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Gender, Law and Institutions

EDITOR

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UNESCO Chair in Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, University of Cyprus

Editors in Chief

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FOREWORD

The publication contains the proceedings of the third International Conference of the UNESCO Chair in Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, held at the University of Cyprus on the 21st – 22nd November 2014. The conference was organized by the UNESCO Chair in cooperation with the department of Law of the University of Cyprus. The conference was titled "Gender, Law and Institutions", and focused on the gender-based discrimination, which is often manifested in the laws, policies, institutions and practices of many countries and cultures of the world.

All papers presented during the Conference underwent a peer review and those deemed fit for publication are featured in this volume. The purpose of this publication is to gather data, arguments, views and opinions presented by authors who although come from various academic disciplines, are interested in the intersection of gender, law and institutions.

The content of this volume sheds light on various challenges related to gender, law and institutions, such as gender-based workplace challenges, female migration and domestic labor, gender stereotyping in the media, gender equality in academia, court decisions related to gender and sex discrimination, gender-based violence and policies.

During the conference two symposiums took place. During the first symposium on Gender and Media the results of a national project titled "*The profile of women politicians in the Mass Media of Cyprus: A gender-based analysis*" coordinated by the UNESCO Chair and funded by the Cyprus Research Promotion Foundation were presented. The results of this project are included in this publication in chapter 17, in particular. The second symposium concerned the subject of Femicide in Cyprus. During this symposium the results of an empirical study of lethal domestic violence (2001-2014) were presented by Professor Andreas Kapardis.

Contributed papers included in this volume are organized in the following sections: a) Gender, Policies and Media; b) Gender and Employment; c) Gender, Research and Higher Education; d) Gender and the Courts; e) Gender, Policies and Justice; f) Gender, Human Rights, Attitudes, and Professional Identities; g) Symposium on Gender and Media.

I take this opportunity to thank all participants attended the Conference, the partners, collaborators, and friends of the UNESCO Chair in Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment of the University of Cyprus for their manifest interest in, and commitment to, combating all forms of gender discrimination in the social, political and economic context, especially in cases where vulnerable individuals, such as migrant workers or housewives, suffer the consequences of gender inequality in multiple ways.

Dr Mary Koutselini
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INFORMATION ABOUT THE UNESCO CHAIR IN GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CYPRUS

The UNESCO Chair in Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment at the University of Cyprus was established in 2009 with the aim to provide a new paradigm on how common problems faced by the populations of the region can be addressed through the gender perspective. In particular, the Chair's objectives are as follows:

Development Objective (long-term)

The Development Objective of the Chair (long-term) is to:

- Promote an integrated system of research, training, information and documentation activities in the field of women and gender studies in all the partnership's countries, as well as in the European and International level, and sensitize policy makers, the public, the mass media, the government and the private employees and employers in the issues of gender mainstreaming and quality in equality.

Specific Objectives (short-term)

The Specific Objectives of the Chair are to:

- Set up research-product guidelines, standards for all the indicators of gender mainstreaming as described in the Roadmap for Equality between Women and Men (Commission of the European Communities, 2006);
- Insert the gender dimension in all the training and educational centers and institutions of higher, secondary and primary education in Cyprus and in the participating countries by developing a model curriculum and the relevant teaching aids (including computer-based instruction) in the field of gender studies;
- Create and disseminate 'good practices' for effective qualitative interventions that promote gender mainstreaming and quality in equality;
- Strengthen links and communication with existing women's studies chairs and networks.

To achieve its objectives, the Chair undertakes an integrated system of research, training, information and documentation activities in the field of women and gender studies.

In this context, institutions, academicians, GOs and NGO's in Europe, the Balkans and Middle East, with respect to cultural diverse, combine their efforts through the UNESCO Chair for the promotion of gender equality.

The partnership is as follows:

Institutions of Higher Education

1. Università di Roma Tre – Department of Sciences of Education, Italy

2. Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, Portugal
3. University of Lisbon, Portugal
4. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain
5. University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Slovenija
6. University of Oradea, Romania
7. University of Patras, Greece
8. University of Presov, Slovak Republic
9. National Technical University «Kharkiv Polytechnic Institute», Ukraine
10. Institute in social sciences and humanities research – "Euro-Balkan", Skopje
11. Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World (IWSAW), Lebanese American University, Beirut, Lebanon
12. University Paul-Valéry Montpellier III, France
13. University of Oulu, Finland
14. University of Western Macedonia, Greece
15. Escola Superior de Educação/Instituto Politécnico de Santarém, Portugal
16. Department of Educational Sciences, European University Cyprus
17. Riga Teacher Training and Educational Management Academy, Latvia
18. Instituto Superior de Educação e Ciências (ISEC), Portugal

GOs

19. Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus, Ministry of Education and Culture, Cyprus
20. The Office of the Commissioner for Administration (OMBUDSMAN), Cyprus
21. Parliamentary Committee on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women, Cyprus
22. Cyprus Radio Television Authority
23. National Machinery for Women's Rights, Ministry of Justice and Public Order, Cyprus
24. Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance, Cyprus

NGOs

25. Cyprus Gender Equality Observatory, Cyprus
26. Cyprus Gender Research Centre, Cyprus
27. Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, Cyprus
28. "Eurasia Art Collective", Turkey

Individual

29. Reza Eslami Somea, The Center for Human Rights, Peace and Democracy, Faculty of Law, Shahid Beheshti University, Iran
30. Fatima Sadiqi, University of Fez, Morocco
31. Eleni Zachou, The National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

The Chair is also a member of the Global Network of UNESCO Chairs on Gender.

The University of Cyprus and its partners on Gender Equality and Empowerment aim at functioning not only as a centre of excellence for local development on gender empowerment and collaboration, but also as a

dynamic pole of synergy among chairs, networks, and working groups for the achievement of the UNESCO's objectives regarding the overarching global priority of gender equality. The Chair's partnership is carefully designed to contribute to North – South and South – South collaboration, regardless of geographical locations, for the promotion of a creative dialogue and mainstream anticipation of problems and negative attitudes in the socio-economic, educational, and political sphere. From this point of view, the partnership seeks to diagnose the real needs of each region and to act as a creative think tank that supports the development of local poles for the elimination of the theory praxis divide in gender equality and empowerment.

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KEYNOTE SPEECH

FEMINISM, GOVERNMENTALITY AND THE CRITIQUE OF LAW

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Forgetfulness and Memory in Feminist Legal History

Why it is that so many different men and learned men amongst them have been and are so inclined to express both in speaking and in their treatises and writing so many wicked insults about women and their behaviour?

Christine de Pizan – *The Book of the City of the Ladies*

It won't do to have TRUTH and JUSTICE on our side; we must have LAW and LAWYERS.

Caroline Norton (1854)

We are here, not because we are law-breakers; we are here in our efforts to become law-makers.

Emmeline Pankhurst (21 October, 1908.
Speech in Bow Str. Magistrate's Court)

Women's commitment to challenging patriarchal social and cultural institutions along with the intellectual traditions that support them is by no means an invention of modern times. It is not simply coincidental with struggles for suffrage and equal rights, as has often been argued, and its initial expression is certainly not to be found in Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of the Ladies*, often heralded as the first truly feminist text in the Western tradition. In fact, there is a long and rich history of women's critical responses to their differential treatment, one that precedes and continues de Pizan's contribution and which stretches from writings by medieval nuns and Renaissance literary women, through numerous 17th and 18th century treatises, to include the vast array of contemporary feminist texts.

What distinguishes women's early writings from those of modernity is the nature of the response to the plight of their sex. Whilst de Pizan and other women of the times wrote defences wherein they sought to counteract arguments that sustained women's inferiority, the modern responses to the ills of womanhood were not simply aimed at engaging in an 'intellectual battle'. Instead they were directed at steps to change and improve the social position of women, and sought to do so through the use of law. This latter approach is that which we are now so familiar with and which we identify so closely with feminism. Hence, not only do we believe the origins of the

contemporary feminist legal project to lie in the nineteenth-century struggles for women's equality and civil rights, but also in the beginnings of a tradition of feminist legal thought, in the form of a feminist jurisprudence to be similarly located (Smart 1991). In the nineteenth century, just as today, the feminist critical response was more than reactive and oppositional. It was not limited to merely exposing the structures of social, cultural and political institutions that are oppressive to women. Most importantly, it was also correctional; it sought to put right whatever it demonstrated as being wrong.

What lies at the heart of all these feminist endeavours is a belief in the power of law to alter social conditions; a belief in a politics of legal reform. Conceptually, modernity's feminist project in law is premised upon a dichotomy between law and society, with its critical thrust directed at the exploration and analysis of the interrelationship between the legal norm and women's reality, and its key objective the generation of propositions of alternative legal norms that benefit women in the hope that changes in law will effect changes in their social condition.

This overwhelming concern with the alleviation of women's social oppression through 'curing' the ill effects of law has impelled feminist legal scholarship towards an engagement with the present. Yet, in so doing, it has also shaped its understanding of what a history of 'women and law' should look like. Consequently, feminist legal history has been predominantly concerned with the relationship of women and law in modernity; namely the period beginning with the nineteenth century struggles for suffrage and equal rights, and reaching down to the present day. Here the threads connecting past and present are the persistent empirical truth of law's disadvantageous treatment of women, and women's continuing active resistance manifested in their quest for legal change, with the narration of this relationship taking the form of a linear progressive history of women's words and deeds with reference to law. Divided into different phases or waves, it is marked by a rather heroic understanding of the past as the repository of women's struggles for equality before the law, and by an optimistic, if somewhat messianic, view of the future as a qualitatively better place for women. This is not to suggest that historical studies of law and women in the distant past are not to be found; rather, it is that their value is largely exhausted in providing evidence of the ways in which law oppresses, disempowers, excludes, discriminates or disadvantages women. As such, they are seen to be of little worth in aiding feminist attempts to reform the present. Such a valorisation of a feminist critique in law, which is expected to precipitate reconstructive *praxis*, leaves little or no room for a historical inquiry that traces a tradition of feminist legal thought. Consequently, there is no readily discernible story of a feminist tradition of legal thought, and modern critical practices of feminist legal scholarship are virtually devoid of such inquiry. However, a closer look at women's intellectual traditions reveals such a history to be present.

The earliest known written statements specifically connecting law with women's social subjugation are to be found in the late 16th and 17th centuries; scattered amongst diverse literary genres: including plays, poems, religious meditations, novels, declarations on women's nature and education, tracts on marriage, and

in political, legal and historical treatises of the times. Collectively they form part of the so-called *querelle des femmes* and can be thought of as constituting the first feminist legal discourse. This discourse primarily addressed the status of women within marriage, which, though widely portrayed as a contract freely entered into by free subjects, established an irrevocable hierarchical authority of the male that neither party could alter. The simple assumption was that in entering marriage the female willingly placed herself in subjection to her abler and stronger husband, and that the father's or husband's will took precedence in all matters of "Common Government" (Gouge, 1622, p. 337). Moreover, as the sole agent naturally endowed with the rights of liberty and property, and as the single 'person representative' of the family in the body politic, it was he and he alone who could be a true citizen and sanction authority of government, both over himself and his family (Hobbes, 1651/1991, pp. 155-6).

Female authors vehemently attacked this view, giving vent to the miseries of the marital state and to the grimness of the female condition therein. They described women as consumed by familial roles, oppressively confined to the domestic sphere, and alternatively portrayed marriage as a wretched condition for women, a "time of Tryal", or the price she had to pay for being born female (Astell, 1700/1986, p. 115).¹ The marital state was presented in a most uncompromising manner, depicting the conjugal knot as a noose tightly drawn about the woman's neck, married life as a "snare", "trap" or "prison" (Ezell, 1987, pp. 106-109) and even death itself as a "far happier condition" (Cavendish, 1668, p. 181). Earnestly rejecting the contention that women's legal subjugation to their husbands provided neutral evidence of a natural order, these writers rejected the cause as Divine will, reason, nature, or contract and consent, and posited instead men's exercise of power over women derived from barbarous custom (Makin, 1673/1980) or an act of violent subjugation at the dawn of human history, and which subsequently had been sustained by man-made institutions and, most significantly, by law (Drake, 1696/1993, pp. 18-19).

In refuting the conventional ordering of the sexes exhibited by law, women attacked the doctrine of immemorial origin that accorded it authority. Contesting the view that law was a unified, permanent and unchangeable whole, and, positing an act of forcible subjection by men as the real root of the contemporary social order, they set the existence of the current legal rules within an ethical argument about the quality of law's origin. This assault on law's provenance cast aside the doctrine of immemorial origin, reducing it from an objective measure of justice to just another argument employed by

¹ See also M. Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Orations of Diverse Sorts, Accomodated to Diverse Places* (2nd ed) (London: A. Maxwell, 1668a); A. Finch Countess of Winchilsea, "The Unequal Fetters", in M. Ferguson ed., *The F.I.R.S.T. Feminists* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1691/1985), 252; M. Chudleigh, "The Ladies Defence: or a Dialogue Between Sir John Brute, Sir William Loveall, Melissa and a Parson", in M.J.M. Ezzel ed., *The Poems and Prose of Mary, Lady Chudleigh* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1701/1993), 15-40; S. Fyge Egerton (1703). "The Emulation", in *Poems on Several Occasions, together with a pastoral* (London: J. Nutt, 1703), 108-9.

men (Astell, 1700/1986, p.85).² In so doing, it initiated a view of law according to which it could be divided into positive law and ideal law, and thereby established a clear distinction between man-made and natural or divine law and also enabled women to turn their attention towards law as a normative system bereft of an ethical basis. Law could now be seen as much more an intentional human practice; as a male-orientated and controlled institution, and as one instituted by men (More, 1674-85/1987, p. 63; Drake, 1696/1993, pp. 20-21). A twofold understanding of law consequently arose. On the one hand, it was seen to operate as a system of normative rules contrary to justice and ethics, to nature - even reason itself - and as one which attested to the oppressive nature of marital practices carefully contrived to: "... empower ye Man & enslave the Woman" (More, 1674-85/1987, p. 198). On the other hand, it was regarded, both in terms of origin and formal constitution, as a distinct social institution whose prescriptive authority, standing at the junction between the private and public spheres, represented men's unassailable power over women in the former, and women's exclusion from the latter: "Men are possessed of all Places of Power...they make Laws and exercise the Magistracy...Who shall contend with them?" (Astell, 1700/1986, p. 85).

The unearthing of this history has gone largely unnoticed by feminist legal scholars: and so too has its significance for today's feminist project in law. In excavating this forgotten history of women and law, and in placing it alongside the dominant account of feminist legal history, my intention is neither to present a better, fuller, or more accurate history of the feminist engagement with law, nor to be critical of extant feminist legal history. Rather, I wish to explore what difference it might make to our contemporary thinking about law and women, once what has been obliterated is brought to sight. In other words, I wish to use this forgetfulness and remembrance as a point of departure for a fruitful reflection upon the current status of contemporary feminist legal discourse and its critique of law.

Law, Inclusion and Critique

The first feminist discourse on law stands in marked contrast to that which arose in modernity. Whilst the latter was entirely orientated towards a politics of legal change, the former entailed no demand for or even a simple reference to the reform of the laws oppressive to women. This absence of propositions for legal reform is even more impressive when it is realised that many of the women who articulated radical critiques of law at the time were involved in political movements that themselves were demanding reforms of laws, other than those affecting women, for example the law of debt and laws supporting the political liberties of men. Emmeline Pankhurst's 20th century 'audacity' in declaring that women should be able to become lawmakers, would have been unimaginable for those women in the 17th century who wrote critically about law. This is not to suggest there were no calls for resistance in this first feminist legal discourse; rather that these were formed around priorities other

² See also C. Lougee, (1976). *Le Paradis des Femmes*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 19.

than legal change. Located at what is usually referred to as 'early modernity,' this discourse reflected a medieval view of the world.

Medieval thought apprehended the world as constituted by distinct spaces of human association, namely marriage, family, and the political community (*civitas*). These spaces were neither opposed to one another, nor ordered in terms of temporal progression, but together formed an organic whole wherein they coexisted harmoniously as different forms of community. Though all were considered human creations, each had its own end and they were all seen as natural, insofar as they originated in and served the natural inclinations of humankind. So whilst the naturalness of marriage and the family were seen as responses to instinctual, biological and economic necessities, that of the supreme community of citizens, the body politic, lay in the pursuit of higher moral rather than personal ends.

According to this understanding, law, as rule and measure of human action, provided the mechanism by which each form of society assured its aims; although clearly it was not the same law or legal authority in all societies. In the first union Adam ruled Eve with his wisdom; and, as Paul (1 Cor. 11:3) taught, Christ was the head of man, and man head of woman, and so the husband wielded authority in the ensuing family union.³ By contrast, enacted law was promulgated and enforced in the *civitas* which bore no relationship with the rule of the father. Instituted by natural reason in accord with divine law, a husband's or father's rule was qualitatively different from positive law in terms of jurisdiction, form, and justice.⁴ Law 'proper' was first and foremost an ordinance promoting the common good, and only positive law, whose *raison d'être* was the pursuit of wellbeing for all, commanded this status. Reference could be made to the 'common good' of a marital or familial union, but here the 'good' concerned specific members of that specific form of society, not the citizenry as a whole, for these forms were regarded as imperfect since they were grounded upon bodily or blood ties created by nature rather than the artificial bonds of positive law authorised by the people or sovereign. As such they were also of lesser moral excellence in relation to the whole, being mere spaces of 'private' status wherein governance of one individual, whether articulated as admonition, or as following custom or command, lacked the proper force of positive law. So the associated justice dispensed, in being of individual will and thus arbitrary, did not even remotely resemble that which the judge personified and the sovereign guarded.

Acknowledged as a natural rather than a legal person, a woman's life fell under the jurisdiction of natural law, with her marriage, save the proprietary aspects of it, regulated by the *ius gentium*, simply requiring the free consent of both spouses and an exchange of vows (*Institutes* 1.2.1; Stone, 2001:17).⁵

³ For a discussion of this apprehension of family as safeguarding property, see Shaw (1987: 9-12).

⁴ For a discussion of the qualitative differences between paternal rule and that of positive law, especially in the context of the work of Marcellius of Padua, see Nederman (1995: 29-48).

⁵ There is a controversy about the nature of marriage in the middle ages. See Duby (1978: 1-25), Cartlidge (1997: 5-21) and Brooke (1989: 39-41). It is also generally

Similarly, her familial conduct, duties and obligations were deemed to be regulated by custom, the Christian code of ethics, and the will of her husband or father. This regulation, which, though received from Roman law, in having been Christianized had come to be accepted as grounded in natural reason's ability to comprehend the essential nature of the two sexes so that even when woman became the subject of academic commentary in the discipline of law, she was still denied any juridical status: with only the issue of her ability to succeed to kingdom, title or property, being debated (Maclean, 1980:70-3). Subject to the 'private' rule of the father or husband within the family, womanhood had no place in the *corpus politicum et morale* and its law.⁶

Because women could not and therefore did not regard themselves as members of a legal or political community the question of their exclusion from either did not arise. Marriage and the family were simply believed to have come into being to satisfy primarily bodily and material needs - the impulses to subsist and propagate - and the political community, the *corpus politicum et morale*, the accepted means through which humanity's ultimate telos (the common good), was to be pursued. The central question for women, therefore, was not whether they should be included in the public domain and its institutions, but how within the spaces allocated to them they might gain some 'freedom' from the rule of the father or husband. Hence a politics of legal reform had no place in their writings. Instead critics warned against the harms that the marital state held for their sex, or, in the case of the most radical voices, called for women to avoid marriage altogether and advocated the founding of female communities in which women could live in companionship with one another free from such ties.⁷

It was not until the old universe of the middle ages began to be broken down that the intellectual conditions arose for women to be able to demand inclusion in the community of men. These were precipitated by the 17th century rise of social contract theory and the impact of its progeny in the form of the philosophy of liberal individualism. Such theoretical apprehensions of humanity enabled the organic complementarity of marital, familial and political/legal associations to be broken and their juridification under the shared governance of positive law, to take place. The social contract theorists provided new understandings of the fundamental entities and structures of social existence, as well as the nature of and necessity for social change. And despite their differences, they all shared a common vision; a secular, safe, orderly, and tenable world, and a society

accepted among scholars of medieval marriage that there was considerable uncertainty as to what was required for the proper constitution of a valid marriage: see Brooke (1989: 39-41), Stone (2001: 16) and, for the English context, Stone (2001:17-32).

⁶ On the notion of the body politic, see Hale (1971: 18-68) and on women and their relation to the body politic metaphor, see Cavarero (2002: 99-120). In the many representations of the body politic that abound in theological, moral and political treatises of the medieval period, neither the family nor women as a social group find a place.

⁷ See, for example, the city of ladies, Mary Atell's proposition for an all female school and the benguines...

wherein free, equal and autonomous selves coexisted governed by rules to which all had consented. According to the classic texts the original contract regulating relations between men and women had been neither social nor political. It had been that of marriage, a sexual contract that belonged to the order of the natural and that preceded the social one and according to which women, voluntarily relinquishing their autonomy along with any prior freedoms or rights they had possessed, had willingly subjected themselves to men, thus consenting to their exclusion from the political and legal domains.⁸ This demarcation between, on the one hand, a natural mode of being associated with the space of family life and, on the other, an artificial one contingent upon human volition and associated with the order of the social gave rise to two distinct and oppositional modes of social being, each thought to be fit for the female and the male sex, respectively.

Contemporary feminist re-readings of the idea that the social contract formed the basis for political association challenged the previously well-established representations of modern democratic society as a post-patriarchal social and political order. They contended instead that women neither consented to the original social contract nor to the sexual contract said to have preceded it. Here, the very evocation of the notion of social contract was seen to sustain a veneer of equality that masks real and continuing structural inequalities between the sexes and to thereby represent much of women's continuing social misery as 'consensual'. In particular, feminists explored the conceptual links between the paradigmatic political, legal and moral arrangements prescribed by seventeenth century civil philosophies and their contemporary, liberal progeny. They argued that the same misogynistic assumptions about sexual difference and the social ordering of men and women that had marked pre-modern thought re-emerge within the rationalities legitimating contemporary political, juridical and ethical understandings. In so doing, through referencing what it has seen as a single, uninterrupted textual tradition, feminist scholarship was able to establish clear lines of thought connecting that which is deemed modern and liberal with what is believed to belong to a patriarchal past.⁹

Yet feminist inquiry did not remain within the abstract or the textual level. In identifying intimate connections between the modern political, philosophical and juridical rationalities, their patriarchal antecedents and contemporary social institutions, practices, and relations, it painstakingly scrutinised the empirical implications of such connections, especially in relation to women's social reality.¹⁰

⁸ Pateman's original, radical, and highly influential analysis introduces the notion of the sexual contract in the book of the same name (Pateman, 1988).

⁹ There is considerable literature which discusses the validity of the contractarian tradition and the emancipatory possibilities it may hold for women. Some, for example, Hampton (1993) and Sample (2002), take a 'pro-contract' position. Others, notably Pateman (1988), argue against this. For a discussion as to whether feminists can benefit from this tradition, see Richardson (2007).

¹⁰ For a discussion of the relationship between feminism and the discipline of politics, see Evans (1986), Pateman (1989: 1-16), Phillips (1992) and Squires (1999: 1-22).

Why, feminist scholars asked, do institutions and practices claiming to embody gender-neutral norms remain conducive to women's dependency and subordination? Furthermore, how is it that concepts such as: equality, rights, obligations, contract, consent, private and public - concepts that have been valorised as the building blocks of the social and believed to secure universal equality and individual freedom - are so closely linked to policies and practices that are oppressive for women?

In attempting to answer these questions feminists turned their attention to the social and, treating it as form of 'text', offered a reading through an examination of women's daily lives. In short, they posited women's social experience as their starting point and as a yardstick against which these institutions, practices, modes of thought, concepts and principles, should be measured. Not surprisingly, they found them severely wanting. The persistence of unequal relations between men and women in the family, wherein women remained 'natural' subordinates of men, the structural inequalities between the sexes still marking the public sphere - in particular, in the worlds of labour and politics - and, women's continuing sexual differentiation and invisibility in the courts, were all seen as indisputable testimony in support of this claim. Once women were properly added to the equation therefore, the belief that the rise of the seventeenth century civil philosophies had dealt a fatal blow to the medieval acceptance of social hierarchies as natural, could no longer be regarded as credible. Rather, the continued evocation of the liberating potential of the ideas these philosophies had bequeathed should be seen as a myth; little more than a ploy designed to 'trick' women into believing themselves equal to men whilst excusing the continuing inequalities between the sexes as essentially 'consensual' (Pateman, 1988: 221).

What therefore had begun as an interrogation of the place and function of sexual difference in past texts and in their modern progeny was brought to bear upon a critical understanding of contemporary forms of social civic and political organisation and the manner in which they affect real women. This was an understanding that disrupted the apparent harmony between the 'ought' and the 'is', between the blueprint - the vision of society that the liberal tradition champions - and its empirical application. In coalescing past and present, the conceptual with the empirical, the imaginary with the pragmatic, and the 'textual' reality of women with their social reality, feminist scholarship offered a critical commentary on the dominant system of liberal social values and norms in modern Western democracies. In so doing, it introduced a powerful hermeneutics of women's present. Located in the discursive opening between the 'how things ideally ought to be' and 'how things actually are', this feminist hermeneutics grounded its persuasive force and critical edge in the supposition of exclusion and continuity, or to put it more precisely, in the exclusion of women and the continuity of this exclusion through time. And what was seen as constituting the emblematic form of exclusion, in that it fuelled all the others, was women's non-participation in the original political 'moment'. This was the moment at which the pact instituting order and society was entered into, the ethical, political and social bonds uniting the parties to it were established, and the gifts of

liberal subjectivity, freedom and agency, thereby bestowed (Pateman 1988; 1989).

If it was textual scrutiny that brought to light the exclusion of women from the story of the 'social contract' and led in turn to the exposition of their absence from the representational systems constitutive of the social imaginary, it was observation of and reflection upon women's experience that revealed the exclusion of real women from social institutions and practices, from the public domain, law, politics and the economy. Hence an apprehension of women's exclusion in a double form, at once both conceptual and pragmatic, became the lifeline of the theoretical and normative critiques nurtured by feminist hermeneutics and by the feminist politics these critiques helped shape.¹¹ With exclusion being the operative word feminist analysis turned its attention to a closer examination of the 'why' and 'how' of these ills of womanhood; and it was in formulating answers to these questions that feminist analysis turned to law. Feminist scholars came to consider the liberal legal order as the primary social arrangement manifesting the full complexity of women's exclusion. Yet, despite these shared assertions, different disciplinary orientations adopted different topics of concern and directions of inquiry.

In valorising the passage from the state of nature to civil society, feminist scholarship ascribed primacy to women's exclusion from the civic order and its law; readily acknowledging that in its aftermath the fate of womanhood is sealed such that female existence is relegated to the first component of the natural/civil dyad, and thereafter to the private/public, advocated by the philosophy of liberal individualism, that came to replace it (Pateman 1988:11; Richardson 2011). True, the concept of exclusion has not been employed in a singular and uniform way in the feminist literature: there having been differing types, degrees, and intensities of exclusion described at different times. Yet whatever the specific meaning has been this has always described an exclusion from somewhere, whether this be: a place, domain, sphere of activities or practices; a field of knowledge; or, a group of categories, meanings or statements populating the space of a discourse or specific text. And whether this space is perceived as conceptual or as a pragmatic, empirical one, the exclusion is never posited as an eviction. It is understood not as a forcible ejection from within a space previously occupied, and hence seen neither to be the result of an ousting, an overthrow, nor defeat. Instead, it is posited as an unjust denial of entry, and thus as absence to be made presence.

The rise of liberal individualism in the 19th century and its promise that all people, men and women are of equal worth, all have the same right to live a 'good life' and that all people must be treated equally by law, provided additional evidence of the historical exclusion of women from social and political institutions.¹² This valorisation of exclusion is further intensified by

¹¹ See Thiele (1986).

¹² This is reflected in debates about the 'social contract', which has engaged with questions such as: how to fully include women in the political sphere and its law; whether this is possible given the conditions of the social contract, real or symbolic;

the perceived continuity between 19th century women's campaigns for equality and suffrage and those continuing struggles for equality in our modern times.

What therefore emerges as a central question driving feminist thought and politics has been how this exclusion is to be 'put right': how inclusion may be effected. Anticipation of inclusion directs the feminist gaze and feminist politics toward the future and it is here that the choice of a politics of legal reform as the primary strategy for achieving this inclusion emerges. Here, feminism's time emerges not only as that of the present, the moment of occurrence or realisation of exclusion, but most importantly, as future time always bearing hope of progress towards achievement of the inclusion being sought. The past has little or no place in this forward-looking feminism, and, if mentioned at all, is only discussed in order to vindicate how previous suffering and struggles further validate progressive moves for inclusion.

Epilogue

In questioning the well-versed loci of the continuity of exclusion of the female sex, my intention has not been to deny either their existence or significance. Rather, it has been to challenge its inevitability and its effects by asking the question: Is a politics of inclusion that is materialized through a politics of legal change the only credible feminist project in law – and if so, then what might be its unintended effects?

The notion of inclusion, and by this I mean inclusion in social and political institutions, has been at the very heart of women's quest for legal change. One of the earliest documents expressing this desire, Olympe de Gouge's Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Female Citizen (1791), details those institutions from which women are excluded and demands their inclusion in the same manner as men. This emphasis on inclusion reveals an almost unquestionable faith in these institutions and, I would argue, in the traditions these institutions are associated with. What is key therefore is not the nature and function of the institution we women ask to be included in, but the very fact of inclusion. The demand for inclusion per se ignores the question: inclusion in what? But even if a certain questioning does occur, the faith in the institution is not compromised. Indeed, the belief that the participation of women in any institution will act to correct that which has been diagnosed as being wrong with it, rather strengthens than undermines the institutions' significance and utility. Yet this demand for inclusion, a demand which, as I have argued, is historically specific, has necessitated and elevated a politics of legal change as the most important politics of the feminist project in law today. Unearthing the presence of a different legal history and a different politics about law not only casts doubt as to the

and, whether this contract and the law it institutes can be reformed or renegotiated, or instead needs to be re-written in its entirety. For example, see Pateman (1988: 219-33), Smart (1989: 160-5), Whitford, 1991: 175-77), Wittig, 1992:44-5), Drakopoulou (2008) and Van Marle (2012).

inevitability of such a politics, but also allows a reflective look into their effects.

Couched as it is in demands of inclusion, the politics of legal reform clearly implicates the female individual in structures that feminism has long and deeply criticized, namely institutions underpinned by liberal individualism. In so doing, such a politics also immerses women in an analytics of sameness that inevitably results in an explicit evocation or suppression of difference and as such this politics is always ridden with questions of power. To offer but one example: the campaigns of Victorian women for civil rights articulated arguments of sameness premised upon the unmarried and widowed women's ability to hold and manage property, and represented the female self as responsible and capable of self-government. However, this sameness was complemented and reinforced by arguments of difference suggesting that the granting of the vote to such women was not simply a matter of expediency and justice, but was primarily one of social utility because they could then assist in governing those other women who, either due to extreme poverty, 'moral depravity', or an origin in a 'lesser civilisation' of the Empire, were less fortunate or less favourably endowed than they.¹³ This reflective appreciation of a politics of legal reform as a politics nurturing unintended power relationships between women is not only a thing of the past, but gains particular resonance in our own times. For example, the normative knowledge that feminist experts provide as advisors to governments, states, international organisations and institutions in order to guide the choice of appropriate legal reforms for women, are necessarily predicated on a sameness nurtured by the Western values of liberal individualism. Accepting the feminist politics of legal reform as a politics of promoting normative standards – in short, as a process of female subjectification – can direct inquiry towards exploring this politics as 'the conduct of conduct' – as a social practice with the power to identify and individualize appropriate norms for the conduct of women.¹⁴ This practice does not merely claim the authority to communicate feminist truths of self-knowledge and knowledge of womanhood, but, in linking them to the State, binds techniques of the female self and techniques of self-government of women to techniques of government by the State.¹⁵ It is my contention that perhaps the most important contribution of the historical analysis I have offered is the unmasking of the close association of the politics of legal reform with power and governmental techniques of the state sustained by the overwhelming emphasis on a politics of inclusion.

¹³ See, for example, Becker (1874/1987), pp. 40-1; Wedgwood (1869), pp 279-283; Fawcett (1884/1987); Taylor (1867/1987); Power Cobbe (1874/1987). For a discussion of the relationship of Victorian feminists with the colonial female subject see Burton (1994), pp.127-169 and Caine (1997), pp. 123-131.

¹⁴ Foucault (1982, p 221a) uses this term in discussing the subject and power.

¹⁵ My argument here is that an exploration of the feminist politics of legal reform using Foucault's concept of governmentality may allow us to reflect critically upon our own politics. For a discussion of Governmentality, see Dean (1999), and Foucault (1994, 2007a).

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SECTION A:
GENDER, POLICIES AND MEDIA

GENDER – POWER RELATIONS IN THE MIGRANT WORKERS' FAMILIES IN UKRAINE

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Abstract

This paper highlights the problem of migrant families in Ukraine and deals with the main characteristics of the Ukrainian population migration abroad. The research traces the evolution of the social institution of the family in Ukraine and analyzes how it is varied and in what way family relationships have changed under the impact of migration processes in modern Ukrainian society. Special emphasis is placed on the transformation of the role of grandmother in the modern Ukrainian family. The results obtained through the in-depth interview technique indicate that in the modern Ukrainian family the grandmother starts playing the role of mother for children in the family. She can participate in economic, political, social, recreational, cultural and other activities and spheres of family life. Thus, the grandmother becomes an active member of the family; she can also be one of the first agents of the children's socialization. She influences them greatly and transmits certain values, traditions and customs to them. Thus the study permits us to specify more clearly the problems in the sphere of the migrant workers' families in the eastern part of the country and improve the overall employment and demographic situation in Ukraine today.

Keywords: gender, grandmother's role transformation, migrant workers' family, eastern Ukraine

Introduction

A lot of publications point out the crisis of the social institution of the family. However, researchers also underline that the family presents one of the basic traditional social institutions, which plays an important role in maintaining the reproduction of society, transfers its values and norms to a new generation and influences the general demographic situation in a country.

Speaking about the situation in Ukraine, it is important to emphasize, that the modern Ukrainian family can be defined as traditional, where patriarchal values have been dominating for several centuries. Currently the Ukrainian family is undergoing certain transformations: This applies to those regions of Ukraine, where a high percentage of migration abroad prevails in the structure of the country population. As a rule, such regions of Ukraine are the west and the east of the country. Therefore, the processes taking place in the migrant workers' families of these regions are particularly interesting for sociological research.

Research Methodology

Theoretical Background Overview

There are two aspects of theoretical background, which are important to the research: the first aspect concerns gender theory and its peculiarities. The second aspect deals with the study of gender relations in the modern Ukrainian family.

The object of the Ukrainian gender sociology traditionally is a female domain where gender-role, social-constructivism, and structural-constructivism concepts prevail (Kis, 2008). This is from a constructivist standpoint, by which one can mean a theoretical position which emphasizes the importance of internalized cognitive categories to perceive, understand, and interpret events, and oneself, and to organize social action (Gergen, 1999). Of course, it is not so impeccable and there are a lot of limitations concerning this approach. That is why it must be augmented by *grounded theory approach* where qualitative research using a constructivist grounded theory approach can make important contributions to research on the social structure while simultaneously addressing individuals' situations, views, and actions (Charmaz, 2013; 2009). The term "grounded theory" refers to a set of systematic inductive methods for conducting qualitative research aimed toward theory development. The described term possesses dual referents: (a) a *method* consisting of flexible methodological strategies and (b) the *products* of this type of inquiry. Increasingly, researchers use the term to mean the methods of inquiry for collecting and, in particular, analyzing data (Charmaz, 2013, p. 1). Charmaz argues that the methodological strategies of grounded theory are targeted to develop middle-level theories directly from data analysis. The scholar considers that the inductive theoretical trust of these methods is central to their logic (Charmaz, 2003, p. 440). The resulting analyses build their power on strong empirical foundations. These analyses provide focused, abstract, conceptual theories that explain the studied empirical phenomena. One can stress that it is namely the grounded theory approach which presents a research tool which enables us to seek out and conceptualize the latent social patterns and structures of a research area through the process of constant comparison (Grounded Theory Review, 2013).

Ukrainian Context. Local Background Overview

Thus, turning to the analysis of the labor migration abroad statistics concerning the Ukrainian population, it testifies that the first large-scale survey was conducted by the State Statistics Committee in 2001. It covered 18 thousand people of working age in eight regions of Ukraine and indicated an estimation of the amount of the temporary labor migration to 2.3 – 2.7 million, or 10% of the working population (Research in the field of migration: Ukraine, 2005).

Moreover, according to the data from the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine, obtained by analyzing the labor market, the amount of labor migration

abroad covers about 3 million people (The state and problems of legal and social status of modern Ukrainian migration, 2004).

In 2008, the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine questioned 22 thousand households throughout Ukraine, which included 48 thousand Ukrainians of working age. It was found, that for three years from 2005 to 2008 1.5 million Ukrainians had traveled at least once to find work abroad (External labor migration of Ukraine, 2009).

According to annual social monitoring data obtained by the Institute of Sociology of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the number of people who have the experience of labor migration is about 2.5 million people, which is more numerous than the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine indicates (Ukrainian society 1992-2008: a sociological monitoring, 2008).

However, the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy of Ukraine data testify the number of migrant workers from Ukraine covered 3-3.5 million people in 2008 (Parliament of Ukraine Committee on Human Rights, National Minorities and International Relations, 2010).

The survey conducted by the European Commission «Caritas International» reveals that about 4.5 million migrant workers from Ukraine were abroad in 2011, and 1.7 million of them worked in European countries (Kindler, 2005).

One can specify that the quantitative indicators of external migration range from 2 to 7 million people according to different sources, which have been presented above. This is due to the fact that many of the migrants from Ukraine work abroad without proper permission, being factually illegal migrants. And, unfortunately, the available data (Krauze, 2010) cannot show the total amount of migrants from Ukraine, but it allows us to identify the tendencies of migration and trace its structure.

The problem of migrant families in Ukraine deals with the main characteristics of the Ukrainian population migration abroad. There are significant shifts in gender-power and family-role relationships, which are caused by long-term migration processes.

As to the level of gender equality we can see that Ukraine occupies the 56th position among 142 countries in the world in 2014. Thus, Ukraine rises in eight lines at once compared with the global ranking in 2013. Ukraine is one of the 85 countries, which reduced the gap between rights and opportunities of the male and female populations according to the findings of the annual report «The Global Gender Gap Report 2014» (The Global Gender Report, 2014).

Ukraine is able to increase the total value of its own index (0.694 in 2013 against 0.706 in 2014). Thus, Ukraine is located between Croatia (0,708) and Poland (0.705) in the global rating. The Ukrainian index has risen due to the increase of women's participation in economic (0.743 vs. 0.748) and political (0.059 vs. 0.101) life. Simultaneously, absolute gender equality in

Ukraine has been reached only in the education access area (The Global Gender Report 2014 Ukraine, 2014).

This information indicates certain gender changes in Ukrainian society. In particular these changes concern the social institution of the family.

Moreover, the study of family structure and family relations from a sociological perspective is of high topicality for sociological theory and Gender Studies globally and locally. The social institution of the family has been dramatically changing for the last centuries. However, up to now it still represents the most important constituent of society – the reproduction of mankind. For our research we are particularly interested in tracing the evolution of this social institution and analyzing how it varies and in what way family relationships are changing under the impact of migration processes in current Ukraine.

One can mention that there are specific features of gender-power relations concerning the families of eastern and western parts of Ukraine: the members of such families often emigrate abroad to work either in Russia or in Poland. However, in the north, in the center and in the south of Ukraine the situation differs from the east or west. Such migration caused by the high level of unemployment in the country can greatly influence the nature and structure of gender and power relations within the Ukrainian family. Labor migration in the families of the eastern and the western regions of Ukraine can also lead to the transformation of gender roles in the migrant workers' families and result in the power balance shift within the family.

The analysis of family and gender relations transformation types becomes rather relevant for current sociological discourse. Some scholars argue that the Ukrainian family was bigger and more powerful before. For example, it provided the home for several generations' living simultaneously: father, mother and their children, also grandparents and even some other relatives. Nowadays researchers specify that these traditions are rooted in the past and were replaced by a nuclear family or simple family, which presents a home for only one generation: parents with their children. However, it is not common for each family, because a large part of Ukrainians have currently migrated abroad, and this has led to changes in the family, power, and gender relations in the country.

The study of relations in the migrant workers' families of Ukraine makes it possible to examine in detail how the institution of the family has developed and changed. Especially important in this context is the study of the realization of gender roles by each member of these families. It is significant also to trace how economic relations affect gender-power relations in the migrant workers' families in Ukraine.

Migrant workers, realizing definite family practices and engaging in certain role relationships with each other, demonstrate new formats of relationships and interactions of individuals, which are not appropriate for the families which share the same geographic and temporal spaces.

It is known that migrating in search for a better salary, parents (or one of them) often leave their family and their children under the care of grandparents (grandmother, grandfather or both). In this situation grandparents become parents for children. In other words, they begin to realize the role of parents for their grandchildren. Such changes entail the transformations in all spheres of family life: household, economic, cultural, psychological, economic, gender-power and others.

Traditionally, woman in Ukraine play the very important role of "homemakers", "keeper of the family nest *"beregín'ja"* (*house-keeper of family values and traditions*) (Kis, 2005). Therefore the grandmother becomes a very significant person in the migrant workers' families in Ukraine. If the mother migrates abroad, the grandmother occupies her place and performs her functions within the family. The grandmother can also take the place of a male in the family, in the case when the father migrates and someone has to act as the head of the family. Therefore, research of the migrant workers' families in Ukraine and the processes that take place within it are of high topicality currently for Ukrainian gender studies and gender sociology.

It is important to stress, that the role of the grandmother is under-researched in the sociological context. There are very few publications on this subject, especially concerning migrant workers' families. One of the studies of migrant workers' families and the role of grandparents in these families was conducted by Ukrainian scholar Oksana Kychak. The researcher reveals that parents delegate their functions and responsibilities of upbringing and care of children to their parents, i.e., grandparents most frequently. All family members change their traditional family and gender roles due to the reason of labor migration also. And this may directly affect the process of new generation socialization, namely the socialization of grandchildren (Kychak, 2012).

So it is necessary to investigate how the modern Ukrainian family is currently constructed and organized and to define its main features. One should pay special attention to the analysis of the role the grandmother plays within the family. In many Ukrainian families parents are very busy at work most of the day. Consequently, they often ask grandparents to look after their children and maintain their households. Therefore, the grandmother starts playing the role of mother for children in the family. She participates in the economic, political, social, recreational, cultural and other activities and spheres of family life.

Thus, the grandmother becomes an active family member; she can also be one of the first agents of the children's socialization. She influences them greatly and transmits certain values, traditions and customs to them. She teaches them also to choose a specific image and a definite lifestyle, forming children's worldviews and behavior.

Therefore, the *object* of our research focuses on the migrant workers' families in Ukraine and the *subject* covers the gender-power relations in these families.

The in-depth interview is used as a research tool. We exploit namely the qualitative methodology since we think it might add more comprehensive information to the research. The *in-depth interviews* were conducted in 2013 with the grandmothers from the migrant workers' families in the eastern part of Ukraine. 38 interviews from grandmothers were obtained.

The interview list contains the main blocks of themes facilitating to clarify the grandmother's gender role within the migrant worker's family structure. Also the power relations balance is examined in the families, where the grandmother became the householder and head of the family.

The blocks include the following items: demographics and questions concerning:

- grandmother's relationship within her children's family;
- grandmother's participation in the economic issues of the family;
- grandchildren's upbringing by grandmother;
- family power-balance.

The main objective of this research is to study specific features of the realization of the grandmother's role in the families of migrant workers locally.

Results and Discussion

The analysis of interviews reveals the following: As to the respondents' demographics one can note, that the grandmothers' age varies from 36 to 78 years old. Concerning participants' education there are only three grandmothers with higher education; 24 grandmothers with secondary special education and 10 grandmothers who had only primary education.

In addition, all grandmothers had either worked in the past or were still working now. They had obtained different vocational trainings. They were financially independent. Results testify also that among respondents only 6 out of 38 grandmothers permanently lived with their family, the other 32 persons lived separately.

The block of questions concerning grandmother's relationships with the family of her children

The research reveals that modern Ukrainian grandmothers are ambitious and rather initiative. They often impose their own thoughts to the other family members. They are rather conflictive, determinate and hard-working persons. These are some examples from the interviews:

«I want to say, that I have a very difficult character. Of course, I can be good, but I used to be as I like. That's why I advise everyone how and what to do in different circumstances, even if they do not ask me».

«Of course, I do not want to make trouble, but if I do not like something, then I become a volcano. I explode and cannot stop my emotions, words and actions. And I will tell you everything that I think about you. But then I quickly become cool, and all goes well again».

«The family is afraid of me, yet I think it's normal. I represent authority to them, I am the family leader, because I earn more than they do, and they must listen to me anyway».

The grandmothers act like the full-pledged third part in the relationships with their grandchildren, especially when their mothers and/or fathers are constantly absent. The grandmother starts playing the role of the more powerful member of the family, who controls power-balance relations within the family, and sustains the psycho-emotional climate in the family.

The research manifests that the relations in the migrant worker's family are rather complex and conflictive. They cover different patterns of the family relationship's structure beginning from the pattern of understanding, neutral relations to the patterns of confrontation and even conflict. Conflicts can arise when the grandmother cannot abandon the new role of the *third parent*, which she performs during the parents' absence. She used to be the head of the family and does not want to change anything.

The block of questions about grandmother's participation in the economic life of the family

Usually grandmothers not only receive a great deal of financial support from their children, yet they also add at least 50 percent of their salary or pension (30 grandmothers provide financial support) to the maintenance of the grandchildren. Furthermore, most of the grandmothers give pocket money to their grandchildren (36 grandmothers do it). Grandmothers can even give a certain amount every month to their children (20 grandmothers). Grandmothers living with the family of their children and grandchildren pay for some food, household goods, utilities etc. (six grandmothers). There are, of course, grandmothers that do not help financially (two grandmothers do not help anyway).

One of the most important and interesting aspect is the question of the money distribution in the family. In particular, who is engaged in family finance distribution or who saves money?

The research reveals that only a few grandmothers (two respondents) are in a subordinate position to any member of the family or to her husband in the financial area. The other grandmothers (36 respondents) usually control the family or their own budget. So children transfer money to their grandmother while they are in migration, and the grandmother accommodates them, and it is the personal matter of the grandmother to decide how to use the available sum of money.

The block of questions dealt with the raising of grandchildren by their grandmother

During the in-depth interviews one finds that grandparents are among those who live with the family (six grandmothers) or are sometimes (14 grandmothers) and even directly engaged in their grandchildren's upbringing. They impact them greatly in different aspects: moral, ethical, aesthetic, cultural through the transfer of family traditions, customs, telling family stories about their ancestors, as well as tales, legends, singing songs, reading works of poetry; spending the holidays with them: going to the sea, strolling in the wood, fishing or walking in city parks. Grandmothers actively influence the process of grandchildren's socialization, sharing their experience, communicating with their grandchildren, discussing various interesting topics, and helping them with their studies.

There are grandmothers (16 respondents) raising grandchildren who pay minimal attention, but they live separately from their grandchildren. These grandmothers often visit their grandchildren, take them to spend the night or spend holidays together. They also accompany their grandchildren to the kindergarten or school; buy them clothes and toys; amuse them during leisure holidays and weekends. Some of them also attend church together with their grandchildren, but they are not so numerous.

The last type of grandmothers (two respondents) is characterized by the fact that their participation in their grandchildren's upbringing is minimal. They rarely visit their grandchildren for various reasons. Their main orientation is that the grandmother must act as a sponsor, they help greatly in the financial sphere, but their visits to their grandchildren take place very seldom. Generally it happens only on family holidays.

The block of questions concerning power relationship structures in the family

Our research shows that there are grandmothers (21 respondents) who are usually listened to, there are grandmothers who are family leaders or possess authority over other family members; they may even be consulted and thus make the most important decisions in the family.

Yet, there are grandmothers (17 respondents) with whom other members do not consult, and they take a neutral or a subordinate position in the family. In addition to these, there are those grandmothers whose opinions are not significant for other members of the family, and in general they do not influence the important decision-making.

Summary

The results indicate that grandmothers increasingly occupy the dominant position in the migrant workers' family. They become heads of the family, work and earn money, participate in or impact directly on the family's life.

Moreover, such features as ambition, determination, straightforwardness, initiative, activity are inherent to the modern grandmothers' personality.

Thus, one can emphasize:

- Modern grandmothers often, but not always, carry out the functions and duties of the mother in the migrant workers' families of the eastern Ukraine;
- More than half of the grandmothers are influential and active agents of socialization for their grandchildren;
- Grandmothers take or influence important decisions in the family;
- Grandmothers usually help their children's families financially, but the factor of financial support depends on the grandmother's location (they live with their family or separately) and the peculiarities of the grandmothers' role in the family.

Based on the above it can be argued, that the modern migrant workers' families of the eastern region of Ukraine undergo transformation in their gender-power relations by changing the grandmother's role within the family. It affects precisely those aspects of family life, which could be attributed traditionally to the male domain. The changing role of the grandmother – especially its empowerment in the financial and power spheres – is not traditional for women in local society. So, step by step the modern grandmother becomes a powerful, ambitious, strong, and financially independent head of household, and a manager of the family budget. She is currently an active personality in Ukraine.

Limitations and Perspectives for Future Research

One can also consider that it would be useful to interview the other members of the family to research more specifically how each member of the family realizes his/her gender and family role and to depict its main features.

The deep interview method must be supported by a survey and other sociological research methods to validate the results obtained. Additionally, the number of samples must be increased regionally to cover the other parts of the country. Thus, one can plan to trace the influence of the regional factor on these issues and compare our data obtained in western and eastern parts of Ukraine.

Everything mentioned above must facilitate an examination of the distribution of social capital and symbolic power within the modern Ukrainian family. One can also speak about the current trends and transformations in the development of gender relations in the families of the migrant workers in Ukraine. And one can analyze what transformations will happen in the social institution of the family, study its peculiarities in functioning in different regions of our country, and specify the role of the grandmother in the migrant workers' family structure.

The study also allows a deeper understanding of the problems in the sphere of the migrant workers' families and improves the overall employment and demographic situation in current Ukraine.

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MEDIA REINFORCING PATRIARCHY IN POLITICS

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Abstract

Despite the political commitment on a European and a national level, politics remain a patriarchal and male-dominated area even in Europe. In the 28 member states of the EU women make up, on average, only 27% of the representatives in national parliaments (EU Justice, 2014). In Cyprus, the numbers of women in decision making positions are bleak, reaching only 12.5% - one of the lowest representations of women in Europe. The media play a vital role in reinforcing the patriarchal structure of politics by "maintaining the gender power relations that are hidden behind 'objective' media reporting" (Carter & Steiner, 2004). Drawing on the idea that the media do not simply mirror reality (Baudrillard, 1994; Gidengil & Everitt, 2003), this paper attempts to present and explore the ways in which the media in Cyprus have maintained, as well as reinforced, the unequal representation of women in politics in the light of EU elections 2009 and 2014.

Keywords: gender, politics, media, EU elections 2009 & 2014

Introduction

Politics remain a patriarchal and male-dominated area, even in Europe where gender equality is a fundamental principle. Despite the political commitment on a European and national level, gender imbalances still exist in politics since women make up only 27% of members of the national parliaments in the European Union. In Cyprus, we have one of the most patriarchal parliaments in Europe consisting of 47 male MPs and only 7 female MPs and in the Council of Ministers there is only one woman. These are just two numerical indicators of patriarchy in the public life of Cyprus' 'democracy'. Cyprus is among the three countries in the European Union that have the lowest representation of women in politics (EU Justice, 2014; House of Representatives, 2015). Feminist scholars have analyzed the nationalistic, militaristic and patriarchal nature of Cypriot society where women seem to have no place in decision making (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1987; Hadjipavlou, 2010). Patriarchy in politics does not stop at the underrepresentation of women or, in other words, in the overrepresentation of men; it goes beyond numbers. Statistically, when women enter politics the prevailing norms place them in less strategic and important roles in line with essentialist beliefs about 'women's nature.' (Walby, 2010).

Given the power the media have to shape social reality (Baudrillard, 1994; Gauntlett, 2008) we could assume that the media can be part of the solution by promoting gender equality (Kafiris, 2005) and gender balance in politics. It is proven that visibility in the media increases the chances for a candidate to get elected (Goldenberg & Traugott, 1987). Consequently, equal visibility

and the fair portrayal of women and men candidates could contribute towards gender equality in decision making. Unfortunately, the media miss this great opportunity. As the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP, 2010) showed, news stories about politics and governance are male-dominated on a global scale. Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996) introduced the notion of “gendered mediation” to describe the media’s support of men’s domination at all levels of social life. Gendered mediation is a useful tool to help us recognize that the media do not simply mirror the reality of gender inequality in politics; the media also play a vital role in the construction and reconstruction of it (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). “Media texts never simply mirror or reflect ‘reality’, but instead construct hegemonic definitions of what should be accepted as ‘reality’” (Cartner & Steiner, 2004:2).

Contemporary media theories recognize that the audience does not passively and uncritically accept media messages (Hall 1973, 1980). Rather, people, institutions and the media are in an ongoing dialogue to produce meaning and social reality (Gauntlett, 2008; Carter & Steiner 2004). In recent years the limits between media producers and media consumers are blurred. People have the means to produce media themselves through easy to use platforms such as social media networks (Gauntlett, 2008). Despite the changes towards an interactive and dialectic relationship between the audience and the media, we should never underestimate the power of the media to shape peoples’ perception of reality (Modleski, 1991; Baudrillard, 1994). As Modleski (1991:45) puts it: “even a cultural analyst may sometimes be a ‘cultural dupe’”. When it comes to politics, the media have even greater power to shape our perceptions since we rely almost solely on the media to gain information about what is going on in the political arena. Therefore, since we are not physically present there where important political discussions take place, our understanding of politics is a 100% mediated experience.

Methodology

Based on GMMP’s data it was assumed that the Cypriot media reinforced patriarchy in politics in the light of EU elections in 2014 and 2009. To check this hypothesis, a methodology was applied based on two main research questions: a) what was the percentage of female and male candidates represented in the media during the pre-election period? and b. how were female and male candidates portrayed in the media? A combined quantitative and qualitative approach was used to answer these research questions. In order to find out the percentage of female and male representation in the media, a simple method of counting was used drawing on the methodology of the Global Media Monitoring Project (1995-2010). The sample of the first media monitoring back in 2009 included 200 newspaper articles that were published in two newspapers, *Phileleftheros* and *Politis*. Those two newspapers were selected because, at the time, they had the highest readership rates according to RAI’s readership survey. In 2014 the sample included 100 articles from a broader range of newspapers and news portals: *Phileleftheros*, *Politis*, *Sigmalive*, *Kathimerini*, *Simerini*, *Alithia*, *Mahi*, *Offsite* and *OnlyCy*, as well as all the 27 TV programmes

dedicated to EU election 2014 which were aired by three TV stations in Cyprus: *CYBC*, *Antenna* and *Sigma*. The articles in both the research of 2009 and 2014 were randomly selected using the search engine on the electronic versions of the newspapers. The keyword in both cases was “ευρωεκλογές” “European Elections”. A qualitative check was applied to the articles in order to make sure that they included candidates. To understand how women were portrayed in the media, discourse analysis was used on a selection of articles and TV programmes.

The research methodology has obvious limitations. Firstly, we cannot assume that the results of those two pieces of research can be comparable since the sample was different. Also, the sample did not include other forms of media such as radio shows, social media, magazines etc. Given the power the media has to shape social reality, there is a need for sustainable and continuous gender and media research in order to monitor the representation and portrayal of women and men in the media.

Silencing the Voice of Women Candidates

Research both in 2009 and 2014 has shown a serious underrepresentation of women candidates. During the pre-election period, only 17.3% of candidates who were represented in the two main newspapers that were studied were women. In 2014 only 20% of candidates in newspapers and on TV shows dedicated to the EU elections were women, despite the fact that the percentage of women candidates was higher (23%). The absence of women candidates in the media can be interpreted as a silencing of women’s voices, which is a serious form of oppression (Fraser, 1991; Couldry, 2010). Also, the absence of women from the media decreases their chances of getting elected (Goldenberg & Traugott, 1987), thus maintaining the patriarchal structure of decision making in Cyprus and in Europe.

The Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies (MIGS) organized a series of consultations with stakeholders, including media and party representatives, in the framework of the “Parity Democracy for Europe” project that was coordinated by the Institute. The consultations aimed to facilitate the promotion of women in political decision-making. When the issue of women candidates being invisible in the media was brought up, party representatives placed the blame on the journalists by saying that they “specifically ask for male candidates to be interviewed”. While asking journalists why women candidates were disproportionately visible in the media, journalists blamed the parties for promoting the representation of male candidates. The unwillingness of both party representatives and media professionals to challenge patriarchy in politics was seemingly indicated by two things: the fact that neither party representatives nor journalists took responsibility for the gender imbalance in the media and in politics, plus the fact that the majority of them did not recognize that they played a key role in promoting gender balance in politics and had the ability to take positive measures.

Reinforcing Gender Stereotypes

The reinforcement of patriarchy in politics by the media goes beyond the overrepresentation of men in media. The reinforcement of gender stereotypes maintains and exacerbates existing inequalities (Connell, 1995). In many cases, both in 2009 and 2014, the media gave essentialist and stereotypical portrayals of women and men candidates. It is important to monitor the media in order to recognize and prove the existence of gender norms and stereotypes (Gallagher, 2004). The following paragraphs will describe the main stereotypes that were used in the media during the pre-European election period in both 2009 and 2014.

Firstly, women were disproportionately identified in the media by their family status. There was a systematic focus on motherhood, which was portrayed as an obstacle to the political career of women candidates. A typical question in interviews to women candidates was: "how difficult is it for a woman to balance family life and a career in politics?" This kind of question was never addressed to a male candidate in the 300 articles and the 27 TV shows that were studied in 2009 and 2014. An interesting reply to this question was given by a woman candidate when she replied: "You wouldn't ask a male candidate such a question so for reasons of equal treatment I won't reply" (my translation from Greek). I consider this to be a great example of how women candidates can resist the media's power in reinforcing patriarchy. Where there is power there is resistance (Foucault, 1977). The focus on motherhood is a common practice in the media worldwide, as the Global Media Monitoring in 2010 and other researchers such as Thorson and Mendelson (2010) have shown. This practice is problematic as it locates women back in the private sphere, assuming that even if they made it into politics, what people care to know about is their role in the domestic sphere. Feminists highlighted the dichotomy of the public sphere for men and the private sphere for women decades ago but despite this, the media regularly employs this dichotomy.

In addition to the focus on motherhood, women candidates received negative comments about both their qualifications and personalities in the media. Media discourse on women candidates sometimes had an ironic and underestimating tone. In 2009, we saw the case of the ironic pun "Antigone the Canone" to describe a female candidate alongside the empowering adjective "Takis the Dominant" to describe a male candidate. In the context of the EU elections in 2014, a picture of a woman candidate next to the president of the Cyprus Football Association was published with the caption "new private secretary". The candidate used social media to respond to this by saying that her MBA along with her 10 years of international work experience and six languages make her overqualified for a secretary position. Also, newspaper articles disproportionately referred to women by their first names. In the sample, we have seen three cases of article headlines including a man and a woman candidate addressing the woman by her first name and the man by his surname in the same title. Referring to women politicians by their first name has a derogatory connotation (Kahn, 1994). There was even a case of an article that used the diminutive name

Rena – Rena-ki to refer to a woman candidate in the context of the EU election of 2014.

Furthermore, while portraying women MEP candidates both in 2009 and 2014, there was a focus on appearance and clothes. For example, the *Politis* newspaper had a half page article in 2009 describing a candidate who was dressed in red giving sweets to her male colleagues for her name day (Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, 2009). At that time, the candidate was campaigning to end female genital mutilation but this was covered only in a few lines in the same newspaper. The focus on the appearance of women candidates instead of on a focus on their actions can be very disempowering since it implies that women enter politics for 'decorative' reasons.

Additionally, there was a media discourse on the sensitivity of women candidates. During TV shows, media discourse and a couple of women candidates themselves argued that women should enter politics because their sensitive female 'nature' was needed. Bringing back the argument for women's sensitivity is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it over-generalizes, assuming that the category of woman is a homogenous one since all women share one common characteristic. All women do not of course fit into one homogenous category since other factors, such as socio-economic status, differentiate women (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1987). Secondly, women's sensitivity is usually negatively evaluated in the media while at the same time the same quality is evaluated positively for male politicians (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). It is worth mentioning that the essentialist argument about the sensitivity of women was among the reasons that kept women away from the political arena, which was considered to be 'a hard field for women' (Pateman, 1989).

Patriarchy in politics was also reinforced by the lack of a critical approach in the media. Gender equality in politics was never discussed in the 27 TV shows that were studied. Only four articles out of the 300 articles that were studied address this issue. Those four articles presented gender imbalance in decision making as if it was only a women's issue. After the election in 2014, Eleni Theocharous, a female MEP who was re-elected, was visible in the media. Her election was celebrated and was used to strengthen the argument that if a woman wants to enter politics she can since Theocharous gained the most preferential votes of all candidates. The focus on one or two women who made it into politics ignores the glass ceiling phenomenon that keeps women away from powerful positions. The media celebrates the existence of a few women in politics since this does not challenge the patriarchal status quo (Baider, 2010).

Conclusion

Thanks to feminist theory we can now recognize the hegemony and gender power relations that are hidden behind "objective" media reporting (Carter and Steiner, 2004). In the case study of Cyprus, patriarchy in politics was reinforced by the underrepresentation and misrepresentation of female

candidates in newspaper articles and TV shows during the pre-European election periods in 2009 and 2014. How a candidate is portrayed in the media is a serious ethical issue as a disempowering portrayal could harm a politician not only before elections but afterwards too, as it can have a negative effect on her future career in politics. Media discourse was gendered, disempowering women candidates by using language of an ironic and underestimating nature. The stereotypical portrayal of women, focusing on the 'sensitive feminine nature' and on motherhood, maintained the status quo of the representation of women and men in politics, highlighting the dichotomy of women in the domestic sphere and men in the public sphere. Who is represented given the limited column inches of a newspaper or the time slots of a TV show is also an ethical issue, especially during pre-election periods. Female candidates' voices were silenced both in 2009 and 2014. The media is part of the problem but at the same time they can be part of the solution (Kafiris, 2005). In order to resist the power of the media in reinforcing patriarchy, sustainable research and media monitoring is needed (Gallagher, 2004). There is also a need for a critical audience to demand gender sensitive reporting. The deconstruction of gender stereotypes and the visibility of female politicians might be the key towards the replacement of a "patriarchal democracy" with a representative democracy with gender equality in decision making.

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SECTION B:
GENDER AND EMPLOYMENT

MOTHERHOOD: AN IMPEDIMENT TO WORKPLACE PROGRESSION? THE CASE OF CYPRUS

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Abstract

Despite recent gains within the workplace and in terms of gender equality women all over the world still encounter a glass ceiling on their way to the top of the organisational ladder. Using primary data from 29 semi-structured interviews among chartered accountants and academics in Cyprus the 'motherhood effect' as an impediment to the non-progression of women has been identified. Motherhood might act as an impediment to the progression of women in Cyprus due to the lack of childcare and social and organisational policy but also because of the social norms embedded in the Cypriot culture that prioritise traditional forms of motherhood characterised by care giving in the home.

Keywords: motherhood, glass ceiling, progression, Cyprus

Introduction

This paper reports research on the effects of national culture in Cyprus focusing on the treatment of mothers in the workplace. There is limited research on gender and organisations in the Cypriot context (Cockburn, 2004) and gender roles are known to be particularly traditional (Anthias, 1992). Hence, there is value in exploring if and how the culture affects the workplace experiences of women, and especially mothers of dependent children. Hence, the study focused on experiences in two sectors in Cyprus; academia and accountancy. These were chosen because they have reasonably equal entry rates for men and women.

The paper starts with a review of the literature on women and employment and summarises some of the work on barriers to advancement and on national culture and its potential influence in organisations. This review concludes with the presentation of four research questions, and following a description of the methodology employed to address them, the results of a qualitative study are reported. The paper concludes with an analysis of the findings with focus on the effects of Cypriot culture and organisational policies on advancement for women and mothers.

Employment and Gender

During the last three decades there has been an increase in the number of women in the workplace (Davidson & Burke, 2004). However, the distribution of women's employment varies from men across sectors and within hierarchical structures (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Peppard, 2007). Research shows that women worldwide are still underrepresented in the so-called

male occupations as well as in the upper levels of organisations (Heilman, 2012).

According to statistical information nine out of ten employees in the construction industry are men (EOC, 2001). Moreover, according to Wilson (2003) women are more likely to be employed in professions such as teaching or nursing whilst professions such as medicine and law are dominated by men. Furthermore, women are found in routine office work or cleaning more often than men and are least likely to be encountered in skilled manual work such as heavy duty vehicles drivers (EOC, 2001). The reasons for this gendered variation are several and contentious. What is clear is the involvement of structural and cultural influences, at least to some degree. In the words of Heilman (2012, p. 115), *'people can be disadvantaged in how they are viewed not because of what they are like or what they have done, but because of the gender group to which they belong,'* meaning that women's employment may be affected by the expectations adhered to them just because they are female. Biernat and Kobrynowicz (1997) also suggested that the perceived unfitness of women, especially in male dominated jobs, can act as a hindrance to their work progression.

In terms of career advancement, women account for 30% of all managerial jobs across Europe (Kirton & Green, 2005). The failure to advance women in senior positions at the same rate as men (public and private sectors), in all developed countries, has been documented in research and via statistical evidence (Adler & Izraeli, 1988; Davidson & Cooper, 1993). In Wirth's (2001, p. 26) words, *'women's interest in professional and managerial work and the predicted shortages of highly qualified managers have not ...resulted in women obtaining senior executive positions in significant numbers'.*

In 1995, women comprised less than 55% of senior management in the UK and the US while in many other countries, including Australia, it was close to only 2% (Sinclair, 1995). In 2010, women lead in only 2% of Fortune 500 companies and only in 5 companies of the Financial Times Stock Exchange 100 stock index (The Economist, 2010). Women account for only 4% of the presidents and 10% of the members of the decision making bodies in the largest organisations within the European Union (Eagly & Sczesny, 2009). In Finland, despite the fact that almost half of the workforce is women they continue to hold only a small percentage of managerial positions and even less positions in top-line management (Valinaki et al., 2009). Even though 30% of Finnish managers are women (Statistics Finland, 2007) just 7-8% are CEOs (Kotiranta et al., 2007).

In the USA, in 2000, women held 46.5% of the US working positions but only 11.7% of BoD positions, and only 12.5% were corporate officers of those companies (Gregory, 2003). Taking into account the increasing rate of corporate positions held by women it seems that by 2020 women will occupy more working positions than men but men will still hold about 75% of high ranked positions referred to in Fortune 500 companies (ibid.).

Barriers to female employment advancement

The reasons for the gendered discrepancies in top managerial positions, is another highly contested area. Some refer to a 'glass ceiling', a concept popularised in the 1980s which, according to Morrison and Von Glinow (1990), is used to describe a wall so subtle that although transparent is so concrete that it prevents women, and minorities, from advancing in higher managerial positions. The 'glass ceiling' is used to describe the development barriers for disadvantaged racial minorities, and women, and its focus has expanded to include all promotional opportunities and not solely those pertaining to senior management positions. The 'glass ceiling' concept was first introduced in a Wall Street Journal article in 1986 (Hymowitz & Schellhardt, 1986). The article was about the description of the invisible barriers women were faced with as they approach high ranked positions. The glass ceiling is not a barrier faced by individuals based on their inability to handle higher managerial positions. It is a blockage, according to Morrison et al. (1992, p. 124) towards women as a group 'who are kept from advancing higher because they are women'. The same applies to other minority groups (Powell, 2000). However, it can be found at different levels in different companies or organisations. Morrison et al. (1992) indicated that it would be a miracle to find women at the general management level and only a small number of women have managed to break the glass ceiling.

Other explanations for lower rates of advancement for women in organisations specifically implicate culture. National culture deeply affects the models that individuals have of their organisations and the meanings which are attributed through them (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). Organisations constitute a subjective entity for employees because the latter will give meaning to their organisational environment based on their own perception of culture (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Hence, it is shown that organisational cultures are affected by national cultures; they are based on and by the cultural characteristics of their human resources, although defined differently than cultures in general.

People within the organisation might engage with the perception that women who aspire to a career are somehow violating cultural norms (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001). This may be particularly pertinent for women who are mothers, as it has been shown that women who hold characteristics solely attributed to their gender, such as motherhood, are evaluated less positively than their male counterparts or even females who are not mothers of dependent children (Heilman & Okimoto, 2008).

The Cyprus context

The situation in Cyprus reflects the global trend outlined and is particularly divisive. A recent study concerning working women in Cyprus (PWC, 2011) indicates that in 2010 half of all Cypriot based organisations (private and public) did not have a single woman on their board of directors and 32.7% had just one woman. Further, Cypriot culture has been shown to be particularly patriarchal (Cockburn, 2004), with cultural norms for women, and especially mothers, prioritising and idealising care giving in the home.

Correspondingly, breadwinning is a family role ascribed as almost exclusively male (Anthias, 1992).

The purpose of this study is to explore the extent to which Cypriot culture disadvantages women in employment and if there are issues particularly pertinent to mothers. Therefore, the following four research questions are generated:

RQ1. Is gender variation observable in the organizations included in this study?

RQ2. Is it harder for female Cypriot workers to advance than male Cypriot workers?

RQ3. Is motherhood perceived to be a particular barrier to advancement in the organizations in this study?

RQ4. Are policies to support the development of mothers in organizations effective?

Methodology

Since there is limited research on gender issues in Cypriot organisations the use of an inductive approach was considered appropriate. A qualitative approach was taken and semi-structured interviews were used so the participants would have the opportunity to express their thoughts and experiences with minimal constraints. Correspondingly, the qualitative approach would allow for the emergence of nuanced and personal data, particularly pertinent since the study sought to explore the experiences of Cypriot workers as they lived them. As Stake (1995) notes, it is only through examining the experiences of those we seek to understand that we discover what the pertinent issues are. Following Salkind (2009), semi-structured interviews with a conversational tone were considered a good means by which participants might express their own stories.

The interviews were conducted with specific, preselected employment groups; chartered accountants from the BIG Four (PWC, Deloitte, Ernst & Young, KPMG) companies in Cyprus and academics working at the University of Cyprus. The reasons these groups of people were chosen were the following: (a) the entry requirements for both men and women are the same, (b) starting salary for both men and women is the same, (c) these occupations attract equal numbers of both male and female candidates, (d) there is a representation of both public (University of Cyprus) and private (BIG Four) sectors.

The sample included both women and men and they were invited/encouraged to participate in the research by mutual friends. Lists of people who were willing to help with the research were provided and participants were contacted directly so that the interviews could be arranged. Moreover, survey snowballing and convenience sampling (Mason, 1996) were applied here, meaning that participants that had already been interviewed encouraged other people to participate. In total 29 individuals (13 men and 16 women) were interviewed (See Table 1). According to the

order the participants were interviewed, numbers were used to substitute the participants' real names, in order to afford anonymity i.e. 'Female 6, Academic, late 40s'.

Participant's Number	Gender	Profession	Age
1	Male	Accountant/ Partner	Late 40s
2	Male	Accountant/ Partner	Late 40s
3	Female	Accountant/ Supervising Senior	Late 20s
4	Female	Accountant/ Assistant Manager	Late 20s
5	Female	Accountant/ Assistant Manager	Late 20s
6	Female	Academic/ Associate Professor	Late 40s
7	Female	Accountant/ Assistant Manager	Late 20s
8	Female	Accountant/ Assistant Manager	Late 20s
9	Male	Accountant/ Assistant Manager	Late 20s
10	Male	Accountant/ Assistant Manager	Late 20s
11	Male	Academic/ Professor	Late 40s
12	Male	Accountant/ Assistant Manager	Early 30s
13	Male	Accountant/ Assistant Manager	Late 20s
14	Male	Academic/ Associate Professor	Late 30s
15	Female	Academic/ Visiting Lecturer	Mid 30s
16	Male	Accountant/ Manager	Mid 30s
17	Female	Accountant/ Assistant Manager	Mid 30s
18	Female	Accountant/ Assistant Manager	Late 20s
19	Male	Accountant/ Supervising Senior	Late 20s
20	Male	Accountant/ Manager	Early 30s
21	Male	Accountant/ Assistant Manager	Late 20s
22	Female	Accountant/ Manager	Mid 30s
23	Female	Accountant/ Senior Associate	Late 20s
24	Male	Accountant/ Associate	Late 20s
25	Female	Accountant/ Senior Manager	Mid 30s
26	Female	Accountant/ Senior Manager	Mid 40s
27	Female	Academic/ Assistant Professor	Mid 40s
28	Male	Academic/ Associate Professor	Mid 50s
29	Female	Academic/ Assistant Professor	Early 40s

Table 1. *Participants' profile.*

The interviews were in Greek and they were recorded and transcribed verbatim into Greek and English. Analysis was conducted by exploring the narratives generated in the interviews. Following Miles and Huberman (1994), analysis was guided by themes pre-identified in the extant literature and by themes that emerged during the fieldwork.

Results

RQ1. Is gender variation observable in the organizations included in this study?

Results for RQ1 are unequivocally that gender variation is observable. According to the participants the percentage of women partners at the accountancy firms barely reaches ten percent. When it comes to academia there was only one woman as a professor, the highest level in academia, in the three departments of the University of Cyprus that were represented in this study.

RQ2. Is it harder for female Cypriot workers to advance than male Cypriot workers?

All participants, regardless of their occupation or level at their organisation, admitted to working longer hours than those they are contracted to, and there was general acknowledgment that this would be difficult for women who want to have a family. Also evident was the belief that evaluation procedures are subjective but not necessarily in favour of men:

"The way the evaluation is done I feel is not objective. No matter what it will never be done right. There are too many people to be evaluated and it depends on the person who evaluates who. The judgment is always subjective. Your manager is responsible for your evaluation and he/she informs the other managers regarding your performance. It depends on the character and subjectivity of the evaluator. It doesn't make a difference if you are male or female but what kind of relationship you have with your manager. If he/she likes you then your evaluation will be better" (Male 10, Accountant, late 20s).

This idea that women choose not to advance is evident also amongst the men in the sample. For example, a male at the highest level of the organizational ladder supports this perception:

"Due to the fact that our line of work is very competitive and demanding most of the women choose to change careers and not progress at the Partner level. This happens due to family obligations. Fortunately or unfortunately in Cyprus the burden of raising the family falls on the shoulders of the mother" (Male 1, Accountant/ Partner, late 40s).

RQ3. Is motherhood perceived to be a particular barrier to advancement in the organizations in the study?

The reasons for the existence of the discrepancy between the advancement of men and women in the two sectors are similar. When it comes to the accountants, participants seem to believe that women choose not to get promoted or leave the company at some point because they want to devote themselves to their families. A female accountant indicates that:

"I believe that women are capable enough to be promoted. I also believe that some women do not progress by choice. Because our job is very demanding and requires long hours and overtime so I believe

that a woman who is ready to get married and have children may not be interested in seeking a career” (Female 3, Accountant, mid 20s).

The same participant goes on to identify that this ‘choice’ may be cultural:

“I believe that Cypriot culture drives women to choose family over their careers. If a woman chooses to follow a career people might judge her for this. I definitely believe that a man is capable of raising a baby if he has to but I think that this perception that women should be at home and men should be the breadwinners derives from our culture. Some things have changed but at the back of our minds there is still the perception that women are responsible for raising the children” (Female 3, Accountant, mid 20s).

Not all respondents subscribed to the idea that women choose not to advance. For example, a female academic claims it is about an imposition of perceptions of roles that really affects advancement:

“...promotions are dependent on perceptions. And definitely, I can sign for it, that there is the perception that a woman cannot get promoted at the same pace as a man when she has a family. This is a perception. Perhaps this woman works ten times more than a man colleague but there is the perception ‘4 kids and you want to get promoted?’ Or ‘are you going to have a second child?’ – These are comments that women at the University have received from senior male colleagues as a piece of advice. When it comes to men having a family this is not considered as an impediment to their careers because there is the belief that the wife will be responsible for the children. This perception is very strong” (Female 6, Academic, late 40s).

A male academic identifies the problem as being subject-specific, thus implying that academic subjects are somehow gendered. However, he suggests that things are changing:

“In general most academics in this field (marketing) are men so the pull of women you can choose from is smaller. This happens at an international level and not just in Cyprus. Usually the best professors are based in the USA and the UK and out of personal experience I see that more women academics can be found at younger ages. During the last few years women academics have started to cover lost ground. Nowadays there are quite a few women academics of a younger age. Perhaps in the past and due to social circumstances the role of the woman was different and this might be the reason why not many women reached the point of having an academic career in marketing. Perhaps women prefer other directions. I cannot be sure” (Male 14, Academic, late 30s).

RQ4. Are policies to support the development of mothers in organizations effective?

The participants were asked to identify family friendly policies within their organisation such as flexible working hours or working from home and how these were used. Due to the very different nature of the various jobs academics and accountants were not faced with the same issues.

The nature of an academic's job is flexible by default. Academics fix their teaching and research programme according to their own agendas:

"I think that the University has family friendly policies in place. I am not a family man to have personal knowledge. The working hours are very flexible and despite the fact that each academic has many duties you can schedule your time in such a way that will be convenient for you. This flexibility is very important"(Male 11, Academic, late 40s).

Despite this flexibility, however, women still feel the pressure to prove themselves:

"Generally, the working time for academics is very flexible. However, there is the misperception that if you are not physically at the office you are not producing work. So this face time is important. You might be at the office and play games on the computer or do online shopping (there is this perception that women do online shopping at work) but if they see you it means that you are working!"(Female 6, Academic, late 40s).

On the other hand, when it comes to accountants they have far less flexibility as the nature of the job neither allows for working from home nor flexible hours:

"No working from home is allowed. You need to be physically present at the office and with the clients. Projects are handled by a team so you need to work with our colleagues on a daily basis. This is something that women might not like so this maybe one reason that they choose to leave"(Male 1, Accountant, late 40s).

There was evidence also that organizational culture can work in opposition to official organizational policy. A striking example is described by a female academic who despite being entitled by policy to four months' maternity leave felt pressed to work:

"I didn't take all my maternity leave. On paper I took it but I didn't use it, not even for working from home. I was at the office. I was here until the last minute I gave birth and shortly after I gave birth I returned. I was breast feeding and I brought the pump at work to remove the milk! There is pressure on women to work more and prove themselves. Not all men have this mentality. But it doesn't take more than a small group of people to poison the atmosphere. There is also a group of people who remain silent. They just go along. There is pressure on women"(Female 6, Academic, late 40s).

In addition to maternity policies, all the accountancy firms also had a 'mother's scheme'. This allows mothers, for as long as their children are under 18, to work fewer hours and be remunerated accordingly. Despite presumable pro-equality intentions, an obvious drawback is the perception that mothers have less time-commitment to work than others. A mother's scheme might provide a marker to other employees and managers that a woman's children are prioritized equally or above her job, while the same is not true for men as this scheme is not available for fathers:

"If a woman takes on the mother scheme she will not be able to compete with everyone else. She will always be a step behind. It is the nature of the job that it requires physical presence. If you are not there you cannot compete and you cannot be reliable if you always leave on time. There are very strict deadlines in our line of work and there are also emergencies" (Female 5, Accountant, late 20s).

"We have a mother scheme which enables women to get off work earlier at around 3. However, if a woman takes on the mother scheme she will not have the same opportunities for promotion as everyone else" (Male 12, Accountant, early 30s).

Further to the policies mentioned there is also the issue of childcare facilities within organisations which is uncommon in Cyprus. The only organisation, to the researcher's knowledge, with childcare facilities is the University of Cyprus. However, the participants were asked to identify the importance of having childcare facilities within the premises of their organisation and how this would impact on their careers. Academics identified the importance of the establishment of such facilities while accountants acknowledged that it would be something useful to have:

"There are childcare facilities at the University [...] I think it is an important step forward. I think that there should be some form of subsistence from all organisations regarding childcare facilities in order to help the parents. This can be done either with childcare facilities within the organisation, facilities someplace else or by giving allowance to the parents to use. This might increase the commitment of the employee towards the company. It is definitely a good thing to have the facilities within the organisation. It is not so much a matter of safety but it saves you time" (Female 6, Academic, late 40s).

"We don't have childcare facilities in my organisation. It might be useful to have them but I don't know many companies in Cyprus that offer these facilities anyway" (Male 13, Accountant, late 20s).

Discussion and Way Forward

The research suggests that while there is the perception that men and women share the same opportunities within the workplace and women do not progress by choice, there appear to be various structural and cultural influences at play. Men and women share the perception that once a woman

becomes a mother she needs to devote more time to her family/children and that this will be to the detriment of her career.

Fredman (1992) notes that equal treatment of individuals who are not equal on a social basis might cause further inequalities. This is suggested in this study: the limited, formal notion of equality can be of use only to the minority of women who are able to conform to the male stereotype but cannot reach or correct underlying structural impediments. It could be argued that in this case mothers are particularly disadvantaged.

There is a clear insinuation that national culture and particularly perceptions regarding the role of women and mothers are transferred in the workplace. This research suggests that Cypriot culture, being a highly patriarchal one, transfers these notions onto organisations. Therefore, perceptions that women should be the primary caregivers for children are not restricted within the society, but are embedded and affect development within organisational structures.

This paper sought to identify the impact of motherhood on the non-progression of women in the workplace in Cyprus. It has been identified that women in Cyprus are faced with impediments on their way to the top. The reasons for this vary and one of the most important is the motherhood effect. In particular, cultural norms and perceptions that women should be the primary caregiver are a barrier to advancement for women and there is a lack of family friendly policies and childcare facilities – at least in the organisations included in this study. It appears that Cypriot women 'choose' not to progress in organisations due to cultural expectations of them as mothers, and a lack of structural support.

During the past few decades women have made huge steps towards their representation in the workplace. However, there is much evidence that advancement remains an issue and this study has shown this to pertain to the Cypriot context as well. More investigation is needed in order to be able to address the problem and find solutions which enable both men and women to have the same opportunities in the workplace and to find the right balance between their work and their family.

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FEMALE MIGRATION AND DOMESTIC LABOUR: A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

Feminist social critique reveals the oppressive nature of the rigid private/public domain distinction for women. However, other women within the domestic sphere, such as domestic personnel, tend to be left out of the theoretical scope of the mainstream feminist critique. What is of particular interest in the case of domestic workers who live with the family they work for is that home and work place coincide for them. Thus, given that the workplace is by definition a public space, for live-in domestic workers the boundaries between public and private spheres blur into one space. This is precisely what constitutes the most research-worthy aspect of this category of workers. The main focus of the present paper is the position of immigrant domestic workers and some parallels are drawn between the position of the slave, the wife and the domestic worker. My main research questions are the following: To what extent does the debate around the distinction of private/public life not create justice for third-world women who perform domestic work in a country other than their own? For which women is the institution of domestic workers liberating and whom does it oppress? I will draw on Mary Wollstonecraft, Bonnie Honig and Carole Pateman to discuss the existing theory on the private/public domain distinction as well as the silenced voices of immigrant women who work as domestic workers.

Keywords: domestic workers, private/public domain, work segregation

Introduction

On a global scale, migration movements exhibit patterns of gender segregation following gender division in the workplace. As the needs in 'feminine' and 'masculine' work increase, male and female workers are 'imported' predominantly from the Global South. Working class female immigrants are occupied primarily in the service sector and perform 'feminine' jobs: they are domestic workers; they care for children and the elderly. As the roles of the sexes in the third world countries start gradually changing, women gain more access to work outside their homes. Yet, the majority of them have no access to quality education, and immigration becomes an option of finding manual jobs in a wealthier country. In this way, thousands of women not only cross the threshold of their traditional domestic space, the house, they cross the borders of their countries and enter new sociocultural spaces in search for work. As a result, women from the Global South who work as domestic workers are, in a sense, 'caught' in the role of 'housewife', a role that Western feminists have struggled to discard for a long time.

One of the first feminist voices in Europe is that of Mary Wollstonecraft's. In *The Vindication to the Rights of Woman* (1792) Wollstonecraft declares the universality of her demands regarding "the rights of woman and national education" (1891, p. vii). Despite its claims for universality, *The Vindication* is not a universal account of *every* female experience of oppression. It is preoccupied with the right of middle and upper class English women to gain access to formal education and participation in civil life. In this sense, Wollstonecraft is considered as one of the earliest feminist voices demanding some of the 'male-only' privileges of her time. Her demands form the basis of the 1st wave feminism's struggle for the inclusion of women into the public sphere by granting them suffrage. Yet, suffragists' struggles hardly questioned the existing patriarchal social state of affairs. Instead, their main aim was to include women in the existing patriarchal social organization. The petition for suffrage is a threshold from the oppressive private realm to the liberating state of citizenship. However, the core protofeminist interests revolved around the interests of white, middle-class and Western women. As a result, marginalized female populations are left out of this feminist canon. The ones at the periphery include women of colour, working-class women and those belonging to stigmatized sexual and other minorities.

The demand for the right to vote is the externalization of the desire to transcend the limits of the *oikos* where women are constrained to perform reproductive labour, whereas men are the agents of production and occupy the sphere of the civil, or the *polis*. Pateman (1988) conceptualizes this role division in terms of "the marriage contract" (p. 118). She argues that "sexual division of labour is constituted through the marriage contract" (ibid). Marriage reflects patriarchal social organization, because in a marital relationship the man "becomes [the woman's] sexual master and she becomes his servant" (ibid). The marital institution is an agreement on the sexual inaccessibility of women belonging to other men. Men are the masters of their human property as well. Human property includes female family members, children and servants. Feminists have repeatedly highlighted the parallel positions of slaves and wives. Both are possessions of – and serve to obey – their master and husband, respectively. Rousseau is another 18th century thinker who describes woman as a creature which "is made to please [the man] and to be subjugated" (1979, 358). It is the husband who has conjugal rights over his wife. In her explanation of the sexual contract, Pateman (1988) draws on Hegel and reminds us that it is "marriage and the family [which] provide the natural foundation for civil life" (p. 177). It follows from this premise that there are two 'naturally' separated spheres of life: family, founded on marriage where female activities take place but are controlled by the husband, and civil life, which is accessible only to men. Hence, as Pateman accurately captures it, "the private sphere both is and is not part of civil society – and women both are and are not part of the civil order" (p. 181).

Before feminist struggles for equal participation in public life were recognized, women had no full access to education and professions. Their main profession was that of a housewife. However, during the industrial revolution, there was a huge demand in the workforce. A new class – the working class – was formed. It was composed of both female and male

workers. Yet, male workers' unions demanded 'family wages' in order to exclude their wives from work and confine them to the performance of domestic responsibilities. In Pateman's (1988) phrasing, "the 'worker' [...] cannot be understood independently of the private sphere and his conjugal right as a husband" (p. 135). Accordingly, worker and housewife are two manifestations of patriarchal relationships, which constitute the basis of the industrial capitalist system.

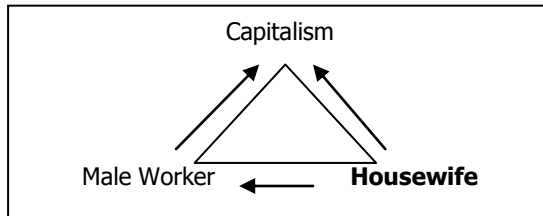


Diagram 1. *The Industrial Capitalist System*

Housewives perform dual functions. Firstly, they support and nurture their working-class husbands who, in turn, work to support capitalist organization. Secondly, the housewife is also the mother of the worker's children. By accomplishing her maternal duties, she reproduces the workforce required to maintain the capitalist mode of production. Therefore, "employment contract presupposes the marriage contract", i.e. sexual contract (p. 131). When working class women attempt to gain access to labour, they are either denied it or they are underpaid. Hence, women are both implicitly and explicitly coerced into marriage, as a means of raising their socio economical status. It is clear by now that capitalism reinforces the patriarchal foundations of work segregation.

After women are given suffrage, they actively start to make careers in formerly considered prestige 'male' areas. Thus, the place of the housewife is to be filled with someone who would perform her domestic duties. The emancipation of educated white women makes it possible for a great number of uneducated working class women and women of colour to gain some financial independence by participating in the labour market; namely, they have the opportunity to work as domestic labourers in the economically well-off households.

In the case of foreign domestic workers, marital and racial contracts are intertwined. The migration of female domestic workers from the Global South to the North is a manifestation of what Pateman (2007) calls the "[g]lobal sexual-racial contract" (p. 154). Despite the fact that these women have access to work abroad, they do not fully escape the traps of patriarchy: instead of being confined to their domestic space, they are underpaid workers in other households. The progress towards the elimination of patriarchal practices in the domestic sphere is still negligible. Most male members of the society, irrespectively of skin colour and class, still expect to be serviced by women, either their own wives or other women.

In essence, gender equality in today's Western countries is illusory and incomplete. Although the majority of women are educated and participate on equal terms with men in the public sphere, at the same time they continue to be the main carers of the family. In an attempt to ease the burdens of the domestic responsibilities that the majority of husbands are unwilling to share, a great number of working women rely on domestic workers. Immigrant domestic workers appeal to Western employers for a number of reasons: they perform those kinds of manual work which are unattractive to the local population, because of the low wages, low status of work, and absence of guarantee of sufficient legal protection. In case employers are not satisfied enough, they can easily terminate the contract, deport the domestic worker and swap her with another one.

Cyprus is a typical example where employment segregation follows race and gender patterns. The island is a host country to a great number of foreign workers¹. On the one hand, white women (predominantly from the former Soviet Union countries) are valued as sexual objects and form the base for the sex and entertainment industry in Cyprus. On the other hand, Asian women of colour are imported to perform domestic services and caring work. Most of them come from the Philippines, Sri Lanka and India. The fact that these domains of employment are divided according to the immigrants' race portrays the strong bond between the "[g]lobal sexual-racial contract" (Pateman 2007, p. 154).

Maria Hadjipavlou (2010) illustrates the current situation on the island with regards to domestic workers' employment. It is not uncommon for women of colour to be considered, quite literally, as servants in Cypriot households. For instance, they are not referred to by their names "but by their country of origin or color": *'Η μαυρού μου'* [i mavrou mou], my black girl, (p. 201). This example encompasses a number of stakes in it: *'Η* – female article (the first thing that is articulated is the female gender); *'μαυρού'* (black female) – the skin colour is stressed, the suffix *'ού'* denotes her gender, therefore the female gender is stressed twice; *'μου'* – (possessive pronoun 'my') denotes possessive attitude, i.e. this person 'belongs' to me. Each time this phrase is uttered, all the factors described above are evoked, whether consciously or not. When servants are denied their names, they are denied their human identity as well. They cease to be subjects and become objects. By being referred to by nationality or skin colour, the racial difference between the master and the slave is stressed and the racial contract is sustained.

Live-in domestic workers are extremely vulnerable to manifold exploitation, such as economical, sexual and emotional violence. In their study, Theodorou, Pithara, Constantinou and Kantaris (2011) identify 'infantilization' and 'commodification' as two ways of violating the autonomy of domestic workers. 'Infantilization' is manifested through the hyper-control of the resident domestic workers on the grounds of 'protection'. These women experience control over their social and private life (p. 358).

¹ Statistically, "in April 2010, 85,661 women and 68,881 men resided in Cyprus, with a valid residence permit" (Solomi-Charalambidou, Maouri & Economidou-Stavrou 2011: 369).

The “constant scrutiny over one’s actions, often [transforms] the relationship between the employer and the domestic worker into one of parent and child” (p. 358). Personal autonomy is restricted, so that domestic workers would not be able to socialize with other compatriots, gain information on their rights and build social relations. Furthermore, employers are also concerned with their workers’ private life: no employer wants his/her domestic worker to become pregnant, which will add to healthcare expenses and the worker will be less ‘productive’.

‘Commodification’ occurs when female workers, just like slaves, are “viewed as objects of work and pleasure not entitled to certain human rights [...] i.e. women[...] (lack)control over their bod[ies]” (p. 359). Sexual harassment and rapes are not uncommon, especially in the case of live-in workers. According to Hadjipavlou (2010), “[t]he exploitation, violence and sexual harassment of domestic workers has little visibility, for it occurs in the home” (p. 206). The private character of their workplace makes it easy for an employer to gain access to the female worker’s body. Despite the fact that Cyprus has signed the UN Convention against discrimination and “[i]n 2006 the parliament passed a law making any act of violence against women illegal, including sexual harassment in the workplace”, domestic workers continue to constitute a high risk group. They are not informed accurately on their rights and where they can turn to for support. Few of them seek legal help when they experience any kind of physical or moral abuse, because of fear, limited economical opportunities, ignorance or linguistic barriers. Domestic workers are extremely vulnerable victims due to their double identity: that of woman and immigrant at the same time (Theodorou et al., 2011, p. 354). In Hadjipavlou’s (2010) words, “domestic workers lack support structures like trade unions from which to get help” (p. 206). Domestic work is both a gendered and sexualized form of labour, even if officially not recognized as such. In this way, the foreign woman is objectified and turned into a subaltern. The institution of the domestic workers can be viewed, without exaggeration, as a form of modern slavery.

The insufficient legal protection of domestic workers is emphasized by the Cyprus ombudsperson Eliza Savvidou (2012): “every act of violence – either physical, psychological or sexual – against foreign domestic workers or carers that cohabit with the family can be treated as domestic violence. Yet, in practice, there is confusion on this issue”² (p.25). The confusion on this subject partly derives from the Greek translation of the term ‘domestic violence’ as ‘endoikogeniaki via’ (literally: *violence within the family*). This carries strong connotations of family bonds, marginalizes domestic personnel and weakens their voice as victims of domestic violent acts. Consequently, the term ‘endoikogeniaki via’ can be substituted by that of ‘endoikiaki via’ (literally: violence at home, within the sphere of oikos). I argue that the term ‘endoikiaki via’ is a more accurate translation of ‘domestic violence’. It may contribute to the minimization of the current confusion in the legal bodies and lessen the ambiguity in the law.

² The citation used here is my own translation from Greek.

As already mentioned, capitalism's response to the female duty of unpaid housework is the introduction of the institution of paid domestic personnel. The role of the traditional housewife is turned into a commodity. Yet, domestic work is publicly unrecognized as *work*. In Pateman's (1988) phrasing, "[t]he labour of a (house)wife is aptly termed domestic servitude, or, more politely, domestic service" (p. 136). Hence, it is the female body that is being continuously commodified and used to provide services. Housework is not *work* because "work takes place in the men's world", i.e. in the public sphere (ibid). This is further supported by the fact that "the labours of housewives are not included in the official measurements of national productivity" (p. 137). As domestic workers continue to perform the former duties of a housewife, their services are undervalued because they take place in the private sphere and are considered as 'feminine'. Consequently, instead of minimizing the existing private/public gap in the Cypriot society, the institution of domestic workers reinforces the existing social order. Hadjipavlou (2010) argues that:

'economically well-off Cypriot professional women are obliged to employ other women [...] to do what they are still expected to do in rigidly defined patriarchal households [...]. Even although many Greek Cypriot [...] women are economically independent [...], the sexual division of domestic labour, gender stereotypes and the value system still sustain the patriarchal structures. Thus, Cypriot women's 'liberation' is mediated through the migrant women's engagement in their households. The migrant women become indispensable in making visible that 'liberation'. (202)

Thus, the whole myth of women's liberation is founded on the paid work of immigrant workers.

In this context, Bonnie Honig's (2001) idea of the "[f]oreign-founding story" becomes relevant (p.4). Honig reverses the conventional question "*How should we solve the problem of foreignness?*" and asks instead "*What problems does foreignness solve for us?*" (original emphasis, ibid). She sheds light on the multiple ways in which the foreign element contributes to the established social organization. In the case of Cyprus, foreign domestic workers play a key role in the indigenous women's liberation. They are the 'others' who replace the Cypriot housewife's responsibilities, and an illusory liberation of indigenous women is therefore created.

