

Women in Governance

ProGender Report

31.07.2022

**Manina Kakepaki, National Centre for Social Research
(EKKE)**



The project is implemented by:

Women in Governance

Citation: Kakepaki, M. (2022). Women in Governance. Athens: National Centre for Social Research (EKKE)



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/).

Centre for Gender Studies, 136, Syngrou Av. Glass Building, Panteion University
Tel: 2109201516 |

<https://progender.panteion.gr>

<https://www.facebook.com/ProGenderproject>

@ProGenderproject

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY.....ΣΦΑΛΜΑ! ΔΕΝ ΕΧΕΙ ΟΡΙΣΤΕΙ ΣΕΛΙΔΟΔΕΙΚΤΗΣ.

INTRODUCTION..... 6

The case of Women in Governance: factors explaining female political participation 7

The case of Women in Governance: do women have different policy priorities than men? 10

The case of Greece: gender statistics on Women in Governance in Greece before the pandemic..... 11

HOW HAS THE ISSUE OF WOMEN IN GOVERNANCE CHANGED DURING COVID 19?..... 17

Descriptive representation and Covid-19 17

The gender composition of Health Committees 21

Female political participation during the pandemic: general..... 25

HOW THE PUBLIC DEBATE ADDRESSED THE WOMEN IN GOVERNANCE ISSUE DURING COVID-19?..... 27

The impact of men and women leaders 27

The impact of female leaders: academic and policy research..... 30

HOW HAVE THE POLICIES AGAINST COVID-19 IMPACTED ON THE WOMEN IN GOVERNANCE ISSUE? 33

Where the policy responses to the pandemic gender sensitive?..... 33

The consequences from the lack of gender diversity in Health Committees 34

Impact of the pandemic in women's political participation: The Parliaments 37

Examples of best practices for Women in Governance..... 39

POLICY PROPOSALS 41

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY & RESOURCES 42

Summary

Feminist critics have pointed out to the negative consequences of excluding women from decision making positions in policy making about COVID-19. During the pandemic, women experienced losses in income and time, both recourses linked to enhanced political participation. Their descriptive representation in representative bodies that were elected during the pandemic did not change significantly, however, any negative impact may take time to materialize. Changes also occurred in the political process (remote parliamentary work; online political communication); it is still not clear whether these facilitated or impeded their equal participation.

Women were largely absent from Task Forces and Health committees worldwide, that were set up to deal with Covid-19. The absence of gender balanced decision-making bodies at a global level is likely to affect how gender issues were included or marginalized in policy agendas, making policy responses to Covid-19 gender blind. The exclusion or marginalization of women from relevant decision-making committees is usually legitimized during crises, such as the lockdown, by arguments that stress the urgency of policy measures and requirements for high level expertise.

Media accounts of women in governance emphasized their success in handling the pandemic. Their style of governance was seen as more 'empathetic' and 'feminine' in contrast to the more aggressive and 'masculine' style of men in leadership positions. Although there was evidence for the above, accounts risked at essentializing feminine versus masculine traits.

Investment in gender disaggregated data collection and the inclusion of experts from domains that are not male dominated will make policies more gender sensitive whilst the post-crisis policies in the EU should consider the gender aspect. There is a window of opportunity for the crisis to change the way we address imbalances and inequalities if we want our societies to become more resilient and cohesive in the future.

INTRODUCTION

Feminist critics have pointed out to the negative consequences of excluding women from decision making positions in policy making about COVID-19. Although women are the ones that are mostly affected by gender-based violence during COVID-19 lock downs and the vast majority of healthcare workers are women, only 25% of global leaders are female. The absence of gender balanced decision-making bodies at a global level is likely to affect how gender issues are included or marginalized in policy agendas. The exclusion or marginalization of women from relevant decision-making committees is usually legitimized during crises, such as the lock-down, by arguments that stress the urgency of policy measures and requirements for high level expertise.

However, lack of consideration for gender balance in decision making may also have adverse longer-term impacts as institutional practices become consolidated. In post-coronavirus societies, the state of emergency is likely to continue for health or financial reasons pushing for further marginalization of gender issues, including gender-based violence, work-life balance and healthcare professions. Conversely, states in which women have managed to overcome sexist constraints and rise to the top of decision-making hierarchies are more likely to respond in gender sensitive ways to the COVID-19 challenge.

