<b>Section vice-presidents</b>	0%	100%	40%	60%	40%

While in 2005 all leading posts were held by men and women's percentage was 0%, women started to become visible in 2008, albeit in lower ranks only.

The highest posts of president or vice-president are still held by men, but there is one woman section president and two

women section vice-presidents, respectively corresponding to 20% and 40% of the total number of these categories, an evolution that can be assessed as a meaningful development.

On a final note on women's participation in Council of Europe bodies, it is considered that further commitment by states

is certainly necessary to guarantee that all processes leading to selection, election or nomination to these posts are fully respectful of the principle of equality between women and men as a human rights principle, as it is well defined in fundamental instruments of the Council of Europe.

## Conclusions and recommendations

As already mentioned in the introduction, the span of time considered – three years – to assess developments in women’s participation in political and public decision-making bodies is too short for a meaningful analysis. This preliminary conviction was fully confirmed by the general assessment of the statistical evolution of the situation of women, where no relevant developments seem to occur in regard to the various decision-making bodies under scrutiny. Even if, in some cases, there are some positive developments, these are usually not very significant in numerical terms. On the other hand, in a number of cases, there is a clear static situation with no progress at all, and, in other cases, signs of regression can be identified. On the whole, there is no solid pattern of development, which would allow relevant conclusions to be drawn.

On the other hand, the difficulty arising from the great variation in the number of member states which responded to the

different items and to the different questionnaires proved to limit the comparability of both rounds of monitoring in many regards. As a matter of fact, in relation to some items of the questionnaire, the number of responding member states was too small to allow a global picture; and the fact that member states often did not coincide in the answers to specific items in both rounds of monitoring drastically reduced the number of comparable situations, not always allowing for a valid comparative analysis or reliable conclusions.

The fact that only quantitative data were the object of both questionnaires further limited the analysis, which would have been enriched by other more qualitative elements, if they had been included in the questionnaires, in line with the guidelines contained in Recommendation Rec (2003) 3. This would not only provide another dimension to the analysis, it would also lead to a more comprehensive understanding of a global social, political

and cultural picture, where the quantitative data fit in and could be better evaluated.

Notwithstanding these limitations which, to a certain extent, were foreseen in the beginning of the analysis and pointed out in the introduction, it turned out to be an interesting and useful exercise, some features of which are important to point out.

First of all, it is important to take a brief look at the comprehensive picture of women in the various decision-making bodies of those member states which could be compared because they figure in both questionnaires. This reveals a comprehensive picture, mainly of a quantitative nature, as reflected simultaneously in the most recent average of women’s participation (2008) and in the increase of that participation in the three years under scrutiny.

### Quantitative aspects

**Table 37. Women in legislative power**

	Average	Increase
<b>Lower houses: women elected</b>	23.7%	2%
<b>Upper houses: women elected</b>	24.7%	4.1%
<b>Lower houses: women appointed</b>	23.6%	5.7%
<b>Regional parliaments: women elected</b>	23.3%	1.1%

Averages of women’s participation in 2008 are quite close in the various bodies, around 23%–24%. As regards the evolution from 2005 to 2008, there is a more diversified picture of the changes that occurred in that participation, from a minimal increase of 1.1% in regional parliaments to the highest of 5.5% in appointed women to upper houses. In any case, there is a pattern of increase in all

legislative bodies, in the various levels, with no visible signs of regression, which is in itself a positive development.





**Table 38. Women in executive power**

		Average	Increase
National government	Women ministers	24.4%	3.2%
	Women deputy/junior ministers	25.7%	2.4%
Regional government	Heads of government	2.9%	-3.5%
	Members of government	20.6%	1.2%
Local government	Mayors	10.2%	0%
	Municipal councillors	23.7%	0.2%

Again, most averages of women's participation in government bodies are not far apart from one another, between 20% and 25%, with the exception of the highest post. These posts, mayors and heads of regional government, continue to be strongly male-dominated, both at regional and local level.

It is particularly the case of heads of regional government which shows quite a significant regression in relation to the representation of women in the past. The case of representation of women mayors, not being so negative, does not register any progress; it was poor and remains unchanged.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that evolution is more visible at national level, both as regards the scope of change and the level of participation reached.