In order to combat patriarchy, Pateman (2007) proposes that the "'woman question'" should be more accurately termed "the man question" (p. 11). It is of uttermost importance to the feminist struggle for equality to sometimes shift the attention from what women 'should be allowed to do' to what men 'actually do'. Yet, any political decision ought to be taken carefully, without losing the key focus, namely that the subordinated group is formed by female subjects who, in Hannah Arendt's phrasing, were denied the "right[...] to have rights" (cited in Benhabib, 2004, p. 49). Attention should not be focused primarily on women alone retaining invisible the agents of patriarchy, i.e. the male subjects, because the recurrent victimization of women does not bring any changes to their social position.

To conclude, the aim of the present paper was to briefly illustrate the feminist perspective on the phenomenon of foreign domestic workers and their role in Cypriot society. The existence of immigrant house workers is the prerogative for the Cypriot middle-class women's 'liberation'. Although the majority of Cypriot women pursues careers and is less dependent economically on their husbands, the private/public domain segregation still persists. Rigid gender roles have not disappeared and patriarchal social order is sustained. Foreign domestic workers are viewed as 'others', which facilitates their manifold exploitation. Therefore, there is a need to deconstruct the 'naturalness' of both 'race' and 'gender' in order to combat both racism and sexism. As mentioned above, the employment of female domestic wage-labourers hardly brings any changes in the patriarchal state of affairs and does not bridge the gap between the private and the public spheres and the gender values assigned to each sphere. So far as the patriarchal social organization continues to exist and men's role within the society does not change, women will be oppressed in one way or the other. The discussion is by no means exhaustive and further studies are required to investigate all the forms of oppression that domestic workers experience.

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STEREOTYPES AND NURSES

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Abstract

The article presents and analyses the role of stereotypes about nurses in the modern Slovene society as well as some approaches on how nurses recognize them. In the empirical part, both authors introduce the results of the research about some attributed and real features of nurses which are connected with stereotypes. Stereotypes express patterns of cultural meanings which allow mutual behaviour of individuals, whereas cultural and social meanings of sex have an influence on the opinion of individuals. The authors realize that the evaluated professions in medicine reveal that the doctor's profession is evaluated more intensively than the profession of nurses. The fact is that doctors control the base of knowledge and medical services, they are respected much more, and have a functional autonomy. In the empirical part, the authors found that the professional self-image of nurses is only a reflection of the situation in post-modern Slovene society. The results reflect stereotypes which are present among patients and other individuals, which is why nurses too often see themselves as hard-working and kind-hearted assistants of doctors.

Keywords: nurses, stereotypes, prejudices, health care, self-image.

Introduction

Stereotypes about nurses are usually understood as the initial level in creating prejudices because samples which help us understand the real image of the work and function of nurses are very similar in health care.

If the real image about nurses does not fit the created prejudices, the changed description becomes more acceptable. Thus, via transformation of additional data, creators of prejudices create features of nurses even they do not know about yet. Prejudices can develop in the form of gossip, discrimination as well as violence.

In order to provide successful work, the self-image of a nurse is very important. As opinions and theories about the role of a nurse – no matter how false they are – influence not only the life course of an individual but also social changes, her positive self-image is very important in order to overcome stereotypes about nurses.

Her self-image is an important guideline, directing her behaviour, work, and her self-acceptance as a professional in health care. Mass media present an important role in developing and maintaining, but not eliminating stereotypes about nurses due to the fact that they often provide an illusional and uncritical image of nurses. This is important because convictions and

opinions about nurses are created on the basis of opinions and stereotypes, usually presented by mass media.

Opinions, Prejudices and Stereotypes

By having contact with other people, we develop various opinions and convictions which are an important part of our mental and interpersonal life. These opinions are important because we act according to them and the world image created there from. Thus, they become everlasting systems of positive or negative evaluations and activities regarding various social situations and objects. Among their most important features the following are outstanding:

- The character of opinions, as they provide a permanent mental state to react in a certain way;
- The way of obtaining them, as we obtain them all our life, in the process of socialization;
- Their influence on our behaviour, as they have a directive and dynamic influence on the behaviour as well as the consistence of human behaviour, and
- Their complexity, as they are an integration of three basic mental functions: the cognitive, emotional and motivational function (Nastran in Ule, 1997, p. 116).

Opinions have their own functions as well. People change their opinions because they help them to meet their needs, influence their mental state, and allow them to react in a certain way.

They influence the way we notice and accept certain situations and objects, what we think about them and how we react emotionally. Thus, they influence the selection of perception in the way we usually choose and see only what fits our opinions, having various stimulations and impressions.

A special sort of opinions is presented by prejudices and stereotypes. Prejudices are opinions which are not confirmed or backed up by argument. They are strengthened by emotions which give them the necessary emotional energy and preserve deep, unconscious dynamics. Emotions usually present themselves in an unrespectable, impatient or humiliating relationship towards others who may be different from the accepted norm. Prejudices have similar features compared to some opinions: they are obtained, they influence behaviour, and they are complex. Ule (2009, p. 191) exposes three dimensions of prejudices:

- The cognitive dimension, as these are unconfirmed general concepts and hidden implicit theories of various groups and individuals, appearing in creating unconfirmed information, gossip, myths and beliefs. They can occur spontaneously or intendedly (e.g. organised politically, ideologically and culturally), always with the purpose to discriminate somebody;

- The emotional dimension, providing prejudices with energy and strength, as it includes the emotional component of an individual's reaction;
- The motivational dimension, showing itself in being prepared for certain behaviour towards a category of objects the prejudices are focused on (e.g. people who have prejudices towards nurses usually do not have friends from this field).

Thus, prejudices about nurses are extreme and simple structures, providing certain features (especially of women) in this profession. The real meaning of prejudices against nurses is not in their relative (in)correctness, but in the fact that they express certain values, providing the comparison of women in this profession with other professions, performed by (several) women as well. However, people accept prejudices in a different way. Thus, emotionally labile people are more prepared to accept prejudices. Frustrations can be a base for creating prejudices and stereotypes; however, an acute economic crisis, an increasing rate of unemployment and the feeling of helplessness can also cause such circumstances.

At the same time prejudices and stereotypes about nurses are the main reason not only for professional but also personal discrimination as well. There are certain thoughtful judgements which individuals create according to false information. Stereotypes about nurses are too often over-generalized and typified judgements about this profession because in this way the specification of their work is ignored, as is the realisation of their professional and personal competences as women.

Stereotypes about nurses are unconfirmed and unprecise judgements about all nurses. They do not stand for any of them and at the same time, due to their generality, they do not fit the reality of women, employed in health care. However, despite a (partial) failure of their image they are considered to be effective. They generalize partly correct, but often unconfirmed and unprecise judgements about nurses. Despite stressing some typical and important features of the profession of a nurse, they often provide completely false images of them as women. Besides, they do not consider the individual differences between them, neither in their professional nor private life, which is why they promote social prejudices. Thus, stereotypes about nurses allow the manipulation of a nurse as an individual or nurses as a professional group in medicine that another individual (doctor or patient) or a group (public opinion) can hold more sway over. Thus, they often serve as an easier control of complex reality (in medicine) and they express social power.

Here, the problem is that individual nurses are given certain characteristics. Due to the fact that the perception and evaluation of nurses is done according to the group they belong to, it is biased and discriminating, as individual nurses are seen in such a way that they are more similar to the members of their professional group and differ more from women who work in other segments of the market. In this way, a narrow, incomplete and one-sided image of nurses is created, as mental schemes present only part of the real image of a nurse in a special way.

There are various theories about the origin of stereotypes about nurses. The most known among them are that:

- They are rooted in the culture we are educated in, i.e. the profession of a nurse is a "female profession", as health care is part of female work. This is intensified by presenting the role of a woman through repeated exposure to images in mass media;
- They emerge from some views of social reality, including exposed and culturally various behaviour patterns of this professional group. However, in this way stereotypes about nurses are not objective truth in the sense of a precise description of real features of this professional group;
- Nurses have a specific position not only in society but also in the important sub-system of medicine, which health care is;
- They also have their ideological function, when confirming or criticizing the status quo of the hierarchy in medicine. As such they are rooted in the net of social relationships between groups in medicine (doctors and nurses);
- Trying to explain stereotypes from a cognitive perspective, "illusory correlation" is based on the identification of cognitive bias, since being afraid of a nurse, who is even able to become a doctor of science, is present, as this is the case of unusual sensibility towards statistically rare data.

Stereotypes about nurses, primitive and simple cognitive schemes, and especially negative stereotypes allow individuals in a relatively simple way to increase their feeling of value and strengthen their own "ego". They are also a simple attribution which allows the "producer" to create their health problems and problems in the medical system and make nurses responsible for that. They think nurses are appropriate targets for their (verbal) aggressive behaviour which will not be contrary to the behaviour of the majority. The majority of stereotypes about nurses are, due to their simplicity and generalization, easy to learn, rooted and wide-spread.

Stereotypes about Nurses

The public opinion about nurses heavily influences the future of health care. The public image of nurses has adopted some humiliating characteristics which destroy the public belief and respect towards the professionalism of nursing as a job.

Mass media play a big role in creating public opinion about a certain profession. In modern society, media present nurses as kind-hearted angels (pretty, but a little bit naive), the doctor's assistants (in subordinate position to the doctor), dragons (strict and unfriendly towards patients and her colleagues), sexual objects (nymphomaniacs, wearing too short skirts). In recent times, mass media have often presented pictures of striking nurses. However, the stereotypical presentation of nurses in media and economic propaganda definitely causes negative consequences, when it is about the relationship towards women within the medical team, but also about

relationships solely among nurses. Unfortunately, they are still presented negatively.

Goriup (2012) states five stereotypes about nurses, experiencing and describing them as:

- A kind-hearted angel, which originates from the intuitive – empirical era, when religious women cured sick people. This is one of the oldest stereotypes, connected with their hundreds of years work with the poor, the sick, the dying and the homeless. This stereotype was strengthened by Florence Nightingale, symbolizing "the lady with light", a sacrificing angel which helps the injured and the sick. Although the comparison with an angel seems to be nice, it is a double-edged sword, as angels are beings with supernatural power, whereas a nurse is (only?) a person. This stereotype's rigid insistence on kind nurses definitely has an immanently wider social background, as it allows the exploitation of nurses;
- A dragon, due to the fact that the patient experiences the nurse as a fat, physically strong, authoritative and self-satisfied leading person; In this case she is the opposite of a kind-hearted angel. She is a tyrant, loves order too much, destroys good interpersonal relationships, is a workaholic and for many represents a much too strong and independent woman who opposes the male (doctor's) authority in medicine;
- The doctor's slave, which originates from the period of Florence Nightingale who ordered the nurses' tasks which they were completely responsible for. Klančnik Gruden (2003, p. 14) points out that the inferiority of health care and nurses to medicine and doctors is defined as completely professional in the field of health care, as their mutual relationship is supposed to be based on the technique of sharing work and different competences. In fact, when arguing for health care as an exclusively female profession, doctors used the concept of womanliness in order to define clear lines for female obligations;
- A nymphomaniac, which is a survival of labelling the nurse as a sexual object in the period which was characterized by increasing women's movements; in this sense nurses are sexual symbols, becoming powerful matrons through sexual contact, also with unfair intentions (marriages, promotions, keeping the status quo in the team etc.). They are not aware of their ascribed sexual and personal features as less worthy and less capable beings, such as irrationality, minor cognitive abilities, excessive (and superfluous?) sensibility, passivity and addiction. This stereotype is obstinate because there is a real trend that not only the global social hierarchy, but also the hierarchy in medicine should not change, and it is (still) based on the stereotypical differentiation according to sex. Those being privileged are afraid of losing their function, that is why it is in their interest to keep nurses uneducated, subordinate and obedient, which educated nurses do not

follow (anymore); however, this is actually taking place in the Slovene health care;

- A striking nurse, as such an image in the media and society has caused an unusual situation, since a political activity is not compatible with womanliness, having mercy and belonging to health care (Gorup, 2012, p. 44).

The above-mentioned, as well as many other things and elements influence the work of nurses on an unconscious level. This is also because their workplace, from the economic and psychological point of view, is a colder, inhospitable and much more demanding place than it used to be in the past. Often, nurses are exhausted emotionally, physically and mentally and they start to burn out, as their work, family and other obligations destroy their energy and devotion. Despite being successful, they do not feel happiness and enthusiasm. Their devotion to work decreases and they become cynical. This is the reason why they do their best in health care to be as less personally involved as possible in the problems of their patients. Nurses are responsible for the preservation of these stereotypes, as certain stereotypes can be to their advantage or disadvantage. The research "Nurses in Slovenia", done by Klančnik Gruden in 2000 at Ljubljana University Clinical Centre, revealed that nurses most often saw themselves as "working hands" and "kind-hearted", followed by the opinions "doctor's assistant" and "professional" in third and fourth place. Nurses try to keep the status of a "good" nurse when they are in contact with their patients, even if they do not always succeed due to too much work. They are convinced that for patients their empathic relationship is more important than their professionalism.

Thus, the work of a nurse is a mission, not a profession. The opinion that health care is not connected with education, management and policy and the profession of health care does not exceed the practice of its activity is also present among medicine staff. According to doctors and some nurses the scientific development of the health care profession would therefore be senseless work (Gruden 2003, p. 9).

Most of the time, nurses are in a situation when they experience pressure from two sides. On the one hand, there are the patients who have various expectations and, on the other hand, there is the doctor who orders them to do all kinds of tasks and obligations. However, the whole system of demands and expectations which nurses experience from both sides every day is no suitable place for their problems. It is not a suitable place where they could express all the problems they experience and where they could get adequate support and help. Since they are subordinates and have to accommodate themselves to all sides, they become and remain slightly moody, personally unconscious, non-autonomic, without any possibility of widening their personal or professional horizons (Felser, 2002, p. 221).

Nurses are the ones taking care of the physical and emotional environment of the patients, whereas the doctor decides what the really important work

with the patients is and when it should be done. Thus, a good nurse is like a good mother: she cares for the patients like a mother cares for her family.

The research "The difference between the knowledge of nurses and its use in practice" showed that this profession mainly depends on and is subordinate to the job of doctors, as nurses do a great deal of their work according to the orders of the doctors, although they are educated and skilled to work independently. In case of professional dilemmas in the field of health care professional hierarchy is considered, i.e. a leading nurse, followed by a team nurse, a medical assistant and a doctor with the other medical staff at the end. However, they all mostly take over the work of doctors. Therefore, the situation of health care in medical centres as well as their own situation and the general situation of nurses are assessed as median to bad or rather bad (Filej, 1997, p. 97-104). This also influences the professional self-image of nurses.

The Nurse and her Self-Image

A nurse should have a positive self-image in order to work successfully. Self-image is a complex issue which depends on the mutual correlation between the personal integrity of the nurse, her ego the way it is seen by others and the socially constructed image of a nurse. That is why Urbančič (1998, p. 156) states that only a nurse as an individual who accepts her physical appearance and develops a positive self-image, also professionally based on the self-assessment and evaluation of the social environment, will be satisfied doing her job and transfer this to people she works and keeps a regular professional relationship with. A positive image of health care and the job definitely help develop and achieve the autonomy of nurses. It is important for a nurse to keep a positive self-image, as in such a way she is able to face stressful situations and prevent her burn-out easier. Besides, she should also think about who she is, what qualitative work she carries out and how, and what her function is. Developing a positive self-image is a result of a long-lasting professional development process, effort, working input and insistence. In this way, she learns how she sees, perceives and understands herself in the function she performs. Thus, the professional self-image of a nurse is the real image about how a nurse sees herself in this function. It should not depend on how she is seen in this function by others.

Filej (1992, p. 292) states that nurses need knowledge in order to bypass stereotypes because:

- of the constant change of work, tasks and reforms in health care;
- of an extraordinary reduction of the number of nurses;
- of the reduction of means for medicine and several rationalizations, which of course is noticeable also in health care (staff reduction, no work bonus, reducing work motivation, limiting tools for performing health care as well as limits in professional education, etc.);
- of the development of new working places which already are or will be occupied by nurses (leading health care chambers, private practice, functions at the Ministry of Health, etc.).

Due to the development of service activities a new form of work and therefore a new understanding of emotional work has developed in post-industrial society. The need for emotional work showed itself in service jobs and also in the field of care in order to allow workers in these fields to face adequately the expectations and orders to accommodate to the needs and wishes of clients. Thus, emotional work means creating and maintaining adequate relationships, moods and feelings towards clients. This refers to activities which the employees carry out in the public sphere for a certain payment, i.e. these activities of emotional work are sold as goods (Šadl, 1999, p. 212-213).

However, in the professional life of a nurse values still create a strong motivation. The main value in health care is to meet the needs of another person (care for others, service, obedience, diligence, etc.) while achievements are expected (perfectionism, sacrifice) which the nurse has internalised. Thus, a nurse is all the time intensively and introjectively motivated, tries to meet the expectations of others by extraordinary achievements (forced altruistic perfectionism), even if she sets her own aims and follows them (within her own autonomy of competences).

In order to surpass the stereotypes in their working environment, nurses should be provided with more possibilities for life-long education, training, more autonomy at work as well as more responsibilities and creativity at work. Provided with such dominant features and characteristics, they will be able to create their positive self-image and feel a stronger sense of belonging within the health care profession– i.e. they will be able to define themselves as professionals.

The Study

We did research on stereotypes about nurses in modern Slovene society and collected some views of how nurses recognized themselves. The purpose of the research was to assess how respondents felt or what they thought concerning some appended and real features of nurses which are connected with stereotypes.

Based on the defined research problem we set the starting research hypothesis, anticipating in:

H0: that traditional stereotypes are known to both questioned groups. In order to carry out the research properly, the initial hypothesis was used to set 10 additional research hypotheses, all based on the initial H0, anticipating in:

H1: that the questioned patients attribute more than half of the listed personal features to nurses;

H2: that the sex of a patient influences the assessment of the nurses' work;

H3: that the questioned patients have a positive opinion about nurses;

H4: that the questioned nurses assess themselves more positively compared with the assessment of the questioned patients;

H5: that the questioned nurses assess their job differently than the questioned patients;

H6: that the questioned patients have a stereotypical opinion about nurses;

H7: that the most recurrent stereotypes about nurses, stated by the questioned patients are the ones about the kind-hearted angel and the the doctor's slave;

H8: that the questioned nurses totally refuse negative stereotypes about their job;

H9: that the questioned nurses have an internalized stereotypical image about their own profession and

H10: that the questioned nurses do not notice negative stereotypes about corruption, possessiveness and egoism.

For the needs of the research work we also set some research questions, since we wanted to know:

- What are the personal features of nurses, attributed by the questioned patients?
- Do the opinions of questioned male patients about nurses differ from the ones of questioned female patients?
- Do the questioned patients have positive opinions about nurses?
- Are the opinions of the questioned nurses more positive than the ones of the questioned patients?
- Do the questioned male patients assess the job of nurses as equally as the questioned female patients?
- Do the questioned nurses assess their job differently than the questioned patients?
- Do the questioned patients have stereotypical opinions about nurses?
- Which are the most prevalent stereotypes about nurses among the questioned male and female patients?
- How do the nurses assess stereotypes about nurses?
- Do the questioned nurses have internalized images in relation to their own job?

For the empirical part quantitative methodology was used. The instrument of the research method was a questionnaire which was created according to the literature.

The questioning was done in 2014. All respondents were guaranteed anonymity. Before the research we had obtained written permission from the institution (hospital and health centre) to carry out the research. The questionnaire included closed questions with two different numerical assessment scales and a five-level Likert confirmation scale for the listed statements. These were assessed by the respondents according to their level of acceptance, with the rates of assessment (1- I do not agree at all, 2- I do not agree, 3- I neither agree nor disagree, 4- I agree, 5- I completely agree) as well as a three-level evaluation scale.

The first group of questions were about demographic data of the respondents (sex, age, job).

The second group referred to personal features of nurses, whereas the third group referred to stereotypes about the job of nurses. The research sample included 240 respondents, whereof 120 were patients and 120 were nurses. The obtained empirical data were analysed and the results shown in graphs and tables which were analysed as well.

The Findings

The response rate for all respondents present at the time of data collection was 100%. The questionnaire was filled in by 240 respondents, whereof 190 (79%) were female and 50 (21%) were male. 16 (6,67%) respondents were younger than 25, 56 (23,33%) respondents were aged 25-34, 84 (35%) respondents were aged 35-44, 44 (18,33%) respondents were aged 45-54, 28 respondents were aged 55-64 and 12 (5%) respondents were older than 65 years old. Of the 240 respondents the questionnaires were filled in by 120 (50%) nurses from the health centre and hospital and 120 (50%) patients with other jobs.

Features of nurses	Arithmetic mean (M) of male patients	Arithmetic mean (M) of female patients	Arithmetic mean (M) of nurses
sentimentality	3,29	3,42	3,85
gentleness	3,46	3,39	3,72
warmth	3,01	3,28	4,45
sympathy	3,21	3,5	3,85
love towards children	4,08	3,44	3,87
consideration	3,33	3,31	4,01
sensitivity	2,88	3,39	3,71
trustfulness	3,17	3,39	3,98
obligingness	3,46	3,78	3,88
communicativeness	3,63	3,69	4,18
responsibility	3,67	4,03	4,33
kindness	3,29	3,89	3,97
patience	3,38	3,56	4,03
accuracy	3,75	3,86	4,17
carefulness	3,38	3,92	4,21
loyalty	3,42	3,53	3,77
caution	3,33	3,69	4,01
calmness	3,25	3,44	3,56
punctuality	3,08	3,28	3,88
curiosity	3,29	3,08	3,61
indulgence	3,96	3,31	3,42

Table 1. *The arithmetic means (M) of the evaluations of nurses' features according to the questioned patients and nurses.*

The comparison in the evaluations of the questioned patients showed certain differences in some features. The questioned male patients assessed that nurses like children much more (M=4,08) as opposed to the questioned female patients (M=3,44).

The questioned male patients assessed nurses as more indulgent (M=3,96), whereas the questioned female patients assessed them with the average mark 3,31. Asper the features of sensitivity (M=3,39), kindness (M=3,89) and carefulness (M=3,92) the questioned female patients assessed nurses with a higher mark than the questioned male patients.

The comparison in the evaluations of features of nurses according to the questioned male patients, female patients and nurses showed that the arithmetic means of the evaluations of the questioned nurses were higher, compared to the arithmetic means of the evaluations of the questioned male patients. The questioned nurses assessed themselves as more considerate (M=4,01), trustful (M=3,98), responsible (M=4,33), warm (M=4,45), accurate (M=4,17), careful (M=4,21) and punctual (M=3,88), compared to the questioned male patients. The only features for which the questioned nurses rated themselves on a lower scale than the questioned male patients were indulgence (M=3,42) and love towards children (M=3,87).

The job of nurses	Arithmetic mean (M) of male patients	Arithmetic mean (M) of female patients	Arithmetic mean (M) of nurses
is exalted	1,71	1,61	2,03
is exciting	1,88	1,58	1,72
is well-paid	2,38	2,5	2,95
provides personal contentment	1,96	1,47	1,85
is respected	2,01	1,97	2,37
is easily employable	2,29	2,08	2,58
demands a lot of knowledge	1,33	1,39	1,15
demands determination	1,17	1,36	1,27
demands independence	1,46	1,17	1,13

Table 2. *The evaluation of the job of nurses according to the questioned male patients, female patients and nurses.*

The questioned male patients and the questioned nurses assessed the job of nurses according to a three-level evaluation scale, with marks meaning: 1 -I agree, 2 -I partly agree, 3 -I do not agree. There was major disagreement in evaluating the job of nurses as well-paid and easily employable. However, both the questioned male patients and the questioned nurses agreed, for the most part, in the statements that the nurse's job demands a lot of independence, determination and knowledge.

The evaluations of the questioned nurses differed from the evaluations of the questioned male patients in that the job of nurses is respected (M=2,37), well-paid (M=2,95) and easily employable (M=2,58).

Here, the questioned nurses expressed much more disagreement than the questioned male patients.

As per the exaltation of this job, the questioned nurses assessed it as not so exalted (M=2,03) compared to the evaluations of the questioned female patients (M=1,61). Besides, personal contentment in this job (M=1,85) was less assessed by the questioned nurses than by the questioned female patients (M=1,47), whereas the questioned male patients assessed it similarly to the questioned nurses (M=1,96).

Stereotypes about nurses:	Arithmetic mean (M) of male patients	Arithmetic mean (M) of female patients	Arithmetic mean (M) of nurses
corruption	1,54	1,36	1,23
striking	1,71	1,81	1,42
workaholism	1,96	2,17	2,28
lustfulness	1,5	1,28	1,4
doctors' maids	2,01	2,08	2,17
self-importance	1,79	1,67	1,52
kind-hearted angels	1,96	2,31	2,28
forgetfulness	1,46	1,17	1,13

Table 3. *Perceived stereotypes about nurses according to the questioned male patients, female patients and nurses.*

The questioned male patients and the questioned nurses provided their assessments of stereotypes about nurses according to a three-level evaluation scale. They evaluated how often they heard stereotypical statements about nurses, with marks meaning: 1 – never, 2 – sometimes, 3 – often. A higher mark meant a greater presence of a certain stereotype. Among the statements the respondents heard often about nurses, the most stated were kind-hearted angel, workaholic and doctor's maid. As per these three statements, the questioned nurses assessed they heard them even more often than male patients. Corruption and lustfulness of nurses were assessed the least.

The comparison of the most heard stereotypical statements about nurses showed a similar trend with all three research groups. Only the differences concerning corruption, striking, workaholism and the kind-hearted angel should be exposed here. The questioned nurses assessed corruption (M=1,23) as the least heard stereotypical statement, whereas the questioned male patients assessed the stereotype about corruptive nurses with a higher mark (M=1,54). In contrast, the assessment of workaholism of nurses was the highest according to the questioned nurses (M=2,28) and the lowest according to the male patients (M=1,96). The questioned female patients and nurses assessed the stereotype of the kind-hearted angel as the most present among people (M=2,28), whereas it was assessed less (M=1,96) by the questioned male patients.

Discussion

Nevertheless there were some limitations in this study. More reliability of the findings could be provided if a more widespread use and refinement of the questionnaire was reported. Moreover, the relatively small sample clearly affects validity of the study. There is also a fundamental issue regarding the predictive validity of the finding. For example, the use of an instrument to measure attitudes can only be said to measure attitudes at a given point in time. We cannot rely solely on the knowledge of people's attitudes to predict future behaviour. A person's behaviour is determined not only by attitude but also, and more importantly, by an evaluation of the social setting.

We researched the presence of some older stereotypes and stereotypes of a later date about nurses referring to the evaluation of the job of nurses and the stereotypical female personal features. The obtained empirical data of research about nurses and stereotypes in the synthesis with theoretical findings make us believe that older stereotypes about nurses as sexual objects, lustful nymphomaniacs, wearing too short skirts, are not actual among the questioned male patients and the questioned nurses anymore.

Recently in Slovenia a lot has been heard about corruption in medicine, sometimes also in reference to nurses. The corruption amongst nurses is said to allow the patients to be treated past the waiting line. However, our research did not confirm this on the part of the questioned patients and the questioned nurses. Based on the obtained empirical data, we find that self-importance is present in the stereotype about the nurse-dragon, an authoritative leading personality that everybody is scared of. This stereotype occurs from time to time among the questioned patients, whereas the questioned nurses ignore it, which is to be expected. Also, the stereotype about forgetful nurses is of later date and connected with their overwork and burn-out. The questioned patients and the questioned nurses face this stereotype quite rarely. Since in strained circumstances in the Slovene health system more and more articles about threats of strikes and striking nurses can be found, we anticipated that both questioned groups would perceive this stereotype, yet this did not occur. Besides, we noticed a trend in the patients' understanding concerning strikes in health care, as they are well-informed about the unenviable situation of nurses on the primary as well as secondary level of the health system. Unfortunately, the stereotype about nurses as kind-hearted angels, "pretty, but a little bit dull and uneducated maids and comforters", is still present. This stereotype, originating in the period when patients were cared by nuns, is mostly noticed by the questioned patients and the questioned nurses. What is more, the stereotype about nurses – maids, slaves and the doctor's left hand, totally subordinate to the doctor, having a historical background, is unfortunately still present today, as it is perceived by both the questioned patients and the questioned nurses. Except obedience, productivity and diligence are also stressed as initial values in health care. Nurses are expected to be willing to work night and day, that is why the stereotype about nurses as workaholics is one of the most prevalent. The questioned nurses assessed themselves self-critically mostly as working, benevolent assistants of doctors, and others (patients) see them in this stereotypical way as well.

Testing the Given Research Hypotheses

Based on the obtained empirical data we tested:

- H0: anticipating that traditional stereotypes were known to both questioned groups. We found that this hypothesis was confirmed, as the questioned nurses assessed they heard these statements even more often from patients (see table 3).

We also tested 10 research hypotheses and found:

- H1: anticipating that the questioned patients attributed more than half of the stated personal features to nurses – was confirmed, as the questioned patients agreed with all personal features. Since all 21 features were included also in a research done by Avsec (2002), we compared the results of both. Avsec studied the assessments of stereotypically typical male and typical female personal features. In her research the most stated typical female features that were assessed were love towards children, gentleness, sentimentality, warmth, care, curiosity and kindness. We found that the majority of these features were also highly evaluated by the questioned nurses. The questioned patients of both sexes assessed that the most typical features of nurses were love towards children, responsibility, accuracy and care. Sensitivity and warmth were assessed as less typical.

- H2: anticipating that the evaluation of the nurses' work is influenced by the sex of patients – was confirmed, as we found that the questioned male patients assessed that nurses like children rather more. The questioned female patients assessed this on a lower scale. The questioned male patients assessed nurses to be more indulgent in comparison to the questioned female patients. As per sensitivity, kindness and care, the questioned female patients assessed nurses with a higher mark than the male patients.

- H3: anticipating that the questioned male patients assessed nurses as being dominant - was confirmed, as the majority of the respondents assessed their work and features as extremely positive, except curiosity and indulgence.

- H4: anticipating that the questioned nurses assessed themselves higher than the questioned patients - was confirmed, as the results showed that the self-image of the questioned nurses was rather high and the questioned nurses respected themselves more than they were respected by their patients.

- H5: anticipating that the questioned nurses assessed their job differently than the questioned patients - was partly confirmed. All respondents agreed that the job of nurses is not well-paid and not easily employable and demands a lot of independence, strictness and knowledge. The evaluations of the questioned nurses differed from the evaluations from the questioned female and male patients concerning the statements that the job of nurses

is respected, well-paid and easily employable. The questioned nurses stated even more negative evaluations of their job than the questioned patients.

- H6: anticipating that the questioned patients had a stereotypical opinion about nurses - was rejected, which surprised us, as the respondents had never heard of the majority of stereotypical statements about nurses before.

- H7: anticipating that the most prevalent stereotypes about nurses among the questioned male and female patients were the stereotypes about the kind-hearted angel and the doctor's slave - was partly confirmed, as the respondents most often stated that they knew the stereotype about nurses as doctor's maids.

- H8: anticipating that the questioned nurses totally rejected negative stereotypes about their job - was confirmed, as the questioned nurses totally rejected the negative stereotypes about corruption, striking, lustfulness and self-importance. However, they were aware that they were said to be hard-working, doctor's slaves and seen as kind-hearted angels.

- H9: anticipating that the questioned nurses had an internalized stereotypical image of their own job - was confirmed, as the respondents included typical female features in their self-image even more than expected by their questioned patients. The most typical features of nurses, stated by themselves as well, were gentleness, sympathy, obligingness, patience and loyalty, which of course are typical female (and for nurses expected) features. They assessed their empathic relationship as most important for patients.

- H10: anticipating that the questioned nurses did not perceive negative stereotypes, connected with their corruption, indulgence, striking, lustfulness and self-importance - was rejected, although the questioned nurses did not deny indulgence, which thus became a "silent" part of their self-image (table 3).

Conclusion

Ule (2003, p. 262) points out that the sociology of medical ethics was nowhere realised more than in the analysis of the profession of nurses, i.e. also in the field of stereotypes which circulate about them. Feminist research and a general increase in the interest in marginal groups contributed more to the repeated interest of sociologists in nurses than the increase in medical ethics itself. Since nurses have less professional power, they seem to be less important when it comes to making ethical decisions than doctors in the shadow of whom they work. Their ethical judgement is less considered. This occurs even if different types of sociological research have shown that nurses generally set ethical dilemmas in medicine and health in a different way and also react to ethical problems in health care in a different way than doctors do. Nurses are focused on "the ethics of care", which today is an alternative to the dominant technical relationship towards patients. While doctors are mainly and sometimes totally occupied with medical – technical questions of treatment and making diagnoses and ethical dilemmas originate

in these questions, nurses rather stress the contribution in the interaction with patients in context with lasting and continuing relationships.

In health care the confrontation with (unnecessary and offensive) stereotypes is necessary, since confronting them systematically, according to defined methods, not anarchically, is necessary; that is why they have to be analysed in the context of social changes. This is also because health – which is definitely the most important value an individual possesses – is linked to prevention and even more to curation which is presented by nurses. Health care is considered to be one of the most important components of social reproduction and is inseparably connected with actions in society (Retelj, 2003, p. 67). Nowadays, the majority of health organizations face a limitation of means for "normal work", however, the needs for considering demands and the confrontation with business risks have become a permanent and big challenge. The situation of health organizations is becoming more and more a service activity, close to a "medical industry". However, this is not part of the basic aims of health care, but should be considered as an important line of force in future health care. Stereotypes about nurses are one of them.

Nurses are very much aware of these problems and the restrictive government measures. This is the reason why they are trying to improve the importance of their function with patients and in the health organization. We are all obliged to provide a rational relationship between a service and its price. Due to this, nurses are expected to be flexible and always available. Based on this, economic logic interferes in the relationship between the patient and the nurse which is imminent and private (Goriup, 2011, p. 845).

All these facts allow stereotypes about their work to emerge. In order to allow the development of the health system, medicine should not be understood as a system of isolated components. In health organizations people form the system. Here, individuals and groups meet, having different opinions, convictions and ways of thinking. They all have their own system of values, needs and interests. A health organization is successful and effective only if an individual group faces stereotypes and co-operates with others in order to eliminate them. Modern medicine demands a professional manager structure and the development of professional health management. However, the Slovenian concept of health management is still connected with the conviction that the doctor is the only one who is able to manage the hospital and the whole medical organization. The classical principal has its roots in the idea that the basic organization is mainly economic. Managers are supposed to think they have to take control of the staff and lead them to objective economic aims, and not towards the elimination of stereotypes. This kind of leadership has negative effects on the professional work of nurses. Thus, managers should support and lead their staff at work. Medical staff is supposed to find their own way to surpass and/or break away from the stereotypical evaluation of nurses and their work. They work as a team, considering the values of the organization, as well as the interests and wishes of the patients. At work, nurses should have their own vision and create alternative solutions. They should know the difference between what is ethically right or wrong, good or bad.

They should also accept changes according to their critical judgement and put them into practice. Asper health care, we can say that these are nurses that have specific obligations in their common work. In order to be effective, they have to listen actively, be motivated, communicate effectively, solve conflicts successfully and provide positive understanding, trust and accommodation (Bernot, 2007, p. 549).

However, all efforts to eliminate the stereotypes about nurses and their workplace as effective factors of their work come back to health care as a boomerang, threatening to eliminate the ideal of both, the function and the workplace of nurses as a healthy and safe place where, through fulfilling work, they can develop all the abilities for which they should be paid for adequately. In health care, not much understanding for realizing the transformation of values, the importance of integrating values into life and the work of nurses as individuals can be noticed. This is a unique paradox, as the global aim of health care is to offer help to the one who needs help. It is a process in which nurses not only treat and care for their patients through their work but also actively (co-)form the patient and his personality, and influence his view regarding the world. Without these values, health care would have no sense (Goriup, 2012, p. 46).

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CHAPTER C:
GENDER, RESEARCH AND HIGHER
EDUCATION

CHALLENGING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES IN ACADEMIA – THE FEMALE PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

The present paper explores the issue of gender equality and discrimination within the academic landscape of Cyprus. Statistical evidence shows that in Cyprus, women are under-represented on corporate boards, in government, in politics, in engineering, in academia and research, despite the fact that higher education female graduates exceed their male counterparts in numbers. The issue of gender inequality and discrimination in academia is of importance, when one considers the potential influence or role modeling effect of the academic institutions and their personnel on the student population. The present study draws its information from the findings of the EKIF major research survey *Mapping the research landscape of Cyprus through the gender perspective* (2010-12). The focus of the study is the academic/research sector of Cyprus. The findings confirm that women constitute a minority in academia and are mostly concentrated in the lower grades. Procedures and practices within universities hinder both the access and promotion of women academics. However, information, as regards the causes of gender discrimination within academia and the institutional processes that serve to maintain it, is very limited. The paper seeks to identify and illuminate these processes mainly through the perceptions of 106 female academics/ researchers based on their responses to closed and open-ended questions and through statistical evidence provided by the authorities of the island's seven participating universities and six research institutions.

Keywords: male domination, gender discrimination, institutional and cultural processes, female perspective, change of culture

Introduction

The goal of equality between women and men and the promotion of women's rights are enshrined in international conventions and commitments such as CEDAW, the Beijing Platform of Action and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and constitute a fundamental value and principle for the European Union (European Commission, 2010).

Despite the fact that higher education female graduates exceed their male counterparts in numbers in Cyprus (Statistical Service, 2014) as well as in many other countries, recent reports and studies reveal that women are underrepresented in government, in decision-making bodies, on corporate boards, in politics, in engineering, academia and research (Statistical Service, 2012).

The numerical under-representation of women in academia and research is well documented worldwide¹. In Cyprus, a country small in size and population,² research is largely confined to the universities as there are no major industries or high tech industries. In 2010, the higher education institutions accounted for 49.8% of the Cyprus total R&D expenditure. The Cyprus state contribution to research is one of the lowest in the EU, 0.5% of GDP, average EU 2%.³

The literature review reveals that women in the USA, Australia, the UK, and Europe constitute a very small minority of the full time/tenure academic staff and are mostly concentrated in the lower grades. As Prichard (1996) points out, "the senior posts of tertiary education internationally are held by men to a degree where they seem to be retained for men."⁴

This study explores the issue of gender equality and discrimination within academia – a sector that inevitably influences the student population and has a potential role-modeling effect as regards equal opportunities. For this reason, it must be exemplary in gender equality and equal opportunity practices for staff and students. The article also considers whether female faculty experience discrimination – overt, subtle or institutional – and what specific recommendations might alleviate existing cultures and practices of discrimination.

Data and Methodology

The quantitative data and the views of the participants used in this article form part of a major survey conducted by the Cyprus Gender Research Centre (EKIF) between September 2010 and March 2012, entitled Mapping the research landscape in Cyprus from the gender perspective. The research objectives of the EKIF survey were to map gender equity practices in academic and research institutions in Cyprus through quantitative data collection and through the opinions of both male and female participants on key issues that impact on their work and their professional environment.

As both men and women were included in the sample, the research provided an important opportunity to incorporate men's awareness and perceptions of gender issues, thus attempting to present a balanced perspective as regards the gender dimension in the academic landscape of Cyprus. In the present article, the focus will be largely on the views and perceptions of women and much less on the views and perceptions of male participants.

¹ See in particular European Commission, 2013; Koutselini, 2011; Nielsen, 2010; Wolford, 2005; Doherty & Msanfredi, 2005; Toren, 2001; Husu, 2000; Etzkowitz, H. et al., 1994; Grant & Ward, 1991.

² According to the Statistical Service (2012), in 2011 the total population of Cyprus was 862,000 (women 443,000 and men 419,000)

³ Source: Statistical Service – Science and Technology:
<<http://www.mof.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf>>, retrieved 26/10/2012.

⁴ Quoted in Bagillhole (2002, p. 20).

At the time of the research, all seven universities in Cyprus (3 public and 4 private) and six research centres (public and private) provided information on their academic/ research personnel and on the existence or non-existence of policies as regards gender professional development.

Data was collected using three structured questionnaires which included closed and open-ended questions. The questionnaires were sent via e-mail to a) university authorities, b) heads of research institutions and c) all academic/research personnel of universities and research centres, through their respective authorities. The findings of this survey were published in 2013. They are also available on the EKIF website⁵.

This article outlines quantitative data received from the seven universities (3 public and 4 private) and the responses of the 218 participants to the third anonymous questionnaire, including their responses to the open-ended questions. The large majority of the participants (84%) were working in universities either as academics or researchers. For this reason, the terms 'academic' and 'researcher' are used interchangeably in this study.

Results

Gender Dimension in Academia

Statistics worldwide confirm that despite constitutional provisions, legislation and equal opportunities policies at national, EU and UN level, male hegemony in academia is a hard fact.⁶

The collected data of the EKIF survey confirms that in Cyprus men dominate important decision making bodies in academia, whether appointed or elected. As Figure 1 shows, the representation of women is very slim – a token one in the following governing bodies: university council/interim committee, the senate, post of rector and vice-rector.

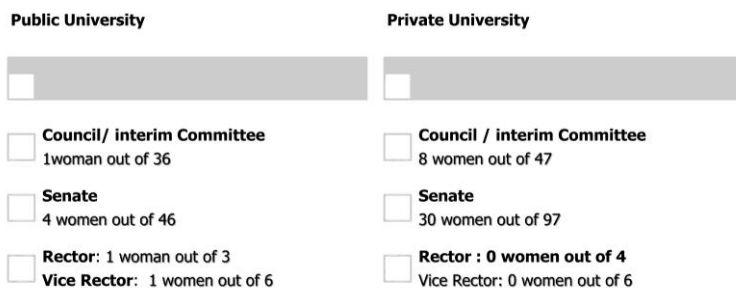


Figure 1. University Bodies of Decision Making

⁵ <<http://www.ekif.org>>.

⁶ Doherty & Manfredi, 2005; European Commission, 2013; Nielsen, 2010; Husu, 2000; Toren, 2001.

The same applies to all academic ranks. The higher the rank, the smaller the number of women (syndromes of leaking pipe and glass-ceiling). Figure 2 shows that the overall share of women in the public universities is only 26% and in the private universities it is 36%. As regards representation of women in public universities, it ranges from 8% at the rank of the professor to 38% at the rank of the lecturer, while in the private universities their representation is 23% at the rank of the professor and 43% at the rank of the lecturer.

	Professor	Associated Professor	Assistant Professor	Lecturer
Public Univ.	8%	28%	28%	38%
Private Univ.	23%	26%	43%	43%

Figure 2. Academic Ranks

Doctoral students are admittedly tomorrow's researchers and academics. Figure 3, which includes data provided by the participating universities, confirms that women exceed male doctoral students in numbers in public and private universities on the island.

State universities	Private universities	Universities abroad
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women: 275 (51%) • Men: 260 (49%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women: 8 (89%) • Men: 1 (11%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women: 237 (50%) • Men: 236 (50%)

Figure 3. PhD Candidates

It is worth mentioning that 50% of the Cypriot doctoral students studying abroad are women. According to the *Statistics of Education*, during the academic year 2011/2012, the total number of PhD students was 623 (280 male and 343 female students).

Statistical evidence in this section confirms that women are underrepresented numerically within academia despite the fact that women constitute 51.4% of the island's population (Statistical Service, 2012, p.11). According to registrations for the academic year 2011/2012, female students exceeded the male university students in numbers in undergraduate, postgraduate and PhD programmes (Statistical Service, 2014, p.199).

Institutional Barriers

The primary objective when designing the three structured questionnaires was to diagnose whether there was, in fact, a problem of gender discrimination within academia— overt, subtle, or institutional. Thus the participants were asked whether there is gender discrimination in the academic/research community of Cyprus. The large majority of the 218 participants (112 men and 106 women) felt that men and women were receiving equal treatment in their workplace. However, when further

questions differentiated between male and female academic personnel, the participants were positioned as follows:

- 40% of the men and 6% of women believe that there is discrimination against male personnel
- 60% of the male participants and 94% of the females are of the opinion that there is discrimination against women academics.

It is significant to note that the percentage of men who believe that there is discrimination against women is higher than the percentage of men who believe that men experience discrimination in the academic community.

However, male and female personnel appear to disagree as to the degree of discrimination against women. This is a trend that was often encountered in the EKIF survey when the questions differentiated between males and females. Next, the opinion of the participants was sought as to the three important stages in the professional life of a female academic: recruitment, promotion and appointment at high ranking posts of responsibility/administration.

Figure 4 depicts the responses of men and women as regards the recruitment stage. The participants were positioned as follows: 34% of women believe that, at recruitment stage, there is discrimination against female personnel, while only 7% of men agree with their female colleagues. A larger number of female academics (39%) and an even higher number of the male participants (58%) are of the opinion that there is no discrimination.

At promotion stage, 41% of women believe that there is discrimination against women, as opposed to 7% of men. A smaller number of women (31%) hold that there is no discrimination, while 57% of men agree with the female respondents that there is no discrimination against female academics at the promotion stage.

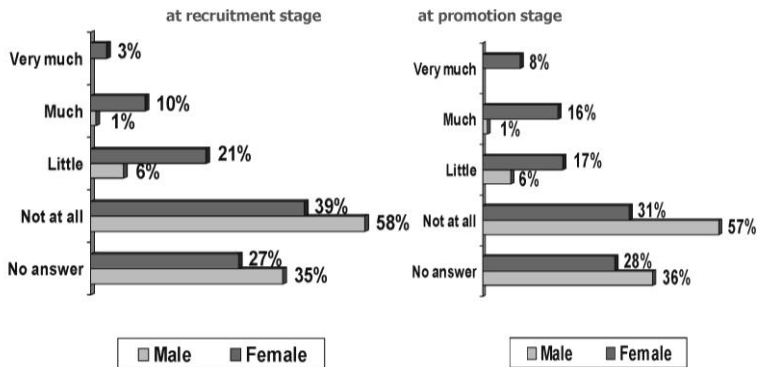


Figure 4. Discrimination against Female Personnel

Similarly, as revealed in Figure 5, male and female participants disagree as to the degree of discrimination against women when appointed to high ranking posts of responsibility/ administration: 48% of women believe that there is discrimination, as opposed to 19% of men. As regards appointments to high ranking posts, both male and female participants agree in higher numbers that discrimination against women does exist as opposed to the percentages of the responses of women and men indicated in Table 3 and Table 4 above.

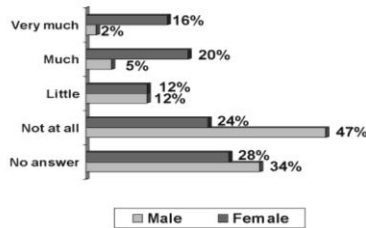


Figure 5. Discrimination against Women: Appointment at High Ranking Posts

In Cyprus, appointments of the members of the university council and interim committee lies with the government as these bodies are not elected. The representation of women on these bodies is a token one. A similar picture is presented in the elected bodies of decision making: members of parliament, leadership of political parties, municipal authorities. It can be argued that discrimination against women seems to be more deeply and more widely entrenched in the social and political milieu of the island. The academic landscape serves as a mirror of the wider gender discrimination that persists in the bodies of power and decision-making of the Cyprus Republic (Statistical Service, 2012, pp. 63-66), United Nations (2011, CEDAW/C/ CYP/ 6-7).

Structural and Socio-Cultural Barriers

This section presents a selection of the responses of the female academics to the open-ended questions as regards gender discrimination within the academic profession. These responses offer a more nuanced perspective on discrimination in academia as they come from women who, apparently, have experienced gender discrimination and have survived within the academic community of Cyprus.

The selection of findings, reported in Figure 6, touch on the issues of verbal harassment, wage inequity and the male-dominated professional environment – issues often encountered in discourses on gender discrimination.

Verbal harassment, using derogative remarks against a woman, can probably be considered as an isolated incident on the part of an individual. Lower payment for the same duties, however, is certainly an institutional discrimination that exists in Europe and the USA (Monroe & Chiu, 2010;

Wolford, 2005). The third statement suggests a more nuanced perspective of socio-cultural discrimination as, not only the academic system, but the system in general “has been made by men for men” without taking into consideration gender diversity.

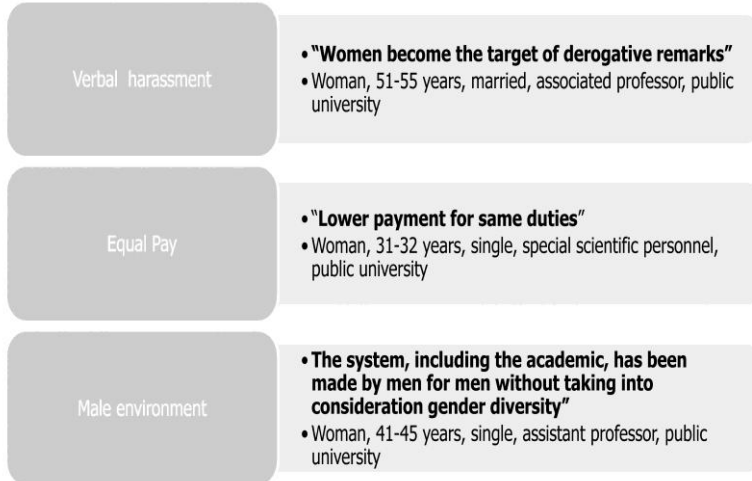


Figure 6. Female Academics on Gender Discrimination

These responses by female participants, made anonymously, conjure up a professional environment which is not conducive to the needs of women. Women seem exposed to male domination, they are unaided by their institution, are devalued by the system by being paid lower⁷ than their male colleagues, and are often the target of derogative remarks. This is a legacy of conscious or subconscious male chauvinism and a mirror of the social fabric of the island.

Figure 7 presents more views by women that highlight the major ongoing tension between professional career and family commitments – indicating institutional accountability and individual responsibility.

As pointed out by Monroe, Saba, Wrigley and Alexander (2008, p.221), “it is not gender that imposes limits on women’s professional success. It is children, family, and domestic duties.” The Cypriot female academics cited above complain of short pregnancy and motherhood leave and of a lack of consideration of their family obligations, for which they are made to feel ashamed. The female academics are also made to believe that marriage and children are the reasons for not being promoted with the excuse that marriage and children are not conducive to research. In the academic community, research and publications are considered top priority. According to women’s responses, the academic system does not provide either

⁷ The gender pay gap in Cyprus stood at 21.8% in the year 2008. In 1995, it was 29%. See CEDAW/C/CYP/6-7, 2011, p.22; MJPO, 2011; Wolford, 2005.

supporting measures to help them reconcile family with professional life or equal opportunity policies.

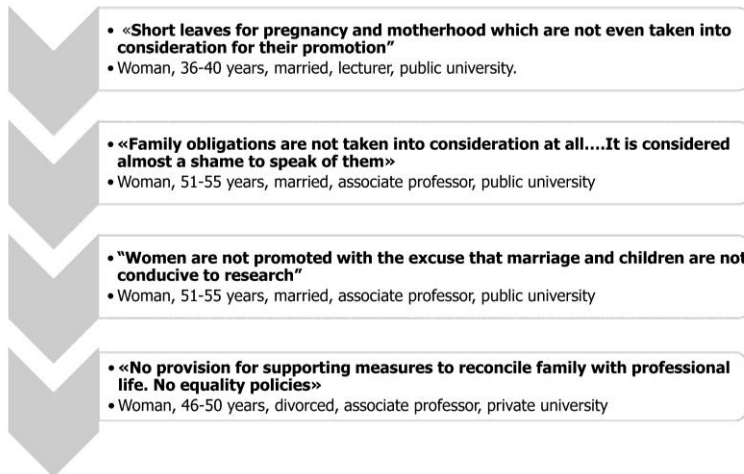


Figure 7. Female Academics on Professional versus Family Life

These statements reveal that the female academics are of the opinion that what hampers their career development is not gender but rather family and motherhood obligations and chores, which are socially constructed and are assigned as responsibilities to women by a social system “made by men for men.”

The views of the two female respondents given below suggest that female academics should be treated differently in appraisal:

“They [men and women] are equal as they make comparable efforts. I think, however, that the woman-mother should be assessed using different criteria than the ones applied for the appraisal of male academics as motherhood requires dedication, for in the competitive academic environments, the value of motherhood has not been recognized, as well as the time that the mother has to devote to the child. Capitalism is male-centered and the needs of women and children are defined through the male perspective.”⁸

“There are no provisions for female academics/researchers to help them balance their professional life with their family life (very short pregnancy/motherhood leave; the pregnancy/motherhood leave is not taken into consideration for promotion as regards the time requested by the schemes of service). In certain cases, there is still prejudice as regards the treatment women receive from their male colleagues: being a woman, you have to make double the effort to gain their respect.”⁹

⁸ Female, assistant professor, age bracket 41-45, single.

⁹ Female lecturer, age bracket 36-40, single.

However, the male point of view, as regards the tension between family obligations and a professional career, is given succinctly by a male researcher working in the field of computers for a semi-government organization:

"The reason why women are discriminated in the workplace in research environments has NOTHING to do with sexism but their behaviour. Women's goals are their families, they get pregnant, drop everything for a few months and then expect to be treated the same as men. Well no, they should not be treated the same at all."

"You don't see women researchers staying till 7 or even 9 at night doing their work. Why????? Cause they have to feed their kids. So if your priority is somewhere else and not your job then of course women are not going to excel in what they do and of course you are going to have less women at the very top of their field, because to reach the very top and remain there, you will have to work 70-80 hours per week, from the day you start your PhD till the day that you die. And MOST women -95% of them in research - ARE NOT PREPARED TO DO THAT."¹⁰

All views, cited above, appear to be in agreement as to what thwarts the professional expectations of female academics/ researchers: motherhood and family commitments. The male fabricated system of academia refuses to acknowledge the value of the woman-mother and has failed to provide real support for her.

The responses of women presented in Figure 8 indicate that even when women hold positions of power they are made to feel inferior and must always struggle and make double the effort to win the respect of men. The female associate professor complains that women in the academy are not treated equally as regards promotions, the freedom of speech and the representation in bodies of power. Monroe et al. (2008) called this phenomenon "gender devaluation" and went on to define it as "the subtle process by which administrative positions lose their aura of status, power, and authority when held by women" (p. 219).

Another associate professor also complained that women are confronted with "disbelief at all levels" and have to prove that they "are not an elephant." These two statements by female academics indicate that a woman's holding of the position of power, as Monroe et al. (2008, p. 219) has pointed out, "would devalue or minimize it somewhat, casting it into the service mode, not the power mode."

Even when women become coordinators of projects, they feel that there is neither support for nor participation in their projects. Thus, women's experiences of committees and research become discouraging and

¹⁰ Male researcher, working in the field of computers for a semi-government organization, age bracket 26-30, single.

intimidating. Consequently, research activity and publications are more often undertaken by men.¹¹

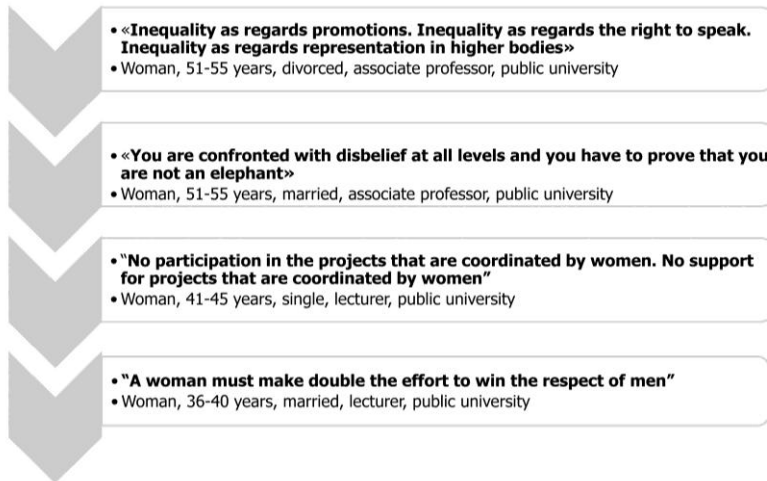


Figure 8. Women's views on Gender Discrimination

It can also be argued that the cultural legacy of the old boy network, which is subtle bias, can be linked to the institution's failure to care enough to set up mechanisms or take measures to correct or counterbalance it. As Saunderson (2002, p. 376) has suggested, "despite considerable recent gains, some academic women's identities are compromised, challenged and made 'vulnerable' through feelings of being undervalued, overburdened and often the subject of unequal treatment."

Equality Policies and Measures

Equality between women and men is a fundamental value of the EU enshrined in the Treaties and in a large body of its legislation. In the Council Conclusions (Meeting, Brussels, 7 March 2011), it is admitted that "progress is slow and that *de facto* gender equality has yet to be attained" (p. 2). EU member states, including Cyprus, are urged to focus on equal pay for equal work or work for equal value. Member states are also urged to take action in promoting equality in decision-making, dignity, integrity and an end to gender-based violence and ensuring that a gender dimension is integrated into all policy areas, and in particular in the context of the *Europe 2020 Strategy*.

The authorities of all seven participating universities were asked to indicate to what extent the universities ensure equal representation of the two sexes on the appraisal committees. Two out of the three public universities, the University of Cyprus, the largest public university on the island, and the Cyprus University of Technology (TEPAK), do not take any measures at all to

¹¹ See European Commission, 2013 and EKIF, 2013, pp. 40-50.

ensure equal representation of the sexes on the appraisal committees for personnel recruitment and promotion. The private universities seem more sensitive as regards this issue as all four private universities declare that they do take some measures for the equal representation of men and women on the appraisal committees for personnel recruitment and promotion (EKIF, 2013, pp. 35-36).

When the authorities of the participating institutions were asked whether they ensure equal representation of the two sexes on the research committees, all six answered that they do not take any measures as appointments on the research committees are based solely on merit, qualifications, ability and expertise, not on gender. Their answers in Figure 9 reveal that they turn a blind eye to the gender asymmetry of the research pyramid of the institutions and hide behind the rhetoric of meritocracy, expertise, suitability (EKIF, 2013, pp. 40-49).

- The Cyprus Institute: Representation on the research committees is based solely on criteria of merit, knowledge and expertise
- RTD Talos: Representation on the research committees depends on a person's abilities and qualifications and not on his/her sex.
- The Institute of Agricultural Research: Because of the composition of the scientific personnel and the nature of the research work, it is difficult to ensure equal representation of the two genders on the research committees.
- Frederic Research Centre: There is no discrimination of the sexes. There is the possibility of equal participation of the two sexes in the research groups for the research projects undertaken by FRC.
- Institute of Neurology and Genetics: Persons are appointed on the research committees on the basis of their qualifications and skills, and not on the basis of their gender.
- The ΤΕΡΑΚ Μ.Η.Φ. & Ν.Σ.Υ. Centres: Research positions to be filled are advertised and candidates sit for examinations.

Figure 9. Gender Representation on the Research Committees

A number of studies on gender issues have pointed out that the academic sector has remained immune to equality policies because of the argument that their policies are based on meritocracy, research and publication.

Scholarly publication is indeed critical as regards the professional career of academics, thus the issue of gender and publication is of high importance (Grant & Ward, 1991). In order to form a balanced view as regards the impact of equality policies and measures in academia, the participants themselves were also asked to express their opinion as to what extent equal participation of the sexes is facilitated at their organization as regards research teams. Figure 10 reveals that 39% of men and 21% of women are of the opinion that sex participation is ensured, while 1% of men and 5% of women claim that participation is not ensured.

What is of interest here is the claim of ignorance made by 36% of men and 31% of women. It seems that, even in the case where some policies and measures do exist, probably no effort is being made by the authorities to acquaint their personnel with the existence of equal opportunity policies. In other words, legal and formal administrative mechanisms offer insufficient information on equality policies and measures.

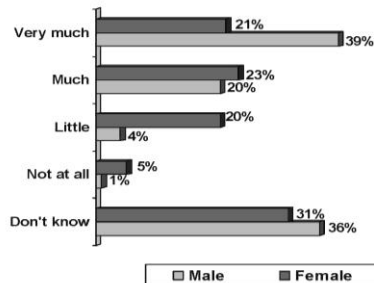


Figure 10. Participation of Men and Women in Research Teams

Another question put to the participants was whether at their workplace there are mechanisms for monitoring the enforcement of gender equality policies: 17% of men and 36% of women answered 'no', while a very slim percentage opted for 'yes' (5% of men and 2% of women). What is significant here is the considerable percentage of participants who claimed ignorance in all cases described in this section.

Admittedly, the authorities and the participants did not mention, in their responses to the open-ended questions, any effective equal opportunities policies, practices and measures like an action plan, or a budget for gender equality purposes, or training for all their staff or involvement of the staff in recruitment and selection committees.

As Bagilhole (1993, p. 272) pointed out:

"Unconscious, unchallenged prejudices often become incorporated in rules, procedures and criteria of eligibility, written and unwritten. It may be that it is not that rules are broken to obstruct and delay women, but stretched to facilitate men."

Figure 11 presents the views of female academics as regards practices in favor of women. Their responses touch on maternity leave, parental leave and flexible hours. However, as regards maternity leave and parental leave legislation, the female respondents argue that, although these pieces of legislation were passed in order to help women, they have proved to have further enhanced the position of men within the work environment.¹²

One can sense a seething anger and frustration in the words of the three female respondents, for according to them, the enforcement of positive discrimination (legislation/ measures) meant to help women, has in fact turned out to benefit more men.

¹² See legislative measures as regards maternity protection and parental leave in CEDAW/C/CYP/6-7, 2011, p. 33.

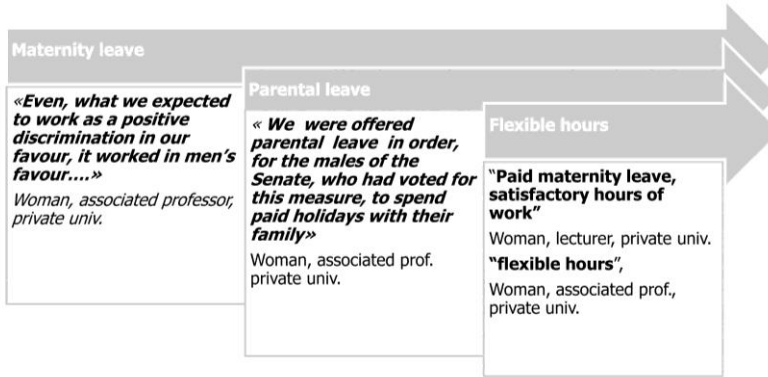


Figure 11. Practices in Favor of Women

A minority of female respondents acknowledge that certain positive measures and practices like paid maternity leave, satisfactory hours of work, as well as flexible hours of work, have been enforced that are conducive to women academics (EKIF 2013, p. 80).

However, there are a number of male and female participants that support the view that women and men are equal: *“No organ of a woman’s or of a man’s body can make her or him superior or inferior.”*¹³

Similarly, Figure 12 presents the views of women as regards practices in favor of men. As expected, female respondents touch on leadership, assessment and male networks.

1 Leadership positions

«It goes without saying the lead and primacy of the male»
 Woman, 51-55 years, divorced, associated prof., public univ.

2 Assessment

«there is no fair assessment, everything works in their favour, institutionally or not»
 Woman, 51-55 years, married, associated prof. private univ.

3 Male networks

“Men benefit much more...partly because they are supporting each other”
 Woman, 51-55 years, married, associated prof. private univ.

Figure 12. Practices in Favour of Men

¹³ Female assistant professor, age bracket 26-30, single.

The statements by the three female professionals conjure up an academic environment where female academics are likely to be left feeling as outsiders, frustrated and marginalized. In this environment, the supremacy and leadership of the male are unquestionable. As for the female, there is no fair assessment as everything works in men's favor. It is argued that the reason for the supremacy of the male is, partly, because males support each other. The female respondents keep mentioning again and again the mighty institutional male power. This is no surprise as the universities have been regarded - and still continue to be regarded in many countries - as "the bastions of male power and privilege" (Doherty & Manfredi, 2005, p. 6; Forster, 2001, p. 28). This is the reason why women's entry has been painfully slow and their path to the top is also anticipated to be long and painfully slow.

Admittedly, all universities in Cyprus are relatively newly established¹⁴ and one would have expected that the academic community would be free of old prejudices and intractability that characterize older universities in other countries¹⁵.

Causes of Discrimination

Many attempts have been made in various countries to highlight the causes of the gender gap in academia.¹⁶ The findings of these studies tend to agree that the causes of gender discrimination are not only multiple and various but also complex and subtle.

In order to pinpoint the institutional and other processes that contribute to the continuation of discrimination, the participants were asked to evaluate the impact of three factors as regards discrimination in their workplace:

- social stereotypes
- organizational policies
- organizational culture

The respondents consider that social stereotypes exert the greatest impact in the workplace (male 56%, female 86%). The organizational culture is classed second as a cause of gender discrimination (male 24%, female 49%) while the organizational policies are ranked third with very low percentages (male 11% and female 19%).

The responses of the participants, as regards the impact of the three factors on gender discrimination in the workplace, indicate that there are important differences between male and female participants as regards the degree of

¹⁴ The University of Cyprus was the first university to be established in 1989 and started its operation in 1992.

¹⁵ See for example the differentiation between "old" and "new" universities in the UK in Doherty & Manfredi (2005).

¹⁶ See Dinerman, 1971; Doherty & Manfredi, 2005; Eliophotou et al., 2010; Koutselini, 2011; Monroe et al., 2008; Nielsen, 2010; Saunderson, 2002; Solomi & Komodromou, 2012; Toren, 2001.

the impact – a trend noted earlier in many issues relating to gender discrimination.

Proposed Solutions

How can the academic environment and institutional processes become friendlier to women in the academic landscape of Cyprus? Scholarly discourse and organizations like the UN, EU, the Council of Europe and UNESCO have put forward policies, strategies, and goals in an effort to promote gender equity. Studies have shown that the academic sector has remained immune to equality policies mainly because of the argument that their policies are based on meritocracy, research and publication¹⁷ – a view also encountered in the statements of both men and women in the open-ended questions (EKIF 2013, p. 89).

In Figure 13, a selection of suggestions put forward by the respondents (7 male and 29 female), as regards measures and policies that would help enhance professional development, are presented. The proposed measures and policies can be grouped into two categories:

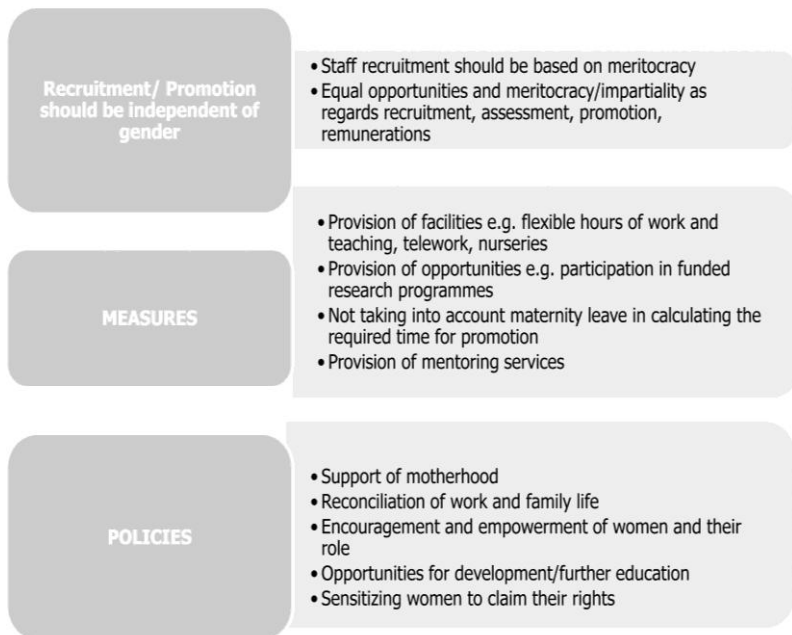


Figure 13. Measures and Policies Promoting Equality in Professional Development

The two categories are those that would impact positively on the professional development of men and women (meritocracy and equal opportunities) and those that would impact specifically on the life of female

¹⁷ See Bagilhole, 1993; Etzkowitz et al., 1994; Saunderson, 2002.

academics by helping them reconcile work with family life (facilities for child care, flexible hours of work, support of motherhood and mentoring services).

According to the findings (EKIF, 2013, p. 86), the respondents strongly believe that the factors that are likely to promote a change in stereotypes and culture in the academic environment are, in order of priority, the following:

- EU policies (women 91%, men 79%)
- Educating the management personnel in gender issues (women 83%, men 64%)
- Familiarizing personnel with issues of equality (women 71%, men 63%)

The particularly high rates given to these three issues by both males and females reveal that the participants feel that there is a need for the academic personnel and the management of the institutions to become more acquainted with EU equality policies as well as with gender equality issues. The considerably higher percentage score that the female respondents gave to these issues reveals that women place higher hopes on EU policies and on education/training, as regards gender issues, than their male counterparts. Women, through their responses, seem readier to voice their dissatisfaction with the cultural and institutional environment of the academic landscape of Cyprus. In this case, they place their hopes for a change of mindset/culture on an outside factor (EU policies) and on an institutional factor within their workplace (information/education/training).

Responding to another question, the participants classified the eight factors that could possibly have a positive contribution on the change of culture in the academic environment, in order of priority, as follows: the family (89%), the school (88%), the university authorities (77%), EU equality policies (74%), the female academic personnel (73%), government policies (65%), the male academic personnel (59%) and trade unions (31%). The respondents gave much higher rates (89-73) to the family, the school, the university authorities and the female personnel - the factors that are likely to have the more powerful impact on the child's life in particular during the formative years: from kindergarten – high school. The respondents consider that women (73%) could play a more influential role than their male counterparts (59%).

The academic environment inevitably influences the student population and has a potential role-modeling effect. For this very reason, it should be exemplary in equal opportunity practice for staff and for students. There are also "negative knock-on effects for public life if higher education continued to be perceived as a male-dominated culture, with limited opportunities and challenges for women" (Smithers, 2004, p. 1). The academic community needs gender diversity. The authorities within the sector have to take steps to ensure it will not continue to deter the women leaders of the future to enter it with a vision of a successful academic path leading them to the top ranks of the academic hierarchy, on par with their male counterparts,

without being wounded while trying to break through the glass ceiling of discrimination. The universities need to attract the very best graduate talent (male and female) as "No organization these days can afford to waste valuable brain-power simply because it is wearing a skirt (Fisher, 1992, p. 46).

Conclusions

The findings presented in this paper are based on quantitative statistical data provided by the authorities of the seven participating universities and the six research centres as well as on the responses by the 218 participants to the closed and open-ended questions (EKIF, 2013).

The findings confirm that women are heavily underrepresented and are mostly concentrated in the lower grades. They also underline the existence of institutional, structural and socio-cultural factors which generate and perpetuate gender discrimination in the academic community of Cyprus. This is in line with the findings of studies worldwide.

The focus on women's responses offered us a perspective through which overt, subtle and hidden forms of gender discrimination were highlighted; thus, they have become more visible.

The findings indicate that women's career trajectories, in the academic environment of Cyprus, are restricted mostly due to the following factors:

- The seemingly gender-neutral procedures and practices employed by the authorities of the universities and research institutions, which nurture and perpetuate persistent inequalities causing the gender asymmetry of the academic/research pyramid and the gender pay gap.
- The smokescreen of the rhetoric in favor of meritocracy, expertise, suitability that is used to cover up the overt and subtle gender discrimination practices.
- The "devaluation" of the female in the male-dominated environment of academia.
- The refusal of the male-dominated system to acknowledge the value of motherhood and the burden of family obligations weighing heavily on women academics.
- The socially constructed dogma that children and family obligations are the exclusive domain of women's responsibilities.
- The failure of the system to provide supportive measures that cater to the needs of female academic personnel.

What is significant is that female participants spoke of feeling marginalized and excluded from bodies of power and decision making by living in a male-dominated work environment which nurtures and breeds visible and invisible barriers to women's professional path, mainly through male networks.

As regards the factors that are considered as having the greatest impact on gender discrimination practices within the workplace, the respondents

clearly ranked, in order of priority, first the social stereotypes, secondly organizational culture and thirdly organizational policies.

The main measures put forward by the participants to help ameliorate the life of women academics are: provision for flexible hours of work, child care, participation in funded research programmes and mentoring services. The policies proposed by the respondents included the reconciliation of work and family life, the empowerment of women, opportunities for further professional development, and sensitizing women to claiming their rights. The majority of the respondents indicated the need for meritocracy and impartiality at all stages of the professional path: recruitment, assessment and promotion; equal opportunities for research projects as well as equal pay.

While the majority of female respondents are critical of the academic environment, as mentioned earlier, there are a number of female and male participants who express the opinion that both genders are equal. Besides, a small minority of female respondents admit to the existence of certain measures and policies which are conducive to women.

The institutional barriers highlighted in the findings can more easily be brought down if the system in academia stopped turning a blind eye to the male-dominated culture and policies and/or paying lip service to existing legislation at national and EU level. The authorities could play a more positive role if they provided effective monitoring mechanisms and introduced measures that would impact more favorably on women's efforts to balance work with family obligations.

Women academics are more likely to acknowledge the presence of gender inequalities in academia than men and are more likely to express dissatisfaction with the male-dominated committees and discrimination at the personal level. It must also be noted that the participants (73%) acknowledge that women can become a significant catalyst of change. However, in order for this to materialize, women need to become aware of whether there are enforced gender equality policies and measures as well as monitoring mechanisms in their workplace. A large majority of female and male academics expressed ignorance as to this issue.

The overall impression one gets from the findings is that universities need to attract the best graduate talent, both male and female, as this is likely to have positive knock-on effects for the wider community, in particular for a small country like Cyprus, where large scale research is mainly confined to the academic sector. Stakeholders, inside and outside the university, need to provide better support for female academics in order to increase their participation in university governance and large scale research. Instead of mirroring the social prejudices and inequalities, the universities, their policies and organizational culture should aim to become models of real equality and meritocracy for both male and female personnel, taking into consideration family and motherhood needs and obligations.

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THE LEAKY PIPELINE: TACKLING GENDER INEQUALITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTES IN CYPRUS

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Abstract

This paper seeks to explore the various ways in which the 'leaky pipeline' can be addressed in HE institutions. It is already well-known that female researchers in the humanities and the sciences experience various hardships in their transitional phase from the PhD to postdoctoral research, and that when it comes to research posts and higher profile job positions the gender balance is unevenly distributed, with men hogging most academic jobs. As Curt Rice (2012) reports in the Guardian, "only 12% of third year female PhD students [in the UK] want a career in academia" because of the pre-existing gender bias in HE institutions and the various difficulties female researchers know they will have to face due to their gender. This growing and divisive gap in gender inequality in HE is becoming even more alarming, given the continuing marginalization and segregation of women in all spheres of academia. A case in point which makes it even more imperative to address these questions is the Universities UK's recent report which endorses gender segregation at university events, as well as the widening and expansion of the leaky pipeline across many EU member states. In particular, this paper will zero in on the current situation in Cyprus and look at available statistical data on female PhD researchers in HE institutions (such as TEPAK Cyprus University of Technology and the University of Cyprus) who either move on to do postdoctoral work or to pursue an academic career or experience a career break right after their PhD. The Gendered Map of Education in Cyprus project (2009-2011), which has recorded quantitative and qualitative gender-disaggregated data on this topic, will be used to compare and select data. Once it is ascertained that the leaky pipeline exists, this paper also hopes to address the main reasons for its existence, as well as to provide a range of solutions to rectify it, such as engaging Cyprus and other member states to eliminate barriers to gender equality, providing incentives for structural changes in research organizations (including universities, which are key stakeholders), and developing strategies and policies to promote greater gender equality.

Keywords: leaky pipeline, higher education in Cyprus, gender discrimination in academia

Introduction

The current situation in Higher Education is far removed from an equal participation of women and men in the different stages of the higher education career. Be it in the capacity of researcher, PhD student, lecturer, reader, associate professor, or even professor, the distribution of power and financial means as well as the personal benefits that result from education, are not the same for women and men. This comes as a direct result of the

gender biased and prejudiced situation in society, which reserves most benefits and privileges for men in the sphere of academia, but also due to the preservation of long-standing male-dominated structures and the general climate within the institutions of higher education. Higher education plays a major role in shaping society and building socio-politically aware and active citizens. It is often the case that many people who will take up positions of power in a society have a background in higher education. This implies that a gender equal higher education system also has a very far-reaching and long-term impact on the gender equality within society. Therefore it is extremely important to fight for a gender equal environment in higher education that promotes and sustains equal chances for both women and men.

On a wider social scale, gender inequalities are often interrelated with and to other strands of discrimination and discriminatory practices. This results in multiple discrimination and requires specific strategies and policies to fight the existing exclusion or marginalization of women. It is necessary that all participants of the higher education process are aware of structural discrimination in society at large and are able to recognize this discrimination within their own behaviour if and when it occurs.

Gender Discrimination in Research and Academia

There is an urgent need to improve the situation of women and men in academia. Both women and men are constantly being confronted with outdated gender stereotypes, and the subjects they choose to study or to teach are often based on these stereotypes. Lack of conformity to these stereotypes often leads to unequal treatment and discrimination. The losers within the patriarchal academic system are still women. Even though they form a large number of the student population, they are rarely present in leading academic positions. Even if some women manage to scramble to the top and get higher positions they will usually earn less money than their male colleagues and are often subject to discrimination. The importance of affirmative action and gender mainstreaming policies to overcome the actual gender based discrimination in higher education cannot be stressed highly enough. Active measures are required in order to reach gender equality and to create what Elizabeth Cabrera (2009) calls "a supportive organizational culture [within academic institutions]."

It is especially important to do this if we hope to bring more women back into higher education and scientific or academic research in order to capitalize on their skills and increase efficiency and productivity in society. More specifically, there is a general trend or sharp drop-off in the number of women who move from the master's level to PhDs, and there is an even sharper drop in those who go on to have careers in research. Clearly women face considerable barriers as they move up the educational ladder to research careers. A recent 2012 report by Curt Rice written for the Guardian reveals, for example, that only 12% of third year female PhD students in the UK want a career in academia. Rice notes that young women scientists leave academia in far greater numbers than men because the characteristics of academic careers are unappealing, (ii) the barriers they will encounter are

disproportionate, and (iii) the sacrifices they will have to make are great. More women than men "see academic careers as all-consuming, solitary and as unnecessarily competitive." They feel that they cannot attain a high academic post or even succeed in obtaining research funding so they feel disinclined to make the effort. As a result, "long-term, cutting edge, high-risk, profoundly creative research, is diminished." What is more, female PhD candidates perceived successful females as displaying masculine characteristics, such as aggression and competitiveness (the Thatcher syndrome), and they were often childless.

Additional factors that may explain the lower number of female researchers, especially in senior positions, include work-life balance, gender stereotyping, performance measurement and promotion criteria, governance, and the role of researchers in society. Apart from being under-represented, women in research are also often paid less than equally-qualified men, are less likely to be promoted, and are consistently clustered at the lower ranking of the science and/or academic system.

As Mary Koutselini notes in "The gendered map of Cyprus Tertiary Education (2009-2011)," the inequalities in the workplace, and especially in the sphere of higher education as they relate to gender, are manifest not only in EU countries but are exhibited on a global scale.

In "Gender Equality in Tertiary Education of Cyprus: The perceived superiority of men as academics and researchers," authors Mary Koutselini, Froso Patsalidou, and Katerina Tsimpimpaki (2014) note that women are underrepresented in academic posts, few women are in the rank of professorship, women are absent in decision-making bodies and positions, and there is restricted participation of women in externally funded research positions. Using quantitative and qualitative data, as well as historical context, the authors analyze the prevalent assumption of male superiority in research and academia. The gendered map shows statistically that in 2010/11 the University of Cyprus had 60.4% male lecturers, and only 39.6% women lecturers, and 92.8% male professors, as opposed to only 7.2% female professors. In total, the University staff was comprised of 73.2% males and 26.8% females. Similar results were reported for the Technological Institute which was comprised of 67.6% male lecturers and only 32.4% female lecturers, and 92.3% male professors and only 7.7% female professors during the same period. In total the academic staff was 79.2% male and only 20.8% female. The Open University in Cyprus had no female professors at all.

Thus the underrepresentation of women in academia is evident. Even when over-representation of women in higher education does actually occur, it is not necessarily the result of affirmative action in their favour, for such legislation is rare. Rather, empirical research sheds light on several reasons for the growing participation of women in tertiary education, beginning with the fact that higher levels of schooling and training are now required to attain social mobility and escape poverty. Even though higher education leads to individual returns in the form of higher income, women often need to have more education than men to get the same jobs.

Finally, once women gain access to higher education they frequently exceed men in grades, evaluations and degree completion. It must also be noted that overrepresentation of women in higher education has yet to translate into proportional representation in the labour market, especially in terms of leadership and decision-making positions. Even though many women have started to benefit from their countries' improved educational systems, they face barriers to the same work opportunities available to men. Women continue to confront discrimination in jobs, disparities in power, voice and political representation, and laws are prejudicial on the basis of their gender. As a result, well-educated women often end up in jobs where they do not capitalize on their fullest potential and skills. Certainly higher education is not exempt from this.

As Julia Leemann (2010) points out, research on institutional norms and values brings up gender inequities in academia which are deeply entrenched in the academic culture itself, its symbolic practices, and career constructions. For example, the prevalent work norms, career expectations and age barriers make it more difficult and demanding for women than for men to reconcile career and family, and academics generally cannot rely on a partner to organize child care on weekdays or reduce their employment to part-time. As we have noted previously, successful female professors were often perceived by female PhD candidates as displaying masculine characteristics, such as aggression and competitiveness, and they were often childless. It seems that many female academics are highly aware that becoming a parent creates limitations primarily on women's availability for academic work and time available for research, attending conferences, networking opportunities and geographic mobility (O'Laughlin & Bischoff, 2005), and leads to problems of compatibility. Emerging female researchers often try to fit their social mobility around family plans, confine their movements in terms of time and space, or dispense with academic mobility altogether (Leemann, 2010). Financial considerations and prioritization of needs also come into play in order to augment the larger picture.

Brown and Watson (2010) conducted a qualitative study of the impact of gender on the experience of doing doctoral work. Eight women who had recently completed or who had almost completed a PhD were interviewed about their experiences. Seven of these women studied part time and one studied full time. Brown and Watson found that being a mother had profound implications for doctoral-level study. First, the timing of study was dictated by domestic demands; second, balancing domestic and academic life was a source of great stress, and women were torn between their roles as wife/mother and PhD student. Finally, attendance at conferences was problematic, and, for many women, unmanageable. Although the data sample was very small, the conclusions may be used to extrapolate on a wider scale since findings seem to generally confirm that for women finding the right balance between work, home and study life can be extremely difficult, if not impossible.

In contrast, Jasmin Joecks (2014) finds in a study based on a unique data set of 419 researchers in business and economics from Austria, Germany and the German-speaking part of Switzerland that female researchers in

business and economics that have children are actually more inclined to be productive than female researchers without children. She suggests that female researchers with children either manage to overcompensate for any negative effects associated with childbearing by working harder, or it may be the case that only the most productive female researchers decide to go for a career in academia and have children at the same time. Whatever the reasons for the increased productivity of female researchers with children as opposed to those without, Joecks confirms that measures should still be taken to reduce the burden of childcare for female researchers. By levelling out the playing field for up-coming female researchers with and without kids hopefully more talented female researchers will decide to go for an academic career and for kids, which in turn will help to reduce the leaky pipeline effect.

Another way to reduce this effect is to increase supportive and peer collaboration and try to eradicate what several scholars such as Kathleen Hancock (2013) have defined as an inhospitable or “chilly” environment within the masculine stand competitive structure of the academic field. As Sandler and Hall (1986) note, it becomes even chillier at the top as women find themselves more isolated and cannot fit into male cliques. Women have to fight hard for academic recognition and university power and they are not really included first in the competition or “arena of contest” (Krais, 2000, cited in Leeman, 2010). Women are oftentimes excluded from the competition. At the same time, it has also been observed that women are less likely to be able to depend on a person who is academically established and who can provide them with support and promote their professional development or career. In general, women find it more difficult to find collaboration partners and they are the ones who are more often excluded from academic networks and associations than their male colleagues (e.g. Bilen-Green et al., 2008; Kyvik & Teigen, 1996; Sonnert & Holton, 1995). In addition, they also find it harder to build up collaborations with researchers abroad (Lewison, 2001). Whether women are forced out of the game or receive a chilly welcome, either way the leaky pipeline is at least partially a testament to the demands associated with advancement in academic careers.

Higher education institutes need to reorganize their hierarchical structures and make higher-level jobs more accessible to women, since many female researchers and academics find their way blocked by invisible promotion criteria bolstered by male networks. As Etzkowitz et al. (2000) make clear, science organisations are male-dominated and men’s skilful use of “social capital” built up through informal relationships gives them greater access to professional partnerships and new ideas. Insider knowledge of the informal rules is crucial for self-promotion and progression. Because the network is built around male homosociality, or outside work contact in evening hours which clash with home life, women are excluded from participation (Griffiths et al. 2007). Men may hear of higher posts as they bond with each other at their local bar, for example. Women are thus automatically excluded from access to male cliques or any information which may allow them to advance professionally.

While the leaky pipeline is often primarily associated with the loss of women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics – the so-called STEM fields (Goulden, Frasch, & Mason 2009), it is less widely known that it also characterizes the social sciences in general, and international studies in particular. Just like in STEM, the number of women in the social sciences decreases across the career stages (Hesli et al. 2012). When it comes to international studies, one of the main reasons why women may be underrepresented at the associate and full professor levels could be their research output or productivity and the ranking of the journals in which they publish (Hancock, 2013). If women are publishing less than their male counterparts, this may account for their higher propensity to “leak” out of the academic career pipeline.

Hancock et al. (2013) administered a survey by emailing a link to all members of the ISA (approximately 5,300 individuals at the time). Although the ISA is an American professional organization, it includes members in 80 countries. It is, according to its Web site, “the most respected and widely known scholarly association dedicated to international studies” (<http://isanet.org>). The survey identified glaring differences in research methodologies, with women being considerably more likely than men to use qualitative methods in their research, while men were more likely to use quantitative methods. Male assistant professors would clearly find this to their advantage if quantitative work was seen as being more valuable and “scientific” by senior colleagues.

The Situation in Cyprus

As noted previously, there are less female professors than male professors in Cypriot universities. This is not because women lack the skills or qualifications to pursue higher posts in academia. “The gendered map of Cyprus Tertiary Education” shows that in 2008/09 there were 213 women and 230 men at doctoral level at higher education institutes in Cyprus (Koutselini, 2009-2011, p. 3). Between 2005/06 and 2008/09 the average number of male professors in public universities was 55.52 and the average number of female professors was 4. For private universities the average was 26 for men and 9.5 for women (p. 5). During the same years it is also reported that there were more male lecturers and research or teaching assistants than women. This variance is especially noteworthy and striking if we consider the fact that between 1999/00 and 2005/06 there were more female students in higher education both at Cypriot universities and abroad. The table below gives a gender-disaggregated breakdown of Cypriot students in higher education between 1999/00 and 2005/06.

Έτος Year	Σύνολο Total		Κύπρος Cyprus		Εξωτερικό Abroad	
	Άντρες Men	Γυναίκες Women	Άντρες Men	Γυναίκες Women	Άντρες Men	Γυναίκες Women
1999/00	5.749	7.762	511	1.890	5.238	5.872
2000/01	6.295	8.852	603	2.085	5.692	6.767
2001/02	6.947	10.068	637	2.285	6.310	7.783
2002/03	7.839	11.029	778	2.606	7.061	8.423
2003/04	8.957	12.136	949	2.866	8.008	9.270
2004/05	9.668	13.039	1.045	3.171	8.623	9.868
2005/06	10.472	13.844	1.218	3.266	9.254	10.578
2006/07	10.999	14.252	1.448	3.416	9.551	10.836
2007/08	14.800	18.553	4.971	7.450	9.829	11.103
2008/09	16.338	20.196	6.417	9.029	9.921	11.167
2009/10	16.809	19.650	7.610	9.397	9.199	10.253

Table 1. *Cypriot Students in Tertiary University Education in Cyprus and Abroad, 1999/00-2005/06¹*

The results show that between 1999/00 and 2005/06 there was an increase in the number of female students enrolled in higher education institutes in Cyprus and abroad. However, although women are more likely than men to obtain qualifications at tertiary level, they do not advance in their careers as much as men do due to organizational and other barriers. They do not receive as much support as men, and female academics have suggested that there should be a greater integration of gender issues in the procedures of job appointment and assessment.

Discussion

We have seen that women do not advance as much in their careers as men and leak out of academia. Yet it is not all doom and gloom. On a positive and more optimistic note, it is not only possible to try and reverse the leaky pipeline phenomenon and try to recoup female academics and researchers back into academia by challenging set gender stereotypes, but also possible to go beyond the “leaky pipeline.” As Henry Etzkowitz et al. (2011) have pointed out, new fields and areas of work are steadily emerging at the intersection between economy and science, like technology transfer, which offer a new alternative option for women scientists leaving academia. Technology transfer provides “not only new career paths, but also more favourable work conditions in comparison to academic science and industrial research” (p. 133).

¹ Source: The Statistical Portrait of Women in Cyprus. Republic of Cyprus: Statistical Service (Table 3.3, p. 29).

Female scientists can now find new ways to apply “their scientific, technical and relational skills in new cross-border occupational areas that translate knowledge into other socio-economically valuable forms.” Since it commercializes scientific research, university technology transfer is now becoming appealing and looks like “a favourable alternative to academic science due to its high knowledge content and its focus on creating new value to society” (p. 133). As Emily Lakdawalla remarks:

“...it is NOT failure to leave academia. [...] I hate being described as someone who ‘leaked out of the pipeline’ just because I chose not to continue doctoral study. I am not a ‘drip’ and neither is anyone else who successfully completes an advanced degree and then successfully finds a job that they enjoy, where they can apply their critical thinking skills and research acumen to solving other kinds of problems.” (Lakdawalla, 2010, cited in Etkowitz, p. 132)

Women can thus find specializations and occupations offering the greatest flexibility in terms of hours and work-loading. It is my contention that the leaky pipeline can be reversed through gender-awareness training, a thorough re-evaluation of women’s contribution, greater flexibility in terms of working hours, the branching out into new career paths, occupations and industries, the maximization of women’s proven potential, the re-evaluation of policies and strategies which restrict greater gender equality and a thorough elimination of gender stereotypes and barriers to gender equality both in academia and the society at large.

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SEXIST HARASSMENT AT UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

The challenge for the study was to elaborate sexist harassment experiences at the university, the laws and policies that define and regulate sexist harassment, and the implementation and outcome of such policies that aim to prevent sexist harassment within the university organization. The whole research process resulted in two theoretical themes reflective of the areas of sexual harassment and gender equality: the first one is conceptual and the second one is organizational. The concepts of gender and sexual harassment, sexist harassment, and sexist discrimination are, firstly, used to refer to the same phenomenon, also indicating how the phenomenon is understood and how it should be solved. Secondly, it seems essential to elaborate the topic from the individual level to the organizational level in a way that also considers individuals and the realisation of their capabilities within an organization. Both of these questions are also important in developing the theory further, as that is also an aim of my study. The research contributes to the conceptual-theoretical discussion of the development of gender equality work at organizations.

Keywords: equality, gender, harassment, law, sexism, university

Introduction

Gender Equality Law and its Implementation at University

Finnish universities have a statutory responsibility to promote gender equality. The Finnish Act on Equality between Women and Men states that the authorities shall promote equality between women and men purposefully and systematically, especially by modifying the circumstances that prevent the achievement of equality (Section 4 of the Act on Equality between Women and Men 1986). The authorities, educational institutions, and other bodies involved in training and education shall provide equal opportunities for the educational and occupational advancement of women and men (Section 5, *ibid.*). Educational institutions shall pay special attention to equality in student selection, in teaching arrangements, and in the evaluation of studies, as well as to the policies that aim to prevent gender and sexual harassment and its elimination (Section 6, *ibid.*). Moreover, the law prohibits both immediate and indirect discrimination (Section 7, *ibid.*). Discrimination consists of sexual harassment and harassment based on one's gender, as well as any order or advice to conduct gender-based discrimination (*ibid.*). The act directly addresses employers and exerts pressure on them to take responsibility for ensuring the execution of the protection that the law entitles (Section 8d, *ibid.*). Employers' procedures are considered to be the type of discrimination prohibited by this law if they

abdicate their responsibility to use available measures to eliminate harassment after being informed about it (Act on Equality between Women and Men). In a case in which a victim of harassment feels that an educational institution has neglected its duty to take appropriate action to stop harassment, the law provides a measure for further action. The victim of harassment can claim compensation for discrimination from a district court under the Finnish Equality Act. In addition, harassers may be held liable under the Criminal Code of Finland and the Finnish Tort Liability Act. Harassment in a working environment can also be deemed to constitute discrimination in the workplace or a violation of the Finnish Occupational Safety and Health Act. In a case in which sexual harassment includes intentional violations of physical integrity, the provisions on assault and sexual offences governed by the Criminal Code of Finland may also apply (The Ombudsman for Equality).

In Finland, organizations – including higher education institutions – are under statutory obligation to draw up an equality plan – a document in which systematic attention is paid to the significance of gender in an organization. In order to ensure that gendered power relations become visible, equality plans publicize and clarify gender as a meaning, gender as an organizing principle within organizations, as well as gendered power relations. The 1995 reform of the Equality Act provided tools for actively engaging in equality practices. Those working within universities were provided legitimacy and tools by the Act to carry out equality work – an effort that is most concretely manifested in the drawing up of equality plans. This situation continues to pose a challenge to universities and their actors in terms of transforming methods and policies into more equality-based practices.

Recognizing inequality issues drives the concrete implementation and monitoring of equality plans. Equality work is supported by publicity, legislation, and decisions that demand conformance to considering gender equality in all decision making, planning, and implementation, as well as in the analysis of the effects of measures. This phenomenon is referred to as the mainstreaming of equality, and it requires a commitment by decision makers and planners to equality promotion as part of their tasks. To achieve this goal, these people must have sufficient basic knowledge about the state of equality. Such knowledge can be acquired through gender-segregated statistics, evaluations, and impact analyses. Thus, researchers and universities should be highly involved in such tasks.

Laws regulating gender politics in academia, such as gender equality laws, try to handle universities' autonomy with delicacy, attempting to combine administration and self-administration (Müller, 1999). Direct and indirect strategies are combined with a legal obligation for universities to write gender equality plans that are based on gender equality surveys. These strategies leave universities the freedom to carry them out and be responsible for the end result – to improve the realization of gender equality as stated in the Finnish Act on Gender Equality between Women and Men. The instruments and indicators to assess the actual improvements in gender equality are under development and focus merely on easily available

statistical information and therefore representational equality, which is important but not sufficient. Müller (1999) sees insufficiencies in the university driven autonomous approach to realize gender equality, an approach which also gives tremendous importance to the micropolitical level. Acker (2006) identifies and writes about the same problematics. She proposes a solution, according to which successful change projects that include gender equality and equal opportunity promotion and enactment seem to have three characteristics: 1) they are focused on a limited set of inequality-producing mechanisms; 2) they combine social movement and legislative support from outside the organization with active support from insiders; and 3) they involve coercion or sanction (Acker, 2006). That threat could be, for example, penalties for either an organization or an individual, or bad publicity or reputation.

Various feminist researchers work to identify not only structures that impede equality in universities but also cultures that legitimize these barriers. Some gender inequality issues, such as overt and covert discrimination as well as sexual harassment and sexism, are at least partially transformed into organizational issues and gender equality politics (Müller 2000). Müller's (2000) typology on higher education organizations' responses to gender equality politics distinguishes the following *structures and resources*: active formation, reluctant opening, passive tolerance, and factual prevention of effectiveness.

Grünberg (1999) identifies the requirements for *processes* that are needed to drive a significant effect on reducing sexual inequalities and to have an effective approach to gender equality in higher education. She points out the necessity to have gender-disaggregated statistics and gender-sensitive research to formulate the local gender equality problem. Climate may perhaps be the most challenging to measure, but it is an important central dimension in relation to gender equality. Grünberg (1999) refers to pedagogical initiatives and results in improving the educational atmosphere that supports gender equality in the classroom, initiatives that support the creation of space within universities where women can develop a sense of solidarity, and programmes that enable individuals to legally approach issues such as sexual harassment. Furthermore, the design and number of specialised gender-specific courses, as well as the institutionalization of Women's and Gender Studies in universities, contribute to social change, thereby influencing the power structures within and outside higher education institutions (ibid.). Direct and indirect gender-based discrimination is an explicit area of legislation in various countries, including Finland. However, the implementation of policies has been lax, at least in the Finnish context, which is still missing compulsory training of university staff and students.