The examples of Iceland and Norway are showing that female led executives and institutional structures that are gender balanced may transform the ways in which the post-coronavirus society would look like, supporting positive change that has been made possible during the crisis (for example more equal sharing of household responsibilities between female and male partners) and devising strategies to prevent and fight against gender violence, discrimination, and labour market inequality.

The case of Women in Governance: factors explaining female political participation

Even before the outbreak of the pandemic, research distinguished between two broad categories of factors that could either facilitate or prevent the participation of women in public life (Norris and Lovenduski 1995, Paxton and Hughes, 2014). Generally, these were grouped in two different categories:

The first one includes factors that impact the 'supply' side for women entering politics and, broadly speaking, are related to the culture and society of each country: cultural perceptions and stereotypes regarding women and politics may limit the political ambition of women. Such attitudes vary significantly amongst regions and have an impact on the political participation of women; at the same time unequal access to resources such as time, money, education, that are all considered essential for political involvement, may hinder female political participation.

The second includes factors that impact the 'demand' side for women in politics and are mostly related to political and institutional arrangements: how political parties organize and select their candidates may be gender biased, as gatekeepers are usually male and tend to favor individuals that share similar traits. Also, institutional arrangements, such as the electoral system (proportional versus majoritarian, open lists versus closed lists), the size of the constituency or the adoption of quotas are all factors that impact on the presence or absence of women in Politics.

In a similar vein, the above factors are identified by other researchers as (a) cultural and historical, (b) socio-economic and (c) institutional (Christmas-Best and Kjær, 2007; Matland 1998). Cultural and historical factors are those related to the religiosity of a country, the perceptions regarding the social role of women and the time since women's enfranchisement. Socio-economic factors examine the levels of women's participation in the labor force and their educational attainment, whilst institutional factors examine the electoral system, the nature of party competition etc.

Tables 1 and 2 compare answers in Greece, Iceland and Norway in two questions that capture societal attitudes regarding the political aptitude of men and women (Table 1) and their right to equal access to the labor market (Table 2). In both cases, there is strong evidence that in Greek political culture, strong stereotypes

persist, where a significant minority of the population either views men as better political leaders than women (26% agree strongly or agree) or considers that men should have more right to jobs than women, when jobs are scarce (37,7% agree strongly). In contrast, such views are marginal in Iceland and Norway where egalitarian attitudes dominate.

Table 1: On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do

| | GREECE | ICELAND | NORWAY |
|--------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Agree Strongly | 4.6% | 1.3% | 2.2% |
| Agree | 21.4% | 3.9% | 5.7% |
| Disagree | 45.7% | 39.8% | 12.3% |
| Strongly disagree | 24.2% | 54.2% | 79.1% |
| Don't know | 3.9% | 0.5% | 0.4% |
| No answer | 0.2% | 0.2% | 0.2% |
| (N) | (1,200) | (1,633) | (1,123) |

Source: worldvaluessurvey.org (WVS Wave 7:2017-2020)

Table 2: When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women

| | GREECE | ICELAND | NORWAY |
|-----------------------|--------|---------|--------|
| Agree Strongly | 37.7% | 1.4% | 4.2% |

| | GREECE | ICELAND | NORWAY |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| Disagree | 42.8% | 91.9% | 91.9% |
| Neither agree nor disagree | 18.9% | 6.5% | 3.7% |
| Don't know | 0.5% | 0.1% | 0.2% |
| No answer | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.1% |
| (N) | (1,200) | (1,633) | (1,123) |

Source: worldvaluessurvey.org (WVS Wave 7:2017-2020)

Data on the unequal access to resources such as time and money, are included on the EIGE Gender Equality Index, which measures gender equality in five major domains (work, money, knowledge, power and health). Ever since the index was launched in 2013, Greece scores last among the EU-27 (Table 3), indicating persistent and systematic gender inequalities that have not been adequately addressed over the years.

Table 3: Greek score on Gender Equality Index, 2013-2021

| INDEX YEAR | GREECE | EU AVERAGE | GREECE (RANKING) |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 2013 | 48.6 | 63.1 | 27/27 |
| 2015 | 50.1 | 64.4 | 27/27 |
| 2017 | 50.0 | 65.7 | 27/27 |
| 2019 | 51.2 | 66.9 | 27/27 |

| INDEX YEAR | GREECE | EU AVERAGE | GREECE (RANKING) |
|------------|--------|------------|------------------|
| 2020 | 52.2 | 67.4 | 27/27 |
| 2021 | 52.5 | 68 | 27/27 |

Source: EIGE (own calculations)

The case of Women in Governance: do women have different policy priorities than men?