**Table 39. Women in judicial power**

	Average	Increase
High/supreme court: women judges	25.8%	2.2%
Constitutional court: women judges	21.7%	-0.2%

Apparently, life seems to be easier for women in high/supreme courts than in constitutional courts.

Taking into consideration that in recent decades, women in the judicial career in many countries are progressing steadily, it seems that, in spite of the cur-

rent difficulties to access decision-making posts, the way is paved for a more favourable representation at the level of high/supreme courts, which is the final stage or last resort of the jurisdiction.

On the other hand, when it comes to constitutional courts, which have a specific mission dealing mainly with constitutional law and with the analysis of any possible conflicts between legal provisions and constitutionally established rights and freedoms, access for women seems to be weighed down by stronger obstacles, as their participation is not only lower, but also does not progress.

**Table 40. Women in diplomatic service**

	Average	Increase
Women ambassadors	15.1%	1.1%
Women envoys and ministers plenipotentiary	16.9%	-2.9%
Women minister counsellors	24.9%	-6.1%
Women general consuls	21.5%	-3.2%

Apparently diplomacy is a difficult arena for women. Not only are participation rates in the higher levels are quite low compared to other areas of public life, developments are mostly negative. Only at the highest level of ambassador is improvement to be found, albeit minimal.

On the other hand, it must also be recalled that these high-level posts should correspond to the natural evolution of career development. Knowing that in most European countries women are as highly qualified as men, sometimes even more in terms of higher education, we might wonder about the reasons that stop or hinder women's careers in diplomacy. If they are not rooted in inferior levels of qualification, then they have to be rooted in other factors, most probably those of a social or cultural nature; factors linked to stereotyped views of women's and men's roles and responsibilities, both today's views and also those inherited from the past; factors also linked to the symbolic power of the career itself; all of them requiring resolute action in the area of social and cultural change.

**Table 41. Council of Europe bodies**

		Average	Increase
Parliamentary Assembly	Women representatives and substitutes	29.3%	3.1%
Chamber of Local Authorities	Women members	24.1%	-3.7%
	Women substitutes	49.3%	21.6%
Chamber of Regions	Women members	30.5%	10.7%
	Women substitutes	51.9%	20.5%
European Court of Human Rights	Women judges	33.3%	6.3%
	Women in posts of president or vice-president	23%	23%

As the numbers show, there is a certain positive evolution in the percentage of women in Council of Europe bodies, particularly as substitute members. On the other hand, in one of these bodies, the Chamber of Local Authorities, the percentage of women members is not only the lowest of the different chambers, but it is also decreasing.

As a final comment, it should be noted that, although the percentages of effective members in both chambers are not so far from percentages in national bodies, even slightly higher in general terms, there are some significant features that must be pointed out. First, the fact, that occurs again, of posts related to local power structures being more difficult for women to access, which corresponds to the pattern in most national situations. Secondly, the fact that substitute posts, more than the effective ones, seem to be the right posts for women, as already noted and fully confirmed.

Some qualitative aspects must also be summarised under a comprehensive approach.

## Qualitative aspects

### *Electoral systems and quota laws and regulations*

Besides gathering data to illustrate the quantitative evolution of women's and

men's participation and representation, the questionnaires also tried to assess two

other elements of a more qualitative nature, namely the possible impact of



electoral systems and of quotas, either imposed by law or voluntarily adopted by party rules and regulations, aiming at a more balanced participation of women and men in elected posts.

As regards **electoral systems**, data both in 2005 and 2008 seem to point into the direction of proportional representation systems, which are the most frequent in European countries, as being the most favourable for a more balanced participation of women and men; and, within these, particularly to the systems with open lists, rather than closed ones.

The evolution between the three years, however, has some puzzling aspects as in two of these systems of proportional representation (open lists and other), while accounting for the highest values, women's rate of participation decreased. Those which had the lowest levels of

women's representation, namely plurality-majority and semi-proportional representation (open lists and other), the rate of women's participation increased.