It was the Irish government that encouraged the European Commission to take the final steps towards producing a Union-wide initiative on sexual harassment (Collins, 1996). A specific sexual harassment directive was enforced by the EU in 2002 (Zippel, 2004). Article 2, No. 2 of the Equal Treatment Amendment Directive 2002/73/EC defines direct and indirect discrimination, as well as harassment and sexual harassment. The current common definition of sexual harassment is unwanted and one-sided

physical, verbal, or visual sexual behaviour in which sexuality and/or gender are used as a means of subordination, questioning, or control. It also involves the misuse of power to undermine another person (Sunnari, 2010; Sunnari et al., 2003). Gender harassment includes comments and jokes that imply stereotypic and discriminative attitudes. Sexual harassment includes unwanted physical or verbal sexual intentions that go against good manners (seductive behaviour) as well as sexual bribes, compelling, and coercion (Mankinen, 1995). In Finland, The Act on Equality between Women and Men classifies these forms of gender and sexual harassment as *gender discrimination*; these ideas are regarded in the present study as *sexist harassment*.

The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) mandates that the EU and all of its member states provide equal treatment to all, regardless of sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age, or sexual orientation (Rees 2007; Verloo, 2006). European Union (EU) politics has increased the need for sensitivity and intersectional analyses of sex, gender, race/ethnic origin, socio-economic background, disability, and age (e.g. Bagilhole, 2009; Van der Vleuten, 2007; Verloo, 2006; Yuval-Davies, 2006). Despite these efforts, however, equality perspective-based research on higher education institutions is confronted with the same challenge as are actual policies: It is categorical and misses the complexities of existing discrimination. Walby (2005) perceives that, in the contemporary development of gender mainstreaming policy, the EU has strengths in promoting it to the abstract level, but weaknesses in terms of implementation. Sexual harassment in European Higher Education institutions has been dealt with in various ways, depending on national legislation and university level policies. Prevention of sexual harassment and gender discrimination has been addressed in the European Council's recommendations. However, as Zippel (2004) presents in her study, employers' policy statements, complaints, procedures, and even preventive tools such as awareness campaigns and training sessions, are more inexpensive than initiatives devoted to gender equality issues, such as pay gaps, child care, and parental leaves. The policies against sexist harassment can also be considered cost-neutral or cost-effective because sexist harassment may lower productivity and increase the costs incurred from psychological and health problems (ibid.).

The sexual harassment intervention model by Hunt et al. (2010) divides sexual harassment policy implementation into three phases of intervention: primary intervention/prevention, secondary intervention/responding, and tertiary intervention/follow-up. Sexual harassment intervention is defined in policies that have a legislative basis. For successful implementation of the sexual harassment policies, the organization's management's commitment is necessary in all of the intervention phases. The intervention model (Hunt et al., 2010) could serve as a heuristic checklist for organizations developing their own intervention models for sexist harassment.

Sexual and Sexist Harassment in Research

Varsa (1996) classifies previous research on sexual harassment into three main discourses: human rights, based mainly in the US; socio-political,

based in central Europe; and welfare-state, based in Nordic countries. Oré-Aguilar (2001) presents a classification that resonates with Varsa's model, which categorises conceptual models of sexual harassment in three parts: the cultural values model, antidiscrimination model, and gender-based violence model. Since Kelly (1987) put forward her efforts, several feminist researchers have considered sexual harassment as one of the most common forms of discrimination in the sexual violence continuum (Husu, 2001; Sunnari, 2008; Sunnari et al., 2003, 2005; Thomas & Kizinger, 1997). While 'sexual harassment' is a term widely used in research, 'sexist harassment', the more extensive conceptualization of the phenomenon, is also used in research (e.g. Benokraitis, 1995, 1997; Husu, 2000, 2001; Silius, 1992; Sunnari, 2010).

Previous studies on this issue have noticed that some sexist harassment may remain invisible and unrecognized because people become accustomed to the harassment as something belonging to so-called 'normal' behaviour (Husu, 2001), or see it as an unavoidable part of communication with which one needs to cope (Sunnari et al., 2005). O'Connor (2000), based on her study in various Irish universities, argues that resistance towards gender discrimination or prejudice can be various in its kind: consciousness or action, structural or subjective determination, and either collective or individual engagement. Improvements in an organization's gender equality policies may provide space to report maltreatment, but it is crucial to draft policies that are sensitive to the multiplicity of various groups and individuals that are represented within organizations. Foreign background, race, citizenship, socio-economic background, and gender are significant in terms of one's social location. These signifiers together influence how a person or a group experience the protection provided by legislation or how meaningful such legislation is for them (Welsh et al., 2006). Similar results are reported on US campuses (Hill & Silva, 2005) and in international comparative research on sexual harassment of college students (Paludi et al., 2006) – individuals in some groups are not willing to report their harassment experiences. Additionally, more attention should be paid to age, because sexist harassment is particularly common towards young women as indicated in Finnish Gender Equality Barometer (Nieminen, 2008). However, positions of authority and power imbalance (Lee, 1998) in traditionally hierarchical organization, such as universities, are considered central when elaborating sexist harassment experiences, policy implementation of sexist harassment prevention, and its outcomes.

Research reveals that sexual harassment as a component of sexist harassment is rarely reported. Gender equality surveys conducted for staff in the University of Oulu indicate that harassment is recognized and named and that it happens (Rönkä, 2008). Some studies indicate that sexual harassment has not been reported because it has not been considered such a big problem (e.g. Hill & Silva, 2005, p. 36). Furthermore, people who have reported sexual harassment have encountered negative consequences from their colleagues or supervisors (Wilson & Thompson, 2001). It is worth examining the extent to which and the seriousness with which sexist harassment has been taken into consideration, or whether it is belittled or its existence denied entirely as part of decision-making processes concerning a

university's gender equality politics and discourses. Sexual harassment discourses are expressed, conceptualized, and functionalized in the central documents of the organization as a modification of desires, beliefs, concepts, and awareness, as well as deeper covert dimensions, such as ideologies, according to Wilson's and Thompson's (2001) study. Information campaigns aimed at preventing sexist harassment do not necessarily ensure the development of emancipatory knowledge that would enable positive change in a modern organization. The discourse of sexual harassment itself may produce conditions for sexist harassment by renewing the subject positions of the harassed and the harasser. Moreover, presenting harassment as a sexual activity may encourage some to think about harassment and to act in a harassing manner (Wilson & Thompson, 2001). Brewis, based on her 2001 study, presents the following dimensions in the sexual harassment discourse: talk about mutual desire, gendering, sexual essentialism, and heterosexism. Despite its narrow scope, sexual harassment discourse has been able to challenge and reinterpret life in organizations, thus clearly representing an attempt to intellectually capture the organization. Power may be discursive, but it is also political and has consequences, as Brewis (2001) states. In addition to bodily and discursive locations, intellectual location is also made through sexual harassment. Lee (1998) points out that, in terms of sexual harassment in PhD supervision, women are denied positions as fellow intellectuals and, instead, inappropriately gendered and made unwelcome in sexual ways.

In the university context, everyday practices may be oppressive, unfair, and isolative for certain groups of people. Inequality issues, such as barriers to participation, social structures, and gendered divisions of labour; the complexities of social positioning, gender, and class expectations; and psychic narratives/internalized oppression regarding worth, self-efficiency, and confidence, influence the validation and creation of knowledge (Morley, 2000). Findings from various studies indicate that exclusionary mechanisms in academia exist (e.g. Glover, 2000; Grünberg, 1999; Husu, 2001; Müller, 1999, 2000; O'Connor, 2000; Osborn et al., 2000;), and evidence-based arguments have provoked a concern about gender balance in decision making and about the complex idea of the gendered construction of scientific excellence (Rees, 2007). Discrimination in academia is a complex phenomenon and has complex consequences, because science is both a profession and a body of knowledge (Rees, 2007). According to Rolin (2000), equality in academia would create better opportunities for scientific dialogue and, therefore, increase the objectivity of scientific knowledge (Rolin, 2000).

Gender equality has received considerable attention within this general development (e.g. Rees, 2007), and some studies have been carried out to identify the barriers to gender equality within higher education institutions in Europe (Bagilhole, 2000; Glover, 2000; Grünberg, 1999; Husu, 2001; Mackinnon & Brooks, 2001; Müller, 1999, 2000; O'Connor, 2000; Osborn et al., 2000). Apart from Europe, Australia and North America have initiated vigorous academic discussions about sexual harassment policies and policy development (Bacci, 1999, 1998, 1994; Bacci & Jose, 1994; Saguy, 2002, 2003; Zippel, 2003, 2004, 2006;), and this issue is important in African,

Asian, and South American universities as well (e.g. Paludi et al., 2006). Sexist harassment is one of the barriers to equal access, inclusion, participation, and promotion; it maintains a hostile climate in academia.

In Finnish universities, sexual harassment has been studied foremost as a part of gender equality surveys conducted for gender equality plans (Kantola, 2005; Mankkinen, 1995, 1999; Naskali, 2004; Sinkkonen, 1997; Varjus, 1997). Other types of sexual harassment research have been conducted. There are, however, a few notable examples. Husu (2001) examines sexual harassment at eleven Finnish universities as hidden discrimination. Katja Björklund (2010), in her dissertation, examines stalking and sexual harassment experienced by university students.

At the University of Oulu, sexual harassment has been an area of research. Through data collected from students on various occasions, prevalence as well as shifts in forms of harassment have been elaborated (Rautio et al., 1999, 2005; Sunnari et al., 2005). Students' experiences of study burdens and abuse were studied in the 1990s. According to two studies, 17 per cent of the students responding to the survey (n=665) had experienced sexual harassment (Rautio et al., 2005; Sunnari et al., 2005). In the most recent gender equality survey for staff conducted in 2008, out of all respondents (n=377), about 10 per cent had experienced insulting innuendos, 'dirty talk' or sexually suggestive jokes.

Studies that have been conducted on the area in relation to universities cover sexual harassment, campus violence, discrimination, and the implementation of sexual harassment policies from power and discourse perspectives. However, what has not been done sufficiently are more holistic studies on sexist harassment as an issue of university organizations' gender equality politics, policies, and actual gender equality work, as well as longitudinal case studies aiming to understand the changes, improvements, and the difficulties of such processes as part of organizational culture and community challenges.

Research Data

The examination focuses on key materials. Between the years 1990 and 2010, nine separate studies dealing with student maltreatment, the burdens of study, gender equality among the personnel, and the gender and sexual harassment experiences of students and personnel were conducted at the University of Oulu. All nine studies, each with separate data, included writings on sexist harassment experienced and encountered in the university. Just those parts that explicitly address gender and sexual harassment have been selected for analysis. This harassment data enabled critical identification of the shortcomings of gender equality policies focusing on sexist harassment.

Also, only the most central gender equality policy documents of the University of Oulu from the years 1997-2010 have been selected for analysis. This body of data includes three gender equality plans and

guidelines of the University of Oulu regarding situations of gender and sexual harassment published between 2001 and 2009. From these policies those sections that explicitly referred to gender and sexual harassment were examined more closely. The aim was to create a picture of the understanding of the phenomenon among the university's gender equality policymakers – how gender and sexual harassment is defined, and to whom the policies are addressed.

The purpose of this study is to point out gaps in knowledge and the need to develop further policies (Yin, 2009). Therefore, this case study does not aim at generalizations but aims to further policy discussion on the matter based on the research results presented in the following chapter.

Addressing an Ideology of Sexist Discrimination within an Organization

The results clearly indicate that, in terms of sexual and gender harassment, what students experience at university is rather a question of sexist attitudes and practices, a hostile environment, and discrimination. Furthermore, the question is about an organizational culture that tolerates sexism, which also becomes normalized and, at least situationally, is established as the dominating one. All of these factors are in line with the definition of sexism. *Sexism* is defined as an ideology of sex and gender supremacy to which constructions of gender and sexuality are central. Sexism refers to identifiable attitudes, beliefs, policies, and practices that interrelate and that affect individuals' lives. Sexism limits our possibilities and personhood, i.e., in Nussbaum's terminology, our human capabilities. In addition to individual-level prejudices, organizational and structural levels also characterize discrimination and, therefore, 'sexism' captures the comprehensive, systemic nature of these phenomena.

Because of the systematic nature of the characteristics of gender and sexual harassment in terms of attitudes, practices, and policies that appeared in the case study, I came to the conclusion that, as a phenomenon, they have to be based on individual-level decision-making and, more profoundly, on a more general level of ideological definitions. Therefore, the concepts of sexist harassment should rather be used in harassment cases and, when talking about the general phenomenon, it should be referred to as 'sexist discrimination'. Sexist harassment has not been an area of sufficient focus in policy formulation, nor has it been successfully considered in institutional policies. As Epstein (1997) argues, the question in sexist harassment cases is not solely about sexuality itself but about an ideology of sex and gender supremacy that is intertwined with heterosexism and a hierarchy of various identity signifiers and related cultural behaviours. Furthermore, sexist harassment is a useful term while researching, discussing, and developing policies. In addition, the term 'sexist harassment' indicates an ideology related to the phenomenon that is parallel to other forms of discrimination such as racism, classism, able-bodiedism, etc.

Sexist discrimination is a question and a concern of gender equality politics and policies at university whose elimination requires further consideration. Potential issues such as sexist harassment may be kept out of politics through the operation of social forces, institutional practices, or individual decisions. According to the sexist harassment data, both strategies— institutional practices and individual decisions—are used to keep sexist harassment off the organizational policy agenda, either consciously or unconsciously. When harassment appears, reactions to it may vary: it may be silenced, belittled, ridiculed, tolerated, or repeated. Sexist discrimination may be reasonably considered a key issue in the area of gender equality politics within the university. This study supports the results of previous studies of various discursive power struggles on sexual harassment (Hill & Silva, 2005; Welsh, 2006; Wilson & Thompson, 2001) labelling individual experience as such. Belittling of the actual harassment may be seen as an attempt to prevent a possible key issue from coming into the organizational decision-making area in academia, and resulting in 'a non-event' and, respectively, non-decision-making (Pincus, 2002), the second dimension of power (Lukes, 2005). The biggest threat seems to be an organization's power in academia, which prohibits gender equality issues, including sexist harassment, from becoming a key issue in the political decision-making area; this results in a lack of adequate resources for sexist harassment prevention, response, and follow-up. Therefore, it is important that this be given further consideration. The question is one of organizational resources. During the entire research process, three issues have repeatedly appeared in relation to policy development: (1) support for victims of harassment, (2) prevention of sexist harassment, and (3) education on sexist harassment and gender equality. The situation now, at the end of this research, remains the same as it was at the beginning with regard to these three above mentioned issues, i.e. they are under-developed and under-resourced. Table 1 summarizes areas in which the university needs to further consider sexist harassment, and it identifies which areas need to be improved.

The research results of this study also support the idea that sexist harassment prevention measures should operate on individual, collective, organizational, and managerial levels (e.g. Hagman & Hearn, 1999). Despite very limited resources, gender equality actors in the case of the university have some clear accomplishments: they have increased awareness of sexual harassment, created guidelines for gender and sexual harassment in Finnish and English, developed grievance procedures, with staff in each of the six faculties being involved at least to a certain extent in gender equality work resulting in its own unique organization, collaborated with the student union, and established a continuity of gender equality work for almost two decades now. This study indicates that gender equality work in order to improve equality at the university is a long-term commitment both for the individual and for the organization. It is important to examine more closely how gender equality work can be best arranged within each type of organization. We need more knowledge about how gender equality work fits into each type of organization. What role does the organization play in gender equality work? If the organization has a tendency to outsource various kinds of tasks that are not considered to be their core areas of activity or expertise, are they more apt to use external resources, e.g., equality consultants, for

gender equality work as well, instead of building their own internal capabilities and competencies in gender equality issues? Sustainability in organizational gender equality issues would require consideration of gender mainstreaming as one of the areas of core competency among the staff, including the university administration. For students, this would require knowledge of gender equality issues with the aim to become active participants in the university organization, including using its gender equality policies and getting involved in its gender equality politics.

Shortcomings	Proposals for improvement
Sexist atmosphere not sufficiently addressed	Zero tolerance to all forms of sexist harassment
Ambivalent understanding of the concepts of harassment and normalisation of the phenomenon	Education for students and staff, research, gender mainstreaming in policymaking
Emotional difficulties of taking action against the harasser	Improvement of policies and support services to consider power differences
Borderline places and spaces	Including borderline areas in the policy in an attempt to cover them properly
Focusing on the individual instead of the institution	Including a university culture and community approach to preventive measures
Ineffective implementation	Resources
Difficulties in measuring prevalence	Indicators
Singular identity-based equality policy	Intersectional approach
	Applying a human capabilities approach to overall equality politics

Table 1. *Reconstructing sexist harassment prevention policies in the university*

Developing Gender Equality Work Further at Universities

A longitudinal case study analysed from the perspective of the theory of gendered organizations provides in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon. One of the central aims of the study was to reveal the complexity of the lived experience of gender in/equality in the university organization in order to develop organizational policies that more closely address individuals' needs. In the data, the voices of those who have experienced sexist harassment are the key to evaluating the current policies and identifying their deficiencies. Policy recommendations are another focal point in discussing the research results.

In this research the researched phenomenon is approached from various angles, namely individual, communal, and organizational, and through

various data experiences, namely policies and education, resulting in an insight into how these policies in relation to sexist harassment are implemented within the university organization. How do the policies cover the reality, and what are their deficiencies and strengths? Furthermore, how does the gender equality machinery within the university organization function, and where might it be more operative? However, those who harass have not been taken into consideration. That could have provided some interesting viewpoints, but it has been covered to a certain extent elsewhere (e.g. Husu, 2001).

Sexist harassment and other forms of gender and sexual violence are problems in the realization of human rights and human capabilities that require concerted action internationally, nationally, and locally. To eliminate sexist harassment and discrimination requires more consideration in higher education institutions. These rights, responsibilities, and capabilities are both individual and institutional, and institutions are in a primary position to provide a setting for their realization and further development. A comprehensive sexist harassment policy for higher education has yet to emerge, and for that purpose Acker's (1990, 1992, 1998, 2000, 2006) theory of gendered organizations and Nussbaum's (2000a, 2000b, 2005) capabilities approach provide promising theoretical grounding. The capabilities approach has the potential to consider equal rights and mutual respect. Theoretical methodological development, the importance of conducting research on one's own location or organization (e.g. Acker, 1990, 1992, 2006), and applying a capabilities approach in that location (Nussbaum, 2000a, 2000b), while being sensitive to unavoidable partiality and making partiality transparent in empirical research, means realizing the principles of strong objectivity. These are epistemological requirements that are also related to the feminist standpoint, and are laid out by Harding (1987, 1991, 2004, 2008). Despite their complexity, intertwined concepts of gender, sexuality, and intersectionality have a core value for feminist studies and policy development in relation to sexist harassment. A combination of Acker's and Nussbaum's theoretical work results in a useful grounding for an organization's equality work. The theory of gendered organizations provides a framework to evaluate equality from an organizational dimension, and the list of central human capabilities serves as a specific indicator to evaluate the actual realization of equality from an individual's point of view. Therefore, this theoretical combination and formulation posits the possibility of a transformative and empowering policy implementation in the complex area of gender equality.

Sexist harassment may be viewed as an organizational failure to secure the realization of individuals' bodily integrity. The study provides some evidence that sexist harassment has a negative influence on the realization of the university's main tasks, namely knowledge production and learning. As an insult to one's bodily integrity, it also has a negative impact on other human capabilities.

It seems that the human capabilities approach helps to pay attention to the organizational conditions that frame people's actions in their everyday lives. Therefore, the human capabilities approach provides an interesting

philosophical underpinning for further development of the university and gender equality politics at the university to become more inclusive, equal, and respectful.

Furthermore, the capabilities approach clearly promotes and provides practical tools for the intersectional policy-making that Verloo and Lombardo (2007) call for. Fear of sexist harassment deserves special consideration in educational institutions from pre-school to higher education. However, the policies and practices preventing such violence are under-developed. Education and training on gender equality issues and policies within the university are rarely available for students and staff. In equality work, it is important to consider both formal representational equality and substantial functional equality and, furthermore, to consider more closely the intersections and conditions that influence individual access, participation, success, and conditions for knowledge production. Equality work should address and ensure the realisation of human capabilities.

I conclude here that gender is connected to active participation and is experienced within academia. Students and staff encounter sexist harassment in universities, which may compromise their intellectual aspirations in addition to their well-being. Gender-based violence does exist in various forms in and outside of academia, and also requires further consideration in terms of renewal of legislation (e.g. Feasibility study, 2012). However, a challenge for gender equality work is to consider the embodiment, sexuality, and bodily integrity of all individuals as important, so that bodily capabilities are not questioned and the need for their protection is not disregarded in higher education institutions.

Universities should take a more rigorous approach to combating discrimination by using their areas of expertise – conducting research, producing more adequate conceptualisations on gender equality phenomena, providing education and training, and developing innovations for ensuring gender equality and social justice. The university should use its autonomy, methodological expertise, and capabilities to conceptualise, to theorize, and to conduct research on sexist harassment, which seems to be one of its continuing concerns around inequality. Clearly, elaboration from an intersectional perspective is needed and should be further developed. Furthermore, this should also be done in order to provide higher education training and teaching about gender equality on the university's premises. Guaranteeing equality for all individuals in universities is the responsibility of higher education organizations, based on the current legislation, international conventions, and resolutions.

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SECTION D:
GENDER AND THE COURTS

THE JUDICIAL PERFORMATIVITY OF RAPE MYTHS: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF RAPE COURT DECISIONS

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Abstract

This paper uses performativity theory to analyze the judicial discursivity of gender violence in court decisions on rape. Benedict's hypothesis of rape myths, originally applied to press coverage of rape, is re-examined and re-applied towards a feminist investigation of Cypriot court decisions on rape. The sample includes 8 randomly selected rape court cases since the 1960s. These are selected from different decades, and most of the decisions were handed down on appeal. The focus on rape cases is based on the view that sex crimes have a unique ability to (re)enact gender views and regimes. This investigation focuses on (a) rape myths performativity in discourse (i.e. the discursive construction of the "light-severe" scaling of rape and rape victim) and (b) the judicial specificity of discursive violence (i.e. how sentencing principles of taking into consideration each case's singularity and circumstances is transposed to a scaling of the female victim's sexual "guiltiness"). The paper argues that rape should be understood specifically, albeit singularly, as a crime of violence, the encroachment of human rights, humiliation and inhuman treatment and that responsibility for the crime should always be attributable to the rapist and never to the victim. The language used in court decisions in such cases should take into consideration how gender norms and subject positioning are re-enacted in the use of terms such as sexual intercourse, consent, violence, denial, resistance, innocence and guilt, and become more alert to these terms, rendering examinable, assessable and negotiable the human rights, dignity and humanity of women as sexual subjects.

Keywords: rape, rape myths, Cypriot court decisions, discursive violence

Introduction

On May 2014 a main story on the news in Cyprus was a case of rape and sexual exploitation of two under aged girls by a well-known Cypriot businessman and another. A popular Cypriot newspaper published the following headline referring to the aforementioned case: "Wanted for a Case of Sexual Exploitation". The ordinary meaning of the word "wanted" in this context indicates that the police are looking for a suspect. However, the headline was referring to one of the two victims, who was found by the police a few days after the breakout of the case. The girl was presented as a suspect when she was only the victim. The newspaper may argue that the headline was an oversight or a "mistake" in the use of language. Notwithstanding the excuses, this attitude of lightness results in the re-victimization of the victim.

Based on this fact and regarding the lack of related study on the field in Cyprus, this study is trying to investigate how perceptions about gender intrude in Cypriot court decisions. In other words, how do these perceptions participate in the making and normalizing of social attitudes and opinions for the crime of rape and further, how do attitudes of "lightness" in the use of language participate in the judicial construction of the seriousness and non-seriousness of sex crimes and especially rape?

The definition of the crime of rape is given by the Criminal Code of Cyprus in section 144 as follows:

"Any person who has unlawful carnal knowledge of a female, without her consent, or with her consent, if the consent is obtained by force or fear of bodily harm, or, in the case of a married woman, by personating her husband, is guilty of the felony termed rape".

The definition clearly makes women the only possible victims of the crime of rape. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss this matter further but the definition and this clarification are necessary to make us understand the nature of the crime. At least in Cyprus, rape is not a gender-neutral crime and this is related with the historical formation of the meaning of the crime. The traditional role of 'man' and 'woman' played a significant part in the process. At first the crime of rape was regarded as a crime against a father or a husband (Brownmiller, 1975) and this still happens very often (Cameron, 1998b).

The development of feministic theory which affected almost every scientific area brought to the surface many hidden and unnoticed issues. In the domain of sociolinguistics many theoretical theses represent a feminist approach on language, discourse and gender. Lakoff (1998) talks about women as failed subjects of language, when he indicates that women can never be accepted or understood as original subjects of language because they have two choices -to talk or not to talk like a lady- which in both cases degrades them as humans. Moreover, Cameron (1998b) argues that the sexism of language draws its existence from its often unnoticed repetition by the speaking subjects, which means that sexism of language must constantly re-enact and re-enforce the commonsense 'normality' of sexist assumptions. In addition, McConnell-Ginet (1998) suggests that to understand the ways that meanings are produced and reproduced and the significance of sex and gender in these processes, we must consider the conditions of discourse. That means that to fully understand a conversation, in every given situation we need to recognize the context: who is talking, from what position, to whom the speaker is talking, and from where.

In the domain of feministic theory Butler (1988) opened new ways of thought with her groundbreaking performativity theory. Her theory was in fact a provocative statement of our everyday lives. When she states that gender is a performance with clearly punitive consequences and that this performance renders social laws explicit, she expresses an unspoken but very well-known reality. According to Butler, the tacit collective agreement to perform, produce and sustain discrete and polar genders as cultural

fictions is obscured by the credibility of its own production. Furthermore, she argues that the repetition of the performance "is at once a re-enactment and re-experiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; it is the mundane and ritualized form of their legitimization" (p. 526). We learn to be our gender and if we perform our role badly, we have to deal with the consequences because, as Butler suggests, gender is made to comply with a model of truth and falsity which serves a social policy of gender regulation and control.

On entering the more specific area of judicial discourse, Figueiredo (2002) adds to Butler's argument when she suggests that the judicial discourse on sexual crimes is one vehicle through which power over the body is exercised. Furthermore, Figueiredo (1998) argues that judges, as human beings, also vary in their opinions and decisions, being influenced both by personal and social prejudices and stereotypes. In order to understand an action, a statement or the discourse of a court decision specifically we need to understand, as Graham (2011) states, how discourse shapes people's identities, beliefs and actions.

Discourse analysis is not a simple task but it is certainly important. As Foucault (1972) mentioned, the use of particular discursive techniques in the production of meaning present a particular view of the world and prepare the ground for the 'practices that derive from them'. We need to identify and analyze those discursive techniques which in sexual crimes and especially rape degrade women and diminish their trauma. And then try to change them.

Rape Myths and Decisions Selection

In 1992, Helen Benedict identified 10 myths (Table 1) about rape which, as she argues, form the way society thinks about the crime of rape and the victims. She analyses the concept of each myth and she points out that these myths construct two kinds of victims: the "virgin" or innocent victim and the "vamp" or guilty victim. To strengthen her theory she examines several press reports on rape cases in which she uses rape myths to discuss the case and to show how rape myths participate in the way the press covers the case and talks about the victim and the assailant.

In this paper, Benedict's hypothesis of rape myths is re-examined and re-applied towards a feminist investigation of Cypriot court decisions on rape. The sample includes 8 randomly selected rape court cases (Appendix) since the 1960s, including cases from different decades, with most of the selected decisions handed down on appeal by the Supreme Court of Cyprus. These cases have been selected from the Cyprus Bar Association's web page named CyLawby using the keyword rape. The cases are presented in chronological order from 1960 to 2014. Note that until the 1990s the language used by the Courts of Cyprus was English. The most recent cases were written in Greek and therefore a translated version is provided.

Rape Myths (Benedict, 1992)	
1.	Rape is sex
2.	The assailant is motivated by lust
3.	The assailant is perverted or crazy
4.	The assailant is usually black or lower class
5.	Women provoke rape
6.	Women deserve rape
7.	Only "loose" women are victimized
8.	A sexual attack sullies the victim
9.	Rape is a punishment for past deeds
10.	Women cry rape for revenge

Table 1. *Rape Myths* (Benedict, 1992)

The focus on rape cases is based on the view that sex crimes have a unique ability to (re)enact gender views and regimes. For that, only a small but representative extract of each case is presented. The investigation focuses on rape myths performativity in discourse (i.e. the discursive construction of the "light-severe" scaling of rape and rape victim) and the judicial specificity of discursive violence (i.e. how sentencing principles of taking into consideration each case's singularity and circumstances is transposed onto a scaling of the female victim's sexual "guiltiness").

Decisions' Analysis

- ***ARISTOTELIS C. LOIZIAS v. THE REPUBLIC (1969)***

"It is a very serious case, with very serious consequences on the appellant, on the complainant, on the investigating authorities, and, generally, on the community as a whole; and we feel that in the circumstances justice must be expedited."

In this extract the Supreme Court states, first of all, the consequences of the case on the appellant. The presumption of innocence explains only in part this syntactical choice. The other part of the story is the myth that "women cry rape for revenge" or, in other words, women lie about being raped. This myth, men's fear of false accusation, takes the form of specific evidence rules. The general rule is that the proof of a crime does not need corroborative evidence. In that rule though, we have legislative exemptions and exemptions which are set as a matter of practice. Sexual crimes fall within the last exemptions. The myth is the reason why until now the Court looks, as a matter of practice, for corroborative evidence to support the case of the complainant.

The perception that women tend to lie makes things worse for a rape victim. It makes the Court speak firstly about the consequences on the appellant, reverses the roles of "victimizer" and "victim" against the woman and, furthermore, the myth disorients the request for justice from condemnation of rape to reassurance of male reputation.

- **ANDREAS S. LEMONAS v. THE REPUBLIC (1986)**

"It was an abhorrent crime against a helpless woman for the sole purpose of satisfying one's lust and sexual desire. Our society does not tolerate this kind of conduct and the Courts should indorse the distaste with which people view it."

The above case is a case of homicide but falls within the spectrum of the analysis because the accused was trying to rape the woman and then killed her after she denied and resisted. This is certainly a case of an "innocent" victim; a "helpless woman" who won the sympathy of the Court. This is mirrored not only through the discourse that is being used by the Court, but also through the verdict of life imprisonment, which was confirmed by the Supreme Court. The accused was a complete stranger to the victim and he entered her house to rape her. The woman can not in any case be accused of provoking what happened to her.

In addition, the Supreme Court in the extract reaffirms the myth that the assailant is motivated by lust and sexual desire. This myth has nothing to do with the real reasons of rape. The motivations of rapists have more to do with violence and anger and the need for control and domination over women (Benedict, 1992). Rapists rape with the intention to cause fear and pain. Rape is not sex and is not about satisfying sexual desires.

- **ANDREAS N. ONISIFOROU v. THE POLICE (1987)**

"In order to show that it was really dangerous to rely on the evidence of the complainant it is, we think, sufficient to point out that in her evidence she relates conversations with the appellant even though it is indisputable that the appellant does not understand Spanish and the complainant speaks only Spanish and yet, according to her evidence, they were conversing with each other; and what they were saying allegedly to each other is, in this case, most material as regards the version of the appellant that whatever took place between him and the complainant was with her consent."

The complainant in this case was identified by the Supreme Court as a "cabaret artiste from Colombia". This label makes many of the rape myths to be against her, right from the beginning. For example: rape is just sex, only "loose" women get raped, women provoke rape etc. With the above explanation, amongst others, the Supreme Court acquitted the accused and reversed the sentence of imprisonment which was imposed by the Court at first instance. Note though that the Court at first instance imposed a penalty of imprisonment for only 15 months.

It is important here to mention that for the crime of rape, the penalty provided by the Criminal Code of Cyprus in section 145 is that of life imprisonment. This provision at least theoretically shows the seriousness of the crime and the intention of the legislator to confront it with the maximum penalty. But, section 29 of the Criminal Code gives the Court the ability to

impose a shorter penalty, after taking into consideration the “circumstances” of the case. In rape cases, unfortunately, these “circumstances” are related with the ethical valuation of the victim.

- **IOANNIS G. SOFOCLEOUS v. THE REPUBLIC (1998)**

"The appellant and Pitsiakkos got out of the car, took off their clothes and removed the complainant's clothes who was crying and begging them not to do it, but Pitsiakkos slapped her and threatened her that he was going to punch her. They made love to her at the back seat of the car, first Pitsiakkos and then the appellant."

"[...] the behaviour of the complainant caused the good faith impression that she was willing to have intercourse with them."

The victim in the above case, like the previous one, was labelled by the Supreme Court as a “cabaret artiste from the Philippines”. The label “guilty” once again was put on the victim and that forms the way the Court treated the crime and especially the victim. This is a very serious case. A woman was raped repeatedly by two different men, but the Court referred to it like it was a love act with the use of the phrase “they made love to her”.

The “NO” of the complainant is converted with the use of discursive techniques from a clear and direct denial to a hypothetical, indirect consent. She was crying and begging them not to do it but the Court said that she gave them the impression that she wanted them to rape her. The above lightness in the use of language is mirrored also in the penalty which was finally imposed to the accused, which was a penalty of 5 years’ imprisonment.

- **ANDREAS S. YIAGKOU v. THE REPUBLIC (1999)**

"His behaviour left obvious unfavourable consequences to the complainants. The mother is constantly monitored by a psychiatrist and feels that her life is over. The minor suffers from irritability with transient bursts of anger and a feeling of suspicion and mistrust to third persons. Rape left her an indelible black mark in her psychic world which can hardly be eliminated. The mother, apart from her abuse, rape and humiliation by the appellant, was obliged to listen to her young daughter while she was being raped and suffering without being able to help her. The minor, who was under the control of the appellant for four whole hours, suffered the humiliation of the violent loss of her virginity [...]. There was repeated rape of two different women, and even more mothers and daughters."

The victims here are a mother and a daughter. They were in their car when they stopped at the traffic lights and an unknown man threatened them and got into their car. Then he drove them to an isolated area where he raped them. This is definitely one of the most horrific cases for someone to read or

deal with. The discourse that is being used by the Court helps in creating this feeling of horror, because it makes someone feel to the utmost what the victims had been through. They are “innocent” victims regarding the myths and the Court stated that it had no qualms to rely only on their testimony, even in the absence of any corroborative evidence.

What is important here is the fact that the Court dealt extensively with the consequences of the rape on the victims. The Court discussed not only the barbarity of rape while it was happening, but also the aftermath of rape on their lives. They had suffered and they keep suffering and thus they deserve the Court’s sympathy. In the first instance the Court imposed a penalty of 20 years, amongst others, because the accused pleaded not guilty, and then forced the victims to go through examination as witnesses. The penalty was upheld by the Supreme Court with the clarification that it was strict but not overtly excessive.

- **THE REPUBLIC v. MICHALIS OUPLE (2011)**

"[...] The acts of the accused cause outrage. He entered the private place of a young girl [...] while she was alone and helpless at home and forced her to proceed to the unlawful acts on her own bed. We cannot overlook how the complainant must have felt; while she was alone in her house she initially realized an unknown man with covered face who was holding a knife and proceeded to approach her. Suffering and fear will follow her forever. And the fear was reasonable not only because the accused was a man with a stronger physique, but because he was holding a knife and threatening her with it."

As in the previous case, here we have again an “innocent” victim; a young helpless girl who deserves the sympathy of the Court. The Court again referred to the suffering and fear that the victim felt and stated that the memory of the fear will follow the victim forever. The penalty in this case was 8 years’ imprisonment, amongst others, because the accused admitted his guilt and did not force the victim to testify as a witness.

- **SCOTT G. BRIERLEY v. THE POLICE (2012)**

"The Court rightly found that the complainant was sincere, because among other things she mentioned some events that were negative for her. Among other things that she said in her testimony, the Supreme Court identifies the fact that she accepted on her written testimony that she had completed sexual intercourse with the appellant during their short previous relationship between October – November 2009."

In this case the Court dealt extensively with the issues of resistance and consent. A forensic surgeon testified in the Court that, when rape victims do not raise any resistance, no injuries are detected in their body. But the issue of resistance is very often related with the issue of consent (Brownmiller,

1975). When the victim is not injured, that means she did not raise any resistance and because of that, it is implied that she may have consented to the act.

The Court eventually decided that whatever took place between the complainant and the accused could constitute rape since there was no consent, but imposed a penalty of 2½ years of imprisonment. The extent of the penalty cannot be irrelevant to the fact that the Court identified the complainant as guilty, because of her previous relationship with the accused and because she admitted that she went with him for a ride in his car and accepted some of his kisses before the rape. Once again the ethical valuation of the victim determines the result of the case and diminishes the denial of the victim and her trauma.

- ***DEPO SUPO FOWOKAN v. THE REPUBLIC (2014)***

"[...] The complainant continued to fight, screaming and resisting, but the appellant pushed her further and at some point she felt that her powers had abandoned her and she stopped resisting, saying that she would let him do whatever he wanted, asking him to put a condom and the appellant agreed and then raped her without any more resistance from her."

In this case the complainant had met the accused a few days before and had had dinner with him. After the dinner the accused, on the pretext that he had forgotten something in his apartment, took the complainant there and raped her. The Court emphasizes the use of deceit by the accused and the resistance of the complainant to assure the label of the innocent victim. Furthermore, the Court makes perfectly clear the fact that the complainant resisted with all her powers, so her statement that "she would let him do whatever he wanted" can not in any case be regarded as consent from her.

The Summary Table below (Table 2) can help the readers form a spherical view of all cases, with particular emphasis on how the victims are gendered and humanized, the locality of the rape, the label given to the victim and, finally, the imposed sentence. Furthermore, the Summary Table is a way to see all of the cases in relation and contrast to each other, which is useful for comparative purposes. What is important though to mention is the fact that these 8 cases are not the only cases that someone could find or dig up, they are not representative or unique (if such cases exist); they are just randomly selected. It was not the purpose of this paper to reach some statistical result, and the analysis of the above cases states nothing more than that they exist. The fact though that they exist can give us a reason for further, detailed and in-depth analysis and study on the subject of sexual crimes and discursive violence.

Case	Year	Gendered	Locality	Victim	Humanized	Sentence
ARISTOTELIS LOIZIAS	1969	a girl of 19	not defined	UNCLEAR	_____	6 years (dropped - retrial)
ANDREAS LEMONAS	1986	married lady of 34 helpless woman	<u>her</u> flat	INNOCENT	Death	For life (homicide)
ANDREAS ONISIFOROU	1987	cabaret artist from Colombia	not defined (Limassol)	GUILTY	None	15 months (dropped)
IOANNIS SOFOCLEOUS	1998	foreigner cabaret artist	back seat of <u>his</u> car	GUILTY	frightened and shocked	5 years (upheld)
ANDREAS YIAGKOU	1999	mother (wife) minor daughter (virgin)	<u>her</u> car remote area	INNOCENT	Trauma psychological aftermath	20 years (upheld)
MICHALIS OUPLE	2011	young woman helpless	<u>her</u> house	INNOCENT	fear and suffering psychological aftermath	8 years
SCOTT BRIERLEY	2012	young woman	<u>his</u> car	GUILTY	frightened and shocked depression	2½ years (upheld)
DEPO SUPO FOWOKAN	2014	foreigner student	<u>his</u> flat (<u>deceit</u>)	INNOCENT	bad condition	8 years (upheld)

Table 2. *Summary Table*

The Summary Table suggests that when the label put on the victim is "guilty", the sentence is shorter. The highlight is the case of IOANNIS SOFOCLEOUS where the victim was raped by two men and the sentence is only 5 years. Furthermore, the Court seems to recognize trauma and psychological aftermath, only in the cases of "innocent" victims (mother, daughter, helpless, married and young women). "Guilty" victims do not suffer the fear and terror of rape; they are just "cabaret artiste" and not someone's mother, daughter etc. Note also the case of SCOTT BRIERLEY where despite the fact that the Court recognizes the trauma, suggesting that

the victim was frightened, shocked and felt depression after the rape, the penalty was only 2½ years, because of “her previous relationship with him”.

The locality of the rape has importance too, because it seems to be related with the guiltiness or non guiltiness of the victim. When a stranger enters a woman’s private sphere (her home, her flat, her car, etc.) it is more likely for her to be accepted as an “innocent” victim. When the location is in the man’s sphere, then it is more likely for the victim to be seen as “guilty” and the debates about her consent and her resistance are bigger and very often against her.

Discussion

The presentation and discussion of the above excerpts of the cases are not exhaustive. There is also an obvious lack of a marital rape case, not on purpose but because the search on the webpage CyLaw did not return any such results. This does not mean that marital rape cases do not exist but they are more likely to be covered by a veil of silence. As Clark (1992) states, the “rule” that a wife is obliged to provide sexual services to her husband, condemns women to silence.

Regarding the cases and in addition to the analysis, another important point is the fact that the imposed penalties extend to large deviation from 15 months to 20 years. That gives the impression that two kinds of rape exist: “light” rape (non-serious) and “severe” rape (serious). Without ignoring the important rule of determining the sentence regarding the case’s circumstances, the paper argues that this rule specifically in sexual crimes like rape, allows the Court to be subconsciously affected by the myths and social prejudices that surround the crime even in modern times. When the victim is labelled as “guilty” then she is condemned in degradation of her rape’s severity. This is reflected in the discourse that is being used by the Court and in the extent of the penalty. The imposition of increased penalties on a regular basis would indicate in a more determined way the intention of the legislature and the Courts to administer justice, to prevent the crime and protect the victims.

The confrontation and condemnation of rape demands above all the elimination of every stereotypical, sexist and patriarchal myth and perception about women and sex crimes. The difference between phrases such as “they made love to her” and “they raped her” should be understood by everyone.

Conclusion

The crime of rape reminds us that we cannot yet stop speaking about “men” and “women”. The crime, at least in Cyprus, is gendered and that underlines the fact that women are the only possible victims. The adaptation of a gender-neutral definition for the crime will only matter when the sexist

perceptions and myths change and are eliminated from the public and private sphere.

Cypriot society is deeply patriarchal and, despite some sporadic efforts, degrades women in almost every sector of public and social life. As the analysis of the rape cases indicates, we still have a difficult road to go through until we can achieve change. For that we need further study on the area of sexual crimes and discursive violence and other related subjects.

According to Cameron (1998a), the crucial aspect of language is meaning and the point of non sexist language is not to change the forms of words for the sake of it but to change the repertoire of meanings a language conveys. Judges in their decisions need to take into consideration how gender norms are re-enacted in the use of terms such as sexual intercourse, consent, resistance, innocence and guilt and become more alert to these terms; rendering examinable, assessable and negotiable the human rights, dignity and humanity of women as sexual subjects. Responsibility for the crime should be attributable to the rapist and never to the victim and rape should always be understood as a crime of violence, the encroachment of human rights, humiliation and inhuman treatment.

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Appendix

- *Web Links of Court Decisions from CyLaw*

ARISTOTELIS C. LOIZIAS v. THE REPUBLIC (1969)
http://www.cylaw.org/clr/1969/1969_2_217.pdf

ANDREAS S. LEMONAS v. THE REPUBLIC (1986)
http://www.cylaw.org/clr/1986/1986_2_25.pdf

ANDREAS N. ONISIFOROU v. THE POLICE (1987)
http://www.cylaw.org/clr/1987/1987_2_261.pdf

IOANNIS G. SOFOCLEOUS v. THE REPUBLIC (1998)
http://www.cylaw.org/cgi-bin/open.pl?file=/apofaseis/aad/meros_2/1998/rep/1998_2_0259.htm

ANDREAS S. YIAGKOU v. THE REPUBLIC (1999)
http://www.cylaw.org/cgi-bin/open.pl?file=/apofaseis/aad/meros_2/1999/rep/1999_2_0067.htm

THE REPUBLIC v. MICHALIS OUPLE (2011)
<http://www.cylaw.org/cgi-bin/open.pl?file=/apofaseised/poin/2011/3220111661.htm>

SCOTT G. BRIERLEY v. THE POLICE (2012)
http://www.cylaw.org/cgi-bin/open.pl?file=/apofaseis/aad/meros_2/2012/2-201207-101-2011.htm

DEPO SUPO FOWOKAN v. THE REPUBLIC (2014)
http://www.cylaw.org/cgi-bin/open.pl?file=/apofaseis/aad/meros_2/2014/2-201401-246-2012.htm

GOVERNING GENDER INEQUALITY: A GENEALOGY OF EU STATE FEMINISM

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Abstract

After more than half a century of European integration, the European Union is still only halfway towards achieving gender equality. Despite significant and far-reaching achievements, governing gender inequality remains a challenging reality. Drawing mainly from feminist and European integration theoretical perspectives, several arguments and normative causal narratives have been considered to explain the persistent nature of gender inequality in the EU. While challenging mainstream approaches that take the need for gender equality for granted, this paper critically evaluates the legal and political formulations of 'European state feminism' by applying Foucault's thoughts on power/knowledge and governmentality. It proposes a genealogy of the attempts to govern gender inequality and explores the possibility of future change. The analysis reveals that this assemblage of law and politics is the outcome of and is directly influenced by the neoliberal governmentalities formed in the European integration process. This can explain both the prevailing nature of gender inequality in the EU and the persistent obstacles to change. The present regime normalises a certain docile gendered model of citizenship and, at the same time, creates and sustains a space of contestation that could potentially lead to a more dynamic reformulation of 'European state feminism'. In this respect, this work examines the role and activism of key institutions such as the European Parliament, the European Court of Justice and the European Institute for Gender Equality.

Keywords: European Union, gender equality, governmentality, liberalism, state feminism

The Long Journey to Equality

After more than half a century of European integration, the EU is still only halfway towards achieving gender equality. This is, at least, what the *Gender Equality Index* (2013), developed by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), reveals. The EU scores 54.0 out of 100. For a group of countries belonging to the world's most advanced democracies and developed economies, which have gender equality enshrined in their constitutional and legal orders, this is dishearteningly low. Despite all gender-related provisions, proclamations and policies, nowhere in the EU are women de facto equal to men. To frame it in numerical terms: only five out of the 28 heads of states and governments, only 35.8% of the Members of the European Parliament [EP], and only nine out of the 28 Members of the new Juncker Commission are women - contrary to continuous declarations (see EurActiv, 2014, August 01). This underrepresentation in the political

sphere is one of the multifaceted sources of inequality women have to face and challenge.

With gender equality being perceived as a requirement for deepening democracy and promoting economic development (Galligan & Clavero, 2007, p. 218), scholars coming either from a feminist (Ballington & Karam, 2005; Kronsell, 2005; Liebert, 2002; Meier & Lombardo, 2008; Nelson & Chowdhury, 1994; Phillips, 1998) or a European integration theory (Börzel, 2002; Pollack & Hafner-Burton, 2000;) perspective attempted to explain the persistence of gender inequality in the EU. In their essence, such approaches accept the position of gender equality in the European integration process as self-evident, i.e. as something that the EU naturally values highly and whose persistent lack begs for explanations. While not neglecting the validity of causal narratives, this contribution seeks to challenge the essence of gender equality in the EU by critically evaluating its legal and political formulations.

Adopting a more sceptical standpoint built on Foucault's political and legal thinking, we propose both a theoretical reconceptualisation and an empirical analysis of what we perceive as 'European state feminism'. Instead of suggesting alternative explanations for the causes of persisting inequality, we want to add a critical exploration to the discussion of how gender (in-)equality is governed in the EU. How has gender equality been imagined and regulated over the years? What mentalities influence the arts of governing? What kind of subjects are normalised? And what is the potential for future change?

The paper is organised as follows: First we present some thoughts on the Foucauldian perspective and methodology guiding our work. Then we establish our theoretical understanding of 'European state feminism' based on Foucault's ideas on power/ knowledge and governmentality. In particular, we highlight the different elements and dimensions expected to be found, and we propose a working definition of 'European state feminism'. Next we present and discuss main empirical data relevant to the genealogy of 'European state feminism', with special focus on constitutions, institutions and actorship. This analysis demonstrates various events influential to the emergence, formulation and development of 'European state feminism' by discussing the inconsistent fluctuation of the inertia to reform which ran parallel to the formation of European citizenship and the development of fundamental rights. What is more, this genealogy clarifies how gender equality in the EU has a clear advanced liberal essence, which can potentially explain the persisting nature of gender inequality and the apparent difficulties for change. At the same time, as our analysis will indicate, the present 'European state feminism' regime creates the spaces for potential change that could lead to alternative – but not necessarily positive/progressive – reformulations of the regime.

From Developmental Historicism to Genealogy

Before moving on to a critical theoretical exploration of the notion of state feminism, we should briefly lay out the ethics of the Foucauldian approach

adopted here, particularly in relation to gender equality. As argued above, the more conventional approaches on gender equality in the EU tend to assume and naturalise gender equality both as a value and as a goal to be attained for democracy and development. That is why they seek to explain why gender inequality persists in the EU along with proposing normative solutions for change. Our basic consideration here is that such approaches follow the mainstream developmental historicism model which dominated the present epistemology. This model has several limitations. It attaches a certain meaning of progress or regress to history (Bevir, 2010, p. 436-437; Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 8), which explains, for instance, the constant expectation that the EU should have scored higher in gender equality after half a century of legislation and politics.

Contrary to this model, Foucault's methodological ethics and genealogy follow a certain radical historicism model, which seeks to denaturalise history by intentionally avoiding totalising narratives and by exploring, instead, the differences, transformations and discontinuities of history (Foucault, 1998, p. 370, 381; Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 24). There is no definitively right or wrong model of historicism, but rather different standpoints and different expected research outcomes. Developed on the epistemology of radical historicism, genealogy becomes a historical mode of evaluation and critique (Saar, 2002, p. 231-232), a meticulous documentary (Foucault, 1998, p. 369) of the events, discourses, practices and truths that dominate any given situation. As such, it provides a critical 'diagnostic' of the present, i.e. the history of the present practices, rules and institutions that transform human beings into subjects (Dean, 2010, p. 3).

Influenced by the tradition of Pyrrhonian scepticism, the genealogist accepts that one cannot know anything (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 10), which ultimately leads to the suspension of all second-order judgements. The analysis becomes a compilation of events without normative distinctions, as for example in the distinction between good, bad, moral, immoral, democratic or undemocratic exercises of power (see Brass, 2000, p. 321). In Foucault's words the "point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous" (1997, p. 256). And this dangerousness is not an ethical distinction, but rather indicates the fluidity of history and the multiple prospects for change in all possible directions. In actual terms, genealogy could take the form of a narrative process-tracing interested in working out complex stories by connecting events in a meaningful way (Merlingen, 2011, p. 158) – contrasted to the causal process-tracing methodology which is interested in exploring the links between possible causes and observed outcomes as a way to explain the outcome variable (see George & Bennett, 2005, p. 6, 158).

Questioning 'State Feminism'

A Useless Paradox?

The points mentioned above guide our theoretical and empirical exploration of 'European state feminism'. Combined with Foucault's thoughts on power,

law, government and liberalism, the genealogy we propose here highlights under which conditions, and under what kind of problems, 'European state feminism' was perceived as a solution to gender inequality. Conventionally, this juxtaposition of 'state' and 'feminism' can be perceived as an oxymoron, mainly due to the gendered nature of the modern nation-state, the separation of private and public sphere, and the persisting inequality and under-representation of women in the public sphere. The feminist literature on the relation of gender and the state is vast (see for example Bryson, 2003; Ortner, 1974; Pateman, 1988; Yuval-Davis, 1997). The main argument is that sex and gender are kept mainly invisible in the public sphere, with the "male-as-norm" shaping the agendas, politics and policies of the institutions, even in the EU (Kronsell, 2005, p. 1033), which ultimately constructs men and women as gendered citizens. This reading of the relation between state and gender can convincingly explain the persisting nature of inequality, even in the EU.

However, we would argue that the concept of 'state feminism' cannot be lightly rejected. Traditionally, it is used to describe the model of feminism developed by states as a response to the demands made by alliances between women's policy agencies and women's movement activists, and is expressed in the form of particular gender equality programmes and social policies (Borchorst & Siim, 2008, p. 211). This state-centric positioning led, for example, Kantola and Squires (2012) to argue that the concept 'state feminism' is all together inadequate due to the developments of globalisation and neoliberalism, which led women's policy agencies to seek private funding for their activities and no longer turn to the state for the pursuit of gender equality, but to the market (p. 382-383). For them, it is better to talk about 'market feminism' as something distinct from 'state feminism'. But again, this understanding of 'state feminism' as supposedly being founded on the triangle market-state-civil society, and the central position given to the nation-state in government, has certain limitations. Firstly, narrowly linking 'state feminism' to the modern nation-state excludes other non-state governmental bodies, such as the EU, from the conceptual scope. Such non-state bodies potentially produce a model of 'state feminism' and participate in the government of gender (in-)equality. What is more, the triadic division of the social and the contrast of 'state feminism' to 'market feminism', oversimplify a rather complex situation.

Foucault for 'State Feminism'

Instead of negating the concept of 'state feminism' either as useless or paradoxical, we suggest here a critical reworking of the concept that will ultimately assist our understanding of how 'European state feminism' was developed as the EU's response for tackling gender inequality. Foucault's political and legal thoughts, as well as the notions developed in the so-called 'governmentality studies' (Dean, 2010; Donzelot & Gordon, 2008; Elden, 2007; Merlingen, 2011; Walters, 2012; Walters & Haahr, 2005) will be valuable and highly relevant for this undertaking (see also Agger, 1991, p. 105-131; Brass, 2000, p. 305-330; May, 2005, 65-76; Simons, 1995;).

Central in Foucault's work is his exploration of the concept and functions of power and power relations (Foucault, 1980, p. 100). For Foucault, power is not an object that one can have or give away (1978, p. 94); it is "neither given, nor exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised" (1980, p. 89). Foucault approached power as an omnipresent and constantly reproduced conduct found in multiple locations and relations, and it is expressed both in positive and negative terms (Foucault, 1978, p. 93-94; 1980, p. 98, 142; 2001, p. 142, 337; see also Brass, 2000, p. 321). In this perspective, everything exists and is expressed with and through power. This implies, as Butler would argue (1990, p. 5), that there is no position outside the contemporary field of power and power relations. What is more, conceived as such, power is not locked into the state. Rather, as Foucault reasoned, even though the state and state power are indeed important, the analysis of power must "necessarily extend beyond the limits of the state" (2001, p. 122-123).

We approach 'European state feminism' with a critical eye and share Kantola and Squires's questions on whether the very concept of 'state feminism' still "adequately captures the complexity of emerging feminists' engagements with new forms of governance. This shift from 'state feminism' to 'market feminism' impacts on both the political practices and policy priorities of women's policy agencies" (2012, p. 382). With this understanding of power at hand, we would suggest that: (a) 'state feminism' is built upon and enforces particular power relations present in a particular society, and (b) an analysis of 'state feminism' should not be limited to the state, but rather to various other localities of power and power relations, expressed even by non-state bodies such as the EU, agencies within the EU, other international organisations and individuals as actors. Our analysis of 'state feminism' will be multileveled and plural.

In his studies, Foucault was particularly interested in exploring how power is conducted through the "production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse" (1980, p. 142), i.e. knowledges or sets of truths. In every historical period or *episteme*, one can find different archives, that is discursive [theoretical texts and empirical instruments] and non-discursive [practices and institutions] expressions of what is acceptable or not within a certain social arrangement and historical period (Foucault, 1991, p. 59-60; 1997, p. 7; 1998, p. 263; Kendall & Wickham, 1998, 25). This assumes that power/knowledge nexuses are expressed in a multiplicity of ways and places, and also precludes the existence of numerous counter-conducts and knowledges positioned in a relation of permanent provocation and struggle [*agonism*] vis-à-vis the dominant discourses and knowledges, which can contingently gain dominance at any moment (Foucault, 1978, p. 95, 1980, p. 81-82, p. 141-142, 2001, p. 342). This approach has clear implications on our understanding of feminism and gender, as it breaks the spells of essentialist historical narratives of continuity. For instance, as Drakopoulou argued, the politics of legal change linked to feminist clauses were "the outcome of the epistemological context of nineteenth century thought", when particular contemporary epistemic conditions present granted the Victorian feminist discourse a specific configuration (2008, p. 330) in relation to what existed in the past. Thus we would argue that the analytics of 'state

feminism' should focus (a) on the production of knowledges and discourses that sustain and are sustained from it, and (b) on the multiplicity of alternative discourses and attempts of defining gender (in-)equality, retraced in agonistic instances in the form of a definitional struggle.

Power/knowledge finds particular expression in the government of children, souls, communities, families, states and so on. In this perspective, government maintains its traditional meaning as the ways of structuring "the possible field of action of others" (Foucault, 2001, p. 341), as the 'conduct of conducts', i.e. the regulation of the behaviours of others according to particular sets of norms and towards specific ends (Gordon, 1991, p. 18). As such, government has two normalising dimensions. It is both an action reflected on others [subjectification], and an action reflected on oneself [subjectivation] (Gordon, 1991; Hamann, 2009, p. 41; Sokhi-Bulley, 2013, p. 232). What is more, as both part and outcome of the various power/knowledge expressions in any given society, government has multiple expressions, i.e. numerous attempts for normalising human behaviours and conducts. The present system of normalisation related to the government of gendered individuals, for instance, can be understood as the outcome of the government of the bodies and behaviours of children, women and men by creating normal and perverse categories of pleasure (see Foucault, 1978).

Taking this perspective further, Judith Butler demonstrated how the fixed nature of the gendered subject is an illusion and an assemblage of bodily gestures, movements and enactments (1988, p. 519) or styles of the flesh (1990, p. 139) enforced on humans discursively. These normalisations are constantly and strategically reproduced by the individuals in a passive way for their survival (Butler, 1988, p. 524, 538, 1990, p. 139), or in an active way with the disruption of gender, as with the example of drag or gender parody (Butler, 1990, p. 136-137). With these in mind, we can approach 'state feminism' as an expression of a power/knowledge regime that (a) is used for governing the conduct of individuals, bodies and agencies towards particular goals that do not necessarily include equality, (b) imposes particular normalised categories of subjectification passively enacted by individuals, and (c) creates a certain space for the subjects to actively conduct and constructs themselves.

Another important aspect of Foucault's work has to do with his studies of the governmentalisation of the state. This process was initiated with the Treaty of Westphalia in the seventeenth century and prioritised the strengthening of the state and its powers (a) through an external system of alliances and an organised army, and (b) through an internal system of population government (Foucault, 1997, p. 68-69; Rose et al., 2006, p. 84). In the case of the state, government as 'conduct of conducts' was linked to and exercised for the *raison d'état*, i.e. for state security. Following this perspective, we would argue that the struggle for gender equality is part of this governmentalisation of the state. Both as a rationality and a regime of practices, gender equality is an artificial/constructed 'need' which serves specific governmental purposes related to the strengthening of the state. As such, the pursuit of equality did not exist from the beginning, but rather was gradually formulated in parallel to the development of liberalism in the

eighteenth and nineteenth century as an art of government that obeys the internal rules of maximum economy, rejects the rationality of absolute control and 'too much' government, and promotes less costly means of dealing with the 'problem of the population' (Foucault, 1984, p. 73-74, 261ff; 1997, p. 73ff; 2001, p. 125, 414).

It is obvious that liberalism is not understood here as a political ideology followed by normative evaluations but as a model of governmentality, an expression of powers and knowledges. Foucault was particularly interested in two forms of liberalism, the German post-war Ordoliberalism and the Chicago School's neoliberalism that contrasted the freedom of the market to the irrational welfarism of the Keynesian big state (Dean, 2010, p. 187; Larner, 2000, p. 5; Lemke, 2001, p. 192; Rose et al., 2006, p. 91). Whereas we do not refer to any particular model of liberalism as approached by Foucault, we accept here Dean's convention of 'advanced liberalism' as a concept designating the broader realm of governmentalities in contemporary liberal democracies (2010, p. 176). Several aspects of liberalism are of interest in this context. Firstly, the dominance of liberalism was mainly achieved through the promotion of legalism, the rule of law and the development of the discourses of civil rights, i.e. the 'rights of the governed' (Dean, 2010, p. 143), as developed in the works of Rousseau, Mills, Locke and other Social Contract theorists.

Also, liberalism was founded on the organisation of a 'representative' parliamentary system, which was seen as the most effective system for fostering the rationality of self-government to the population (Dean, 2010, p. 133; Foucault, 1997, p. 76-77) and for keeping the governed divided and apart from their governors (Dean, 2010, p. 144). Last but not least, liberalism was directly linked to the (self-)conduct of humans perceived now as autonomous and individualised rational decision-makers (Cadman, 2010, p. 546; Rose et al., 2006, p. 84) who are encouraged to take charge of their own well-being, to make rational decisions, to become more active and responsible beings, and to deal with their own risks and avoid social problems such as unemployment and poverty (Joseph, 2010, p. 227-228). To conclude, we suggest that 'state feminism' as part of the liberal governmentalities is infused with the values of liberalism and developed to meet specific governmental needs related to the creation and sustainment of the market. This does not mean that our understanding of 'state feminism' is Western-centric as 'state feminism' can also be found in non-liberal and non-Western traditions (see for example Funk, 2014). Rather we argue that with the apparent global dominance of liberalism, the context in which 'state feminism' is formulated is highly influenced by the latter.

Based on the above points, we can summarise the distinction in four theoretical propositions from a Foucauldian standpoint that could serve as our proposed definition. 'State feminism' is (a) built upon and enforces particular power relations not limited to the state; (b) based on the production of knowledges, which are the outcome of definitional struggles; (c) relates to the governing of individuals and consequently leads to their passive and active normalisation as subjects; and (d) is directly linked to and influenced by advanced liberalism and the pursuit of a free market economy.

In the case of the EU, we would accept from the outset that the European integration project in general and the quest for gender equality in particular are part of the governmentalisation process directly linked to 'advanced liberalism'. Particularly due to liberalism's legalistic nature, we should expect that an analytics of 'state feminism' would focus on the study of the law as one expression of the struggling formulations of power/knowledge in any given society. As a governmental apparatus, law produces and manages certain modes of political and economic management of legalities and illegalities, and is the sum of rights proposed, suggested and imposed on an individual by their culture, society or social group (Foucault, 1980, p. 141; Sokhi-Bulley, 2013, p. 233). And last but not least, an analytics of 'state feminism' as a means for promoting the security of the EU and the well-being of the European population should not ignore the general historical context.

Mapping the Development of the 'European State Feminism'

The historical events surrounding the process understood as European integration and the pursuit of gender equality in the EU seem to validate our theoretical standpoint. As would be expected, the first proposals for a 'unified Europe' emerged at the end of the seventeenth century (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 7), the same period in which the state governmentalisation process took off. However, they were clearly confederal in nature since Westphalia supremacy was given to the sovereign authority of the nation-state. 'United Europe' gained a dominant position only by the end of the two World Wars. The *raison d'être* was linked to the promotion of security and protection of Europe against multiple enemies (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 7-8; see also Coudenhove-Kalergi, 1931, p. 638). In the paradigm of Westphalia, the first steps in the governmentalisation of Europe took the form of an external system of military-diplomatic relations with the Western European Union in 1948, and an internal system of economic-industrial control with the European Coal and Steel Community in 1950. Under the influence of the French statesman Jean Monnet, the European government was directly linked to liberal high modernism, i.e. the confidence that technical and scientific progress can be applied and made to regulate every field of human activity (Walters & Haahr, 2005, p. 23-24).

Influenced by liberal high modernism, European integration initially took on an apparent technocratic and elitist character, i.e. moved behind the public's back with the assumption of a permissive consensus, with Monnet considering it "wrong to consult the peoples of Europe about the structure of the Community of which they had no practical experience" (as cited in Walters & Haahr, 2005, p. 27). This gradually changed with the Rome Treaty and the establishment of the European Economic Community in 1958 and the introduction of the common market project. This move introduced a clear ordoliberal essence to the European project, which advocated the importance of the market contrary to a big state with excessive welfare governments (Larner, 2000, p. 5; Lemke, 2001, p. 192; Dean, 2010, 187). For Europe, this reflected the possibility for a governable European market space that could be constructed with the correct regulations and

initiatives of a central authority (Walters & Haahr, 2005, p. 42; Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 677), and which could potentially lead to further integration through a functionalist spill over to other policy areas.

Most importantly, this move introduced 'freedom' expressed as the abolition of all obstacles to the movement of goods, services, capital and persons throughout Europe as the means for completing the common market project. The 'economic human' becomes the point of reference for government, and particular technologies of government were developed for improving and enforcing its position in the government of the market. These included, among others, the provision of certain rights open only to economically active people. One of them is equal pay for equal work between men and women with Article 119 TEC [Article 143 TFEU], the cornerstone of gender equality in the EU, and the constitutional foundation of 'European state feminism'. This development should be linked to the overall context internationally. As Anagnostou and Millns (2013) explained, this development took place due to the great demographic changes in Europe, the entrance of women into paid employment, and the prominence the second feminist wave gained in the public discourse of the 1960s and 1970s (2013, p. 118). However, the ordoliberal governmentality in Europe was the real driving force. As Kantola informs us (2010, p. 27), the International Labour Organisation had published a standing recommendation on equal pay since 1919 that the nation-states clearly neglected. What changed now was that the French government, which had already introduced the principle of equal pay before, demanded this provision as a condition for the ratification of the Rome Treaty, since France would have a competitive disadvantage vis-à-vis other member states' markets such as Italy (Anagnostou & Millns, 2013, p. 119; Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 27; van der Vleuten, 2007, p. 66). This fact sustains the proposition made previously on the essentially liberal character of 'state feminism'.

The equal pay principle was initially controversial in some member states, perceived as too expensive both for the governments and the employers (van der Vleuten, 2007, p. 66). What is more, the "original Treaties contained no system of fundamental rights protection", which assumed that, had there been a conflict, the national constitutions were expected to act as the best guarantee of protection (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 232). Even though the European Commission had the right to initiate the infringement procedure against the member states not implementing Article 119 TEC, it was merely limited in publishing reports on the matter after 1965 (Kantola, 2010, p. 29; van der Vleuten, 2007, p. 66-67). Thus, the national governments avoided undertaking any domestic policy changes, and consequently violated the final deadline for the implementation of Article 119 TEC.

The 'solution' was provided through legal channels by the Court, which reclaimed legal supremacy and sovereignty in the 1960s with the *Van Gend en Loos* and *Costa vs Enel* cases, and later with *Internationale Handelsgesellschaft* which recognised for the first time that fundamental rights were an integral part of the Community law that had to be enforced (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 234). Building on these cases, the Court started

recognising that human rights established by international treaties applied to the citizens of the European member states (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 235). What is more, these developments had important effects on the formulation of 'European state feminism'. The Court could now rule, had there been a case, based on the national gender equality laws and Article 119 TEC provision that were applicable and directly enforceable in Europe (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 543). Also, the preliminary reference procedure provided in the Treaty enabled national authorities to refer a large number of cases to the Court, several of them being *Defrenne* cases in the late 1960s and mid-70s (Chalmers, et al. 2010, p. 548; Kantola, 2010, p. 30-32). The chance was presented with *Defrenne* cases in the late 1960s and mid-70s, which enforced (a) the direct effect of Community law provisions over all national constituencies, and (b) gave to the gender equality principle and 'European state feminism' a case-law basis.

The bold imposition of the Court enforced the legalistic aspect of advanced liberalism in the government of Europe, and brought citizens subjectivated as 'economic individuals' closer to their government by reinforcing governmentality through freedom and rights. In the years following *Defrenne*, feminist activism and pressure exerted by women at national levels, the economic costs of the unilateral equal rights policy vis-à-vis a common approach, and the desire of the European states to produce a joint initiative in the framework of the UN International Women's Year in 1975, brought gender equality higher on the agenda (van der Vleuten, 2007, p. 77). By the end of the 1970s, three employment-related Directives were adopted by the Council (Chalmers et al, 2010, p. 547; van der Vleuten, 2007, p. 105). This development introduced a certain neoliberal essence to 'European state feminism' that values less government as best: the Directives produced were agreed upon the lowest common denominator, implying that gender equality was understood as binding in terms of the result but not the methodology and approach (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 99; Craig & de Búrca, 2011, p. 106; van der Vleuten, 2007, p. 104).

This decade of progress was followed by a decade of general inertia in the 1980s, caused by the severe global economic recession affecting the developed world, which led to the conservatisation of national governments and the general adoption of neoliberal economic policies throughout the 1980s. Additionally, the Luxembourg compromise with the agreement to disagree that gave every member state a veto in all fields of decision-making (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 13) rendered almost every decision, especially on sensitive issues, virtually impossible. For gender equality, due to the high costs of implementation of the previously adopted Directives (van der Vleuten, 2007, p. 107), the Council blocked a number of directives mainly due to the position of resistant states such as the UK that threatened to use its veto every time the Commission proposed a binding directive on parental leave or part-time employment (Kantola, 2010, p. 108). Instead, 'European state feminism' was downgraded to the level of recommendations, which is indicative of the new anti-political neoliberal dynamics of less government, since recommendations in the European legal order are non-binding declarations.

The balance shifted with the adoption of the Single European Act in 1986, which reaffirmed the commitment to the internal market project, and promoted institutional reforms by giving legislative powers to the EP with the cooperative procedure and by establishing the qualified majority voting system (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 21). These drastic changes opened up more spaces for contestation and made decisions easier to be reached by majority voting and not unanimity. Most importantly, these changes paved the way for the enforcement of the neoliberal Governmentality with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. With the creation of the EU, the success of the common market and the government through freedom were tied to common European citizenship, formulated on the basis of national citizenship. In Foucauldian terms, this development is essentially neoliberal as it facilitates the government of the population through the technology of differentiation/distinction between populations, and the provision of individual freedom to some groups and individual unfreedom to others for their better management (Hindess, 2001, p. 94; van Houdt, 2008, p. 8; Walters & Haahr, 2005, p. 73).

With the introduction of EU citizenship, it was possible for the Court to further promote the fundamental rights principle with *MartínezSala* and other cases, by accepting the principle that a person falls within the material scope of the Treaties and EU law on the bases of being an EU citizen (Haltern, 2004, p. 190-191). Gradually, and particularly with the addition of the Social Protocol to Maastricht Treaty that provided a more clear constitutional background for gender equality (van der Vleuten, 2007, p. 145), the 1995 enlargement that brought in countries such as Sweden and Finland and their 'women-friendliness' (Borchorst & Siim, 2008; Livholts, 2001;), and the bold participation of the EU in the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, the discourses on gender equality started to alter.

Gender equality became by now an essential feature in fighting unemployment and achieving greater competitiveness, and a requirement for human rights and democracy (van der Vleuten, 2007, p. 178). The following Amsterdam Treaty in 1996 declared gender equality as one of the founding principles of the EU, a discourse applicable until the present with Articles 2 and 3T EU perceiving gender equality as a European value. What is more, Amsterdam Treaty introduced changes to the equal payment principle and maintained that positive measures were to be developed for the promotion of gender equality, while 'gender mainstreaming' was to be incorporated into all policies and activities of the EU (Anagnostou & Millns, 2013, p. 120; European Commission, 1996; Kronsell, 2012, p. 1032).

From this point onwards, 'European state feminism' was further constitutionalised in several instances. The establishment of the governance governmentality in 2001 provided important neoliberal technologies of government, including transparency and active participation of local and regional levels of government, civil society and citizens in the governmental process, which ultimately altered the European governmental regime as a whole (Walters & Haahr, 2005, p. 74-76). What is more, the gradual development of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, which as Chalmers et al.

(2010) argued considers and defines the European citizens' need for a good life (p. 239) through the inclusion of some rights and the exclusion of others (Peers, 2004, p. 152-154) and which was recently annexed to the Lisbon Treaty, gave a new essence to the EU's advanced liberalism developed in previous decades. With the neoliberal need to consolidate the legislation and tidy up the existing provisions for gender equality, the Gender 'Recast' Directive was adopted in 2006, followed by several other Directives with a strong market-related character.

At the same time, 'European state feminism' was further institutionalised with the formulation of several agencies including the European Ombudsman in 1995, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia in 1997 (which was succeeded by the Fundamental Rights Agency [FRA]), and EIGE, which was officially launched in 2010. These belong to a bigger group of agencies established over the past two decades, through which the EU "quietly managed to expand its regulatory capacity without directly increasing the size or capacity of the [...] European Commission" (Kelemen & Majone, 2008, p. 220). Their formulation is clearly governmental as they seek to sustain the new technologies of governance, improve transparency and the continuous monitoring of the governmental apparatuses, assist individuals to become involved in their own government as active and self-conscious European citizens, provide assistance and expertise, collective learning, guidance, power sharing and the collection of statistics that can enhance visibility for the better government of Europe (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 229, 264-265; Sokhi-Bulley, 2013, p. 230; Walters & Haahrs, 2010, p. 76).

Prospects for Change: Between Docility and Contestation

The previous section mapped various events and instances that influenced the formation and development of 'European state feminism'. Linked to the questions posed in the introduction, the data presented above demonstrate how gender (in-)equality is imagined and regulated in the EU and through which techniques, practices and levels of governance. In this last section we turn to the potential for future change present in the 'European state feminism' governmental regime.

Gendered Subjects and Docility

As expected in our theoretical propositions, the advanced liberal essence of 'European state feminism' produces and normalises individuals in specific ways in relation to their gender. As Meier and Lombardo (2008) proposed, men and women in the EU are ultimately constructed either as gender-neutral citizens, with the emphasis placed on equality rights, or as gender-different citizens, with the emphasis given on the essential differences in their needs and responsibilities. These categories of citizenship, linked to the neoliberal technologies of agency and performance, which seek to improve and enforce the position of individuals as economic subjects in the government of the market (Dean, 2010, p. 196, 202), construct the

European gendered subjects as individuals that have to control their own risks based on the rights and policies provided by 'European state feminism'.

The legal provisions and limitations for gender equality in the EU essentially define the extent to which the gendered citizens of the Union can act. No right is expected to be legally or politically enforced and protected in the EU other than what is already provided in the gender-related legislation and case-law (see also Burri & Prechal, 2013). What is more, the various agencies and institutions mentioned above provide the practical control of the behaviours of the gender subjects, mainly by exercising a certain surveillance function for sustaining self-government, by gathering data and information, producing knowledge about the governmentable subjects of the EU and publishing thematic reports and surveys. Most importantly, these agencies enforced two particular neoliberal arts/ techniques of government: the technologies of agency seeking to enhance and improve the subject's capacities for participation, and the technologies of performance seeking to make the capacities of agency calculable and comparable so that they will be optimised (Dean, 2010, p. 196, 202). This was accomplished in a triple fashion: (a) through the interaction of the individuals with the agencies, for instance through their participation in studies; (b) with the acquirement of knowledge about the EU's work, the level of fundamental rights protection and 'European state feminism'; and (c) with the engagement of individual responsibility for the enactment of the 'ideal' gendered citizen (see also Sokhi-Bulley, 2013, p. 234). The latter is precisely the gender-neutral/gender-differentiated, active, and conscious citizen able to self-manage and control their own risk (Dean, 2010, p. 196; Haahr, 2004, p. 218; Walters & Haahr, 2005, p. 123).

Ultimately the main characteristic of the 'European state feminism' regime is gender inequality. The results from EIGE's Gender Equality Index (2010) describe a very gloomy picture:

- Women are less likely to participate in the labour market, and when they do, they work fewer hours and spend fewer years overall in work than men
- Women are more disadvantaged compared to men in relation to their access to financial resources
- Men earn more than women and, as a result, women on average are more likely to be at-risk-of-poverty
- Women are less likely to participate in tertiary education, even though the analysis shows a certain reversal in the participation rates
- Women are more likely to spend their free time in caring activities such as caring and educating children, cooking and house-working, while men have more time to participate in sporting, cultural and other leisure activities on a regular basis
- Women are to a great extent under-represented in the decision-making in economic and political spheres
- Women are less likely to reach equal and secure healthcare.

Avoiding any normative judgment of the persistent multidimensional inequality of women in Europe and the positive or negative aspects of the

present 'European state feminism' regime, we should note that the current level of constitutionalisation and institutionalisation is related to two particular models of agency that influence the possibilities for the future of the regime: docility or dangerousness. The system of knowledges and practices as described thus far is based on the docile or passive agency. This model presents the expectations that European gendered citizens accept and enforces the normative categories imposed on them through their conduct as active neoliberal economic beings. Docility is an important category for Foucault. The 'docile body' is understood both as an object and target of power that can be manipulated, shaped, trained, and which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases forces (Foucault, 1984, p. 180). In this respect, docility accepts the existence of normalised gendered-neutral and gendered-differentiated subjects upon which the system of government is founded, and who accept the present system of discourses, knowledges and practices of 'European state feminism' as sufficient, or even neglect the persisting nature of inequality in the EU. The latter point was particularly expressed in a recent Special Eurobarometer (European Commission, 2009), where 34% of Europeans thought that gender inequality is rare in the EU, 4% were unable to form an opinion, while the rest were rather moderate on the subject with almost half (47%) of them thinking that gender inequality is fairly widespread (p. 9).

Potential for Change

At any moment this docile agency can become dangerous, in the Foucauldian sense of the word, for the present governmentality regime. In order to explain this potential, Foucault used the example of a convicted criminal whose docile agency is cardinal for the existence of the juridical system (Foucault, 2001: 177 ff). When the criminal fights back and breaks free from the expected docile subjectification the "judicial machine ceases to function" (Foucault, 2001, p. 200). The criminal is transformed from a 'docile body' to a 'dangerous individual' when they stop to cooperate, refuse to answer the judges' questions, refuse to participate in their present system of government or decide to talk different truths. Likewise, the unobstructed and active exercise of the citizenship of the gendered subjects, the correct application of the present 'European state feminism' governmental regime, and the naturalisation of the need for gender equality to begin with, are aspects of docility. When individuals, organisations or member states decide to act in a defiant manner, this directly transforms them into 'dangerous individuals' vis-à-vis the current system of government. Dangerous agency is, as an expression of subjective knowledges and counter-conducts, part of the same governmental system, similar to docility. What is more, we could argue that it was this dangerous agency that helped the 'European state feminism' regime to evolve into its present form, and it is indeed here that the potential for future change lies. Various points of contestation surrounding particularly the Court and the EP, as well as their limitations, can be identified throughout the years.

The genealogy presented previously already demonstrated the importance of the Court in the development of European law, gender equality, freedom and fundamental rights principle in the EU. This was achieved in many

instances where and when the governments refused to go. For example, with cases such as *P vs S, Richards*, and *KB vs National Health Service Pensions Agency*, the Court was able to extend the scope of gender equality and EU law to cover discrimination against transgender individuals, whereas there is still no political commitment towards this respect (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 549). What is more, the arsenal of rights that can now be claimed before national courts was expanded with EU law in the Court or even quasi-judicial and non-judicial fora. This is particularly important as activists and individuals can be mobilised through legal channels and reclaim changes in the 'European state feminism' system – as was the case with *Defrenne* (Anagnostou & Millns, 2013, p. 115; Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 273ff). Last but not least, whereas the freedoms, rights and protections proclaimed in the Treaties and secondary legislation are still market-related in most cases – including 'European state feminism' – the Court started most recently with the cases *Ruiz Zabrano*, *McCarthy* and *Dereci* to challenge the cross-boundary element of EU citizenship and the rights deriving from this status (Hinarejos, 2011; Hinarejos, 2012; Lenaerts, 2013), which can ultimately expand the scope of EU law, and thus is potentially dangerous for the present neoliberal governmentality in its essence.

Notwithstanding these prospects, the Court has its own particular limitations, particularly vis-à-vis its ability to develop new case-law. Throughout the years the Court has raised specific criteria concerning the cases where it can be successfully reached (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 150ff). These criteria can be to keep important cases from reaching the Court, especially since national courts and bodies are the gatekeepers. What is more, the Court does not always approach cases with judicial activism, i.e. with an attitude of pushing EU law *per se* further, while it has been argued that the Court faces instances of bottlenecks or legal pollution with important cases getting stuck in the queue, which places enormous time and organisational pressures on the Court (Chalmers et al., 2010, p. 178-179). Also, the relation of the EU as a political and legal system vis-à-vis other international and European instruments of human rights and gender equality standards, such as the CEDAW and the European Convention for Human Rights, is not – at least at the date of writing – clearly defined. This creates a complex system of legal pluralism and, thus, lacunae of protection (see also Itzcovich, 2012; Tamanaha, 2008). Last but not least, the Court is a predominantly male organisation, highly gender-imbalanced. Although the number of the female judges increased throughout the decades of its functioning, male judges are still dominant (Tamm, 2013, p. 20), which can potentially influence the approach towards issues of sex and gender and towards the legal discourses developed surrounding gender equality. The first female Advocate-General was appointed in the 1980s, while the first female Judge in the late-90s, which is directly connected to the overall under-representation of women in politics and the economy.

A second point of contestation is the development of the so-called 'velvet triangles', a concept coined by Woodward (2003), and the position of the EP as a battleground. Also known as 'feminist triangles' and 'women's co-operative constellations', these 'velvet triangles' were important in the development of 'European state feminism', and can indeed continue to

influence future prospects. As Holli argued, these formations designate any kind of actual cooperation "initiated or accomplished by one or several groups of women in a policy process to further their aims or achieve goals perceived as important to them" (2008, p. 169). Such informal networks consist of women bureaucrats [femocrats], women politicians, gender experts and academics, and other prominent women's NGOs (Kantola, 2010, p. 100). Most importantly, these triangles are made possible due to the informal aspects of government that the governance regime established, which facilitated the participation of multiple actors in the informal government of gender(in-)equality in the EU (Woodward, 2003).

Several points can be discussed regarding these 'triangles'. In 1979, the year of the first direct elections for the EP and of the adoption of CEDAW in the UN context, an ad hoc Committee was set up in the EP on Women's Rights and Gender Equality. This was gradually developed into a standing Committee on Women's Rights and Equality [FEMM], which became a very influential political group of parliamentarians engaged in gender equality, together with the current D1 on Gender Equality of the Directorate-General for Justice (Agustín, 2012, p. 23-24). FEMM serves as a feminist stronghold in the institutional setting of the EU, having deep ties with the European Women's Lobby [EWL]. The latter is an NGO established in 1990 to give a unitary voice to more than 2,500 organisations from all EU member states and candidate countries in representing women's interests (Agustín, 2012, p. 26).

The danger lies precisely in the fact that these highly established feminist triangles take part in the antagonism taking place in Europe for 'European state feminism'. In other words, these 'velvet triangles' seek to win the struggle of defining the object of 'European state feminism', gender equality, the obstacles it faces and the potential solutions that can be provided (Agustín, 2012, p. 25). This has not been easy. First of all, organisations other than the EWL are also mobilised at the EU level, reclaiming recognition and voice. These include, for example, women's organizations specializing in a particular field, professions or constituencies, or organisations representing a different ideological standpoint from the more feminist EWL. Such an NGO is the 'New Women for Europe', which proposes a more conservative discourse focused on family and pro-life issues, 'career-oriented' and 'home-centred' lifestyles (Agustín, 2012, p. 26). What is more, it is clear that the EWL becomes part of the establishment and does not represent the absolute feminist voice in Europe. Many other sub-discourses are developed surrounding the potential directions of 'European state feminism' that can be equally dangerous to the present regime of practices.

Secondly, the success or failure of such 'velvet triangles' or other NGOs in this struggle has to do with the 'politics of presence'. The main argument here is that women cannot be successful if they do not grow from a few tokens into a considerable minority or 'critical mass'. Some scholars challenge this argument and also the effectiveness of gender quotas in representation as a solution to gender equality (Broome et al., 2011; Pieters, 2012), while others argued that the substantive representation of women's concerns rather than a mere descriptive representation of women is the contributing factor for changes (Childs & Krook, 2008; Childs & Krook,

2009). However, as Phillips (1998) argued, the symbolic representation of women is still as important. And since the gender composition of groups can influence the styles of bargaining or argumentation that men and women adopt in negotiations (Naurin, 2010, p. 36), it is safe to argue that even an augmentation in the descriptive representation level of women can be dangerous for the present 'European state feminism' system.

A third point of potential contestation that can be identified here is the EIGE, which was developed to assist the work of the EU institutions and member states in promoting gender equality through the collection and analysis of data, that is, the statistical definition and measurement of gender. As Humbert and Stratigaki (2013) asked, is it a window of opportunity for gender equality policies? As an agency, EIGE has an interesting genealogy. In brief, as we can learn from their webpage, the initial idea for the formation of this Institute was promoted by the Swedish Minister for Gender Equality Margareta Winberg in 1995 and 1999, but it took one decade for the Commission to prepare a feasibility study examining the specific tasks that existing institutions do not currently deal with and for the European Council to ask for specific proposals that led to the establishment of EIGE in 2007. Crucial here was FEMM Committee, which reintroduced the idea for an Institute in 2004 that was by then forgotten. The European Commission officially launched the creation of EIGE in 2005, the relevant Regulation was adopted in 2006, the first members of the board met in March 2008 for the first time and a director was appointed in 2009. However, it was not until 2010 that the first Annual working programme and budget of the Institute was adopted.

Three points can be mentioned in relation to the potential of EIGE. Firstly, gender equality was as important for the European integration regime as it took the EU so many decades to institutionalise it with a supporting agency – especially since the first operational agencies were established back in the 1970s and the first regulatory agencies were produced in the 1990s (Kelemen & Majone, 2012, p. 220). Secondly, the fact that there was never an attempt to politically understand and produce the requisite expertise (?) on gender (in-)equality in the EU until recently with the establishment of EIGE and the production of the Gender Equality Index is rather controversial, especially since the production of knowledges and forms of visibility are important aspects for the exercise of a government regime and public policy outputs. EIGE's role is crucial in terms of visibility, as Scott rightfully claims: if "women's subordination – past and present – was secured at least in part by their invisibility, then emancipation might be achieved by making them visible in narratives of social struggle and political achievement" (2000, p.2). Finally, compared to the FRA that was established in the late 1990s and gained high institutionalisation and prominence ever since, EIGE appears to have a secondary status, especially since gender is one of the themes of FRA. This last point also depicts how gender equality came to be linked to fundamental rights and the formation of the internal market, rather than as a stand-alone principle. In answering their question, Humbert and Stratigaki (2013) argued that the potential of EIGE depends "on its ability to link with the gender studies research community and to forge critical political alliances with other strategic feminist actors" (p. 169).

This harks back to the two points we made previously about the role of the Court and the 'velvet triangles'.

Concluding Remarks

The question we posed in the introduction remains: how can we deal with the persisting nature of gender inequality in the EU? Brining all the threads together, we can reach several conclusions. First of all, the political context provided through the Directives and the legislative form of the Directives *per se*, while important in essence, is limited in scope. What is more, the political instruments of soft policies and gender mainstreaming developed with the governance mentality, and the possibility for the development of positive actions for gender equality, lack the political importance and strength they could have had if other forms had been chosen. And last but not least, it is obvious that gender equality must be linked to a certain governmental need in order to be successful. As Princen discussed elsewhere, for actors to successfully place issues on the EU agenda, they have to mobilise supporters, build capacity, arouse interest and claim authority on a particular issue (2011, p. 931).

It is clear that 'European state feminism' and the course of the EU towards gender equality is path-dependent. It is indeed deeply influenced both by its Member States' own strengths and weaknesses and by the general global context of gender inequality. However, the 'European state feminism' regime sustains an important number of rules and obligations that are directly enforceable and have to be respected by the member states. Thus, we should also identify the prospects of Europeanization as well as the possibilities of influencing the European agenda. And as for them, however, it has been argued that successful Europeanization depends on the existence of political opportunities, the mobilization of the existent structures and networks, and the strategic framing of the subject (Pollack & Hafner-Burton, 2000). It is clear that any change [either positive or negative] in the 'European state feminism' regime, any dangerous agency, can be successful only with specific strategic actions. And choosing to see the glass half full, can be the driving force for full equality.

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SECTION E:
GENDER, POLICIES AND JUSTICE

THE INVISIBLE DIMENSIONS OF GENDER EQUALITY: EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON GENERAL ATTITUDES AND THE LEGAL ASPECT OF SHARED CUSTODY IN GREECE

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Abstract

Divorce legislation in Greece tends to encourage divorced parents to resolve their differences peacefully, presuming that they are mature enough to do so for their children's sake. However, this is not the case in everyday practice, as parents often find themselves in opposite parties in front of the court, where in the vast majority of cases custody is granted to the mother, with the father reserving the right to communicate with his children. In light of new socio-economic conditions in Greek society, the idea of legislating shared custody in Greece as well is explored. For this reason, a survey was conducted on the general Greek population in order to explore attitudes towards the father's role after divorce. The aim of this article is to present the obsolete and inadequate legal framework in Greece, compare it with relative practices in other countries, as well as showcase cases of court decisions, which degrade the father's role. A semi-structured questionnaire was given to 1349 people during the period December 2014-January 2015. 103 of them were lawyers. Responses were statistically analyzed and any differences in attitudes between lawyers and the general population were explored.

Keywords: divorce, shared custody, legal framework, Greece

Η ΑΘΕΑΤΗ ΠΛΕΥΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΙΣΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΥΟ ΦΥΛΩΝ: ΕΜΠΕΙΡΙΚΗ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΣΧΕΤΙΚΑ ΜΕ ΤΙΣ ΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΣΤΑΣΗ ΓΙΑ ΤΟ ΘΕΣΜΟ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΓΚΗΔΕΜΟΝΙΑΣ-ΣΥΝΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ

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Περίληψη

Αν και η νομοθεσία περί διαζυγίων στην Ελλάδα προκρίνει την εσωτερική διευθέτηση των ζητημάτων που ανακύπτουν μεταξύ των εμπλεκόμενων μερών, θεωρώντας ότι οι γονείς διαθέτουν την ωριμότητα να συνδιαλαγούν για το καλό των παιδιών τους, επικρατεί η πάγια δικαστική τακτική, εφόσον υπάρχει αντιδικία, να δίνεται η επιμέλεια σε συντριπτικό ποσοστό στη μητέρα και να ορίζεται απλή επικοινωνία με τον πατέρα. Δεδομένης της ωρίμανσης των συνθηκών για την εφαρμογή της συνεπιμέλειας στα πλαίσια της διαφυλικής ισότητας και της ποιότητας ζωής των τέκνων, διεξήχθη ποσοτική έρευνα σχετικά με τις απόψεις νομικών και μη σχετικά με το διαζύγιο και το ρόλο του πατέρα. Σκοπός της παρούσας μελέτης είναι να παρουσιάσει το αναχρονιστικό και ελλιπές νομικό πλαίσιο στην Ελλάδα, να το συγκρίνει με ανάλογες ευρωπαϊκές πρακτικές και να αναδείξει περιπτώσεις δικαστικών αποφάσεων, που υποβιβάζουν το ρόλο του πατέρα. Χορηγήθηκε ημιδομημένο ερωτηματολόγιο σε 1349 άτομα κατά το χρονικό διάστημα Δεκέμβριος 2014-Ιανουάριος 2015. 103 άτομα του δείγματος ήταν επαγγελματίες νομικοί. Οι απαντήσεις αναλύθηκαν στατιστικά και διερευνήθηκαν τυχόν διαφοροποιήσεις ανάμεσα στις απόψεις νομικών και μη νομικών.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: διαζύγιο, συνεπιμέλεια, συγκηδεμονία, νομικό πλαίσιο

Εισαγωγή

Ενώ έχουν δημοσιευτεί εκατοντάδες έρευνες σχετικά με την επίδραση του διαζυγίου στα παιδιά και τις μητέρες, πολύ λίγο έχει μελετηθεί η ποιότητα ζωής και οι ψυχολογικές συνέπειες του χωρισμού στον πατέρα, που εγκαταλείπει το σπίτι. Οι κοινωνικές αναπαραστάσεις για τον έγγαμο βίο σε μία κοινωνία όπως η ελληνική προσδιορίζονται με νόρμες και κουλτούρες, που έχουν παράδοση εκατοντάδων ετών, παρά τις αλλαγές κυρίως κατά την τελευταία δεκαετία. Αντίθετα, η πορεία ζωής του πατέρα μετά το διαζύγιο και η αλληλεπίδρασή του με την πρώην σύζυγο και κυρίως στα παιδιά δεν έχουν μελετηθεί σχεδόν ποτέ.

Στο εξωτερικό οι περισσότερες έρευνες (Shapiro & Lambert, 1999) που είναι σχετικές με το θέμα χρησιμοποιούν ως μεθοδολογικό εργαλείο το ερωτηματολόγιο και τις συνεντεύξεις, που χορηγούνται στα παιδιά ή στις πρώην συζύγους, ενώ ελάχιστες είναι εκείνες που καταγράφουν τις απόψεις των πατέρων. Τόσο στην Ελλάδα όσο και στο εξωτερικό η επικοινωνία του

πατέρα με τα παιδιά είναι στην καλύτερη περίπτωση δυοσίωνη: Ένα τεράστιο ποσοστό σταματά οποιαδήποτε επαφή με τα παιδιά, παρά το γεγονός ότι εξακολουθεί να πληρώνει για αυτά, αρνούμενο να αποδεχτεί τους νομικούς όρους που διέπουν το διαζύγιο. Ακόμα και πατέρες οι οποίοι αρχικά δείχνουν μεγάλο ενδιαφέρον, σταδιακά περιπίπτουν σε μία κατάσταση, που οι αμήτοι θα χαρακτήριζαν αδιαφορία. Κυρίαρχη είναι η υπόθεση ότι οι εμπειρίες πριν από το διαζύγιο και κυρίως η μεθόδευση του επηρεάζει τις μετέπειτα στάσεις των πατέρων για τα παιδιά τους. Το ελάχιστο ποσοστό των πατέρων που αποκτά την κηδεμονία των παιδιών συνήθως διατηρεί όλα τα αναμενόμενα πατρικά πρότυπα σύμφωνα με τις προσδοκίες της κοινωνίας (Shapiro & Lambert, 1999).

Ένα άλλο τεράστιο σώμα ερευνών (Shapiro & Lambert, 1999) έχει καταδείξει τη σχέση έγγαμου βίου και ποιότητας ζωής, τόσο στον ψυχολογικό όσο και στον βιολογικό τομέα. Οι μελέτες δείχνουν ότι ο γάμος δρα αντισταθμιστικά τις περισσότερες φορές σε αγχογόνους παράγοντες, ίσως επειδή δίνει κίνητρα και ερμηνείες που δικαιολογούν την έντονη επαγγελματική ζωή.

Οι χωρισμένοι πατέρες αντίθετα αναφέρουν συναισθήματα ενοχής, άγχους, κατάθλιψης, πένθους, κενού εξαπτίας της απώλειας επαφής με τα παιδιά τους. Το κυρίαρχο συναίσθημα είναι η απώλεια ελέγχου στην ανατροφή των παιδιών, η οποία επιτείνεται εάν η πρώην σύζυγος βρει άλλον σύντροφο. Αυτή η απώλεια ελέγχου είναι που αναγκάζει τους πατέρες να αποσυρθούν από την ανατροφή των παιδιών τους δεδομένου ότι ο ρόλος τους καθίσταται καθαρά οικονομικός. Πολλοί χωρισμένοι πατέρες που συμμετείχαν στην καθημερινή φροντίδα των παιδιών ένιωσαν ανακουφισμένοι από το ρόλο αυτό (Shapiro & Lambert, 1999).

Η συντριπτική πλειοψηφία των ερευνών (Shapiro & Lambert, 1999) που έχουν γίνει στο εξωτερικό τονίζουν πως το κυρίαρχο συναίσθημα είναι η υποτίμηση του πατρικού ρόλου από την πρώην σύζυγο, η οποία φροντίζει να το εκμεταλλεύεται για να εξάρει το δικό της ρόλο στην ανατροφή των παιδιών.