One aspect often discussed in relation to the presence or absence of women in Governance is whether women, once in positions of power, have different policy priorities than men. On the one hand, the concepts of descriptive and substantive representation (Pitkin 1967) are often used as measures of the way various elected bodies accurately represent the population. The descriptive representation of women is “the making present of something absent by resemblance or reflection, as in mirror or art” (Pitkin, 1927, p. 11). For democratic theory, the systematic exclusion of a certain social group from decision-making delegitimizes the outcome of such process (Philips 1998) since at the core of the concept of democratic representation is the principle that all ought to be represented.

On the other hand, much of the literature has commented on the different policy priorities of men and women, and the fact that when women are represented, then policy outcomes are better for them since their needs, which often differ from those of men, are also taken into account. In the case of health, this is pretty much the case, as past evidence on other epidemics has shown that they tend to exacerbate gender inequalities (Smith 2020, p. 993; Davis and Bennett 2016). Studies show that female representation is positively correlated with the promotion of women-friendly policies regarding maternity and childcare leave (Kittilson, 2008), maternal employment (Weeks, 2017) childcare coverage (Bratton and Ray, 2002), or spending on childcare and education (Svaleryd, 2009). However, women could be focusing on these issues not by choice but because male-dominated legislatures give them no alternative (Heath et al., 2005; Schwindt-Bayer, 2006).

Studies show that a higher fraction of female representatives correlates with more development aid (Hicks et al., 2016) and public expenditures on health (Clayton and Zetterberg, 2018) across countries. Conflict behavior and defense spending, in contrast, appear to decrease with a rise in the proportion of female representatives (Koch and Fulton, 2011). Furthermore, in the US, female representation is a significant predictor of state workers' compensation policy (Besley and Case, 2000) and funding for social welfare (Holman, 2014).

Overall, literature suggests that female political representation matters for many policy choices. However, lack of randomization in the assignment of women to political positions is a complex empirical and methodological challenge (Hessami and Lopez da Fonseca 2020, p. 4).

The case of Greece: gender statistics on Women in Governance in Greece before the pandemic