In spite of this evolution, final results in quantitative terms are always more satisfactory in the case of proportional representation systems. As mentioned in the text, the fact that a great majority of member states have adopted proportional representation systems and only a small number adopted other systems may be responsible for some ambiguities in the general evaluation.

As for the impact of **quotas**, either imposed by law or voluntarily adopted by parties, the number of member states which gave information on this matter in relation to the various bodies was rather limited, sometimes even scarce, to allow for any solid conclusions to be drawn.

As referred to in the text, in some cases, there seems to be an indication that they might be working in favour of gender balance, but in others this is less clear. A degree of uncertainty remains when answering the question whether positive changes, when they occur, are the effect of laws or regulations or just a natural evolution, because those changes are not consistent.

Furthermore, the variety of types of quotas, of standards adopted, the inclusion of provisions on placement on the lists, the existence of sanctions, the date of adoption of the laws or regulations, the fact of being created by one or all parties, these and other factors constitute a long list of variables that would have to be considered in a more comprehensive analysis.

### *Appointment methods*

In what concerns judicial power, some qualitative elements were also touched upon, namely as regards the appointment methods and their possible influence in higher or lower rates of participation of

women and men. However, as explained in the text, looking at the rates of participation of women and at the appointment methods adopted in the various countries for High Courts and Constitutional

Courts, it was not possible to establish any coherent relationship, both as regards the present situation or as regards any development between 2005 and 2008.

### **Final conclusion**

In spite of the minor elements allowing a more qualitative analysis, the data gathered in the two rounds of monitoring provides only for a limited possibility to come to an effective assessment of qualitative progress regarding women's participation and representation in political and public life, particularly in its decision-making bodies.

As explained in the introduction, page 7, the data that were collected and organised in tables and graphs, and which constituted the essential basis for this analysis, are data that illustrate mainly a "descriptive representation". Additional data would be necessary for a "substantive representation", which Recommendation Rec (2003) 3 itself points out in its guidelines for monitoring.

A list of qualitative elements to allow for such an analysis would certainly include aspects related to nomination/selection procedures by political parties, as women are usually under-represented at nomination/selection level, too. It would also require further and more detailed aspects of electoral systems and gender quotas, including the minimum standards adopted, the ranking order in lists of can-

didates and the sanctions for non-compliance. And, further than that, a regular observation and assessment of women's and men's presence and contribution in political and public life, including visibility in the media, would also have to be reported and analysed.

Surveys on and analysis of women's political participation have shown that obstacles to such participation can be related to electoral systems, but also to the functioning of political life and to its rites and rhythms, that still follow a dominant male pattern of social organisation; they can also be related to the unwritten, traditional rules of political parties which, still too often, tend to function as "old boys networks". Finally, such analysis have also shown that the deeper rooted obstacles are linked to educational, social and cultural factors that still tend to privilege the public/political domain as being a mainly male domain.

Further monitoring of the implementation of the recommendation should, therefore, be particularly attentive to qualitative information and data on social views on women and men, and to any changes eventually occurring in this area.

They might help to better explain the reasons underlying the increasing difficulties encountered by women at national, regional and local levels, mainly in accessing higher posts; or the obstacles faced in reaching decision-making levels of the diplomatic career; or in acceding to constitutional courts, even more than to high/supreme courts.

Such elements, information and data would also help to measure progress regarding the social views on women's participation in political and public life, both as a democratic requirement and as a social advantage for society as a whole.

As the situation appears now in the picture that is revealed through the quantitative data, it must be noted that we are still a long way from effective implementation of the objectives set in the recommendation. Despite some positive developments, the global picture is still one of inequality and of democratic deficit as regards the equal rights to participation and representation of women and men. The standards reached so far are generally unsatisfactory in democratic terms and in view of the objectives to be reached. More must still be done by member states.



While acknowledging significant differences in different member states, it can be

said that, in general, the issue of women in political and public decision-making in

Europe is still a critical issue to be urgently addressed.

## Further implementation and further monitoring

Recommendation Rec (2003) 3 of the Committee of Ministers on “Balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making” proposes a set of objectives to be attained, provides guidelines for measures to be adopted and requires a regular monitoring of progress achieved and difficulties encountered. The two questionnaires which constituted the basic material for the present analysis were the initial exercises of such regular monitoring. Further implementation, analysis and evaluation must follow.