Σύμφωνα με έρευνες η απουσία του πατέρα λόγω διαζυγίου συνδέεται με χαμηλότερη σχολική επίδοση τόσο για τα αγόρια όσο και για τα κορίτσια, αυξημένα ποσοστά ανεργίας (για τα αγόρια) και πρώιμη εγκυμοσύνη για τα κορίτσια (McLanahan, 1999). Αντίστροφα, σε μία μετα-ανάλυση 63 ερευνών που έχουν διεξαχθεί για το ρόλο του πατέρα στην ευημερία των παιδιών μετά το διαζύγιο, βρέθηκε ότι η αίσθηση εγγύτητας με τον πατέρα και η ύπαρξη μιας επίσημης ρύθμισης κηδεμονίας του παιδιού μετά το χωρισμό σχετίζεται θετικά με την ευημερία του (Amato & Gilbreth, 1999). Συγκεκριμένα, πέρα από την οικονομική στήριξη, η επίσημη κηδεμονία από τον πατέρα αποτελεί τον πιο ισχυρό προβλεπτικό παράγοντα για την καλή σχολική επίδοση, καθώς και τη συμπεριφορά του παιδιού και τη συναισθηματική του ωριμότητα. Επίσης, σύμφωνα με άλλες έρευνες, η συχνή επαφή του παιδιού και με τους δύο γονείς μπορεί να μετριάσει τις συνέπειες της απουσίας του πατέρα από το σπίτι, αλλά και να περιορίσει την ανασφάλεια και το άγχος για θέματα που σχετίζονται με την οικονομική ευημερία.

Στον αντίποδα αυτών των απόψεων τίθενται άλλες έρευνες που τονίζουν τους ενδεχόμενους κινδύνους που ενέχονται σε περιπτώσεις συνεπιμέλειας και συχνής επαφής και με τους δύο γονείς, όπου τα παιδιά βιώνουν ένα συγκρουσιακό κλίμα μεταξύ των γονέων (Johnston, 1995; Twaiite & Luchow, 1996). Με βάση τις εν λόγω έρευνες, η συνεπιμέλεια φαίνεται να είναι ακατάλληλη, τουλάχιστον στις περιπτώσεις καταστάσεων έντονων συγκρούσεων (Johnston, 1995).

Σε έρευνες που έχουν διεξαχθεί για τη διερεύνηση των απόψεων σχετικά με τη συνεπιμέλεια, οι περισσότεροι άνθρωποι φαίνεται να πιστεύουν ότι τα παιδιά πρέπει να περνούν ίσο χρόνο και με τους δύο γονείς μετά το διαζύγιο. Σε ένα δημοψήφισμα που διεξήχθη στη Μασαχουσέτη το 2004, το 85% των ψηφισάντων υποστήριξαν ότι τα παιδιά πρέπει να μοιράζονται τον χρόνο που περνούν με τους γονείς τους μετά το διαζύγιο (Fatherhood Coalition, 2004). Σε άλλη αντίστοιχη έρευνα που διεξήχθη στην Αριζόνα των ΗΠΑ σε φοιτητές και άλλους ενήλικες βρέθηκε ότι το 80% με 90% πιστεύουν στη συνεπιμέλεια μετά το διαζύγιο (Braver, Ellman, Votruba, & Fabricius, 2011).

Οι απόψεις γύρω από την «συνεπιμέλεια» διίστανται και η συζήτηση ανάμεσα στους υποστηρικτές και τους πολέμιους είναι αρκετά έντονη τα τελευταία χρόνια (Bender, 1994; Goldstein, Freud, & Solnit, 1973; Kuehl, 1989; Roman και Haddad, 1978). Οι υποστηρικτές της συνεπιμέλειας τονίζουν τη σημασία και τα οφέλη του παιδιού από τη διατήρηση επαφών και με τους δύο γονείς του, ενώ οι πολέμιοι της ιδέας θεωρούν ότι η συνεπιμέλεια διαταράσσει την απαραίτητη σταθερότητα στη ζωή του παιδιού και μπορεί να έχει αρνητική επίδραση λόγω της έκθεσης του παιδιού σε συνεχείς συγκρούσεις μεταξύ των γονέων.

Οι θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις για τη σύνδεση του διαζυγίου με την κακή προσαρμογή του παιδιού βασίζονται σε πλήθος παραγόντων, όπως τα ατομικά και ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά του κάθε παιδιού, η αλλαγή στη σύνθεση της οικογένειας και οι αρνητικές συνέπειες από την απουσία του πατέρα, το αυξανόμενο οικονομικό άγχος που προκύπτει από τη μετάβαση σε μία μονογονεϊκή οικογένεια, η επιρροή της κακής ψυχολογικής κατάστασης του γονέα και οι αλλαγές στις διαδικασίες της οικογένειας (Hetherington, Bridges, & Insabella, 1998). Συνοπτικά, οι παράγοντες που επιδρούν στην προσαρμογή του παιδιού μετά από ένα διαζύγιο μπορούν να συμπεριληφθούν σε 3 κατηγορίες: στην απώλεια ενός γονέα, στις συγκρούσεις μεταξύ των γονιών και στην ελλιπή κηδεμονία.

Θεωρητική Επισκόπηση

Η Έννοια της Συνεπιμέλειας

Τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες - και ιδιαίτερα μετά τη δεκαετία του '70 - έχουν συντελεστεί αρκετές σημαντικές αλλαγές στο οικογενειακό δίκαιο στις χώρες του αναπτυγμένου κόσμου, και ιδιαίτερα στο θέμα της επιμέλειας των παιδιών έπειτα από την έκδοση διαζυγίου. Κοινό έναυσμα σε όλες σχεδόν τις περιπτώσεις επανεξέτασης της νομοθεσίας υπήρξε ο κεντρικός ρόλος που παίζουν οι πατεράδες στη ζωή των παιδιών, καθώς και η τάση για την

υιοθέτηση νέων πολιτικών προς ένα μοντέλο συγκενδρωμένης και συνεπιμέλειας.

Η συνεπιμέλεια αναφέρεται στη ρύθμιση που περιλαμβάνει την από κοινού νομική και/ή φυσική επιμέλεια των παιδιών μετά το διαζύγιο των γονέων (Bender, 1994). Η φυσική συνεπιμέλεια προβλέπει την επαφή των παιδιών και το μοίρασμα του χρόνου διαμονής τους ανάμεσα στους δύο γονείς, ενώ η νομική συνεπιμέλεια περιορίζει τη μόνιμη διαμονή του παιδιού στον ένα γονέα. Η φυσική συνεπιμέλεια σαφώς προβλέπει τη διατήρηση στενών σχέσεων και με τους δύο γονείς. Εντούτοις, η νομική συνεπιμέλεια προβλέπει την κοινή λήψη αποφάσεων από τους γονείς σε θέματα που αφορούν στα παιδιά τους, καθώς και τη συνεχή και ενεργό εμπλοκή του γονέα που δεν διαμένει με το παιδί στη ζωή του, ακόμη και εάν αυτό διαμένει με τον άλλο γονέα.

Η Συνεπιμέλεια σε Διάφορες Χώρες

Οι νόμοι και οι κανόνες που ρυθμίζουν τα θέματα επιμέλειας διαφέρουν από χώρα σε χώρα της Ε.Ε. Οι εθνικές νομοθεσίες ρυθμίζουν θέματα όπως ποιος θα έχει την επιμέλεια, εάν η επιμέλεια θα ανατεθεί στον ένα γονέα ή και στους δύο (συνεπιμέλεια), ποιος θα λαμβάνει τις αποφάσεις για την εκπαίδευση των παιδιών κτλ.

Παρόλα αυτά, σε όλες τις Ευρωπαϊκές χώρες αναγνωρίζεται το δικαίωμα των παιδιών να έχουν προσωπική σχέση και άμεση επαφή και με τους δύο γονείς τους, ακόμη και αν οι γονείς μένουν σε διαφορετικές χώρες. Στην περίπτωση αυτή, που οι γονείς διαβιούν σε διαφορετικές χώρες, τα αρμόδια δικαστήρια για την εκδίκαση των υποθέσεων επιμέλειας είναι αυτά όπου συνήθως μένει το παιδί.

Σε έρευνα που διεξήχθη σε 14 χώρες παγκοσμίως τα ποσοστά συνεπιμέλειας ποικίλλαν από 7% έως 15% των περιπτώσεων (Skiiner, Bradshaw, & Davidson, 2007). Στη Νορβηγία, το 25% των παιδιών έχουν γονείς που μένουν χωρία, και 8% από αυτά μένουν με τον πατέρα, ενώ 10% είναι σε καθεστώς συνεπιμέλειας (Skjorten & Barlindhaug, 2007). Στη Σουηδία, όπου τα δικαστήρια έχουν το δικαίωμα να αποφασίσουν εναλλαγή της κατοικίας του παιδιού ακόμη και σε περίπτωση διαφωνίας του ενός γονέα, το 20% των παιδιών χωρισμένων γονιών μένουν σε δύο σπίτια (Singer, 2008). Στη Γαλλία το 12% των παιδιών των οποίων οι γονείς μένουν χωρία μοιράζονται τον χρόνο ανάμεσα σε δύο σπίτια, ενώ ένα επιπρόσθετο 12% μένουν με τον πατέρα τους και περνούν κάποιο από το χρόνο τους με τη μητέρα τους (Toulemon, 2008). Η επιλογή της συνεπιμέλειας και διαμονής των παιδιών σε δύο σπίτια έχει θεσμοθετηθεί στη Γαλλία από το 2002 και θεωρείται ως η πρώτη και προσφορότερη επιλογή από μία σειρά άλλων μοντέλων κηδεμονίας και επιμέλειας. Σε αυτό παίζει ρόλο και η ενίσχυση από το κράτος, το οποίο παρέχει ιατρική ασφάλιση και στους δύο γονείς και χορηγεί επίδομα και στους δύο γονείς για τα εξαρτώμενα τέκνα (Masardo, 2009).

Το 2009 το Κοινοβούλιο της Ολλανδίας επιχείρησε να εισαγάγει μία νέα νομοθεσία με την οποία το παιδί δικαιούται και πρέπει να λαμβάνει ίση φροντίδα από τους δύο γονείς μετά το χωρισμό τους. Εντούτοις, έπειτα από

μακρές συζητήσεις και διαδικασίες το αρχικό μοντέλο του 50-50 εγκαταλείφθηκε. Εκείνο που ορίζει η νομοθεσία όμως είναι η διευθέτηση του μοντέλου κηδεμονίας/επιμέλειας των παιδιών πριν την έκδοση του διαζυγίου. Στην αρχή θεσμοθέτησής της, η συνεπιμέλεια ήταν σπάνια και αντιστοιχούσε μόνο στο 5% με 10% των συνολικών διαζυγίων στην Ολλανδία (CBS, 2003). Αργότερα όμως, το 2008, το εν λόγω ποσοστό ανήλθε στο 16%. Στη Δανία, το αντίστοιχο ποσοστό ήταν 20% περίπου (Heide Ottosen, 2004), ενώ στα ίδια επίπεδα κυμαίνεται και η Σουηδία (Breivik & Olweus, 2006).

Το οικογενειακό δίκαιο επηρεάζεται και διαμορφώνεται σε σημαντικό βαθμό σε συνάρτηση με το κοινωνικό περιβάλλον, σε σύγκριση με άλλα είδη δικαίου. Στην προκειμένη περίπτωση, σε αρκετές χώρες και πολιτείες των ΗΠΑ γίνονται αναθεωρήσεις της νομοθεσίας περί επιμέλειας, αντανακλώντας και τις μεταβαλλόμενες πολιτισμικές νόρμες της εκάστοτε κοινωνίας. Εντούτοις, πολλοί ερευνητές θεωρούν ότι οι νέες πολιτικές επιμέλειας τέκνων ενσωματώνουν συνήθως και πολιτικές συμπεριφορές βασισμένες σε υποθέσεις, μύθους και ιστορίες μεμονωμένων ατόμων.

Μέχρι πρόσφατα στις ΗΠΑ, μόνο το 5% με 7% των παιδιών περνούσαν τουλάχιστον ένα τρίτο του χρόνου με τον πατέρα τους. Τα περισσότερα ζούσαν αποκλειστικά με τη μητέρα και διανυκτέρευαν μόνο τέσσερα ή πέντε βράδια το μήνα στο σπίτι του πατέρα τους (Kelly, 2007). Εντούτοις, τα τελευταία χρόνια διαφαίνεται μία αλλαγή στα παραπάνω πρότυπα: στην πολιτεία της Αριζόνα και στην Ουάσινγκτον, 30% με 50% των παιδιών χωρισμένων γονέων περνούν τουλάχιστον το ένα τρίτο του χρόνου τους με τον καθένα από τους γονείς (George, 2008; Venohr & Kaunelis, 2008).

Σε κάθε περίπτωση, στα δικαστήρια των ΗΠΑ σήμερα η συγκαθημονία δεν αποφασίζεται σχεδόν ποτέ από το δικαστή εάν δεν συναινούν σε αυτό και οι δύο γονείς (Ellman, Kurtz, & Weithorn, 2010). Για το λόγο αυτό, οι νομοθέτες αρχίζουν να λαμβάνουν περισσότερο υπόψη την τροποποίηση των νόμων προς την κατεύθυνση της συνεπιμέλειας.

Ομοίως, στην Αυστραλία, την Ολλανδία, τη Δανία και τη Σουηδία το 18% με 20% των παιδιών χωρισμένων γονιών είναι σε καθεστώς συνεπιμέλειας (Smyth, 2009; Spruijt & Duindam, 2010).

Η Αυστραλία αντικατέστησε το νομοθετικό πλαίσιο της κηδεμονίας με ένα καθεστώς κοινής κηδεμονίας («συνεπιμέλειας») στα μέσα της δεκαετίας του '90 και αργότερα άρχισε να ξεετάζει και το ενδεχόμενο «διαμοιρασμού του χρόνου ανάμεσα στους δύο γονείς» (Rhoades & Boyd, 2004). Το 2003 απέρριψε τελικά το ενδεχόμενο της συνεπιμέλειας αλλά ενίσχυσε το μοντέλο συνεπιμέλειας επιτρέποντας και εναλλακτικές προσεγγίσεις για οικογένειες όπου εκδηλώνονταν φαινόμενα βίας ή έντονων συγκρούσεων (Standing Committee, 2003). Συγκεκριμένα, αυτό που στην ουσία άλλαξε στην νομοθεσία της Αυστραλίας ήταν η ενθάρρυνση γονέων που ζουν χωριστά να μεγαλώνουν τα παιδιά τους σε κλίμα συνεργασίας. Κατ' αντιστοιχία με αυτό που συνέβη λίγα χρόνια νωρίτερα στη Μ. Βρετανία, οι τροποποιήσεις του νόμου επέφεραν επίσης μερικές αλλαγές και στη χρήση των έως τότε όρων, αντικαθιστώντας την κηδεμονία με την έννοια της «γονικής επιμέλειας». Το νέο μοντέλο κηδεμονίας προέβλεπε μια ρύθμιση που βασιζόταν στην ισότητα όσον αφορά τη γονική επιμέλεια μετά το χωρισμό, όπου κάθε γονέας

διατηρούσε τις ίδιες εξουσίες, ευθύνες και αρχές που είχε σε σχέση με τη φροντίδα των παιδιών του και πριν το χωρισμό, εκτός και αν υπήρχε απόφαση δικαστηρίου για το αντίθετο.

Η απόφαση της Αυστραλίας να εφαρμόσει το νέο μοντέλο συνεπιμέλειας δεν ήταν προϊόν κάποιας εμπειρικής έρευνας ή μελέτης για τις συνέπειες του προηγούμενου νόμου στον ψυχισμό των παιδιών. Αυτό που πυροδότησε την αλλαγή ήταν η πολιτική ανησυχία για τη θέση των πατεράδων που δεν είχαν την επιμέλεια. Με επερώτηση στη Βουλή το 1992 οι ομάδες των πατεράδων ισχυρίζονταν ότι το δικαστικό σύστημα ήταν προκατειλημμένο υπέρ των μητέρων κατά τη λήψη των δικαστικών αποφάσεων και για το λόγο αυτό ζητούσαν ένα πιο δίκαιο και ίσο μερίδιο στη φροντίδα των παιδιών τους μετά το χωρισμό.

Μετά τις τροπολογίες του 1995, διεξήχθη εμπειρική έρευνα στην Αυστραλία για να διερευνηθεί την νέα κατάσταση των πραγμάτων (Dewar & Parker, 1999). Τα ευρήματα της έρευνας έδειξαν ότι τρία χρόνια μετά την ψήφιση της τροπολογίας η κοινότητα ακόμη δεν γνώριζε τις νέες έννοιες που είχαν εισαχθεί, με αποτέλεσμα η συνεπιμέλεια να είναι ακόμη σπάνια στα διαζευγμένα ζευγάρια. Το 2003 η Κοινοβουλευτική Επιτροπή για θέματα Οικογένειας απέρριψε νέο αίτημα για συνεπιμέλεια, βασιζόμενη στο επιχείρημα ότι ο χρόνος που περνάει κάθε παιδί με την οικογένειά του θα πρέπει να εξαρτάται από το τι είναι καλύτερο για το κάθε παιδί και από τις ρυθμίσεις που είναι καλύτερες για κάθε οικογένεια. Εντέλει, το 2006 ψηφίστηκε ο νόμος στην Αυστραλία για τη συνεπιμέλεια, με τον οποίο αναγνωρίζεται ότι και οι δύο γονείς είναι υπεύθυνοι για αποφάσεις σχετικά με το παιδί τους μέσα από την έννοια της «ίσης γονεϊκής ευθύνης». Σύμφωνα με τη νομοθεσία το παιδί πρέπει να περνάει ίσο χρόνο με καθέναν από τους δύο γονείς υπό ορισμένες προϋποθέσεις, αν και δεν αποσαφηνίζεται η έννοια της υποχρεωτικότητας από την πλευρά των δικαστικών αποφάσεων.

Στη Γερμανία υφίσταται η έννοια της συνεπιμέλειας, αλλά μπορεί να αρθεί σε περίπτωση μη συμφωνίας των δύο γονέων. «Η άσκηση της συνεπιμέλειας προϋποθέτει την καλλιέργεια μιας βιώσιμης κοινωνικής σχέσης ανάμεσα στους γονείς και απαιτεί ένα ελάχιστο επίπεδο συμφωνίας μεταξύ τους». Σε περίπτωση που ο ένας γονέας αρνείται να συνεργαστεί, το δικαστήριο αλλάζει τη συνεπιμέλεια σε επιμέλεια του ενός γονέα. Η επιλογή του γονέα που λαμβάνει την επιμέλεια βασίζεται στο «καλύτερο συμφέρον του παιδιού».

Ενδιαφέρον έχει στην Ιαπωνία το δικαίωμα των γυναικών και μητέρων να απαγάγουν το παιδί μετά το χωρισμό τους με το σύζυγο χωρίς καμία νομική κύρωση. Οι αντιδράσεις από την πλευρά των πατεράδων είναι έντονες και ζητούν την τροποποίηση της νομοθεσίας.

Επισκόπηση των Προϋποθέσεων για την Ανάθεση της Επιμέλειας στο Ελληνικό Δίκαιο

Στο άρθρο 1513 ΑΚ ορίζονται τα κριτήρια που πρέπει να λαμβάνονται υπόψη για τον καθορισμό της άσκησης της γονικής μέριμνας μετά το διαζύγιο ή την ακύρωση του γάμου, όπου αναφέρεται:

«Για τη λήψη της απόφασής του το δικαστήριο λαμβάνει υπόψη του τους έως τότε δεσμούς του τέκνου με τους γονείς και τους αδελφούς του, καθώς και τις τυχόν συμφωνίες που έκαναν οι γονείς του τέκνου σχετικά με την επιμέλεια και τη διοίκηση της περιουσίας του» και στο άρθρο 1511 ΑΚ αναφέρεται «Στο συμφέρον του τέκνου πρέπει να αποβλέπει και η απόφαση του δικαστηρίου, όταν κατά τις διατάξεις του νόμου το δικαστήριο αποφασίζει σχετικά με την ανάθεση της γονικής μέριμνας ή με τον τρόπο άσκησής της. Η απόφαση του δικαστηρίου πρέπει επίσης να σέβεται την ισότητα μεταξύ των γονέων και να μην κάνει διακρίσεις εξαιτίας του φύλου, της φυλής, της γλώσσας, της θρησκείας, των πολιτικών ή όποιων άλλων πεποιθήσεων, της ιθαγένειας, της εθνικής ή κοινωνικής προέλευσης ή της περιουσίας».

Η έννοια της επιμέλειας είναι μια αόριστη νομική έννοια που αποτελεί μερικότερη άσκηση της γονικής μέριμνας. Σύμφωνα με την κρατούσα άποψη «Κατά τη διάταξη της παρ. 1 του άρθρου 1518 ΑΚ, η επιμέλεια του προσώπου του τέκνου περιλαμβάνει ιδίως την ανατροφή, την επίβλεψη, τη μόρφωση και την εκπαίδευσή του, καθώς και τον προσδιορισμό του τόπου διαμονής του.»¹

Η αόριστη νομική έννοια του συμφέροντος του τέκνου έχει περιγραφεί από την ελληνική έννομη τάξη. Συγκεκριμένα κατά πάγια νομολογία για την κρίση του συμφέροντος των ανήλικων λαμβάνονται υπόψη:

- το γενικό συμφέρον και μόνον του ανήλικου τέκνου, σωματικό, υλικό πνευματικό, ψυχικό και ηθικό, χωρίς να επιδρά αυτοτελώς στη λήψη της απόφασής του κανένας από τους διαφορετικούς παράγοντες, που συνοδεύουν το πρόσωπο κάθε γονέα, όπως είναι το φύλο, η φυλή, η γλώσσα, η θρησκεία, η κοινωνική προέλευση, η περιουσιακή κατάσταση κλπ.,
- τους με ανεπηρέαστη επιλογή αναπτυχθέντες μέχρι τότε δεσμούς του διαθέτοντος ικανότητα διακρίσεως τέκνου με τους γονείς του (και τους αδελφούς του),
- τις τυχόν συμφωνίες των γονέων σχετικά με την επιμέλεια και την περιουσία του,
- καθώς και τη γνώμη του, εφόσον αυτό, κατά την ανέλεγκτη κρίση του δικαστηρίου, εν όψει της ηλικίας του και της πνευματικής του ανάπτυξης, είναι ικανό να αντιληφθεί το πραγματικό του συμφέρον.
- Οι ικανότητες των γονέων, το περιβάλλον, το επάγγελμα, η πνευματική τους ανάπτυξη και η δράση τους στο κοινωνικό σύνολο, η ικανότητα προσαρμογής τους στις απαιτήσεις της σύγχρονης κοινωνίας μέσα στα πλαίσια της ορθολογικής αντιμετώπισης των θεμάτων των νέων, η σταθερότητα των συνθηκών ανάπτυξης του τέκνου χωρίς εναλλαγές στις συνθήκες διαβίωσης

¹ 476/2012 ΜΠρΡόδου

Σημειώνεται ότι η κρίση περί του συμφέροντος του ανηλίκου διαμορφώνεται δικανικά σε μία ή δύο συνεδριάσεις στην πλειοψηφία των περιπτώσεων των οικογενειακών διαφορών και τον καθορισμό του προσώπου του γονέα που αναλαμβάνει την επιμέλεια.

Αντιθέτως ουδόλως ασκεί επίδραση η υπαιτιότητα των γονέων ως προς το διαζύγιο ή τη διακοπή της έγγαμης συμβίωσης, εκτός εάν η συμπεριφορά του υπαιτίου έχει επιδράσει και στην άσκηση της γονικής μέριμνας-επιμέλειας, ώστε να ανακύπτει αντίθεση στο συμφέρον του τέκνου, λόγω της έκτασης και της βαρύτητας της συμπεριφοράς του αυτής, δηλωτικής της δομής του χαρακτήρα του και της εν γένει προσωπικότητάς του, έτσι ώστε και έναντι του τέκνου να αναμένεται από αυτόν η τήρηση της ίδιας συμπεριφοράς (ΑΠ 1736/2007, 1316/2009).

Ομοίως δεν ασκεί κατά την νομολογιακή αντίληψη επιρροή η μικρή ηλικία του τέκνου και το φύλο του μετά τη νηπιακή ηλικία του, οπότε παύει η σαφής βιοκοινωνική υπεροχή της μητέρας από άποψη καταλληλότητας για τη γονική μέριμνα του τέκνου (ΑΠ 952/2007), ενώ συνεκτιμάται αυτή κατά τη νηπιακή ηλικία του τέκνου με τους υπόλοιπους παράγοντες που εξασφαλίζουν την ομαλή σωματική και ψυχοπνευματική του ανάπτυξη.²

Δεν παροράται δε, και η περίπτωση κατά την οποία το Δικαστήριο μπορεί, σύμφωνα με τις διατάξεις των άρθρων 1513 και 1514 του Α.Κ. και μετά στάθμιση του συμφέροντος του ανηλίκου, προς το οποίο πρωτίστως, κατά τα προεκτεθέντα, ενεργεί, ν` αναθέσει τη γονική του μέριμνα σ` ένα μόνο των γονέων του ή και σε αμφοτέρους από κοινού, εάν αυτοί συμφωνούν στη λύση αυτή και συγχρόνως καθορίζουν τον τόπο διαμονής των ανηλίκων ή και να την κατανείμει μεταξύ των γονέων του (Α.Π. 634/96 ΕλλΔνη 37, 1549, Γεωργιάδη - Σταθόπουλου Α.Κ., υπ` άρθρα 1513 - 1514, αριθ. 43 επ., 65 επ., 77 επ.).³

Στα πλαίσια της διαδικασίας για την ανάθεση της επιμέλειας ερευνάται και η βούληση του τέκνου ανάλογα με την ωριμότητά του (681Γ ΚΠολΔ). Είναι πάγια η θέση της νομολογίας ως προς την αποδεικτική ισχύ της βούλησης του τέκνου και αυτό διότι είναι κοινός τόπος ότι η επικοινωνία του δικαστή με το παιδί είναι περιορισμένη (μία συνάντηση) ενώ το παιδί αναλόγως των συνθηκών διαβίωσης, των επιρροών που δέχεται και των επιρροών που τυχόν ασκεί εκφράζει πολλές φορές γνώμη που δε συνάδει με το συμφέρον του, όπως αυτό ανωτέρω αναπτύχθηκε.

Οι παράγοντες αυτοί όπως προσδιορίζονται από το Ανώτατο Δικαστήριο, ουδόλως ανταποκρίνονται στην καθημερινή πρακτική δεδομένου ότι οι διάδικοι γονείς δύσκολα θα φθάσουν στον Άρειο Πάγο για τον έλεγχο των ανωτέρω κριτηρίων και ακόμη πιο δύσκολα θα αποδείξουν ότι στην κρίση του Δικαστή εμφιλοχώρησε στερεοτυπική προκατάληψη εναντίον τους.

² ΑΠ 104/2012

³ ΜΠΛαμιάς 1512/2013 ασφ.

Τέλος έχει σχεδιαστεί στην Ελληνική έννομη τάξη τόσο το σύστημα που επιβάλλει τη διαμόρφωση οικογενειακών Δικαστηρίων με την συμμετοχή εξειδικευμένων επιστημόνων και ειδικά εκπαιδευμένων δικαστών, όπως περιγράφεται στο Ν.2447/1996. Ωστόσο ουδέποτε πρακτικά εφαρμόστηκε καθώς τα περισσότερα πρωτοδικεία πάσχουν από την κάλυψη των οργανικών θέσεων. Η εκπαίδευση δε, των δικαστών από την Εθνική Σχολή Δικαστών αδυνατεί να τους παρέχει τις απαραίτητες εκείνες γνώσεις που θα τους εξοπλίσουν ώστε να χειρίζονται επιτυχημένα τις υποθέσεις που αναφύονται στα πλαίσια του οικογενειακού δικαίου.

Πρακτικά Ζητήματα στις Υποθέσεις Οικογενειακού Δικαίου

Από τη σύντομη επισκόπηση των προβληματισμών που έχουν ανακύψει στην πρακτική αντιμετώπιση του ζητήματος της ανάθεσης της επιμέλειας στην Ελληνική έννομη τάξη είναι επόμενο να ασκείται δριμεία κριτική για την αδιαφορία του κράτους να ενασκήψει στο θέμα των ζητημάτων που αναφύονται στα πλαίσια του οικογενειακού δικαίου και τα οποία έχουν υπογραμμιστεί από σημαντική μερίδα Δικηγόρων και Δικαστών.

Η εισαγωγή του Ν.2447/1996 είναι καταρχήν μία πολύ καλή προσέγγιση στα ζητήματα που πρέπει να επιλυθούν και αφορούν σχέσεις γονέων τέκνων. Ανησυχητικό είναι ότι ακόμη δεν έχει εφαρμοστεί παρά την εισαγωγή του σχεδόν 20 χρόνια πριν. Τομές αποτελούν:

- η αντιμετώπιση των υποθέσεων οικογενειακής φύσεως, όπως διαζύγιο, διατροφή, επιμέλεια από Οικογενειακό Δικαστήριο,
- η στελέχωση αυτών με εξειδικευμένους δικαστές η οποία στο νόμο συνδέεται με την προϋπηρεσία τους στο λειτούργημα. Στο σημείο αυτό πρέπει να τονιστεί ότι σήμερα κρίνεται αναγκαία η στελέχωσή του με εξειδικευμένους επιστήμονες ειδικοτήτων ψυχολογίας και παιδαγωγικής
- Η προδικασία όπως έχει ήδη σχεδιαστεί με δύο στάδια α) υποχρεωτική κοινωνική έρευνα και β) υποχρέωση συμβιβασμού.

Η μη εφαρμογή του ωστόσο έχει σαν συνέπεια να παρατηρηθεί μία πολύ μεγάλη στρέβλωση στην κοινωνία. Δεν είναι λίγες οι φορές που εξαιτίας της ανωτέρω παθολογίας το διαζύγιο και τα εξ αυτού αποτελέσματα, διατροφή, επικοινωνία, επιμέλεια, χρησιμοποιούνται ως μοχλός πίεσης μεταξύ των πρώην συζύγων και εις βάρος των παιδιών. Ενώ τολμούμε να πούμε ότι παρά το ότι ο σχεδιασμός του οικογενειακού δικαίου στην Ελλάδα είναι παιδοκεντρικός (συμφέρον ανηλίκου είναι το πρώτο στοιχείο που θέτει ο νόμος για τον δικαστικό έλεγχο) η αποσπασματική και χωρίς επιστημονική προσέγγιση επέμβαση στη σφαίρα της οικογένειας έχει τα αντίθετα ακριβώς αποτελέσματα.

Η κύρια άποψη που επικρατεί στην κοινωνία συνηγορεί ότι η μητέρα εκ των πραγμάτων θα αναλάβει την επιμέλεια των τέκνων μετά το διαζύγιο εκτός αν πάσχει από σοβαρή ψυχική διαταραχή ή αν εγκαταλείψει την οικογένεια και

δε διεκδικήσει την επιμέλεια, και αυτό επιβεβαιώνεται με τους αριθμούς ως ακολούθως⁴:

- Στη συντριπτική πλειοψηφία η επιμέλεια ανατίθεται στη μητέρα σε ποσοστό 90,6%, ανεξάρτητα από το φύλλο ή την ηλικία του παιδιού.
- Στο δικαστήριο προσφεύγει η μητέρα σε ποσοστό 89,42%.
- Ο πατέρας είτε δεν τη διεκδικεί, είτε φέρεται να συμφωνεί στην ανάθεσή της, είτε έχει συναινέσει προηγουμένως στο ιδιωτικό συμφωνητικό συναινετικού διαζυγίου.

Μία πολύ ενδιαφέρουσα άποψη για την έκταση των θεμάτων που ανακύπτουν μετά τη διάσπαση της έγγαμης συμβίωσης είναι αυτή που περιλαμβάνεται στο σκεπτικό της με αριθμό 10/2011 απόφασης Εφετείου Δωδεκανήσου: «Η διάσπαση εξάλλου της έγγαμης συμβίωσης των γονέων, με συνεπακόλουθο και τη διάσπαση της οικογενειακής συνοχής, κλονίζει σοβαρά την ψυχική ισορροπία του τέκνου, που αισθάνεται ανασφάλεια και επιζητεί στήριγμα. Οι μεταξύ των συζύγων δημιουργούμενες έντονες αντιθέσεις ενίοτε αποκλείουν κάθε συνεννόηση μεταξύ τους, αλλά και σε σχέση με τα τέκνα τους, τα οποία όχι σπάνια, χρησιμοποιούνται ως όργανα για την άσκηση παντοειδών πιέσεων κα την ικανοποίηση εκδικητικών διαθέσεων. Έτσι, υπό το κράτος της κατάστασης αυτής, ο γονέας που αναλαμβάνει την επιμέλεια, έχει κατά την επιταγή του νόμου, πρόσθετα καθήκοντα και αυξημένη την ευθύνη της αντιμετώπισης των ως άνω ειδικών περιστάσεων κατά προέχοντα λόγο, κι αυτό προϋποθέτει την εξασφάλιση στο τέκνο κατάλληλων συνθηκών προσαρμογής. Το αποτέλεσμα όμως αυτό με γνώμονα πάντοτε το συμφέρον του τέκνου, κάθε άλλο παρά επιτυγχάνεται με την πλήρη αποξένωση του τέκνου από τον άλλο γονέα. Ήδη καθεαυτή η ανάθεση της επιμέλειας στον ένα από τους γονείς, εκ λόγων αναγόμενων στο συμφέρον του τέκνου, αποτελεί παρέκκλιση από την αρχή της ισότητας των γονέων στο λειτουργικό τούτο δικαίωμά τους, το οποίο τίθεται υπό δικαστική ρύθμιση, παραβιάζονται δε και η αρχή αυτή και οι βασικοί κανόνες διαπαιδαγώγησης, που στηρίζονται στα πορίσματα της παιδικής ψυχολογίας, προς βλάβη του ανηλίκου, ενώ παράλληλα δυσχεραίνεται και η ρυθμιστική επέμβαση του δικαστηρίου, όταν το τέκνο περιάγεται σε στάση άρνησης ή αντιπάθειας έναντι του ετέρου των γονέων από πράξεις ή παραλείψεις εκείνου που έχει την επιμέλειά του.»

Στο σημείο αυτό πρέπει να τονιστεί ότι δεν είναι λίγες οι φορές που η αντίθετη διεκδίκηση της επιμέλειας απαιτεί μακροχρόνια παραμονή των υποθέσεων στα δικαστήρια, με συνέπεια οι πραγματικές και βιοτικές συνθήκες των ανηλίκων αλλά και των ενηλίκων να εξελίσσονται στη διάρκεια της εκκρεμοδικίας.

⁴ Από έρευνα που διεξήχθη με στατιστική ανάλυση Νομολογίας του Πρωτοδικείου Αθηνών με θέμα «Γονική μέριμνα, επιμέλεια και επικοινωνία παιδιών σε περίπτωση διαζυγίου» από τον Ιωάννη Παραβαντή, Επίκουρο Καθηγητή στο Πανεπιστήμιο Πειραιά. Στοιχεία έρευνας: Οι αποφάσεις του έτους 2007 (απογραφή) του Πρ. Αθηνών, Διαδικασία διατροφών. Απλά τυχαία δείγματα (μεγέθους 30) αποφάσεων ετών 1999 έως 2008 (εξαιρουμένου του 2007). Η έρευνα διεξήχθη με αίτημα της ΜΚΟ ΓΟΝ.ΙΣ και παρουσιάστηκε σε ημερίδα της ΜΚΟ ΓΟΝ.ΙΣ στις 30 Ιουνίου 2010 στο πνευματικό Κέντρο Δήμου Αθηναίων.

Η συγκεκριμένη απόφαση κατήχθη προς κρίση στο δεύτερο βαθμό ύστερα από έφεση και των δύο γονιών. Η πρωτόδικη απόφαση είχε αναθέσει την επιμέλεια του κοριτσιού στη μητέρα και την επιμέλεια του αγοριού στον πατέρα. Και τα δύο παιδιά νηπιακής ηλικίας. Το δευτεροβάθμιο λόγω της καλλιέργειας αντιπάθειας προς το πρόσωπο της μητέρας από τον πατέρα προς το ανήλικο αγόρι, διέταξε την επιστροφή της επιμέλειας στη μητέρα.

Το σκεπτικό της απόφασης αυτής, αποτυπώνει τις ανάγκες που καλούνται οι δικαστικοί λειτουργοί και νομικοί συμπαραστάτες να υπηρετήσουν σε ένα πλαίσιο συγκρουσιακό και τεταμένο, με κίνητρα πολλές φορές που δε συνάδουν με το γονεϊκό ρόλο. Τα παιδιά γίνονται όπλα στα χέρια των γονιών και οι συνέπειες δε μοιάζει να τους απασχολούν περισσότερο από την επιβολή των προσωπικών τους επιδιώξεων.

Παρά το γεγονός ότι καταρχήν τα Ελληνικά Δικαστήρια σημειώνουν την προτεραιότητα της επιλογής της έννοιας της κοινής επιμέλειας, δεν καταλήγουν σε αυτήν, αν οι διάδικοι δεν το επιθυμούν ρητά με συνέπεια την διαμόρφωση μιας πάγιας αντίληψης των γονέων ότι την επιμέλεια τη δικαιούται δια νόμου μόνο ο ένας εξ αυτών.⁵

Δύο ενδεικτικά παραδείγματα περιπτώσεων όπου θα μπορούσε το Δικαστήριο να ορίσει την Συνεπιμέλεια ως τρόπο άσκησης των γονεϊκών καθηκόντων είναι οι ακόλουθες:

Η υπ' αριθμ.2459/2013 ΕφΑθ στην οποία από το ιστορικό προκύπτει ότι μετά την διάσπαση της έγγαμης συμβίωσης το 2005 τα παιδιά διέμεναν με την μητέρα και ο πατέρας είχε καθημερινή επαφή μαζί τους καθώς τα έπαιρνε από το σχολείο, γευμάτιζε μαζί τους και συμμετείχε στην καθημερινότητά τους. Η επιμέλεια των παιδιών εν συνεχεία ανατέθηκε στον πατέρα, διότι η μητέρα μετακινήθηκε για επαγγελματικούς λόγους στις Βρυξέλλες. Μετά την επιστροφή της η μητέρα διεκδίκησε την επιμέλεια των εφήβων πλέον παιδιών της και το πρωτόδικο δικαστήριο θεώρησε ότι η επιμέλεια πρέπει να παραμείνει στον πατέρα κυρίως λόγω της άρνησης των παιδιών να επικοινωνούν με τη μητέρα, καθώς ένιωθαν απόρριψη από την επιλογή της μητέρας να μετακινηθεί στο εξωτερικό για λόγους εργασίας. Το Δικαστήριο στο β' βαθμό έκρινε ότι κακώς νιώθουν αρνητικά αισθήματα τα παιδιά και ανέθεσε την επιμέλεια στη μητέρα, επιφυλάσσοντας για την εφαρμογή της απόφασης το χρονικό διάστημα της ολοκλήρωσης των μαθητικών υποχρεώσεων των παιδιών.

⁵ Στο άρθρο 1511 ΑΚ ορίζεται ως κατευθυντήρια γραμμή για τη ρύθμιση της άσκησης της γονικής μέριμνας, σε περίπτωση διαφωνίας των γονέων και της προσφυγής στο Δικαστήριο, το συμφέρον του τέκνου (ΑΠ 1865/1984 ΝοΒ 33.1553, Εφλαρ 387/2006 Δικογρ. 2006.362). Το συμφέρον του ανήλικου απαιτεί καταρχήν την παρουσία και των δύο γονέων του αλλά, όταν αυτό δεν είναι δυνατό, όπως στην περίπτωση του διαζυγίου ή της διακοπής της έγγαμης συμβίωσης, πρέπει σαν πλέον κατάλληλη λύση να επιλέγεται εκείνη που θα έχει στην περαιτέρω ανάπτυξη του τέκνου τη μικρότερη επιβάρυνση από τις συνέπειες κατάρρευσης του γάμου των γονέων (Εφλαρ 387/2006 ό.π.). (61/2013 ΜΠρΝάξου).

Στη με αριθμό 4712/2013 απόφαση του ΜΠρ Θεσσαλονίκης υπήρξε μεν αποδοχή από τον πατέρα στην ανάθεση της επιμέλειας στη μητέρα, αλλά η επικοινωνία καθορίστηκε καθημερινή λόγω της βρεφικής ηλικίας των τέκνων.

Η ελληνική νομολογία δεν προσεγγίζει το θέμα της συνεπιμέλειας ακόμη και αν έχει προς τούτο ερείσματα, ιδιαιτερότητες του τέκνου, ηλικιακές ή αναπτυξιακές-σωματικές, σχέσεις γονέων που επιτρέπουν την ομαλή και καθημερινή συνεννόηση. Έχει παρατηρηθεί περιορισμένα μεν, το φαινόμενο, να δίδεται η επιμέλεια στην μητέρα, αλλά στην πράξη να την συνασκει με τον πατέρα. Ωστόσο το πιο σύνηθες είναι το διαζύγιο να αποτελεί το σημείο έναρξης είτε μιας πιάνιας δικαστικής διαμάχης για την διεκδίκηση της επιμέλειας, διαμάχης κατά την οποία το παιδί δε μένει αμέτοχο καθώς κίνητρο των γονέων αποτελεί η υπεροχή του ενός έναντι του άλλου, είτε σχέσεων πατέρων-τέκνων που με τον καιρό και την απόσταση ατονούν. Και απόσταση αποτελεί η κύρια πρακτική, ότι μένουν μεν στην ίδια πόλη αλλά η επικοινωνία ακολουθεί τις διατάξεις της δικαστικής απόφασης. Οι επιλογές αυτές δε, αποτελούν και το κύριο σημείο σύγκρουσης γονέων τέκνων κατά την εφηβική ηλικία.

Παρά το γεγονός ότι νομικά η επιμέλεια των παιδιών είναι δικαίωμα και υποχρέωση των γονέων και παρά το ότι όλες οι σύγχρονες επιστημονικές έρευνες επιβεβαιώνουν ότι η ισορροπημένη ανάπτυξη του παιδιού επιβάλλει την παρουσία και των δύο γονέων, στην Ελλάδα δεν έχει καταβληθεί καμία προσπάθεια για την ανάπτυξη και την εμπέδωση της συνεπιμέλειας ως βασικής και προτιμητέας μορφής συνέχισης άσκησης των επί μέρους πράξεων της γονικής μέριμνας. Η σιωπή αυτή έχει ως συνέπεια να μη δίνεται οι δυνατότητα στους γονείς να αντιμετωπίσουν ώριμα τις υποχρεώσεις του γονεϊκού τους ρόλου, τον οποίο οι ίδιοι επέλεξαν. Διότι κανένα παιδί δεν επιλέγει αν θα γεννηθεί.

Έχει ήδη διατυπωθεί εύστοχα ότι το πρώτο βήμα αποτελεί η άμεση συγκρότηση των οικογενειακών δικαστηρίων. Καθώς οι οικογενειακές υποθέσεις έχουν πάντα μία ιδιαιτερότητα: αφορούν προσωπικές σχέσεις, με ή χωρίς οικονομικό αντικείμενο, ανθρώπων που έχουν ή είχαν ιδιαίτερο ψυχικό (σχέσεις συζύγων) ή συγγενικό δεσμό (σχέσεις γονέων τέκνων) και η απόφαση που εκδίδεται ρυθμίζει στην πραγματικότητα προσωπικές σχέσεις, ακόμη και όταν το αντικείμενο εμφανίζεται περιουσιακό⁶.

Τόσο η σύνθεση των δικαστηρίων όσο και η στελέχωσή τους πρέπει να διέπονται από τη βασική αρχή της εξειδίκευσης και της επιστημονικής αρωγής. Ήτοι η στελέχωση με δικαστές πρέπει να γίνεται με γνώμονα την εκπαίδευση στα αντικείμενα της ψυχολογίας ή της παιδαγωγικής και τέλος της προϋπηρεσίας, ενώ ειδικές επιστημονικές ομάδες από ψυχολόγους, κοινωνικούς λειτουργούς ή άλλες ειδικότητες θα πρέπει να εστιάζουν στην κάθε υπόθεση αποτελώντας απαραίτητο στάδιο της προδικασίας.

Το ενιαίο δε, της αντιμετώπισης των περιπτώσεων από έναν ή δύο δικαστές, στελέχη των Οικογενειακών Δικαστηρίων, σε όλη τη διαδικασία κρίσης των

⁶ Θεοφανώ Παπαζήση, Οικογενειακό δικαστήριο ως μέσο προστασία της οικογένειας, ΕφΑΔ 3-4/2014-Ετος 7ο (σελ. 219).

διαφορών που ανακύπτουν στα οικογενειακά ζητήματα είτε πριν είτε μετά το διαζύγιο, ακόμη και αν αφορούν ποινικές υποθέσεις των διαδίκων-γονέων, εκτός από την εγγύηση για ορθότερη απονομή δικαιοσύνης, θα επιβάλλει και την αλλαγή της άποψης και της νοοτροπίας των γονέων καθώς θα γνωρίζουν ότι θα αποτελέσουν αντικείμενο συστηματικής μελέτης από τον δικαστή που θα κρίνει μια σειρά βίωσιμων τους σχέσεων και τον τρόπο που επιλέγουν να τις αντιμετωπίσουν.⁷

Οι διάδικοι-γονείς γνωρίζοντας ότι θα είχε προηγηθεί κοινωνική έρευνα θα άκουγαν το δικαστή με μεγαλύτερη διάθεση επικοινωνίας, όχι μόνο επειδή ορθά θα υπολόγιζαν ότι η γνώμη του θα καθρεφτίζεται στην απόφαση, αλλά κυρίως επειδή θα είχαν ήδη έρθει σε επαφή με τον σύμβουλο (ψυχίατρο, ψυχοθεραπευτή ή κοινωνικό λειτουργό) που θα τους γνώριζε από κοντά. Έτσι θα αισθάνονταν ότι δε θα κριθούν μόνο από το δικόγραφο, αλλά και ότι οι πραγματικές συνθήκες της ζωής τους θα μεταφερθούν στο δικαστή και θα επηρεάσουν την κρίση του.⁸

Το μέτρο αυτό θα μπορούσε να ανατρέψει τη μέχρι τώρα αντίληψη ότι οι δικαστικές αποφάσεις ανάθεσης επιμέλειας είναι προειλημμένες.

Ομοίως θα αντιλαμβάνονταν και τη σημασία της απόφασης για την άσκηση της επιμέλειας, όταν θα υποχρεούνταν σε ένα στάδιο προδικασίας, το οποίο θα εκτεινόταν σε χρονική διάρκεια και θα μελετούσε την ουσιαστική επίδραση των αποφάσεων και των επιλογών τους σε σχέση με τα παιδιά τους. Ενώ θα επέφερε και την ουσιαστική μεταβολή της κυρίαρχης αντίληψης ότι το δικαίωμα της μητέρας προηγείται έναντι εκείνου του πατρός, περιορίζοντας το ρόλο του σε δότη βιολογικού υλικού.

Η επιλογή της συνεπιμέλειας, λόγω αποδεδειγμένης γονεϊκής ανωριμότητας, πρέπει να αποτελέσει πρωτίστως επιταγή νομική. Η επιλογή της συνεπιμέλειας ως προτιμητέας κατάσταση που θα διέπει τις σχέσεις-γονέων τέκνων μετά το διαζύγιο, αφενός θα ενθαρρύνει τους γονείς στην ώριμη διάκριση μεταξύ των προσωπικών τους ζητημάτων και εκείνων που αφορούν τη διαπαιδαγώγηση και ανατροφή των τέκνων τους και αφετέρου θα αποτελέσει κίνητρο για την ανάπτυξη ισοβαρών σχέσεων και με τους δύο γονείς και θα καταφαθεί στη συνείδηση των γονέων ότι αποτελεί υποχρέωσή τους η ανάληψη των ευθυνών τους, αποκαθιστώντας τα παιδιά στα δικαιώματα που απορρέουν από το νόμο και την κοινωνική τους θέση. Η προστασία της ανηλικότητας επιβάλλει την λήψη μέτρων και μέριμνας για την εξασφάλιση των καλύτερων συνθηκών ανάπτυξης του παιδιού και η μεταφορά στην κοινωνία της αντίληψης ότι ο γονεϊκός ρόλος είναι καθημερινή απόδειξη σεβασμού προς το παιδί και τον άλλο γονέα είναι ένα πρώτο βήμα. Η ανάθεση της επιμέλειας στον ένα γονέα θα πρέπει να

⁷ Η πρόταση για την παρακολούθηση των οικογενειακών υποθέσεων από ένα δικαστή διατυπώνεται στο άρθρο Οικογενειακό δικαστήριο ως μέσο προστασία της οικογένειας, ΕφΑΔ 3-4/2014-Έτος 7ο (σελ.228), της Ομοτίμου Καθηγήτριας του ΑΠΘ, τμήμα Νομικής Σχολής, Θ.Παπαζήση.

⁸ Θεοφανώ Παπαζήση, Οικογενειακό δικαστήριο ως μέσο προστασία της οικογένειας, ΕφΑΔ 3-4/2014-Έτος 7ο (σελ.226).

αποτελεί την έσχατη λύση «τιμωρίας» για τον γονέα που αδιαφορεί ή αποδεικνύεται ανίκανος να ανταποκριθεί στο γονεϊκό του ρόλο.

Το δικαίωμα των γονέων στο διαζύγιο είναι αναμφισβήτητο αλλά δεν είναι το δικαίωμα αυτό ισχυρότερο και μεγαλύτερης σημασίας από το δικαίωμα των παιδιών σε μία ισορροπημένη ζωή και με τους δύο τους γονείς.

Μεθοδολογία της Έρευνας

Σκοπός της Έρευνας, Ερευνητικά Ερωτήματα και Ερευνητικές Υποθέσεις

Ο σκοπός της παρούσας εμπειρικής έρευνας είναι η διερεύνηση των απόψεων των ατόμων άνω των 16 ετών στην Ελλάδα σχετικά με το γονεϊκό ρόλο του πατέρα μετά από ένα διαζύγιο.

Ο σκοπός αυτός διαμορφώνεται στα ακόλουθα επιμέρους ερευνητικά ερωτήματα:

1. Πώς διαμορφώνονται οι απόψεις των ατόμων για το γονεϊκό ρόλο του πατέρα μετά από ένα διαζύγιο, σε σχέση με το υπάρχον νομικό πλαίσιο;
2. Πώς οι απόψεις αυτές διαφοροποιούνται και σε ποιο βαθμό από τις απόψεις των νομικών;

Η κύρια ερευνητική υπόθεση προς στατιστικό έλεγχο είναι η ακόλουθη:

1. Οι απόψεις σχετικά με το γονεϊκό ρόλο του πατέρα μετά από ένα διαζύγιο δεν διαφέρουν σημαντικά μεταξύ νομικών ή μη.

Μεθοδολογικό Εργαλείο

Προκειμένου να διερευνηθούν τα παραπάνω ερευνητικά ερωτήματα και να ελεγχθούν οι σχετικές ερευνητικές υποθέσεις αναπτύχθηκε ερωτηματολόγιο το οποίο ανέπτυξε μια σειρά κλιμάκων απόψεων οι οποίες, σύμφωνα με το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο, φαίνεται να διαμορφώνουν τη στάση των ατόμων απέναντι στο ρόλο του πατέρα μετά το διαζύγιο. Οι κλίμακες αυτές αναπτύχθηκαν ως κλίμακες Likert 5 σημείων (με αντιστοιχία 1= διαφωνώ απόλυτα, 2= διαφωνώ, 3= δεν έχω άποψη, 4= συμφωνώ, 5= συμφωνώ απόλυτα). Τα αποτελέσματα της ανάλυσης των δεδομένων που συλλέχθηκαν εμφανίζονται στην συνέχεια.

Χαρακτηριστικά του Δείγματος

Συλλέχθηκαν δεδομένα από 1349 άτομα κατά το διάστημα Δεκέμβριος 2014 - Ιανουάριος 2015. Από αυτούς οι 103 είναι Νομικοί. Όσον αφορά στα Δημογραφικά χαρακτηριστικά του δείγματος, αυτά έχουν ως εξής: Ως προς το φύλο, το 29% είναι άνδρες, ενώ το υπόλοιπο 71% είναι γυναίκες. Σε σχέση με την οικογενειακή κατάσταση, 47,1% είναι άγαμοι, 11,2% έγγαμοι χωρίς παιδιά και 19,3% έγγαμοι με παιδιά, 14,3% διαζευγμένοι, 7% σε διάσταση και 1% σε χηρεία. Οι ηλικίες των συμμετεχόντων στην έρευνα κατανέμονται ως εξής: 20,4% είναι 16-25 ετών, 32,7% είναι 26-35 ετών,

28,5% είναι 36-45 ετών, 16,6% είναι 46-55 ετών, 3,3% είναι 56-65 ετών και 0,5% είναι άνω των 65 ετών. Τέλος, ως προς το μορφωτικό επίπεδο, 0,3% είναι απόφοιτοι Δημοτικού, 2,8% απόφοιτοι Γυμνασίου, 15, 4% απόφοιτοι Λυκείου, 11% φοιτητές, 44,4% κάτοχοι πτυχίου Ανώτερης/ Ανώτατης Εκπαίδευσης και 26% κάτοχοι μεταπτυχιακού ή διδακτορικού διπλώματος.

Οι συμμετέχοντες στην έρευνα κλήθηκαν να απαντήσουν σε μια σειρά ερωτήσεων που αφορούσαν απόψεις οι οποίες διαμορφώνουν τη στάση τους απέναντι στο ρόλο που πιστεύουν ότι έχει ο πατέρας μετά το διαζύγιο. Οι απαντήσεις αναλύθηκαν για να διερευνηθούν οι απόψεις των ατόμων ανάλογα με το φύλο και την οικογενειακή τους κατάσταση. Οι σχετικές αναλύσεις παρουσιάζονται στις παραγράφους που ακολουθούν.

Στατιστική Ανάλυση Δεδομένων

Πραγματοποιήθηκε έλεγχος χ^2 σε όλες τις απόψεις μεταξύ νομικών και μη, ο οποίος υπέδειξε σύμπτωση. Οι κατανομές συχνότητων των απόψεων μεταξύ νομικών και μη νομικών παρουσιάζονται στους πίνακες που ακολουθούν.

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «ο πατρικός ρόλος είναι περισσότερο κοινωνικός παρά βιολογικός», οι περισσότεροι συμμετέχοντες (36,8% μη νομικοί και 30,1% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι διαφωνούν απόλυτα (πίνακας 1).

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	14 1,1%	1 1,0%	15 1,1%
Διαφωνώ	48 3,9%	5 4,9%	53 3,9%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	452 36,3%	31 30,1%	483 35,8%
Συμφωνώ	240 19,3%	23 22,3%	263 19,5%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	369 29,6%	34 33,0%	403 29,9%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 1. Κατανομή συχνότητων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι: «Ο πατρικός ρόλος είναι περισσότερο κοινωνικός παρά βιολογικός».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Η σχέση μητέρας-παιδιού είναι ισχυρότερη από το δεσμό πατέρα-παιδιού», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (36,8% μη νομικοί, 39,8% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι συμφωνούν απόλυτα, όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 2.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	3 0,2%	1 1,0%	4 0,3%
Διαφωνώ	34 2,7%	2 1,9%	36 2,7%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	424 34,0%	36 35,0%	460 34,1%
Συμφωνώ	168 13,5%	12 11,7%	180 13,3%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	459 36,8%	41 39,8%	500 37,1%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 12,7%	1349 10,7%

Πίνακας 2. Κατανομή συχνοτήτων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Η σχέση μητέρας-παιδιού είναι ισχυρότερη από το δεσμό πατέρα-παιδιού».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Η επιμέλεια των παιδιών μετά το διαζύγιο πρέπει να κατοχυρώνεται στη μητέρα, όπως είναι η δικαστική πρακτική μέχρι σήμερα» οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (42,9% μη νομικοί, 42,7% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι διαφωνούν, όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 3.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	110 8,2%	9 7,8%	119 8,2%
Διαφωνώ	534 42,9%	44 42,7%	578 42,8%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	216 17,3%	14 13,6%	230 17,0%
Συμφωνώ	316 25,4%	26 25,2%	342 25,4%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	70 5,6%	10 9,7%	80 5,9%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 3. Κατανομή συχνοτήτων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Η επιμέλεια των παιδιών μετά το διαζύγιο πρέπει να κατοχυρώνεται στη μητέρα, όπως είναι η δικαστική πρακτική μέχρι σήμερα».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Ο πατέρας πρέπει να συναποφασίζει με τη μητέρα για τα θέματα ανατροφής των παιδιών μετά το διαζύγιο», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (55,5% μη νομικοί, 54,4% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι συμφωνούν απόλυτα, όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 4.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	17 1,3%	2 2,0%	19 3,3%
Διαφωνώ	35 2,8%	3 2,9%	38 2,8%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	11 0,9%	1 1,0%	12 0,9%
Συμφωνώ	491 39,4%	41 39,8%	532 39,4%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	692 55,5%	56 54,4%	748 55,4%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 4. Κατανομή συχνοτήτων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Ο πατέρας πρέπει να συναποφασίζει με τη μητέρα για τα θέματα ανατροφής των παιδιών μετά το διαζύγιο».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Το καθεστώς της απλής επικοινωνίας του πατέρα με τα τέκνα, όπως καθορίζεται από τη δικαστική πρακτική, χωρίς δικαίωμα λήψης αποφάσεων για την ανατροφή τους, πρέπει να διατηρηθεί ως έχει», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (51,1% μη νομικοί, 56,3% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι διαφωνούν, όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 5.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	72 5,9%	7 6,8%	79 5,3%
Διαφωνώ	637 51,1%	58 56,3%	695 51,5%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	451 36,2%	30 29,1%	481 35,7%
Συμφωνώ	70 5,6%	6 5,8%	76 5,6%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	16 1,3%	2 1,9%	18 1,3%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 5. Κατανομή συχνοτήτων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Το καθεστώς της απλής επικοινωνίας του πατέρα με τα τέκνα, όπως καθορίζεται από τη δικαστική πρακτική, χωρίς δικαίωμα λήψης αποφάσεων για την ανατροφή τους, πρέπει να διατηρηθεί ως έχει».

Όσον αφορά στο ερώτημα: «Ποιό πιστεύετε πως είναι τα κυρίαρχο συναίσθημα και οι καταστάσεις που βιώνει ο πατέρας μετά τη φυσική του απομάκρυνση από το σπίτι και τον τόπο κατοικίας των τέκνων του;», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (28,6% μη νομικοί, 35% νομικοί)

θεωρούν ότι κυριαρχεί το συναίσθημα της θλίψης, ενώ ακολουθεί η αίσθηση αποτυχίας, επειδή ακυρώνεται ο πατρικός ρόλος. Αναλυτικά τα αποτελέσματα παρουσιάζονται στον Πίνακα 6.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Αδιαφορία	30 2,4%	1 1,0%	31 2,3%
Αίσθηση αποτυχίας, επειδή ακυρώνεται ο πατρικός ρόλος	336 27,0%	33 32,0%	369 27,4%
Άλλο	66 5,3%	4 3,9%	63 5,2%
Αποδέσμευση από ευθύνες	114 9,1%	9 8,7%	123 9,1%
Εκδίκηση	32 2,6%	1 1,0%	33 2,4%
Ενοχή	131 10,5%	7 6,8%	138 10,2%
Επιδείνωση αυτοεκτίμησης	46 3,7%	5 4,9%	51 3,8%
Θλίψη	356 28,6%	36 35,0%	392 29,1%
Οικονομική αφαιμάξη	49 3,9%	3 2,9%	52 3,9%
Χειροτέρευση ποιότητας ζωής	86 6,9%	4 3,9%	90 6,7%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 6. Κατανομή συχνοτήτων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στο ερώτημα: Ποιό πιστεύετε πως είναι τα κυρίαρχο συναίσθημα και οι καταστάσεις που βιώνει ο πατέρας μετά τη φυσική του απομάκρυνση από το σπίτι και τον τόπο κατοικίας των τέκνων του.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	89 6,1%	8 5,8%	97 6,1%
Διαφωνώ	70 5,6%	6 5,8%	76 5,6%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	30 2,4%	2 1,9%	32 2,4%
Συμφωνώ	651 52,2%	55 53,4%	706 52,3%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	406 32,6%	32 31,1%	438 32,5%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 7. Κατανομή συχνοτήτων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Το κράτος πρέπει να προχωρήσει στη θέσπιση νόμων για τη συνεπιμέλεια-συγκληδεμονία».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Το κράτος πρέπει να προχωρήσει στη θέσπιση νόμων για τη συνεπιμέλεια-συγκηδεμονία», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (52,2% μη νομικοί, 53,4% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι συμφωνούν όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 7.

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Η επίλυση των διαφορών των γονέων σε ένα διαζύγιο πρέπει να γίνεται εξωδικαστικά μέσω του θεσμού της διαμεσολάβησης, εφόσον ισχύσει και στην Ελλάδα», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (53,62% μη νομικοί, 55,3% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι συμφωνούν όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 8.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	206 16,6%	23 22,3%	229 16,9%
Διαφωνώ	75 6,0%	6 5,8%	81 6,0%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	7 0,6%	1 1,0%	8 0,6%
Συμφωνώ	668 53,6%	57 55,3%	725 53,7%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	290 23,3%	16 15,5%	306 22,7%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 8. Κατανομή συχνότητων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Η επίλυση των διαφορών των γονέων σε ένα διαζύγιο πρέπει να γίνεται εξωδικαστικά μέσω του θεσμού της διαμεσολάβησης, εφόσον ισχύσει και στην Ελλάδα».

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	206 16,6%	23 22,3%	229 16,9%
Διαφωνώ	75 6,0%	6 5,8%	81 6,0%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	7 0,6%	1 1,0%	8 0,6%
Συμφωνώ	668 53,6%	57 55,3%	725 53,7%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	290 23,3%	16 15,5%	306 22,7%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 9. Κατανομή συχνότητων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Πρέπει άμεσα να θεσπιστεί η ίδρυση

οικογενειακού δικαστηρίου, επειδή το δικαστικό σύστημα δεν έχει ούτε το χρόνο ούτε την εξειδίκευση για να επιλύει οικογενειακές διαφορές».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Πρέπει άμεσα να θεσπιστεί η ίδρυση οικογενειακού δικαστηρίου, επειδή το δικαστικό σύστημα δεν έχει ούτε το χρόνο ούτε την εξειδίκευση για να επιλύει οικογενειακές διαφορές», η πλειοψηφία των συμμετεχόντων (53,6% μη νομικοί, 55,3% νομικοί) δηλώνει ότι συμφωνεί, όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 9.

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Οι γονείς που μπαίνουν στη διαδικασία διαζυγίου και επιμέλειας τέκνων πρέπει να επισκέπτονται υποχρεωτικά εξειδικευμένες κοινωνικές υπηρεσίες, εφόσον δεν μπορούν με σύνεση να αποφασίσουν οι ίδιοι», η πλειοψηφία των συμμετεχόντων (45,7% μη νομικοί, 36,9% νομικοί) δηλώνει ότι συμφωνεί απόλυτα, όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 10.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	63 5%	9 8,7%	72 5,3%
Διαφωνώ	45 3,6%	1 1,0%	46 3,4%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	7 0,6%	0 0,0%	7 0,5%
Συμφωνώ	562 45,1%	55 53,4%	617 45,7%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	569 45,7%	38 36,9%	607 45,0%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 10. Κατανομή συχνοτήτων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Οι γονείς που μπαίνουν στη διαδικασία διαζυγίου και επιμέλειας τέκνων πρέπει να επισκέπτονται υποχρεωτικά εξειδικευμένες κοινωνικές υπηρεσίες, εφόσον δεν μπορούν με σύνεση να αποφασίσουν οι ίδιοι».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Οι πατέρες συνήθως χρησιμοποιούν τα παιδιά τους, για να εκβιάσουν ή να εκμεταλλευτούν την πρώην σύζυγο», οι συμμετέχοντες εμφανίζονται διχασμένοι: Φαίνεται σαν να υπάρχουν δύο επικρατούσες απόψεις, οι οποίες είναι αντικρουόμενες: 29,4% μη νομικοί και 29,1% νομικοί δηλώνουν ότι συμφωνούν, ενώ 29,5% μη νομικοί και 35% νομικοί δηλώνουν ότι διαφωνούν.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	292 23,4%	27 26,2%	319 23,6%
Διαφωνώ	367 29,5%	36 35,0%	403 29,9%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	135 10,8%	7 6,8%	142 10,5%
Συμφωνώ	366 29,4%	30 29,1%	396 29,4%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	86 6,9%	3 2,9%	89 6,6%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 11. Κατανομή συχνοτήτων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Οι πατέρες συνήθως χρησιμοποιούν τα παιδιά τους, για να εκβιάσουν ή να εκμεταλλευτούν την πρώην σύζυγο».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Οι μητέρες συνήθως χρησιμοποιούν τα παιδιά τους, για να εκβιάσουν ή να εκμεταλλευτούν τον πρώην σύζυγο», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (43,9% μη νομικοί, 44,7% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι συμφωνούν όπως φαίνεται και στον παρακάτω Πίνακα 12.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	258 20,7%	23 22,3%	281 20,8%
Διαφωνώ	227 18,2%	25 24,3%	252 18,7%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	58 4,7%	1 1,0%	59 4,4%
Συμφωνώ	547 43,9%	46 44,7%	593 44,0%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	156 12,5%	8 7,8%	164 12,2%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 12. Κατανομή συχνοτήτων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Οι μητέρες συνήθως χρησιμοποιούν τα παιδιά τους, για να εκβιάσουν ή να εκμεταλλευτούν τον πρώην σύζυγο».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Το καθεστώς της διατροφής είναι άδικο και πρέπει να τροποποιηθεί από το νόμο», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (30,3% μη νομικοί, 33% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι συμφωνούν όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 13.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	304 24,4%	27 26,2%	331 24,5%
Διαφωνώ	332 26,6%	27 26,2%	359 26,6%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	87 7,0%	5 4,9%	92 6,8%
Συμφωνώ	377 30,3%	34 33,0%	411 30,5%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	146 11,7%	10 9,7%	156 11,6%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 13. Κατανομή συχνοτήτων των απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Το καθεστώς της διατροφής είναι άδικο και πρέπει να τροποποιηθεί από το νόμο».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Η οικονομική κρίση και η ανεπάρκεια του κράτους πρόνοιας δεν επιτρέπουν στις μητέρες, που ασκούν την επιμέλεια, να αναθρέψουν ορθά τα τέκνα τους», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (51% μη νομικοί, 54,4% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι συμφωνούν όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 14.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	136 10,9%	13 12,6%	149 11,0%
Διαφωνώ	155 12,4%	15 14,6%	170 12,6%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	23 1,8%	3 2,9%	26 1,9%
Συμφωνώ	635 51,0%	56 54,4%	691 51,2%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	297 23,8%	16 15,5%	313 23,2%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 14. Κατανομή απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Η οικονομική κρίση και η ανεπάρκεια του κράτους πρόνοιας δεν επιτρέπουν στις μητέρες, που ασκούν την επιμέλεια, να αναθρέψουν ορθά τα τέκνα τους».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Ο πατέρας δεν είναι εξίσου ικανός να αναλάβει την επιμέλεια των τέκνων, όπως η μητέρα», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (50% μη νομικοί, 49,5% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι διαφωνούν, όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 15.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	72 5,8%	7 6,8%	79 5,9%
Διαφωνώ	623 50,0%	51 49,5%	674 50,0%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	300 24,1%	19 18,4%	319 23,6%
Συμφωνώ	190 15,2%	24 23,3%	214 15,9%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	61 4,9%	2 1,9%	63 4,7%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 15. Κατανομή απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Ο πατέρας δεν είναι εξίσου ικανός να αναλάβει την επιμέλεια των τέκνων, όπως η μητέρα».

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Ο ρόλος του πατέρα ως ' γονιού του Σαββατοκύριακου και της disneyland'* είναι υποτιμητικός», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (49,9% μη νομικοί, 53,4% νομικοί) δηλώνουν ότι συμφωνούν, όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 16.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	69 5,5%	8 7,8%	77 5,7%
Διαφωνώ	137 11,0%	10 9,7%	147 10,9%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	39 3,1%	1 1,0%	40 3,0%
Συμφωνώ	622 49,9%	55 53,4%	677 50,2%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	379 30,4%	29 28,2%	408 30,2%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 16. Κατανομή απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Ο ρόλος του πατέρα ως ' γονιού του Σαββατοκύριακου και της Disneyland'* είναι υποτιμητικός».

Όσον αφορά στο ερώτημα «Πόσο συχνά πιστεύετε ότι πρέπει να επικοινωνεί ο πατέρας με τα παιδιά μετά από το διαζύγιο;», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (72,4% μη νομικοί, 65% νομικοί) δηλώνουν «Καθημερινά», όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 17.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
3-4 φορές την εβδομάδα	256 20,5%	25 24,3%	281 20,8%
3-4 φορές το μήνα	15 1,2%	2 1,9%	17 1,3%
Άλλο	63 5,1%	8 7,8%	71 5,3%
Δεν έχω άποψη	10 0,8%	1 1,0%	11 0,8%
Καθημερινά	902 72,4%	67 65,0%	969 71,8%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 17. Πίνακας Κατανομή απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στο ερώτημα «Πόσο συχνά πιστεύετε ότι πρέπει να επικοινωνεί ο πατέρας με τα παιδιά μετά από το διαζύγιο;»

Όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Οι διαζευγμένοι πατέρες συχνά πέφτουν θύματα των δικηγόρων, σχετικά με τις προσδοκίες που μπορούν να έχουν όσον αφορά την επιμέλεια των παιδιών», οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες (45,5% μη νομικοί, 45,6% νομικοί) εμφανίζονται να μην έχουν άποψη, όπως φαίνεται και στον Πίνακα 18.

	Μη νομικός	Νομικός	Σύνολο
Δεν έχω άποψη	566 45,5%	47 45,6%	613 45,5%
Διαφωνώ	173 13,9%	14 13,6%	187 13,9%
Διαφωνώ απόλυτα	41 3,3%	1 1,0%	42 3,1%
Συμφωνώ	361 29,0%	36 35,0%	397 29,4%
Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	105 8,4%	5 4,9%	110 8,2%
Σύνολο	1246 100,0%	103 100,0%	1349 100,0%

Πίνακας 18. Κατανομή απόψεων Νομικών και Μη Νομικών όσον αφορά στην άποψη ότι «Οι διαζευγμένοι πατέρες συχνά πέφτουν θύματα των δικηγόρων, σχετικά με τις προσδοκίες που μπορούν να έχουν όσον αφορά την επιμέλεια των παιδιών».

Συμπεράσματα

Η παρούσα έρευνα είναι η πρώτη προσπάθεια καταγραφής στην Ελλάδα ενός φαινομένου, που λαμβάνει τεράστιες διαστάσεις, καθώς συσχετίζεται με τη ραγδαία αύξηση των διαζυγίων και της μονογονεϊκότητας.

Είναι κοινός τόπος, όμως, πως οι μόνοι γονείς μπορούν να επιτελέσουν ακέραια τα καθήκοντά τους απέναντι στα παιδιά, εάν συνεπικουρούνται από ένα ακμαίο Κράτος-Πρόνοιας κι όχι από ένα μηχανισμό υποδουλωμένο σε μνημόνια και δανεισμό. Η αστόχαστη υιοθέτηση της τάσης για εύκολα διαζύγια δημιούργησε στρατιές γυναικών, που προσπαθούν να τα βγάλουν πέρα οικονομικά και κοινωνικά αβοήθητες ή στηριζόμενες αποσπασματικά και ελλιπώς σε συγγενικά δίκτυα.

Η αποδυνάμωση της σημασίας του πατρικού ρόλου, αποκύημα μιας στρεβλής και ενισχυόμενης από τα ΜΜΕ ερμηνείας του φεμινιστικού κινήματος, παρήγαγε πατέρες αδιάφορους, απόμακρους, αποξενωμένους, εχθρικούς και κλυδωνιζόμενους από το ίδιο το γεγονός της απώλειας των παιδιών. Ο μύθος πως η μόνη μητέρα μπορεί να είναι και φίλη και πατέρας και μέντορας των τέκνων της ανήκουν στις νοσηρές και αναπόδεικτες εικασίες του παρελθόντος, ενώ η εμφάνιση νέων μορφών οικογένειας κάνει την ανάγκη για δικαιοσύνη στις σχέσεις γονέων-παιδιών επιτακτική

Η κοινωνία διατηρεί ακόμα μηχανισμούς αυτορρύθμισης και οι ακραίες κραυγές ένθεν και ένθεν αντικαταστάθηκαν από εχέφρονες και συγκатаβατικές θεωρήσεις, που διατρανώνουν την πεποίθηση πως η αρμονική ανάπτυξη των παιδιών περνά μέσα από την αμέριστη φροντίδα και αγάπη των δύο γονέων, ανεξάρτητα από τις μεταξύ τους σχέσεις. Η νομική κοινότητα, αν και πρωτίστως ή και σκανδαλωδώς ωφελημένη από τη διαδικασία του διαζυγίου φαίνεται πως σταδιακά εναρμονίζεται με αυτήν τη μετεξέλιξη των κοινωνικών στάσεων και συνηγορεί προς μία καθολική αλλαγή στο καθεστώς ή και στη διαμεσολαβητική-εξωδικαστική διευθέτηση.

Τα ποσοστά που καταγράφηκαν στην έρευνα, και επικυρώνουν την προτεραιότητα που πρέπει να δοθεί στην αποκατάσταση του πατρικού ρόλου, προέρχονται σε μεγάλο βαθμό από γυναίκες. Εργαζόμενες και μορφωμένες οι περισσότερες συνειδητοποιούν πως η πολλαπλότητα των ρόλων και υποχρεώσεων, που ανέλαβαν, στερούν τον πολύτιμο και ποιοτικό χρόνο από την επικοινωνία με τα παιδιά τους.

Η κείμενη νομοθεσία, ενώ επικαλείται το συμφέρον των παιδιών, υποκριτικά ενισχύει τη σύγκρουση και διαιωνίζει το κλίμα πόλωσης ανάμεσα στους πρώην συζύγους, επιχειρεί με μηχανιστικό τρόπο να καθορίσει την αλληλεπίδραση, χωρίς συναίσθημα, δίχως ψυχολογική γνωμάτευση, είναι διεκπεραιωτική και πλημμελής απέναντι στις ανάγκες και τα αιτήματα των καιρών.

Η έρευνα αυτή, που σκοπός της είναι να αφουγκραστεί τις γενικές τάσεις, έπειτα από τόσες δεκαετίες καταϊγιστικών κοινωνικών εξελίξεων, καταλήγει στο συμπέρασμα πως οι αναχρονιστικοί θεσμοί σε δύσκολες συγκυρίες είναι καταστροφικοί. Ο νομοθέτης, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τα επιστημονικά τεκμήρια, πρέπει με τρόπο τολμηρό να αναπλαισιώσει το οικογενειακό δίκαιο και να αναβαθμίσει τις ψυχολογικές και συμβουλευτικές υπηρεσίες, που θα αποτρέπουν τη διαμάχη και θα αποτρέπουν παρεξηγήσεις και ακρότητες.

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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LEGAL SAFEGUARDS FOR GENDER EQUALITY IN CYPRIOT LAW

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Abstract

This paper will conduct a review of the legal safeguards found in Cypriot law which aim to combat discrimination on the grounds of gender by drawing a broader map of Cyprus gender equality law. It will explore and assess provisions which are found on different levels of the legal system. Legal safeguards in national law can be found in the Cyprus Constitution itself, legislation passed by the House of Representatives and the decisions of Cypriot courts which have interpreted these provisions. Furthermore, Cypriot anti-discrimination law is heavily based on the guidelines that have been given by the European Union in this field. Thus the relevant EU law will also be reviewed. Finally, the paper will also refer to international treaties to which Cyprus is a signatory, particularly the celebrated European Convention on Human Rights. Such international instruments do not only provide for external accountability for the State in international judicial fora, but have also been incorporated into the Cypriot legal system, thus becoming invocable in domestic disputes.

Keywords: Cyprus law, discrimination, equality, human rights

Introduction

Gender-based discrimination concerns the way both private and public actors treat individuals on the basis of their sex or gender. Protection from discrimination may be guaranteed through legally codified rights in the Constitution which bind state policies, or more detailed legislation which provides for substantive equality, such as measures for positive discrimination, remedies for discrimination victims and sanctions.

Although gender equality has traditionally concerned the position of women in employment, gender is a broader concept. It is the role one identifies with in society regardless of the biological sex one is born into, an opinion elaborated by feminist legal theorists.¹ It is therefore imperative to understand gender discrimination as including gender identity discrimination.²

The protection against gender discrimination in Cyprus derives from several legal instruments of different nature. Cyprus law also incorporates international legal instruments and EU legislation. These may be relied upon

¹ Higgins T., 'Anti-Essentialism, Relativism and Human Rights' 19 HWLJ 89 (1996).

² Moeckli D., Shah S., and Sivakumaran S., *International Human Rights Law* (OUP 2010) 332-333.

by litigants within the domestic judicial system, or in external judicial fora, like the European Court of Justice or the European Court of Human Rights.

Analysis of the Relevant Legal Mechanisms

Constitutionally Guaranteed Rights

The Constitution lays down the obligations and powers of the state's organs. Rights that are codified in the constitution may be relied upon by individuals when they have claims against the State or in private law disputes, to reinforce their argument and ask that the Court, as a state actor, respects these constitutional obligations.

Article 28 of the Constitution provides that everyone is equal before the law. The Supreme Court of Cyprus has interpreted Article 28 in a holistic approach. In *Melpo Gregoriou v Nicosia Municipality*,³ where the case involved the unequal remuneration of men and women who worked for the Cypriot capital's municipality, it held: '*Article 28 establishes an autonomous right to equality. It is not a subordinate right of equal enjoyment of other rights... In the case of similar or identical persons or objects it is prohibited to have an unequal implementation of legal rules or unequal treatment.*'

As such, the Supreme Court reaffirmed non-discrimination as an autonomous right and explained the meaning of equality: similar situations should receive equal treatment.

In *Republic v. Maria Christoudia and Another*⁴, the Supreme Court stated that difference in treatment may also be necessary, if founded in the objective consideration of substantially different situations based on public interest. Without taking into account real differences, equality in treatment is not justice: where the aims, persons, situations are substantially different, but treated in the same way, discrimination may also occur indirectly. The principle of equality is only violated if this difference in treatment is not based on an objective and reasonable differentiation which is proportional to the aim to be attained.⁵

The Constitutional right's interpretation is broad and useful from two practical aspects. The first is the judicial review available in Cypriot law under Article 146 of the Constitution whereby any natural or legal person may challenge a state measure if they find that it violates their rights and legitimate interests. Secondly, the Supreme Court may examine the compatibility of a law with the Constitution and declare it unconstitutional.⁶

³ [Γρηγορίου v. Δήμου Λευκωσίας \(Αρ.1\), \(1991\) 4 Α.Α.Δ. 3005.](#)

⁴ [\(1988\) 3 C.L.R. 2622.](#)

⁵ [MelisKyriakides v. Republic \(1969\) 3 C.L.R. 390.](#)

⁶ Articles 140-145 of the Constitution.

The Legislation Passed by the House of Representatives

The Cyprus Parliament has passed a series of equal treatment laws, aimed at harmonising the Cypriot legal system with the *acquis communautaire*. The most important of these instruments are analysed below.

The equal treatment between men and women in employment and vocational training Law (2002)

Article 2 of the Law describes discrimination as any direct or indirect discrimination, including sexual harassment, any less advantageous treatment on the basis of sex or the submission to that treatment or harassment. Positive action aimed at equating the situations of men and women is not considered discrimination.

Articles 7 to 10 of the Law guarantee the right to equal treatment at work. Article 11 provides for discrimination against women who may be pregnant, breastfeeding, or have recently given birth. Article 12 of the Law provides separately for harassment and requires employers to take action against possible sexual harassment situations.

The law establishes remedies: legal claims may be brought by a person who considers herself wronged under the provisions of the law and the burden of proof rests on the defendant to show that there has been no discrimination.⁷ Breaches of the law are considered criminal offences and may be sanctioned by imprisonment and/or fines.⁸

Another important institutional development is that Article 22 institutes a Gender Equality Committee with an advisory and consultation role including the supervision of this Law. Articles 25 to 27 institute Inspectors and a Chief Inspector responsible for investigating complaints in relation to breaches of this law.

The equal pay between men and women for the same work or for work to which equal value is attributed Law (2002)

Article 5(1) obliges employers to offer equal remuneration to men and women carrying out the same tasks. Any existing legislative provision contrary to the provisions of this law must be repealed.⁹ Article 7(4) claims any individual contract or collective agreement which violates the law shall be repealed, and if any new provision which is added is discriminatory, it shall be void under Article 7(5).

According to Article 2(1), direct sex discrimination means unfair treatment which is directly and clearly related to a person's sex. According to Article 2(7) indirect discrimination occurs where a provision, practice or criterion

⁷ Article 14.

⁸ Article 30.

⁹ Article 7(1)(a).

appears neutral but is, in fact, more disadvantageous for one of the genders. Measures that differentiate in order to give more advantages to a group sensitive to discrimination are not considered discrimination.

The law allows for legal claims to be brought with the burden of proof on the defendant. The claimant may claim compensation and a Court order establishing her rights.¹⁰ Contraventions of this law constitute criminal offences and may be subject to fines and/or imprisonment.¹¹

The equal treatment of men and women in access to and provision of goods and services Law (2008)

Discrimination may be less favourable treatment, harassment, the condoning of direct or indirect sex discrimination including on the grounds of pregnancy or maternity. Article 2 defines direct discrimination as the less favourable treatment of a person compared to another person who is in a similar situation. Indirect discrimination is understood to be any apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice which in reality may put a gender group in a less favourable position, unless it is justified by a legitimate aim.

Article 5(1) prohibits discrimination in the access and provision of goods and services. Service providers such as airlines, lawyers, and insurance companies should not conduct business by discriminating against certain gender groups. Gender should not be a criterion for any insurance contracts.¹² Article 8 allows for claims to be brought for compensation. Furthermore, under Article 8(5) District Courts may render void a discriminatory clause in an insurance or other financial services contract. In a case before the court, the burden of proof rests on the defendant to prove that there has been no violation of the law.¹³

Such cases are considered offences and a person liable for an offence under the law may be subject to imprisonment or fine.¹⁴ Fines are higher if the offence is committed by a legal entity or the director of a legal entity such as a company.

The equal treatment of women and men in professional social insurance schemes Law (2002)

Article 8 requires that terms of social insurance schemes which contravene the law be amended. Under Article 10(2) of the Law in judicial disputes there is a presumption that there has been a discriminatory practice, to be rebutted by the defendant. Just compensation may be awarded for violations of this law.¹⁵ Under Article 12 of the law, discrimination in this

¹⁰ Articles 21 and 22.

¹¹ Article 24.

¹² Article 7(1).

¹³ Article 10(1).

¹⁴ Article 16.

¹⁵ Article 11.

area is a criminal offence subject to a fine. Article 7(1) provides that any legal provision contravening this law shall be amended.

Direct and indirect discrimination are covered by this Law. Article 4(2) provides that there is discrimination if there are disparities, among other things, in the levels of social insurance contributions, the retirement age, and the requirements for the social insurance or pension schemes between men and women. Differential measures are not discriminatory if they aim at equating the position of women and men.¹⁶

The equal treatment in employment and occupation Law (2004)

Article 6(1) of the Law, which in fact implements the EU Framework Directive provides for four possible illegal behaviours: direct discrimination, indirect discrimination, harassment and ordering for differential behaviours. The discrimination grounds covered by this law are numerous, including sexual orientation. Article 9 allows positive discrimination if it aims at making up for the possible disparities in treatment or opportunities.

Article 15 of the Law makes the abovementioned behaviour subject to a fine or imprisonment, and also makes provision for the directors of companies and other legal entities which may be liable for such offences with stricter penalties. Article 16(1) stipulates that any law which contradicts this Law must be amended.

The Commissioner for Administration Law No 36(I) of 2004

The Commissioner for Administration is an independent body responsible for dealing with discrimination matters. There are two separate authorities under this body: the Cyprus Anti-Discrimination Body and the Equal Treatment Authority. The former deals with general discrimination matters whereas the latter deals with sex discrimination in the area of employment. In 2008 the Equal Treatment Authority also acquired competences under the Equal Treatment of Men and Women (Access to Goods and Services) Law 2008.¹⁷

Interim Conclusion

These pieces of legislation institute significant procedures for anti-discrimination claims with deterrent sanctions. Despite being inspired by EU legislation they have certain conceptual drawbacks: they only refer to women and men, marginalising the issue of gender identity discrimination which should be part of gender equality law. That is partly made up by the Equal Opportunities law of 2004, which however only applies for discrimination within the workplace. The most authoritative case law regarding the application of these anti-discrimination provisions derives from the EU courts, which will be elaborated below.

¹⁶ Article 4(3).

¹⁷ The Policy On Gender in Cyprus–Directorate General for Internal Policies Note 2012 p. 6.

EU Law

On the basis of Article 1(a) of the Constitution, EU law is above any national law, including Constitutional provisions. As such any legislation and act by a state authority should abide by EU law provisions.

Primary Law

Article 2 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union establishes equality as a founding value and obliges the Union and the Member States to promote equality in employment for men and women through measures that they will adopt. Articles 21 and 23 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union also prohibit any discrimination on grounds of sex and enshrine the right to equal treatment between men and women in all areas, including employment, work and pay. Article 157 TFEU establishes the principle of equal pay between men and women and creates obligations for the Union's institutions and the Member States to take measures to combat discrimination and ensure equality. The Court of Justice of the European Union delivered its first judgment on sex discrimination in *Defrenne v Sabena*¹⁸ where the claimant had been given a lower pension than her male colleagues. The Court held that Article 157 is directly invocable in national courts and in disputes between private persons.

The equal treatment Directives

On the basis of these obligations there are several Directives on which the Cypriot legislation was based. Therefore, the CJEU's jurisprudence applies in the interpretation of the Cypriot laws. The Directive 2006/54/EC (Recast Equal Treatment Directive), deals with the matter of equal opportunities and treatment in the workplace. There are also the Directive 2004/113/EC on Non-Discrimination on the Grounds of Sex for the Access and Supply of Goods and Services and the Directive 79/7/EEC on Non-Discrimination on the Grounds of Sex in the Field of Social Security. Framework Directive 2000/78/EC, deals with a broader range of discrimination grounds apart from sex, but only within the workplace.

The interpretation of these is broad. The CJEU ruled in *Coleman v Attridge Law and Steve Law*,¹⁹ that non-discrimination also covers people who are in the immediate environment of persons with features that form grounds for discrimination. In this case, the claimant was discriminated against as the mother of a person with a disability.

The Court has also extended sex discrimination to issues of transsexuals. In *P v S and Cornwall County Council*²⁰ the Court held that '*Where a person is dismissed on the ground that he or she intends to undergo, or has undergone, gender reassignment, he or she is treated unfavourably by*

¹⁸ 43/75 [1976] ECR 455.

¹⁹ C-303/06 [2008] ECR I – 5603.

²⁰ C-13/94 [1996] ECR I-2143.

comparison with persons of the sex to which he or she was deemed to belong before undergoing gender reassignment,' there is a case of discrimination on the grounds of sex.

In *KB v National Pensions Agency*²¹, even though there was no discrimination in that the ability to assign pensions was restricted to married spouses, there was indirect discrimination in that the law indirectly excluded transsexuals who were not allowed to marry, even though they had legally changed sex, and was thus against Article 157. In *Richards*²² under the social security Directive, it was found that a transsexual woman should be allowed to receive pensions at the same age as a non-transsexual woman.

Forms of discrimination covered by the Directives

According to Framework Directive Article 2(2)(a) and Equal Treatment Directive Article 2(1)(a): *'Direct discrimination shall be taken to occur where one person is treated less favourably than another is, has been, or would have been treated in a comparable situation on grounds of [sex, race, ethnic origin, religion, belief, age, disability, sexual orientation].'*

The claimant must therefore compare her treatment with that of others and identify the discrimination grounds which triggered this difference. Actual discrimination is not necessary, general practices or intentions may suffice for a claim under the directives.²³

According to Equal Treatment Directive Article 2(1)(b), Framework Directive Article 2(2)(b):

'Indirect discrimination shall be taken to occur where an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons at a particular disadvantage compared with other persons, unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary'.

This provision is satisfied by showing a disadvantage for the protected group in a statistically significant way. It is sufficient that the apparently neutral practice would have put the group concerned at a particular disadvantage.²⁴

Article 2 of the Recast Equal Treatment Directive provides that harassment on the grounds of sex is wrongful *per se* and contestable under the Directive. The Framework Directive understands harassment to be a form of discrimination when unwanted conduct violates the dignity of a person,

²¹ C-117/01 [2004] ECR I-541.

²² C-423/04 [2006] ECR I – 3585.

²³ C-54/07 *Centrumvoor Gelijkheid van Kansen en voor Racismebestrijding v Firma Feryn* [2008] ECR I-5187.

²⁴ Chalmers D., Monti G., and Davies G., *European Union Law* (Cambridge University Press 2011) 559, C-167/97 *R v Secretary of State for Employment ex parte Seymour-Smith and Perez* [1999] ECR I-623.

creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment.

Defences

Article 14(2) of the Equal Treatment Directive and Article 4(1) of the Framework Directive provide that discrimination may be justified if by reason of the nature of the particular occupation the characteristic in question constitutes a genuine and determining occupational requirement. This is, for example, when hiring a man for a man's role. These limitations must have a legitimate aim, be appropriate for the attainment of that aim and the least restrictive possible. Other defences may include public security, public order, prevention of criminal offences, protection of health or rights and freedoms of others.

State Obligations Stemming from General International Law Instruments

International provisions, by virtue of Article 169(3) of the Cypriot Constitution, form part of the Cyprus legal system and are superior to ordinary laws.

The European Convention on Human Rights

The Convention allows anyone within the jurisdiction of a state party to it, to bring a claim for a human rights violation against that state. A person who believes she was subjected to discrimination at work, and whose claim in the national courts was not fully satisfied, may apply to the European Court of Human Rights as long as she has taken the claim up to the supreme jurisdiction of the relevant state. The Court's decision will be final and binding on the state-party against which the application was made,²⁵ which is required to comply with it and rectify any breaches. This force has triggered important legal reforms.

Article 14 of the Convention

This provision of the Convention states that *"the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any grounds such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status."*

Article 14 offers no general prohibition of discrimination. It requires States to refrain from discriminating when they guarantee the civil and political rights contained in the main text of the Convention.²⁶ This Article has been characterized as "parasitic" because it feeds on claims regarding other civil

²⁵ Article 46 ECHR.

²⁶ Livingstone S., "Article 14 and the Prevention of discrimination in the European Convention on Human Rights" by EHRLR (1997), 1, 25.

and political rights. It is thus unable to engage directly with inequalities in the provision of resources such as jobs, housing or other social benefits.²⁷

Article 14 reinforces claims for other rights and expands their scope, allowing for more extensive claims under other Articles. For example, in *Abdulaziz, Cabales and Balkandali v United Kingdom*²⁸ the claimants were women with indefinite leave to remain in the United Kingdom. They could not bring their husbands over, because for a woman with indefinite leave to bring her husband, either she or one of her parents must have been born in the UK. However, this criterion did not apply to men.

Article 8 does not encompass a right to live wherever you choose. However, since different treatment existed for men and women, there was a violation of Articles 8 and 14. Therefore, in this case Article 14 was used to expand the scope of Article 8, being a prime example of how Article 14 works.

The test which the Strasbourg court applies for the general discrimination test comes from *Kafkaris v Cyprus*²⁹ and contains four questions. First, whether the complaint of discrimination falls within the scope of a protected right. Secondly, whether the alleged reason for the discrimination is one of the grounds listed in Article 14. Thirdly, whether the applicants can compare themselves with another class of persons treated more favourably. Fourth, whether the difference in treatment can be objectively justified. The last question is a crucial aspect. It is the concept of proportionality, which allows restrictions of human rights in favour of public interest. In *Burden*³⁰ the Grand Chamber held: *'if the measure does not pursue a legitimate aim or if there is not a reasonable relationship of proportionality between the means employed and the aim sought to be realised, the Contracting State enjoys a margin of appreciation in assessing whether and to what extent differences justify a different treatment.'*

In *Abdulaziz*, the Court concluded that the aim of immigration rules to protect the domestic labour market was without doubt legitimate, but that the discrimination on the grounds of sex was not part of this legitimate aim. The justification for the differential treatment must meet the legitimate aim and there must be a reasonable relationship of proportionality.³¹

Per *Stec and others v. United Kingdom*³² State authorities may treat men and women differently for the purposes of positive discrimination to correct factual inequalities between them. Here, a lower retirement age of 60 for

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ (Apps. 9214/80, 9473/81 and 9474/81) 28 May 1995, Series A, No94 (1985) 7 EHRR 471.

²⁹ (App. 21906/04) 12 February 2008 [GC] (2009) 49 EHRR 877.

³⁰ *Burden v United Kingdom* (App. 13378/05) 29 April 2008 [GC], (2007) 47 EHRR 857.

³¹ *Posti and Rahko v Finland* (App. 27285/95).24 September 2002 (2003) 37 EHRR 158.

³² (Apps. 65731/01 and 65900/01) 12 April 2006 [GC] (2006) 43, ECHR 2005-II.

women was justified as opposed to 65 for men, because women do more during their working life, including professional and family responsibilities.

Protocol 12 of the Convention

This adds a general prohibition of discrimination to the Convention. Protocol 12 moved from a prohibition of discrimination to the recognition of a right to equality. However, there is limited jurisprudence from Strasbourg on this provision and no case so far regarding sex discrimination.

Article 8 of the Convention

Article 8 of the Convention is the provision which regards private life. It is the primary tool for applicants when they have suffered gender-related discriminatory practices. In *Goodwin v United Kingdom*³³ the Court held that the fact that the UK had not legally changed the sex of a male to female transsexual resulted in humiliation and anxiety for the individual and deprived her not only of the right to private life but also the subsequent right to marry, now as a woman as such not granting her the right to live on par with other people of her chosen gender. In *Grant v United Kingdom*³⁴ the Court extended this recognition to social benefits. In this case the applicant was denied a pension at the age of sixty because the minimum retirement age was sixty five for men.

Article 5 of Protocol 7

Spouses shall enjoy equality of rights and responsibilities of a private law character between them and in their relations with their children as to marriage, during it and during its resolution.

Other international instruments to which Cyprus is a party

Convention 100 of the International Labour Organisation establishes the right of equal remuneration and was ratified by Cyprus in 1987.

Article 2 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provides that states must ensure the rights in the Covenant without any discrimination and offers a non-exhaustive list of discrimination grounds identical to the one in Article 14 of the ECHR. Article 3 of the Covenant provides specifically for the equal guarantee of the rights between men and women. Article 23 obliges States to ensure that men and women consent to their marriage and have equal rights during the marriage and its dissolution.

Article 26 of the Covenant is an autonomous provision, requiring states to prohibit any discrimination and ensure the protection of individuals against discrimination on several grounds including 'sex'. The Human Rights

³³ (App. 28957/95) 11 July 2002 [GC] (2002) 35 EHRR 447.

³⁴ (App. 11932/86) 28 March 1990, Series A No 174 (1990) 12 EHRR 469.

Committee has interpreted it as prohibiting discrimination in law or in practice in any field regulated and protected by public authorities.³⁵

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights only contains two subordinate provisions. Article 2(2) of the ICESCR provides that the States have a duty to protect the rights under the Covenant without any discrimination on the basis of a non-exhaustive list of discrimination grounds, while Article 3 provides for the same but refers to the specific ground of sex discrimination between men and women.

The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. The Convention defines discrimination against women as *"...any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."*

States submit national reports every four years, on measures they take to comply with their obligations. The CEDAW Committee follows the progress of states regarding women's rights and makes recommendations on it. On 6 October 1999 an Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women was signed. By ratifying the Optional Protocol, a State recognizes the competence of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to receive and consider complaints from individuals or groups within its jurisdiction.³⁶

Cyprus is responsible for implementing the above obligations. However, the monitoring bodies of the above instruments lack bindingness in their decisions, which constitute only deliberations on whether there has been a violation, and lack the full enforcement power that the European Court of Human Rights has.