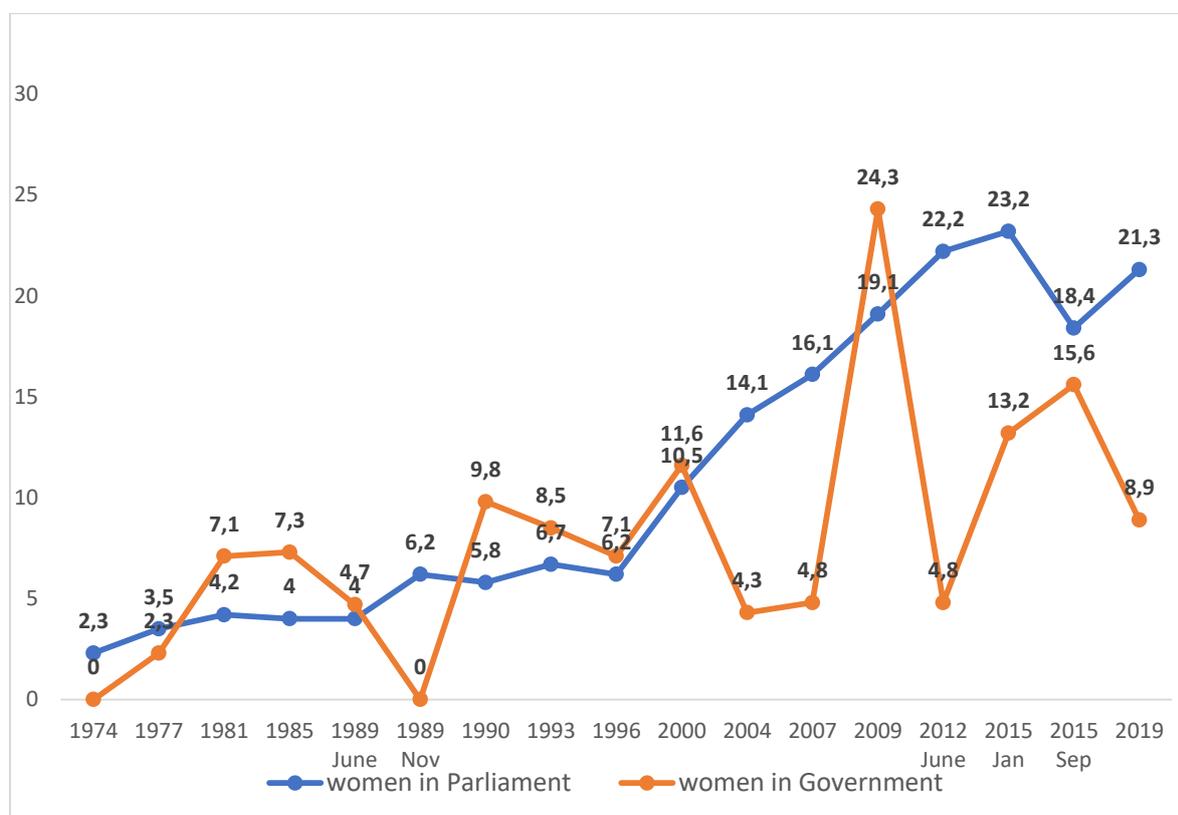
Women in Greece obtained full political rights in 1952 and voted for the first time in National Elections nationwide in 1956. Up until the 1967-1974 military dictatorship, only eight women were elected in Parliament, with half of them being either wives or widows of former male politicians (Pantelidou-Maloutas 2017, p. 60-68). After the fall of the dictatorship in 1974 and the rise of the feminist movement in the 1970s and 1980s their presence in Parliament and in other decision-making bodies increased, without however at any given time becoming anything other than a 'small minority' (Dahlerup and Leyenaar 2013) that does not exceed 25% (Figure 1). In the past decades, much of gender-related legislation in Greece has been framed under a 'Europeanization/modernization' rhetoric (Pantelidou-Maloutas 2005), whilst the adoption of a 1/3 quota in all electoral lists (first at the local level, then at the national) in 2009, and later the increase in 40% did not produce any significant results, due to the nature of the electoral system and the personal preference vote (we can therefore refer to them as 'soft' quotas).

In the last twenty years there has been a steady upward trend in the share of women in the National Parliament (with signs of stagnation after the September 2015 National Elections). Thus, whilst more than five decades have passed since women were granted the right to vote in Greece, until women exceeded 10% in the

Women in Governance

2000 elections, it took just over a decade for this percentage to double and exceed 20% after the elections of June 2012. This time lag is due to the fact that even when formal barriers to women's entry into national parliaments are removed, cultural and symbolic ones remain strong in the first decades after the acquisition of political rights (Dahlerup, 2013, p. 241).

Figure 1: Women in decision-making in Greece, 1974-2019 (%)



Source: author's calculations from www.socioscope.gr and www.parliament.gr

The rise in female participation is probably in the context of a continuous change, as perceived by Hughes and Paxton (2008, pp. 233–264), a consequence of the socio-economic changes in the composition of the population, changes in value systems and the overall impact of the global feminist movement and equality policies. However, after the second national elections held in Greece in September

2015 their share in Parliament remains rather stable. An interpretation that can be suggested is that when the presence of women passes a certain threshold (in the Greek case this limit seems to be around 20%) then under-representation is not considered a problem and therefore no such policies are promoted nor is the issue visible in the public debate (Dahlerup 2013). In addition, some authors point out that the increased presence of women in parliaments makes them more "visible" and may trigger negative reflexes from their male colleagues, resulting in a conservative backlash (a fact that is probably confirmed by a plethora of incidents of verbal sexism in Parliament during the last decade).

Currently, Greece is one of the EU-27 countries with the lowest score when it comes to the participation of women in decision-making. Tables 4-6 demonstrate the persistent, throughout the last two decades, gender gap in representation in all levels of governance in Greece, when compared to the EU-27 and the other two EEA countries, Iceland and Norway (where applicable). Table 1 shows the share of women in National Parliaments in the election's years for Greece, from 2004 until 2021. The period of the Great Recession, as documented elsewhere (Kakepaki et al. 2018) was a time of a brief window of opportunity for the entry of women in Parliament, increasing their share to 23,3% in 2015, the highest until this day number ever achieved.