In view of the findings of this exercise, two main lines of action must be pointed out as recommendations:

- Recommendations regarding the further implementation of Recommendation Rec (2003) 3;
- Recommendations regarding the further monitoring of progress.

As for the **further implementation**, a new momentum must be created in member states, to which the present analysis might contribute in terms of raising awareness of the problems that remain unsolved. A fresh look at the Recommendation Rec (2003) 3 would be an essential element for the creation of that momentum. Assuming that it has been translated into all national languages, a new effort of dissemination must be undertaken; dissemination of the text itself, but above all, of the values that underlie its content and that are well expressed in the Introductory part. This concerns mainly the statement that “the balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making is a matter of the full enjoyment of human rights, of social justice and a necessary condition for the better functioning of a democratic society”.

To once again place Recommendation Rec (2003) 3 on the political agenda is, therefore, the overall recommendation in order to achieve its full implementation, and, particularly, to recall some of its fundamental guidelines. These guidelines require, among others, that the governments of member states:

- “commit themselves to promote balanced representation of women and men by recognising publicly that the equal sharing of decision-making power between women and

men of different background and ages strengthen democracy”;

- “promote and encourage special measures to stimulate and support women’s will to participate in political and public decision-making”;
- “consider setting targets linked to a time scale with a view to reaching balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making”;
- “ensure that this recommendation is brought to the attention of all relevant political institutions and to public and private bodies, in particular national parliaments, local and regional authorities, political parties, civil service, public and semi-public organisations, enterprises, trade unions, employment organisations and non-governmental organisations.”

Concrete implications of these guidelines will require addressing a variety of situations that constitute obstacles for women’s participation and representation, either in an active or in a passive way. Taking into consideration that in European countries women are no less qualified than men, sometimes even more qualified in statistical terms, the obstacles identified are particularly linked to:

- the traditional social view of women’s and men’s roles and responsibilities and the consequent process of socialisation of girls and boys, women and men, for such stereotyped roles;
- the current organisation of social life, where reconciliation of private/family responsibilities with political/public responsibilities is recognised as a major problem mainly affecting women, and as a key issue for gender equality and for the quality of life for all, women and men;
- the political process itself, reflected in the functioning of political parties and of political life in general; in the instruments and mechanisms for the electoral or nomination procedures; in the electoral laws and systems and in the effectiveness of the guarantees they provide in regard to equality for women in this process.

Further action by member states is needed that, in order to respond to the present resistances, must be taken on several fronts and leading into various directions:

- action addressed at society in general, aiming at social and cultural change, a change of paradigm in regard to women’s and men’s roles in private/family life and in political/public life, domains that must be equally shared respecting personal capacities rather than stereotyped roles;
- action addressed at women, particularly younger generations, aiming at improving their motivation and capacity for active intervention in public and political life, while at the same time questioning any stereotyped ideas induced by their socialisation process;
- policy action and programmes aimed at the creation of social conditions for participation of women and men in public and political life, on equal terms, including effective measures allowing for the reconciliation of family and public responsibilities;

These areas of action are relevant for women’s access to decision-making posts in all aspects considered under the recommendation, whether it be the ones monitored – elected or appointed posts in political bodies, the judiciary or diplomacy – or others that may be monitored in the future, namely those regarding decision-making in economic life.

As for access to decision-making in political bodies, particularly elected posts, further analysis and consideration must be given to the electoral systems in order to ensure that they guarantee the full equality of women and men, namely by introducing those compensatory/regulatory measures necessary to compensate historical discrimination on the basis of sex and to guarantee that both sexes have equal chances to attain the parity threshold established by the recommendation – 40% representation of women and men in any decision-making body in political and public life.

The adoption of “positive action” – a terminology mainly used in Council of



Europe documents – or of “temporary special measures”, as used in the United Nations *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, to which all Council of Europe member states are parties, may be an indispensable tool to accelerate the process of building equality in access to decision-making bodies in political and public life. This is a tool that is fully legitimate and must be used.