Conclusion

Although it seems on the surface that Cyprus's policy on gender equality is coherent and well-rounded, little is done in terms of promoting policies and generating awareness. The legislation is geared towards the clear male/female dichotomy marginalising the issue of gender identity and discrimination.

The government has adopted a National Action Plan on Gender Equality (2007-2013) on the basis of recommendations of international institutions such as the Concluding Comments of the CEDAW Committee on the Cyprus

³⁵ *Broeks v The Netherlands* CCPR/C/29/D/172/1984 (9 April 1987), HRC, General Comment 18 para 12.

³⁶ <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CEDAW/Pages/CEDAWIndex.aspx>
<accessed 08 November 2014>.

Report in 2006, which focuses on six thematic areas: employment, education, decision making, social rights, violence, and gender stereotypes. The Law Commissioner of Cyprus has noted that although significant progress was achieved in employment and the combating of violence, serious drawbacks remain in the areas of education, media and politics.³⁷

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³⁷ Address by the Law Commissioner of the Republic of Cyprus at the Consideration by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women of the Combined Sixth and Seventh Periodic Reports of Cyprus submitted under Article 18 of the CEDAW, Geneva, 15 February 2013, p.4.

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WOMEN AND HUMAN SECURITY IN COLOMBIA: IN SEARCH OF DIGNITY AND JUSTICE

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Abstract

This study explores the social dynamics of women victims of violence in the Colombian conflict since 2000, and their search for empowerment as actors as a result of victimization. The paper is grounded in the human security approach to argue how women need more than weapons and military forces to be protected and to thrive in an unjust and insecure society. The Colombian women's efforts in the pursuit of dignity consist of: the guarantee of fundamental freedoms, assurance from non-repetition of gender-based violence on an individual and collective scale, and the creation of alternative ways of development—all these as manifestations of their citizenship.

Keywords: security, human security, women, conflict, Colombia, gender-based violence (GBV), justice

Introduction

In many countries, systematic gender-based violence is a common and normalized practice. Colombia is no exception with the added factor that this country has been going through an internal conflict for more than five decades. Undeniably, the existence of conflict makes women more vulnerable to attacks by armed groups. Oftentimes, the State not only fails to provide security, but is also the purveyor of violence against women and their families. In some cases, the State's lack of presence and control of its territory allows for the violation of women's rights by other actors. This paper explores how women victims of war violence have, since 2000, sought power not only as victims but, most importantly, as agents entitled to human rights, and how these actions can contribute to the concept of human security.

The literature review explores traditional concepts of security and the State that contrast with the structuralist conception of human security. The second section lays out historic dynamics of violence in Colombia including gender-based violence in this country. The third section presents legislation in place in defence of women. The following part of the paper outlines the methodology used in this research, methods that correspond to the women's research framework and the approach used to explore the situation of vulnerability and agency by women in Colombia. The last share of this study shows that the perceptions of security begin at the individual level and frequently evolve to give rise to a collective experience, which is a significant premise in this research.

Women's organizations in Colombia, reports, conferences, and meetings hint at how women see security, and how they struggle to obtain dignity through direct political pressure on the Colombian government and society in general. This study documents some of these women's experiences through the incorporation of elements found during field work and through semi-structured interviews conducted in Colombia with different leaders of grassroots organizations and government agents who are constantly working on women's issues in Colombia.

Literature Review: Human Security versus Securitization

The subject of security is often perceived as contentious. The main elements of security are debatable, and scholars and policy-makers agree that multidimensionality is the most salient characteristic of security studies. However, the origins of this concept could be linked with the most popular theorist of the State, Thomas Hobbes. Critics argue that peace is much more than the absence of war, that the State does not govern a homogeneous constituency, and that this difference should be taken into account when analyzing or theorizing about the State.

The understanding that material power and force are not the only ways to obtain security opened the way to exploring alternate paradigms. Among these paradigm changes, constructivism attempts to explain how actors build their identities and the social structures that enable them to define and pursue their interests, aims, and values. This gives space for theorists to explore actors and the outcomes of their social dynamics. The reaffirmation, mutation, and transformation of their identities and social constructions are ultimately the key to explain the creation of security concerns. Who is secure? Who provides security and under what circumstances?

Constructivist scholars believe that feminist ideas of interaction and culture can explain hegemonic-patriarchal State behaviour evidenced in the international and national spheres; how some choices made by leaders do not take into account women's perspectives and experiences, or the choices themselves are gendered towards society (Moser & Clark, 2001; Tickner, 1992). Furthermore, traditional, narrow conceptions of security failed to provide an adequate paradigm for what happens when a State devolves due to internal conflict (Zehfuss). When the field of security studies started deepening, the term 'human security' appeared. This approach posits that the main reference points for security should not only be the State, but individual (men and women) people who comprise the State. Up until this point, apart from a feminist critique of violence and war as well as of the hegemonic and cultural masculinity involved, women's voices were largely silenced on security issues even though women and children are usually the primary victims. From a human security perspective, it is how people define their own security that matters for them to obtain agency.

Historical Context of Violence in Colombia

The research questions posed in order to explore violence and gender in Colombia are the following: did conflict exacerbate gender insecurities (Gender-Based Violence) in Colombia? Do these insecurities incentivize internal displacement? And why does Colombian law and the international legal framework regarding victims not reflect women's realities?

To understand this first, it is necessary to retrospectively take into account some of the elements that triggered violence in Colombia in the last century. Conservative and liberal political parties are not a result of pure philosophical antagonism, as many of their core values are part of the same political current. The political system was the main reason they constituted those parties in the first place. Colombia has followed a cyclical pattern of political development in an ongoing and difficult path toward a stable democracy.

Its political regime has often been restrictive and has frequently failed to provide effective guarantees of basic civil rights and liberties to its citizens (Vanden and Prevost). The absence of civil rights and liberties has both led to and assisted in the creation and maintenance of the guerrilla and paramilitary groups that have wreaked havoc on Colombia's stability (Tate, 2007). The long history of Colombia is beyond the scope of this research but a brief history follows of violence against women in Colombia particularly that committed in the last decades.

According to the document *Bastaya*, Colombian history can be divided into four phases from 1958 to 2010 (Centro Nacional de Memoria Historica, 2013). The first period is known as "**la violencia**"; political insurrection and criminality erupted as a result of both political parties' violence and undergirds the current socio-economic inequality. This bloody period, initiated after the assassination of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, left more than 200,000 people dead of a total Colombian population of around 10 million (Bushnell, 1993; Restrepo, Krause, & Spagat, 2005). *La violencia* triggered the strife, resentment, and need for revenge that is now part of the country's violent cultural behaviour. The military was able to reduce the levels of violence in 1958, giving the opportunity for the two political parties to reach an agreement in 1964 (Bouvier, 2009; Restrepo, Krause, & Spagat, 2005); this agreement consisted in an alternation of power between conservatives and liberals, in a truce commonly called *Frente Nacional*. Unfortunately, this exceptional "non-confrontational" period in Colombian history lasted only sixteen years.

The next type of violence that the *Bastaya* report explores is **the violence from the leftist movements** such as FARC, ELN, and other guerrilla movements that started when the "1964 agreement" broke down (Centro Nacional de Memoria Historica, 2013). These movements were a clear reaction both to the monolithic and hegemonic use of power from the State and from the citizens to political restrictions and participation constraints. The third milestone of violence was the appearance of **drug trafficking and other illegal economies** such as illegal mining, arms and human trafficking that crime organizations used to terrorize the civilian population,

conducting hundreds of terrorist attacks against civilian and governmental targets, and even killing presidential candidates such as Luis Carlos Galán in 1989 (Bushnell, 1993). Finally, the last source of violence identified is **the appearance of paramilitary forces or counter-insurgency groups**; according to human rights groups such as Amnesty International the paramilitaries have been responsible for over eighty percent of the human rights violations in Colombia (Amnistia Internacional, 2012).

Women's participation has been almost invisible in Colombian history, and even less in the development of national violence. Colombian political history and social development are clear examples of Tickner's assertions that women are considered weak, fearful, and indecisive (Tickner, 1992). These characteristics and gendered associations are why women are mostly absent not only from political history but also from the decision-making processes. These hierarchically constructed ideas of gender place women in secondary or even static roles. On the other hand, masculinity and politics have a historic and close association. Women have long been excluded from the political arena; in fact, Colombian women were the second last to gain the right to vote in Latin America (Bushnell, 1993; Cock, 2006). In Latin American parliaments, women hold an average of 22.8% of seats in the lower house and 24.7% in the upper house. In short, Colombia has the third lowest female political participation rates on the continent.

Gender-Based Violence against Women in Colombia

Feminist perspectives assume that violence at international, national, and family levels are interconnected and that any definition of security should include all types of violence (Tickner, 1992). Excessive violence against women is a normal feature of Colombian history; at local and national levels women are victims of political violence in four ways. The first is as a **direct target of violent actions**; second, **as victims of sexual abuse**; third, **by being family or having a relationship with a member of an armed group or network**; and fourth **as victims of sexual violence when they are part of armed groups** (Centro Nacional de Memoria Historica, 2013; Forero & Fishback, 2009).

Women in Colombia suffer from various types of pressure from different armed groups; they may have faced threats to their lives or those of their families, either by their membership in women's grassroots organizations, or human rights movements in general. However, it is worth mentioning that having a relationship or bond with any actor in the conflict is not the only reason to be attacked; living in rural areas makes women and their families more vulnerable to any type of gender-based violence (Velez, 2009). Two types of alarming systematic violence against women in Colombia are the following:

Sexual violence is one of the most invisible tools of violence against women, families, and communities and also one of the most destructive. Women's bodies are used as tools of war, as a show of revenge or a warning. Most armed groups that exist in Colombia engage in sexual

violence against women as a form of intimidation to subdue men from the opposite group; no matter whether the violators agree or disagree about the appropriateness of such actions, in some instances they were trained, forced, or rewarded for committing such violations.

Forced displacement due to lack of economic safety compels women to take responsibility for ensuring the survival of their families in new social and cultural environments without the skills and knowledge necessary to access employment (Geofroy 514). According to recent research, the psychological effects¹ of such displacement on women and their families are evident in the short, medium, and long terms (Springer 10). Two forms of displacement are when a woman and her family voluntarily decide to leave when in danger or after being blackmailed or forced to move out of their houses, properties, and communities, most of the time for economic reasons². The following chart (Table 1) articulates the structural and war dynamics of violence against women in Colombia:

Legislation in Place

Colombia has undergone a long on-and-off process of peace building, and women are now becoming incorporated into this process more than ever. Women's organizations are more accepted, not because Colombian patriarchy has ended but because women have gone through a painful process of raising their voices and demanding dignity and protection. As many have recognized, Colombia is not a backward country regarding legislation in this regard; in fact, its laws are advanced in relation to its neighboring countries. There are important parts of Colombia's existing legislation that defend women in accordance with the Rome Statute, signed in 1998³. The first one is the Auto 092, legislation ordered by the Colombian Constitutional Court, which sharply exposes the fundamental rights of displaced women and the State's responsibility regarding this issue (Giz, 2011).

¹ Some effects could be: stress, anxiety, paranoia, and loss of self-esteem, depression, anger, feelings of impotence, psychosomatic illnesses, confusion, and despair. The worsening of living conditions, loss of regional and local identity, deculturization, destruction of traditional forms of organization, unemployment, family disintegration, increase of social barriers, development of traditional family roles, transformation of rural landholding patterns, rupture of social and affective networks, and alienation and political disenfranchisement.

² Two agrarian reforms were implemented in 1936 and the early 1960s, but they were not able to change the structural socio-economic imbalances in that country. Thus, Colombia is characterized by an extremely unequal distribution of land that has grown worse over the years (Meertens, Genero, desplazamiento, derechos 3).

³ One hundred and sixty-eight countries, including Colombia, compromised to protect and prosecute perpetrators who commit systematic violence against women. This act is now considered according to the Rome statute, which established the International Criminal Court (ICC), the first international treaty that recognizes as crimes a range of acts of sexual and gender violence.

First, the government also created thirteen programs, known as Law 1448, to cope with the existing gaps in the Colombian displacement public policy that did not take into account women or gender issues. Second, it exposed the constitutional presumptions about the level of vulnerability that women face in war, and also proposed humanitarian aid for women. Lastly, it established the attorney general's responsibility to hear and adjudicate allegations of numerous sexual abuses in the nation. The thirteen innovative programs ordered by the court range from the prevention of sexual violence to access to land and the protection of rights of Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities (Giz, 2011)⁴.

The Colombian Constitutional Court recognizes that there is pronounced violence against women who are victims of war, especially women, who are displaced. While entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflict, women are affected specifically by their status and their gender. Therefore, understanding the gender dimension of war violence will provide a better understanding of the Colombian conflict. Women and men experience war differently (Tickner, 1992). Within the regional legal framework, Colombia is part of the Belem do Para convention which recognizes the right of women "to live a life free of violence" in order to prevent, punish, and eradicate violence against women (Belem do Para Convention). Also, as part of the Inter-American and other legal frameworks, Colombia has committed itself to abide by international laws intended to protect human rights. The Inter-American convention laws recognizes the responsibility and accountability of the State to deliver material and moral reparations to make amends for its wrongful acts.

In addition, Colombia is part of other important international conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and it proclaims to observe the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Finally, on 5 August 2002, Colombia ratified the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. However, by invoking article 124 of the Statute, Colombia does not recognize the jurisdiction of the Court over war crimes committed during a period of seven years following the date of ratification. Ultimately, international human rights treaties have the status of constitutional law and thus take precedence over national law. Article 93 further provides that the rights and duties enumerated in the Constitution must be interpreted "in accordance with international treaties on human rights ratified by Colombia."

⁴ a) Prevention of Disproportionate impact of displacement; b) Prevention of sexual violence against women; c) Prevention of domestic and community violence; d) Health Promotion; e) Support for women heads of households, access to employment opportunities and prevention of domestic and labor exploitation; f) Educational support for those older than 15 years; g) Access to land; h) Protecting the rights of indigenous women; i) Protecting the rights of black women; j) Promoting participation and prevention of violence against community leaders; k) Guarantee to justice, truth, reparation and non-repetition of violence; l) Psychosocial support; m) Elimination of barriers to the protection system.

<i>Structural and Systematic Violence Against Women in Colombia</i>		Problems faced by women victims of war in Colombia	
Historical and structural violence in Colombia		WAR INCIDENT	
<p>NON-WAR INCIDENT</p> <p>a. Structural violence Standards of beauty as a result of the drug trafficking legacy Sexual abuse obliviousness.</p> <p>b. Physical and psychological violence (crime) Women attacked with acid. In 2011, Colombia became the first country in the world where women receive more of these attacks.</p>	<p>1. Sexual violence as a norm.</p> <p>2. Female headship without minimal subsistence conditions.</p> <p>3. Difficult access to land.</p> <p>4. Minimal State intervention.</p>	<p>Women typically become victims of political violence in one or four scenarios:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. As a direct target of violent actions. 2. As victim of sexual abuse. 3. By being a family member or somehow connected to a member of any armed group. 4. As a member herself of an armed group. 	<p>a) Displacement Special requirements of care and psycho-social support. Officials' mistreatment to displaced people. Difficulty to grant the extension of Humanitarian Aid. Lack of State intervention, prevention, and justice. Loss of land, property, lifestyle and relatives in war.</p> <p>b) Sexual Violence Possible sexual exploitation. Lack of access to justice, reparation, and non-repetition. Discrimination and danger if publicly demand rights. Lack of State intervention, prevention, and justice.</p> <p>c) Control over their bodies and lives Armed forces exert control over women's lives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Control over their relationships (decisions over their intimate relationships). • Control over their behaviour: enforced codes of conduct and dress. <p>Finally, the armed actors involved in conflict forcibly recruit women or use them as sex slaves and falsely accuse them of being defectors or traitors.</p>

Table 1. *Structural and Systematic Violence Against Women in Colombia*

Statistical Contextualization

Laws in Colombia do not match reality. According to the United Nations Development Program's Gender Inequality Index (GII), Colombia ranks 91 out of 186 countries in gender equity, which puts it below the Latin American and Caribbean regional average and below countries like Oman, Libya, Bahrain, and Myanmar; their performance in the Gender Development Index (GDI) shows significant progress between 1985 and 1997, where a rise of this indicator from 0.646 to 0.771 was observed.⁵

In 2012, the Gender Development Index for Colombia was 0.789, not advancing much after twelve years, placing the country 66th of 157 countries (ibid). Colombia is no better off than other Latin American countries, despite being the fourth largest country in Latin America, having valuable natural resources like oil, gold, silver, emeralds, and other minerals, and being the only South American country with access to both the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. From 2007 to 2011, femicides in Colombia rose from 118 to 130,⁶ while sexual violence increased substantially from 15,043 cases in 2007 to 18,982 cases in 2011.⁷ There is no comprehensive official data regarding violence against women by armed personnel, although Amnesty International has found data from the Attorney General's Office regarding impunity granted to alleged perpetrators of sexual violence. This data indicates that of the 183 reported cases of sexual violence in 2010, only five were thoroughly investigated, and the perpetrators were found guilty in only four cases. All perpetrators of these four cases were civilians; the defendant in the fifth case, a member of the paramilitary, was acquitted. In general no member of the armed forces, or of guerrilla, military, or paramilitary organizations, has yet been found guilty of this crime (Amnesty International 26).

Methodology and Research: Sources Used

Fieldwork was key for conducting this research. As part of the qualitative analysis of this paper, fifteen interviews were conducted in two parts of Colombia: Bogota and Cartagena de Indias. Wide spectrums of civil and social life were covered by the research, and professionals working for the government, academics, and civil society leaders from different parts of the country were interviewed⁸.

⁵ Retrieved from: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_20072008_GDI.pdf>.

⁶ Retrieved from: Colombia. Presidencia De La Republica. Alta Consejeria Presidencial Para Equidad De La Mujer. *Feminicidios*. Comp. INMLCF. [Equidadmujer.gov.co](http://www.equidadmujer.gov.co), n.d. Web. 05 Dec. 2013. <<http://www.equidadmujer.gov.co/oag/indicadores/Violencia/femicidios.pdf>>.

⁷ Retrieved from: Colombia. Presidencia De La Republica. Alta Consejeria Presidencial Para Equidad De La Mujer. *Indicadores Violencia Sexual*. Comp. INMLCF. [Equidadmujer.gov.co](http://www.equidadmujer.gov.co), n.d. Web. 05 Dec. 2013. <http://www.equidadmujer.gov.co/oag/indicadores/Violencia/violencia_sexual.pdf>.

⁸ Grassroots organizations and platforms were contacted such as ANMUCIC, OFF, NPV and RPM, which is now the first platform in the world to launch a truth commission

The list of semi-structured questions below and topical interviews were preferred due to the nature of the research and the interviewees' roles.⁹

<i>Sets of Questions Posed to the Interviewees</i>			
Legal and political perspective	(Victims and Community Leaders) Social perspective	Psychosocial perspective	Academic perspective on the conflict
<p>1. What is the social and political status of women in Colombian society?</p> <p>2. What legal and/or economic guarantees are provided for the Colombian women in the context of an armed conflict?</p> <p>3. Does the Colombian State comply with these guarantees? Yes/No, and how?</p> <p>4. What has been the role of social organizations and in particular women's organizations in changing state policies in regards to security?</p>	<p>1. How is daily life of women in your community?</p> <p>2. Do you or the women of your community feel secure, and why?</p> <p>3. How would you feel secure?</p> <p>4. How is the community affected by the conflict?</p> <p>5. What do you expect from the Government?</p> <p>6. Do women participate in decision-making activities? If so, how?</p>	<p>1. How long have you been working with victims of the conflict?</p> <p>2. What has been your experience of working with victims and perpetrators of the conflict?</p> <p>3. What is the biggest obstacle facing the Colombian government in protecting women?</p> <p>4. What are the main psychosocial problems faced by these victims?</p>	<p>1. What has been the role played by the State in the Colombian conflict?</p> <p>2. What do you think is the perception of security by men/women, in rural/urban areas, and how has this perception affected women?</p> <p>3. What has been the role of the Colombian government in ensuring security for women?</p> <p>4. What can you say about the difference between the theory and practice of implementing public policies?</p>

Table 2. *Sets of Questions Posed to the Interviewees*

In addition, it was critical to reconstruct and expose the experiences of women in order to gather information about:

- Individual and collective perceptions on security;
- Individual victims' experience of conflict and the extent to which they could embrace their responses collectively (Behr & Heath, Misreading in

made by women; additionally, UDV and the Presidential Council on Equality for Women was also consulted.

⁹ Scale models of topical semi-structured interviews, which allow general questions that permit more focused conversational and less impersonal communication.

IR theory and ideology critique: Morgenthau, Wlatz and neo-realism, 2009; Kvale, 1996).

Institutions	Interviewees
Academia Colombian Government Colombian women's organizations and grassroots platforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scholars at Universidad Javeriana (Bogotá). • Scholars at Universidad de los Andes (Bogotá). • ANMUCIC (Spanish) National Association of Peasant Women, Indigenous and Black of Colombia. • NPV (Spanish) Telling to Live, Organization • OFP (Spanish) Popular Women's Organization • RPM (Spanish) Pacific Route of Women • UDV (Spanish) Unit for Attention and Reparation of Victims

Table 3. *Research Participants*

This research used different methods and frameworks to understand the vulnerability and agency of Colombian women. First, extensive literature on security issues, human security, and women and war was taken into account. Unfortunately, there is little research on human security and gender in Colombia. The work of Ana Cristina Velez was the only reference found that encounters all those elements when investigating women's migration to Ecuador during conflict. Velez's argument is that the national policy of securitization of rural women exposes Colombian women's experience not only as victims of the horror of war but also their experience with displacement and how the approximation to security exacerbates their vulnerabilities. However, this study puts more emphasis on the process and experience of women as victims.

Reports made by Amnesty International, Oxfam International on Sexual Violence in Colombia, and BastaYa were also taken into account, along with conferences and public demonstrations of grassroots organizations in conjunction with Government support. Hopefully, future researchers will have more access to more quantitative data, and the Human Security Framework will offer a way to expose quantitatively how insecurities can affect the development of communities in conflict, especially how this exacerbates GBV. Finally, but not least, it is necessary to examine international and national laws in place and new programs that the Colombian Government wants to implement in order to compare reality and myth when implementing policies to tackle gender insecurities.

Findings: Approaching Security from the Victim's Perspective to Provide Agency

In Search of Dignity through Resistance and Education

The organization *Narrar para vivir* (NPV) was created in 2000 in response to the victimization of the community in this conflict. Many armed groups have raided this territory, and have inflicted insecurity and violence on it. However, little by little these women have been able to build a structure of protection:

"We are 15 women leaders in each of the municipalities. What we do is educate ourselves and reproduce that learning experience in each of the municipalities. There are several levels of training; political, psycho-social, and legal levels. Most of us are not professionals, but we started with a psycho-social method that opened up doors to be recognized nationally; now the government is using these types of methods."(Camargo)

In 2000, NPV formally began to accompany victims of war. According to the twenty-four-year-old female deputy director of the group, they did not know anything about victims' rights because there was no legislation about it. In 2003, the organization began working with women victims in the context of the armed conflict. By understanding women's experiences in war, the NPV was able to visualize another type of security schema as the interviewee states:

*"We began to understand women experience conflict differently than men. 'Men do not cry' makes men go grab a bottle of rum, meanwhile women cannot vent and this is why our organization is called *Narrar para Vivir* (narrate to live), based on the oral tradition in the Caribbean"*(Camargo, 2013).

According to this leader, the Caribbean part of Colombia is known as the most machista region in the country, so it is not surprising that as they have become involved in this region, women leaders of this organization have received threats or have been victims of crime and stigmatization. Now, the community's attitude towards NPV is beginning to change and men and the state have witnessed how the group has led the women to be officially recognized as victims of war and to receive some of the compensation benefits that they deserve.

Challenging Gender

Another well-known women's organization in Colombia is *Organización Femenina Popular* (OFP), which was created in 1962 in the northeastern part of Barrancabermeja, Santander, one of the first women's organizations in Latin America. Initially, popular education ideals inspired this group, as well as liberation theology ideas, thus linking the organization with the Catholic Church. The organization became independent in the 1980s, naming itself "*Organización Femenina Popular*" (OFP) or Popular Women's Organization

(Cantillo, 2012, p. 36). This new phase of the organization was about the search for autonomy, not only from the church but also from political parties, armed groups, and of course autonomy as members of the community and at the individual level. Through the collective actions of OFP, women were able to influence not only the community dynamics but also politics.

With time, those changes were reflected at collective and community levels, where the constructed ideals of machismo were reduced, and where men started to gradually collaborate and understand their role in society not as a patriarchal one but as a collaborative one (Cantillo, 2012, p. 45).

This violence affected not only those women but also men; in Colombia, women are not the only victims of expected gendered stereotypes, as men are also forced to conform to specific roles:

"The OFP amended the transformation of gender roles in children for when these young males learn not to be machos, then for males it is not so easy to take up arms and they will not want to be recruited by any armed group" (Yanez, 2013).

According to Article 165 of the Colombian Constitution, "All Colombians are bound to bear arms when public necessity so requires in order to defend the independence of the nation and the institutions of the country"¹⁰. The military service law stipulated that all Colombian males, upon reaching eighteen years of age, are obliged to present themselves for military service. Many well-off teenagers are able to skip military service by paying a fee to the state, another way in which underprivileged men are at a social disadvantage.

Alternative Ways to Development and Security

As the OFP became stronger in Magdalena Medio, their programs also became available to the people. Their community approach was different from others with its popular educational base and drive for political vindication. The organization, for example, used to have community programs to do with health, education, and housing, which had a strong influence on the communities and on men's gender roles even after the violent period of attacks began. The organization was initially seen as promoting development, and then changed to become a communitarian shelter, a way to find collective security as this interviewee from the OFP explains:

"The OFP's spaces became humanitarian houses, from communitarian kitchens to rooms for people who received death threats or had been displaced. Simultaneously, the political project was vanished. Political

¹⁰ Retrieved from: Center For Latin American Studies."República De Colombia Constitución De 1991 Con Reformas Hasta 2005/Political Constitution of 1991 through 2005 Reforms." Georgetown University, n.d. Web. Nov-Dec. 2013. <<http://pdba.georgetown.edu/constitutions/colombia/col91.html>>.

projection and the interest in access to political positions through election was also not a priority anymore. The threats against the organization succeeded in weakening it.”(Yanez, 2013)

This organization of 3,000 women in the Magdalena Medio region had contact with mayors and local authorities, but it also had a clear social and community vocation. The OFP managed to protect their communities through negotiation with the military and/or members of the international community. When the cases of violence and abuse were extreme, they would gather resources and send people away to safety, shifting the organization's function to providing basic human security. Finally, when the organization could not withstand more tragic attacks like killings of leaders, sexual abuse, and direct threats, there was no other option but to reduce its public profile and its capacity for action. As a result, at the end of 2011 with the incorporation of new women into the group, only 1,600 women were part of the grassroots base that had once been 3,000 strong. Since 2000, the Inter-American Commission has recorded more than 140 crimes committed against this organization, while the OPF itself has documented 250 crimes in its internal archives (Cantillo 163).

The interviewed organizations have commonalities regarding their struggles. The OFP and NPV have experienced patriarchal pressure from society, though OFP was able to influence the society and mindsets of the community regarding gender roles. NPV was a victim not only of war violence but also of structural violence, particularly after they started taking action to combat it. Both have struggled for rights, but the OFP is more geared toward alternative ways of development, while the NPV is more interested in reparations and is insisting on land recovery for victims. Finally, according to their leaders they have received sporadic financial help from a diversity of sources, such as international development entities and local governments, for their struggle to win dignity and protection. The table below (table 4) attempts to illustrate these dynamics:

Common Struggles	
OFP	NPV
Patriarchal society outside the community	Patriarchal society within the community
Struggle for alternative politics and development implementation	Struggle for land and reparations for victims
Attacks on grassroots members and leaders	Attacks on leaders who help victims
Moderate funding sources	Low funding sources

Table 4. *Common Struggles*

Collective and National Platforms

Women all over Colombia have found mutual empathy after coming to the realization that individual abuses are a commonality among many peasant, black, indigenous women in this country. Political and social platforms of

solidarity have been created to support women; safe spaces are becoming bigger due to the empowerment that these groups give to women victims of war in general. Individual and collective victimization experiences bring women and communities together. As a result of the attacks on women's lives, common experiences have united them into creating an interesting sisterhood joined by the pain of war.

Since individual organizations have struggled to obtain enough governmental attention and have been ongoing targets of violent attacks, women have found ways to come together on a national level with national platforms that have echoed the national government and the international sphere. For instance, RPM (Spanish), the Pacific Route of Women platform, was able to conduct interviews all around the country and present La Verdad de las Mujeres Report, the first truth commission document written and presented by women victims of violence and current agents of change.

Women's Association in Search of Dignity	
Organizations	National Platforms
NPV (Spanish) Telling to Live, Organization.	ANMUCIC (Spanish) National Association of Peasant Women, Indigenous and Black of Colombia.
OFP (Spanish) Popular Women's Organization.	RPM (Spanish) Pacific Route of Women.

Table 5. *Women's Association in Search of Dignity*

The quest for reparation in Colombian communities not only seeks economic compensation but, more importantly, seeks dignity for communal, familial, and personal pain and loss. These actions could signify the end of destructive practices not only against women but also against entire communities. These reparations could be designated for both individuals and collectives, and include both a material and a symbolic component of vindication.

Material and Individual Reparations as Social Justice

As part of the inter-American system and other legal frameworks, Colombia has committed itself to fulfill international laws intended to protect human rights. In the case of the inter-American system, the convention recognizes the responsibility and accountability of the state to deliver material and moral reparations. According to this document, the term "reparations" may encompass restitution, financial compensation, rehabilitation, and satisfaction (Mayeux and Mirabal 2).

Financial compensation is the most commonly employed method the state uses to compensate its victims. Yet this alone is not enough and more efforts are needed to make amends for the non-material violations and damage that cannot be undone. By incorporating, as much as possible, each person's experience during the conflict, public policies could provide a minimum recognition of social justice that involves bringing citizens up to a

certain level of security. Women in Colombia understand this, but their situation in some cases lacks even the basic infrastructure to connect with other villages and generate income. There is no doubt that material deprivation keeps women in deplorable conditions, but improving roads and other material improvements should not be the extent of public intervention. Women also ask for opportunities, not so much for themselves but for their families. They are asking for other components of development that will get them out of poverty, such as education for their children. As one speaker of Ruta Pacifica de Mujeres exemplified with her own experience on development:

"Another thing I ask of the State, as a woman from Choco, is that our children be able to study. Few of them are studying higher education because we cannot afford it, but I know that we will all succeed."
(Ruta Pacifica de Mujeres, 2013)

Collective and Symbolic Reparations as Dignity

Material reparations to women are critical to alleviate poverty, because their shattered dignity can begin to be addressed by economic reparations. But economic reparations on their own are not enough. Since collective reparations can potentially cover large numbers of victims, financial compensation is not always enough to redress the immense quantity of victims of the Colombian conflict.

International human rights law requires that the states responsible for human rights violations must ensure that they do not happen again. For instance, the Inter-American system recognizes "collective reparation", which allows the court to force the government to make legal amends that will benefit entire communities as a form of redress for human rights violations. For grassroots organizations interviewed in this research, one way to view collective reparation is as a guarantee of collective and individual security.

This notion of security through collective reparation acknowledges that public, governmental recognition will increase local empowerment for women, which will eventually be reinforced by society; finally, after many years the Colombian government is aware of this. As one state official stated:

"The collective organizations have asked us to repair them. I think that this will bring more protection from the community and also more social action. A greater respect in the community means fewer risks for women. They need to be respected in the community and that guarantees peace for themselves and their families."
(Anonymous Government Official)

On the other hand, for these women's organizations the concept of symbolic reparation suggests an official recognition of the damage caused to women and their families during the conflict, which would imply a public commitment through the implementation of transitional justice and the post-

conflict measures of reparation. These actions are important in the struggle for dignity and also imperative for their leadership in their communities.

It is worth mentioning that previously there was no understanding between the government and the organizations interviewed (Camargo). Both now seem to be coming to a shared place of understanding. If this dynamic of collective reparation works as presented, it would ultimately benefit the reactivation of many organizations that were totally paralyzed because of violence. From a human security and human development standpoint, an individual and collective perception of security could make these women feel empowered through government actions that seek justice.

Conclusions

This study has demonstrated that the human security approach takes into account the macro and micro; the public, the material, and the emotional, concentrations of insecurity expanding the scope of responsibility from the state to the individual and collective levels. It can be argued that, in Colombia, there is a need to target women's fear of being prevented from living in harmony with their communities. It is clear that Colombian women faced a dual hostility simply for being women. First, there has been historical and structural violence exerted on them since the establishment of the Colombian Republic. Second, violence is intensified by the existence of conflict. That the female assumes household headship without minimal subsistence conditions required by the principle of dignity is not uncommon. Structural and conflict violence prevent or put obstacles in the way of accessing land ownership (Ruta Pacífica de Mujeres, 2013). Through individual organizations and through national platforms, women long for economic freedom for themselves and their families, the non-repetition of Gender-Based Violence, and dignity. Colombia has specific characteristics of this gender dynamics situation:

1. The legal framework for the defense of war victims in Colombia and specifically for women is changing thanks to the help of asymmetrical dichotomous forces: external (international) and bottom-up pressure (women take over the international human rights discourse because there are no domestic remedies for collective and individual protection).
2. Despite the lack of political and public spaces for the protection of women, they are now changing their conditions as victims through empowerment methods to obtain agency such as national platforms of action—with gratifying results. National platforms show the state's passiveness and also the creativity of women in obtaining agency.
3. Women's organizations are constantly looking for security as a way to reinforce their citizenship and dignity. For them security has three main requirements:
 - Collective and individual non-repetition of gender-based violence
 - Alternative ways of development

- Fundamental freedoms (Freedoms from fear and freedoms from want or need)
4. Macro- and micro-participation are key concepts to understand the connection between human rights and citizenship; women are trying to become citizens worthy of justice and dignity. They are trying to influence the process of peace-building despite the ongoing status of conflict; they are attempting to obtain transitional justice although they are not seated at the negotiation tables.
5. There is a triple disconnection in Colombia regarding gender-based violence:
- Disconnection between promising laws and disconcerting reality;
 - Disconnection between the urban perception of displaced people and rural realities in the context of war; and,
 - Disconnection between macro- and micro-conceptions and implementation of security (government vs. women's communities); all of the former elements of disconnection keep people from attaining justice.
6. Racism, classism, and machismo are clear elements of Colombian society and values.
7. How women experience war differs from men. In this context one can appreciate the critical role women have in the families, communities, and the country, a role that has been underestimated for too long.
8. The core causes of violence and insecurity have not yet been tackled, namely, inequality (of power/land/economic distribution).

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ACCESSING THE HUMAN RIGHT TO NO CONTACT

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Abstract

"Accessing The Human Right to No Contact" examines the privacy right to no longer be linked. This human right, as applicable to data search engines, is analogous to abused women seeking no contact orders in absence of extrinsic evidence of violence. Recent European Court of Justice and European Court of Human Rights case laws are presented to support why non-violent interference with the human right of privacy, like cyberspace stalking, verbal threats, intimidation and harassment constitute unlawful violations against autonomy. This paper posits the legal premise, once the plaintiff proffers testimony of the defendant's contact as unwanted contact; privacy human rights issues are raised and it is incumbent on courts in equity to afford civil protections under the Human Rights Law where the defendant's desire to make future contact is defenseless. The first part examines historical grounds for courts in equity to expeditiously exercise the duty to secure and ensure human rights protections to prevent unwanted contact. The second part argues why human rights education and community-court collaborations are necessary, particularly to help guide predominantly poor abused women who must self-help to gain access to court for civil protections, and become empowered to overcome complexities in court procedures by non-automated court filing systems. Collaborations are encouraged to identify and resolve legislative limits in domestic violence prevention statutes. An Appendix compares all EU Member-state courts websites, civil and criminal protection orders and anti-stalking legislation.

Keywords: access to court, privacy, human rights, stalking, gender-discrimination.

Introduction

A resounding gong¹ full of sound and fury² declared, "*There shall not be domestic violence.*"³ STOP⁴, Zero Tolerance⁵, COMMIT⁶, PROGRESS⁷, WAVE⁸, HeForShe⁹ and DAPHNE,¹⁰ name just a few demands for legislative

¹ 1 Cor. 13:1-8. New International Version (NIV).

² Shakespeare, W., *Macbeth* 5: 5 (1606).

³ VAWA 2005 §106, amend. 18 USC § 2265.

⁴ 28 CFR 90.10 STOP Services, Training, Officers and Prosecutors. Retrieved from <<http://www.law.cornell.edu>>.

⁵ Zero Tolerance. Retrieved from <<http://nhlp.org>>.

⁶ COMMIT. Retrieved from <<http://www.unwomen.org>>.

⁷ PROGRESS. Retrieved from <<http://www.dhs.vic.gov.au>>.

⁸ WAVE Women Against Violence Europe. Retrieved from <<http://www.wave-network.org/>>.

reforms¹¹ to protect abused women. Yet, not one law or lobby is to which declares a woman's human right to an effective remedy for the enjoyment of privacy¹² needs to include the word violence. Women can ask their court to enforce their privacy right "to be left alone."¹³

Many privacy human rights protections do not require violence. For example, in 2013, The European Court of Justice (ECJ) held individuals have privacy rights "to no longer be linked"¹⁴ to online search engines like Google, finding unwanted data links an interference with a claimant's enjoyment of privacy. Likewise, when abused women seek court protections to no longer be linked with abusers, their claims implicitly raise human rights violations issues before the court related to its duty to protect the enjoyment of the human right to privacy.

Yet, most abused women's no contact claims are dismissed because some EU Member-state domestic violence statutes for protection orders require the plaintiff to prove violence by extrinsic evidence, such as a police or medical report.¹⁵ If EU Member-state courts apply only the state statutes to abused women's claims, and fail to apply human rights protections or dismiss them, it is contrary to state constitutional and EU human rights protections.

When state statutes create legal limitations which result in precluding abused women's human right protections, they perpetuate gender-based violence and gender-discrimination inequality against women, which is also in violation of human rights.¹⁶ Civil action procedural delays in no contact claims, such as denying an application for ex parte hearings in no contact claims, unduly prolonged hearing proceedings, or failures to accommodate abused women's requests for a police report necessary to obtain legal protections, combine against the states' duty to ensure and secure a woman's privacy human right to be afforded adequate state protections from human rights violations.¹⁷

Because an individual's online data,¹⁸ credit cards,¹⁹ medical records²⁰ and junk mail²¹ has privacy rights to no longer be linked, then abused women

⁹ HeForShe. Retrieved from <<http://heforshe.org/>>.

¹⁰ Daphne III. Retrieved from <http://ec.europa.eu/justice/criminal/programme/index_en.htm>.

¹¹ National Network To End Domestic Violence (NNEDV). Retrieved from <<http://nnedv.org>>.

¹² ECHR Article 8.

¹³ Warren, S.D. & Brandeis, L. (1890). The right to privacy, *Harvard Law Review*, 4(5)193.

¹⁴ *Google Spain SL, Google Inc. v. Agencia Española de Protección de Datos, Mario Costeja González*, ECJ, C-131/12, 13 2004 (2014).

¹⁵ The Violence in the Family (Prevention and Protection of Victims) (Amendment) Law, 2004 [L.212 (I)/2004].

¹⁶ *A v. Croatia*, ECHR 55164/08 (2011).

¹⁷ *Opuz v. Turkey*, ECHR 33401/02 (2009). Retrieved from <<http://www2.ohchr.org>>.

¹⁸ Supra n. 14, *Google*.

are entitled to no less. Otherwise, gender inequality exists, particularly in EU Member-states or in the U.S. where anti-stalking legislation is not enacted.²² Stalking“ disproportionately affects women”²³ (van der Aa, 2012, p. 174), is unwanted contact, an intervention that interferes with mostly women’s human right to enjoyment of privacy,²⁴ yet its pervasive harm to victims is usually naked to the human eye.

Privacy: Unrecognized Principle or Unenforced Right?

Historically, human dignity rights meant respect for others, as protected by courts. In 399 B.C., Plato’s *Euthyphrōn*²⁵ defined piety as “a duty beyond Athenian law,”²⁶ and Socrates²⁷ defined piety as “a species of the genus ‘justice.’”²⁸ Ironically, Athenian justice sentenced Socrates to death²⁹ for impious acts.³⁰

In 1890, U.S. Supreme Court Justices Warren and Brandeis³¹ argued in “The Right To Privacy” why married persons equally possess the right “to be left alone.”³² In 2002, the ECHR in *Opuz v. Turkey*³³ and in 2008 *A v. Croatia*,³⁴ respectively, held that “judicial passivity” is a form of gender-based discrimination which violated an abused married woman’s right to private life, and, when courts fail to expeditiously enforce laws, it is contrary to the Convention, Articles 14, the non-discrimination clause and Article 8 of private life.

¹⁹ Roosendaal, C. (2013). Digital personae and profiles in law: Protecting individuals' rights in online contexts. (Doctoral Dissertation). Tilberg University of Law and Technology. Retrieved from <<http://www.pure.uvt.nl>>. Available at Wolf Legal Publishers. ISBN 9789058509895>.

²⁰ The Office of Civil Right, 45 C.F.R. §§160.306(c) and 160.310(b). (2007). Retrieved from <<http://www.gpo.gov>>.

²¹ 18 U.S. Code § 1708, U.S. Postal Protection Law (amend. 1994). Retrieved from <<http://www.gpo.gov>>.

²² See Appendix.

²³ van der Aa, S., Stalking as a form of (domestic) violence against women: Two of a kind? (2012). *Italian Journal of Criminology* 6(3) 174-187. Retrieved from <<http://ojs.pensamultimedia.it>>.

²⁴ Glancy, D. J., (1979). The Invention of the Right to Privacy *Arizona Law Review*, 21(1) 1-39.

²⁵ Wikipedia, Euthyphro. Retrieved from <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Euthyphro>>.

²⁶ Dem. 43 § 5).

²⁷ Plato, *Euthyphrōn* (399 B.C.)

²⁸ Wikipedia, Euthyphro. Retrieved from <<http://en.wikipedia.org>>.

²⁹ Wikipedia, Trial of Socrates. Retrieved from <<http://en.wikipedia.org>>.

³⁰ *C.f.* Regulation EC 1889 (2006).

³¹ *Supra* n. 12 Warren, J. and Brandeis, J.

³² *Supra* n 12 Warren, J. and Brandeis, J., p. 195.

³³ *Supra* n. 17 *Opuz*.

³⁴ *Supra* n. 16 *A v. Croatia* at 52, 58.

Today, human dignity,³⁵ while undefined,³⁶ is universally recognized as the right to life by the enjoyment of private life — free from unwanted contact.³⁷ Contrary to the U.S. Constitution³⁸ and ECHR, when courts ignore unwanted contact as a human rights violation absent from extrinsic evidence of violence, human dignity rights are reduced, from undefined right to definitive rhetoric.

Courts must secure privacy under ECHR Article 8 and, under ECHR Article 6.1, courts must provide an effective remedy, meaning in abuse matters they are to expedite claims to prevent privacy violations.³⁹ When courts deny or delay abused women their *a priori* privacy entitlement to remedial protections from violations, it unlawfully violates their autonomy,⁴⁰ selfhood,⁴¹ and “personhood”,⁴² which reinforces their abuse, and empowers their abusers.

The Human Rights Violation - Domestic Violence Dichotomy

Access to court for abused women requires more than laws and courts.⁴³ Local communities, state lobbyists⁴⁴ and law enforcement must begin to collaborate with courts, and interdependently demand courts implement modern, proactive measures that effectuate zero tolerance of abuse against women.⁴⁵ Expedited, immediate access to justice for legally enforced abuse prevention no contact claims⁴⁶ is essential and imperative.

³⁵ Sensen, O. (2009). Kant's Conception of Human Dignity. *Kant-Studien*, 100 (3), 309-331. DOI: 10.1515/KANT.2009.018.

³⁶ Bendor, A. L. & Sachs, M. (2001). The Constitutional Status of Human Dignity in Germany and Israel, *Israel Law Review* 44 (25) 25-61.

³⁷ Hatzimihail, N.E. (2013). Cyprus as a Mixed Legal System, *Journal Civil Law Studies* 6 (1/3), 1-61. Retrieved from <<http://www.digitalcommons.law>>

³⁸ Neuman, G. (2003), Human Rights and Constitutional Rights: Harmony and Dissonance, *Stanford Law Review* 55 (5) 1863-1900. Retrieved from <<http://www.jstor.org>>.

³⁹ U.S. Const.; EHRC, GA 2200A (XXI).

⁴⁰ O'Connor, C. (1999). Domestic Violence No-Contact Orders and the Autonomy Rights of Victims, *Boston College Law Review* 40 (4/5)937-967. Retrieved from <<http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/bclr/vol40/iss4/5>>.

⁴¹ Nickel, J., (2006) Human rights, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Retrieved from <<http://www.plato.stanford.edu>>.

⁴² Supra. n. 19, Roosendaal, C. (2013) pp. 70- 71.

⁴³ U.N. A/66/749 (2012). Delivering Justice: Programme of Action to Strengthen the Rule of Law at the National and International Levels, Report of the Secretary-General. Retrieved from <<http://www.unroll.org>>.

⁴⁴ The European Women's Lobby (EWL). Retrieved from <<http://www.womenlobby.org>>.

⁴⁵ NNEDV (2010). Domestic Violence Counts: A 24-Hour Census of Domestic Violence Shelters and Services. Retrieved from <<http://www.nnedv.org>>.

⁴⁶ Francioni, F. (2007). Francesco Francioni ed. *The Rights of Access to Justice under Customary International Law*, in Access To Justice As A Human Right, Oxford, UK: Oxford Press.

Accessing the human right to no contact could end abuse against women provided that, first of all, abused women are educated about their human rights and enjoyment of privacy by no contact.⁴⁷

Second, gender-based discrimination is to be fully exposed and identified where civil protection statutes require extrinsic evidence of violence.

Third, anti-stalking laws are enacted by all EU Members States⁴⁸ and in the U.S.⁴⁹

Fourth, all EU Member-states give recognition and legal enforcement of court protection orders⁵⁰ regardless of whether the particular jurisdiction recognizes the type of protections to be enforced, such as stalking, and despite the EU Council's lack of jurisdiction to regulate police inaction in EU Member-states.⁵¹

Fifth, courts and statutes offer online, simplified self-help no contact complaint forms.

And sixth, ECHR applications dismissed⁵² by a single judge final order are reviewable on appeal.

Courts must not be allowed to allow abusers to win by simply turning a blind eye and a deaf ear to abused women in the absence of evidence of violence.⁵³ In our modern information age, unwanted contact is so prevalent that when legislators fail to fill in legal gaps in civil protection order laws and reject anti-stalking legislation, then courts in equity must use their powers, as it is their duty, to create proactive measures and means which end unwanted contact immediately. Otherwise, courts should be subject to sanctions for breach of the principle of due diligence as judicial passivity promotes gender-based violence discrimination, which is in direct violation of ECHR Article 14.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Hulse, R. (2010). Privacy and Domestic Violence in Court, *William and Mary Journal of Women and Law Review*16/2 237-289. Retrieved from <<http://www.wm.edu/wmjowl/vol16/iss2/2>>.

⁴⁸ Dressing, H. et al. (2007). *Protecting Women from the New Crime of Stalking: A Comparison of Legislative Approaches within The European Union, 3: Member States with Stalking Laws*, University of Modena And Reggio Emilia Modena Group On Stalking The Daphne II Project, N. JAI/DAP/2005-1-125-W EC- DGJA. Retrieved from <stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it>.

⁴⁹ U.S. DOC 2006 OMB 1121-0302.

⁵⁰ Redfield, S. (2014). Searching For Justice, *Georgetown Journal of International Law* 45, 893-928.

⁵¹ TFEU Art. 276.

⁵² The ECHR Facts and Figures (2013), p. 8 and ECHR, (2014) pp. 5 & 8. Retrieved from <www.echr.coe.int>.

⁵³ Hirschel, D., Buzawa E. (2009). [Presentation] An Examination of the Factors that Impact the Likelihood of Arrest in Intimate Partner Violence Cases. *Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Justice Research Statistical Association*, St. Louis, MO.

⁵⁴ Supra n. 16. *Opuz*, n. 15 *A v. Croatia*.

Judicial sanctions⁵⁵ for human rights violations do not result from lackadaisical police or no contact statutes that require evidence to proof of violence⁵⁶ because equity gives courts and judges powers by any and all reasonable means to secure and ensure citizens human rights protections⁵⁷ necessary to prevent unwanted contact. In civil actions where no adequate remedy is legally available, courts possess unlimited powers to protect abused women, as justice so requires.⁵⁸ When state courts in equity fail to provide litigants seeking no contact human right protections an effective remedy necessary to prevent the likelihood of substantial harm,⁵⁹ then courts violate litigant human rights.⁶⁰

When courts create complex procedures, in effect, they preclude predominantly poor, self-represented litigants who must fend for themselves in a virtual sea of court rules that stand between their need for immediate protection and gaining access to court to secure it. In most abuse cases, the remedy, no contact, must be immediately issued and immediately enforced to prevent the substantial likelihood of irreparable harm from unwanted contact.⁶¹

Likewise, U.S. and EU courts which reject one-size fits all⁶² rules for no contact relief in effect bypass legislative intent to prevent domestic violence.⁶³ Under human rights law, when courts create procedures which unduly prolong protective order proceedings, then courts breach their duty by failing to expeditiously protect human life and privacy.⁶⁴

Today, access to court is about software. Court administrative costs to procure automated electronic systems and related software with plug-in devices for self-help restraining order complaint forms and expedite filings

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Appendix; Republic of Cyprus. 119(I) of 2000 and 212(I) of 2004. The Violence in the Family (Prevention and Protection of Victims) Law.

⁵⁷ Klugman, J., & Twigg, S. (2013). Expanding women's voice, agency, and empowerment. In H. Cissé, S. Muller, C. Thomas, & C. Wang (Eds.), *The Role of Laws and Institutions. The World Bank Legal Review*, 4 (pp.213-232).

⁵⁸ Sec. 32 of the Courts of Justice Law (Law 14/60).

⁵⁹ van der Aa, S. (2012). Protection orders in the European member states: where do we stand and where do we go from here?. *European Journal of Criminal Policy and Research* 18, 183–204. (DOI 10.1007/s10610-011-9167-6).

⁶⁰ Supra. n. 16. *Opuz*.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Muller, S. & Barendrecht, M. (2012). How justice sector leaders in development contexts can promote innovation. In H. Cissé, S. Muller, C. Thomas, & C. Wang (Eds.), *The World Bank Legal Review, 4: Legal Innovation and Empowerment for Development* (pp. 17- 30). License: Creative Commons Attribution CC BY 3.0. (doi: 10.1596/978-0-8213-9506-6). Retrieve from <https://www.books.google.com.cy>.

⁶³ Supra n. 59 van der Aa, S. (2012).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

forcivil protection claims⁶⁵ is fractions compared to the billions allocated to treat abused women in the EU⁶⁶ and U.S.⁶⁷ Billions more are allocated each year in the U.S. and EU to educate law enforcement and courts about abuse⁶⁸ because inaccurate, incomplete, lost, or never lodged police reports related to women alleging abuse result in court dismissals.

Non-automated courts virtually discriminate against predominantly poor abused women because these litigants cannot afford to wait for legal aid to take their case or afford to hire attorneys. For them, self-help is not an option — it's their only choiceto prevent abusive partners or family members from contact.⁶⁹ When court rulings dismiss their claims, then the defendant is empowered by omission. Dismissal of no contact in our internet age⁷⁰ means the defendant will stay linked to the plaintiff, virtually anywhere and anytime. Then, courts and legislators will have let the abusers win.⁷¹

Conclusion

While EU and U.S. Courts legislation clamour to prevent the abuse of women,⁷² most EU courts silently display indifference via non-interaction behind the times court websites.⁷³ Behind closed doors, High Court justices can do more than grapple over semantics on whether human rights are rights or privileges when all citizens, like their state's growing numbers of poor abused women, are legally entitled to be afforded both⁷⁴ by their courts. Even when there is no evidence of violence, women must self-help and self-assert in court their human right to privacy and their human right to an effective remedy: no contact.

⁶⁵ U.S. Dept. of Justice Domestic Violence / Abuse Statistics June 2013. Retrieve at <http://www.statisticbrain.com/domestic-violence-abuse-stats/>.

⁶⁶ Walby, S., (2004). The cost of domestic violence, Women and Equality Unit (DTI). Retrieved from <http://www.devon.gov.uk/de/text/cost_of_dv_report_sept04.pdf>.

⁶⁷ U.S. DOJ for VAWA. Retrieved from <fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/139296.pdf>.

⁶⁸ Council of Europe, Conclusions on Combating Violence Against Women, and the Provision of Support Services for Victims of Domestic Violence (2012) fn. 13. Retrieved from <www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/.../en/.../134081>.

⁶⁹ Kenny, K. (2013). International asset sharing: a multipurpose tool for development. In H. Cissé, S. Muller, C. Thomas, & C. Wang (Eds.), *The World Bank Legal Review*, 4 (pp. 265-280), fn. 1. Retrieved from <<http://www.openknowledge@worldbank.org>>.

⁷⁰ K. Baum, K., et al. (2009). Stalking Victimization in the United States, (Special Report), USDOJ Bureau of Justice Statistics Retrieved from <<https://www.victimsofcrime.org>>.

⁷¹ Supra n. 61. Muller, S. Barendrecht, M. (2012).

⁷² Supra n. 8, HeforShe.

⁷³ <www.supremecourt.gov.cy/judicial/sc>.

⁷⁴ Clerides, C., (2012). Answers to the Questionnaire on behalf of the Supreme Court of Cyprus, *Association of the Councils of State and Supreme Administrative Jurisdictions of the European Union Colloquium of Madrid*.

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Opuz v. Turkey, ECHR 33401/02 (2009).
 Shakespeare, W., *Macbeth* 5: 5 (1606).
 van der Aa, S. (2012). Stalking as a form of (domestic) violence against women: Two of a kind? *Italian Journal of Criminology* 6(3) 174-187. Retrieved from <<http://ojs.pensamultimedia.it>>.
 VAWA 2005 §106, amend. 18 USC § 2265.
 Warren, S. D., & Brandeis, L. (1890). The right to privacy, *Harvard Law Review*, 4(5), 193.

Appendix

EU MEMBER STATE	NO CONTACT ORDER	COURT WEBSITE LINK	LEGISLATION
AUSTRIA	YES ** Aa, per sources cited (2009) +Emerg. Order: by "telephone, fax, radio, video conference, electronic mail or any combination of these methods	YES http://www.austria.gv.at/site/cob__37006/6845/default.aspx	Temporary injunction in cases of stalking (Act on Enforcement Procedures, Section 382g): Criminal Code s107a Beharrliche Verfolgung (persistent pursuit) and Schutzzvor Eingriffen in die Privatsphäre § 382g EO (Protection against invasion of privacy). An English translation of the relevant sections of the Criminal Code can be found at: http://www.justiz.gv.at/web2013/html/default/home.de.html;jsessionid=B05202098413E155E5B5DACCC2AB6F1D
BELGIUM	YES ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://www.juridat.be/index_fr.php	Temporary injunction in cases of stalking (Act on Enforcement Procedures, Section 382g): Criminal Code s107a Beharrliche Verfolgung (persistent pursuit) and Schutzzvor Eingriffen in die Privatsphäre § 382g EO (Protection against invasion of privacy). An English translation of the relevant sections of the Criminal Code can be found at: http://www.austria.gv.at/site/cob__37006/6845/default.aspx Criminal Code, 442bis. The Belgian police provide a comprehensive discussion of the law and how it is applied at: http://www.polfedfedpol.be/crim/crim_fccu_stalking_nl.php#_Wetgeving_en_juridische_middelen (in Dutch or French). An English-language

			discussion of the criminal justice system response to stalking in Belgium and the Netherlands can be found in: Van der Aa, S., & Green, A. (2011). Identifying the Needs of Victims Stalking and the responsiveness of the Criminal Justice System: A qualitative study in Belgium and the Netherlands. <i>Offenders and Victims</i> , 6 (1), 19-37 (Subscription required).
BULGARIA	YES **Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://www.srs.justice.bg/221-Безопасност_и_здраве	Protection Against Domestic Violence Act (State Gazette 27 of 29 March 2005) *** Handbook for Legislation on Violence Against Women By United Nations – 2009.
CYPRUS	YES ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://www.supremecourt.gov.cy http://www.cyprius.gov.cy/portal/portal.nsf/	Law 212(I)/2004 amending the Violence in the Family (Prevention and Protection of Victims) Law 2000 (L.119(I)/2000); protections limited to family members, not including "intimate partner" abuse. http://www.law.gov.cy/law/lawoffice.nsf in Greek Under article 5(1) (a) of the Law on the Commissioner for Administration, the Commissioner. In accordance with Legislation (Law42(I)/2004) the scope of activity of the Commissioner for Administration, as an independent Authority against Racism and Discrimination, covers the enjoyment, without any racial or other discrimination, of the human rights and freedoms safeguarded in the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus or envisaged in the European Convention on Human Rights and its Protocols and to UN Conventions ratified by Cyprus.
CZECH REPUBLIC	YES ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://www.nsoud.cz/JudikaturaNS_new/ns_web.nsf/web/AbouttheSupremeCourt~Generalinformation~The_Supreme_Court_of_the_Czech_Republic~?open&lng=EN	YES Act Nr. 135/2006 Coll. on Protection against Domestic Violence Penal Code, s354 (in Czech). The proceedings of the 2012 WSEAS International Conference on Economics, Political and Law Science includes a paper by Monika Horakova that discusses the law and its application. The paper can be downloaded from: http://www.wseas.us/e-library/conferences/2012/Zlin/EPRI/EPRI-27.pdf Courtesy of Dr Dagmara Woźniakowska-Fajst, Warsaw University.
DENMARK	UNCLEAR NO	http://www.domstol.dk/om/publi	YES

	** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	kationer/HtmlPublikationer/Profil/A%20Closer%20Look%20at%20the%20Courts%20of%20Denmark/kap04.htm#4.1	Removal and Powers to Issue Exclusion Orders Act (law No 449 of 9 June 2004) orders administered by the police on the basis of Article 265 CC Source (**Aa) Straffeloven (Criminal Code), Chap. 27, s265; http://www.logir.fo/foldb/lbk/1939/0000215.htm (in Danish)
ESTONIA	YES **Aa, per sources cited (2009)+Emerg. Order: by "telephone,	http://www.domstol.dk/om/publikationer/HtmlPublikationer/Profil/A%20Closer%20Look%20at%20the%20Courts%20of%20Denmark/kap04.htm#4.1	Amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedure and Code of Civil Procedure Regarding Restraining Orders (*) Currently no anti-stalking law in Estonia. Details about how stalking may be dealt with are included in the Modena report into stalking in Europe, available at: stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it/RAPPORTO_ver_sione_finale_011007.pdf
FINLAND	NO ** Aa, per sources cited (2009) + Emerg. Order:	http://korkeinoikeus.fi/en/index.html	Act on the Restraining Order (1998); Law on Within-the- Family Restraining Order (2005) Currently no anti-stalking law in Estonia. Details about how stalking may be dealt with are included in the Modena report into stalking in Europe, available at: stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it/RAPPORTO_ver_sione_finale_011007.pdf
FRANCE	UNCLEAR ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://www.courdecassation.fr/about_the_court_9256.html	Amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedure and Code of Civil Procedure Regarding Restraining Orders (*) Currently no anti-stalking law in France. Details about how stalking may be dealt with are included in the Modena report into stalking in Europe, available at: stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it/RAPPORTO_ver_sione_finale_011007.pdf
GERMANY	YES ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://www.lexadin.nl/wlg/courts/nofr/eur/lxctdui.htm	Act on Civil Law Protection against Violence (2002) Germany has had a civil anti-stalking law since 2002, and a criminal law since 2007. The wording of the legislation (in German) can be found at: http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/16/005/1600575.pdf The legislation and its application is discussed in the Modena report available at: stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it/RAPPORTO_ver_sione_finale_011007.pdf
GREECE	YES ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://www.areiospagos.gr/en/INDEX.htm	By Local District: Courts: Restraining orders in urgent cases when immediate protection is required; may be combined with an order specifying a time

	+ Emerg. Order: by "telephone, fax, radio, video conference, electronic mail or any combination of these methods		limit. Plaintiff must bring the principal action; in case of non compliance, the restraining order expires automatically. Currently no anti-stalking law in Greece. Details about how stalking may be dealt with are included in the Modena report into stalking in Europe, available at: stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it/RAPPORTO_versione_finale_011007.pdf
HUNGARY	YES, only ex- partners/ partners and relatives ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	NO Hungary	Currently no anti-stalking law in Hungary. Details about how stalking may be dealt with are included in the Modena report into stalking in Europe, available at: stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it/RAPPORTO_versione_finale_011007.pdf
IRELAND	YES Housing Restrictive Order (**) Aa, per sources cited (2009)	By District Court ie. Dublin <i>see</i> http://www.courts.ie/rules.nsf/lookuppagelink/314C78384873E4B88025763F002F92B3?opendocument&l=en	Non-Fatal Offences Against the Person Act, 1997 s10 Harassment http://www.bailii.org/ie/legis/num_act/1997/0026.html#z2a26y1997s10
ITALY	YES ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://www.cortedicassazione.it/home.asp.eu/?p=691	Act No 154/2001 on Measures against Violence in Family Relations. ***** Stalking: In Italy, persecution became a crime only in 2009 with the emanation of the decree of the 23rd of February 2009, n.11, "Urgent measures concerning public security and to combat sexual violence, as well as persecutory acts", which was later converted in the law of the 23rd of April 2009, n. 38.[ii]; Article 7 of the decree introduces the new article 612 bis of the Penal Code (Persecutory acts): Article 612 bis (Acts persecutors). L. 23 aprile 2009, n. 38, "Misure urgenti in materia di sicurezza pubblica e di contrasto alla violenza sessuale, nonche' in tema di atti persecutori", http://stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it/legislazione/click on decreto 23febbraio 2009, 2011 (in Italian) Courtesy Ms Chiara Sgarbi, Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia **** Stalking in Italy, Mar. 14, 2012, European Network Victim, Gabriele Codini http://www.envisvictimsupport

LATVIA	NO ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	https://e-justice.europa.eu/content_ordinary_courts-18-lv-en.do?member=1	Currently no anti-stalking law in Latvia. Details about how stalking may be dealt with are included in the Modena report into stalking in Europe, available at: stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it/RAPPORTO_versione_finale_011007.pdf
LITHUANIA	YES, only DV ** Aa, per sources cited (2009) + NO Emerg. Order	http://www.vat.lt/lt/subscribeFromBlock.html District Court	Currently no anti-stalking law in Lithuania. Details about how stalking may be dealt with are included in the Modena report into stalking in Europe, available at: stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it/RAPPORTO_versione_finale_011007.pdf
LUXEMBURG	YES ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	District Courts of First Instance http://www.mj.public.lu/juridictions/juridictions_judiciaire/tribunal_luxembourg/index.html	Domestic Violence Act of 8 September 2003 Code Pénal, Chap IV-2, Article 442-2 Harcèlement obsessionnel (obsessional harassment) http://www.legilux.public.lu/leg/a/archives/2009/0134/a134.pdf#page=3 (in French)S
MALTA	YES ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://judiciarymalta.gov.mt/court-of-magistrates http://judiciarymalta.gov.mt/first-hall-of-the-civil-court	Act XX on Domestic Violence 2005 Criminal Code, Article 251A Harassment and 251B Causing others to fear violence will be used against them. The Maltese Code is available in pdf from: http://www.legislationline.org/documents/section/criminal-codes
THE NETHERLANDS	YES **) Aa, per sources cited (2009)		Act on Temporary Restraining Orders Act (2008) TITLE 20 PROTECTION ORDERS ON BEHALF OF ADULTS Article 450 1. NOTE: The process for imposing a restraining order is slightly different in the Groningen region than the standard process. In Groningen the basic police decides whether or not the basic criteria for a temporary restraining order are met. Source: ++ ++In the Netherlands implementation of the restraining order takes place at a municipal level, and the mayor is responsible for the decision making citing Lünemann, Römken, & De Roos, 2009 Weboek van Strafrecht (Penal Code), s285b http://www.wetboek-online.nl/wet/Wetboek%20van%20Strafrecht/285b.html (in Dutch) <i>See also</i> Van Der Aa, S., & Kunst, M. (2009).

			The Prevalence of Stalking in The Netherlands. International Review of Victimology, 16, 35-50 (available free online).
POLAND	NO ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://www.lexa.din.nl/wlg/courts/nofr/eur/lxctpol.htm	Poland introduced a stalking law on 6th June 2011. Penal Code Article 190a § 1, 2, 3 and 4. http://www.arslege.pl/kodeks-karny/k1/s201/ (in Polish) Courtesy of Msiwona Jabłońska, Wyszynski University in Warsawsources cited (2009)
PORTUGAL	NO ** Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://ec.europa.eu/civiljustice/jurisdiction_courts/jurisdiction_courts_por_en.htm	Law 59/2007 revising the Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure (2007) Portugal. + Reporting to HcCH 2013 Questionnaire it had no civil protections, only available in criminal context.
ROMANIA	NO ** Aa, per sources citing EUR-Comm. Feasibility Study (2010) + NO Emerg. Order	http://www.justia-romana.org/Site_Engl/Pagina_Principala_Eng.html	
SLOVAKIA	** Aa, per sources cited (2009) + Emerg. Order: by "telephone, fax, radio, video conference, electronic mail or any combination of these methods	https://e-justice.europa.eu/content_ordinary_courts-18-sk-en.do?member=1	Act 491/2008 Coll. amending the Police Forces Act Currently no anti-stalking law in Slovakia. Details about how stalking may be dealt with are included in the Modena report into stalking in Europe, available at: stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it/RAPPORTO_versione_finale_011007.pdf
SLOVENIA	NO **Aa, per sources cited (2009)	http://www.hcch.net/upload/auth12dc_si.pdf See:	Family Violence Prevention Act 2008 Currently, Slovenia has no specific anti-stalking legislation. Details of other legislation that may be used in stalking situations can be found in the Manual for victims and helping professionals by searching for Slovenia: http://stalking.medlegmo.unimo.it/manuale
SPAIN	YES	http://www.poderjudicial.es/cgpj/es/Poder_Judicial/Tribunal_Supr	Protection Order http://www.poderjudicial.es/cgpj/en/Subjects/Domestic_and_gender_violence/The_order_of_protection/The_order_of_protection

		<p><u>emo</u></p> <p>Spain does not have an anti-stalking laws no single Spanish word that captures the English concept of stalking.</p> <p>http://stalking.madlegmo.unimo.it/manuale</p>	<p>Act Regulating the Protection Order for Victims of Domestic Violence (2003); Organic Act on Integrated Protection Measures against Gender Violence (2004) ACT 27/2003 of 31st July on the order of protection for victims of domestic violence</p> <p>www.poderjudicial.es/.../relacionados/ACT_27_2003_of_3...</p> <p>The Royal Decree 513/2005 provides access to the autonomous regions, through points of coordination previously designated for each of them, to the Central Registry, in order to ensure compliance with protection measures, either temporary or final, agreed by the courts in the area of jurisdiction. Subsequently, Royal Decree 660/2007 of 25th May has allowed the access of Government delegations and sub-delegations to the necessary information to ensure the effective implementation of protection measures, either temporal or final.</p>
SWEDEN	<p>NO</p> <p>** Aa, per sources cited (2009)</p> <p>++++But a court may issue in divorce proceeding</p>	<p>http://www.domstol.se/Funktioner/English/The-Swedish-courts/District-court/</p>	<p>Restraining Orders Act 1988</p> <p>Filed through Public Prosecutor's Office</p> <p>Sweden introduced an anti-stalking law on 1 October 2011. Media discussion (in English) in available from: www.thelocal.se/36482/20111002/ and www.thelocal.se/37638/20111129/ http://www.bra.se/extra/measurepoint/?module_instance=4&name=Stalkingengslutred.pdf&url=/dynamaster/file_archive... (in English)</p>
UNITED KINGDOM	<p>YES</p> <p>** Aa, per sources cited (2009)</p>	<p>http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/p_to_r/restraining_orders/</p>	<p>Protection from Harassment Act, 1997 (see Scotland entry for further information about that jurisdiction). http://www.bailii.org/uk/legis/num_act/1997/ukpga_19970040_en_1.html http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/s_to_u/stalking_and_harassment/</p> <p>The United Kingdom Protection from Harassment Act (1997), Sec. 5 as amended, by Section 12 of the Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act 2004 (DVCVA 2004) came into force on 30 September 2009, amending section 5 of the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 (PHA 1997). The Act allows a court to place a restraining order on the defendant even if he is acquitted of a criminal offense, in order to offer protection to the survivor. This allows the use of evidence in a criminal</p>

			<p>court which would normally be admissible only in a civil court under UK law, thereby extending further protection to complainant/survivors.</p> <p>Family Law Act of 1996 (England and Wales); Domestic Violence Crime, and Victims Act 2004 (England, Wales and Northern Ireland); The Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007 (England, Wales and Northern Ireland); Crime and Security Act 2010 (England and Wales)</p>
SOURCES:			
<p>+ (HcCH)HccH (2013). Hague Conference on Private International Law HccH, Mar. '12, Prelim. Doc. 4B</p> <p>** (Aa) van der Aa, S. (2012). In protection orders in the European member states: Where do we stand and where do we go from here?". <i>European Journal of Criminal Policy and Research</i> 18, pp. 183–204, DOI 10.1007/s10610-011-9167-6.</p> <p>*** U-Modena. (2007). Protecting Women From The New Crime of Stalking: A Comparison of Legislative Approaches Within The European Union, Table 3: Member States With Stalking Laws; University of Modna And Reggion Mila Modena Group On Stalking.</p> <p>****(EEJP) - European E-justice portal: https://e-justice.europa.eu/content_member_state_law-6-en.do</p> <p>**** Stoever, J. K. (2013). Enjoining abuse: The case for indefinite domestic violence protection. <i>Legal Studies</i> [Research Paper], University of California at Irvine, Series No. 2013-159, 21, fn 124, and Figure 1 at 24, Table 1, p. 71-76.</p> <p>***** https://www.stalkingriskprofile.com</p> <p>++ Rimmelink, M. (2013). The use of a temporary restraining order in the Netherlands. University of Twente, (s1255061).</p> <p>+++ Fransson, A. P. (2005). Reinforcing restraining orders using electronic monitoring, at n.1 <i>Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, Information and Publications</i></p>			

SECTION F:
GENDER, HUMAN RIGHTS, ATTITUDES AND
PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES

**GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN THE EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF
CHINA AND THE ROLE OF CULTURE. THE CASE OF HON-HAI
INDUSTRY LTD. CO. – FOXCONN**

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to investigate and provide clarifications on the gender inequalities in the workplace that exist in China's labor market. We study the employment status in China from a legal point of view, as well as the social status of women in Chinese workplaces and the relation of women workers in China compared to the typical one pertaining to the male population. We examine whether the Chinese labor law is affected or harmonized with the global norms and customs, and the implementation loopholes, if any, of the labor law in China. Over the past few years, many studies have been conducted in the field of gender equality in China's labor market. In this research we will try to theoretically investigate if this gender equality in the workplace, established by law, is implemented in practice. Furthermore, we will attempt to clarify the role of culture in creating possible trends of gender discrimination in China's labor market. What are the social or ethical factors driving the downgrading of the woman's role as an active member of the production process? Are the employment opportunities for professional development and the opportunities to participate in the decision-making the same for both sexes? Are the Chinese female employees allowed to reach senior positions - high responsibility positions and the corresponding social status? This research aims at analyzing the above factors by clarifying the causes - mainly social and legal - possibly leading to occupational discrimination in China, as well as exploring the role of women in the workplace. We will study the example of Hon-Hai Industry Ltd. Co. – Foxconn, which in 2010 was faced with successive suicides of its employees. Because of such suicides its organizational culture and the broader national culture that encloses its innermost operational one were blamed. This caused a public outcry. Hon-Hai Industry Ltd. Co. - Foxconn is nowadays the largest producer of electronics in the world, employing 2,450,000 employees in assembly activities, and produces more than 50% of the world's production of electronics annually. Hon-Hai Industry Ltd. Co. - Foxconn has been repeatedly blamed by international organizations for cruelty against its employees. The Chinese legal framework itself has been accused of leaving loopholes for world-class business giants such as Foxconn, that allow for the implementation of violent practices and overt discrimination against women. We will try to clarify whether these practices do occur and what the responsibility of China's law is regarding such practices. We will examine the role of women as employees of this company and we will attempt to find the social and ethical - primarily in the sense of habit - criteria behind the possible downgrading of the role of women in the Chinese occupational setting.

Keywords: gender discrimination, Chinese culture, Foxconn, organizational culture

**ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ ΦΥΛΩΝ ΣΤΟ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΚΟ ΚΑΘΕΣΤΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΙΝΑΣ ΚΑΙ Ο
ΡΟΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΥΛΤΟΥΡΑΣ. Η ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ
ΤΗΣ HON-HAI INDUSTRY LTD. CO. – FOXCONN**

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Περίληψη

Σκοπός της εν λόγω ερευνητικής προσπάθειας είναι η διερεύνηση και αποσαφήνιση των ανισοτήτων στον χώρο εργασίας που υφίστανται στην αγορά εργασίας της Κίνας με κριτήριο το φύλο. Εξετάζουμε ποιά είναι το εργασιακό καθεστώς στην Κίνα από νομικής άποψης καθώς και ποιά είναι η κοινωνική θέση της γυναίκας στην εργασία της Κίνας καθώς και ποιά είναι η σχέση της γυναίκας εργαζόμενης στην Κίνα σε σχέση με αυτή που συνηθίζεται για τον αντίστοιχο ανδρικό πληθυσμό. Θα μελετήσουμε κατά πόσο επηρεάζεται ή εναρμονίζεται το κινέζικο εργατικό δίκαιο με τις παγκόσμιες νόρμες και ήθη καθώς και τα κενά εφαρμογής -αν υφίστανται- του εργατικού δικαίου στην Κίνα. Τα τελευταία χρόνια έχουν διεξαχθεί πολλές έρευνες στον τομέα της ισότητας των δύο φύλων στην εργασία της Κίνας. Θα προσπαθήσουμε να διερευνήσουμε θεωρητικά σε αυτή την ερευνητική προσπάθεια αν αυτή η νομικά κατοχυρωμένη ισότητα των φύλων στην εργασία υφίσταται πραγματικά στην εργασιακή πράξη. Επίσης θα προσπαθήσουμε να αποσαφηνίσουμε το ρόλο της κουλτούρας στην πιθανή διαμόρφωση τάσεων διακρίσεων των φύλων στην εργασία της Κίνας. Ποιοί είναι οι κοινωνικοί ή ηθικοί παράγοντες που ωθούν στην υποβάθμιση του ρόλου της γυναίκας ως ενεργούν μέλος της παραγωγικής διαδικασίας; Οι εργασιακές ευκαιρίες για ανέλιξη καθώς η δυνατότητα συμμετοχής στη λήψη αποφάσεων είναι ίδιες για τα δύο φύλα; Επιτρέπεται να φτάσουν οι γυναίκες εργαζόμενες στην Κίνα σε υψηλόβαθμες εργασιακές θέσεις - θέσεις υψηλών ευθυνών και αντίστοιχου κοινωνικού κύρους; Στόχος της συγκεκριμένης ερευνητικής προσπάθειας είναι η ανάλυση των ανωτέρω παραγόντων μέσα από την αποσαφήνιση των αιτίων -κυρίως κοινωνικών και νομικών- που οδηγούν πιθανώς στην εφαρμογή διακρίσεων των φύλων στο εργασιακό καθεστώς της Κίνας, καθώς και τη διερεύνηση του ρόλου της γυναίκας στην εργασία. Θα μελετήσουμε το παράδειγμα της Hon-Hai Industry Ltd. Co. - Foxconn που το 2010 ήρθε αντιμέτωπη με αλληπάλληλες αυτοκτονίες εργαζομένων της , εξαιτίας των οποίων κατηγορήθηκε για την οργανωσιακή της κουλτούρα και την ευρύτερη εθνική κουλτούρα που εσωκλείει την ενδότερη επιχειρησιακή της, και προκάλεσε την δημόσια κατακραυγή για το γεγονός. Η Hon-Hai Industry Ltd. Co. -Foxconn αποτελεί στις μέρες τον μεγαλύτερο παραγωγό ηλεκτρονικών ειδών στον κόσμο απασχολώντας 2.450.000 εργαζόμενους στον τομέα της συναρμολόγησης και παράγει περισσότερο από το 50% της παγκόσμιας παραγωγής ηλεκτρονικών ειδών ετησίως. Πολλές φορές η Hon-Hai Industry Ltd. Co. - Foxconn έχει κατηγορηθεί από διεθνείς οργανισμούς για βίαιη συμπεριφορά εναντίων εργαζομένων της. Το ίδιο το νομικό πλαίσιο της Κίνας έχει ενοχοποιηθεί ότι αφήνει κενά που επιτρέπουν σε επιχειρηματικούς κολοσσούς παγκόσμιας κλάσης όπως η Foxconn, την εφαρμογή βίαιων πρακτικών καθώς και αποκάλυπτων διακρίσεων έναντι των γυναικών. Θα προσπαθήσουμε να αποσαφηνίσουμε κατά πόσο οι ανωτέρω πρακτικές συμβαίνουν και ποιά είναι

η ευθύνη του νόμου της Κίνας έναντι αυτών των πρακτικών. Θα μελετήσουμε τον ρόλο της γυναίκας ως εργαζόμενης στην εν λόγω εταιρία και θα προσπαθήσουμε να βρούμε τα κοινωνικά και ηθικά - με την έννοια κυρίως του έθους- κριτήρια που κρύβονται πίσω από την πιθανή υποβάθμιση του ρόλου της γυναίκας στο εργασιακό καθεστώς της Κίνας.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: διακρίσεις φύλου, κινέζικη κουλτούρα, Foxconn, οργανωσιακή κουλτούρα

Μεθοδολογία

Η εν λόγω ερευνητική προσπάθεια είναι βασισμένη σε δευτερογενή ερευνητικά δεδομένα που αφορούν το ζήτημα των διακρίσεων των φύλων σε εργασιακά περιβάλλοντα. Η ερευνητική αυτή προσπάθεια αποτελεί μία θεωρητική ανάλυση των δευτερογενών στοιχείων που υπάρχουν στη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία παρέχοντας σαφή θεωρητικά συμπεράσματα για το ρόλο της γυναίκας στην κυρίως παραγωγή της Κίνας καθώς διευκρινίζει αν υφίστανται σαφής διακρίσεις των γυναικών έναντι των ανδρών στην εν λόγω χώρα.

Έγινε προσπάθεια καταγραφής, αξιολόγησης και κριτικής ανάλυσης όλων των διαθέσιμων πληροφοριών που συλλέχθηκαν από όργανα μέτρησης, οργανωσιακές πρακτικές, στατιστικά δεδομένα και έρευνες δημοσιευμένες στα μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης και σε επιστημονικά περιοδικά και βιβλιογραφικές αναφορές.

Τα συμπεράσματα που καταλήγουμε είναι αποτέλεσμα κριτικής ανάλυσης όλων των πληροφοριών που συλλέχθηκαν και αφορούσαν στο ιστορικό του εν λόγω θέματος. Η μελέτη της περίπτωσης της εταιρίας Hon-Hai Industry Ltd. Co. - Foxconn αποτελεί μία ερευνητική προσπάθεια θεωρητικής κάλυψης του φαινομένου καθώς δεν μπορούμε να έχουμε πρόσβαση σε πρωτογενή ερευνητικά στοιχεία από την εν λόγω εταιρία. Καταλήγουμε σε συμπεράσματα με τη βοήθεια της ανάλυσης του εργασιακού πλαισίου της Κίνας όπως αυτό διαμορφώνεται στις μέρες μας ώστε να αναλύσουμε το ρόλο των φύλων για την κοινωνία της Κίνας ως προς την εργασία. Στην ανάλυση του ρόλου της κουλτούρας - τόσο της εθνικής όσο και της επιχειρησιακής της Foxconn- θα μας βοηθήσει τόσο η θεωρία του Hofstede (1980) όσο και η θεωρία της GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Effectiveness) η οποία διερευνά τη σχέση μεταξύ κοινωνικής κουλτούρας και οργανωσιακής κουλτούρας σε 62 χώρες (House et Al., 1999) σε σχέση με συγκεκριμένες διαστάσεις κουλτούρας.

Εισαγωγή

Τα τελευταία χρόνια γίνεται ιδιαίτερος λόγος για τις διακρίσεις που υφίστανται στους εργασιακούς χώρους με κριτήριο το φύλο σε παγκόσμια κλίμακα. Σε αυτή την ερευνητική προσπάθεια θα μελετήσουμε τις διακρίσεις στην εργασία – αν και εφόσον υφίστανται – στο εργασιακό καθεστώς της Κίνας. Θα μελετήσουμε τον τρόπο που δομείται η κατανομή της εργασίας στην Κίνα εν συνόλω βάσει κοινωνικών, πολιτιστικών, πολιτισμικών, νομικών

και οικονομικών κριτηρίων όπως αυτά διαμορφώνονται διαχρονικά στο εν λόγω εργασιακό πλαίσιο. Θα διερευνήσουμε τα αίτια – κοινωνικά και ιστορικά – των πιθανών διακρίσεων στην εργασία με βάση κριτήρια που αφορούν το φύλο και τις πρακτικές που κρύβονται πίσω αυτά καθώς θα προσπαθήσουμε να σκιαγραφήσουμε το ρόλο του νόμου και των θεσμών της Κίνας έναντι των ανωτέρω διακρίσεων. Σημαντικό ρόλο ενέχει στο φαινόμενο των διακρίσεων των φύλων στην εργασία η έκφραση της κουλτούρας- τόσο της εθνικής όσο και της επιχειρησιακής.

Οι γυναίκες στην Κίνα για περισσότερα από 60 χρόνια απολαμβάνουν ισότητα έναντι των ανδρών μέσα από τη νομική κατοχύρωση αυτής. Σύμφωνα με το άρθρο 91 του Συντάγματος της Λαϊκής Δημοκρατίας της Κίνας, το 1954, αναγνωρίστηκαν στις γυναίκες ίσα δικαιώματα με τους άνδρες σε όλες τις εκφάνσεις της κοινωνικής, πολιτικής, πολιτιστικής, οικονομικής και οικογενειακής ζωής. Το γεγονός αυτής της ισότητας ενισχύθηκε από την αναθεώρηση του Συντάγματος του 1982 το οποίο όριζε επιπλέον νόμους και κανόνες που προστατεύουν τα δικαιώματα και τα συμφέροντα των γυναικών σε όλους τους προαναφερθέντες τομείς της κοινωνικής ζωής, απαγορεύοντας ρητώς κάθε διάκριση των γυναικών έναντι των ανδρών για τον οποιοδήποτε λόγο. Το γεγονός της νομικής κατοχύρωσης της ισότητας των δύο φύλων στην Κίνα κατέστησε την γυναίκα τα επόμενα χρόνια ενεργή εργαζόμενη σε όλους τους δυνατούς εργασιακούς χώρους, γεγονός που μέχρι πρότινος ήταν αδιανόητο καθώς η ίδια ήταν επιφορτισμένη με τις οικιακές εργασίες. Αυτό όμως δεν σήμαινε αυτομάτως την εξασφάλιση ίσης μεταχείρισής της πρακτικώς στον εργασιακό χώρο.

Το ζήτημα των διακρίσεων των φύλων στην εργασία είναι ζήτημα που λαμβάνει παγκόσμιες διαστάσεις. Σύμφωνα με δευτερογενή ερευνητικά στοιχεία που αφορούν τον παγκόσμιο πληθυσμό, σε αντίστοιχες εργασιακές θέσεις οι γυναίκες καταλαμβάνουν 30-50 % λιγότερες θέσεις σε σχέση με αυτές που αντιστοιχούν στους άνδρες και με πιθανότητες να καταλάβουν τις εν λόγω εργασιακές θέσεις μειωμένες κατά 70 % λιγότερες αντιστοιχώς των ανδρών ακόμη και αν πληρούν τα ίδια κριτήρια πρόσληψης με αυτούς (Burke & Greenglass, 1995; Cordes et al., 1997; Moore, 2000). Τα ανωτέρω στοιχεία διακρίσεων κατά των γυναικών τις φέρνουν αντιμέτωπες με τα συμπτώματα του Συνδρόμου Επαγγελματικής Εξουθένωσης (burnout) πολύ συχνότερα από ότι τα ίδια εμφανίζονται στο αντίθετο φύλο, βιώνοντας οι ίδιες πολύ μεγαλύτερα ποσοστά εργασιακού στρες (Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Schaufeli & Enzmann, 1998).

Χαρακτηριστικό είναι ότι οι γυναίκες στην Κίνα αποτελούν λιγότερο από το 10% των μελών των διοικητικών συμβουλίων των μεγάλων επιχειρήσεων και μόλις το 2% των επικεφαλής των διοικητικών συμβουλίων εταιριών που ανήκουν στο Global Fortune 500 (Beehr & Newman, 2007). Το γεγονός ενισχύεται από την συντηρητική κουλτούρα της Κίνας καθώς και την προσκόλλησή της σε κοινωνικά και εθικά στερεότυπα που περιορίζουν την γυναίκα αποκλειστικά στις οικιακές ή αγροτικές εργασίες, καθώς βέβαια και το ότι στις μέρες μας είναι δυσανάλογα μεγάλο το ποσοστό των γυναικών έναντι των ανδρών που κατέχει θέσει με χαμηλές αποδοχές.

Παρόλο που το διεθνές δίκαιο ορίζει νόρμες για τη ισότιμη μεταχείριση των φύλων στην εργασία η Κίνα φαίνεται στην πράξη να ακολουθεί ένα παραδοσιακό σύστημα αξιών στην εργασία που αφορά όχι μόνο σε διακρίσεις μεταξύ των δύο φύλων αλλά στην ουσιαστική καταπάτηση ουσιαστικά θεμελιωδών ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων. Στην εν λόγω ερευνητική προσπάθεια θα δούμε πώς και αν αυτό το διεθνές περιβάλλον δικαίου επηρεάζει τη εργασιακή νομοθεσία της Κίνας και εν τέλει το ευρύτερο σύστημα απονομής της κοινωνικής ισότητας των φύλων. Θα δούμε επίσης πώς το ζήτημα της Κινέζικης κουλτούρας επηρεάζει την εφαρμογή των νόμων που ιδανικά θα εξασφάλιζαν την ισότητα των δύο φύλων στην εργασία, μέσα από την ανάλυση συγκεκριμένων διαστάσεων της έρευνας GLOBE (συνειπικουρούμενης από τη θεωρητική βάση του Hofstede) που αφορούν στο ζήτημα των διακρίσεων των φύλων. Τέλος θα μελετήσουμε το παράδειγμα της εταιρίας Hon-Hai Industry Ltd. Co. -Foxconn, η οποία αποτελώντας τον μεγαλύτερο κατασκευαστή ηλεκτρονικών ειδών στον κόσμο, στις αρχές του 2010 έγινε γνωστή για τις απαράδεκτες συνθήκες εργασίας που παρέχει στους εργαζόμενούς της, τις αλληπάλληλες αυτοκτονίες λόγω εργασιακής εξάντλησης και τις καταγγελίες για διακρίσεις κατά των εργαζόμενων γυναικών.

Ανασκόπηση Βιβλιογραφίας

Όπως και στον γενικότερο κοινωνικό βίο, έτσι και στον εργασιακό χώρο οι διαφορές μεταξύ των δύο φύλων καθίστανται προφανείς και εν γένει μειοδοτικές για τις γυναίκες. Αυτό οφείλεται σύμφωνα με τις περισσότερες έρευνες που διεξήχθησαν αναφορικά με το θέμα, στις εδραιωμένες κοινωνικές προκαταλήψεις για το γυναικείο φύλο και στην συνθετότητα του ρόλου εργαζόμενη – μητέρα – νοικοκυρά.

Σύμφωνα με έρευνα των McDonald και Korabik (1991) οι γυναίκες υπόκεινται σε διαφορετικά είδη στρες από ότι οι άνδρες, όπως αυτό που προέρχεται από τη συνύπαρξη της εργασίας με τον προσωπικό-οικογενειακό βίο. Σε αντίστοιχα αποτελέσματα έχουν καταλήξει έρευνες των Nelson (1990), Davidson et Al. (1983) και Giddens (1980-1991).

Μάλιστα, ο Giddens (1991) διαπιστώνει ότι οι γυναίκες στελεχώνουν διαχρονικά σε μεγάλο ποσοστό κακοπληρωμένες εργασίες ρουτίνας παγκοσμίως. Σε αυτό θεωρεί ότι συντέλεσαν διαχρονικά οι μεταβολές στην οργάνωση της εργασίας και τα στερεότυπα των ρόλων κατά γένος. Ο Giddens (1991) καταλήγει στο συμπέρασμα για την εξέλιξη στην εργασία της γυναίκας ότι το να έχει συντηρούμενα παιδιά ή όχι παίζει ιδιαίζοντα ρόλο. Οι θέσεις μερικής απασχόλησης κατέχονται πολύ συχνότερα από γυναίκες, γεγονός που προτιμάται και από τις ίδιες για να μπορούν να διατηρούν την οικογενειακή τους ζωή φυσιολογική.

Μελετώντας ο Giddens (1988- 1993) τις δυνατότητες εξέλιξης της γυναίκας στο χώρο εργασίας κατέληξε στο συμπέρασμα ότι οι ίδιες καταλαμβάνουν σπανιότερα εν συγκρίσει με τους άνδρες θέσεις εκτελεστικές και διοικητικές. Χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρει ότι οι εμπειρίες των γυναικών που καταλαμβάνουν εκτελεστικές ή διευθυντικές θέσεις συγκρίνονται με τις εμπειρίες κάποιων

που πηγαίνουν σε μια ξένη χώρα για σχετικά μακρά παραμονή. Μια τέτοια κατάσταση συνεπάγεται ένα "γεγονός ζωής" (Nettleton, 1990), ένα βαρύ "πολιτισμικό" σοκ, κυρίως εξαιτίας της δυσκολίας αποδοχής στον έκαστο χώρο. Τονίζει ότι ένας βασικός παράγοντας που επηρεάζει τη σταδιοδρομία των γυναικών είναι η ανδρική αντίληψη ότι για τις γυναίκες υπαλλήλους το ενδιαφέρον για την εργασία κατέχει δεύτερη θέση σε σχέση με την τεκνογονία.

Σύμφωνα με έρευνα που διενεργήθηκε στην Αγγλία από τον Verney (1992) οι γυναίκες που κατείχαν ανώτερες διοικητικές θέσεις ήταν όλες τους άτεκνες και αρκετές από εκείνες που ήθελαν να αποκτήσουν παιδιά στο μέλλον δήλωναν πως σκόπευαν να εγκαταλείψουν τη θέση τους και ίσως να επανεκπαιδευτούν αργότερα για κάποια άλλη θέση.

Από τα παραπάνω ερευνητικά στοιχεία προκύπτει σαφής η διάκριση μεταξύ των δύο φύλων στον εργασιακό χώρο, με τη γυναίκα να βρίσκεται σε δυσχερέστερη θέση σε σχέση με τον άντρα. Αυτό την καθιστά υπόχρη καταβολής μεγαλύτερων ποσών ενεργειακών πόρων με στόχο να καταφέρει το αποτέλεσμα που ο άνδρας καταφέρει με λιγότερους πόρους. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό η γυναίκα κρίνεται πιο πιθανό να βρεθεί σε κατάσταση εξάντλησης ή ακραίας μείωσης των διαθέσιμων πόρων της (συναισθηματικών, γνωσιακών και σωματικών) και συνεπώς να βιώνει συχνότερα το σύνδρομο της επαγγελματικής εξουθένωσης ή της εργασιακής απομόνωσης ή και αποκλεισμού. Θα πρέπει να αναφέρουμε ότι έρευνες που έχουν διενεργηθεί σε σχέση με την γυναικεία ψυχολογία και την προδιάθεση αυτοκτονίας έχει διαπιστωθεί ότι οι γυναίκες είναι πιο επιρρεπής στην προσπάθεια αυτοκτονίας όταν βιώνουν ακραίες συναισθηματικές καταστάσεις, ψυχολογική βία και αλληπάλληλες συγκρούσεις προσδοκιών και αποτελέσματος (Giddens, 1980-1992; Goffman, 1975'). Οι συγκρουόμενοι ρόλοι είναι πιθανότερο να οδηγήσουν τη γυναίκα σε απόπειρα αυτοκτονίας κυρίως λόγω τις ευθραυστότητας των ψυχολογικών πόρων της (Giddens, 1992).

Ο Ρόλος της Οργανωσιακής και Εθνικής Κουλτούρας στις Διακρίσεις των Φύλων στην Εργασία - Θεωρία Hofstede (1998) & Θεωρία GLOBE (1999)

Ο ρόλος της οργανωσιακής κουλτούρας είναι σημαντικός τόσο για την πρόβλεψη του φαινομένου των διακρίσεων των φύλων στην εργασία όσο και για την αντιμετώπισή του. Η κουλτούρα διαμορφώνει μια συλλογική ταυτότητα που βοηθά τα μέλη της να συνδυάσουν τους εαυτούς τους με τις πολιτικές και την αποστολή της οργάνωσης και να θεωρούν τους εαυτούς τους ως μέρος της οργάνωσης (Hofstede, 1998; Peters & Waterman, 1982). Επίσης, η οργανωσιακή κουλτούρα ορίζει τους κανόνες της αποδεκτής και μη αποδεκτής συμπεριφοράς, που καθιστά στους υπαλλήλους σαφή τα καθήκοντά και τις υποχρεώσεις τους σε μια δεδομένη κατάσταση (Kotter & Heskett, 1992). Αυτοί οι κανόνες βοηθούν στη συνεργασία των υπαλλήλων για να ικανοποιήσουν τις ανάγκες της παραγωγής και να ανταποκριθούν στις εργασιακές πιέσεις καθώς και να δρουν κοινωνικά εντός της εργασίας διαμορφώνοντας αποδεκτές ή μη συμπεριφορές (Schneider & Bowen, 1995). Τέλος, η κουλτούρα παρέχει τη δομή και τον έλεγχο των εργασιακών και

κοινωνικών ενεργειών, στα πλαίσια της εργασίας (O' Reilly & Chatman, 1996).

Η οργανωσιακή κουλτούρα θα πρέπει να ειδωθεί ως μέρος της έκαστης εθνικής κουλτούρας που φιλοξενεί το εργασιακό πλαίσιο και όχι ως αυτόνομη ιδεολογία. Σύμφωνα με τους Bosche και Lemaître (1996), η οργανωσιακή-εργασιακή κουλτούρα "διαχωρίζεται" σε δύο υπο- κουλτούρες- πτυχές της ίδιας κατ' ουσία κουλτούρας:

α) *Εξωτερική κουλτούρα*, η οποία προέρχεται από το περιβάλλον του εργασιακού περιβάλλοντος και επηρεάζει τις αρχές και τις αξίες που το διέπουν σε ένα ευρύτερο κοινωνικό πλαίσιο συνύπαρξης και συνδιαμόρφωσης. Λειτουργεί σαν ένα είδος "υπερ- κουλτούρας" η οποία προϋπάρχει της οργανωσιακής και θέτει ουσιαστικά την ηθική- αξιακή βάση αυτής

β) *Εσωτερική κουλτούρα*, η οποία αποτελείται από τις νόρμες, αξίες και στόχους της εργασίας σε ένα ομαδικό πλαίσιο δράσης, ορίζοντας την λειτουργία της. Η συγκεκριμένη, αποτελεί υποκουλτούρα της εξωτερικής, καθώς διέπεται από τις αρχές της.