Table 4: *Percentage of women in National parliaments*

| Geographic region | 2004 Q2 | 2007 Q1 | 2007 Q2 | 2009 Q3 | 2012 Q2 | 2012 Q3 | 2015 Q1 | 2015 Q3 | 2015 Q4 | 2019 Q2 | 2019 Q3 | 2021 Q4 |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Greece | 12 | 14.4 | 14.1 | 15.9 | 18.7 | 21 | 23 | 23.3 | 19.7 | 18 | 21.7 | 21.3 |
| EU- 27 (from 2020) | 23 | 23.4 | 23.4 | 24.4 | 25.4 | 26.3 | 28.4 | 28.4 | 28.6 | 31.4 | 32 | 33.2 |
| Iceland | 31.7 | 36.5 | 31.7 | 42.9 | 39.7 | 39.7 | 41.3 | 42.9 | 46 | 38.1 | 38.1 | 47.6 |
| Norway | 39 | 36.2 | 36.2 | 33.1 | 39.6 | 39.6 | 38.5 | 38.5 | 39.6 | 40.8 | 40.8 | 45 |

Source: Data collected by EIGE from January 2017 and previously by the European Commission, DG Justice

Table 5: *Percentage of women in Regional Assemblies*

| Geographic region | 2011 | 2013 | 2015 | 2017 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Greece | 16.6 | 17.5 | 20.9 | 21.2 | 21.5 | 21.5 | 20.8 |
| EU - 27 (from 2020) | 31.2 | 31.6 | 32.6 | 33.2 | 33.5 | 34.1 | 34.6 |
| Norway | 44.9 | 44.3 | 44.3 | 44.2 | 43.3 | 44.7 | 44.7 |

Source: Data collected by EIGE from January 2017 and previously by the European Commission, DG Justice

Table 6: *Percentage of women in Local/municipal councils*

| Geographic region | 2011 | 2013 | 2015 | 2017 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Greece | 16.5 | 16.5 | 17.6 | 17.3 | 19.1 | 17.8 | 18.2 |
| EU - 27 (from 2020) | 30.5 | 30 | 33.1 | 32.1 | 32.8 | 34.1 | 34.4 |
| Iceland | 39.8 | 39.8 | 44 | 44 | 46.5 | 46.5 | 45.3 |
| Norway | 37.5 | 38.2 | 38.2 | 39 | 40.5 | 40.5 | 40.5 |

Source: Data collected by EIGE from January 2017 and previously by the European Commission, DG Justice

Another aspect related to women in Governance in Greece, is that, while over the last two decades the share of women in Parliament has increased, they do not share the same channels of political and social experience as men: women enter Parliament at an earlier age than men, with fewer children, come from different professional backgrounds (which are also associated with public visibility), and have less experience in local government and party position. Once in parliament, their careers are shorter, while they become ministers to a lesser extent, a fact that can be explained by the fact that male political careers last longer, therefore the pool of male MPs with parliamentary experience who usually occupy ministerial positions is proportionally larger (Kakepaki 2016, Pantelidou-Maloutas 2007). Finally, even when women do occupy ministerial positions, the portfolio allocation

Women in Governance

follows traditional gender patterns, with women usually in low/medium prestige and more 'feminine' ministries (Krook and O' Brien 2012).¹

¹ In the current Cabinet (April 2022), women take up two Ministries, those of Culture, and of Education and Religious Affairs, and five Alternate Ministries in the domains of Education, Social Affairs, Tourism, Immigration and Public Health (source: <https://gslegal.gov.gr/?p=6637>).

Key findings of this section:

- There is evidence that women and men in decision-making positions have different policy priorities, therefore a gender unequal participation may prioritize certain policy decisions over others.
- Time, money, education and cultural stereotypes regarding women, hinder their equal participation in politics.
- Greece, as opposed to Norway and Iceland, entered the pandemic in 2020 with very few women in decision-making positions, either in National or Regional Assemblies, or in other governing Bodies, with figures far below the EU-27 average.
- At the same time, sizable segments of the population in Greece, favoured much more traditional values, when compared to other EU or EEA countries.