As regards the **further monitoring** of progress achieved and difficulties encountered, a possibility to pursue this exercise would be to repeat this kind of monitoring with the help of questionnaires on a regular basis and keep examining the progressive evolution.

However, a more global focus and a more pro-active approach by member states themselves might be advisable as a next step, at a further stage. It would seem most appropriate and useful to undertake a comprehensive evaluation, encompassing the evolution of the decade following the adoption of Recommendation Rec (2003) 3. On the other hand, it would seem reasonable that the member states themselves proceed to carry out some evaluative analysis on the basis of common criteria, beyond the mere collection of data, as has been done until now.

Such analysis, first at national level and followed by the equivalent exercise at European level, would aim at drawing a global picture of the situation at the time of adoption (2003) and then the evolution along the decade, including results of the different elections and the gender composition of different governments at the various levels. As regards elections, data to be analysed should be data resulting from the moment of election, not that of subsequent changes, as pointed out in the introduction. Such an exercise would certainly help to capture the national progression and, ultimately, progress at European level.

The same should be done for those posts that do not come out of an election or political nomination like, generally, the ones in diplomacy or the judiciary. Regarding these posts, an analysis in different points in time, for example, the beginning, the middle and the end of the decade after adoption of the recommendation, might be the means to achieve the

same comprehensive view of a decade's evolution.

In such an exercise other elements should be taken into account and clarified, particularly as regards further information on quota systems, namely the date of adoption of the law or the regulations creating these systems, their application when and to which elections, their specificities regarding standards and requirements, particularly minimum percentages required for women and men, ranking orders established and sanctions for non-compliance of the rules, in order that, also at national level, the effects of these regulatory mechanisms might be measured.

Consideration should also be given to the possibility of including data on other indicators mentioned in Recommendation Rec (2003) 3 and which have not been included in the present surveys, namely:

- the percentage of women and men in the decision-making bodies of political parties;
- and the percentage of women and men members of employer, labour and professional organisations and in their decision-making bodies.

Such data would provide the opportunity to enlarge the scope of analysis to a more comprehensive picture of balanced participation in decision-making in other social and economic domains of public life, beyond political life and the specific domains of public life already considered.

An analysis of other aspects of a qualitative nature would also be necessary, namely following the corresponding monitoring guidelines included in the recommendation. According to these guidelines, information should be provided on the following aspects:

- whether any independent body (parity observatory, mediation body or any other structure) has been established with a view to monitor the national policy to achieve the aims of the recommendation; or whether the national equality machinery has been specifically tasked with this responsibility;
- whether reports have been submitted to national parliaments on the measures taken and progress made and whether these reports have been published and widely disseminated;

- any analysis undertaken on the visibility and portrayal of women and men in national news and current affairs programmes, especially during election campaigns.

All these aspects, included in the recommendation's guidelines, are requirements for an effective monitoring and should be included in a comprehensive analysis of progress made, first at national level and subsequently at European level.

As is widely known, monitoring requires, as a first step, the gathering of data and information, which is followed by the analysis of their evolution. An equally important stage, however, is that of reflexion on these data and the awareness-raising of their significance, in terms of trends arising or persisting, of difficulties and obstacles detected and of the necessary solutions to respond to the problems, in order to achieve the objectives proposed by Recommendation Rec (2003) 3.

For this reason, the analysis of the national situations by the member states themselves, if undertaken beyond the mere gathering of data, and again on the basis of common criteria, would bring an added value and a more substantive contribution to the global analysis at European level, to be undertaken on the basis of these national evaluations.

A European evaluation of progress, based on these national exercises, might be extremely interesting and might illustrate global developments, both from quantitative and qualitative points of view, not relying on a static picture of two points in time only, but rather on a dynamic and more complex view of developments at national level.

This line of action, while leading to a greater involvement of the member states themselves, might also become a driving force for further committed action at national level to achieve the final aim of the recommendation: to guarantee that women and men are equal participants in the running of the community of which they are members, be it the national, regional or local community, and to guarantee that they are equally entitled representatives of the same community, such participation and representation being duly considered as a matter of full enjoyment of human rights.

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