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε πως κάθε εργασιακός χώρος εναρμονίζει ασύνειδα την εσωτερική του κουλτούρα με την εθνική, την κουλτούρα δηλαδή που διέπει την κοινωνία και οικονομία που φιλοξενείται. Η μελέτη της εθνικής κουλτούρας δύναται να βοηθήσει έναν οργανισμό στο να σχεδιάσει περισσότερο ρεαλιστικές προβλέψεις για την αντιμετώπιση πιθανών προβλημάτων, αφού βασικό χαρακτηριστικό της εθνικής κουλτούρας είναι η βραδέα αλλαγή της στο χρόνο (Minkov & Blagoev, 2009). Σύμφωνα με τον Hofstede (1980), τόσο η εθνική όσο και η οργανωσιακή-εργασιακή κουλτούρα παρουσιάζουν κοινά χαρακτηριστικά αξιών. Οι διαστάσεις των χαρακτηριστικών αυτών περιγράφουν βασικά ζητήματα όπως τα αντιμετωπίζουν έκαστα τα κοινωνικά πλαίσια συμπεριλαμβανομένων των οργανισμών που δραστηριοποιούνται σε αυτές. Οι διαφορετικές βαθμολογίες που συγκεντρώνει η κάθε χώρα αντικατοπτρίζουν τους διαφορετικούς τρόπους αντιμετώπισης των ανωτέρω ζητημάτων (Hofstede, 1980, σ. 313).

Σύμφωνα με τη θεωρία του Hofstede (1980), όπως διαμορφώθηκε μετά από την έρευνα GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Effectiveness), η οποία διερεύνησε τη σχέση μεταξύ κοινωνικής κουλτούρας και οργανωσιακής-εργασιακής κουλτούρας σε 62 χώρες (House et Al., 1999), οι διαστάσεις κουλτούρας αφορούν τις εξής κατηγορίες :

1. Απόσταση ισχύος
2. Αποφυγή αβεβαιότητας
3. Θεσμική συλλογικότητα (Συλλογικότητα I)
4. Ενδο-ομαδική συλλογικότητα (Συλλογικότητα II)
5. Ισότητα των δύο φύλων
6. Επιβολή
7. Μελλοντικός προσανατολισμός
8. Προσανατολισμός στην απόδοση
9. Προσανατολισμός στον άνθρωπο

Στη συγκεκριμένη μελέτη μελετούμε τη διάσταση της ισότητας των δύο φύλων στο χώρο εργασίας κυρίως εστιάζοντας στην εθνική κουλτούρα της Κίνας και δευτερευόντως εν είδη μελέτης περιπτώσεως στην εσωτερική-οργανωσιακή κουλτούρα της εταιρίας Hon- Hai Industry Ltd Co- Foxconn θέλοντας να δούμε αν υφίστανται διακρίσεις ανάμεσα στα δύο φύλα τόσο στο ευρύτερο εργασιακό πλαίσιο της Κίνας όσο και της εταιρίας Foxconn.

Στην ανάλυση της εθνικής κουλτούρας της Κίνας και το πώς αυτή οδηγεί σε διακρίσεις των φύλων στην εργασία θα μας βοηθήσει πέραν της θεωρίας GLOBE, το ιστορικό και κοινωνικό πλαίσιο της εν λόγω χώρας και το πώς διαμορφώθηκαν τα κοινωνικά- πολιτικά και πολιτιστικά χαρακτηριστικά που ευλόγησαν διαχρονικά την εφαρμογή διακρίσεων έναντι των γυναικών στην εργασία στη Κίνα.

Διακρίσεις κατά των Γυναικών στην Εργασία της Κίνας

Στις μέρες μας γίνεται ολοένα και πιο εμφανής η διάκριση μεταξύ ανδρών και γυναικών στην εργασία της Κίνας. Σύμφωνα με τη Στατιστική Επιτροπή Εργασίας της Κίνας (NBS), οι γυναίκες αποτελούν περίπου το 45% του εργασιακού δυναμικού της χώρας ενώ οι απολαβές τους είναι 75% μικρότερες από εκείνες που λαμβάνουν σε αντίστοιχες εργασιακές θέσεις οι άντρες. Σύμφωνα με την ανωτέρω Αρχή, παρατηρείται ανισοκατανομή στις υψηλόβαθμες εργασιακές θέσεις όπως σε επιχειρήσεις, κυβερνητικές θέσεις και θεσμικά όργανα, με τους άνδρες για το έτος 2010 να καταλαμβάνουν τέσσερις φορές περισσότερες θέσεις από τις γυναίκες. Αντίθετα, για το ίδιο έτος παρουσιάζεται το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό των εργαζόμενων γυναικών να κατέχει εργασιακές θέσεις με χαμηλές αμοιβές - χαρακτηριστικά με μηνιαίο μισθό κάτω από 300 Yuan.

Ένα σημαντικό κοινωνικό χαρακτηριστικό που παίζει ρόλο στο γεγονός της απουσίας των γυναικών από σημαντικά εργασιακές θέσεις είναι το γεγονός ότι για την Κινεζική κουλτούρα η γυναίκα είναι παραδοσιακά επιφορτισμένη με την ανατροφή των παιδιών στο σπίτι και με την διατήρηση και φροντίδα οικογενειακών επιχειρήσεων ή αγροτικών εργασιών. Σύμφωνα με τη Στατιστική Επιτροπή Εργασίας της Κίνας (NBS) το 2010, το 75% των γυναικών ηλικίας 30-45 ετών που ήταν άνεργες, είχαν αναλάβει τις ευθύνες του νοικοκυριού. Αντίθετα, μόνο το 4% των άνεργων ανδρών σε αυτή την ηλικιακή ομάδα έμεινε πίσω για τη φροντίδα του σπιτιού.

Σημαντικό ρόλο στις διακρίσεις εναντίων των γυναικών στην αγορά εργασίας της Κίνας ενέχει και η σημασία της εκπαίδευσης για τις γυναίκες. Οι γυναίκες που σπουδάζουν σε Πανεπιστημιακά ή Τεχνολογικά Ιδρύματα της χώρας αποτελούν μόλις το 30% του συνολικού πληθυσμού των σπουδαστών ενώ από αυτές μόνο το 20% βρίσκει εργασία μετά τις σπουδές. Σύμφωνα με έρευνα που διεξήγε το Πανεπιστήμιο της Jiangsu, το ανωτέρω γεγονός οφείλεται στις διακρίσεις που υφίστανται στην Κίνα στην πρόσληψη για κενές θέσεις, όπου σχεδόν πάντα προτιμώνται άνδρες για την κάλυψή τους.

Για να κατανοήσουμε το ρόλο των γυναικών στο εργασιακό δυναμικό της Κίνας και τα κίνητρα της ισχύουσας νομοθεσίας που ενισχύουν τις διακρίσεις εναντίον των γυναικών, πρέπει να αναφέρουμε τη σημασία της κουλτούρας,

του πολιτισμού και της ιστορίας της θέσης της γυναίκας στο εργασιακό καθεστώς της Κίνας.

Πριν αναλάβει τη διακυβέρνηση της Κίνας το Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα το 1949, όπου και έφερε πολλές εργασιακές αλλαγές που ισχύουν έως τις μέρες μας, ο ρόλος της γυναίκας ήταν παραδοσιακά εντός του σπιτιού, επιφορτίζοντας το ρόλο αυτό μόνο οικιακές εργασίες. Ο ρόλος αυτός ήταν εδραιωμένος και πρωτίστως εκπορευόταν από θρησκευτικές προσταγές που όριζαν οι διδασχές του Κομφούκιου - "η ενασχόληση με την οικεία είναι αρετή για μια γυναίκα, εφόσον δεν δύναται να ασχοληθεί με άλλες εργασίες και δεδομένου ότι η γυναίκα είναι κατώτερη από τον άντρα". Η δέσμευση της γυναίκας στο σπίτι, η πολυγαμία του άντρα, η πατριαρχία, η ανικανότητα της γυναίκας ως αδύναμο ον, αποτελούν αρχές που διέδωσε ο Κομφουκιανισμός και οι οποίες έθεσαν τη γυναίκα μακράν της κοινωνικής και πολιτιστικής ζωής συμπεριλαμβανομένης της ανάγκης της για συμμετοχή στην εργασία. Η αρχή ότι "ένας ανίκανος άνθρωπος είναι σημαντικότερος από μία γυναίκα" διαπερνά την κινεζική κοινωνία εμποδίζοντας την είσοδο της γυναίκας στην εργασία.

Η Επανάσταση του 1911 και η καθιέρωση μιας εθνικής κυβέρνησης φέρνει στις γυναίκες την ευκαιρία να αλλάξουν πολλές παραδοσιακές πρακτικές που αφορούσαν στην κοινωνική και εργασιακή τους ένταξη. Η ισότητα των δύο φύλων για πρώτη φορά – έστω και ως πρόθεση και χωρίς καμία έγγραφη ή νομοθετική κατοχύρωση – τίθεται ως προτεραιότητα, δίνοντας έμφαση στην εκπαίδευση των γυναικών και στην έμμισθη εργασιακή τους ενασχόληση εκτός σπιτιού. Το γεγονός βέβαια αυτό δεν είχε καμία ουσιαστική εφαρμογή καθώς η Κομφουκιανική κουλτούρα της Κίνας συνηγορώντας με τις κοινωνικές προσταγές έφεραν τη γυναίκα αντιμέτωπη με ελάχιστες χαμηλόμισθες εργασιακές θέσεις, καθώς συνέχιζαν να θεωρούνται στην κοινή αντίληψη υποδεέστερες των αντρών – και με την κοινωνική αποδοκιμασία – καθώς οι γυναίκες που εργάζονταν εκτός σπιτιού θεωρούνταν πόρνες.

Μετά το 1949 όπου το Κινεζικό Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα ανέβηκε στην εξουσία επικυρώθηκε το πρώτο Σύνταγμα του 1954 στο οποίο κατοχυρωνόταν η ισότητα των γυναικών έναντι των αντρών σύμφωνα με το άρθρο 91 του Συντάγματος σε όλους τους τομείς της κοινωνικής, πολιτικής, οικονομικής, πολιτιστικής και οικογενειακής ζωής και η αναγνώρισή τους ως πλήρη μέλη της κοινωνίας. Η αποτελεσματικότητα βέβαια αυτών παρέμεινε περιορισμένη εξαιτίας των κοινωνικών νομών, οι οποίες με πολλούς τρόπους παρέμειναν κατ' ουσία αμετάβλητες.

Κατά την περίοδο της Μεγάλης Προλεταριακής Πολιτιστικής Επανάστασης (1966-1976) η συμμετοχή των γυναικών στο εργατικό δυναμικό αυξήθηκε με κάποιες γυναίκες να καταλαμβάνουν και ηγετικές θέσεις - θέσεις που παραδοσιακά κατείχαν άντρες (Tao & Jiang, 1993). Οι γυναίκες εξυψώθηκαν για τη δύναμή τους και την ικανότητά τους για σκληρή δουλειά ενώ αποθαρρύνονταν κοινωνικά για την επίδειξη των γυναικείων χαρακτηριστικών τους – κάλυψη των μαστών με σφιχτά δεμένα υφάσματα ώστε να μην είναι εμφανή, υιοθέτηση ανδρικού ντυσίματος, διατήρηση ανδρικής κόμμωσης. Και πάλι βέβαια υφίσταντο διαφορές, αυτή τη φορά όμως οφείλονταν στη γεωγραφική θέση της αναζήτησης εργασίας. Ενώ στα

αστικά κέντρα υπήρχε παροχή εργασίας για τις γυναίκες και μάλιστα με μισθούς ίδιους με αυτούς των ανδρών, το ίδιο δεν συνέβαινε στην επαρχία, όπου τα κοινωνικά ήθη ήθελαν την γυναίκα προσκολλημένη στις οικιακές εργασίες και αδύναμη σε σχέση με τον άνδρα.

Το τέλος της Πολιτιστικής Επανάστασης και ο θάνατος του Μάο Τσε Τουνγκ βρίσκει την Κίνα έτοιμη να εφαρμόσει σαρωτικές αλλαγές στα εργασιακά ζητήματα και την ισότητα των δύο φύλων στην εργασία. Η κυβέρνηση του Ντενγκ Χσιάο Πινγκ προσπαθώντας να βελτιώσει την οικονομία της χώρας και την δημόσια εικόνα της κινεζικής παραγωγής θέτει τις βάσεις της εντατικοποίησης της παραγωγής με τη σύναψη σχέσεων συνεργασίας με άλλα κράτη. Αυτό σήμαινε την ανάγκη προσαρμογής της παραγωγής της Κίνας στα παγκόσμια πρότυπα αλλά άμεσα την εναρμόνιση των ισχυουσών κανόνων για τη μεταχείριση των γυναικών στην εργασία. Οι γυναίκες ξαναγίνονται για την κοινωνία της Κίνας ανίκανα μέλη προς εργασία τα οποία πρέπει να περιορίζονται στις οικιακές εργασίες. Η εργασιακή μεταρρύθμιση βρίσκει τον γυναικείο πληθυσμό να κατέχει μόλις το 1/3 του συνολικού εργασιακού πληθυσμού της Κίνας. Οι θέσεις ηγεσίας γίνονται ξανά προνόμιο των ανδρών και όσες γυναίκες απασχολούνταν σε αυτές αναγκάστηκαν σε πρόωγη συνταξιοδότηση ή οικειοθελή αποχώρηση. Οι γυναίκες κρίθηκαν επικίνδυνες για εργασία σε βιομηχανίες εξαιτίας των "φυσικών αδυναμιών" τους. Οι ίδιες είχαν πρόσβαση σε χαμηλά αμειβόμενες εργασιακές θέσεις όπως η κλωστοϋφαντουργεία και οι αγροτικές εργασίες. Σύμφωνα με έρευνα που διενεργήθηκε το 1996 (Chinese Business Review) οι γυναίκες δεν είχαν πρόσβαση σε ηγετικές εργασιακές θέσεις εξαιτίας των διακρίσεων που υφίσταντο λόγω φύλου.

Νόμοι περί της Εργασίας στη Κίνα και Περιορισμοί

Τα τελευταία 25 χρόνια, η Κίνα έχει προσπαθήσει να διορθώσει λάθη του παρελθόντος που αφορούν στα δικαιώματα και την ισότητα στο πλαίσιο της εργασίας των γυναικών επηρεαζόμενη από τα διεθνή πρότυπα. Ταυτόχρονα, αυτές οι προσπάθειες αποβαίνουν πάντα ανεπαρκείς καθώς υφίστανται περιορισμοί στην εφαρμογή νόμων που θα ευνοούσαν την εξάλειψη διακρίσεων κατά των γυναικών στην εργασία. Οι περιορισμοί αυτοί αφορούν στα στερεότυπα που ενισχύουν τις παραδοσιακές έννοιες της ισότητας. Στο γεγονός συνηγορεί το ότι το Κινεζικό Σύνταγμα δεν είναι έγγραφο ώστε να αποτελεί έναν οδηγό στην εφαρμογή της δικαιοσύνης.

Το 1992 η κυβέρνηση ψήφισε το νόμο για την προστασία της εργασίας που όριζε σαφώς την προστασία των δικαιωμάτων και τον συμφερόντων των γυναικών (LPRIW), ο οποίος ισχύει μέχρι σήμερα. Ο νόμος παρέχει προστασία στις γυναίκες περιλαμβανομένης της απαγόρευσης καταγγελίας της σύμβασης όταν η εργαζόμενη βρίσκεται σε κύηση, άδεια μητρότητας ή γαλουχίας και προβλέπει ίσα δικαιώματα στις αμοιβές και τις προσλήψεις με τους άνδρες. Βέβαια ο ίδιος νόμος απαγορεύει την εργασία των γυναικών σε εργασίες "επικίνδυνες" για αυτές χωρίς όμως να ορίζει σαφώς ποιές είναι οι επικίνδυνες εργασίες, αφήνοντάς το στην κρίση του εργοδότη. Αυτό αφήνει περιθώρια παραβίασης της βασικής αρχής του Συντάγματος της Κίνας για την ισότητα των δύο φύλων κατά την πρόσληψη από τον εργοδότη, καθώς ο εργοδότης μπορεί να ισχυριστεί ακαταλληλότητα της προσφερόμενης

εργασίας για γυναίκες. Επίσης, έδωσε τη δυνατότητα στις γυναίκες εργαζόμενες να συνταξιοδοτούνται σε νεότερη ηλικία από τους άνδρες, αν και οι τροποποιήσεις που έγιναν το 2005 προβλέπουν ότι η πρόωγη συνταξιοδότηση των γυναικών δεν είναι δεδομένη θέτοντας πολλούς περιορισμούς και αφήνοντας την κρίση των κριτηρίων στον εργοδότη.

Το 1996 ψηφίστηκε το Εργατικό Δίκαιο το οποίο προβλέπει πρόσθετα προστατευτικά μέτρα για τις γυναίκες εργαζόμενες. Χαρακτηριστικά, προβλέπει ότι οι γυναίκες έχουν ίσα δικαιώματα με τους άνδρες στην απασχόληση- εκτός από επαγγέλματα που κρίνονται από τον εργοδότη "επικίνδυνα" ενώ ο εργοδότης οφείλει να παρέχει ίσες ώρες απασχόλησης στις γυναίκες και δεσμεύεται να μην αρνηθεί πρόσληψη γυναικών εξαιτίας του φύλου της.

Παρατηρούμε ότι στην Κίνα οι γυναίκες ως εργαζόμενες είναι μια μειονεκτούσα ομάδα. Ακόμη και μετά την ψήφιση του νόμου για την προστασία των δικαιωμάτων και τον συμφερόντων των γυναικών (LPRIW) και την θέσπιση προστατευτικών νόμων για τις γυναίκες στο Εργατικό Δίκαιο της Κίνας το 1996, οι εργοδότες συνεχίζουν σύμφωνα με σύγχρονες έρευνες να αγνοούν τις γυναίκες ως δυνάμει ισότιμο εργατικό δυναμικό.

Ένας νέος νόμος το 2007 – Νόμος Προώθησης της Απασχόλησης – έφερε νέα προστατευτικά μέτρα για τις εργαζόμενες γυναίκες καθώς προέβλεπε τη δημιουργία δικαίων συνθηκών εργασίας και τη διακοπή διακρίσεων στην εργασιακή απασχόληση με στόχο να εξασφαλίσει την κοινωνική αρμονία στο εργασιακό καθεστώς της Κίνας. Σύμφωνα με τον παραπάνω νόμο οι εργοδότες δεν δύνανται να περιλαμβάνουν μια ρήτρα ή περιοριστικούς όρους στις εργασιακές συμβάσεις των γυναικών όσον αφορά την μητρότητα, την λοχεία ή οποιαδήποτε έκφανση της γυναικείας φύσης ("το κράτος οφείλει να διασφαλίζει την ισότητα των γυναικών με τους άνδρες σχετικά με την απολαβή ίσων δικαιωμάτων στο εργασιακό περιβάλλον").

Η Περίπτωση της Hon- Hai Industry Ltd. Co. - Foxconn

Η εταιρία Hon Hai Industry Ltd. Co. είναι περισσότερο γνωστή με το εμπορικό όνομα Foxconn. Ιδρύθηκε στην Ταϊπέι το 1974, από τον σημερινό της CEO, Terry Gou και αποτελεί στις μέρες μας την μεγαλύτερη κατασκευάστρια εταιρία στον κόσμο παραγωγής και συναρμολόγησης ηλεκτρονικών συσκευών υψηλής τεχνολογίας. Η εταιρία παράγει περισσότερο από το 50% της παγκόσμιας παραγωγής τεχνολογικών προϊόντων, ποσοστό που φαίνεται να αυξάνεται σταδιακά από το 2010. Η Foxconn εδρεύει σε μια από τις ανεπτυγμένες στον κόσμο παραγωγικές ζώνες, την περιοχή της Shenzhen στη νότια Κίνα. Στις μονάδες παραγωγής της Foxconn απασχολούνται πάνω από 2.450.000 εργαζόμενοι για να δημιουργήσουν περισσότερο από το 1/3 του συνόλου των τεχνολογικών προϊόντων στον κόσμο για εταιρίες όπως η Apple, Dell, Nokia, Panasonic, Samsung, HP, Lenovo και Sony. Η παραγωγική ισχύς της εταιρίας έχει οδηγήσει στη συμβολή της στην παγκόσμια οικονομία 43 δισεκατομμυρίων δολαρίων. Υπό την ηγεσία του ιδρυτή και CEO, η Foxconn παρουσιάζεται ως ο πιο αξιόπιστος συνεργάτης της παγκόσμιας οικονομίας ηλεκτρονικών ειδών

που δραστηριοποιούνται στον τομέα των εξωτερικών παροχών (outsourcing).

Η πόλη των εργοστασίων της Foxconn έχει συγκριθεί με ένα στρατόπεδο καταναγκαστικής εργασίας όπου όλοι οι εργαζόμενοι αναγκάζονται να διαβιούν σε ένα πολυ-πολιτισμικό περιβάλλον καθημερινής ζωής και εργασίας. Η πόλη της Foxconn έγινε διεθνώς γνωστή το 2010, όταν σε αυτήν συνέβησαν αλληπάλληλες αυτοκτονίες εργαζόμενων, που καλύφθηκαν από τα παγκόσμια δίκτυα ενημέρωσης ως απόρροια της εργασιακής σκληρότητας που κυριαρχεί ως παραγωγικό μοντέλο στην Foxconn. Οι αυτοκτονίες αφορούσαν δέκα εννέα εργαζόμενους της Foxconn, οι οποίοι αποτελούσαν εργατικό δυναμικό που ανήκε στη νέα γενιά των εσωτερικών μεταναστών που αναζητούν εργασία σε βιομηχανικά κέντρα. Η ηλικιακή ομάδα όλων των αυτοχειρών ήταν 17 έως 25 ετών. Η νέα αυτή γενιά μεταναστών εργαζόμενων στη Κίνα, έχει πάρει τη δική ορολογία στη διεθνή ορολογία. Οι Xinchengdai Nongmingong, αποτελεί τη νέα γενιά μετακινούμενων εργαζόμενων από τις επαρχίες της Κίνας προς τα βιομηχανικά κέντρα. Η γενιά των Nongmingong αφορά σε νέους Κινέζους που ζουν σε επαρχιακές πόλεις της Κίνας και που δεν είναι κάτοχοι κάποιας εξειδικασμένης γνώσης ή κάτοχοι τίτλων σπουδών από ανώτερες ή ανώτατες σχολές. Οι Nongmingong είναι γόνοι εξαιρετικά φτωχών οικογενειών της επαρχίας, γυναίκες ως επί τω πλείστον, 90% του συνολικού πληθυσμού των Nongmingong, όπου οι γονείς τους εργάζονται σε οικογενειακές αγροτικές εργασίες ή σε αυτόνομες κτηνοτροφικές μονάδες, με μόνο στόχο την καθημερινή διαβίωση της οικογένειάς τους. Οι Nongmingong, λόγω της χαμηλής οικονομικής και κοινωνικής τους καταγωγής δεν μπορούν να έχουν πρόσβαση στην ανώτατη ή ανώτερη εκπαίδευση της Κίνας, εξαιτίας της δομής της εκπαίδευσης, η οποία πλαισιώνεται σε ένα πλαίσιο αυστηρής κοινωνικής αναπαραγωγής των λίγων ισχυρών. Οι νέοι Nongmingong ως επί το πλείστον απομακρύνονται από τις οικογένειες τους σε ηλικία περίπου 15 ετών, με στόχο την αναζήτηση εργασίας σε κάποια βιομηχανική πόλη της Κίνας για την οικονομική ελάφρυνση των οικογενειών τους, απαλλάσσοντάς την από τα έξοδά τους.

Σύμφωνα με τον κοινωνιολόγο Ho-Hung Fung (2009), οι αγροτικής καταγωγής εργάτες νεαρής ηλικίας που εργάζονται σε κινεζικές βιομηχανίες υπό συνθήκες ακραίας εκμετάλλευσης από το ίδιο το εργασιακό καθεστώς της Κίνας, αποτελούν τον στυλοβάτη της κινεζικής οικονομίας. Σύμφωνα μάλιστα με έρευνα που δημοσίευσε η Στατιστική Επιτροπή Εργασίας της Κίνας (NBS), τον Μάρτιο του 2011, με δείγμα 7100 ατόμων προερχόμενων από 31 επαρχίες, κατέδειξε ότι ο αριθμός των διακινούμενων εργαζόμενων από την επαρχεία άγγιξε τους 230 εκατομμύρια, αριθμός 2% μεγαλύτερος από αυτόν της προηγούμενης μόλις χρονιάς, ενώ το 87% ήταν γυναίκες. Οι περισσότεροι από αυτούς ήταν νέοι έως 23 ετών, που αντιμετώπιζαν οικονομικές και κοινωνικές δυσκολίες, προβλήματα έκβασης του γάμου τους, ανατροφής των παιδιών τους ή εμφάνιζαν την επιθυμία κατασκευής οικίας σε μια μεγάλη πόλη καθώς και έντονη ανησυχία για την διαβίωση ολόκληρης της οικογένειάς τους. Η μέση μηνιαία αμοιβή των ερωτηθέντων ήταν μόνο 1.838 γιουάν (US\$ 267), λιγότερο δηλαδή από το μισό κόστος διαβίωσης για ένα άτομο στην ίδια πόλη. Ο ανώτερω μισθός ήταν απαλλαγμένος από υπερωριακές αμοιβές και κρατήσεις για την εργασιακή τους ασφάλιση. Το γεγονός αυτό, όπως ανέφερε η ίδια έρευνα, απομάκρυνε τους ερωτηθέντες

από την ενασχόλησή τους με σπουδές, δραστηριότητες αναψυχής και καθημερινά έξοδα που κάνουν άλλοι συνομήλικοί τους. Η έρευνα επίσης έφερε στο φως την ματαίωση των ερωτηθέντων για την κατοχή κατοικίας στην πόλη Shenzhen, στην οποία εργάζονται, εξαιτίας του υψηλού κόστους αγοράς. Το κόστος αγοράς οικίας στην πόλη ανέρχεται στα 5.000 γιουάν ανά τετραγωνικό μέτρο, ποσό δυσανάλογο ως προς το ύψος των μισθών στις βιομηχανίες της συγκεκριμένης περιοχής.

Η εταιρία Foxconn έχει κατηγορηθεί πολλές φορές από το 2010 σε διεθνείς έρευνες για τις συνθήκες εργασίας που παρέχει στους εργαζόμενούς της και κυρίως έχει επικριθεί για την αντιμετώπιση των γυναικών που εργάζονται στις εγκαταστάσεις της. Ένα σημαντικό στοιχείο που αφορά στο γεγονός είναι ότι οι περισσότερες αυτοκτονίες που συνέβησαν στις εγκαταστάσεις της αφορούσαν γυναίκες. Λειτουργώντας η εν λόγω εταιρία στο κοινωνικό και νομικό πλαίσιο που αναφέραμε παραπάνω, φαίνεται να εκμεταλλεύεται την ελαστικότητά του και τη μη σαφή έννοιά του, θέτοντας εξαντλητικούς εργασιακούς όρους και διαμορφώνοντας μια, κατά κοινή ερευνητική αναφορά, απάνθρωπη οργανωσιακή κουλτούρα.

Συγκεκριμένα, οι εργαζόμενοι έχουν το δικαίωμα μια ή δύο ωρών διαλείμματος από την εργασία τους, ωστόσο οι γυναίκες έχουν δικαίωμα του μισού χρόνου διαλείμματος. Οι εργαζόμενοι είναι αναγκασμένοι να φορούν στις εγκαταστάσεις της εταιρίας στολές ενώ οι γυναίκες οφείλουν να τις φορούν και κατά τη διάρκεια της διαμονής τους στους κοιτώνες.

Οι συνθήκες εργασίας στην κυρίως παραγωγή της Foxconn, φαίνονται ακατάλληλες για τη δυτική οργανωσιακή κουλτούρα. Σχεδόν όλες οι εργασίες που πραγματοποιούνται στο εργοστάσιο γίνονται με το χέρι, χωρίς τη διαμεσολάβηση κάποιας μηχανής. Ο Weir (2012), αναφέρει χαρακτηριστικά ότι για την κατασκευή ενός I pad χρειάζονται περίπου πέντε ημέρες, τριακόσια πενήντα πέντε χέρια και περίπου εκατόν σαράντα ένα βήματα. Κάθε ένα από τα βήματα αυτά τονίζει ότι γίνεται χειροποίητα, σε μια σειρά επαναλαμβανόμενων κινήσεων σε ιμάντες που φέρνουν μπροστά στον εργαζόμενο το αντικείμενο και ο ίδιος προσθέτει το κομμάτι της δικαιοδοσίας του, χωρίς καμία άλλη παρέμβαση. Η παραγωγή στο εργοστάσιο είναι σιωπηλή και απαγορεύονται οι συζητήσεις μεταξύ των εργαζόμενων. Το μόνο που ακούγεται είναι μια ρομποτική φωνή που εποπτεύει την παραγωγική διαδικασία και ο ήχος των αμέτρητων επαναλαμβανόμενων κινήσεων (Weir, 2012). Αν οποιοσδήποτε εργαζόμενος μιλήσει σε άλλον, πολλώ δε όταν παραβρίσκεται στο χώρο εξωτερικός επισκέπτης, τίθεται υπό παρατήρηση και μπαίνει σε "μαύρη λίστα" με κίνδυνο απόλυσης (Daisey & Glass, 2012). Σύμφωνα με τον Bardoza (2010), πολλοί εργαζόμενοι αναγκάζονται από τους προϊσταμένους τους να εργάζονται έως 13 συνεχόμενες μέρες για να ολοκληρώσουν μεγάλες παραγγελίες, ακόμη και αν αυτό σημαίνει ότι θα πρέπει να κοιμούνται για 2 ώρες την ημέρα (Bardoza, 2010). Σύμφωνα με τον ίδιο σε αυτές τις θέσεις επιλέγονται μόνο γυναίκες διότι είναι μια έκτακτη εργασία που δίνει τη δυνατότητα να εργαστούν περισσότερες γυναίκες.

Αυτό σύμφωνα με τον διευθύνοντα σύμβουλο της εταιρίας αποτελεί το μεγάλο πλεονέκτημα της οργανωσιακής κουλτούρας της Foxconn. Αυτό ο ίδιος το ονομάζει "Foxconnian Culture". Η διοίκηση της Foxconn απαγορεύει

επίσης στις εργαζόμενες γυναίκες να διατηρούν μακριά μαλλιά ή νύχια, να κινούνται αργά εντός της εταιρίας, να διακόπτουν την εργασία τους χωρίς άδεια από τον προϊστάμενό τους, τα φέρνουν φαγητό από το σπίτι – για όσες δεν διαμένουν στους κοιτώνες της εταιρίας, να χασμουριούνται, να κάθονται στο πάτωμα και να μιλούν γρήγορα στον προϊστάμενο ή δυνατά (Malone & Jones, 2010). Επίσης, για τις γυναίκες εργαζόμενες απαγορεύεται να εργάζονται βαμμένες ή να διατηρούν βαμμένα νύχια ενώ πρέπει να αποκρύπτουν το στήθος τους με στενά ρούχα, ώστε να μην εμποδίζει την ευκολία στις κινήσεις τους. Θα πρέπει να ομοιάζουν αναφέρουν εργαζόμενες σε συνεντεύξεις τους με άνδρες και να διαφέρουν εμφανισιακά με τους συναδέλφους τους άντρες. Αυτό εξασφαλίζει, σύμφωνα με τον διευθύνοντα της Foxconn, την ισότητα στον εργασιακό χώρο ακόμη και αν σημαίνει ότι δεν υπάρχουν "φύλα" εντός της εργασίας. Στην ουσία βέβαια οι διακρίσεις που υφίστανται οι γυναίκες είναι πολλές έναντι των ανδρών.

Οι γυναίκες που εργάζονται στην Foxconn αντιμετωπίζουν πολλές φυσικές κακουχίες. Οι εργαζόμενες στέκονται όρθιες για πάνω από δώδεκα ώρες την ημέρα, γεγονός που τους προκαλεί μεγάλη κόπωση και σωματικά προβλήματα, κυρίως μυοσκελετικής φύσης (Dhuigg & Bardoza, 2012). Αντιθέτως, οι άνδρες εργαζόμενοι οφείλουν να εργάζονται καθισμένοι. Οι άνδρες εργαζόμενοι θεωρούνται προστατευόμενοι της εταιρίας εξαιτίας του ότι κοινωνικά θεωρούνται σημαντική δύναμη. Ένα από τα σημαντικότερα προβλήματα που αναφέρουν γυναίκες εργαζόμενες στην εταιρία είναι η αποσύνθεση των αρθρώσεων στα χέρια τους (Daisey & Glass, 2012). Πολλές επίσης παραπονούνται για αυχενικούς πόνους και ημικρανίες που διαρκούν ακόμη και για μέρες. Σημαντικό είναι ότι οι επαναλαμβανόμενες κινήσεις που εκτελούν οι εργαζόμενες στην παραγωγή προκαλούν στους ίδιες σύνδρομο καρπιαίου σωλήνα (Glass, 2012a). Ο παραπάνω εκφυλισμός σε πολλές περιπτώσεις είναι μη αναστρέψιμος ακόμη και επεμβατικά (Glass, 2012b).

Χαρακτηριστικό για τις ακραίες εργασιακές συνθήκες στη Foxconn είναι ότι οι ίδιες είναι θεσμικά και νομικά κατοχυρωμένες τόσο για το εργασιακό καθεστώς της Κίνας όσο και για την εσωτερική οργανωσιακή κουλτούρα της εταιρίας. Οι εργαζόμενες γυναίκες υπογράφουν στη σύμβαση εργασίας όρους που περιλαμβάνουν τις εξής παραγράφους:

- Κάθε εργαζόμενη γυναίκα προσλαμβάνεται ως ανειδίκευτη εργάτης, προκειμένου να είναι φτηνή για την εργοδοσία.
- Η εταιρία έχει το δικαίωμα μετακίνησης χωρίς συμφωνία της εργαζόμενης.
- Η υπέρβαση του ωραρίου μεταφράζεται ως "οικειοθελής προσφορά", έτσι ώστε να αυξάνεται ο απλήρωτος χρόνος της εργασίας.
- Η αμοιβή είναι 60 γιουάν την ημέρα μαζί με τα επιδόματα, τις πρόσθετες αμοιβές για νυχτερινή εργασία, τις αργίες που ορίζει το κινεζικό κράτος και τα εκτός έδρας, ενώ η αντίστοιχη για τους άντρες είναι 130 γιουάν. Στην αμοιβή επίσης περιλαμβάνονται και όλες οι κρατήσεις, εισφορές, φόροι κλπ. Οι εργαζόμενες πληρώνονται την τελευταία μέρα του μήνα.
- Η εταιρία έχει το δικαίωμα καταγγελίας της σύμβασης, αν παραβιαστεί ένας όρος της ή αν η εργαζόμενη απουσιάσει χωρίς άδεια για τρεις μέρες, σε διάστημα ενός έτους.

- Απαγορεύεται η συνδικαλιστική δράση ή η συμμετοχή σε ομάδες που δραστηριοποιούνται για τη διεκδίκηση καλύτερων εργασιακών συνθηκών για τις γυναίκες είτε σε κλαδικό είτε σε ευρύτερο πεδίο.
- Σε περίπτωση ασθένειας της εργαζόμενης, η εταιρεία δικαιούται να ελέγξει με γιατρό της δικής της επιλογής την ασθενή.
- Η εργαζόμενη αναλαμβάνει έναντι της εταιρίας την υποχρέωση πίστης, δεσμεύεται δηλαδή να μη μιλά για ό,τι συμβαίνει στο χώρο εργασίας του όταν βρίσκεται έξω από αυτήν.
- Οφείλει να τηρεί πιστά τους κανόνες που θεσπίζει η Foxconn, ακόμη και αν αντίκεινται σε οποιαδήποτε ιδεολογία της.
- Απαγορεύεται η σύναψη ερωτικών σχέσεων μεταξύ των εργαζόμενων. Η μη τήρηση του όρου επισύρει άμεση απόλυση και της γυναίκας καθώς θεωρείται συνήθως υπεύθυνη για το γεγονός.
- Η κλοπή πέραν της ποινικής δίωξης που επισύρουν οι νόμοι της Κίνας, διευθετείται εσωτερικά με την παρέμβαση των προϊσταμένων τμημάτων ενώ σε έκρυθμες περιπτώσεις δύναται η εργαζόμενη να υπακούσει σε εντολές που θέτει ο κινεζικός στρατός.

Η συνύπαρξη όλων των παραπάνω παραγόντων σε συνδυασμό με τις συνθήκες διαβίωσης, την έλλειψη νομικής υποστήριξης των γυναικών για εργασιακά ζητήματα και τα καταγεγραμμένα νεοποτιστικά φαινόμενα εναντίων των γυναικών οδηγούν τις εργαζόμενες στη Foxconn σε οριακό σημείο. Από το 2010, έχουν καταγραφεί δεκαεννέα περιστατικά αυτοκτονιών, στην ηλικιακή ομάδα 17 έως 28, εκ των οποίων τα 15 αφορούσαν σε γυναίκες που ανήκαν στην κοινωνική-εργασιακή ομάδα των Nongmingong. Σύμφωνα με το Κινεζικό Κέντρο Ελέγχου και Πρόληψης Νοσημάτων, το γενικό ποσοστό των αυτοκτονιών στην Κίνα είναι 22,23 ανά 100.000 άτομα, ποσό που καθίσταται ως ένα από τα υψηλότερα στον κόσμο, με τις αυτοκτονίες των γυναικών να αγγίζουν το 75% για λόγους που αφορούν διακρίσεις κοινωνικές ή διακρίσεις που συμβαίνουν στο χώρο εργασίας (AFP, 2011). Η κινεζική ένωση Ψυχικής Υγείας έχει δείξει ότι η αυτοκτονία έχει γίνει ο υπ' αριθμόν ένα "δολοφόρος" των Κινέζων μεταξύ των ηλικιών 15 έως 30 και κυρίως για τις γυναίκες που αποτελούν μια αδύναμη κοινωνική ομάδα για την Κίνα καθώς υποεκπροσωπούνται σε όλους τους τομείς της κοινωνικής και εργασιακής ζωής. Σχεδόν το 30% των θανάτων που σημειώθηκαν το 2010 στην Κίνα αφορούσαν στις αυτοκτονίες που σημειώθηκαν στη Foxconn για λόγους εργασιακής εξάντλησης εξαιτίας των ακραίων συνθηκών εργασίας (Shanshan, 2011).

"Foxconnian Culture" - Στρατιωτική Κουλτούρα της Foxconn

Σύμφωνα με τον Terry Gou (CEO), "ένας ηγέτης πρέπει να έχει το θάρρος να είναι δικτάτορας για το κοινό καλό". Υπό τη διεύθυνσή του η Foxconn έχει εξελιχθεί σε μία ξεχωριστή πόλη μέσα στην πόλη της Shenzhen, η οποία φροντίζει να παραμένει ανεξάρτητη και να καθορίζει η ίδια το πλαίσιο δράσης της. Σύμφωνα με τον Terry Gou (CEO), η εταιρία έχει ως πρωταρχικό στόχο την επιτήρηση των εργαζόμενων της με οποιοδήποτε μέσο μπορεί αυτό να επιτευχθεί, ακόμη και με την επέμβαση του στρατού όπου και όταν αυτό κριθεί απαραίτητο. Ο έλεγχος για την εταιρία είναι σημαντικότερος από την επιβράβευση. Η εταιρία σύμφωνα με τον CEO της, φροντίζει να μαθαίνει τα

πάντα για τους εργαζόμενους της, ακόμη και αν χρειαστεί να παραβιάσει την ιδιωτικότητά τους. Κάμερες σε όλες τις εγκαταστάσεις της Foxconn αναλαμβάνουν να του μαρτυρούν ότι συμβαίνει στην εταιρία, όπως ο ίδιος λέει σε συνέντευξή του στο BBC. "Όταν κάτι δεν γίνει όπως ορίζει η εταιρία, θα πρέπει να υπάρξουν κυρώσεις", αναφέρει χαρακτηριστικά ο Terry Gou και συνεχίζει, "αυτό γίνεται και για την ασφάλεια των εργαζόμενων με εύθραυστη ψυχολογία". Ένα ακραίο παράδειγμα του ελέγχου που ασκεί η εταιρία, είναι το γεγονός ότι κλήσεις που πραγματοποιήσαν ορισμένοι εργαζόμενοι στην αστυνομία, μέσα από τις εγκαταστάσεις της Foxconn, προωθήθηκαν άμεσα στα τηλεφωνικά κέντρα της εταιρίας, μέσω του τοπικού αστυνομικού τμήματος (Glass, 2012).

Η διοίκηση της Foxconn έχει προσλάβει πάνω από 5.500 φύλακες για την τήρηση της ασφάλειας και ευρυθμίας των εγκαταστάσεων και την ομαλή λειτουργία της παραγωγής. Βασικός στόχος των φυλάκων είναι η αποτροπή της εισόδου μη εξουσιοδοτημένων ατόμων στις εγκαταστάσεις της εταιρίας. Επίσης, έξω από κάθε κοιτώνα υπάρχει φρουρός 24 ώρες το 24ωρο (Bardoza, 2011). Οι εργαζόμενοι πρέπει να φρουρούνται ακόμη και όταν θέλουν να πάνε, να πάνε μια βόλτα ή ακόμη και να χρησιμοποιήσουν τις κοινόχρηστες τουαλέτες. Κάθε εργαζόμενος, ανάλογα με το τμήμα στο οποίο εργάζεται, οφείλει να φοράει τη στολή που του παρέχει η εταιρία με την πρόσληψή του. Οι στολές είναι διαφορετικού χρώματος ανάλογα με το τμήμα παραγωγής της εταιρίας και ανάλογα με το φύλο (Green, 2012).

Οι εξωτερικοί συνεργάτες των εγκαταστάσεων και οι εργαζόμενες που διανυκτερεύουν εκτός αυτών, οφείλουν κατά την είσοδό τους να υποβάλλονται σε αυστηρό σωματικό έλεγχο, να γδύνονται αν τους ζητηθεί, να χτυπούν τις κάρτες τους και να αφήνουν τα δακτυλικά τους αποτυπώματα σε ειδικούς ανιχνευτές (Daisey & Green, 2012). Κατά την είσοδό τους αφήνουν κάθε προσωπικό τους αντικείμενο, τα κινητά τηλέφωνα τους, φορητές συσκευές αναπαραγωγής μουσικής, κάμερες, ποτά ή φαγητά, μεταλλικά αντικείμενα, ακόμη και τα ρούχα τους πολλές φορές αν αυτά φέρουν μεταλλικά μέρη. Ο Green (2012) αναφέρει χαρακτηριστικά ότι το "Empire Foxconn" είναι διαβόητο για την άσκηση καταπιεστικών μέτρων ασφαλείας, κυρίως στις γυναίκες εργαζόμενες. Σε άρθρα του το ειδησεογραφικό πρακτορείο BBC, αναφέρει συχνά περιπτώσεις παράνομης κράτησης των εργαζόμενων γυναικών, κατάχρηση της εξουσίας των προϊσταμένων, και χρήση σωματικής ή λεκτικής βίας από τους ανωτέρω ενώ συχνές είναι οι καταγγελίες για σεξουαλική παρενόχληση γυναικών εργαζόμενων από τους προϊσταμένους τους.

Οι ψυχολογικές πιέσεις από τη διοίκηση προς εργαζόμενους είναι συχνές και αφορούν σε σκληρά μέτρα παρακολούθησης και παραβίασης της ιδιωτικότητας. Ο φόβος διάπραξης κλοπής από τους εργαζόμενους επισύρει ποινές ξυλοδαρμού, λεκτικής βίας, διασυρμού και απομόνωσης από τους αξιωματικούς ασφαλείας (Daisey & Green, 2012). Οι μαρτυρίες των εργαζόμενων στη Foxconn είναι δηλωτικές της οργανωσιακής της κουλτούρας. Είναι σχεδόν πάγια τακτική της εταιρίας να ευθύνονται για τα λάθη της παραγωγικής διαδικασίας ή τυχόν κλοπές γυναίκες εργαζόμενες. Χαρακτηριστικό είναι το παράδειγμα μιας 25χρονης αυτόχειρα, της Sun Sanhong, όπου οδηγήθηκε στην αυτοκτονία επειδή θεωρήθηκε από τον

προϊστάμενο του τμήματος που εργαζόταν ως υπεύθυνη για την απώλεια 16 έξυπνων κινητών τηλεφώνων τέταρτης γενιάς της εταιρίας Apple. Η Sun έθεσε τέρμα στη ζωή της πηδώντας από τον 12^ο όροφο των εγκαταστάσεων της Foxconn. Η ίδια δήλωσε επικοινωνώντας στον υπολογιστή της με συναδέλφους και φίλους της:

"Το μόνο που με κάνει να παραμένω ήσυχη είναι ότι δεν θα εξαναγκαστώ αύριο να απολογηθώ για κάτι που δεν διέπραξα, δεν θα είμαι εγώ ο "αποδιοπομπαίος τράγος. Αισθάνομαι πολύ καλύτερα τώρα..."

Η εταιρία σε ανακοίνωσή της σχετικά με το συμβάν δήλωσε :

"Κατανοούμε τους λόγους της αυτοκτονίας. Η αυτοκτονία της Sun, ανεξάρτητα από τον λόγο που διαπράχθηκε, έχει κάποιο βαθμό επιρροής στην εσωτερική διαχείριση της εταιρίας μας. Μπορεί να μας βοηθήσει στο μέλλον να αντιμετωπίσουμε οργανωσιακά τις ψυχολογικές πιέσεις που υφίστανται οι εργαζόμενες, λόγω του φόρτου εργασίας."

Ένα μήνα αργότερα, στις 6 Μαΐου 2010, η Lu Xin πηδούσε από τον 6^ο όροφο των εγκαταστάσεων της Foxconn. Η ίδια δήλωνε σε γράμμα της:

"... Δεν έχω χρόνο να σκεφτώ. Τα χρήματα δεν φτάνουν να στείλω στην οικογένειά μου. Ήρθα στην εταιρία για τα χρήματα. Αλλά συνειδητοποίησα ότι σπαταλώ την ίδια μου τη ζωή και το μέλλον μου ... Στο πρώτο στάδιο της ενήλικης ζωής μου πήρα τον λάθος δρόμο.... έχω χαθεί..."

Σε προηγούμενο γράμμα της η Lu, έλεγε:

"Δουλεύω καθημερινά 12 ώρες και παραπάνω. Αν πραγματικά μπορούσα, θα ήθελα να γράφω μουσική κάθε μέρα. Δεν έχω χρήματα για να αγοράσω μουσικό εξοπλισμό. Δεν θέλω να δαπανήσω χρήματα για έναν ηλεκτρονικό υπολογιστή. Δεν μπορώ να βρω από εδώ που είμαι δισκογραφική εταιρία. Η νεολαία πετά ψηλά... εγώ είμαι 24 ετών. Τι μπορώ να δώσω ακόμη;"

Από τις αρχές Μαΐου η Lu, σύμφωνα με την διοίκηση της Foxconn, βίωνε την κατάθλιψη. Η ίδια είχε δηλώσει στον προϊστάμενό της ότι ένιωθε να απειλείται η ζωή της μέσα από την εξαντλητικά μονότονη εργασία της. Η ίδια δήλωνε συχνά στους συνεργάτες της ότι είναι κουρασμένη σωματικά και συναισθηματικά και ότι "ανυπομονούσε να τελειώσει την ποινή της".

Συνεχίζει η Lu:

"... τα καθήκοντα είναι επαναλαμβανόμενα και εξαντλητικά μονότονα. Εάν κάνεις λάθος υπάρχει κίνδυνος τιμωρίας και αποτροπιασμού από τους συναδέλφους. Ο έλεγχος της ποιότητας είναι αυστηρός. Αν γίνει λάθος τα μπόνους θα κοπούν και ο μισθός μου θα μειωθεί. Φοβάμαι την τιμωρία. Μακάρι να τελειώσω την ποινή μου..."

Στο όνομα της διατήρησης αυστηρής εμπιστευτικότητας για τα λογισμικά των συσκευών που αναλαμβάνει η Foxconn να συναρμολογήσει για την Apple, τη NOKIA και τη MOTOROLA, η εταιρία διατηρεί έναν πραγματικό στρατό υπευθύνων ασφαλείας. Η υψηλού επιπέδου 24ωρη επιτήρηση που ασκεί στους εργαζόμενους της η Foxconn, δικαιολογείται από τις πιέσεις που δέχεται από τις παραπάνω εταιρίες, για την διαφύλαξη της πνευματικής ιδιοκτησίας και των ευρεσιτεχνιών τους από πιθανή διαρροή που θα οφειλόταν σε εργαζόμενους της. "Μια πιθανή διαρροή θα μπορούσε να σημαίνει απώλεια σημαντικών εσόδων", δηλώνει ο CEO της εταιρίας. Το γεγονός αυτό έχει δημιουργήσει την ανάγκη αυστηρής επιτήρησης και χρήσης απειλών προς τους εργαζόμενους. Οι εργαζόμενοι αναγκάζονται να περνούν από εξονυχιστικούς ελέγχους πριν και μετά την εργασία τους, ώστε να διασφαλιστεί η ηθική ακεραιότητα της εταιρίας ενώ πολλές η εταιρία έχει κατηγορηθεί για γυναικολογικούς ελέγχους των γυναικών εργαζόμενων στις εγκαταστάσεις της ή ακόμη και για πρωκτικούς ελέγχους.

Σημαντικό στο σημείο αυτό κρίνεται το γεγονός ότι οι εργαζόμενες της Foxconn είναι αναγκαστικώς απαλλαγμένες από τα δικαιώματα άσκησης συνδικαλιστικών πρακτικών. Η συμμετοχή σε συνδικαλιστικές οργανώσεις ή οργανώσεις που είναι υπεύθυνες για τη διασφάλιση της ισότητας των γυναικών έναντι των ανδρών επισύρει την απόλυση και μάλιστα με δικαίωμα από μέρους της εταιρίας μη χορήγησης της αποζημίωσης, κάτι που ορίζεται σαφώς και στο κινεζικό δίκαιο. Η Foxconn στο σημείο αυτό εναρμονίζεται πλήρως με την κινεζική νομοθεσία που απαγορεύει τη δράση ή συμμετοχή σε εργατικά συνδικάτα. Όπως και η "Foxconnian Culture", έτσι και η κινεζική κουλτούρα είναι δομημένη με πρωταρχικό στόχο τον πλήρη κατά το δυνατόν έλεγχο των πολιτών-εργαζόμενων. Η ύπαρξη μη ελεγχόμενων ομάδων θα ήταν επικίνδυνη πιθανώς για το συμφέρον που ορίζει η εταιρία ή το κράτος. Οι περιορισμοί και στις δύο αλληλοσχετιζόμενες κουλτούρες είναι απαραίτητοι και κατά κάποιο τρόπο επιβεβλημένοι.

Η συμμετοχή στη λήψη των αποφάσεων καθώς και η επικοινωνία με την ηγεσία δεν επιτρέπεται για τις γυναίκες. Οι αποφάσεις βαρύνουν τους λίγους, οι οποίοι κατέχουν τη δημόσια εντολή, και είναι πάντα άντρες. Οι υπόλοιποι οφείλουν να εκτελέσουν κατά τις αποφάσεις των λίγων. Αυτό συμβαίνει σύμφωνα με τον Hofstede και τη θεωρία GLOBE σε κοινωνίες όπου η παράδοση παίζει σπουδαιότερο ρόλο από οτιδήποτε πρωτοπόρο. Οι Κομφουκιανικές κοινωνίες στις οποίες ανήκει και η Κίνα χαρακτηρίζονται από κουλτούρες αρκετά κλειστές σε νέες ιδέες και με εξαιρετικά χαμηλή συμμετοχικότητα, ενώ ο ρόλος της γυναίκας είναι εξαιρετικά χαμηλός καθώς ο κοινωνικός της ρόλος ανήκει στην οικογένεια και στη διατήρηση του νοικοκυριού. Φαίνεται πως η Foxconn σε αυτόν τον τομέα επιβεβαιώνει τον κανόνα που θέτει ο Hofstede. Ειδικότερα όσον αφορά τον παρεμβατισμό της Foxconn στις καθημερινές εργασιακές αρμοδιότητες των υπαλλήλων της. Η ιδιωτικότητα καταστρατηγείται με στόχο την πρόσβαση της διοίκησης στην απόλυτη γνώση. Η Foxconn τίθεται στο παγκόσμιο επιχειρησιακό σκηνικό ως ένα πανοπτικό όπου ο κάθε μία εργαζόμενη μπορεί πολύ εύκολα να ενοχοποιηθεί για λάθη, παραλείψεις ή ακόμη και για πράξεις που δεν διέπραξε. Σύμφωνα μάλιστα με έρευνα των Shi Xiumei και Wang Jinying (2012), η Κίνα σκοράρει στην Globe στις υψηλότερες τιμές ως προς την ισότητα των δύο φύλων καθώς και στις χαμηλότερες στον προσανατολισμό

στον άνθρωπο και τον προσανατολισμό στο μέλλον, στοιχεία που αναδεικνύουν την μειωμένη της αντίσταση στην υιοθέτηση ενός αρκετά παραδοσιακού προτύπου διαχείρισης των γυναικών-εργαζόμενων.

Συμπεράσματα

Όπως γίνεται φανερό από τα παραπάνω τα προβλήματα των διακρίσεων λόγω φύλου στην κινεζική αγορά εργασίας είναι σημαντικά και αφορούν σε βαθύτερα κοινωνικά, οικονομικά, νομικά, πολιτιστικά και πολιτικά αίτια. Η κινεζική κουλτούρα εν γένει ευνοεί τις διακρίσεις των φύλων σε όλες τις κοινωνικές εκφάνσεις θέτοντας το γυναικείο ρόλο σε χαμηλά επίπεδα σημαντικότητας για την κοινωνική προαγωγή. Οι ελλείψεις και τα κενά στο νομικό σύστημα της Κίνας φαίνεται να συνηγορούν στην εδραίωση προκαταλήψεων και διακρίσεων έναντι των γυναικών στο χώρο εργασίας. Οι γυναίκες υπο-εκπροσωπούνται τόσο στην εκπαίδευση της Κίνας όσο και στην πλήρωση σημαντικών εργασιακών θέσεων, ενώ υφίστανται διακρίσεις τόσο μισθολογικής φύσεως όσο και στοιχειωδών εργασιακών δικαιωμάτων που τηρούνται αυστηρώς σε διεθνές επίπεδο.

Οι ανωτέρω διακρίσεις είδαμε ότι στις περισσότερες των περιπτώσεων ευνοούν τους εργοδότες και είναι νομικά κατοχυρωμένες, σκιαγραφώντας τον συντηρητισμό που πρεσβεύει η κινεζική κοινωνία. Παρόλο που πολλές φορές ιστορικά οι κυβερνήσεις της Κίνας προσπάθησαν να εξαλείψουν με μια πληθώρα νόμων και συμβάσεων τις διακρίσεις κατά των γυναικών στην εργασία, οι πολιτισμικές προκαταλήψεις ότι οι γυναίκες είναι κατώτερες έναντι των ανδρών και λιγότερο ευφυείς συνέχισαν να υφίστανται και επηρεάζουν κατά δραματικό τρόπο την εργασία της γυναίκας στην Κίνα.

Όπως είδαμε και στην περίπτωση της Hon- Hai Industry Ltd. Co. Foxconn, η οργανωσιακή κουλτούρα φαίνεται να ακολουθεί την εθνική παραδοσιακή, φέρνοντας πολλές από τις ισχύουσες διακρίσεις κατά των γυναικών και στην εργασία.

Οι γυναίκες στην κινεζική κοινωνία στερούνται πολλών δικαιωμάτων που οι άνδρες χαίρουν ελεύθερης πρόσβασης (Shi Xiumei & Wang Jinying, 2011). Οι γυναίκες αντιμετωπίζονται μειωτικά ως προς την πρόσβασή τους στην αγορά εργασίας, στην εκπαίδευση, στις μισθολογικές απολαβές, στην πρόσβαση στα κοινωνικά δίκτυα υποστήριξης καθώς και στην υγειονομική ασφάλιση. Οι γυναίκες για τη Foxconn αντιμετωπίζονται ως υποδεέστερες έναντι των ανδρών, με αποτέλεσμα να καταλαμβάνουν τις χαμηλότερες θέσεις παραγωγής. Χαρακτηριστικό είναι ότι σύμφωνα με έρευνα των Green & Daisey (2012), μόνο το 5% των γυναικών που εργάζονται στη Foxconn καταλαμβάνουν υψηλότερες διοικητικές θέσεις, ενώ οι ίδιες είναι υποχρεωμένες να απαλλάσσονται από το δικαίωμα υπερωριακής αμοιβής και αποζημίωσης σε περίπτωση απόλυσης.

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EDUCATOR'S ROLE IN FORMING LIFE AIMS FOR TEENAGERS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

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The research aim is to compare adolescents with and without special needs who are attempting to create meaning in their lives and to explore, on a theoretical and practical level, the educator's role in forming life aims for teenagers with special needs. The research object is the work of teachers in shifting adolescents with special needs towards a positive direction. The research study is the concept of teenagers' self-image and self-worth and their life aims. In terms of the research methodology, a study was undertaken of scientific literature and regulatory documents, as well as an analysis of adolescents with special needs and their life aims, the teacher's role in this process. Use was also made of the adolescents with and without disabilities survey "Life Goals Sunlated Behaviour Survey" by D. K. Ingledew, E. Ferguson, & D. Markland (2010). Test results were used, together with the computer program Excel and interviews with psychologists who work daily with adolescents with special needs. The research base was 143 adolescents from Bauska, a region with special needs, and 150 adolescents without special needs. The main research questions were: a) Is there a difference between adolescents with and without special needs in identifying dimensions of life aims? b).What is the teacher's role in developing the personality of teenagers with special needs? Materials used in the research were: Interviews with adolescents with varying disabilities and their parents; the creation of the students' research program; social pedagogical research; interviews with the rehabilitation center psychologists who work with adolescents with disabilities and their families' psychological problems.

Description of Adolescents with Special Needs in Latvia

According to statistics in December 2013 in Latvia there were 148,919 people with physical or mental disabilities, making 5.5% (between the age 10-18, making 2.1%) of the total population.

As a fundamental problem one can mention that in Latvia comprehensive and complete records of such children are still not carried out. Besides, not all of them are considered to be disabled, as there are children and young people with disabilities, but sometimes it is not easy to establish a disability or a disability is defined rather late. In a broader sense a disability is defined as a difficulty to live in one's environment, which is related to the individual's social functioning. If a teenager with disabilities or special needs lives and goes to school in the community, it is important to consider the importance of this issue in relation to the policy of the community, as well as the social worker's role in it.

Taking into consideration the principle of normalization in a broad sense for an adolescent with special needs, the ways and conditions of everyday life existing in the surrounding community should be readily available. They are meant for the adolescents' rehabilitation, adaptation and social integration, including the concept of an "I" or subjective ego and the development of life aims. For the benefit of adolescents with disabilities the improvement and implementation of the basic principles of social work should be attained.

People with disabilities are individuals who have objective requirements for the realization of the specific needs that cause difficulties while functioning in the society, and who also require additional medical and social assistance. Living according to their abilities this part of the young generation can become significant public value creators, not only consumers. Therefore, Latvia, like any other country, should strive to do everything possible so that these children and young people are able to fully participate in society. In Latvia there is a sufficient regulatory basis for the protection of the rights of the children and young people with special needs. But many of them do not work or there is a discrepancy between them. To fully integrate the adolescents with special needs into the society as a whole, their life aims should be realized and their equal social and economic rights ensured. In addition, compensatory and financial support should be provided.

So far there have been obstacles in the world's societies for these people to realize their rights and freedoms and achieve access to social resources, as well as insurmountable difficulties in the attainment of their full participation in the life of the society. Social resources are factors which are provided to an individual by the community, such as economic prosperity, social equity, political freedom, cultural wealth and moral order (Sirgy, 2001).

In Latvia, taking into account differences in the political system, legislation, socio-economic sphere, as well as the relatively small experience in the field of children and young people, including teenagers with special needs in personality development, the concept of "I" and the process of development of life aims are especially ignored, as is social work and the social worker's role. This is evidenced by the fact that in very many schools, particularly in the rural areas, there is no social pedagogue and no social worker in the municipality who could work with children and their families.

In his work on the problems of defectology, L.S.Vigotski writes that the lack of anybody's part not only alters the human attitude to the world, but primarily refers to the relationship with other people (Вигодский, 1995).

Between the ages of 14-16 an adolescent intensively develops into an adult. He or she obtains both the appearance and the facial features that remain characteristic during their whole life and (more importantly) develops distinctive personality traits, value orientation, aspirations and ideals (Rone & Vidnere, 2014).

It should also be mentioned that compensation is an important component in the process of development of the personality of a child or a youngster with disabilities. Adler (1992) draws attention to the fact that because of the deficiencies of organs whose functioning is hampered or impaired, people

are frequently involved in battles or in conflicts with the world around them in which they have to adapt. This fight is accompanied by an increased risk of illnesses and death, but also the struggle conceals the possibility of increased compensation (Adler, 1992; Shakespeare, 2006).

Organ inferiority is refunded by the central nervous system, improving the function of this organ. The feeling of inferiority for people with disabilities becomes a driving force in their mental development, thus converting the defect to a particular ability, skills, or talents, as is often observed by the teachers in their work with their students who are adolescents with special needs.

Adolescents have their own specific interests and needs, which act as an internal driving force, encouraging activity and forcing these adolescents to look and find the necessary means to meet these needs. They are among their peers, attempting to assert themselves and their personality or individuality. In general we can say that for teenagers with special needs, the "I" concept, life aims and positive behavioural patterns are social and personal processes that should be encouraged by the social worker, based on the competences of adolescents with disabilities, their joint strengths and peer respect for the equal value of all people, and equality.

Whilst organizing work with adolescents with special needs, an educator and a social worker should take a holistic approach, which means that all of the aspects of these adolescents' lives should be taken into account. Not only should the functional disorders be assessed, but also the adolescents' abilities and social situation. Many institutions should collaborate and experts from industries should cooperate and come to a mutual decision which has these children's interests at heart.

A conceptually new approach to this problem is inclusive education, in which a social worker collaborates with a social pedagogue. Warwick University professor Jeff Lindsay characterizes inclusive education as a process that results in changes in both the educational institution and the surrounding community. Each student is appreciated, no matter how severe the problem he or she might have. Problems are adopted and worked with. This idea is rooted in the belief that every child has the right to belong to the same society. This could be considered as a new school of thought that would be able to adopt such children, and the school team would be likely to work with them, and with each individual. Thus, it leads to a practical implementation of the ideals of the society for all (Baldwin & Carlisle, 2004).

Successful integration of these students in general education institutions largely depends on the social worker, school teachers, and the social pedagogue. Their task is not only to see these children's defects, but also those aspects and the ways that they are able to compensate for them. For the social worker one of the tasks in each particular case is to see the maximum compensation limit and, as far as possible, to guide children towards it (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The social work basic unit consists of a social worker, a social pedagogue, parents and an adolescent with special needs.

Results

In Bauska region there are 27,000 inhabitants. The Bauska region has 1 gymnasium, 3 secondary schools, 8 primary schools, 11 pre-school educational institutions implementing educational programmes, including 5 of them with special education pre-school programmes, 1 boarding secondary school and 1 special boarding school. In the School Year 2013/2014 there were 3,157 students in comprehensive school. In Bauska region and the town's schools there are 143 children and young people with special needs. The number of children with disabilities is 230. There is no accurate information on how many of them study in mainstream schools, as well as how many of them in these schools are teenagers with special needs. According to statistical information data of the Ministry of Education and Science of Latvia, in the School Year 2013/2014 in mainstream schools there were 1,423 children with special needs. A detailed breakdown according to diagnoses is not available.

To explore the case a survey with 143 adolescents aged 13-18 with disabilities and 150 adolescents without special needs was carried out. They were asked to conduct a survey. In the "Life Aims and Sunlated Behaviour Survey", the authors D. K. Ingledew, E. Ferguson, and D. Markland (2010) focused on teenagers' life aims, patterns of behaviour, appearances and health, etc. An evaluation and comparison of adolescents with and without disabilities covered the following areas: *Appearance-related life aims, Togetherness-related life aims, Relationship-related life aims, Development-related life aims, Health-related life aims, Life aims for improvement of appearance and disclosure, Motive of social adequacy, Motive for improving well-being*. In this survey there are five response categories ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Test data processing was performed using the computer program Excel.

Appearance-Related Life Aims

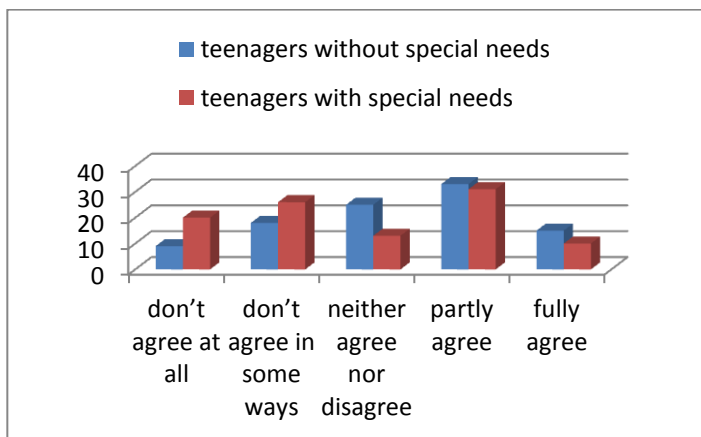


Figure 1. Appearance-related life aims.

Analyzing the results of the responses, one can conclude that for 46% adolescents with special needs, these life aims do not seem important, but for 41% they seem to matter. It can be concluded that for adolescents with special needs, like for most teenagers, appearance is an important aspect. The responses are shown in figure 1.

Togetherness-Related Life Aims

Analyzing the results of the responses, one can conclude that for adolescents with special needs, the togetherness-related aims do not seem so important (77%: 90%). This could be due to the adolescent's own life and a greater tendency to receive from society than give something in return. The responses are shown in figure 2.

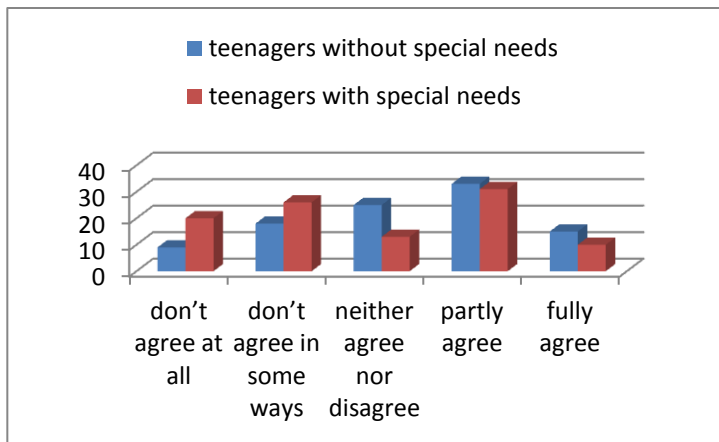


Figure 2. Togetherness-related life aims.

Relationship-Related Life Aims

Analyzing the results of the answers, we can conclude that when it comes to the issue of close, intimate relationships, nearly half of the teenagers did not want to answer, because at this age among the two groups of teenagers it is not yet a priority. On the other hand, responses on the other issues reveal that they definitely think that love and the meaning of general human relations is of great importance. They clearly mention parents, other loved ones, friends in general, and, of course, closer friends. 74% of adolescents with special needs have such an opinion, as opposed to 84% of adolescents without disabilities. Percentages of responses can be viewed in figure 3.

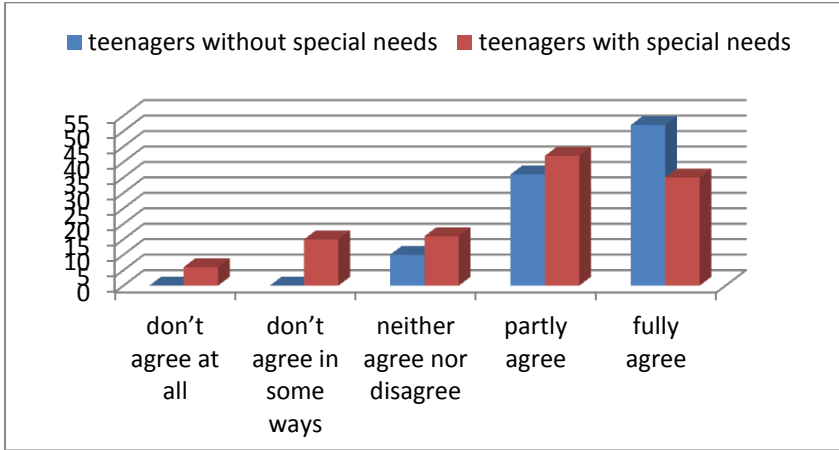


Figure 3. Relationship-related life aims.

Development-Related Life Aims

Analyzing the results of the responses, we can conclude that development-related life aims are more important for adolescents without disabilities, as only 64% of adolescents with disabilities agree that these aims are important for them. This could be due to the fact that disease hampers development. The percentage responses can be viewed in figure 4.

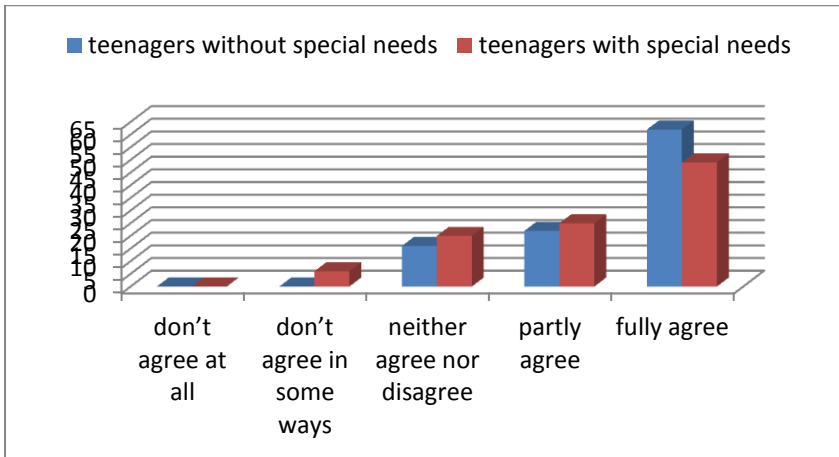


Figure 4. Development-related life aims.

Health-Related Life Aims

Analyzing the results of the responses, we can summarize that health-related life aims are equally important to all surveyed teens; everyone thinks that health is important. Percentage responses can be viewed in figure 5.

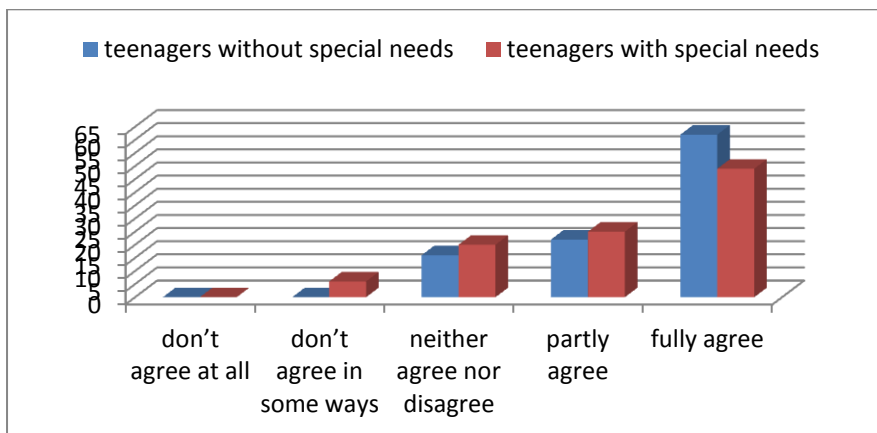


Figure 5. Health-related life aims.

Life Aims for Improvement of Appearance and Disclosure

Analyzing the results of the responses, it can be concluded that appearance is more important for adolescents without disabilities (74%) than for adolescents with special needs (55%). Percentage responses can be viewed in figure 6.

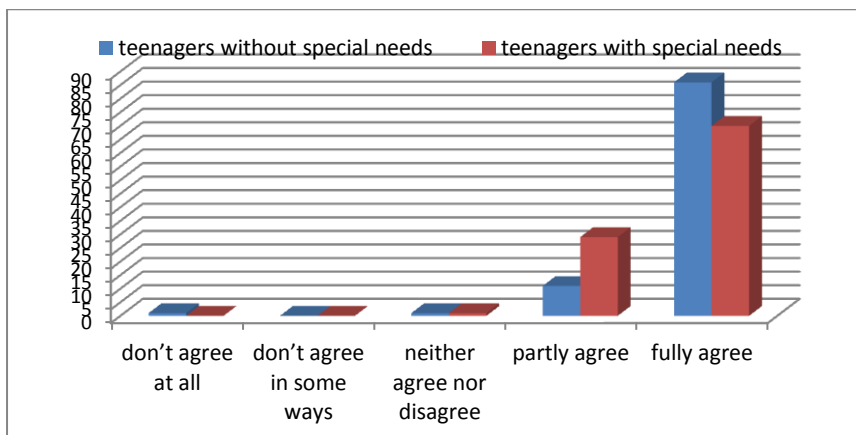


Figure 6. Life aims for improvement of appearance and disclosure

Motive of Social Adequacy

Analyzing the results of the replies, it can be concluded that the responses of adolescents in relation to the protection from social pressures do not differ significantly among adolescents with and without disabilities; the majority of respondents (51%: 58%) agree (mostly partly agree) to avoid people, who are looking for their errors, asking them by necessity to follow the accepted norms in the society, etc. It can be concluded that 20-25% of

adolescents did not respond at all to these questions. Percentage responses can be viewed in figure 7.

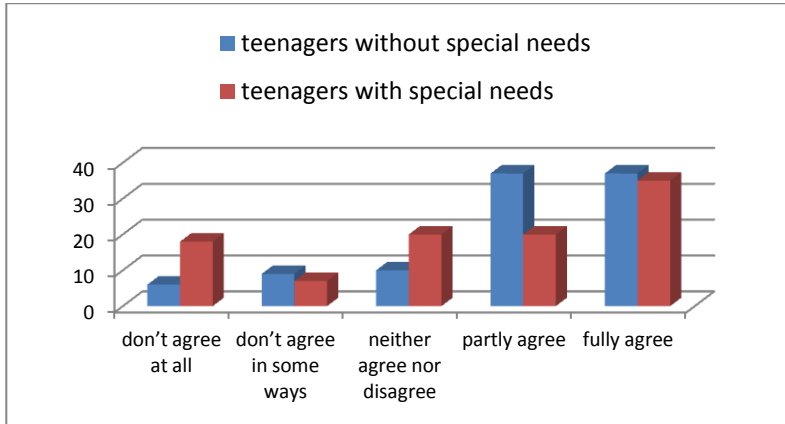


Figure 7. Motive of social adequacy.

Motive for improving well-being

Analyzing the results of the responses, it can be concluded that the responses of adolescents with regard to their well-being and its improvement is no different for adolescents with and without disabilities. The majority of respondents (87% in both groups) agree that well-being associated with a good mood and health is an important aim in life. Percentage responses can be seen in figure 8.

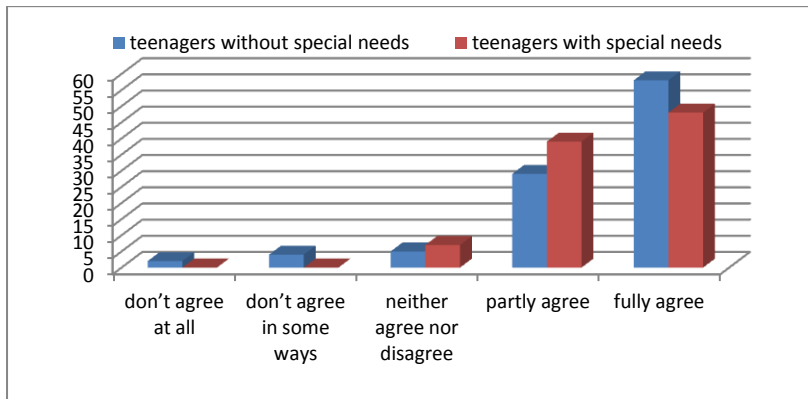


Figure 8. Motive for improving well-being.

Conclusions

In summary, by looking at the survey responses "The aims of life and patterns of behaviour" of the needs of the teenagers with and without special needs, one can conclude that, overall, there are quite a few

differences for adolescents with and without special needs concerning life aims and dimensions of behavioural patterns.

Objectives such as appearance, togetherness, relationship, development, health, improvement of appearance and disclosure, social adequacy, improving well-being for the teenagers without special needs are not very different from the responses of the teenagers with special needs.

Adolescence begins at the age of 13 and is considered to be one of the most important periods in development of the individual. It is characterized by such phenomena as: physiological changes in the body, maturation of the mental processes, gender identity, changes in personality and behaviour, internal motivation, reversal of social role, and as a result awareness of one's own "I", and consequently establishment of self-esteem, development of life aims and behavioural orientation.

Also, for adolescents with special needs it is important to form life aims, and their capacity development related to certain behavioural patterns. This, in turn, determines the adolescents with special needs' integration into society, including the creation of adequate life aims. Instead of the word disability the term "special needs" has become more prevalent in society, which emphasizes the appropriate support from the community, rather than its functional limitations.

The special needs of these adolescents restrict their physical activities and seriously challenge their psychosocial development, personality development as a whole, and life aims. The government should provide children with disabilities with the opportunity to get a general education and successfully integrate into society, thus allowing them to reinforce their own life aims.

To sum up, the survey responses of the teenagers with and without special needs on the "Life aims and behavioural patterns", one can conclude that, overall, there are quite a few differences in responses for adolescents with and without special needs for life aims and dimension identification of their behavioural patterns. Objectives such as appearance, and partly relationship, health, social relevance, gaining recognition, and protection from social pressures are not very different for the teenagers with special needs and the adolescents without disabilities.

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SECTION G:
SYMPOSIUM ON GENDER AND MEDIA

THE PROFILE OF THE WOMAN POLITICIAN IN THE MASS MEDIA OF CYPRUS: A GENDER-BASED ANALYSIS

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Abstract

This article aims to present the results of a research project for the profile of women politicians on Cypriot television through a gender-based analysis. 60 shows from the election period January 2011 to May 2011 and 120 newscasts of six television stations of Cypriot television (ANT1, MEGA, SIGMA, RIK1, PLUS, EXTRA) have been selected, coded, recorded and analyzed according to the rubrics. Based on the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the shows and newscasts, a questionnaire was created and used in semi-structured interviews. 21 politicians (11 women – 10 men) and 18 journalists (9 women – 9 men) participated in the interviews. Regarding the results, the presence of women politicians in shows is lower than the presence of men politicians. Also, discrimination in the media between women and men politicians was noted, and it was discovered as arising from the stereotypical perceptions of society for a woman politician or from the different treatment of women and men politicians by journalists but also by the non-active efforts of women politicians to change the current situation. This article argues that the manner of presentation of women and men politicians in the media raises concerns. That is why this issue falls within the focus of the examination of temporal social phenomena, such as gender inequality, especially in key areas of economic and political participation and decision-making.

Keywords: woman politician, gender, stereotypes, mass media

ΤΟ ΠΡΟΦΙΛ ΤΩΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΤΗΛΕΟΡΑΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ: ΜΙΑ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΜΕ ΒΑΣΗ ΤΟ ΦΥΛΟ

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Περίληψη

Στόχος του άρθρου είναι να παρουσιαστούν τα αποτελέσματα ενός ερευνητικού έργου για το προφίλ των γυναικών πολιτικών στην τηλεόραση της Κύπρου μέσω της ανάλυσης που έγινε με βάση το φύλο. Για τον σκοπό αυτό, επιλέχθηκαν και αναλύθηκαν βάσει συγκεκριμένης κλειδας παρατήρησης, 60 ενημερωτικές-ειδησεογραφικές εκπομπές της προεκλογικής περιόδου Ιανουαρίου 2011 μέχρι Μαΐου 2011 και 120 δελτία ειδήσεων από 6 κυπριακούς τηλεοπτικούς σταθμούς (ANT1, ΜΕΓΑ, ΣΙΓΜΑ, ΡΙΚ1, PLUS, EXTRA). Με βάση τα αποτελέσματα της ποιοτικής και ποσοτικής ανάλυσης δημιουργήθηκε το ερωτηματολόγιο που χρησιμοποιήθηκε σε ημιδομημένες συνεντεύξεις. Το δείγμα των συνεντεύξεων αποτέλεσαν 21 πολιτικοί, 11 γυναίκες και 10 άντρες και 18 δημοσιογράφοι, 9 γυναίκες και 9 άντρες. Τα αποτελέσματα καταδεικνύουν ότι η παρουσία των γυναικών πολιτικών στις εκπομπές είναι μικρότερη σε σχέση με την παρουσία των αντρών πολιτικών, υπάρχει διάκριση στα ΜΜΕ μεταξύ γυναικών και αντρών πολιτικών και αυτή προέρχεται από τις στερεοτυπικές αντιλήψεις της κοινωνίας για τη γυναίκα πολιτικό, από τη διαφορετική αντιμετώπιση των γυναικών και αντρών πολιτικών από τους δημοσιογράφους, αλλά και από τη μη ενεργό προσπάθεια των γυναικών πολιτικών για αλλαγή της παρούσας κατάστασης. Αυτό το άρθρο υποστηρίζει ότι ο τρόπος παρουσίασης των γυναικών πολιτικών, καθώς και ο αντίστοιχος των ανδρών στα ΜΜΕ της Κύπρου εγείρει προβληματισμούς, γι' αυτό και το θέμα εντάσσεται στο επίκεντρο της εξέτασης διαχρονικών κοινωνικών φαινομένων, όπως αυτού της ανισότητας μεταξύ των δύο φύλων ειδικά σε περιοχές κλειδιά της οικονομικής και πολιτικής συμμετοχής και λήψης αποφάσεων.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: γυναίκα πολιτικός, φύλο, στερεότυπα, ΜΜΕ

Βιβλιογραφική Ανασκόπηση

Η ισότητα των φύλων είναι θεμελιώδες δικαίωμα που προβλέπεται από τη συνθήκη της Λισσαβόνας και αποτελεί πολιτική προτεραιότητα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης (Ε.Ε.). Το 2000 η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση ενέκρινε τη στρατηγική-πλαίσιο για Ισότητα των Φύλων (EC, 2000), το οποίο ενσωμάτωνε τη διάσταση του φύλου αλλά και συγκεκριμένες ενέργειες, οικοδομώντας σε παλαιότερες πολιτικές που προωθούσαν την παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών. Η ισότητα των φύλων αποτελεί έκτοτε βασικό μέρος των επιμέρους κρατικών προτεραιοτήτων και δεν αποτελεί αποκλειστικά ένα φεμινιστικό ζήτημα. Η ενσωμάτωση της διάστασης του φύλου σε όλους τους τομείς της κοινωνικής ζωής, στην οικονομία, την εργασία, την πολιτική, αποτελεί βασικό στόχο τόσο της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης όσο και των κρατών-μελών που την απαρτίζουν.

Μετά την οικονομική κρίση του 2009, η συμβουλευτική επιτροπή για τις ίσες ευκαιρίες μεταξύ γυναικών και ανδρών εξέδωσε διάταγμα σχετικά με τη διάσταση της ισότητας των φύλων ως απάντηση στη γενικότερη οικονομική κρίση, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας την ενσωμάτωση της διάστασης της ισότητας των φύλων στα μέτρα για την ανάκαμψη και στη στρατηγική της Ε.Ε. για το 2020 (Council of the European Union, 2009).

Παρά την προσπάθεια της Ε.Ε. για παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών και στα δύο φύλα, εντούτοις στην Ετήσια Έκθεση της Ευρωπαϊκής Επιτροπής για την Ισότητα των Φύλων στην Ε.Ε. για το 2013 (EC, 2014) φαίνεται ότι οι διαφορές μεταξύ των φύλων έχουν μειωθεί, αλλά συνεχίζουν να υπάρχουν ανισότητες σε διάφορους τομείς. Το ποσοστό απασχόλησης των γυναικών έναντι των αντρών είναι μικρότερο και παράλληλα η αμοιβή των γυναικών συνεχίζει να είναι χαμηλότερη από αυτήν των αντρών, ενώ εργάζονται περισσότερο με καθεστώς μερικής απασχόλησης. Λιγότερες πιθανότητες για να καταλάβουν ανώτερες θέσεις συνεχίζουν να έχουν οι γυναίκες, οι οποίες μάλιστα εξακολουθούν να επωμίζονται το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της μη αμειβόμενης εργασίας στο νοικοκυριό και την οικογένεια. Τέλος, σύμφωνα με τα αποτελέσματα της πρώτης έρευνας σε επίπεδο Ε.Ε. σχετικά με τη βία κατά των γυναικών, που πραγματοποιήθηκε από τον Οργανισμό Θεμελιωδών Δικαιωμάτων της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης (FRA) μία στις τρεις γυναίκες έχει υποστεί σωματική ή/και σεξουαλική βία από την ηλικία των 15 ετών.

Η υποδεέστερη θέση των γυναικών στην αγορά εργασίας και στην κοινωνία γενικότερα, οφείλεται στην άνιση κατανομή της εξουσίας ανάμεσα στα δύο φύλα και σε ένα βασικό προκαθορισμό των ρόλων, μέσω του οποίου νομιμοποιούνται οι διάφορες διακρίσεις. Ειδικότερα, όσον αφορά τη γυναικεία απασχόληση αν και παρατηρείται αύξηση των γυναικών που απασχολούνται, διαπιστώνεται παράλληλα η απουσία των γυναικών από τα κέντρα λήψης αποφάσεων, ο διαχωρισμός των επαγγελματιών σε ανδρικά και γυναικεία, η μειωμένη παρουσία των γυναικών στα κέντρα λήψης αποφάσεων και οι διακρίσεις στην επαγγελματική κατάρτιση.

Ένας από τους στόχους του τομέα της προώθησης της ίσης συμμετοχής γυναικών και ανδρών στη λήψη αποφάσεων είναι η συμμετοχή των γυναικών στην πολιτική, όπως αυτός αναφέρεται στον χάρτη πορείας για την ισότητα των φύλων 2006 – 2010 της Ε.Ε. (Επιτροπή των Ευρωπαϊκών Κοινοτήτων, 2006). Ακόμη ένας τομέας προτεραιότητας που καθορίζεται στον χάρτη είναι η εξάλειψη των στερεοτύπων των φύλων στην κοινωνία και στα ΜΜΕ.

Αναφορικά με την Κύπρο, η έκθεση του 2007 (European Communities, 2008) την κατατάσσει ανάμεσα στις επτά χώρες που το ποσοστό των γυναικών βουλευτών είναι μικρότερο του 15%, ενώ το ποσοστό στόχος τέθηκε από την Ε.Ε. στο 30%. Η Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, στο Εθνικό Σχέδιο Δράσης για την ισότητα ανδρών και γυναικών, προτείνει μέτρα, όπως η καθιέρωση ποσοτώσεων τουλάχιστον 30%, για την προώθηση της εκπροσώπησης των γυναικών στα κέντρα λήψεως αποφάσεων (Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, 2007).

Σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο, οι μελέτες για την πολιτική, το φύλο και τη δυναμική των ΜΜΕ καταδεικνύουν διαφορές στην κάλυψη των ΜΜΕ με βάση το φύλο,

που δεν περιορίζονται μόνο στη σεξιστική γλώσσα ή τις στερεοτυπικές απεικονίσεις, αλλά και στην ποσότητα, την ποιότητα και την αρνητικότητα της κάλυψης, διαβρώνοντας την αξιοπιστία των υποψήφιων γυναικών και ενδυναμώνοντας τα βαθιά ριζωμένα κοινωνικά στερεότυπα (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009; Ross & Sreberny, 2000). Η πολιτική κάλυψη από τα ΜΜΕ τείνει να περιθωριοποιεί τις γυναίκες όταν δεν προσαρμόζονται στις παραδοσιακές ανδρικές νόρμες της πολιτικής συμπεριφοράς, αλλά δίνει υπερβολική έμφαση σε συμπεριφορές αντίθετες με τα παραδοσιακά γυναικεία στερεότυπα (Gidengil & Everitt, 2003). Αυτή η παρατήρηση μπορεί να εξηγηθεί με την έννοια της διαμεσολάβησης φύλου, η οποία βασίζεται στην υπόθεση ότι ο τρόπος με τον οποίο η πολιτική καταγράφεται, καθορίζεται σημαντικά από μια ανδρικά προσανατολισμένη ημερήσια διάταξη, η οποία δίνει πλεονέκτημα στην πολιτική ως ουσιαστικά αρσενική αναζήτηση (Ross & Sreberny, 2000).

Μεθοδολογία

Σκοπός και Στόχοι της Έρευνας

Η έρευνα που παρουσιάζεται εδώ αποτελεί μέρος μιας μεγαλύτερης έρευνας χρηματοδοτούμενης από το Ίδρυμα Προώθησης Έρευνας και το Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου με τίτλο «*Το προφίλ των γυναικών πολιτικών στην τηλεόραση της Κύπρου: Μια ανάλυση με βάση το φύλο*», που σκοπό έχει να περιγράψει το προφίλ των Κυπρίων γυναικών πολιτικών, όπως αυτό προβάλλεται από την κυπριακή τηλεόραση. Οι βασικές στόχοι της έρευνας είναι να διερευνήσει σε βάθος το προφίλ των γυναικών-πολιτικών όπως αυτό παρουσιάζεται μέσα από την τηλεόραση της Κύπρου, να σκιαγραφήσει το προφίλ των γυναικών-πολιτικών όπως αυτό παρουσιάζεται μέσα από την τηλεόραση της Κύπρου σε σχέση με τον αντίστοιχο τρόπο προβολής των ανδρών πολιτικών και να αναλύσει το προφίλ των γυναικών-πολιτικών με ημιδομημένες συνεντεύξεις με τους κομματικούς αρχηγούς, δείγμα βουλευτών (ανδρών και γυναικών), ιδιοκτήτες – διευθυντές των παγκύπριων τηλεοπτικών σταθμών και δημοσιογράφους.

Καθορισμός Πληθυσμού και Δείγματος της Έρευνας

Σε πρώτο στάδιο, η αρχική ποσοτική καταγραφή αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών στηρίχτηκε στην ανάλυση 584 εκπομπών και 329 δελτίων ειδήσεων. Έπειτα, επιλέχθηκαν 60 εκπομπές και 120 δελτία ειδήσεων της προεκλογικής περιόδου Ιανουαρίου 2011 έως Μαΐου 2011 από 6 παγκύπριους τηλεοπτικούς σταθμούς (ANT1, ΜΕΓΑ, ΣΙΓΜΑ, ΡΙΚ1, PLUS, EXTRA), τα οποία αποτελούν το δείγμα της έρευνας και για τα οποία έγιναν οι υπόλοιπες αναλύσεις.

Σε δεύτερο στάδιο, τον πληθυσμό της έρευνας και της παρούσας ανάλυσης αποτέλεσαν πολιτικοί εκπρόσωποι κομμάτων και μάχιμοι δημοσιογράφοι. Συγκεκριμένα, το δείγμα της έρευνας αποτελούν 21 πολιτικοί, 11 γυναίκες και 10 άντρες και 18 δημοσιογράφοι εκ των οποίων 9 είναι γυναίκες και 9 άντρες.

Μέσα Συλλογής Δεδομένων

Εκπομπές και Δελτία Ειδήσεων

Χρησιμοποιήθηκε κλείδα παρατήρησης ως εργαλείο συλλογής δεδομένων από τις εκπομπές και τα δελτία ειδήσεων.

Η παρατήρηση και καταγραφή αφορούσε τις ακόλουθες έξι πτυχές με βάση το άρθρο *Portraying Politics* (Pantti, 2007): *i) καταγραφή της παρουσίας των πολιτικών ανδρών και γυναικών, ii) καταγραφή του τρόπου με τον οποίο η παρουσία των πολιτικών (ανδρών και γυναικών) διαχωρίζεται σε θέματα που θεωρούνται από τα ΜΜΕ περισσότερο σημαντικά και σε θέματα τα οποία θεωρούνται από τα συγκεκριμένα μέσα ως λιγότερο σημαντικά, iii) καταγραφή των αναφορών που γίνονται σε άλλα συναφή ή μη συναφή θέματα για τους άνδρες και τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς, iv) καταγραφή του τρόπου με τον οποίο ο λόγος των ΜΜΕ αλλοιώνει ή όχι το λόγο των πολιτικών των δύο φύλων, v) καταγραφή των αρνητικών/θετικών αναφορών από παρευρισκομένους ή το μέσο και vi) καταγραφή της ποιότητας, ποσότητας και περιεχομένου των μη λεκτικών συμπεριφορών που επηρεάζουν το μήνυμα*

Για την καταγραφή των εκπομπών και των δελτίων ειδήσεων στην κλείδα, δημιουργήθηκαν δύο οδηγοί καταχώρησης δεδομένων, αντίστοιχα. Οι οδηγοί έδιναν σαφείς οδηγίες για το τι και πώς πρέπει να καταγραφεί σε κάθε σημείο-τομέα της κλείδας (αριθμός πλάνων, θεματική ενασχόληση, άτομα, ομιλητής/τρια, χρόνος ομιλίας, αλληλεπίδραση προσώπων, είδος ομιλίας, τόνος φωνής-ύφος, κινήσεις σώματος, εκφράσεις προσώπου).

Συνεντεύξεις πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων

Για την επίτευξη των στόχων της έρευνας θεωρήθηκε απαραίτητη, ως τεχνική συλλογής των δεδομένων, η συνέντευξη ημιδομημένης μορφής (Silverman, 2000).

Η ημιδομημένη μορφή συνέντευξης περιλαμβάνει ερωτήσεις κλειστού τύπου, όπως και η δομημένη συνέντευξη, αλλά, ταυτόχρονα υποβάλλονται και ανοιχτές ερωτήσεις για πληρέστερη κατανόηση της απάντησης που δόθηκε με την κλειστή ερώτηση. Δημιουργήθηκε έτσι, ένας οδηγός συνέντευξης με δεκατρία κύρια ερωτήματα και επιπλέον διευκρινιστικές ερωτήσεις σε κάθε ερώτημα. Οι δεκατρείς κύριες ερωτήσεις αφορούσαν στις απόψεις των πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων για τη γενικότερη παρουσία των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ.

Πριν την έναρξη κάθε συνέντευξης επισημάνθηκε σε κάθε συνεντευξιζόμενο/η ο σκοπός της εργασίας, ενώ υπήρξε αναφορά και σε θέματα εμπιστευτικότητας. Συγκεκριμένα διαβεβαιώθηκαν ότι όλες οι πληροφορίες και τα στοιχεία που θα συγκεντρώνονταν κατά την διάρκεια της συνέντευξης, θα παρέμεναν απόρρητα και εμπιστευτικά, με πλήρη σεβασμό στον κώδικα ηθικής και δεοντολογίας. Ζητήθηκε επίσης η συνειδητή συναίνεση των συνεντευξιζόμενων για μαγνητοφώνηση των συνεντεύξεων,

ούτως ώστε να αποτυπωθούν με ακρίβεια αυτά που επρόκειτο να συζητηθούν.

Κωδικοποίηση και Ανάλυση Δεδομένων

Εκπομπές και δελτία ειδήσεων

Χρησιμοποιήθηκε μικτή μεθοδολογία, ποσοτική και ποιοτική.

Η ποσοτική καταγραφή ανδρών και γυναικών πολιτικών έγινε μετά την παρακολούθηση όλων των εκπομπών (584) και των δελτίων ειδήσεων (329). Καταχωρήθηκαν σε πίνακες, ώστε να φαίνεται ξεκάθαρα η ποσοτική παρουσία των δύο φύλων. Συγκεκριμένα, καταγράφηκε ο αριθμός των φύλων για κάθε εκπομπή και στη συνέχεια οι εκπομπές ομαδοποιήθηκαν με βάση το είδος τους. Για τα δελτία ειδήσεων, καταγράφηκε ο αριθμός των δύο φύλων για κάθε κανάλι και κάθε μήνα.