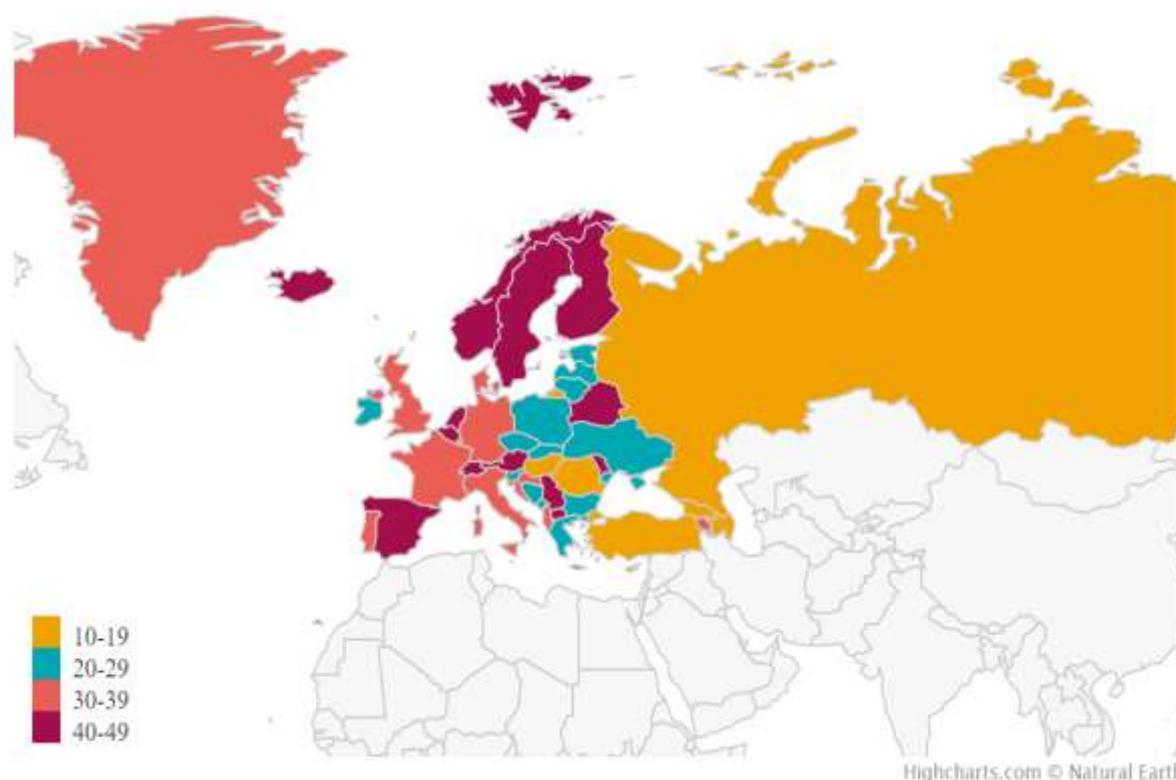
HOW HAS THE ISSUE OF WOMEN IN GOVERNANCE CHANGED DURING COVID 19?

Descriptive representation and Covid-19

Although the issue of Women in Governance may be subject to multiple definitions, this section will reflect on the participation of women in decision-making, either at the Executive (as leaders and Ministers) or the Legislative branch (in Parliaments) or in the decision-making Health Committees and other Task Forces that were established in most countries to tackle Covid-19.

According to the latest figures (IPU [2021](#); [2022](#)) in 2021, the first full year of the pandemic that all elections were marked by restrictive measures, 57 countries worldwide held elections. In that year, the global average for women in Parliaments reached a global high of 25.2%, a slight increase by 0,6% from the previous year. In Europe, elections took place in 14 countries, without however significant overall gains. In some cases, the percentage of women increased significantly (Croatia, Ireland), whilst in other cases there were small setbacks (Romania, Montenegro, Czech Republic). In 2021, 48 countries worldwide held Parliamentary elections, with an overall modest gain of 0,6% worldwide, compared to the previous years. In Europe, 12 countries held elections during the year, with the share of women increasing in ten out of 12. Also, the 2021 year marked changes in the executive, since women assumed positions of power as Prime Ministers in Sweden and Estonia, whilst the cabinet compositions in [Spain](#), [Germany](#) and [Albania](#) promoted either gender parity, or women made up the majority of Ministers. Overall, currently in Europe (Figure 2) countries in Northern Europe and the Nordic states tend to have highest representation of women, with Eastern and Southern European countries following.