Στη συνέχεια, έγινε καταγραφή με κλειδα παρατήρησης/καταγραφής των 60 εκπομπών και των 120 δελτίων ειδήσεων. Μέσα από τη μελέτη των κλειδών που δημιουργήθηκαν για κάθε εκπομπή και κάθε δελτίο, εντοπίστηκε το φύλο, το θέμα και ο χρόνος ομιλίας του κάθε ομιλητή/τριας (*ανάλυση περιεχομένου*). Αναφορικά με τον χρόνο, εντοπίστηκε και καταγράφηκε πόσο χρόνο μιλούσε ο καθένας/καθεμιά για κάθε θέμα και συνολικά πόσο χρόνο μιλούσε σε κάθε εκπομπή και δελτίο. Όσον αφορά το θέμα, εντοπίστηκαν λέξεις-κλειδιά μέσα από τα λεγόμενα των πολιτικών.

Ακολούθησε η *σημειωτική ανάλυση*, με σκοπό την εξέταση των κινήσεων του σώματος και των εκφράσεων του προσώπου των γυναικών πολιτικών και τη σύγκρισή τους με αυτές των ανδρών πολιτικών.

Τέλος, έγινε *ανάλυση λόγου* (ποιοτική ανάλυση) που στοχεύει στην εις βάθος κατανόηση του λόγου, μελετώντας το είδος ομιλίας, τον τόνο ομιλίας και το ύφος και όπως υποστηρίζει ο Fairclough (2003) στοχεύει στην εις βάθος κατανόηση του λόγου, διερευνώντας τη διακειμενικότητα του λόγου, τις επεκτάσεις του λόγου και τις σχέσεις που υπονοεί.

Συνεντεύξεις πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων

Χρησιμοποιήθηκε μικτή μεθοδολογία, ποσοτική και ποιοτική.

Με βάση τα αποτελέσματα της ποσοτικής και ποιοτικής ανάλυσης των εκπομπών και των δελτίων ειδήσεων, δημιουργήθηκε το ερωτηματολόγιο που χρησιμοποιήθηκε στις ημιδομημένες συνεντεύξεις.

Για την ανάλυση των συνεντεύξεων χρησιμοποιήθηκε ανάλυση περιεχόμενου, για να διαπιστωθεί η συχνότητα με την οποία άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί συζητούν για συγκεκριμένα θέματα και η ανάλυση λόγου για προσδιορισμό των αντιλήψεων, στάσεων και πεποιθήσεων των αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων για το ζήτημα της παρουσίας των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ και να προσδιοριστεί το προφίλ των γυναικών πολιτικών. Η Κριτική Ανάλυση Λόγου είναι η ερευνητική

μέθοδος που χρησιμοποιείται για τη διερεύνηση της ιδεολογίας, δηλαδή όχι μόνο αυτών που λέγονται σε ένα κείμενο, αλλά και αυτών που έχουν ήδη ειπωθεί αλλού και θεωρούνται δεδομένα (Fairclough, 2003). Επιπρόσθετα, η ανάλυση λόγου εξαρτάται από τις προφορικές ή γραπτές εκφράσεις που μπορούν να αποκαλύψουν κοινωνικές ταυτότητες μέσα στις κοινωνικές δραστηριότητες (Gee, 1999).

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, αφού καταγράφηκαν οι συνεντεύξεις, ακολούθως απομαγνητοφωνήθηκαν. Για την ανάλυση των συνεντεύξεων χρησιμοποιήθηκε η στρατηγική της συνεχούς σύγκρισης. Συγκεκριμένα, κωδικοποιήθηκαν οι απομαγνητοφωνημένες συνεντεύξεις τόσο με *etic* όσο και με *emic* κωδικούς και για τους πιο σημαντικούς από αυτούς δόθηκαν ορισμοί και κριτήρια συμπερίληψης/αποκλεισμού.

Ακολούθως για τους σκοπούς της ανάλυσης λόγου οι απομαγνητοφωνημένες συνεντεύξεις έτυχαν ειδικής επεξεργασίας, ούτως ώστε να προσδιοριστούν οι στάσεις και ιδεολογίες των πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων στη βάση 6 κατηγοριών που προέκυψαν:

α. Ισότητα (ορισμός)

β. Ίση – Άνιση μεταχείριση αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ

γ. Αίτια χαμηλού ποσοστού γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ και στην πολιτική

δ. Θεματολογία

ε. Διάκριση αντρών – γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ

στ. Τρόποι αντιμετώπισης μειωμένης παρουσίας γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ και στην πολιτική

Στη συνέχεια αφού έγινε η καταγραφή των δεδομένων σύμφωνα με τις πιο πάνω κατηγορίες, τα δεδομένα έτυχαν συγκριτικής ανάλυσης, ούτως ώστε να προκύψουν δεδομένα για τις εξής ομάδες:

α. Άντρες – Γυναίκες πολιτικοί

β. Άντρες – Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι

γ. Άντρες πολιτικοί – Άντρες δημοσιογράφοι

δ. Γυναίκες πολιτικοί – Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι

Αποτελέσματα

Ανάλυση Εκπομπών και Δελτίων Ειδήσεων

Οι εκπομπές και τα δελτία ειδήσεων έτυχαν διαφόρων αναλύσεων για να προκύψουν τα πιο κάτω αποτελέσματα. Αρχικά, έγινε ποσοτική ανάλυση των δεδομένων, ανάλυση περιεχομένου και σημειωτική ανάλυση και ακολούθως έγινε ανάλυση λόγου (ποιοτική ανάλυση).

Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

Παρουσία των δύο φύλων στις εκπομπές και στα δελτία ειδήσεων

Μέσα από την ποσοτική ανάλυση της παρουσίας των γυναικών και αντρών πολιτικών στις εκπομπές και τα δελτία ειδήσεων, διαφάνηκε ότι και στις δύο περιπτώσεις οι άντρες υπερέχουν με μεγάλη διαφορά, καθώς στις εκπομπές

παρουσιάζεται ένα ποσοστό 82% για τους άντρες έναντι του 18% των γυναικών και στα δελτία ειδήσεων ένα ποσοστό 81% για τους άντρες έναντι του 9% των γυναικών.



Διάγραμμα 1. Ποσοστά Εμφάνισης Αντρών και Γυναικών Πολιτικών στις Εκπομπές



Διάγραμμα 2. Ποσοστά Εμφάνισης Αντρών και Γυναικών Πολιτικών στα Δελτία Ειδήσεων

Ανάλυση περιεχομένου

Χρόνος

Η αριθμητική υπο-εκπροσώπηση των γυναικών στην πλειονότητα των εκπομπών, δεν αποτελεί την αποκλειστική αιτία για τη χρονική υπο-εκπροσώπηση τους. Οι άνδρες τείνουν να καλύπτουν με τις παρεμβάσεις τους περισσότερο τηλεοπτικό χρόνο από τις γυναίκες ακόμη και όταν η συμμετοχή των δύο φύλων είναι, από αριθμητική άποψη, ισότιμη. Η εξίσου σημαντική χρονική υπο-εκπροσώπηση των γυναικών στα δελτία ειδήσεων οφείλεται κυρίως σε αυτή ακριβώς την αριθμητική τους υπο-εκπροσώπηση. Ο συνολικός γυναικείος χρόνος είναι πράγματι πολύ μικρότερος από τον ανδρικό.

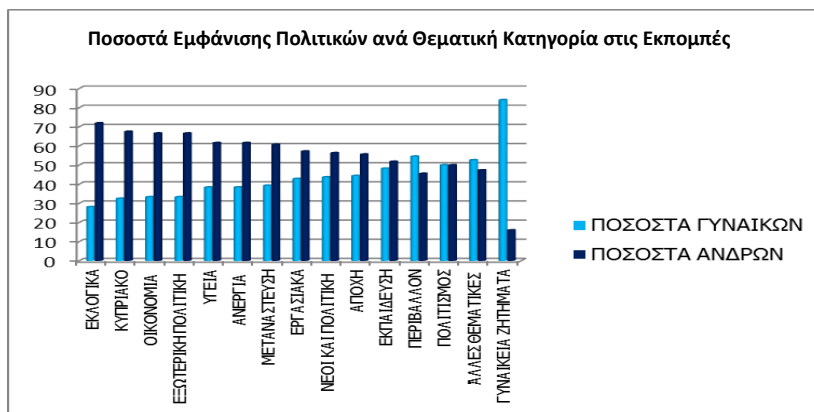
Θεματολογία

Οι 60 συνολικά τηλεοπτικές εκπομπές ταξινομήθηκαν σε 15 θεματικές κατηγορίες, όπως επίσης και τα 120 δελτία ειδήσεων.

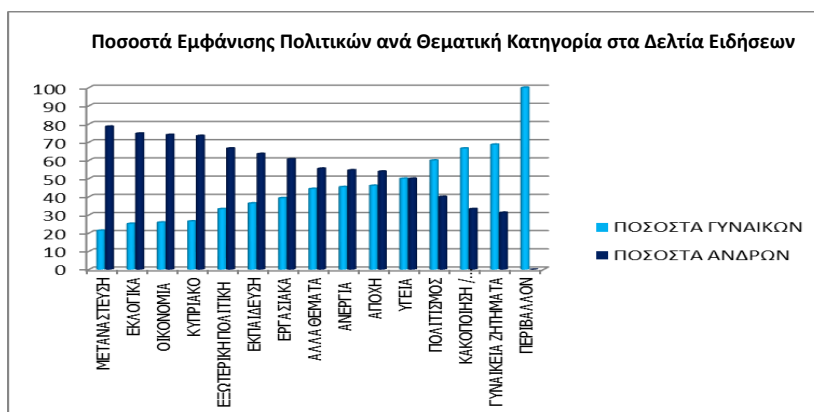
Οι γυναίκες, λοιπόν, μέσα από τις αναλύσεις φάνηκε να υπο-εκπροσωπούνται στις περισσότερες θεματικές κατηγορίες στις εκπομπές και στα δελτία ειδήσεων. Όπως φαίνεται και από τα πιο κάτω διαγράμματα, οι μεγαλύτερες αποκλίσεις ανάμεσα στα δύο φύλα εμφανίζονται στις κατηγορίες *Οικονομία, Εξωτερική Πολιτική, Κυπριακό και Εκλογικά*. Πρόκειται για τις κατηγορίες που θεωρείται πως ανήκουν στον σκληρό πυρήνα της πολιτικής δράσης και υπ' αυτήν την οπτική κατεξοχήν «ανδρικές».

Αντιθέτως, στις κατηγορίες *Περιβάλλον, Πολιτισμός, Γυναικεία Ζητήματα* και *Κακοποίηση των παιδιών*, οι γυναίκες φαίνεται να υπερτερούν έναντι των αντρών. Στην κατηγορία *Γυναικεία Ζητήματα* εντάχθηκαν θεματικές, όπως η υπο-εκπροσώπηση των γυναικών στην πολιτική και σε διάφορους οργανισμούς, τα στερεότυπα που σχετίζονται με τα φύλα και κυρίως με τις

γυναίκες, η πορνεία και σωματεμπορία γυναικών, η ψυχική υγεία και ο στιγματισμός των διαζευγμένων γυναικών.



Διάγραμμα 3. Ποσοστά Εμφάνισης Πολιτικών ανά Θεματική Κατηγορία στις Εκπομπές



Διάγραμμα 4. Ποσοστά Εμφάνισης Πολιτικών ανά Θεματική Κατηγορία στα Δελτία Ειδήσεων

Σημειωτική ανάλυση

Σημαντικά αποτελέσματα εξήχθησαν και μετά από τη σημειωτική ανάλυση, όπου εξετάστηκαν οι κινήσεις σώματος και οι εκφράσεις προσώπου. Αναφορικά με τις εκπομπές, είναι εμφανές ότι οι γυναίκες εκφράζονται περισσότερο κάνοντας κινήσεις με τα χέρια τους, κουνώντας τα, ανοίγοντάς τα, απαριθμώντας με αυτά, αλλά και φέρνοντάς τα στο στήθος όταν θέλουν να υπερασπιστούν τον λόγο τους. Οι άνδρες πολιτικοί, κατά κύριο λόγο, αρκούνται σε κινήσεις σταυρώματος και ανοίγματος των χεριών, σε αντίθεση με τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς που φαίνεται ότι χρησιμοποιούν έντονη κινήσιολογία των χεριών, κυρίως για να υποστηρίξουν και να δώσουν

έμφαση στα λεγόμενά τους. Εκείνο που κάνουν μόνο οι άνδρες θέλοντας να δείξουν είτε τη δυσαρέσκειά τους για κάτι ή να δώσουν έμφαση σε κάτι είναι η δημιουργία γροθιάς με τα δάκτυλα, κάτι το οποίο οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί δεν κάνουν.

Όσον αφορά στις εκφράσεις προσώπου στις εκπομπές, παρατηρήθηκε ότι περισσότερο συχνά οι άνδρες πολιτικοί ανυψώνουν τα φρύδια τους θέλοντας να δώσουν έμφαση στον λόγο τους σε αντίθεση με τις γυναίκες, που προβαίνουν στη συγκεκριμένη κίνηση λιγότερο συχνά. Αυτή η διαπίστωση έρχεται να προστεθεί στην προηγούμενη διαπίστωση, σύμφωνα με την οποία οι άνδρες γενικότερα κάνουν περισσότερες κινήσεις παρά οι γυναίκες.

Κατά τη σημειωτική ανάλυση, έγινε και ανάλυση των κινήσεων του σώματος των πολιτικών στα δελτία ειδήσεων. Παρατηρήσαμε και εδώ, όπως και στις εκπομπές, ότι οι άνδρες τείνουν να κάνουν πιο έντονες κινήσεις σε αρκετά δελτία ειδήσεων (17) παρά οι γυναίκες. Κυρίως ανοίγουν τα χέρια τους όταν θέλουν να δώσουν έμφαση στα λεγόμενά τους. Οι γυναίκες, όμως, κουνούν περισσότερο το κεφάλι κυρίως για επιβεβαιωτικούς σκοπούς, αλλά και επειδή τείνουν να διαβάζουν από τις σημειώσεις που έχουν μπροστά τους, σε αντίθεση με τους άντρες, που το κάνουν σε μικρότερη συχνότητα. Τέλος, παρά το ότι οι άντρες φαίνεται να κάνουν σε μεγάλη συχνότητα έντονες κινήσεις, σε περίπου αντίστοιχη συχνότητα τείνουν να έχουν πιο συγκρατημένες κινήσεις από ότι οι γυναίκες.

Όσον αφορά στις εκφράσεις προσώπου στα δελτία ειδήσεων, οι γυναίκες ανασηκώνουν περισσότερο από τους άνδρες τα φρύδια τους με σκοπό να επιβεβαιώσουν και να δώσουν έμφαση στα λόγια τους. Παράλληλα, οι γυναίκες χαμογελούν περισσότερο από τους άνδρες, ενώ τέλος τείνουν να γουρλώνουν τα μάτια τους και πάλι για να δώσουν έμφαση σε κάτι που λένε.

Ποιοτική Ανάλυση

Ανάλυση λόγου

Μέσα από την ανάλυση λόγου των εκπομπών προέκυψαν τα πιο κάτω δεδομένα.

Ο λόγος των αντρών και των γυναικών πολιτικών κατά γενική ομολογία είναι ευθύς και συνεχής, ενώ κάποιες φορές χαρακτηρίζεται ως αποσπασματικός, κυρίως εκείνος των γυναικών. Ο λόγος των αντρών δεν είναι τόσο δομημένος όσο των γυναικών. Αυτό προκύπτει από το γεγονός ότι επαναλαμβάνουν πολλά από τα λόγια τους και τείνουν να τοποθετούνται γενικά και αόριστα.

Αντίθετα, ο λόγος των γυναικών είναι δομημένος, με πιο σαφείς και συγκεκριμένες αναφορές ενώ χαρακτηρίζεται και ενεργητικός, καθώς χρησιμοποιούνται πειστικά επιχειρήματα, απτά παραδείγματα από την καθημερινότητα και μιλούν σε πρώτο πρόσωπο πληθυντικού.

Οι άντρες για να στηρίξουν τον λόγο τους και να γίνουν πιο πειστικοί, επικαλούνται λόγια και πράξεις πολιτικών προσώπων «...κάποτε ο Γάλλος

υπουργός εξωτερικών επισκέφτηκε τον Έλληνα ομόλογό του και είπε...» (εκπομπή 17, πλάνο 5), στατιστικά δεδομένα και πορίσματα ερευνών. Οι γυναίκες από την άλλη επικαλούνται σε μεγάλο βαθμό την επαγγελματική τους εμπειρία και προσωπικά βιώματα «...εγώ ως πολιτική προϊστάμενη του Τμήματος Κοινωνικών Ασφαλίσεων...», (εκπομπή 25, πλάνο 9), «...εγώ συμμετέχω στο Συμβούλιο Παιδείας» (εκπομπή 17, πλάνο 6).

Αναλύοντας τον τόνο και το ύφος ομιλίας των αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών παρατηρήθηκε αρχικά ότι οι άντρες πολιτικοί χρησιμοποιούν περισσότερο από τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς τον κανονιστικό λόγο. Οι γυναίκες γενικότερα χρησιμοποιούν έναν πιο συναισθηματικό λόγο «...ζούμε σε μια ημικατεχόμενη πατριδα για 36 χρόνια. Αυτό έχει επισκιάσει τα πάντα...» (εκπομπή 33, πλάνο 7), «*ανησυχία μου για το μέλλον αυτού του τόπου*» (εκπομπή 22, πλάνο 4).

Επίσης, το ύφος των ανδρών πολιτικών είναι ιδιαίτερα έντονο, στομφώδες, επιθετικό και ανταγωνιστικό καθώς τείνουν να μιλούν με περισσή βεβαιότητα, άνεση και αδιαλλαξία, ενώ οι γυναίκες είναι πιο διαλλακτικές και πιο ψύχραιμες «...όποιος είναι στην πολιτική μπορεί να κάνει και κάποιο λάθος, άνθρωποι είμαστε. Αν κάνω κάτι για το οποίο πρέπει να απολογηθώ θα έχω την τόλμη να απολογηθώ...» (εκπομπή 42, πλάνο 9).

Καταλήγοντας, διαφάνηκε μέσα από τις αναλύσεις ότι οι γυναίκες επικαλούνται σε μεγάλο βαθμό το φύλο τους για να κερδίσουν την εύνοια των συνομιλητών τους και του κοινού «...η γυναίκα με την ευαισθησία και την ανθεκτικότητα που έχει λόγω χαρακτήρα, μπορεί να είναι περισσότερο αποτελεσματική και να έχει αμεσότητα στο να μεταδώσει αυτά που θέλει να πει και να πράξει ταυτόχρονα και έργο...» (εκπομπή 21, πλάνο 5). Παράλληλα, όμως με την αναφορά στο φύλο τους προσδιορίζουν τις διακρίσεις που γίνονται μεταξύ γυναικών και αντρών πολιτικών αναπαράγοντας με αυτόν τον τρόπο φυλετικά στερεότυπα που αφορούν τις γυναίκες στην πολιτική και γενικότερα στην κοινωνική ζωή «*Αγώνας δύσκολος, αρένα λεόντων, αξίζει τον κόπο, είμαστε γυναίκες, οι γυναίκες στην Κύπρο δεν έχουν την ίδια θέση με τους άντρες, είτε είναι είτε δεν είναι άμεσα πολιτικοποιημένα άτομα. Έχουμε να διανύσουμε μεγάλο δρόμο. Είναι πάρα πολύ δύσκολος ο αγώνας για τις γυναίκες να πείσουμε την ανδροκρατούμενη κοινωνία μας ότι μπορούμε...*» (εκπομπή 33, πλάνο 4).

Ανάλυση Συνεντεύξεων

Ανάλυση περιεχομένου των συνεντεύξεων των πολιτικών

Μέσα από τις συνεντεύξεις προέκυψαν οι πιο κάτω κατηγορίες που προσδιορίζουν τις απόψεις των αντρών και των γυναικών πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων και τη συχνότητα που αυτές εμφανίζονται.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Ισότητα σε θεσμικό επίπεδο	Σ6,Σ9, Σ18,Σ20	IV	Σ2,Σ5,Σ8,Σ19	IV
Απαιτούνται ακόμα πολλές προσπάθειες για την καθολική εφαρμογή	Σ3,Σ10, Σ11,Σ12, Σ16	V	Σ2,Σ4,Σ5,Σ11, Σ13,Σ19,Σ21	VII
Επικράτηση στερεοτύπων	Σ6,Σ9	II	Σ5,Σ8,Σ11,Σ17	IV
Γυάλινη οροφή στον τομέα της εργασίας	Σ9	I	Σ1,Σ4, Σ5,Σ11,Σ13, Σ21	VI
Υπαρξη ισότητας	Σ3,Σ15	II		0

Πίνακας 1. *Υπαρξη Ισότητας των Φύλων στην Κύπρο*

Γυναίκες και άντρες πολιτικοί συμφωνούν ότι υπάρχει ισότητα μόνο σε θεσμικό επίπεδο και ότι ακόμα απαιτούνται προσπάθειες για καθολική εφαρμογή της. Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί υποστηρίζουν ότι η επικράτηση στερεοτύπων στην κοινωνία εμποδίζουν την πρόσβαση της γυναίκας στην πολιτική, κοινωνική και οικονομική ζωή, ενώ μόνο δυο άντρες πολιτικοί συμφωνούν με αυτή την άποψη. Ένας άντρας ενώ έξι γυναίκες πολιτικοί αναφέρουν την ανισότητα στον εργασιακό τομέα. Δύο άντρες από το σύνολο των συνεντευξιζόμενων πιστεύουν ότι υπάρχει ισότητα στην Κύπρο.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών για δραστηριοποίηση σε όλους τους τομείς της κοινωνίας	Σ6,Σ10,Σ12,Σ18	IV	Σ1, Σ2,Σ13,Σ17	IV
Ίσα δικαιώματα-ίση μεταχείριση	Σ3,Σ15,Σ7, Σ12, Σ18	V	Σ2,Σ14, Σ17, Σ21	IV
Ίση εκπροσώπηση	Σ16	I	Σ13, 14	II
Ισότητα στην εργασία	Σ9, Σ12,Σ18	III	Σ1, Σ17, Σ21	III

Πίνακας 2. *Ορισμός Ισότητας*

Ίσος αριθμός αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών ορίζουν την ισότητα ως την παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών για δραστηριοποίηση σε όλους τους τομείς της

κοινωνίας. Πέντε άντρες και τέσσερις γυναίκες θεωρούν ισότητα τα ίσα δικαιώματα και την ίση μεταχείριση των φύλων. Δυο γυναίκες και ένας άντρας αναφέρονται σε ίση εκπροσώπηση. Άντρες και γυναίκες αναφέρουν την ισότητα στην εργασία.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Λιγότερες γυναίκες στην πολιτική	Σ6,Σ7,Σ9, Σ10,Σ12,Σ 15,Σ16,Σ1 8, Σ20	IX	Σ1,Σ4,Σ8,Σ 11,Σ14,Σ17 ,	VIII
Τακτική των ΜΜΕ	Σ9,Σ16,Σ1 8	III	Σ1,Σ4,Σ5,Σ 8,Σ14,Σ17	VI
Ρόλος των κομμάτων	Σ6,12,Σ18	III	Σ4,Σ5,Σ14, Σ17,Σ19,Σ2 1	VI
Αντίληψη της κοινωνίας για τους ρόλους των δυο φύλων	Σ3,Σ6,Σ7, Σ9,Σ10, Σ12,Σ13,Σ 18,Σ20	IX	Σ5,Σ11,Σ14 ,Σ17,Σ19,Σ 21,	VI

Πίνακας 3. *Αίτια Χαμηλού Ποσοστού Εμφάνισης των Γυναικών Πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ*

Οι άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί φαίνεται να επισημαίνουν ως πρώτο αίτιο τη μειωμένη παρουσία των γυναικών στην πολιτική, αφού οι άντρες πολιτικοί υπερέχουν αριθμητικά των γυναικών. Έξι γυναίκες και τρεις άντρες υποστηρίζουν ότι γι' αυτό ευθύνεται η τακτική που ακολουθούν τα κόμματα. Αντίστοιχη συχνότητα αντρών και γυναικών επιρρίπτει ευθύνη στα ΜΜΕ. Περισσότερο οι άντρες πολιτικοί και λιγότερο οι γυναίκες πιστεύουν ότι η νοοτροπία της κοινωνίας και τα στερεότυπα φύλου που καλλιεργούνται αποτελούν παράγοντες μειωμένης εμφάνισης τους στα ΜΜΕ.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Στερεοτυπική αντίληψη της κοινωνίας	Σ9, Σ10	II	Σ1,Σ2,Σ4,Σ5, Σ13, Σ19,Σ21	VII
Αντίληψη για την ευαίσθητη πλευρά της γυναίκας	Σ3,Σ6,Σ9, Σ10,Σ15, Σ18	VI	Σ4,Σ5,Σ8,Σ14 ,Σ17,Σ19,Σ21	VII
Τακτική των ΜΜΕ	Σ9,Σ16	II	Σ4,Σ8,Σ19,Σ2 1	IV
Στάση κομμάτων	Σ10,Σ15,	III	Σ5,Σ19	II

Πίνακας 4. *Αίτια Χαμηλού Ποσοστού Εμφάνισης Γυναικών σε Εκπομπές που Πραγματεύονται Θέματα Οικονομίας, Πολιτικής*

Εφτά γυναίκες πολιτικοί αναφέρουν περισσότερο την στερεοτυπική αντίληψη που έχει επικρατήσει ότι τα θέματα που αφορούν την οικογένεια, την κοινωνία και την υγεία ανήκουν στο γυναικείο φύλο, ενώ δυο άντρες το πιστεύουν αυτό. Άντρες και γυναίκες φαίνεται να συμφωνούν ότι η αντίληψη που υπάρχει γύρω από την ευαίσθητη πλευρά της γυναίκας έχει καθορίσει την επιλογή της θεματολογίας. Διπλάσιες γυναίκες πολιτικοί σε σχέση με τους άντρες υποστηρίζουν ότι τα ίδια τα κανάλια επιλέγουν άντρες για να σχολιάζουν τα επίκαιρα θέματα πολιτικής και οικονομίας. Δυο άντρες και δυο γυναίκες θεωρούν υπεύθυνα τα κόμματα για την επιλογή της θεματολογίας.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Υπαρξη διακρίσεων	Σ7,Σ9,Σ10, Σ16,Σ20	V	Σ1,Σ2,Σ4, Σ5,Σ8,Σ11, Σ13,Σ14,Σ1 7,Σ19,Σ21	XI
Μη ύπαρξη διακρίσεων	Σ3,Σ6,Σ12, Σ15,Σ18	V		0

Πίνακας 5. Διακρίσεις των Φύλων στα ΜΜΕ

Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί στο σύνολό τους υποστηρίζουν ότι υπάρχει διάκριση και σε αυτό συμφωνούν και οι μισοί άντρες πολιτικοί. Ενώ, οι υπόλοιποι αναφέρουν ότι δεν έχουν παρατηρήσει διακρίσεις στα ΜΜΕ.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Υποτίμηση των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ	Σ7	I	Σ1,Σ4,Σ5,Σ8, Σ17,Σ19,Σ21	VII
Απόκλιση των γυναικών από τις πολιτικές συζητήσεις	Σ10,Σ16	II	Σ1,Σ2,Σ4,Σ5, Σ11,Σ13,Σ14, Σ19, Σ21	IX
Μη δίκαιη κατανομή του χρόνου	Σ16,Σ20	II	Σ8,Σ11,Σ13,Σ 17	IV
Προσβλητική συμπεριφορά αντρών	Σ7,Σ9,Σ1 6	III	Σ4,Σ5,Σ8,Σ11 ,Σ19	V
Διαφορετική συμπεριφορά δημοσιογράφων	Σ6,Σ9,Σ7, Σ16, Σ18	V	Σ1,Σ4,Σ5,Σ8, Σ17,Σ21	VI

Πίνακας 6. Είδη Διακρίσεων των Φύλων στα ΜΜΕ

Φαίνεται ότι υπάρχει μεγάλη απόκλιση στις απόψεις των συνεντευξιαζόμενων όσον αφορά τα είδη διάκρισης των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ. Εφτά

γυναίκες πολιτικοί εκφράζουν την άποψη ότι υποτιμούνται στα ΜΜΕ ενώ μόνο ένας άντρας συμφωνεί μαζί τους. Εννέα γυναίκες πολιτικοί, αντίθετα με δυο άντρες, πιστεύουν ότι οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί αποκλείονται από τις πολιτικές συζητήσεις. Αντίστοιχη είναι και η συχνότητα όσον αφορά τη μη δίκαιη κατανομή του χρόνου. Περισσότερες γυναίκες πολιτικοί αναφέρουν ότι αντιμετωπίζουν την προσβλητική συμπεριφορά των αντρών πολιτικών. Σε παρόμοιο βαθμό φαίνεται να συμφωνούν άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί ότι οι δημοσιογράφοι συμπεριφέρονται διαφορετικά στις γυναίκες πολιτικούς.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Πολιτικά κόμματα	Σ7	I	Σ8,Σ13,Σ19	III
Αλλαγή κουλτούρας και νοοτροπίας	Σ9,Σ10,Σ12,Σ15,Σ18	V	Σ1,Σ4,Σ5,Σ8,Σ13	V
Μεταρρυθμίσεις της πολιτείας	Σ3,Σ7	II	Σ4,Σ5,Σ8,Σ13,Σ14,Σ17,Σ19	VII
Εκπαίδευση των πολιτών			Σ4,Σ8,Σ17	III
ΜΜΕ	Σ6,Σ3,Σ16,Σ18,Σ20	V	Σ5,Σ4,Σ8,Σ11,Σ14,Σ19,Σ21	VII
Κινητοποίηση των γυναικών	Σ6,Σ9,Σ15,Σ20	IV	Σ1,Σ2,Σ5,Σ8,Σ13,Σ14,Σ17	VII
Από τους ίδιους τους άντρες πολιτικούς		0	Σ4,Σ14	II

Πίνακας 7. Τρόποι Αντιμετώπισης Μειωμένης Παρουσίας Γυναικών Πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ

Τρεις γυναίκες πολιτικοί και ένας άντρας πιστεύουν ότι τα κόμματα θα συμβάλουν στην αντιμετώπιση της μειωμένης παρουσίας των γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ. Άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί συμφωνούν μεταξύ τους ότι πρέπει να αλλάξει η κουλτούρα και η νοοτροπία των πολιτών, ώστε να εξλειφθούν τα στερεότυπα που επικρατούν ανάμεσα στον πληθυσμό για τον ρόλο της γυναίκας. Μόνο οι γυναίκες θεωρούν την εκπαίδευση των πολιτών ως τρόπο αντιμετώπισης της μειωμένης παρουσίας τους στα ΜΜΕ. Εφτά γυναίκες πολιτικοί τονίζουν ότι πρέπει το κράτος να προβεί σε μεταρρυθμίσεις και να στηρίξει με κατάλληλες υποδομές τη γυναίκα, ενώ μόνο δυο άντρες συμμερίζονται αυτήν την άποψη. Σε παρόμοιο βαθμό άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί αναφέρουν ότι είναι καθοριστικός ο ρόλος των ΜΜΕ για να αντιμετωπιστεί το ζήτημα. Εφτά γυναίκες πολιτικοί και τέσσερις άντρες πολιτικοί πιστεύουν ότι με την κινητοποίηση των γυναικών θα περιοριστεί το πρόβλημα. Δυο γυναίκες πολιτικοί θεωρούν ότι οι ίδιοι οι άντρες πολιτικοί μπορούν να βοηθήσουν για να μετριαστεί το πρόβλημα, άποψη που δεν βρίσκει σύμφωνο κανένα πολιτικό.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Υιοθέτηση αντρικών χαρακτηριστικών	Σ6,Σ9	II	Σ1,Σ4,Σ5,Σ14,Σ17,Σ21	VI
Οι γυναίκες συζητούν σε πιο ήπιους τόνους	Σ6,Σ16,Σ9	III	Σ4,Σ5,	II

Πίνακας 8. *Απόψεις για τον Τρόπο Συμπεριφοράς των Γυναικών στις Εκπομπές*

Έξι γυναίκες αναφέρουν ότι οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί υιοθετούν αντρικά χαρακτηριστικά στις τηλεοπτικές συζητήσεις και σε αυτό συμφωνούν δυο άντρες. Τρεις άντρες και δυο γυναίκες πολιτικοί εκφράζουν την άποψη ότι οι γυναίκες συζητούν σε πιο ήπιους τόνους.

Ανάλυση περιεχομένου συνεντεύξεων δημοσιογράφων

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Ανυπαρξία ισότητας	Σ4,Σ6,Σ11	III	Σ1,Σ9,Σ12,Σ14,Σ18	V
Ύπαρξη ισότητας	Σ3	I	Σ8	I
Ισότητα σε θεσμικό επίπεδο			Σ5,Σ12,Σ14,Σ17	IV
Απαιτούνται ακόμα πολλές προσπάθειες για την καθολική εφαρμογή	Σ10,Σ15,Σ16	III		0
Επικράτηση στερεοτύπων	Σ13	I	Σ2,Σ9,Σ12	III
Γυάλινη οροφή στον τομέα της εργασίας	Σ6,Σ7,Σ16	III	Σ12, Σ17	II

Πίνακας 9. *Ύπαρξη Ισότητας των Φύλων στην Κύπρο*

Πέντε γυναίκες και τρεις άντρες δημοσιογράφοι πιστεύουν ότι στην Κύπρο δεν υπάρχει ισότητα των φύλων. Ένας άντρας και μια γυναίκα δημοσιογράφοι θεωρούν ότι στην Κύπρο υπάρχει ισότητα των φύλων. Τέσσερις γυναίκες υποστηρίζουν ότι υπάρχει ισότητα σε θεσμικό επίπεδο, άποψη που δεν τη μοιράζεται κανένας δημοσιογράφος. Τρεις άντρες δημοσιογράφοι αναφέρουν ότι απαιτούνται ακόμα πολλές προσπάθειες για καθολική εφαρμογή της ισότητας. Δήλωση που δεν αναφέρει καμία γυναίκα. Τρεις γυναίκες και ένας άντρας δημοσιογράφος αναφέρονται στην

επικράτηση στερεοτύπων που εμποδίζει την ύπαρξη ισότητας των φύλων στην Κύπρο. Τρεις άντρες και δυο γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι σχολιάζουν την ανισότητα στον χώρο της εργασίας.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών για δραστηριοποίηση σε όλους τους τομείς της κοινωνίας	Σ4,Σ6,Σ10,Σ16	IV	Σ1,Σ18	II
Ίσα δικαιώματα-ίση μεταχείριση – ίσες υποχρεώσεις	Σ3,Σ10,Σ11,Σ13	IV	Σ2,Σ5,Σ8,Σ9,Σ17	V
Ίση εκπροσώπηση-ίση πρόσβαση	Σ7,Σ16	II	Σ12,Σ14	II
Ισότητα στην εργασία	Σ7,Σ15	II	Σ14,Σ18	II

Πίνακας 10. *Ορισμός Ισότητας*

Τέσσερις άντρες και δυο γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι ορίζουν ως ισότητα την παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών για δραστηριοποίηση σε όλους τους τομείς της κοινωνίας. Σε παρόμοιο βαθμό φαίνεται άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι να υποστηρίζουν ότι ισότητα είναι τα ίσα δικαιώματα, η ίση μεταχείριση και οι ίσες υποχρεώσεις. Άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι συμφωνούν ότι ισότητα σημαίνει ίση εκπροσώπηση και ισότητα στην εργασία.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Λιγότερες γυναίκες στην πολιτική	Σ3,Σ4,Σ6,Σ7,Σ10,Σ11,Σ13,Σ15,Σ16	IX	Σ1,Σ8,Σ9,Σ14,Σ17	V
Τακτική των ΜΜΕ	Σ4,Σ13	II	Σ9,Σ14,Σ18	III
Ρόλος των κομμάτων	Σ6,Σ10,Σ13	III	Σ1,Σ2,Σ9,Σ12,Σ14	V
Αντίληψη της κοινωνίας	Σ4,Σ13,Σ16	III	Σ1,Σ2,Σ5,Σ9,Σ14,Σ18	VI

Πίνακας 11. *Αίτια Χαμηλού Ποσοστού Εμφάνισης των Γυναικών Πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ*

Όλοι οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι θεωρούν ως πρώτο αίτιο τον μειωμένο αριθμό των γυναικών στην πολιτική. Άποψη που μοιράζονται πέντε γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι. Τρεις γυναίκες και δυο άντρες δημοσιογράφοι υποστηρίζουν ότι η τακτική που ακολουθούν τα ΜΜΕ επηρεάζει την προβολή των γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ. Πέντε γυναίκες και τρεις άντρες δημοσιογράφοι θεωρούν υπεύθυνα τα κόμματα για τη μειωμένη παρουσία των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ. Έξι γυναίκες και τρεις άντρες δημοσιογράφοι αναφέρουν ως αιτία τις αντιλήψεις που επικρατούν στην κοινωνία.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Σtereοτυπική αντίληψη της κοινωνίας	Σ7,Σ11, Σ13,Σ1 5	IV	Σ1,Σ2,Σ8, Σ9,Σ12,Σ1, Σ18	VII
Αντίληψη για την ευαίσθητη πλευρά της γυναίκας	Σ10,Σ1 1,Σ13	III	Σ1,Σ8,Σ9, Σ14,Σ18	V
Επιλογή των ιδίων	Σ3,Σ6,Σ 7,Σ10,Σ 11,Σ15, Σ16	VII	Σ14	I
Στάση κομμάτων	Σ6,Σ7,Σ 10	III	Σ2,Σ12,Σ14	III

Πίνακας 12. Αίτια Χαμηλού Ποσοστού Εμφάνισης Γυναικών σε Εκπομπές που Πραγματοεύονται Θέματα Οικονομίας, Πολιτικής

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Πολιτικά κόμματα	Σ10,Σ13, Σ15	III	Σ2, Σ5, Σ9, Σ17	III
Αλλαγή αντιλήψεων της κοινωνίας	Σ13	I	Σ2, Σ5,Σ7,Σ8,Σ 18	V
Κινητοποίηση των γυναικών	Σ6,Σ7,Σ1 0,Σ11,Σ1 3,Σ15,Σ1 6	VIII	Σ1,Σ8,Σ9	III
Εκπαίδευση των πολιτών		0	Σ5,Σ17	II
ΜΜΕ	Σ16	I	Σ1,Σ5,Σ12	III
Μεταρρυθμίσεις πολιτείας		0	Σ5,Σ8,Σ17	I

Πίνακας 13. Τρόποι Αντιμετώπισης Μειωμένης Παρουσίας Γυναικών Πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ

Εφτά από τις εννέα γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι θεωρούν ότι η στερεοτυπική αντίληψη της κοινωνίας για τους ρόλους των δυο φύλων επηρεάζει την εμφάνιση των γυναικών σε εκπομπές που πραγματεύονται θέματα οικονομίας και πολιτικής. Σε αυτό συμφωνούν τέσσερις από τους εννέα άντρες. Πέντε γυναίκες και τρεις άντρες δημοσιογράφοι υιοθετούν τις αντιλήψεις για την

ευαίσθητη πλευρά της γυναίκας. Οι περισσότεροι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι αναφέρουν ότι οι ίδιες οι γυναίκες επιλέγουν να μην ασχολούνται με τα θέματα της οικονομίας και της πολιτικής, ενώ μια γυναίκα συμφωνεί με αυτό. Στον ίδιο βαθμό άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι επιρρίπτουν ευθύνη στα κόμματα για την επιλογή θεματολογίας των γυναικών πολιτικών.

Τέσσερις γυναίκες και τρεις άντρες δημοσιογράφοι πιστεύουν ότι οι αλλαγές στην τακτική των κομμάτων μπορούν να συμβάλουν στην αντιμετώπιση του ζητήματος. Πέντε γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι υποστηρίζουν ότι πρέπει να αλλάξουν οι αντιλήψεις της κοινωνίας για τους ρόλους των δυο φύλων και με αυτή την άποψη συμφωνεί ένας δημοσιογράφος. Εφτά από τους εννέα άντρες δημοσιογράφους θεωρούν την κινητοποίηση των γυναικών απαραίτητη, ενώ μόλις τρεις γυναίκες το αναφέρουν αυτό. Δυο γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι αναφέρονται στην εκπαίδευση των πολιτών ενώ κανένας άντρας δεν την αναφέρει. Τρεις γυναίκες και ένας άντρας δημοσιογράφος πιστεύουν ότι οι μεταρρυθμίσεις στα ΜΜΕ μπορούν να βοηθήσουν στην αύξηση της παρουσίας των γυναικών πολιτικών σε αυτά. Τρεις γυναίκες δηλώνουν ότι οι μεταρρυθμίσεις της πολιτείας που θα δίνουν περισσότερες δυνατότητες στη γυναίκα να ασχοληθεί με την πολιτική θα αναβαθμίσει τη θέση των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ άποψη που δεν την αναφέρει κανένας άντρας δημοσιογράφος.

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Υπαρξη διακρίσεων	Σ3,Σ4,Σ6, Σ11,Σ13	V	Σ2,Σ5,Σ9, Σ17,18	V
Μη ύπαρξη διακρίσεων	Σ7,Σ10,Σ 15,Σ16	IV	Σ1,Σ8,Σ12, Σ14	IV

Πίνακας 14. Διακρίσεις των Φύλων στα ΜΜΕ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Υποτίμηση των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ	Σ3,Σ7	II	Σ5,Σ9,Σ14, Σ17,Σ18	II
Διαφορετική συμπεριφορά δημοσιογράφων	Σ3,Σ7,Σ 11,Σ13	III	Σ5, Σ14	I
Προσβλητική συμπεριφορά αντρών πολιτικών απέναντι στις γυναίκες πολιτικούς	Σ13,Σ1 6	II	Σ12,Σ17	II

Πίνακας 15. Είδη Διακρίσεων των Φύλων στα ΜΜΕ

Άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι εμφανίζονται στην ίδια συχνότητα να πιστεύουν ότι υπάρχουν διακρίσεις των φύλων στα ΜΜΕ, πέντε από τους εννέα. Άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι φαίνεται ότι στην ίδια συχνότητα συμφωνούν ότι δεν υπάρχουν διακρίσεις στα ΜΜΕ, τέσσερις από τους εννέα.

Πέντε γυναίκες και δυο άντρες δημοσιογράφοι εντοπίζουν υποτίμηση των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ. Τέσσερις άντρες δημοσιογράφοι δηλώνουν ότι διαφορετικά συμπεριφέρονται οι δημοσιογράφοι στις γυναίκες πολιτικούς και με αυτό συμφωνούν δυο γυναίκες. Στον ίδιο βαθμό άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι πιστεύουν ότι οι άντρες πολιτικοί παρουσιάζουν προσβλητική συμπεριφορά απέναντι στις γυναίκες πολιτικούς.

Ανάλυση λόγου πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων

Αναλύοντας τον λόγο των γυναικών και αντρών πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων, προέκυψαν 6 κατηγορίες για τις οποίες εκφέρουν την άποψή τους, οι οποίες αναλύθηκαν σύμφωνα με τις συνεντεύξεις και ακολούθως έγινε συγκριτική παρουσίαση των αποτελεσμάτων.

1) Ισότητα (Ορισμός)

Στον λόγο των γυναικών και αντρών πολιτικών ενώσω εκφέρουν την άποψή τους για την ισότητα φαίνεται να ενυπάρχει αντίφαση, καθώς ενώ αναφέρουν ότι υπάρχει σε αρκετά μεγάλο βαθμό ισότητα στην Κύπρο εντούτοις πρέπει να γίνουν ακόμη πολλά για να επιτευχθεί στο αναμενόμενο. Παράλληλα, εκφράζονται με απολυτότητα όταν αναφέρονται στον ορισμό της ισότητας, δείχνοντας έτσι σιγουριά για τα λεγόμενά τους. Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί όμως φαίνεται να τοποθετούνται στο συγκεκριμένο θέμα κρίνοντας με βάση τις δικές τους απόψεις, ενώ στον λόγο των αντρών πολιτικών λανθάνουν στερεότυπα σχετικά με την κοινωνική θέση της γυναίκας και τις υποχρεώσεις της.

«[...] η γυναίκα έχει ενδεχομένως κάποια μειονεκτήματα συγκριτικά με αυτά του αντρός, εγκυμοσύνες ή μητρική ιδιότητα κλπ κλπ, ε... όμως πέρα αυτού υπάρχουν όλες οι προϋποθέσεις να εφαρμόζεται η ισότητα στην Κύπρο.» (Σ6_ΛΦ γρ. 58-61)

Γυναίκες και άντρες δημοσιογράφοι εκφράζονται με απόλυτο λόγο όταν αναφέρονται στο κατά πόσον υπάρχει ισότητα στην Κύπρο, λέγοντας ότι η θέση της γυναίκας στην Κύπρο είναι υποβαθμισμένη.

«[...] στην Κύπρο η γυναίκα δεν αντιμετωπίζεται με τον ίδιο σεβασμό, δεν έχει τις ίδιες ευκαιρίες, δεν τυγχάνει της ίδιας αποδοχής και δεν έχει ανάλογες απολαβές με άντρες που κάνουν την ίδια εργασία με εκείνη και σε πολλές περιπτώσεις οι άλλοι δεν έχουν αυξημένες προσδοκίες από την εργασία μίας γυναίκας. Η θέση της γυναίκας σε πολλές από τις περιπτώσεις που προανέφερε, υποβαθμίζεται, ακόμη και εντός της οικογένειας.» (Σ9_ΝΨ γρ. 41-49)

Παράλληλα στα λόγια των γυναικών δημοσιογράφων υπάρχει αντίφαση, καθώς αναφέρεται ότι υπάρχει σε αρκετούς τομείς ισότητα, αλλά υπάρχουν

ακόμη και ανισότητες. Τέλος, οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι ενοχοποιούν τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς, για το γεγονός ότι οι ίδιες δε διεκδικούν την ισότητα.

2) Ίση-άνιση μεταχείριση αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ

Όταν οι συνεντευξιζόμενοι/ες ρωτήθηκαν για το κατά πόσον υπάρχει ίση ή άνιση μεταχείριση πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ, τόσο άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί απάντησαν με απόλυτο λόγο. Οι μεν γυναίκες απαντώντας αρνητικά ενώ κάποιοι από τους άντρες ανέφεραν ότι είναι ίση η μεταχείριση. Παράλληλα, χρησιμοποιούν τόσο οι γυναίκες όσο και οι άντρες προσωπικά βιώματα για να ενισχύσουν την προηγούμενη θετική και αρνητική αντίδραση στο κατά πόσο είναι ίση ή άνιση η μεταχείριση γυναικών και αντρών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ. Από τις γυναίκες παράλληλα εκφράζεται προβληματισμός, ενώ οι άντρες και πολιτικοί εκφράζουν άγνοια και δεν αποδέχονται τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας.

Γυναίκες και άντρες δημοσιογράφοι χρησιμοποιούν κατηγορικό λόγο για να αναφέρουν ότι ο χώρος της πολιτικής είναι ανδροκρατούμενος και ότι οι ίδιοι οι δημοσιογράφοι επιδιώκουν τις αψιμαχίες μεταξύ των καλεσμένων για να ανεβάσουν την τηλεθέαση λέγοντας χαρακτηριστικά *«είναι και ο χώρος της πολιτικής ανδροκρατούμενος. Δεν υπάρχει προτίμηση της φιλοξενίας γυναικών πολιτικών στα τηλεοπτικά δελτία ειδήσεων.»* (Σ18_ΨΝ γρ. 48-51). Ο λόγος τους είναι απόλυτος λέγοντας πώς δεν παρατηρούν ίση μεταχείριση των πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ, ενώ υπάρχουν και αυτοί οι οποίοι απορρίπτουν τα πορίσματα της έρευνας καθώς θεωρούν ότι άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί τυγχάνουν ίσης μεταχείρισης. Οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι μάλιστα τείνουν να ειρωνεύονται σχετικά με το ζήτημα της άνισης μεταχείρισης των πολιτικών.

3) Αίτια χαμηλού ποσοστού γυναικών στην πολιτική και στα ΜΜΕ

Γυναίκες και άντρες πολιτικοί κατηγορούν την κοινωνία και τις κομματικές δομές ως τους κύριους ανασταλτικούς παράγοντες για την παρουσία γυναικών στην πολιτική και στα ΜΜΕ.

«Το πρόβλημα ξεκινά από πολύ πιο βαθιά μέσα στις ίδιες τις κομματικές δομές που κατά βάση φτιάχτηκαν γύρω από το ανδρικό αρσενικό πρότυπο [...]» (Σ5_ΟΛ γρ. 118-121)

Παράλληλα, ο λόγος των γυναικών πολιτικών είναι κοφτός και απόλυτος, συμφωνούν με τα πορίσματα της έρευνας, επιβεβαιώνουν τη μειωμένη παρουσία των γυναικών στην πολιτική και στα ΜΜΕ και ειρωνεύονται τα κανάλια για την πολιτική του αποκλεισμού των γυναικών που ακολουθούν καθώς λένε ότι *«κατά την αντίληψη των καναλαρχών δεν γράφει, δεν πούλα όταν παρουσιάζεται σε αυτές τους ακριβούς τηλεοπτικούς χρόνος.»* (Σ14_ΒΛ γρ. 153-156)

Οι άντρες πολιτικοί εκφράζουν προβληματισμό σχετικά με το ζήτημα, ενοχοποιούν τις ίδιες τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς ότι δεν έχουν καταφέρει να παγιωθούν στην πολιτική σφαίρα, ενώ φαίνεται ότι στον λόγο τους λανθάνουν στερεότυπα σχετικά με τις ευθύνες που έχει μια γυναίκα οι οποίες δεν την αφήνουν να λειτουργήσει σαν πολιτικό πρόσωπο.

«[...] γιατί έχει την ευθύνη της οικογένειας, των παιδιών, του σπιτιού και ενδεχομένως της εργασίας και τα φορτώνεται όλα αυτά η γυναίκα με αποτέλεσμα να μην έχει τον χρόνο, την πολυτέλεια του χρόνου για να μπει στο πρότζεκτ που λέγεται πολιτική.» (Σ15_ΒΓ γρ. 240-245)

Γυναίκες και άντρες δημοσιογράφοι χρησιμοποιούν κατηγορικό λόγο για να εκφραστούν για το συγκεκριμένο ζήτημα, στηλιτεύοντας την ανδροκρατούμενη πολιτική των κομμάτων, αλλά και τις προκαταλήψεις που επικρατούν σχετικά με τη μη ταύτιση της γυναίκας με την πολιτική.

«Ωστόσο στα κυπριακά κόμματα επικρατεί ακόμα ανδροκρατία, και μάλιστα από άτομα με πεπαλαιωμένα μυαλά, που αποτελούν εμπόδιο στην ανέλιξη των γυναικών.» (Σ10_ΞΝ γρ. 166-169)

Παράλληλα, λανθάνουν στερεότυπα στον λόγο τους, ενώ ενοχοποιούν τη γυναίκα ότι οι ίδιες δεν διεκδικούν δυναμικά την παρουσία τους στην πολιτική πολεμώντας την παρούσα ανδροκρατία λέγοντας ότι *«επιπλέον οι γυναίκες φοβούνται ακόμα να διεκδικήσουν, λόγω αυτής της ανδροκρατίας των κομμάτων.»* (Σ10_ΞΝ γρ. 169 - 171). Τέλος, οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι χρησιμοποιούν πιο απόλυτο λόγο.

4) Θεματολογία

Στον λόγο των αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών λανθάνουν στερεότυπα, καθώς θεωρούν ότι η θεματολογία που αναλύεται από τις γυναίκες αρμόζει περισσότερο σε αυτές λόγω των κοινωνικών ρόλων που επιτελούν στην καθημερινότητά τους.

«[...] τούτα τα θέματα που έχουν να κάμουν με την καθημερινότητα τα κατανοούν τζαι τα εμπεδώνουν παραπάνω οι γυναίκες γιατί είναι η τριβή τους η καθημερινή τους.» (Σ17_ΚΡ γρ. 290-293)

Ταυτόχρονα, οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί ενοχοποιούν τη γυναίκα, γιατί δε διεκδικεί πιο δυναμικά άλλη θεματολογία εκτός της κοινωνικής, ενώ ο λόγος τους είναι κατηγορικός, διότι θεωρούν ότι υπάρχει μια ανδρική διαπλοκή γύρω από το συγκεκριμένο ζήτημα. Οι άντρες πολιτικοί με τη σειρά τους εκφράζουν κάποιους προβληματισμούς για το συγκεκριμένο θέμα.

Στον λόγο των ανδρών και γυναικών δημοσιογράφων φαίνεται να λανθάνουν στερεότυπα, καθώς αναφέρονται στη μεγαλύτερη ευαισθησία των γυναικών, η οποία δικαιολογεί σύμφωνα με αυτούς την ενασχόλησή τους με κοινωνικά θέματα περισσότερο.

«Η ευαισθησία του γυναικείου φύλου αντικατοπτρίζει και τη δράση της στα κοινωνικά θέματα και επειδή εκεί αναλαμβάνει πιο πρωταγωνιστικό ρόλο πολλές φορές αυτοβούλως, καλείται πιο συχνά διότι η δράση της παρουσιάζει ενδιαφέρον.» (Σ7_ΔΤ γρ. 98-103)

Ο λόγος τους επίσης είναι κατηγορικός, καθώς θεωρούν υπεύθυνη την κοινωνία και τα κόμματα για το διαχωρισμό των θεμάτων και την άνιση κατανομή τους στα δύο φύλα.

«[...] ενώ αυτός είναι και ο ρόλος που τους δίνει η ίδια η κοινωνία και οι τηλεθεατές. Οι γυναίκες είναι πιο αποδεκτές σε ευαίσθητα θέματα και οι άντρες σε «σοβαρά».» (Σ9_ΝΨ γρ. 160-162)

Τέλος, οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι ενοχοποιούν την ίδια τη γυναίκα, επειδή θεωρούν ότι οι ίδιες επιλέγουν να ασχοληθούν με πιο κοινωνικά θέματα καθώς αυτά γνωρίζουν καλύτερα, ενώ παράλληλα φοβούνται μήπως εκτεθούν προσπαθώντας να αναλύσουν θέματα που δεν είναι των αρμοδιοτήτων τους.

5) Διάκριση αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ

Ο λόγος των αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών είναι κατηγορικός, ενώ παρουσιάζουν και προσωπικά βιώματα για να ενισχύσουν τα λεγόμενά τους σχετικά με το κατά πόσον υπάρχει διάκριση στα ΜΜΕ. Παράλληλα, κάποιοι από αυτούς τείνουν να απορρίπτουν τα πορίσματα της έρευνας, παρουσιάζοντας το ότι δε δίνουν αρκετό χρόνο στις γυναίκες να μιλήσουν ως θετικό στοιχείο. Κάποιοι δηλώνουν άγνοια για την ύπαρξη διάκρισης στα ΜΜΕ, ενώ τέλος οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί χρησιμοποιούν τον ειρωνικό λόγο για να δείξουν τη δυσφορία τους απέναντι στη διάκριση που τυγχάνουν στα ΜΜΕ.

«[...] κάποιος θα σε αντιμετωπίσει με απαξίωση και συναντάς πάντα αυτό το πρότυπο και κάποιος θα σε αντιμετωπίσει με υπερβολική ευγένεια γιατί είσαι κορούδα, είσαι κοπέλα, γυναίκα [...]» (Σ5_ΟΛ γρ. 320-323)

Οι δημοσιογράφοι φαίνεται να ενοχοποιούν την γυναίκα, καθώς αναφέρουν ότι οι ίδιες οι γυναίκες πρέπει να στοχεύουν στην άνοδο των γυναικών. Επίσης παρουσιάζουν προσωπικά βιώματα οι μεν γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι για να αναφερθούν σε διακρίσεις στα ΜΜΕ, οι δε άντρες δημοσιογράφοι για να επισημάνουν ότι από την πείρα τους δεν έχουν βιώσει διακρίσεις.

Τέλος, και οι μεν και οι δε τείνουν να απορρίπτουν τα πορίσματα της έρευνας, καθώς θεωρούν ότι ο δημοσιογράφος δεν κάνει διακρίσεις μεταξύ αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ.

6) Τρόποι αντιμετώπισης μειωμένης παρουσίας γυναικών στην πολιτική και στα ΜΜΕ

Στα λεγόμενα και των αντρών και των γυναικών πολιτικών λανθάνουν στερεότυπα, καθώς θεωρούν ότι ο χώρος της πολιτικής είναι αρκετά δύσκολος χώρος για τις γυναίκες και ότι δε διακρίνονται οι πολιτικοί στον πολιτικό στίβο όταν ασχολούνται με θέματα κοινωνικά, λέγοντας μάλιστα ένας άντρας πολιτικός ότι «σίγουρα δεν μπορείς να διακριθείς σαν πολιτικός όταν ασχολείσαι με την ισότητα των φύλων» (Σ6_ΛΦ γρ. 401-403). Επίσης, ο λόγος τους είναι επιτακτικός καθώς προτείνουν τι πρέπει να γίνει για να

βελτιωθεί η κατάσταση. Ο λόγος των γυναικών πολιτικών είναι κατηγορικός καθώς κατηγορούν τα κόμματα για τη μειωμένη παρουσία των γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ. Επίσης, ενοχοποιούν και τις ίδιες τις γυναίκες καθώς θεωρούν ότι ευθύνονται και αυτές, επειδή προτιμούν να ασχολούνται περισσότερο με τα κοινωνικά, λέγοντας ότι «δεν πρέπει να περιοριζόμαστε μόνο στα κοινωνικά θέματα εε από μας εξαρτάται αυτό το κομμάτι.» (Σ14_ΒΛ γρ. 262-263). Οι άντρες πολιτικοί με τη σειρά τους χρησιμοποιούν ειρωνικό λόγο για να πουν ότι οι ίδιες οι γυναίκες επιλέγουν τις θεματικές με τις οποίες ασχολούνται, ενώ υπάρχει και επιφυλακτικότητα στα λεγόμενά τους καθώς μιλούν με υποθετικό λόγο.

Ο λόγος και των αντρών και γυναικών δημοσιογράφων είναι επιτακτικός καθώς θεωρούν ότι πρέπει να γίνουν αλλαγές για να διαφοροποιηθεί η κατάσταση στην πολιτική και στα ΜΜΕ. Επίσης, λανθάνουν στερεότυπα στα λόγια τους καθώς θεωρούν ότι μόνο με εκπομπές που έχουν θέμα την ισότητα μπορεί να προαχθεί η αλλαγή στην πολιτική και στα ΜΜΕ και ότι είναι πολύ δύσκολο να διαφοροποιηθεί και να αλλάξει η ανδροκρατούμενη πολιτική στα κόμματα.

«[...] και μέσω αμ εκπομπών που προάγουν την ισότητα μέσω τηλεοπτικών σειρών που δεν θέτουν τη γυναίκα στον παραδοσιακό της ρόλο ίσως να μπορούσε να προκληθεί μια αλλαγή. Στο πλαίσιο ενός δελτίου ειδήσεων όμως θεωρώ ότι δεν μπορούμε να κάνουμε κάτι τέτοιο παρά μόνο να προβάλουμε θέματα που προβάλλουν την ισότητα. Σε καταστάσεις όμως όπου έχουμε γυναίκες ή άντρες συνομιλητές όχι.» (Σ12_ZB γρ. 286-293)

Ενοχοποιούν, παράλληλα, τη γυναίκα καθώς θεωρούν ότι δεν είναι αρκετές οι γυναίκες που ασχολούνται με την πολιτική και ότι οι ίδιες πρέπει να απαιτήσουν συμμετοχή στην πολιτική ζωή. Οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι κατηγορούν τα κόμματα για τη διαιώνιση αυτού του προβλήματος, ενώ ειρωνεύονται και την κοινωνία η οποία δεν αλλάζει.

«Άρα είναι το σύνολο της κοινωνίας που πρέπει να αλλάξει και αλλάζει, πιστεύω ότι αλλάζει, αλλά μέχρι να φτάσουμε στο ιδανικό, εμ μακάρι να ζήσουμε να το δούμε.» (Σ5_ZΛ γρ. 400-403)

Συγκριτική Ανάλυση Λόγου Γυναικών και Ανδρών Πολιτικών και Δημοσιογράφων

Γυναίκες – άντρες πολιτικοί

Κατ' αρχάς στον λόγο των αντρών πολιτικών λανθάνουν περισσότερα στερεότυπα. Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας είναι κυρίως μη αποδεκτά από τους άντρες πολιτικούς, ενώ οι ίδιοι φαίνεται να δείχνουν περισσότερη άγνοια σχετικά με τις διακρίσεις στα ΜΜΕ. Περισσότερο κατηγορικός είναι ο λόγος των γυναικών, οι οποίες κατηγορούν τα κόμματα, την κοινωνία και τα ΜΜΕ για την παρούσα κατάσταση στην πολιτική και παράλληλα τείνουν να επιβεβαιώνουν τα πορίσματα της έρευνας. Περισσότερη ειρωνεία παρουσιάζεται στον λόγο των γυναικών πολιτικών, δείχνοντας τη

δυσανασχέτησή τους για την κατάσταση. Όμως, οι ίδιες οι γυναίκες φαίνεται να ενοχοποιούν περισσότερο τη γυναίκα για την επιλογή της θεματολογίας, επιρρίπτοντας ευθύνες στην ίδια, όπως και για τους τρόπους αντιμετώπισης της μειωμένης παρουσίας των γυναικών στην πολιτική και στα ΜΜΕ. Και στον λόγο των δύο παρουσιάζεται αντίφαση, ενώ συνηθίζουν να είναι απόλυτοι σε αυτά που λένε.

Γυναίκες – άντρες δημοσιογράφοι

Τόσο στον λόγο των γυναικών όσο και των αντρών δημοσιογράφων κυριαρχούν τα στερεότυπα σχετικά με τη θέση της γυναίκας και την παρουσία της στην πολιτική. Περισσότερο κατηγορικός είναι ο λόγος των γυναικών δημοσιογράφων, οι οποίες κατηγορούν την κοινωνία και τα κόμματα για την παρούσα κατάσταση. Ειρωνεία υπάρχει περισσότερο στον λόγο των γυναικών δημοσιογράφων, ενώ οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι ενοχοποιούν περισσότερο τη γυναίκα πολιτικό από ότι οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι για τα αίτια χαμηλής παρουσίας των γυναικών στην πολιτική, για τη θεματολογία, για τις διακρίσεις αλλά και για τους τρόπους αντιμετώπισης.

Γυναίκες πολιτικοί – γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι

Ο λόγος των γυναικών πολιτικών και γυναικών δημοσιογράφων είναι απόλυτος. Στον λόγο των γυναικών δημοσιογράφων λανθάνουν περισσότερα στερεότυπα παρά στον λόγο των γυναικών πολιτικών (αίτια χαμηλού ποσοστού γυναικών στην πολιτική, διάκριση αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ). Ο λόγος και των γυναικών πολιτικών και των γυναικών δημοσιογράφων είναι κατηγορικός και περιέχει στοιχεία ειρωνείας, ενώ οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι ενοχοποιούν τη γυναίκα περισσότερο από τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς (αίτια χαμηλού ποσοστού γυναικών στην πολιτική, διάκριση αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ, τρόποι αντιμετώπισης μειωμένης παρουσίας γυναικών στην πολιτική).

Άντρες πολιτικοί – άντρες δημοσιογράφοι

Οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι ενοχοποιούν τη γυναίκα περισσότερο από τους άντρες πολιτικούς (αίτια χαμηλού ποσοστού γυναικών στην πολιτική, θεματολογία, διάκριση αντρών γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ, τρόποι αντιμετώπισης μειωμένης παρουσίας γυναικών στην πολιτική). Τόσο στον λόγο των αντρών πολιτικών όσο και στον λόγο των αντρών δημοσιογράφων κυριαρχούν στερεότυπα για τη θέση της γυναίκας και τον ρόλο της στην πολιτική, ενώ τέλος ο λόγος των αντρών δημοσιογράφων είναι περισσότερο κατηγορικός.

Συμπεράσματα

Εκπομπές και Δελτία Ειδήσεων

Αρχικά, μέσα από την ποσοτική ανάλυση των εκπομπών και των δελτίων ειδήσεων φαίνεται ότι η παρουσία των γυναικών πολιτικών στις εκπομπές και

τα δελτία ειδήσεων είναι σχεδόν μηδαμινή σε σχέση με την παρουσία των αντρών πολιτικών.

Φαίνεται, παράλληλα, ότι δίνεται πολύ λιγότερος χρόνος στις γυναίκες να αναλύσουν τα διάφορα θέματα στις εκπομπές και στα δελτία ειδήσεων, ενώ οι γυναίκες φαίνεται να υπερ-εκπροσωπούνται σε θέματα του περιβάλλοντος, σε θέματα πολιτισμού ή σε θέματα, όπως η υπο-εκπροσώπηση των γυναικών στην πολιτική και σε διάφορους οργανισμούς, τα στερεότυπα που σχετίζονται με τα φύλα και κυρίως με τις γυναίκες, η πορνεία και σωματεμπορία γυναικών, η ψυχική υγεία και ο στιγματισμός των διαζευγμένων γυναικών ή η κακοποίηση των παιδιών.

Παράλληλα, μέσα από τη σημειωτική ανάλυση διαφάνηκε ότι οι άντρες πολιτικοί εκφράζονται με μια έντονη κινήσιολογία, ενώ οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί φαίνεται να είναι πιο συγκρατημένες, τείνοντας να εκφράζονται περισσότερο με μορφασμούς του προσώπου. Όσον αφορά στην αλληλεπίδραση μεταξύ των πολιτικών και των δημοσιογράφων που καταγράφηκε μόνο στις εκπομπές, σε αρκετές εκπομπές ο δημοσιογράφος αφαιρεί απότομα τον λόγο από γυναίκα πολιτικό και τον δίνει σε άντρα πολιτικό.

Ακολούθως μέσα από την ανάλυση λόγου των εκπομπών και των δελτίων ειδήσεων, ο λόγος των αντρών πολιτικών φαίνεται να είναι λιγότερο δομημένος από αυτόν των γυναικών πολιτικών. Επίσης, για να γίνουν πιο πειστικοί οι άντρες επικαλούνται λόγια και πράξεις προσώπων, ενώ οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί επικαλούνται επαγγελματικές και προσωπικές εμπειρίες. Όσον αφορά τον τόνο και το ύφος ομιλίας οι γυναίκες τείνουν να χρησιμοποιούν ένα πιο συναισθηματικό τόνο όταν μιλούν, ενώ ο λόγος των αντρών πολιτικών είναι πιο επιθετικός και το ύφος τους είναι ιδιαίτερα έντονο, στομφώδες, επιθετικό και ανταγωνιστικό. Οι γυναίκες, παράλληλα, είναι πιο διαλλακτικές και ψύχραιμες και κάποιες φορές επικαλούνται το φύλο τους για να κερδίσουν την εύνοια των συνομιλητών τους, αναπαράγοντας φυλετικά στερεότυπα.

Ανάλυση Συνεντεύξεων

Μέσα από την ανάλυση περιεχομένου των συνεντεύξεων προέκυψαν τα ακόλουθα συμπεράσματα: Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί στο σύνολό τους υποστηρίζουν ότι υπάρχει διάκριση γυναικών και αντρών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ και σε αυτό συμφωνούν και οι μισοί άντρες πολιτικοί. Οι άντρες και οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι θεωρούν ότι υπάρχουν σε κάποιο βαθμό διακρίσεις στα ΜΜΕ, αλλά παράλληλα και ότι σε κάποιον βαθμό απουσιάζουν.

Οι άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί συμφωνούν ότι η μειωμένη παρουσία των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ οφείλεται στο γεγονός ότι είναι λιγότερες οι γυναίκες, οι οποίες ασχολούνται με τα πολιτικά θέματα, ζήτημα με το οποίο συμφωνούν και οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι. Παράλληλα, επισημαίνεται και από τις δύο ομάδες πολιτικών ότι βασικό ρόλο διαδραματίζει και η αντίληψη της κοινωνίας για τους ρόλους των δύο φύλων, στοιχείο το οποίο επισημαίνουν και οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι.

Επιπρόσθετα, άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί επισημαίνουν ότι εμφανίζονται λιγότερες γυναίκες σε εκπομπές που διαπραγματεύονται θέματα οικονομίας και πολιτικής εξαιτίας της ευαίσθητης πλευράς με την οποία αντιμετωπίζουν τα συγκεκριμένα θέματα οι γυναίκες, κάτι που θεωρείται ότι δε συνάδει με τα θέματα «υψηλής πολιτικής». Επίσης, οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί και οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι θεωρούν ότι υπάρχει και μια καθιερωμένη στερεοτυπική αντίληψη της κοινωνίας για τον ρόλο των γυναικών πολιτικών, η οποία τους αφαιρεί το δικαίωμα για συμμετοχή σε τέτοιες θεματολογίες. Οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι με τη σειρά τους υποστηρίζουν ότι οι ίδιες οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί επιλέγουν να μην ασχολούνται εκτεταμένα με θέματα οικονομίας και πολιτικής.

Όσον αφορά στα είδη διάκρισης που παρατηρούνται στα ΜΜΕ, οι άντρες πολιτικοί και δημοσιογράφοι επισημαίνουν κυρίως ότι ο δημοσιογράφος συμπεριφέρεται διαφορετικά σε άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικούς, γνώμη την οποία συμμερίζονται και οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί. Επιπλέον, οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί θεωρούν με τη σειρά τους ότι υπάρχει μια εμφανής υποτίμηση των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ, όπως και μια τάση για απόκλιση των γυναικών από τις πολιτικές συζητήσεις. Οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι συμμερίζονται την άποψη των γυναικών πολιτικών για την εμφανή υποτίμηση των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ και παράλληλα εισάγουν και το θέμα της προσβλητικής συμπεριφοράς των αντρών πολιτικών απέναντι σε γυναίκες πολιτικούς.

Αναφερόμενοι στους τρόπους αντιμετώπισης της μειωμένης παρουσίας των γυναικών στην πολιτική, άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί και δημοσιογράφοι συμφωνούν ότι πρέπει να αλλάξει η κουλτούρα και η νοοτροπία της κοινωνίας, αλλά παράλληλα και οι ίδιες οι γυναίκες να κινητοποιηθούν και να απαιτήσουν μεγαλύτερη εκπροσώπησή τους στα κέντρα λήψης αποφάσεων. Επιπλέον, οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί επισημαίνουν ότι και η πολιτεία πρέπει να προχωρήσει σε απαραίτητες μεταρρυθμίσεις με κοινωνικές παροχές για να δώσει τη δυνατότητα σε γυναίκες να ασχοληθούν με την πολιτική, αλλά και τα ίδια τα ΜΜΕ αναφέρουν ότι πρέπει να μεταχειρίζονται άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικούς με τον ίδιο τρόπο.

Τέλος, όσον αφορά τη συμπεριφορά των γυναικών στις διάφορες εκπομπές οι άντρες πολιτικοί θεωρούν ότι οι γυναίκες συζητούν σε πιο ήπιους τόνους, ενώ οι ίδιες οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί αναφέρουν ότι τείνουν να υιοθετούν αντρικά χαρακτηριστικά για να μπορούν να ενταχθούν σε πολιτικές συζητήσεις.

Παράλληλα, μέσα από την ανάλυση λόγου των συνεντεύξεων, άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί και δημοσιογράφοι φαίνεται να επιρρίπτουν ευθύνες στη γυναίκα για την άνιση μεταχείρισή της στα ΜΜΕ αλλά και για μια μη ενεργό προσπάθεια για αλλαγή της υπάρχουσας κατάστασης. Ο λόγος μεγάλου ποσοστού συνεντετυξαζόμενων φαίνεται να περιλαμβάνει λανθάνοντα στερεότυπα, κάτι που υποδηλώνει ότι ακόμα και οι ίδιοι που μπορεί να κατηγορούν την υπάρχουσα κατάσταση πέφτουν στην παγίδα υιοθέτησης στερεοτύπων σχετικά με τους ρόλους της γυναίκας, αναφερόμενοι παράλληλα στη δυσκολία επιτυχίας μιας γυναίκας στην πολιτική. Κυρίως οι άντρες είναι αυτοί, οι οποίοι δεν αποδέχτηκαν τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας σχετικά με την άνιση μεταχείριση των γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ. Κατηγορικός και

περισσότερο ειρωνικός είναι ο λόγος των γυναικών, οι οποίες κατηγορούν την κοινωνία, τα ΜΜΕ αλλά και τα πολιτικά κόμματα για την παρούσα υποβαθμισμένη θέση της γυναίκας στην πολιτική, ενώ η ειρωνεία χρησιμοποιείται σαν άμυνα και τρόπος έκφρασης της δυσανασχήτησής τους.

Εν κατακλείδι, τα αποτελέσματα καταδεικνύουν ότι υπάρχει διάκριση στα ΜΜΕ μεταξύ των γυναικών και αντρών πολιτικών και αυτό το στοιχείο είναι απόρροια των στερεοτυπικών αντιλήψεων της κοινωνίας για τη γυναίκα πολιτικό, της διαφορετικής αντιμετώπισης των γυναικών και αντρών πολιτικών από τους δημοσιογράφους, αλλά και τη μη ενεργό προσπάθεια των γυναικών πολιτικών για αλλαγή της παρούσας κατάστασης.

Συζήτηση

Σκιαγραφώντας μέσα από την έρευνα το προφίλ των γυναικών πολιτικών στην Κύπρο, φαίνεται ότι βρίσκονται σε μια υποβαθμισμένη θέση εξαιτίας των στερεοτυπικών αντιλήψεων που κυριαρχούν ακόμη στην κοινωνία και θέλουν τη γυναίκα οικοκυρά, μητέρα και καλή σύζυγο. Η εσωτερίκευση αυτών των έμφυλων στερεοτύπων και προκαταλήψεων αποτελούν βασικό αποτρεπτικό παράγοντα για ενασχόληση των γυναικών με την πολιτική (Abdela, 2005).

Σημαντικός παράγοντας ανάλυσης της παρούσας κατάστασης αποτελεί η έννοια του κοινωνικού φύλου, το οποίο σύμφωνα με τη Scott (1986) είναι το μέσο «υπόδειξης πολιτισμικών κατασκευών», δηλαδή των ιδεών σχετικά με τους ρόλους που αρμόζουν στη γυναίκα και στον άντρα. Πρόκειται για μία κοινωνική, πολιτισμική, πολιτική και ιστορική κατηγορία που έχει ως βασικό στόχο να προσδιορίσει την ιδέα ότι η υποταγή, η κατωτερότητα και η αδυναμία των γυναικών δεν προέρχονται από τη φύση, αλλά είναι πολιτισμικές και ιστορικές κατασκευές (Bock, 1993).

Τα πιο πάνω στοιχεία παραπέμπουν σε μια πατριαρχική ιδεολογία, η οποία ακριβώς εκφράζει την ανάγκη του άνδρα να επικρατήσει επί της γυναίκας (Scott, 1986). Η έννοια της πατριαρχίας προσδιορίζεται ως ένα σύστημα κοινωνικών σχέσεων, το οποίο στηρίζεται σε μια υλική και ηθική βάση που αναπτύσσεται ανάμεσα στους άντρες, οι οποίοι με τη σειρά τους δημιουργούν δυνατότητα ανδρικής κυριαρχίας μέσω σχέσεων εξουσίας επί των γυναικών (Millett, 1969).

Παρουσιάζοντας παράλληλα τους βασικούς αποτρεπτικούς παράγοντες για συμμετοχή των γυναικών στην πολιτική η Lesley Abdela, προσπάθησε να αποδείξει ότι οι περισσότεροι από αυτούς συνδέονται με την αποδοχή και διαίωνιση έμφυλων στερεοτύπων. Οι βασικοί παράγοντες αποτελούν, σύμφωνα με την Abdela, τα έμφυλα στερεότυπα, οι προκαταλήψεις και συμπεριφορές, η δημιουργία ανδρικών περιοχών από τα οποία αποκλείονται οι γυναίκες, η έλλειψη χρηματοοικονομικής στήριξης, επειδή ακριβώς οι γυναίκες έχουν δυσκολότερη πρόσβαση σε κονδύλια, η έλλειψη αυτοπεποίθησης, η έλλειψη χρόνου λόγω των αυξημένων υποχρεώσεων των γυναικών με τα του οίκου, τη φροντίδα των παιδιών και των ηλικιωμένων, η δυσκολία συμφιλίωσης επαγγελματικής και οικογενειακής ζωής, και

γενικότερα τα εμπόδια σταδιοδρομίας που προκύπτουν για μια γυναίκα (Abdela, 2005).

Αποδεικνύεται έτσι από τα πιο πάνω ότι εγκλωβισμένες καθώς είναι οι γυναίκες σε ένα σύστημα αναπαραγωγής των παραδοσιακών «ανδρικών» λογικών, γίνονται δέκτες της ανδρικής κυριαρχίας και εξουσίας με αποτέλεσμα πίσω από προκάλυμμα παραδοσιακών νόρμων να αδυνατούν να συνειδητοποιήσουν την κατάστασή τους, ώστε να μπορέσουν να αντιδράσουν. Ακριβώς, λοιπόν, η πατριαρχική ιδεολογία επιδρά και πάνω στις γυναίκες πολιτικούς στην Κύπρο, στις οποίες δε δίνεται ακόμη ίση ευκαιρία ανέλιξης στην πολιτική σκηνή. Έτσι, μέσα από την έρευνα παράλληλα καταδεικνύεται ότι ο πολιτικός δημόσιος λόγος και η πολιτική αρένα σε γενικότερη ανάλυση, αποτελούσε και αποτελεί μέχρι σήμερα κατ' εξοχήν αρσενική υπόθεση ή χώρος επικράτησης αρσενικού φύλου (Pusnik & Bulc, 2001).

Σύμφωνα με τους Pusnik και Bulc (2001), οι γυναίκες οι οποίες εμπλέκονται πιο ενεργά στην πολιτική και δραματίζουν πολιτικό ρόλο, άρα είναι φορείς πολιτικής/δημόσιας εξουσίας, μεταφέρουν και ενισχύουν ιδιαίτερα τη «φυσική» εικόνα ότι οι γυναίκες είναι περισσότερο συνδεδεμένες με τον ιδιωτικό χώρο και τις προσωπικές διαπροσωπικές σχέσεις. Αυτό ενισχύεται από την άποψη ότι οι γυναίκες διακρίνονται για τα «λεπτά» τους συναισθήματα, όπως είναι τα συναισθήματα της συμπόνιας, αγάπης, κατανόησης, αλτρουισμού. Ακριβώς και αυτό το στοιχείο ενυπάρχει στην παρούσα έρευνα, καθώς τόσο οι άντρες πολιτικοί όσο και οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί θεωρούν ότι λόγω της ιδιαίτερα ευαίσθητης πλευράς των γυναικών, οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί αποκλείονται από συζητήσεις «υψηλής πολιτικής».

Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί παράλληλα για να αποκτήσουν εκτόπισμα στην πολιτική και κατ' επέκταση στα ΜΜΕ πρέπει να ικανοποιήσουν συγκεκριμένες προσδοκίες (Dahlerup, 1988). Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί θα πρέπει να αποδείξουν ότι είναι ικανές όπως οι άνδρες ομόλογοί τους, οι οποίοι συχνά είναι μεγαλύτεροι ηλικιακά και έχουν καταφέρει να κατακτήσουν το πολιτικό σκηνικό προ πολλών δεκαετιών, όταν η γυναίκα ήταν εντελώς αφανής στην πολιτική. Παράλληλα, οι γυναίκες θα πρέπει να αποδείξουν ότι το να εκλεγούν περισσότερες γυναίκες βουλευτίνες μπορεί να συμβάλει σε μια σημαντική κοινωνική και πολιτειακή αλλαγή.

Φαίνεται, λοιπόν, ότι η μειωμένη παρουσία των γυναικών στα κέντρα λήψης αποφάσεων δείχνει την αντίφαση μεταξύ της οικουμενικής ισότητας των δικαιωμάτων, ανεξαρτήτως φύλου αλλά και της υποτέλειας που υφίστανται οι γυναίκες (Παντελίδου - Μαλούτα, 2002). Ακριβώς αυτή η κατάσταση παραπέμπει ίσως σε δημοκρατικό έλλειμμα παρά σε ένα εξ ολοκλήρου ζήτημα ισότητας των φύλων.

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PRESENTATION 1

THE PROFILE OF WOMEN POLITICIANS THROUGH THE ANALYSIS OF SHOWS AND NEWSCASTS IN THE TELEVISION OF CYPRUS: A GENDER-BASED ANALYSIS



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**Το προφίλ των γυναικών πολιτικών στην τηλεόραση της Κύπρου:
Μία ανάλυση με βάση το φύλο**

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Θεωρητικό Υπόβαθρο

- Η συμμετοχή των γυναικών στην πολιτική αποτελεί έναν από τους στόχους του τομέα της προώθησης της ίσης συμμετοχής γυναικών και ανδρών στη λήψη αποφάσεων, όπως αυτός καθορίζεται στο χάρτη πορείας για την ισότητα των φύλων 2006 – 2010 της ΕΕ (Επιτροπή των Ευρωπαϊκών Κοινοτήτων, 2006).
- Ένας άλλος τομέας προτεραιότητας στο χάρτη αναφέρεται στην εξάλειψη των στερεοτύπων των φύλων στην κοινωνία και στα ΜΜΕ.

- Πρόσφατα στοιχεία της ΕΕ (European Communities, 2009a, 2008) δείχνουν ότι, παρά την πρόοδο, οι γυναίκες εξακολουθούν να υπο-εκπροσωπούνται σε όλες τις σφαίρες της εξουσίας στα περισσότερα κράτη μέλη, καθώς και εντός των θεσμικών οργάνων της ΕΕ.
- Ως εκ τούτου, η έκθεση της ΕΕ για την ισότητα ανδρών και γυναικών του 2009 (European Communities, 2009b) αναφέρεται στην ανάγκη για συλλογή, ανάλυση και διάχυση συγκρίσιμων δεδομένων σε ευρωπαϊκό επίπεδο και στη διεξαγωγή ερευνών στα κράτη μέλη και την ανταλλαγή καλών πρακτικών.

Τι συμβαίνει στην Κύπρο;

- Η έκθεση του 2007 (European Communities, 2008) την κατατάσσει ανάμεσα στις επτά χώρες που το ποσοστό των γυναικών βουλευτών είναι μικρότερο του 15%, ενώ το ποσοστό στόχος τέθηκε από την ΕΕ στο 30%.
- Η Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, στο Εθνικό Σχέδιο Δράσης για την ισότητα ανδρών και γυναικών, προτείνει μέτρα, όπως η καθιέρωση ποσοτώσεων τουλάχιστον 30%, για την προώθηση της εκπροσώπησης των γυναικών στα κέντρα λήψεως αποφάσεων (Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, 2007).
- Ερευνητικές μελέτες στην Κύπρο έδειξαν ότι η σφαίρα της δημόσιας ζωής (κοινωνικής, οικονομικής, πολιτικής) προβάλλεται από τα ΜΜΕ ως ανδροκρατούμενη (Koutselini & Agathangelou, 2006).

Τι συμβαίνει σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο;

- Σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο, οι μελέτες για την πολιτική, το φύλο και τη δυναμική των ΜΜΕ καταδεικνύουν διαφορές στην κάλυψη των ΜΜΕ με βάση το φύλο, που δεν περιορίζονται μόνο στη σεξιστική γλώσσα ή τις στερεοτυπικές απεικονίσεις, αλλά και στην ποσότητα, την ποιότητα και την αρνητικότητα της κάλυψης, διαβρώνοντας την αξιοπιστία των υποψήφιων γυναικών και ενδυναμώνοντας τα βαθιά ριζωμένα κοινωνικά στερεότυπα (Aday & Devitt, 2001; Carlin & Winfrey, 2009; Ross, 2002).

- Η πολιτική κάλυψη από τα ΜΜΕ τείνει να περιθωριοποιεί τις γυναίκες όταν δεν προσαρμόζονται στις παραδοσιακές ανδρικές νόρμες της πολιτικής συμπεριφοράς, αλλά δίνει υπερβολική έμφαση σε συμπεριφορές αντίθετες με τα παραδοσιακά γυναικεία στερεότυπα (Gidengil & Everitt, 2001).
- Αυτή η παρατήρηση μπορεί να εξηγηθεί με την έννοια της διαμεσολάβησης φύλου, η οποία βασίζεται στην υπόθεση ότι ο τρόπος με τον οποίο η πολιτική καταγράφεται, καθορίζεται σημαντικά από μια ανδρικά προσανατολισμένη ημερήσια διάταξη, η οποία δίνει πλεονέκτημα στην πολιτική ως ουσιαστικά αρσενική αναζήτηση (Ross & Sreberny, 2000).

Σημαντικότητα – Αναγκαιότητα

- Ανάγκη για ενδυνάμωση της πρακτικής που ακολουθούν τα ΜΜΕ στην Κύπρο σχετικά με την προβολή των γυναικών πολιτικών, ώστε να ανταποκριθούν αφενός στις πολιτικές της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης (ΕΕ) (Επιτροπή Ευρωπαϊκών Κοινοτήτων, 2006) και της UNESCO (2008)
- Ανάγκη για την προώθηση της γυναικείας συμμετοχής στην πολιτική ζωή του τόπου (Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, 2007).

Σκοπός Έρευνας

- Η παρούσα έρευνα έχει ως σκοπό να περιγράψει το **προφίλ** των Κυπρίων γυναικών πολιτικών, όπως αυτό προβάλλεται από την κυπριακή τηλεόραση.

Στόχοι Έρευνας

- Να διερευνήσει σε βάθος το προφίλ των γυναικών-πολιτικών στην τηλεόραση της Κύπρου (περίοδος ενός χρόνου) εξετάζοντας τις εξής παραμέτρους: ποσοτική και ποιοτική παρουσία, θεματολογία προσκλήσεων, λόγος και στερεοτυπική προβολή.
- Να σκιαγραφήσει το προφίλ σε σχέση με τον αντίστοιχο τρόπο προβολής και τον λόγο των αντρών πολιτικών.
- Να αναλύσει το προφίλ με ημιδομημένες συνεντεύξεις με τους κομματικούς αρχηγούς, δείγμα βουλευτών (ανδρών και γυναικών), ιδιοκτήτες – διευθυντές των παγκύπριων τηλεοπτικών σταθμών και δημοσιογράφους.
- Να παρουσιάσει την ταύτιση ή το χάσμα μεταξύ του επίσημου λόγου-νομικής πτυχής και της πραγματικής κατάστασης από την προβολή στην τηλεόραση
- Να συμβάλει με τη διάχυση των αποτελεσμάτων του στη συνειδητοποίηση του ρόλου των ΜΜΕ στην προώθηση της ίσης συμμετοχής ανδρών και γυναικών στη λήψη πολιτικών αποφάσεων τόσο από τους πολιτικούς, όσο κι από τους αρμόδιους φορείς των ΜΜΕ και το ευρύτερο κοινό, ενδυναμώνοντας τη φωνή των Κυπρίων γυναικών πολιτικών παράλληλα και σε συνεργασία με τη φωνή των ανδρών πολιτικών.

3 θέματα προς παρουσίαση

1. Το προφίλ των γυναικών πολιτικών μέσα από την ανάλυση εκπομπών και δελτίων ειδήσεων στην κυπριακή τηλεόραση.
2. Το προφίλ των γυναικών πολιτικών μέσα από την ανάλυση περιεχομένου συνεντεύξεων πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων.
3. Το προφίλ των γυναικών πολιτικών μέσα από την ανάλυση λόγου συνεντεύξεων πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων.

1. Το προφίλ των γυναικών πολιτικών μέσα από την ανάλυση εκπομπών και δελτίων ειδήσεων στην κυπριακή τηλεόραση.

Μεθοδολογία

Μέθοδος

- Καταγραφή με κλείδα παρατήρησης/καταγραφής
- Τα στοιχεία που θα συλλεχθούν με την κλείδα παρατήρησης, στη συνέχεια θα αναλυθούν με την *ανάλυση περιεχομένου*, για να διεξαχθούν όλες οι απαραίτητες ποσοτικές συγκρίσεις μεταξύ του συνόλου των αναφορών που γίνονται για τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς και των αντιστόιχων που γίνονται για τους άνδρες-πολιτικούς. Η ανάλυση περιεχομένου μένει περισσότερο σε ποσοτικά στοιχεία.
- Έπειτα, ακολουθεί η *ανάλυση λόγου* και η *σημειωτική ανάλυση*.
- Στόχος του διεπιστημονικού αυτού μοντέλου της σημειωτικής είναι να δείξει πώς οι διάφοροι σημειωτικοί τρόποι (οπτικά και γλωσσικά μέσα) συντείνουν στην προώθηση στερεοτύπων στον τρόπο παρουσίασης των γυναικών και ανδρών πολιτικών.
- Η κριτική χρησιμοποίηση της ανάλυσης λόγου (discourse analysis) θα δώσει εις βάθος κατανόηση του λόγου και θα γίνει με εργαλεία έρευνας την κοινωνική γλώσσα, τη γλώσσα της ταυτότητας, τη διακευμενικότητα του λόγου, τη διαλογική βάση και επεκτάσεις του λόγου και τις σχέσεις που υπονοεί, τις συνδέσεις του λόγου (Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 1999).

Δείγμα

- Η αρχική ποσοτική καταγραφή αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών στηρίχτηκε στην ανάλυση 584 εκπομπών και 329 δελτίων ειδήσεων.
- Στη συνέχεια, για τις υπόλοιπες αναλύσεις μελετήθηκαν 60 εκπομπές και 120 δελτία ειδήσεων από 6 διαφορετικούς τηλεοπτικούς σταθμούς της Κύπρου (PIK, SIGMA, ANT1, ΜΕΓΑ, EXTRA, PLUS)

Μέσα Συλλογής Δεδομένων

- **Κλείδα Παρατήρησης**
 - αριθμός πλάνων
 - θεματική ενασχόληση
 - άτομα
 - ομιλητής
 - χρόνος ομιλίας
 - αλληλεπίδραση προσώπων
 - είδος ομιλίας
 - τόνος φωνής-ύφος
 - κινήσεις σώματος
 - εκφράσεις προσώπου

Διαδικασία Ανάλυσης Δεδομένων

- Αρχική μελέτη έγινε στο σύνολο των εκπομπών (584) και δελτίων ειδήσεων (329), ώστε να καταγραφεί η ποσοτική παρουσία αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών.
- Έπειτα αναλύθηκαν εκτενέστερα οι 60 εκπομπές και τα 120 δελτία ειδήσεων σύμφωνα με τον χρόνο, το θέμα, τις κινήσεις σώματος, τις εκφράσεις προσώπου και τον λόγο των δύο φύλων.

Αποτελέσματα

Ποσοτικά

Ποιοτικά

Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

Εκπομπές

- Συνολική Παρουσία Αντρών και Γυναικών Πολιτικών στις Εκπομπές

Σύνολο εκπομπών	Άντρες	Γυναίκες	Ποσοστό εμφάνισης αντρών	Ποσοστό εμφάνισης γυναικών
584	1659	363	82%	18%

Ποσοστά εμφάνισης των δύο φύλων

■ Ποσοστό εμφάνισης αντρών ■ Ποσοστό εμφάνισης γυναικών



...Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

- Ποσοτική Παρουσία Γυναικών Πολιτικών ανά κανάλι

Κανάλι	Αριθμός Εκπομπών	Αριθμός εκπομπών που συμμετέχουν γυναίκες	Ποσοστά εμφάνισης γυναικών
PIK	208	58	27,88%
SIGMA	191	57	29,84%
ANT1	80	25	31,25%
MEGA	80	23	28,75%
EXTRA,PLUS	25	9	36%

...Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

- ⊙ Ποσοτική Παρουσία Αντρών και Γυναικών Πολιτικών ανά Είδος Εκπομπής

Είδος εκπομπής	Αριθμός εκπομπών	Συχνότητα εμφάνισης αντρών	Συχνότητα εμφάνισης γυναικών	Ποσοστό εμφάνισης αντρών	Ποσοστό εμφάνισης γυναικών
Βουλευτικές	69	240	38	86%	14%
Κοινωνικές	68	72	29	71%	29%
Ευρωπαϊκές	34	64	23	74%	26%
Καθημερινές πρωινές/μεσημβρινές	328	1082	256	81%	19%
Πολιτικές	85	201	17	92%	8%

...Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

Δελτία Ειδήσεων

- Συνολική Παρουσία Αντρών και Γυναικών Πολιτικών στα Δελτία Ειδήσεων

Σύνολο δελτίων ειδήσεων	Άντρες	Γυναίκες	Ποσοστό εμφάνισης αντρών	Ποσοστό εμφάνισης γυναικών
329	3 460	339	91,08%	8,92 %

Ποσοστά εμφάνισης των δύο φύλων

■ Ποσοστό παρουσίας αντρών ■ Ποσοστό παρουσίας γυναικών

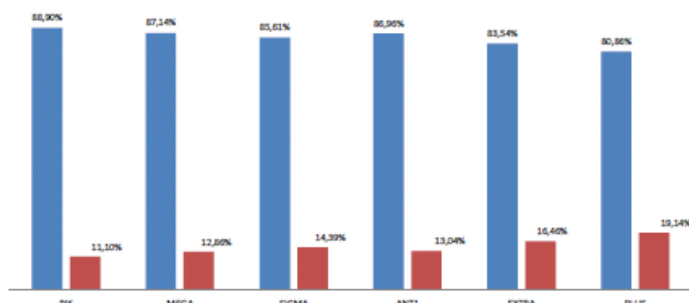


...Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

- ⊙ Ποσοτική Παρουσία Αντρών και Γυναικών Πολιτικών ανά Κανάλι

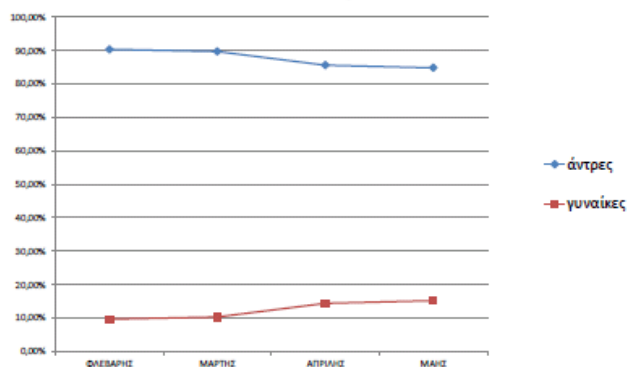
Ποσοτική παρουσία των δύο φύλων ανά κανάλι

■ άντρες ■ γυναίκες



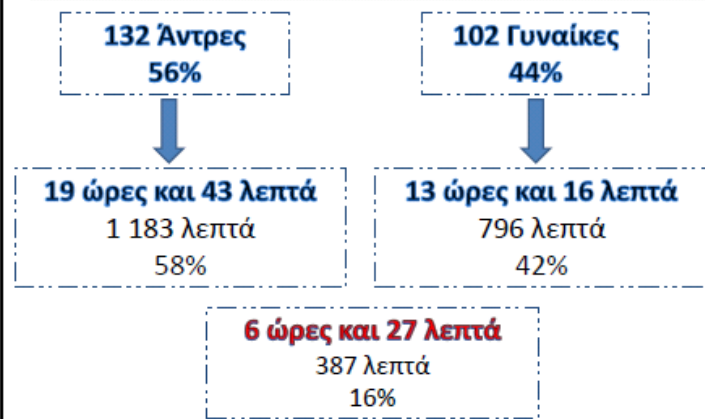
...Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

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...Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

Ανάλυση Περιεχομένου – Χρόνος – Εκπομπές



...Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

Μέσος χρόνος ομιλίας κάθε φύλου =
Συνολικός χρόνος ομιλίας κάθε φύλου / συνολικός αριθμός κάθε φύλου

Μέσος χρόνος ομιλίας
κάθε γυναίκας
7,8 λεπτά

Μέσος χρόνος ομιλίας
κάθε άντρα
8,9 λεπτά

...Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

Ανάλυση Περιεχομένου – Χρόνος – Δελτία Ειδήσεων

334 Άντρες

195 Γυναίκες

139 άτομα

1 ώρα και 42 λεπτά
102 λεπτά
58%

1 ώρα και 15 λεπτά
75 λεπτά
42%

27 λεπτά

...Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

Μέσος χρόνος ομιλίας κάθε φύλου =
Συνολικός χρόνος ομιλίας κάθε φύλου / συνολικός αριθμός κάθε φύλου

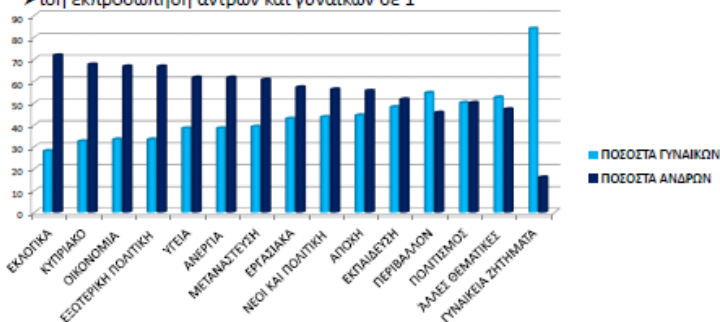
Μέσος χρόνος ομιλίας
κάθε γυναίκας
23 δευτερόλεπτα

Μέσος χρόνος ομιλίας
κάθε άντρα
18,3 δευτερόλεπτα

...Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

Ανάλυση Περιεχομένου – Θέμα – Εκπομπές

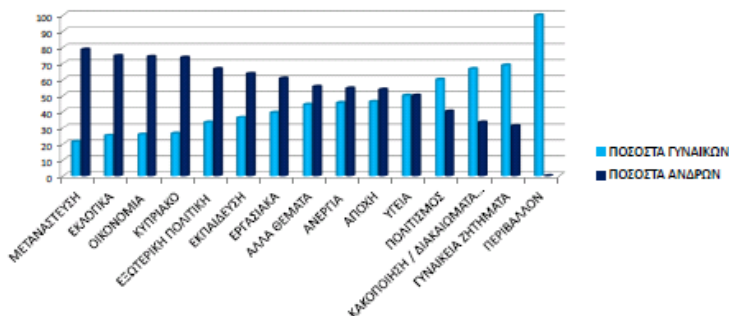
- 60 εκπομπές – 15 θεματικές κατηγορίες
- υπο-εκπροσώπηση γυναικών στις 11 από τις 15 θεματικές κατηγορίες
- υπερ-εκπροσώπηση γυναικών σε 3 θεματικές κατηγορίες
- ίση εκπροσώπηση αντρών και γυναικών σε 1



...Ποσοτική Ανάλυση

Ανάλυση Περιεχομένου – Θέμα – Δελτία Ειδήσεων

- 120 δελτία ειδήσεων – 15 θεματικές κατηγορίες
- υπο-εκπροσώπηση γυναικών στις 10 από τις 15 θεματικές κατηγορίες
- υπερ-εκπροσώπηση γυναικών σε 4 θεματικές κατηγορίες
- ίση εκπροσώπηση αντρών και γυναικών σε 1



Ποιοτική Ανάλυση

Σημειωτική Ανάλυση – Κινήσεις Σώματος – Εκπομπές

Κινήσεις σώματος	Άντρες		Γυναίκες	
	Συχνότητα	Ποσοστό %	Συχνότητα	Ποσοστό%
Χειρονομίες με στυλό	3	2,5%	5	8,3%
Κινήσεις του κεφαλιού καθώς κοιτάζει γύρω στο χώρο	6	10%		
Άνοιγμα χεριών και γενικότερα έντονη κινησιολογία (σταύρωμα χεριών, έντονη κίνηση)	19	31,6%	21	35%
Δημιουργεί γροθιά με τα δάκτυλα	2	3,33%		
Χτύπημα χεριού στο τραπέζι	6	10%	5	8,3%
Συγκρατημένες κινήσεις	11	18,3%	17	28,3%
Κοιτάζουν τις σημειώσεις τους	2	3,33%	2	3,33%
Χέρια στο στήθος για υπεράσπιση λόγω			2	3,33%
Ελαφρύ κούνημα κεφαλιού για κατάψαση			5	8,3%
Απαρίθμηση με δάκτυλα			3	5%

...Ποιοτική Ανάλυση

Σημειωτική Ανάλυση – Εκφράσεις προσώπου – Εκτομπές

Εκφράσεις προσώπου	Άντρες		Γυναίκες	
	Συχνότητα	Ποσοστό %	Συχνότητα	Ποσοστό%
Ανύψωση φρυδιών για έμφαση λόγου ή συνοφρύωμα	24	40%	17	28,3%
Ειρωνικό χαμόγελο	7	11,6%	7	11,6%
Μορφασμοί που δείχνουν εκνευρισμό	2	3,33%	4	6,66%
Χαμόγελο	1	1,6%	7	11,6%
Χαμήλωμα βλέμματος όταν γίνεται αναφορά σε πιο συναισθηματικά θέματα			3	5%
Μορφασμοί μετά από αναφορά δημοσιογράφου στο πρόσωπό του/της			2	3,33%
Μορφασμοί που δείχνουν απογοήτευση, ανησυχία			6	10%

...Ποιοτική Ανάλυση

Σημειωτική Ανάλυση – Κινήσεις Σώματος – Δελτία Ειδήσεων

Κινήσεις σώματος	Άντρες		Γυναίκες	
	Συχνότητα	Ποσοστό %	Συχνότητα	Ποσοστό%
Έντονες κινήσεις - άνοιγμα χεριών	17	14,16%	12	10%
Κούνημα κεφαλιού - κυρίως για επιβεβαίωση λόγου	8	6,66%	24	20%
Κούνημα κεφαλιού - λόγω διαβάσματος σημειώσεων	24	20%	37	30,8%
Συγκρατημένες χειρονομίες	22	18,3%	13	10,8%

...Ποιοτική Ανάλυση

Σημειωτική Ανάλυση – Εκφράσεις προσώπου – Δελτία Ειδήσεων

Εκφράσεις προσώπου	Άντρες		Γυναίκες	
	Συχνότητα	Ποσοστό %	Συχνότητα	Ποσοστό%
Ανασήκωμα φρυδιών	34	28,3%	48	40%
Χαμόγελο	1	0,83%	5	4,16%
Γούρλωμα ματιών			4	3,33%

...Ποιοτική Ανάλυση

Ανάλυση Λόγου – Εκπομπές

- Παρουσιάζονται συγκριτικά τα δεδομένα σχετικά με το είδος ομιλίας και τον τόνο φωνής-ύφος των ανδρών και των γυναικών πολιτικών.

Λόγος αντρών – Είδος ομιλίας	Αποσπάσματα
ευθύς και συνεχής	
όχι τόσο δομημένος λόγος-επανάληψη	«αυτό συμβαίνει πάντοτε, και αυτό συνέβαινε πάντοτε και αυτό θα συμβαίνει πάντοτε...» (εκομτη 24, πλάνο 1)
τοποθετούνται γενικά και αόριστα	«θέλουμε εισηγήσεις, θέλουμε θέσεις, θέλουμε προτάσεις...» (εκομτη 19, πλάνο 4)
απαντούν με υπεκφυγές και προσπαθούν να στρέψουν τη συζήτηση αλλού	«δεν μπορούμε τώρα να μπλοκάρουμε κάτι που σχεδιάζεται... δεν μπορούμε να επεμβαίνουμε σε άλλα μέλη κράτη και να λέμε δεν μπορείς να υλοποιήσεις ένα έργο επειδή υπάρχουν υποψίες... να μείνουμε σταθεροί, να μην στέλλουμε λανθασμένα μηνύματα στους πολίτες» (εκομτη 15, πλάνο 3)
υποβάλλουν αρκετά ερωτήματα	«...κι ενώ ρωτώ ποια δικαιοστική ομοσπονδία;» (εκομτη 30 πλάνο 15), «...πού οδηγείται η παιδεία της χώρας μας;», (εκομτη 17, πλάνο 3)
για πιο πειστικό λόγο - επικαλούνται λόγια και πράξεις πολιτικών προσώπων	«...κάποτε ο Γάλλος υπουργός εξωτερικών επισκέφτηκε τον Έλληνα ομόλογο του και είπε...» (εκομτη 17, πλάνο 5),
επικαλούνται στατιστικά δεδομένα και πορίσματα ερευνών	
επικαλούνται ακόμη πρόσωπα των οποίων οι λόγοι τους είναι καθολικά αποδεχτοί	«...η παιδεία και ο πολιτισμός είναι έννοιες αναντίρρητες και όπως έλεγε και ο Σωκράτης...» (εκομτη 27, πλάνο 12)
αρσενικοποίηση ουσιαστικών	«...να διοριστούν γυμναστές στα δημοτικά σχολεία» (εκομτη 20, πλάνο 5)
οι άντρες χρησιμοποιούν περισσότερο την κυπριακή διάλεκτο για να εκφραστούν	«...εν θεωρώ ότι έχει χαθεί ο κόσμος που λέμε... μη θεωρούμε ότι είναι ένα φρούτο ώριμο...» (εκομτη 21, πλάνο 7)

Λόγος γυναικών – Είδος ομιλίας	Αποσπάσματα
δομημένος	«...θα ασχοληθώ με την εκπαίδευση δια μέσω των ΜΜΕ και τη δια βίου μάθηση στα εσπερινά σχολεία» (εκομτη 17, πλάνο 2)
ενεργητικός - πειστικά επιχειρήματα	«...πρέπει να δημιουργηθούν θέσεις με προοπτικές για τη νεολαία, σε καινοτομία, σε ενέργεια...» (εκομτη 19, πλάνο 5)
μιλούν σε πρώτο πρόσωπο πληθυντικού	«να εξηγήσουμε ότι για μας δεν είναι καινούριο το θέμα... συζητήσαμε το πρόβλημα, δώσαμε κάποιες λύσεις» (εκομτη 18 πλάνο 3)
επικαλούνται ακόμη πρόσωπα των οποίων οι λόγοι τους είναι καθολικά αποδεχτοί	«...επιτρέψτε μου καταρχάς να αρχίσω ρήση του Περιλή «μάλλον γαρ...» δηλαδή περισσότερο να φοβούμαι τα δικά μας σφάλματα ...» (εκομτη 22, πλάνο 2)
αρσενικοποίηση ουσιαστικών	«το δικό μου μήνυμα απευθύνεται προς όλο τον κυπριακό λαό, προς όλους τους συμπατριώτες μας και τους καλώ να ψηφίσουν...» (εκομτη 21, πλάνο 8)
επικαλούνται σε μεγάλο βαθμό την επαγγελματική τους εμπειρία και προσωπικά βιώματα	«...εγώ ως πολιτική προϊσταμένη του Τμήματος Κοινωνικών Ασφαλίσεων...», (εκομτη 25 πλάνο 9), «...εγώ συμμετέχω στο Συμβούλιο Παιδείας» (εκομτη 17, πλάνο 6), «...στέλιω να αναφέρω ένα περιστατικό το οποίο έζησα σε ένα χωριό...», (εκομτη 38, πλάνο 10)
εκτεταμένα τις λέξεις πολίτης, λαός, ανθρώπινα δικαιώματα	«...ο πολίτης νιώθει, αφορά τα δικαιώματα των ασθενών γιατί ο καθένας μας μπορεί να αρρωστήσει σε αυτή τη θέση...» (εκομτη 18, πλάνο 6), «Αυτό που ο πολίτης χρειάζεται είναι εργασία, χρειάζεται να ζει σε συνθήκες σιγουριάς και ασφάλειας» (εκομτη 31, πλάνο 16)
χρησιμοποιούν περισσότερο την κοινή ελληνική	

Λόγος αντρών – Τόνος φωνής/Υφους	Αποσπάσματα
χρησιμοποιούν περισσότερο κανονιστικό λόγο	«...όταν λείπει η κοινή στόχευση και επιδιώξη δε μπορούμε απλώς να θγαίνουμε και να μιλάμε σε στυλ ότι χρειάζεται η ενότητα.» (εκπομπή 14, πλάνο 5), «...χρειάζεται ένα πολίτη με κρίση...» (εκπομπή 17, πλάνο 1) και την ειρωνεία «...καλάν είναι καλύτερος ο στρατηγικός...» (εκπομπή 12, πλάνο 11), «θέλω να χειροκροτήσω τους πολιτικούς» (εκπομπή 21, πλάνο 4)
γίνονται περισσότερο συναισθηματικοί όταν απουσιάζουν τα επιχειρήματα	«...δε θα αναλύσω το τι σημαίνει για μια Κύπρο μοιρασμένη να μπει ο όποιος στρατηγικός επενδυτής...» (εκπομπή 12, πλάνο 11)
περισσότερο επιθετικός	«...παρά να είμαστε απ' έξω και να ρίχνουμε πέτρες και να λέμε ότι είμαστε αντιπολίτευση...» (εκπομπή 20, πλάνο 6)
αβειαιότητα και εκνευρισμό όταν υπερασπίζονται το κόμμα τους, όταν επηρεάζονται από διάφορα σχόλια και όταν διακόπτονται	
έντονο, στομφώδες, επιθετικό και ανταγωνιστικό ύφος	«...για προεκλογικές σκοπιμότητες κάποιοι προσπαθούν να θολώσουν τα νερά, είμαι σίγουρος πως ο κυπριακός λαός ξέρει...» (εκπομπή 14, πλάνο 8) καθώς τείνουν να μιλούν με περισσότερη βεβαιότητα, άνεση και αδιαλλαξία «...εμείς αγωνιζόμαστε για να σήμερα καλύτερο από το χτες και για ένα αύριο καλύτερο από το σήμερα πρέπει να γίνει ορθός σχεδιασμός της πόλης μας...» (πλάνο 6, εκπομπή 15), «είναι λάθος!» (εκπομπή 30, πλάνο 23).

Λόγος γυναικών – Τόνος φωνής/Υφους	Αποσπάσματα
συναισθηματικός λόγος	«...ζούμε σε μια ημικατεχόμενη πατρίδα για 36 χρόνια. Αυτό έχει επισκιάσει τα πάντα...» (εκπομπή 33, πλάνο 7), «ανησυχία μου για το μέλλον αυτού του τόπου» (εκπομπή 22, πλάνο 4), «...οι άνθρωποι αυτοί πρέπει να πούμε ότι ζουν σε ένα πολύ ψυχοφθόρο εργατικό περιβάλλον, δεν μπορεί να νιώθουν συνέχεια την ανασφάλεια αυτή οι άνθρωποι που εργάζονται τόσα χρόνια στις κυπριακές αερογραμμές να νομίζουν από μέρα σε μέρα θα κλείσουν...» (εκπομπή 12, πλάνο 5)
πιο διαλλακτικές και ψύχραιμες	«...όποιος είναι στην πολιτική μπορεί να κάνει και κάποιο λάθος, άνθρωποι είμαστε. Αν κάνω κάτι για το οποίο πρέπει να απολογηθώ θα έχω την τόλμη να απολογηθώ...» (εκπομπή 42, πλάνο 9)
υψώνουν τον τόνο της φωνής τους μόνο σε εξαιρετικές περιπτώσεις	«...όταν είπα με μέτρο και σύνεση αυτό έπραξα, είναι δημοκρατικό δικαίωμα του καθενός να εκφράζει τις απόψεις του και τις απόψεις του κόμματός του, αυτές είναι οι δικές μου και του κόμματός μου...» (εκπομπή 21, πλάνο 5)
επικαλούνται σε μεγάλο βαθμό το φύλο τους για να κερδίσουν την εύνοια των συνομιλητών τους και του κοινού	«...η γυναίκα με την ευαισθησία και την ανθεκτικότητα που έχει λόγω χαρακτήρα, μπορεί να είναι περισσότερο αποτελεσματική και να έχει αμεσότητα στο να μεταδώσει αυτά που θέλει να πει και να πράξει ταυτόχρονα και έργο...» (εκπομπή 21, πλάνο 5)

Συμπεράσματα

- Οι γυναίκες υποεκπροσωπούνται τόσο σε εκπομπές όσο και σε δελτία ειδήσεων.
- Το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό εμφάνισης γυναικών είναι σε κοινωνικές εκπομπές, ενώ το μικρότερο σε πολιτικές.
- Χρόνος εκπομπές - η αριθμητική υπο-εκπροσώπηση των γυναικών στην πλειονότητα των εκπομπών, δεν αποτελεί την αποκλειστική αιτία για τη χρονική υπο-εκπροσώπηση τους. Οι άνδρες τείνουν να καλύπτουν με τις παρεμβάσεις τους περισσότερο τηλεοπτικό χρόνο από τις γυναίκες ακόμη και όταν η συμμετοχή των δύο φύλων είναι, από αριθμητική άποψη, ισότιμη.
- Χρόνος δελτία ειδήσεων - Η εξίσου σημαντική χρονική υπο-εκπροσώπηση των γυναικών στα δελτία οφείλεται κυρίως σε αυτή ακριβώς την αριθμητική τους υπο-εκπροσώπηση. Ο συνολικός γυναικείος χρόνος είναι πράγματι πολύ μικρότερος από τον ανδρικό.

- Σε αντίθεση, όμως, με ότι παρατηρήθηκε στην περίπτωση των εκπομπών λόγου, στα ειδησεογραφικά δελτία ο χρόνος που αναλογεί σε κάθε γυναίκα ξεχωριστά είναι περίπου ίσος με τον χρόνο που αναλογεί σε κάθε άνδρα ξεχωριστά.
- Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί καλούνται περισσότερο να αναλύσουν κοινωνικά θέματα παρά θέματα οικονομίας και πολιτικής.
- Ο λόγος των γυναικών είναι πιο δομημένος και ενεργητικός σε σχέση με αυτόν των αντρών. Επίσης, οι ίδιες επικαλούνται προσωπικά βιώματα και εμπειρίες.
- Και τα δύο φύλα αρσενικοποιούν τα ουσιαστικά.
- Οι γυναίκες είναι πιο διαλλακτικές και ψύχραιμες και ο λόγος τους πιο συναισθηματικός. Αντίθετα, ο λόγος των αντρών γίνεται περισσότερο συναισθηματικός όταν απουσιάζουν τα επιχειρήματα.

PRESENTATION 2

THE PROFILE OF WOMEN POLITICIANS THROUGH THE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICIANS' AND JOURNALISTS' INTERVIEWS



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

uni twin

UNESCO Chair in Gender Equality and
Women's Empowerment
(Cyprus)

University
of Cyprus

**Διεθνές Συνέδριο «Φύλο, Νομοθεσία και Θεσμοί»
21 – 22 Νοεμβρίου
Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου**

**ΤΟ ΠΡΟΦΙΛ ΤΩΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ
ΜΕΣΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ
ΣΥΝΕΝΤΕΥΞΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ**

**ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑ ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΥΣ
ΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΡΙΚΗ ΦΟΙΤΗΤΡΙΑ
ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ**

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΙΚΑ

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΙΚΑ

Σκοπός

Σκοπός της ανάλυσης λόγου στην παρούσα εργασία είναι να προσδιοριστούν οι ιδεολογίες και οι αντιδράσεις τόσο των πολιτικών όσο και των δημοσιογράφων στα διάφορα ζητήματα που εξετάζονται μέσα από το ερωτηματολόγιο ούτως ώστε να σκιαγραφηθεί το προφίλ των γυναικών πολιτικών που εξετάζει η έρευνα.

Ερευνητικά ερωτήματα

Ποιες οι στάσεις, ιδεολογίες και αντιδράσεις αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων απέναντι στο ζήτημα της εμφάνισης των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ;

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Μέθοδος

Το είδος ανάλυσης που επιλέγηκε σε αυτό το σημείο της έρευνας έχει τα τυπικά χαρακτηριστικά της ανάλυσης λόγου, προκειμένου να μελετηθούν οι στάσεις και ιδεολογίες των αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων για το ζήτημα της παρούσας των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ και να προσδιοριστεί το προφίλ των γυναικών πολιτικών.

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Η Κριτική Ανάλυση Λόγου είναι η ερευνητική μέθοδος που χρησιμοποιείται για την διερεύνηση της ιδεολογίας, δηλαδή όχι μόνο αυτών που λέγονται σε ένα κείμενο, αλλά και αυτών που έχουν ήδη ειπωθεί αλλού και θεωρούνται δεδομένα (Fairclough, 1995).

Σύμφωνα με την κριτική ανάλυση λόγου η γλώσσα και η κοινωνία βρίσκονται σε μία συνεχή διαλεκτική σχέση (Stubbs, 1983). Πρόκειται για το κοινωνικό σημειωτικό σύστημα (Halliday, 1978), το οποίο χρησιμοποιείται για αναπαράσταση και σημασιοδότηση.

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Πληθυσμός

Τον πληθυσμό της έρευνας και της παρούσας ανάλυσης αποτέλεσαν πολιτικοί εκπρόσωποι κομμάτων και μάχιμοι δημοσιογράφοι.

Δείγμα

Συγκεκριμένα το δείγμα μας αποτέλεσαν 21 πολιτικοί, 11 γυναίκες πολιτικοί και 10 άντρες πολιτικοί και 18 δημοσιογράφοι εκ των οποίων 9 ήταν γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι και 9 άντρες δημοσιογράφοι. Η επιλογή του δείγματος έγινε με δειγματοληψία κριτηρίου και βολική, αφού η εργασία διεκπεραιώθηκε με διαθέσιμους πολιτικούς και δημοσιογράφους, έχοντας ως κριτήριο το φύλο, την κομματική παράταξη, την παρουσία τους στις εκπομπές που αναλύθηκαν. Η είσοδός μας στο πεδίο έγινε μετά από διαπραγμάτευση με τους διαθέσιμους πολιτικούς και δημοσιογράφους.

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Μέσα συλλογής δεδομένων - ηθική και δεοντολογία

Για την επίτευξη των στόχων της έρευνας θεωρήθηκε απαραίτητη, ως τεχνική συλλογής των δεδομένων, και της συνέντευξης ημιδομημένης μορφής (Silverman, 2000). Η ημιδομημένη μορφή συνέντευξης περιλαμβάνει ερωτήσεις κλειστού τύπου, όπως και η δομημένη συνέντευξη, αλλά, ταυτόχρονα υποβάλλονται και ανοιχτές ερωτήσεις για πληρέστερη κατανόηση της απάντησης που δόθηκε με την κλειστή ερώτηση (Παπαναστασίου, 1996). Δημιουργήθηκε έτσι, ένας οδηγός συνέντευξης με 13 κύρια ερωτήματα και επιπλέον διευκρινιστικές ερωτήσεις σε κάθε ερώτημα. Οι δεκατρείς κύριες ερωτήσεις αφορούσαν στις απόψεις των πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων για την γενικότερη παρουσία των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ. Η διάρκεια των συνεντεύξεων κυμαινόταν γύρω στα 15-30 λεπτά.

Πριν την έναρξη κάθε συνέντευξης επισημάνθηκε σε κάθε συνεντευχιαζόμενο/η ο σκοπός της εργασίας, ενώ υπήρξε αναφορά και σε θέματα εμπιστευτικότητας. Συγκεκριμένα διαβεβαιώθηκαν ότι όλες οι πληροφορίες και τα στοιχεία που θα συγκεντρώνονταν κατά την διάρκεια της συνέντευξης, θα παρέμεναν απόρρητα και εμπιστευτικά, με πλήρη σεβασμό στον κώδικα ηθικής και δεοντολογίας. Ζητήθηκε επίσης η συνειδητή συναίνεση των συνεντευχιαζόμενων για μαγνητοφώνηση των συνεντεύξεων, ούτως ώστε να αποτυπωθούν με ακρίβεια αυτά που επρόκειτο να συζητηθούν.

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Διαδικασία ανάλυσης δεδομένων

Αφού καταγράφηκαν οι συνεντεύξεις, ακολούθως απομαγνητοφωνήθηκαν. Για την ανάλυση των συνεντεύξεων χρησιμοποιήθηκε η στρατηγική της συνεχούς σύγκρισης. Συγκεκριμένα, κωδικοποιήθηκαν οι απομαγνητοφωνημένες συνεντεύξεις, τόσο με etic όσο και με emic κωδικούς, και για τους πιο σημαντικούς από αυτούς δόθηκαν ορισμοί και κριτήρια συμπερίληψης/αποκλεισμού.

Ακολούθως για τους σκοπούς της ανάλυσης λόγου οι απομαγνητοφωνημένες συνεντεύξεις έτυχαν ειδικής επεξεργασίας, ούτως ώστε να προσδιοριστούν οι στάσεις και ιδεολογίες των πολιτικών και δημοσιογράφων στη βάση 6 κατηγοριών που προέκυψαν:

- α. Ισότητα (ορισμός)
- β. Ίση – Άνιση μεταχείριση αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ
- γ. Αίτια χαμηλού ποσοστού γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ και στην πολιτική
- δ. Θεματολογία
- ε. Διάκριση αντρών – γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ

στ. Τρόποι αντιμετώπισης μειωμένης παρουσίας γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ και στην πολιτική

Στη συνέχεια αφού έγινε η καταγραφή των δεδομένων σύμφωνα με τις πιο πάνω κατηγορίες, τα δεδομένα έτυχαν συγκριτικής ανάλυσης, ούτως ώστε να προκύψουν δεδομένα για τις εξής ομάδες: α. Άντρες – Γυναίκες πολιτικοί, β. Άντρες – Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι, γ. Άντρες πολιτικοί – Άντρες δημοσιογράφοι, δ. Γυναίκες πολιτικοί – Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ		
ΙΣΟΤΗΤΑ (ΟΡΙΣΜΟΣ)	Γυναίκες πολιτικοί	Άντρες πολιτικοί
	ΑΝΤΙΦΑΣΗ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
	«[...] χωρίς διάκριση ότι είσαι γυναίκα με αποδοχή διαφορετικότητας [...].» (Σ2_ΝΛ)	«[...]τα δεδομένα στην Κύπρο έχουν αλλάξει. Γοττόσο υπάρχουν ακόμα πολλά που πρέπει να γίνουν προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση.» (Σ3_ΡΝ)
	ΑΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«Ισα δικαιώματα, ίσες υποχρεώσεις, ίσες προσβάσεις, ίσες επιλογές, ίση κατανομή βαρών, ίδια αμοιβή για την ίδια εργασία. Ισοτιμία.» (Σ1_Ζ1)	«Ισότητα σημαίνει, ισότητα δικαιωμάτων, ισότητα ευκαιριών, ισότητα δυνατοτήτων, ισότητα ρόλων, ισότητα αρμοδιοτήτων.» (Σ12_ΕΡ)	
ΚΡΙΝΕΙ ΜΕ ΒΑΣΗ ΤΑ ΔΙΚΑ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΑ [ΣΗΜΕΙΟ ΑΠΟΚΛΙΣΗΣ]	ΛΑΘΑΝΕΙ ΣΤΕΡΕΟΤΥΠΟ [ΣΗΜΕΙΟ ΑΠΟΚΛΙΣΗΣ]	
«Και τέλος θεωρώ πλήρως άστοχο να αναγάγουμε το θέμα της θέσης της γυναίκας σε υπόθεση.» (Σ1_Ζ1)	«[...] η γυναίκα έχει ενδεχομένως κάποια μειονεκτήματα συγκριτικά με αυτά του ανδρός, εγκυμοσύνες ή μητρική ιδιότητα «η κλη. ε... όμως πέρα αυτού υπάρχουν όλες οι προϋποθέσεις να εφαρμοστεί η ισότητα στην Κύπρο.» (Σ6_ΛΦ) «Η γυναίκα έχει να αντιπαλέψει διπλά θεσμά. Έχει να διαψεύσει τις κοινωνικές διακρίσεις σε βάρος της, να αντιμετωπίσει κάθε μορφής δια σε βάρος της παρουσίας της, της εκόνας της, του φύλου της να ισορροπήσει ανάμεσα στην οικογενειακή, επαγγελματική και κοινωνική ζωή.» (Σ7_ΒΛ)	

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ		
ΙΣΗ-ΑΝΙΣΗ ΜΕΤΑΞΕΙΡΣΗ ΑΝΤΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ	Γυναίκες πολιτικοί	Άντρες πολιτικοί
	ΑΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
	«Όχι δεν έχει ίση μεταχείριση.» (Σ2_ΝΛ) «Σε καμία περίπτωση.» (Σ5_ΟΛ) «Σίγουρα όχι.» (Σ21_ΤΗ)	«Και με το περισσότερο νομίζω.» (Σ6_ΛΦ)
	ΧΡΗΣΙΜΟΠΟΙΕΙ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΑ ΒΙΩΜΑΤΑ [ΣΗΜΕΙΟ ΑΠΟΚΛΙΣΗΣ]	ΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΠΟΔΕΚΤΑ ΤΑ ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ [ΣΗΜΕΙΟ ΑΠΟΚΛΙΣΗΣ]
«[...]ο παρουσιαστής που θα ξεκινήσει την έναρξη του λόγοντας έχουμε ωραίες παρουσίες σήμερα στο στούντιο (με θυμό).» (Σ5_ΟΛ)	«Ποστού μας δεν γίνεται διάκριση στις τηλεοπτικές εκπομπές.» (Σ20_ΕΤ)	
ΕΚΦΡΑΖΕΤΑΙ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ [ΣΗΜΕΙΟ ΑΠΟΚΛΙΣΗΣ]	ΑΓΝΟΙΑ [ΣΗΜΕΙΟ ΑΠΟΚΛΙΣΗΣ]	
« [...] εδώ είναι ακόμα ένα μεγάλο θέμα η προκατάληψη και το πώς εισροαοαίεται η γυναίκα στα ΜΜΕ.» (Σ14_ΒΛ)	«Δεν πιστεύω ότι υπάρχει κανένας που να μη θέλει να καλέσει γυναίκες ένεκα του ότι είναι γυναίκες.» (Σ6_ΛΦ)	
	ΚΡΙΝΕΙ ΜΕ ΒΑΣΗ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΑ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΑ [ΣΗΜΕΙΟ ΑΠΟΚΛΙΣΗΣ]	
	«Δεν έχω διακρίνει από την δική μου τουλάχιστον πορεία τόσα χρόνια είτε από ότι βλέπω ή συμμετέρω, οποιαδήποτε γυναίκα πολιτικό σε πάρε να ισταρεί, να αδικείται ή να αγνοείται από δημοσιογράφο.» (Σ15_ΒΓ)	

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ		
ΑΙΤΙΑ ΧΑΜΗΛΟΥ ΠΟΣΟΣΤΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ	Γυναίκες πολιτικοί	Άντρες πολιτικοί
	ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
	«[...] αντίληψη που κέρσκει ότι ο λόγος του άνδρα πολιτικού έχει περισσότερο ειδικό θάρρος και είναι πιο "νομοματωμένος". Μήλα λάθος κατά τη γνώμη μου.» [I1_2I] «[...] πρόβλημα ξεκινά από πολύ πιο βαθιά μέσα στις ιδέες της κομματικής δομής που κατά βάση φτιάχτηκαν γύρω από το ανδρικό αρσενικό πρότυπο [...]» [I5_0A]	«δεν έχει εκλλικρηθεί στην κοινωνία η εκπαίδευση, ααα... ότι οι γυναίκες είναι τουλάχιστον να μην πω ότι είναι πιο ικανές είναι τουλάχιστον το ίδιο ικανές και, να συμμετάσχουν και να έχουν καθοριστικό ρόλο σε... στα πολιτικά ζητήματα, στις ηγετικές θέσεις και τότε εδώ έχει να κάνει με την εκπαίδευση, με την απασχόληση, την απασχόληση, την εκπαίδευση της κοινωνίας, αα... από πολύ νωρίς.» [I30_3A]
ΑΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΣΑ]	ΕΚΦΡΑΖΕΤΑΙ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ [ΣΑ]	
«Οι τηλεοπτικοί σταθμοί δεν ζητούν την άποψη των γυναικών [...]» [I2_1A]	«Είμαι η κοινωνία των πολιτών που αρνείται να σερβίρει τις γυναικείες υποψήφιας ή είναι οι ίδιες οι γυναίκες που εθάζονται που δέχονται καθημερινό έργο και που ρόλους τους επιλέγουν να αρνηθούν σε άλλα καθήκοντα.» [I3_2I]	
ΕΠΙΒΕΒΑΙΩΣΗ ΠΟΡΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ [ΣΑ]	ΛΑΝΘΑΝΕΙ ΣΤΕΡΕΟΤΥΠΟ [ΣΑ]	
«[...] αλλά όπως το 2011 εκ ήσαν σχεδόν αφανής η γυναίκα στις τηλεοράσεις.» [I8_1N]	«[...] γιατί έχει την εκδήλη της οικογένειας, των παιδιών, του σπαστού και ανθερμαίνους της εργασίας και τα φορτώνεται όλα αυτά η γυναίκα με αποτέλεσμα να μην έχει τον χρόνο, την πολιτικότητα του χρόνου για να μπει στο πρόβλετο που λέγεται πολιτική.» [I15_3I]	
ΕΙΡΩΝΕΙΑ [ΣΑ]	ΕΝΟΧΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣ [ΣΑ]	
«Κατά την αντίληψη των καναλαρχών δεν γράφει δεν πούλα όταν παρουσιάζεται σε αυτές τους ακριβούς τηλεοπτικούς χρόνος [...]» [I14_3A]	«[...] μήλας είναι οι γυναικείες παρουσίες που με το δυναμισμό τους έχουν καταφέρει να σχολιάζουν να γίνουν αποδεκτές για να μπορούν να αρχίσουν, να ασχολούνται είτε με τα κομματικά πράγματα είτε με τις, με τα εκλογικά είτε με τον ανασηματισμό της εκδήλησης [...]» [I9_3A]	

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ		
ΘΕΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΑ	Γυναίκες πολιτικοί	Άντρες πολιτικοί
	ΛΑΝΘΑΝΕΙ ΣΤΕΡΕΟΤΥΠΟ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
	«[...] τότε τα θέματα που έχουν να κάνουν με την καθημερινότητα τα κατανοούν τζαί τα εμπειδώνουν παραπάνο οι γυναίκες γιατί είναι η τριβή τους η καθημερινή τους.» [I17_3P] «Εμ ίσως γιατί οι γυναίκες που είναι στην πολιτική δεν είναι εξειδικευμένες στους τομείς όπως είναι η οικονομία όπως είναι η πολιτική, όπως είναι η ανέλιξη μιας δημοκρατίας κλπ.» [I21_1H]	«[...] γυναίκες λόγω και των πολλαπλών ρόλων που καλούνται να επιτελέσουν με την ιδιότητα της μητέρας, της συζύγου, της εργαζόμενης, του ανθρώπου, των ευνοσηθών που διακρίνονται οι γυναίκες εκ... φυσιολογικά διαμορφώνονται ε... διαμορφώνονται και μια θεματολογία η οποία προκρίνει την παρουσία και να δοθεί λόγος στις γυναίκες γύρω από αυτά τα ζητήματα.» [I10_3A]
ΕΝΟΧΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣ [ΣΑ]	ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ [ΣΑ]	
«Όπως οι ιδέες δεν διακρίνουν στο ίδιο το κόμμα να εμφανιστούν σε μια τέτοια εκπομπή.» [I21_1H] «Βεβαίως για να είναι δυνατή πολλές φορές οι γυναίκες δεν τα πήνε πολύ καλά σε συζητήσεις υψηλής πολιτικής.» [I1_2I]	«Γιατί αυτό να πρέπει να απασχολούν μόνο τις γυναίκες; Και όχι και τους άντρες και γιατί να μην απασχολούν τις γυναίκες οι πολιτικές της Τρόικα που /2 είναι καταβολή πολιτικό σοβαρό θέμα κ αφού όλα αυτά όπως η άλλους εκπαιδών την πολιτική τους και κοινωνική τους κατάσταση σε πολύ μεγαλύτερο βαθμό από ότι τους άντρες πολιτικούς έχουν με δε.» [I9_3A]	
ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΣΑ]		
«[...] υπάρχει τζαί μια αντρική διαπλοκή η οποία αποκλείεται πέραν του πολιτικού κόσμου, [...]θα διαπιστώσει ότι για κάποιο λόγο εντός αυτής της διαπλοκής και της υπερβολής κάποιων προσώπων θα εντοπίσει ότι υπάρχει φύλο σε αυτή και ότι δυστυχώς είναι το αντρικό.» [I5_0A]		

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ	
Γυναίκες πολιτικοί	Άντρες πολιτικοί
ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«Πρέπει δηλαδή το στοιχείο της υποταχής ή αμφισβήτησης της ικανότητας των γυναικών ακόμη και στις περιπτώσεις που παρουσιάζονται σε ένα πλάνο.» (I19_3N)	«Τις γυναίκες μιλούν οι δημοσιογράφοι τις παρουσιάζουν των εκπαιδευμένων τις σέβονται, αν επιτρέπεται το ρόλο στις εκπαιδευμένες για αυτό και παραμένουν σε αυτό τον τομέα τον διακρινετικό και τον άσπρο θα έλεγα τον ουδέτερο.» (I16_ΔC)
ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΗ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΩΝ ΒΙΩΜΑΤΩΝ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«[...] διάκριση που έδωσα από προσωπικά σε συζητήσεις ήταν που έδωσα πολύ λιγότερο ρόλο σε γυναίκες από έναν άντρα συνολική που ήταν στο πλάνο. Δείχνουν τούτοι που έρχεται και που απαράβατος με τίτλους διακρινετικούς κριτικές αλλά έφαινε από το θέμα έφαινε από το μέγεθος που ήθελα να σταίλω από ως στους τριηλεκτρικούς.» (I8_3N)	«Μολαίως κριτικές ... που ... δεν έμειναν στον σκληρό πυρήνα της συζήτησης ... οι μέγιστοι δημοσιογράφοι όταν απασχολούν στη γυναίκα πολιτικό ... παύση χαμηλή απάντηση σε μέγιστοι δημοσιογράφοι όταν μιλούσε σε γυναίκα [...]» (I9_ΔΔ)
ΑΠΟΡΡΙΨΗ ΠΟΡΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«Αυτό αποδεικνύει η μελέτη σας ότι η γυναίκα είναι πιο πρακτική στις απαντήσεις και απαντά σύντομα επί της ουσίας των ερωτήσεων ενώ οι άντρες μπορεί να περιλαμβάνουν διάφορα πολιτικά.» (I14_ΒΑ)	«Ναι όμως σε αυτό γυναίκες έχουν // ή ένα πλεονέκτημα οι γυναίκες σε αυτό έτσι τους δίνεται η ευκαιρία να παρουσιάσουν με παρουσίαση ημερίδα και άρα η τιμή τους γιατί δεν διακρίνονται από τους δημοσιογράφους έχει το καλό του ποίου.» (I16_ΔC)
ΑΓΝΟΙΑ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«[...] δεν το είχα προσέξει.» (I4_3N)	«[...] δεν έχω παρατηρήσει [...]» (I3_3I) «Ουδέποτε ήνωσα αυτή την διαφοροποίηση.» (I15_ΒΓ)
ΕΙΡΩΝΕΙΑ [ΣΑ]	
«[...] είπατος θα σε αντιμετωπίσει με απάντηση και συνεχώς πάντα αυτό το πρόσωπο και είπατος θα σε αντιμετωπίσει με υπερβολική ευγένεια γιατί είσαι υπερβολικά ευγενής.» (I6_3N)	

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ	
Γυναίκες πολιτικοί	Άντρες πολιτικοί
ΛΑΘΓΑΝΕΙ ΣΤΕΡΕΟΤΥΠΟ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«Αλλά είναι τζαι ένας δύσκολος χώρος για τις γυναίκες, δύσκολος χώρος.» (I4_3N)	«Έγινερα δεν μπορείς να διακρίσεις σαν πολιτικός όταν ασχολείσαι με την ισότητα των φύλων.» (I6_ΔD)
ΕΠΙΠΛΑΚΤΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«[...] εγώ πιστεύω πρέπει να εκπονηθεί ένα σχέδιο ανάδειξης, το οποίο να έχει από ζητήματα έξω για πολιτικές αν θέλετε παρουσίας και συμμετοχής των γυναικών μέχρι ποσοστάσεις σε διοικητικά συμβούλια [...]» (I5_ΔA)	«[...] μπορεί να γίνει και πρέπει να γίνει δίωμο μέσα από μια διεκδίκηση μπορεί να κερδίσει πάρα πολλά δικαιώματα που θα την οδηγήσουν σε μια καλύτερη κατάσταση από ότι είμαστε σήμερα.» (I9_ΔΔ)
ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΣΑ]	ΕΙΡΩΝΕΙΑ [ΣΑ]
«Εμ δυστυχώς και που τα ίδια τα κόμματα που επιλέγουν ποιοι θα πάνε στα πλάνια υπάρχει μια ρατσιστική σε εισαγωγική τοποθέτηση απέναντι των γυναικών [...]» (I4_3N)	«[...] δυστυχώς ή ευτυχώς (χαμηλά) καταλήγουν οι γυναίκες να παίρνουν θεματικές τίτλους που να μην είναι του σκληρού πυρήνα των πολιτικών οικονομίας, άμυνας, εσωτερικών [...]» (I6_ΔD)
ΕΝΟΧΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣ [ΣΑ]	ΕΠΙΦΥΛΑΚΤΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ [ΣΑ]
«Εάν πρέπει να περιοριζόμαστε μόνο στα κοινωνικά θέματα σε από μας εξαρτάται αυτό το κομμάτι.» (I14_ΒA)	«[...] εάν υπάρχουν πάρα πολλές αλλαγές κυρίως κοινωνικές, εάν ενισχυθεί μια αυτοεπιμόρφωση της γυναίκας μέσα από τα ορθά πράγματα τα οποία προσφέρει η οικογένεια [...]» (I9_ΔΔ)

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ		
	Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι	Άνδρες δημοσιογράφοι
ΙΣΟΤΗΤΑ (ΟΡΙΣΜΟΣ)	ΑΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ (ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ)	
	«[...] στην Κύπρο η γυναίκα δεν αντιμετωπίζεται με τον ίδιο σεβασμό, δεν έχει τις ίδιες ευκαιρίες, δεν τυγχάνει της ίδιας αποδοχής και δεν έχει ανάλογες απολαβές με άντρες που κάνουν την ίδια εργασία με εκείνη και σε πολλές περιπτώσεις οι άλλοι δεν έχουν αυξημένες προσδοκίες από την εργασία μιας γυναίκας. Η θέση της γυναίκας σε πολλές από τις περιπτώσεις που προανέφερε, υποβαθμίζεται, ακόμη και εντός της οικογένειας.» (E9_NΨ)	«Στην Κύπρο τα πράγματα είναι ακόμη πιο δύσκολα, διότι υπάρχει εσκεμμένη υποτίμηση του γυναικείου φύλλου ειδικά στον εργασιακό τομέα, για σκοπούς παραχώρησης μειωμένων απολαβών, στα περισσότερα επαγγέλματα.» (E7_ΔΤ)
	ΑΝΤΙΦΑΣΗ (ΣΑ)	ΕΝΟΧΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣ (ΣΑ)
«Θεωρώ ότι σε πολλούς τομείς υπάρχει, ωστόσο διαπιστώνω ανισότητες που προκαλούνται από νοοτροπίες κυρίων των ανδρών αλλά και των ίδιων των γυναικών.» (E8_ΤΔ)	«Εε θεωρώ δεν υπάρχει ισοτιμία στο βαθμό που πρέπει και αυτόν ξε εναντιοίεται, εξαργάται και σε μεγάλο βαθμό από τη στάση των γυναικών εδώ στην Κύπρο οι οποίες έχουν μάθει να διεκδικούν μόνο τα καλά για τις γυναίκες και όταν στριμωχτούν ή δυσκολευτούν λίγο ξεχνούν τα ίσα δικαιώματα και προβάλλουν το γεγονός ότι είναι γυναίκες.» (E11_ΕΛ)	

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ			
ΣΗ-ΑΝΙΣΗ ΜΕΤΑΧΕΙΡΙΣΗ ΑΝΤΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ	Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι	Άντρες δημοσιογράφοι	
	ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]		
	«Είναι και ο χώρος της πολιτικής ανδροκρατούμενος. Δεν υπάρχει προτίμηση της φιλοφρονίας γυναικών πολιτικών στα τηλεοπτικά δελτία ειδήσεων.» (Σ18_ΨΝ)	«[...]ήρται εμείς επιδιώκουμε τις κοκορομαχίες οι οποίες πιθανόν να αυξήσουν τζάι την τηλεθέση [...]» (Σ13_ΛΛ)	
	ΑΠΩΛΥΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]		
	«Σε καμία περίπτωση.» (Σ9_ΝΨ)	«Όχι.» (Σ11_ΞΛ)	
ΑΠΟΡΡΙΨΗ ΠΟΡΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]			
«Ναι. Ναι. Θεωρώ πως ναι γιατί δεδομένου ότι δύο άτομα ένας άντρας και μία γυναίκα είναι προσκεκλημένοι σε μια συγκεκριμένη εκπομπή έχουν ίσο χρόνο για να τοποθετηθούν, ίση προσβολή και έχουν και οι δύο το δικαίωμα στο λόγο τους.» (Σ12_ΣΒ)	«Νομίζω ότι τυγχάνει ευνοϊκότερης μεταχείρισης από τους άντρες.» (Σ3_ΡΝ)		
ΕΙΡΩΝΕΙΑ [ΣΑ]			
«Καταρχήν δεν προσκαλούνται συχνά γυναίκες πολιτικοί εκτός αν έχουν ένα μοναδικό πόστο (Υπουργός). Αν είναι δουλειές θα προτιμηθούν άνδρες γιατί συνήθως αυτοί έχουν και τα αξιώματα στο κόμμα, στη Βουλή κλπ και μιλούν από μια πιο ισχυρή θέση. Είναι δηλ. πρωτοκλασάτα στέλη άρα ο λόγος τους έχει βαρύτητα.» (Σ1_ΤΨ)			

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ			
ΑΙΤΙΑ ΧΑΜΗΛΟΥ ΠΟΣΟΣΤΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ	Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι	Άντρες δημοσιογράφοι	
	ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]		
	«Επιπλέον, υπάρχει και η υποκαθθένουσα προκατάληψη όλων, κομμάτων, παραγωγών, κοινότητας που δεν έχουν συνείδηση τη γυναίκα με αυτό το ρόλο (του πολιτικού). Εδώ η ίδια η γλώσσα μας αν το φάει κανείς αντανακλά την νοοτροπία κυρίως της κοινωνίας για την μη ταύτιση της γυναίκας με κάποιους ρόλους (Γυναίκες έλεγκτες, Γενικές διευθύντριες, Βουλευτές και όχι θηλυκές άρα)» (Σ2_ΒΝ)	«Όσοι στα κυρίαρχα κόμματα επικρατεί ακόμα ανδροκρατία, και μάλιστα από άτομα με πεπαιτωμένα μυαλά, που αποσκοπούν κυρίως στην ανάληψη των νταβάνων.» (Σ10_ΣΝ)	
	ΛΑΝΘΑΝΟΝ ΣΤΕΡΕΟΤΥΠΟ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]		
	«Επίσης θέλω να πω ότι μια γυναίκα αποκτά αξία και μπορεί να εκπροσωπηθεί όταν είναι παντρεμένη με κάποιον στέλεχος σε μια τράπεζα, ή με κάποιον Υπουργό. Παίρνει αξία μέσω του ανδρός που έχει δίπλα της. Κάπως έτσι.» (Σ17_ΝΘ)	«Επίσης μπορεί ή και καιρίως μέσα στο μυαλό μας χωρίς να το θέλουμε συνειδητά να ηττηθεί ο νους μας ήρω για σε ένα άντρα πολιτικά να τον κολύβουμε αν ή ή οι σε όλημ εκπομπών για τις προεκλογικές περιόδους φρούμα ή ή αν θέματα ή ή με την αμφι ραβία τηλεθέση που πρόκειται να πάρουν όλοι οι υποψήφιοι από τα κόμματα των τηλεοπτικών εκπομπών.» (Σ13_ΛΛ)	
ΕΝΟΧΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]			
«Αλλά θεωρώ ότι οι ίδες μπορεί να επιλέγουν να μη διεκδικούν στον εργασιακό τομέα.» (Σ14_ΛΛ)	«Είναι πολύ φρενολογικά αφού οι γυναίκες επιδιώκουν να συζητούν θέματα «πιο εύκολα» με λιγότερες παγίδες και με λιγότερο πολιτικό κόστος.» (Σ3_ΡΝ) «Επιπλέον οι γυναίκες φοβούνται ακόμα να διεκδικήσουν, λόγω αυτής της ανδροκρατίας των κομμάτων.» (Σ10_ΞΝ)		
ΑΠΩΛΥΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΣΑ]			
«Οι υποψήφιοις γυναίκες ήταν κατά πολύ λιγότερες σε σχέση με τους άντρες.» (Σ8_ΤΑ)			

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ	
Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι	Άντρες δημοσιογράφοι
ΛΑΘΑΝΕΙ ΣΤΕΡΕΟΤΥΠΟ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«Οι γυναίκες σε φόσκις είναι πιο αισθητοποιημένες σε κοινωνικά ζητήματα για αυτό και επιλέγουν περισσότερο για να συμμετέχουν σε κοινωνικές αποστολές.» (Σ8_Τδ) «Στην περίπτωση των κοινωνικών θεμάτων, οι γυναίκες έχουν από τη φύση τους μία ευαισθησία και είναι πιο ενθαρμυμένες για τα σχετικά θέματα.» (Σ9_Νψ)	«Η ευαισθησία του γυναικείου φύλου αντικατοπτρίζεται και τη δράση της στα κοινωνικά θέματα και επειδή εκεί αναλαμβάνει πιο πρωταγωνιστικό ρόλο πολλές φορές αυτοδύναμα, καλείται πιο συχνά διότι η δράση της παρουσιάζει ενδιαφέρον.» (Σ7_ΔΤ)
ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«[...] ενώ αυτός είναι και ο ρόλος που τους δίνει η ίδια η κοινωνία και οι τηλεθέσεις. Οι γυναίκες είναι πιο αποδεκτές σε ευαίσθητα θέματα και οι άντρες σε κοσμοφάν.» (Σ9_Νψ)	«Τα ίδια τα κείμενα έχουν χωρίσει αυτούς τους τομείς, στις κοινοτικές διέξυ τους επιτροπές και στη Βουλή, σε ανδροκρατούμενους (Οικονομία, Εξωτερική Πολιτική, Κυπριακό και Εθελοντές) και οι τομείς όχι γυναικοκρατούμενους αλλά τουλάχιστον ίσης κατανομής μεταξύ των δύο φύλων (Περιβάλλον, Πολιτισμός, Κακοποίηση/δικαιώματα παιδιών και Γυναίκες Ζητήματα).» (Σ7_ΔΤ)
ΕΝΟΚΟΠΙΣΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣ [ΣΑ]	
	«Οι ίδιες επικεντρώνονται σε ένα δύο θέματα τα οποία έχουν καλό και φοβούμενες μήπως εκταθούν περιορίζονται σε αυτά τα δύο θέματα.» (Σ11_ΣΑ)

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ	
Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι	Άντρες δημοσιογράφοι
ΕΝΟΚΟΠΙΣΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«Αλλά και εκεί όπου υπάρχουν γυναίκες σε ανώτατες θέσεις πρέπει να είναι συνεκδοχισμένες και ευαισθητοποιημένες για να προωθούν γυναίκες.» (Σ1_Τν)	«Μου έχει τύχει όμως να προσκαλέσω γυναίκες πολιτικούς για θέματα πολιτικής (κυπριακό κυρίως) και να μου αρνηθούν.» (Σ6_ΑΡ)
ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΗ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΩΝ ΒΙΩΜΑΤΩΝ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«Εμ αν θέλετε κάποιες να παρακολουθείτε τι σχέδια γίνονται που τους τεχνικούς πήρα από τους δημοσιογράφους, αν είναι μια ώρα για γυναίκα στο πλάι είναι υποστηρικτικό που γίνονται τα σχέδια, αν σεξιστικά σχέδια που γίνονται, [...] αν είναι μόνοι τους οι άντρες εν μπορείτε να φανταστείτε τι γίνεται.» (Σ5_ΣΑ)	«Όχι δεν έμα θώσις διακρίσεις ως προς τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς.» (Σ7_ΔΤ)
ΑΠΟΡΡΙΨΗ ΠΟΡΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
«διαφορώ με τη θέση αυτή. Ο ρόλος του δημοσιογράφου δεν διαφοροποιείται ανάλογα με το φύλο των προσκεκλημένων.» (Σ8_Τδ)	«Ναι, θεωρώ ότι δεν γίνονται διακρίσεις εμ μεταξύ αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ εμ υπό τον υπό τη θέση ότι αντιμετωπίζονται ισάμενα από το δημοσιογράφο.» (Σ13_ΛΑ)

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ		
ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΗ ΑΝΤΡΩΝ – ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ	Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι	Άντρες δημοσιογράφοι
	ΑΓΝΟΙΑ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
	«Δεν έχω προσέξει κάτι τέτοιο.» (I1_TV) «Όχι δεν γίνεται διάκριση.» (I8_TD)	«Νομίζω ότι δεν ισχύει κάτι τέτοιο.» (I3_PN) «Δεν το έχω παρατηρήσει.» (I5_AP) «Νομίζω δεν ισχύει.» (I10_EN)
	ΛΑΘΑΓΑΝΗ ΣΤΕΡΕΟΤΥΠΟ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
	«Ποιος πάλι οι άντρες πολιτικοί, οι οποίοι αριθμητικά είναι πολύ περισσότεροι και άρα πιο συχνά επισκεπτάς των πάνελ, να είναι και πιο εφοκειμαιμένοι. Από τη φύση τους οι άντρες έχουν πιο επαθτικό και λιτό λόγο, βοηθώντας έτσι τη συζήτηση και τον δημοσιογράφο, να επαβαίνει ουσιαστικά, με αφορμή τα λεγόμενα του πολιτικού.» (I9_NW)	«Δι οι γυναίκες που το αξίζουν και μπορούν να χειριστούν θέματα έχουν το χρόνο που έχουν και οι άντρες.» (I11_ΣΑ)
ΕΠΙΒΕΒΑΙΩΣΗ ΠΟΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ [ΣΑ]	ΕΙΡΩΝΕΙΑ [ΣΑ]	
«Οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι αντιμαατίζουα υποστηρικτικά τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς, το παραδέχονται, το αναγνωρίζουα.» (I5_ΣΑ)	«Ενώ στις γυναίκες είναι και αυτό το επίπεδο συζήτησης ίσως των πολιτικών λόγων να έχουμε περισσότερο τρωφή για συζήτηση ενώ στα κοινωνικά θέματα αντιλαμβάνοατε τη συζήτηση να κίμας για ένα κοινωνικό θέμα ενώ για ένα πολιτικό άμας περισσότερο δυνατότητα για μεγαλύτερη συζήτηση.» (I11_ΣΑ)	

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ		
ΤΡΟΠΟΙ ΑΝΤΙΜΕΤΩΠΙΣΗΣ ΜΕΙΩΜΕΝΗΣ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ	Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι	Άντρες δημοσιογράφοι
	ΕΠΙΠΛΑΚΤΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
	«Πρέπει και οι ίδιες οι γυναίκες να διαδικούν και να απαιτούν να συμμετέχουν εκεί όπου έχουν θέση.» (I1_TV)	«Μόνο η κατάλληλη παρουσίαση σημαντικών θέσεων στην πολιτική ζωή από γυναίκες, θα αφήσει τα ποσοστά εκπροσώπησης τους και στα τηλεοπτικά πάνελ.» (I7_ΔΤ)
	ΛΑΘΑΓΑΝΩΝ ΣΤΕΡΕΟΤΥΠΟ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]	
	«[...] να μάωα αν εκπαιδευμένοι που παράγουν την ιδέα της μάωα τηλεοπτικών σκευών που δεν θέτουν τη γυναίκα στον παραδοσιακό της ρόλο ίσως να μπορούν να προκληθεί μια αλλαγή. Στη πλαίσιο ενός δικτύου εκδοτικών άμας θεωρώ ότι δεν μπορούα να κίνοαα κάτι τέτοιο παρά μόνο να προβάλλουα θέματα που προβάλλουν την ιδέα της. Σε εκπαιδευτικούς άμας όπου έχουμε γυναίκες ή άντρες ανωμαλικής άμα.» (I12_ΣΒ)	«Μόνο εάν οι ίδιες εκπαιδευμένοι να έχουν ίση εκπροσώπηση με τους άντρες στα κίναρα λήψης αποφάσεων. Να μάωα δηλαδή στη κομματική και την πολιτική «μάχη». Δεν είναι εύκολο καθώς το κομματικό εκπαιδευμένο ανδροκρατείται. [...] Οπόσο συμφωνώ ότι είναι πολύ πιο δύσκολο για μία γυναίκα να ανεθεί τα σκαλιά της κομματικής ιαρχίας.» (I6_AP)
ΕΝΘΟΚΟΠΙΩΣΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣ [ΚΟΙΝΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΟ]		
«[...] αν περισσότερο γυναίκες αποφάδωαα να ασχοληθούν με την πολιτική [...]» (I9_NW)	«Πρέπει οι ίδιες να άωαα από το καθόλου τους και να διαδικήσουν και να πουν κμας θέλωαα συμμετοχή και σε άλλες κεραιές και δε θεωρώ αν δύαλωα το διαδίκωα μια γυναίκα ή να πραγματοποιηθεί από τις και κίτωος οι μη μάωα.» (I11_ΣΑ)	
ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ [ΣΑ]		
«[...] αν τα ανδροκρατούμενα κίμαα αποφάδωαα να στραφούν κίτωα ης γυναίκες που υπαρκτούν το κίμα. [...]» (I9_NW)		
ΕΙΡΩΝΕΙΑ [ΣΑ]		
«Άμα είναι το σύνολο της κοινωνίας που πρέπει να αλλάξει και αλλάξει, πιστεύω ότι αλλάξει, αλλά μάηα να φτάσουα στο ιδανικό, αμ μάηαα να ήσουαα να το δούαα.» (I5_ΣΑ)		

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΤΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ

ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ

Γυναίκες πολιτικοί – Άντρες πολιτικοί

- Στον λόγο των αντρών πολιτικών λανθάνουν περισσότερα στερεότυπα
- Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί παρουσιάζουν περισσότερα προσωπικά βιώματα για να ενισχύσουν τον λόγο τους
- Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας είναι κυρίως μη αποδεκτά από τους άντρες πολιτικούς
- Άγνοια σχετικά με τις διακρίσεις στα ΜΜΕ εκφράζουν περισσότερο οι άντρες πολιτικοί
- Περισσότερο κατηγορικός είναι ο λόγος των γυναικών οι οποίες κατηγορούν τα κόμματα, την κοινωνία και τα ΜΜΕ για την παρούσα κατάσταση στην πολιτική
- Επιβεβαιώνουν τα πορίσματα της έρευνας κυρίως οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί
- Περισσότερη ειρωνεία παρουσιάζεται στον λόγο των γυναικών πολιτικών, δείχνοντας την δυσαναστέτησή τους για την κατάσταση
- Οι ίδιες οι γυναίκες φαίνεται να ενοχοποιούν περισσότερο τη γυναίκα για τη θεματολογία και για τους τρόπους αντιμετώπισης της μειωμένης παρουσίας των γυναικών στην πολιτική και στα ΜΜΕ
- Και στον λόγο των δύο παρουσιάζεται αντίφαση ενώ συνηθίζουν να είναι απόλυτοι σε αυτά που λένε

ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ

Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι – Άντρες δημοσιογράφοι

- Τόσο στον λόγο των γυναικών όσο και των αντρών δημοσιογράφων κυριαρχούν τα στερεότυπα
- Περισσότερο κατηγορικός είναι ο λόγος των γυναικών δημοσιογράφων
- Ειρωνεία υπάρχει περισσότερο στον λόγο των γυναικών δημοσιογράφων
- Οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι ενοχοποιούν περισσότερο τη γυναίκα πολιτικό από ότι οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι για τα αίτια χαμηλής παρουσίας των γυναικών στην πολιτική, για τη θεματολογία, για τις διακρίσεις αλλά και για τους τρόπους αντιμετώπισης.

ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ

Γυναίκες πολιτικοί – Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι

- Ο λόγος και των δύο ομάδων είναι απόλυτος
- Στο λόγο των γυναικών δημοσιογράφων λανθάνουν περισσότερα στερεότυπα παρά στο λόγο των γυναικών πολιτικών (Αίτια χαμηλού ποσοστού γυναικών στην πολιτική, Διάκριση αντρών γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ)
- Ο λόγος και των γυναικών πολιτικών και των γυναικών δημοσιογράφων είναι κατηγορικός και περιέχει στο χείρα ειρωνείας
- Γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι ενοχοποιούν τη γυναίκα περισσότερο από τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς (Αίτια χαμηλού ποσοστού γυναικών στην πολιτική, Διάκριση αντρών γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ, Τρόποι αντιμετώπισης μειωμένης παρουσίας γυναικών στην πολιτική)

ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ

Άντρες πολιτικοί – Άντρες δημοσιογράφοι

- Οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι ενοχοποιούν τη γυναίκα περισσότερο από τους άντρες πολιτικούς (Αίτια χαμηλού ποσοστού γυναικών στην πολιτική, Θεματολογία, Διάκριση αντρών γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ, Τρόποι αντιμετώπισης μειωμένης παρούσας γυναικών στην πολιτική)
- Τόσο στον λόγο των αντρών πολιτικών όσο και στον λόγο των αντρών δημοσιογράφων κυριαρχούν στερεότυπα
- Ο λόγος των αντρών δημοσιογράφων είναι περισσότερο κατηγορικός.

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ

ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

- Άντρες και γυναίκες φαίνεται να επιρρίπτουν ευθύνες στη γυναίκα για την άνιση μεταχείρισή της στα ΜΜΕ αλλά και για μια μη ενεργό προσπάθεια για αλλαγή της υπάρχουσας κατάστασης
- Ο λόγος μεγάλου ποσοστού συνεντευξιαζόμενων φαίνεται να περιλαμβάνει πάρα πολλά λανθάνοντα στερεότυπα, κάτι που υποδηλώνει ότι ακόμα και οι ίδιοι που μπορεί να κατηγορούν την υπάρχουσα κατάσταση πέφτουν στην παγίδα υιοθέτησης στερεοτύπων σχετικά με τους ρόλους της γυναίκας που επιτελεί, αναφερόμενοι παράλληλα στη δυσκολία επιτυχίας μιας γυναίκας στην πολιτική
- Κυρίως οι άντρες είναι αυτοί οι οποίοι δεν αποδέχτηκαν τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας σχετικά με την άνιση μεταχείριση των γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ
- Κατηγορικός και περισσότερο ειρωνικός είναι ο λόγος των γυναικών, οι οποίες κατηγορούν την κοινωνία, τα ΜΜΕ αλλά και τα πολιτικά κόμματα για την παρούσα υποβαθμισμένη θέση της γυναίκας στην πολιτική, ενώ η ειρωνεία χρησιμοποιείται σαν άμυνα και τρόπος έκφρασης της δυσανασχέτησής τους

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PRESENTATION 3

THE PROFILE OF WOMEN POLITICIANS THROUGH THE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICIANS' AND JOURNALISTS' INTERVIEWS



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization

uniTwain

UNESCO Chair in Gender Equality and
Women's Empowerment
(Cyprus)

University
of Cyprus

**Διεθνές Συνέδριο «Φύλο, Νομοθεσία και Θεσμοί»
21 – 22 Νοεμβρίου 2014
Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου**

**ΤΟ ΠΡΟΦΙΛ ΤΩΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ
ΜΕΣΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ
ΣΥΝΕΝΤΕΥΞΕΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ**

ΖΗΝΟΥΛΑ ΑΛΑΜΠΡΙΤΗ
ΜΕΤΑΠΤΥΧΙΑΚΗ ΦΟΙΤΗΤΡΙΑ
ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ

ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ

ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Σκοπός

Σκοπός της ανάλυσης περιεχομένου στην παρούσα έρευνα είναι να διερευνηθούν και να προσδιοριστούν οι απόψεις των πολιτικών και των δημοσιογράφων όσον αφορά την παρουσία των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ.

Ερευνητικά ερωτήματα

Ποιες οι προθέσεις και τα χαρακτηριστικά των πολιτικών και των δημοσιογράφων σχετικά με τη παρουσία και τη συμμετοχή των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ;

Ποια συμπεράσματα προκύπτουν και ποια μηνύματα ανιχνεύονται μέσα από τις απαντήσεις τους;

Οι απόψεις τους συγκλίνουν ή αποκλίνουν;

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

- Κατασκευή Ερωτηματολογίου με ημιδομημένες ερωτήσεις
- Οι ερωτήσεις προέκυψαν από την ανάλυση των εκπομπών και των δελτίων ειδήσεων
 - Απομαγνητοφώνηση των συνεντεύξεων
 - Κατηγοριοποίηση των δεδομένων
 - Πίνακες συχνότητας
 - Παρουσίαση αποτελεσμάτων
 - Ανάλυση περιεχομένου
 - Συμπεράσματα

ΕΝΔΕΙΚΤΙΚΕΣ ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

- Ποια η προσωπική σας γνώμη ή άποψη: υπάρχει ισότητα των φύλων στην Κύπρο;
- Πώς ορίζετε την ισότητα των φύλων;
- Η γυναίκα πολιτικός νομίζετε τυχάνει ίσης μεταχείρισης με τον άντρα πολιτικό στις τηλεοπτικές εκπομπές;
- Πως ερμηνεύετε το χαμηλό ποσοστό εμφάνισης των γυναικών στις εκπομπές και τα δελτία ειδήσεων;
- Πως ερμηνεύετε το χαμηλό ποσοστό εμφάνισης των γυναικών στις εκπομπές που πραγματεύονται θέματα πολιτικής και οικονομίας;
- Πιστεύετε ότι γίνονται διακρίσεις μεταξύ αντρών και γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ;
- Με ποιο τρόπο νομίζετε ότι μπορεί να αντιμετωπιστεί η μειωμένη παρουσία των γυναικών όπως σκιαγραφείται στην κυπριακή τηλεόραση;

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Πληθυσμός

Πολιτικοί εκπρόσωποι κομμάτων και μάχιμοι δημοσιογράφοι

Δείγμα

Το δείγμα είναι 21 πολιτικοί, 11 γυναίκες πολιτικοί και 10 άντρες πολιτικοί
18 δημοσιογράφοι εκ των οποίων 9 ήταν γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι και 9 άντρες δημοσιογράφοι

Η επιλογή του δείγματος προέκυψε από την καταγραφή και την ανάλυση των εκπομπών και των δελτίων, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης, τη θέση και το φύλο.

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Η ανάλυση περιεχομένου είναι ερευνητική μέθοδος που επιτρέπει την ανίχνευση μηνυμάτων και την εξαγωγή συμπερασμάτων μέσα από τη συστηματική διερεύνηση ενός κειμένου αναλύοντας την παρουσία, την σχέση και τις σημασίες λέξεων, φράσεων και εννοιών εντός του κειμένου ή κειμένων.

Η μέθοδος αυτή δίνει τη δυνατότητα στον ερευνητή να αναγνωρίσει τις προθέσεις και άλλα χαρακτηριστικά του αποστολέα του μηνύματος, να ανιχνεύσει την ψυχολογική κατάσταση ατόμων ή ομάδων, να εντοπίσει διαφορές μεταξύ των λαών στα κείμενα που παράγουν και να ανιχνεύσει τον αντικατοπτρισμό πολιτισμικών μοτίβων σε κοινωνικές ομάδες, οργανισμούς και κοινότητες. Η ανάλυση γίνεται σε ποσοτική και ποιοτική μορφή.

Η ποσοτική αφορά την μέτρηση των συχνοτήτων αναφορικά με τις έννοιες του και τα χαρακτηριστικά του κειμένου και η ποιοτική αφορά τις επιδράσεις από άλλες θεωρίες. Το κείμενο εξετάζεται στο σύνολο του, δημιουργούνται οι κατηγορίες που προκύπτουν για την ταξινόμηση των δεδομένων και ακολούθως η ποσοτικοποίηση των χαρακτηριστικών. (Weber, 1990). Ουσιαστικά είναι μέθοδος κωδικοποίησης του γραπτού και του προφορικού λόγου (Κυριαζή 2006).

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ

ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Διαδικασία ανάλυσης δεδομένων

Αφού καταγράφηκαν οι συνεντεύξεις, ακολούθως απομαγνητοφωνήθηκαν. Κωδικοποιήθηκαν οι απομαγνητοφωνημένες συνεντεύξεις, με etic και με emic κωδικούς.

Στη συνέχεια οι κωδικοί χωρίστηκαν σε κατηγορίες. Σε κάθε μια από αυτές τις κατηγορίες προσδιορίζονται οι απόψεις των αντρών και των γυναικών και η συχνότητα που εμφανίζονται αυτές οι απόψεις.

Οι κατηγορίες που διαμορφώθηκαν προέκυψαν από τις απαντήσεις που έδωσαν οι συμμετέχοντες

- Ύπαρξη Ισότητας των φύλων στην Κύπρο
- Ορισμός Ισότητας των Φύλων
- Αίτια χαμηλού ποσοστού εμφάνισης γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ (τακτική κομμάτων, τακτική ΜΜΕ, μικρός αριθμός γυναικών στην πολιτική)
- Αντίληψη της κοινωνίας για τους ρόλους των δυο φύλων
- Αίτια χαμηλού ποσοστού εμφάνισης των γυναικών που πραγματεύονται θέματα οικονομίας και πολιτικής (στερεοτυπική αντίληψη της κοινωνίας για τη θεματολογία που αναλύουν οι γυναίκες, αντίληψη για την ευαίσθητη πλευρά της γυναίκας, τακτική των ΜΜΕ, στάση κομμάτων)
- Διακρίσεις των φύλων στα ΜΜΕ
- Τρόπος συμπεριφοράς του δημοσιογράφου απέναντι στις γυναίκες πολιτικούς
- Τρόποι αντιμετώπισης της μειωμένης παρουσίας των γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ

ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ

ΥΠΑΡΞΗ ΙΣΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΥΠΡΟ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Ισότητα σε θεσμικό επίπεδο	Σ6,Σ9,Σ18,Σ20	IV	Σ2,Σ5,Σ8,Σ19	IV
Απαιτούνται ακόμα πολλές προσπάθειες για την καθολική εφαρμογή	Σ3,Σ10,Σ11,Σ12,Σ16	V	Σ2,Σ4,Σ5,Σ11,Σ13,Σ19,Σ21	VII
Επικράτηση στερεοτύπων	Σ6,Σ9	II	Σ5,Σ8,Σ11,Σ17	IV
Γυάλινη οροφή στον τομέα της εργασίας	Σ9	I	Σ1,Σ4,Σ5,Σ11,Σ13,Σ21	VI
Υπαρξη ισότητας	Σ3,Σ15	II		

ΟΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΙΣΟΤΗΤΑΣ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών για δραστηριοποίηση σε όλους τους τομείς της κοινωνίας	Σ6,Σ10,Σ12,Σ18	IV	Σ1,Σ2,Σ13,Σ17	IV
Ίσα δικαιώματα-ίση μεταχείριση	Σ3,Σ15,Σ7,Σ12, Σ18	V	Σ2,Σ14, Σ17, Σ21	IV
Ίση εκπροσώπηση	Σ16	I	Σ13, Σ14	II
Ισότητα στην εργασία	Σ9, Σ12,Σ18		Σ1, Σ17, Σ21	III

- Άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί συμφωνούν ότι υπάρχει ισότητα μόνο σε θεσμικό επίπεδο αλλά και ότι πρέπει να γίνουν περισσότερες προσπάθειες για καθολική εφαρμογή της ισότητας
- Οι γυναίκες υποστηρίζουν σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό την επικράτηση στερεοτύπων στην κοινωνία που εμποδίζουν την πρόσβαση της γυναίκας στην πολιτική, κοινωνική και οικονομική ζωή
- Οι γυναίκες τονίζουν περισσότερο την ανισότητα κυρίως στον εργασιακό τομέα
- Καμία γυναίκα δεν υποστηρίζει ότι υπάρχει ισότητα
- Άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί προσδιορίζουν την ισότητα ως η παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών δραστηριοποίησης σε όλους τους τομείς της κοινωνίας

ΑΙΤΙΑ ΧΑΜΗΛΟΥ ΠΟΣΟΣΤΟΥ ΕΜΦΑΝΙΣΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Λιγότερες γυναίκες στην πολιτική	Σ6,Σ7,Σ9,Σ10,Σ12,Σ15,Σ16,Σ18,Σ20	IX	Σ1,Σ4,Σ8,Σ11,Σ14,Σ17,Σ19,Σ21	VIII
Τακτική των ΜΜΕ	Σ9,Σ16,Σ18	III	Σ1,Σ4,Σ5,Σ8,Σ14,Σ17	VI
Ρόλος των κομμάτων	Σ6,Σ12,Σ18	III	Σ4,Σ5,Σ14,Σ17,Σ19,Σ21	VI
Αντίληψη της κοινωνίας για τους ρόλους των δυο φύλων	Σ3,Σ6,Σ7,Σ9,Σ10,Σ12,Σ13,Σ18,Σ20	IX	Σ5,Σ11,Σ14,Σ17,Σ19,Σ21	VI

- Διευρύνοντας τα αίτια του χαμηλού ποσοστού εμφάνισης των γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ οι άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί επισημαίνουν ως πρώτο αίτιο τη μειωμένη παρουσία των γυναικών στην πολιτική, αφού οι άντρες πολιτικοί υπερέχουν αριθμητικά των γυναικών.
- Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό υποστηρίζουν ότι γι' αυτό ευθύνεται η τακτική που ακολουθούν τα κόμματα, η νοοτροπία των κομμάτων και πολιτική κουλτούρα τους (ανδροκρατούμενα) « Πριν τις εκλογές πάντα είναι άντρες που εκπροσωπούνται ακόμα και αν είναι γυναίκες που μπορεί να εκλέγονται πρώτες ή τρίτες στη λίστα» (Σ5_ΟΛ)
- Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί σε αντίθεση με τους άντρες τονίζουν το ρόλο που διαδραματίζουν τα ΜΜΕ, παραγκωνίζουν τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς λόγω προκαταλήψεων ή συμφερόντων για σκοπούς τηλεθέασης « Το κατεστημένο επικοινωνιακό σύστημα θρέφει μια υποτονική παρουσία των γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ» (Σ1_Ζ1)
- Οι άντρες πολιτικοί σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό υποστηρίζουν ότι η νοοτροπία της κοινωνίας και τα στερεότυπα φύλου που καλλιεργούνται αποτελούν παράγοντες μειωμένης εμφάνισης τους στα ΜΜΕ «Η πολιτική και η πολιτική ανάλυση σε όλα τα ζητήματα είναι ανδρική υπόθεση» (Σ7_ΒΛ)

ΑΙΤΙΑ ΧΑΜΗΛΟΥ ΠΟΣΟΣΤΟΥ ΕΜΦΑΝΙΣΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΣΕ ΕΚΠΟΜΠΕΣ ΠΟΥ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΑΙ ΘΕΜΑΤΑ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Στερεοτυπική αντίληψη της κοινωνίας	Σ9, Σ10	II	Σ1, Σ2, Σ4, Σ5, Σ13, Σ19, Σ21	VII
Αντίληψη για την ευαίσθητη πλευρά της γυναίκας	Σ3, Σ6, Σ9, Σ10, Σ15, Σ18	VI	Σ4, Σ5, Σ8, Σ14, Σ17, Σ19, Σ21	VII
Τακτική των ΜΜΕ	Σ9, Σ16	II	Σ4, Σ8, Σ19, Σ21	IV
Στάση κομμάτων	Σ10, Σ15	II	Σ5, Σ19	II

- Όσον αφορά στην μειωμένη εμφάνιση τους σε εκπομπές που πραγματεύονται θέματα οικονομίας και πολιτικής, οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί αναφέρουν περισσότερο την στερεοτυπική αντίληψη που έχει επικρατήσει ότι τα θέματα που αφορούν την οικογένεια, την κοινωνία και την υγεία ανήκουν στο γυναικείο φύλο και δεν αφορούν τους άντρες
- Άντρες και γυναίκες συμφωνούν ότι η αντίληψη που υπάρχει γύρω από την ευαίσθητη πλευρά της γυναίκας έχει καθορίσει την επιλογή της θεματολογίας. Η ευαισθησία και ο μητρικός τους ρόλος τις καθιστούν πιο ικανές να συζητήσουν αυτά τα θέματα. Οι γυναίκες εισπράττουν και αντιλαμβάνονται καλύτερα τα κοινωνικά και πολιτισμικά θέματα με τις ευαισθησίες που τις διακρίνουν
- Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί υποστηρίζουν σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό ότι τα ίδια τα κανάλια επιλέγουν άντρες για να σχολιάζουν τα επίκαιρα θέματα πολιτικής και οικονομίας. « Οι ηγεσίες των κομμάτων θεωρούν ότι τα *soft issues* ταυριάζουν καλύτερα στο γυναικείο πρότυπο» (Σ5_ΟΛ)

ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Υπαρξη διακρίσεων	Σ7,Σ9,Σ10,Σ16,Σ20	V	Σ1,Σ2,Σ4,Σ5,Σ8,Σ11,Σ13,Σ14,Σ17,Σ19,Σ21	XI
Μη ύπαρξη διακρίσεων	Σ3,Σ6,Σ12,Σ15,Σ18	V		0

ΕΙΔΗ ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΗΣ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Ευγένεια	Γυναίκες	Ευγένεια
Υποτίμηση των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ	Σ7	I	Σ1,Σ4,Σ5,Σ8,Σ17,Σ19,Σ21	VII
Απόκλιση των γυναικών από τις πολιτικές συζητήσεις	Σ10,Σ16	II	Σ1,Σ2,Σ4,Σ5,Σ11,Σ13,Σ14,Σ19,Σ21	IX
Μη δίκαιη κατανομή του χρόνου	Σ16,Σ20	II	Σ8,Σ11,Σ13,Σ17	IV
Προσβλητική συμπεριφορά αντρών	Σ7,Σ9,Σ16	III	Σ4,Σ5,Σ8,Σ11,Σ19	V
Διαφορετική συμπεριφορά δημοσιογράφου	Σ6,Σ9,Σ7,Σ16,Σ18	V	Σ1,Σ4,Σ5,Σ8,Σ17,Σ21	VI

- Όσον αφορά στην ύπαρξη διακρίσεων στο χώρο των ΜΜΕ όλες οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί υποστηρίζουν ότι υπάρχει διάκριση και σε αυτό συμφωνούν και οι μισοί άντρες πολιτικοί. Ενώ οι υπόλοιποι αναφέρουν ότι δεν έχουν παρατηρήσει διακρίσεις στα ΜΜΕ.
- Όπως προκύπτει σε αυτό το σημείο υπάρχει διαφορά απόψεων. Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί εκφράζουν σε πολύ μεγάλο βαθμό την άποψη ότι υποτιμούνται στα ΜΜΕ, αποκλείονται από τις πολιτικές συζητήσεις, δεν τους δίνεται ο ίδιος χρόνος για να μιλήσουν, αντιμετωπίζουν προσβλητική συμπεριφορά είτε από τους συναδέλφους τους είτε από τους δημοσιογράφους και διαφορετική αντιμετώπιση από τους δημοσιογράφους, για παράδειγμα να δέχονται σεξιστικά κομπλιμέντα.
- Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί ενισχύουν την άποψη τους αναφερόμενες σε βιώματα και εμπειρίες. «Εμένα μου έτυχε να πάω σε μια εκπομπή και να μου πουν τι κάνει μια όμορφη γυναίκα στην πολιτική» (Σ5_ΟΛ)
- Υπάρχει το στοιχείο της υποτίμησης ή αμφισβήτησης της ικανότητας της γυναίκας ακόμη και στις περιπτώσεις που παρευρίσκεται σε ένα πάνελ
- «Εγώ το έχω νοιώσει αυτό ότι δεν σχολιαζόταν ο λόγος μου, αυτός που έλεγα σ ένα πρόγραμμα τηλεόρασης αλλά άκουσα τα σχόλια για το χρώμα της μπλούζας μου, τα σκουλαρίκια που φορούσα και όχι αυτό που έλεγα» (Σ21_ΤΗ)
- Οι δημοσιογράφοι πολλές φορές τείνουν να μειώνουν και να ειρωνεύονται τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς. Κρύβονται πίσω από ένα μανδύα ευγένειας και θεωρούν φυσιολογικά και ευγενικό τον τρόπο με τον οποίο τις αντιμετωπίζουν. Στα πρώτα μου βήματα και στις πρώτες δεξιές παρουσίες μου σε συζητήσεις θεωρουμένων θεμάτων υψηλής πολιτικής ήταν έντονη μια εξεζητημένη ευγένεια υπεροψίας απέναντι μου γεγονός που σε κάποιο βαθμό εμπειριέχε και το στοιχείο της υποτίμησης» (Σ19_ΙΝ)

ΤΡΟΠΟΙ ΑΝΤΙΜΕΤΩΠΙΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΙΩΜΕΝΗΣ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Πολιτικά κόμματα	Σ7	I	Σ8,Σ13,Σ19	III
Αλλαγή κουλτούρας και νοοτροπίας	Σ9,Σ10,Σ12,Σ15,Σ18	V	Σ1,Σ4,Σ5,Σ8,Σ13	V
Μεταρρυθμίσεις της πολιτείας	Σ3,Σ7	II	Σ4,Σ5,Σ8,Σ13,Σ14,Σ17,Σ19	VII
Εκπαίδευση των πολιτών			Σ4,Σ8,Σ17	III
ΜΜΕ	Σ6,Σ3,Σ16,Σ18,Σ20	V	Σ5,Σ4,Σ8,Σ11,Σ14,Σ19,Σ21	VII
Κινητοποίηση των γυναικών	Σ6,Σ9,Σ15,Σ20	IV	Σ1,Σ2,Σ5,Σ8,Σ13,Σ14,Σ17	VII
Από τους ίδιους τους άντρες πολιτικούς			Σ4,Σ14	II

- Άντρες και γυναίκες συμφωνούν μεταξύ τους ότι πρέπει να αλλάξει η κουλτούρα ώστε να εξαλειφθούν τα στερεότυπα που επικρατούν ανάμεσα στον πληθυσμό για το ρόλο της γυναίκας
- Οι γυναίκες σε περισσότερο βαθμό τονίζουν ότι πρέπει το κράτος να προβεί σε μεταρρυθμίσεις και να στηρίξει με κατάλληλες υποδομές τη γυναίκα, ώστε να μπορέσει να συνδυάσει την οικογενειακή, επαγγελματική και πολιτική καριέρα
- Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί υποστηρίζουν ότι πρέπει να εκσυγχρονιστούν οι δομές και οι λειτουργίες των κομμάτων, να αναβαθμιστεί η θέση της γυναίκας
- Οι ίδιες οι γυναίκες θεωρούν ότι πρέπει να διεκδικήσουν πιο μαχητικά ενεργότερη παρουσία στα ΜΜΕ και στην πολιτική
- Άντρες και γυναίκες πολιτικοί αναφέρουν ότι είναι καθοριστικός ο ρόλος των ΜΜΕ για να αντιμετωπιστεί το ζήτημα. Τα ΜΜΕ να αλλάξουν τακτική, να μην καλούν μόνο γυναίκες σε πάνελ και να δίνουν περισσότερες ευκαιρίες σε νέα άτομα. Ταυτόχρονα επισημαίνουν την ανάγκη ενημέρωσης και επιμόρφωσης των λειτουργών του τύπου για θέματα ισότητας των φύλων.

ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ

ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΡΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ

ΥΠΑΡΞΗ ΙΣΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΥΠΡΟ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Ανυπαρξία Ισότητας	Σ4,Σ6,Σ11	III	Σ1,Σ9, Σ12,Σ14,Σ18	V
Υπαρξη Ισότητας	Σ3	I	Σ8	I
Ισότητα σε θεσμικό επίπεδο			Σ5,Σ12,Σ14,Σ17	IV
Απαιτούνται ακόμα πολλές προσπάθειες για την καθολική εφαρμογή	Σ10,Σ15,Σ16	III		
Επικράτηση στερεοτύπων	Σ13	I	Σ2,Σ9,Σ12	III
Γυάλινη οροφή στον τομέα της εργασίας	Σ6,Σ7,Σ16	III	Σ12, Σ17	II

ΟΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΙΣΟΤΗΤΑΣ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών για δραστηριοποίηση σε όλους τους τομείς της κοινωνίας	Σ4,Σ6,Σ10,Σ16	IV	Σ1,Σ18	II
Ίσα δικαιώματα-ίση μεταχείριση-ίσες υποχρεώσεις	Σ3,Σ10,Σ11,Σ13	IV	Σ2,Σ5,Σ8,Σ9,Σ17	V
Ίση εκπροσώπηση-ίση πρόσβαση	Σ7,Σ16	II	Σ12,Σ14	II
Ισότητα στην εργασία	Σ7,Σ15	II	Σ14,Σ18	II

- Άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι συμφωνούν ότι δεν υπάρχει ισότητα των φύλων στην Κύπρο. Μόνο μια γυναίκα και ένας άντρας υποστήριξαν ότι υπάρχει ισότητα
- Οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι αναφέρουν ότι υπάρχει ισότητα σε θεσμικό πλαίσιο
- Οι άντρες αναφέρουν ότι απαιτούνται ακόμη να γίνουν προσπάθειες για να υπάρχει απόλυτη ισότητα των φύλων
- Άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι εκφράζουν την ίδια άποψη για ανισότητα στον εργασιακό χώρο
- Όσον αφορά στον ορισμό της έννοιας της ισότητας άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι αναφέρονται στα ίσα δικαιώματα, στην ίση μεταχείριση και στην παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών πρόσβασης και εκπροσώπησης στην πολιτική

ΑΙΤΙΑ ΧΑΜΗΛΟΥ ΠΟΣΟΣΤΟΥ ΕΜΦΑΝΙΣΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Λιγότερες γυναίκες στην πολιτική	Σ3,Σ4,Σ6,Σ7,Σ10,Σ11,Σ13,Σ15,Σ16	IX	Σ1,Σ8,Σ9,Σ14,Σ17	V
Τακτική των ΜΜΕ	Σ4,Σ13	II	Σ9,Σ14,Σ18	III
Ρόλος των κομμάτων	Σ6,Σ10,Σ13	III	Σ1,Σ2,Σ9,Σ12,Σ14	V
Αντίληψη της κοινωνίας	Σ4,Σ13,Σ16	III	Σ1,Σ2,Σ5,Σ9,Σ14,Σ18	VI

- Οι περισσότεροι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι υποστηρίζουν ότι η παρουσία των γυναικών στα ΜΜΕ είναι μειωμένη, αφού υποεκπροσωπούνται στα κέντρα λήψεων αποφάσεων και στα πολιτικά πόστα
- Περισσότερες γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι αναφέρουν ότι η υποεκπροσώπηση των γυναικών σε πολιτικά ζητήματα οφείλεται σε κομματικές διαδικασίες και έμμεσα καταγγέλλουν τα κόμματα που αναθέτουν σε άντρες και όχι σε γυναίκες να μιλήσουν εκ μέρους του. «Τα κόμματα επιλέγουν γυναίκες γλάστρες για να διαβάζουν ανακοινώσεις, γιατί δέθεν γράφουν στο φακό» (Σ2_ΒΝ)
- Οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό καταδεικνύουν ότι οι αντιλήψεις που επικρατούν στην κοινωνία για τους ρόλους των δύο φύλων ευθύνονται για τη μειωμένη παρουσία τους. «Στην κυπριακή κοινωνία δεν εμπιστεύονται εύκολα τις γυναίκες» (Σ9_ΝΨ)
«Οι Κύπριοι δεν μπορούν να αποδεχτούν ότι η γυναίκα μπορεί να έχει και λόγο και ρόλο στα πολιτικά δρώμενα» (Σ18_ΨΝ)
- Άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι παραδέχονται ότι η τακτική που ακολουθούν τα ΜΜΕ ευθύνεται για τα χαμηλά ποσοστά εμφάνισης των γυναικών στην τηλεόραση αλλά αυτό το δικαιολογούν αναφέροντας ότι τα ΜΜΕ είναι αντανάκλαση της κοινωνίας. «Οι άνθρωποι των ΜΜΕ υιοθετούν τις απόψεις της ευρύτερης κοινωνίας» (Σ14_ΛΛ)

**ΑΙΤΙΑ ΧΑΜΗΛΟΥ ΠΟΣΟΣΤΟΥ ΕΜΦΑΝΙΣΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ
ΣΕ ΕΚΠΟΜΠΕΣ ΠΟΥ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΑΙ ΘΕΜΑΤΑ
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ**

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Στερεοτυπική αντίληψη της κοινωνίας	Ε7,Ε11,Ε13,Ε15	IV	Ε1,Ε2,Ε8,Ε9,Ε12,Ε17,Ε18	VII
Αντίληψη για την ευαίσθητη πλευρά της γυναίκας	Ε10,Ε11,Ε13	III	Ε1,Ε8,Ε9,Ε14,Ε18	V
Επιλογή των ιδίων	Ε3,Ε6,Ε7,Ε10,Ε11,Ε15,Ε16	VII	Ε14	I
Στάση κομμάτων	Ε6,Ε7,Ε10	III	Ε2,Ε12,Ε14	III

- Άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι συμφωνούν ότι τα κόμματα διαδραματίζουν καταλυτικό ρόλο στην επιλογή των θεμάτων με τα οποία ασχολούνται οι γυναίκες. « Τα ίδια τα κόμματα όταν ζητηθεί από το κανάλι εκπρόσωπος για θέματα οικονομικά, πολιτικά στέλλουν άντρες ενώ σε θέματα κοινωνικά στέλλουν γυναίκες» (Ε12_ΖΒ) «Τα κόμματα ευθύνονται γιατί τα έχουν χωρίσει σε ανδροκρατούμενους και σε γυναικοκρατούμενους τομείς» (Ε7_ΔΤ)
- Οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι εμφανίζονται σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό να πιστεύουν ότι επικρατούν στερεοτυπικές αντιλήψεις για τη θεματολογία που αναλύουν οι γυναίκες. «Αναχρονιστικές νοοτροπίες που θέλουν τις γυναίκες να είναι πιο κατάλληλες σε θέματα που είναι περισσότερο κοινωνικά. Ενώ τους άντρες με τα σοβαρά θέματα που απασχολούν τον τόπο». (Ε8_ΤΔ)
- Οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι έμμεσα κατηγορούν τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς ότι οι ίδιες επιλέγουν να ασχολούνται με τα κοινωνικά θέματα. « Οι γυναίκες επιθυμούν να συζητούν θέματα «πιο εύκολα» με λιγότερες παγίδες και με λιγότερο πολιτικό κόστος» (Ε3_ΝΕ)
- Άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι εκφράζουν τις ίδιες θέσεις σχετικά με την επικρατούσα αντίληψη για την ευαίσθητη πλευρά των γυναικών. « Πιο ευαίσθητη σε θέματα κοινωνικά μια γυναίκα κατά την άποψή μου διότι εκ φύσεως ο άντρας θεωρείται ο σκληρός της υπόθεσης και η γυναίκα ως η πιο ευαίσθητη. Άρα όταν έχει και την «ταμπέλα» της μάνας θεωρώ φυσιολογικό το να συμμετέχει περισσότερο η γυναίκα στις κοινωνικές εκπομπές» (Ε13_ΛΛ)

ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Υπαρξη διακρίσεων	Σ3,Σ4,Σ6,Σ11, Σ13	V	Σ2,Σ5,Σ9,Σ17, Σ18	V
Μη ύπαρξη διακρίσεων	Σ7,Σ10,Σ15, Σ16	IV	Σ1,Σ8,Σ12, Σ14	IV

ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ

Κατηγορίες	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Υποτίμηση των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ	Σ3,Σ7	II	Σ5,Σ9,Σ14,Σ17, Σ18	II
Διαφορετική συμπεριφορά δημοσιογράφου	Σ3,Σ7,Σ11	III	Σ9	I
Προσβλητική συμπεριφορά αντρών πολιτικών απέναντι στις γυναίκες πολιτικούς	Σ13	I	Σ12,Σ17	II

- Οι άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι συμφωνούν ότι γίνονται διακρίσεις στα ΜΜΕ ενώ υπάρχει και ένας μέρος αυτών που υποστηρίζει ότι δεν υπάρχουν διακρίσεις.
- Οι γυναίκες σε μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό εμφανίζονται να παραδέχονται ότι οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί υποτιμώνται στα ΜΜΕ. «Οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι αντιμετωπίζουν υποτιμητικά τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς, το παραδέχομαι, το αναγνωρίζω» (Σ5_ΖΛ) «Όταν η γυναίκα είναι ευπαρουσίαστη, είναι όμορφη υπάρχει έτσι μια αμφισβήτηση των θέσεων της» (Σ17_ΖΝ)
- Οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι παραδέχονται ότι αντιμετωπίζουν διαφορετικά τη γυναίκα πολιτικό και ότι η γυναίκα τυγχάνει πιο ευνοϊκής μεταχείρισης
- Άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι υποστήριξαν ότι οι άντρες πολιτικοί έχουν προσβλητική συμπεριφορά απέναντι στις γυναίκες πολιτικούς. «Ο άντρας πολιτικός ειρωνεύεται τη γυναίκα πολιτικό όταν μιλά έντονα για ένα ζήτημα»(Σ13_ΛΛ)

ΤΡΟΠΟΙ ΑΝΤΙΜΕΤΩΠΙΣΗΣ ΜΕΙΩΜΕΝΗΣ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΜΜΕ

Κατηγορίες - Κωδικό	Άντρες	Συχνότητα	Γυναίκες	Συχνότητα
Πολιτικά κόμματα	Σ10,Σ13,Σ15	III	Σ2, Σ5, Σ9, Σ17	IV
Αλλαγή αντιλήψεων της κοινωνίας	Σ13	I	Σ2, Σ5,Σ17,Σ18,Σ18	V
Κινητροποίηση των γυναικών	Σ6,Σ7,Σ10, Σ11,Σ13,Σ15,Σ16	VIII	Σ1,Σ8,Σ9	III
Εκπαίδευση των πολιτών			Σ5,Σ17	II
ΜΜΕ	Σ16	I	Σ1,Σ5,Σ12	III
Μεταρρυθμίσεις πολιτείας			Σ5	I

- Άντρες και γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι τονίζουν ότι αλλαγές πρέπει να γίνουν στην τακτική που ακολουθούν τα κόμματα.
- Οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι περισσότερο πιστεύουν ότι μόνο η κατάληψη περισσότερων σημαντικών θέσεων στην πολιτική ζωή από τις γυναίκες θα αυξήσει τα ποσοστά εκπροσώπησης τους στα τηλεοπτικά πάνελ.

« να βγουν οι ίδιες έξω να διεκδικήσουν, να μιλήσουν, να φωνάξουν, να φέρουν στοιχεία να καταθέσουν, να ξεφύγουν που τον καναπέ που το σπίτι και που την κουζίνα τζαι να διεκδικήσουν θέματα» (Σ11_ΛΞ)
- Ορισμένες γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι υποστηρίζουν ότι τα ΜΜΕ πρέπει να προωθούν γυναίκες και να γίνουν αλλαγές σε αυτά.

« μόνο μέσα από εκπομπές που προάγουν την ισότητα μπορεί να επέλθει η αλλαγή» (Σ12_ZB)

ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

- Οι άντρες και οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί αναγνωρίζουν ότι γίνονται διακρίσεις στην παρουσία των γυναικών πολιτικών στα ΜΜΕ
- Οι άντρες δημοσιογράφοι επιρρίπτουν ευθύνη στις ίδιες τις γυναίκες πολιτικούς
- Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί αναμένουν περισσότερες αλλαγές από τα κόμματα ώστε να αναβαθμιστεί ο ρόλος τους
- Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί και οι γυναίκες δημοσιογράφοι συμφωνούν ότι υπάρχουν αντιλήψεις γύρω από τους ρόλους των δυο φύλων που εμποδίζουν την παροχή ίσων ευκαιριών στη γυναίκα πολιτικό
- Οι γυναίκες πολιτικοί απαιτούν μεταρρυθμίσεις στους θεσμούς και στη νομοθεσία ώστε να αντιμετωπιστεί το ζήτημα