Figure 2: Percentage of Women in Lower Chambers and unicameral Parliaments in Europe



Source: IPU Parline

At a glance, the descriptive representation of women in decision-making bodies did not seem to face a significant backlash in numerical terms, especially in the European region. However, such measurements do not always tell the entire story since the full effect of any crisis may take months or years to completely show. In relation to electoral participation, in some cases elections were either postponed or conducted with restrictive measures during lockdowns. During the pandemic, the functioning of Parliaments was suspended in most cases, with remote work becoming the norm. Table 7 highlights the main changes in the function of Parliaments in Greece, Iceland and Norway during Covid-19.

As it is evident, in all three Parliaments measures were adopted, either with a reduced quorum (in Greece and Norway) or with social distancing measures. In the case of Greece, the work of Parliamentary committees was reduced to urgent

matters, whilst in Norway and Iceland MPs could participate remotely. Norway was the only country of the three in question to further establish the rights of the parliamentary minority during the lockdown, ensuring that if a legislation was not supported by a number of MPs, it could be revoked.

Table 7
Parliamentary Responses during Covid-19 in Greece, Iceland and Norway

| | Status | Oversight | Summary of measures | Notes on measures adopted during the pandemic | Representative innovations |
|---------|---|---|---|--|----------------------------|
| Greece | Special procedure | - | Plenary: Reduced quorum; Committee: Limited to urgent matters; Meeting mechanism: No data; Voting mechanism: Ballot paper; Staff: Non-essential; are working remotely | Used procedure of 'organized debate' committees can conduct meetings physically or remotely. | - |
| Iceland | Special procedure to allow remote meeting | - | Plenary: Social distancing; Committee: MPs can participate remotely; Meeting mechanism: Jitsi; Voting mechanism: No data; Staff: No data | On May 29 th 2020, resumed its normal activities, allowing MPs to remotely attend committees. | - |
| Norway | Special procedure to allow remote meeting | Established a Coronavirus Special Committee and the Corona Act extended the rights of the minority, obliging the Government to revoke a regulation or part of a regulation if at least 57 Ms sent a written declaration to the Storting's Presidium stating that they did not support it. | Plenary: Reduced quorum; Committee: Remote work; Meeting mechanism: Microsoft (Skype/Teams); Voting mechanism: No data; Staff: No data | - | Digital democracy game |

Source: Inter Pares. Parliaments in Partnership. Parliamentary responses during the Covid-19 Data Tracker (<https://datastudio.google.com/embed/u/0/reporting/191dd812-cb5e-432c-aae1-a743bbc2678f/page/c8SNE>)

The debate whether restrictions in physical presence favour more those that remain present at the expense of those working remotely is still open; counterarguments claim that remote parliamentary work lifted previous barriers (such as family obligations) enabling women to better participate in parliamentary life. Other main concerns regarding women's participation in politics during covid-19 were centred around two factors:

- (1) The fact that much of the political discussion moved online, made women politician more vulnerable to online abuse, [which is believed to disproportionately affect them](#), potentially discouraging them from more engagement with politics.
- (2) Decline in overall political participation during elections that took place during lockdown is not clear if it affects -and in what direction- women, either as voters or as candidates. More on this will be discussed in the third section of this report (p. 23 onwards).

The gender composition of Health Committees

One aspect that was of particular importance during Covid-19 was the gender composition of health committees and other task forces appointed all over the world to tackle the pandemic. The United Nations Women (UN Women) early on made calls to address this imbalance. An [online gender response tracker](#) was launched, monitoring the responses of all governments worldwide and providing data on the gender composition of Task Forces and on the policy measures adopted.

According to the [EIGE Gender Equality Index on Health](#) (2021), there was a significant lack of women in decision-making bodies that were established globally to tackle COVID-19. At the European level, despite the fact that women make up 70% of health professionals and 80% of health associate professionals in the EU, they constituted only 20% of the national covid-19 teams in 24 countries, and 30% of WHO's emergency Committee on Covid-19 (Figure 3). In Europe, from the beginning of the pandemic and until March 2021, only one in four EU health ministers and four out of 10 junior/vice ministers were women (EIGE 2021, p.61).

Figure 3: Share of Women in various Covid-19 task forces

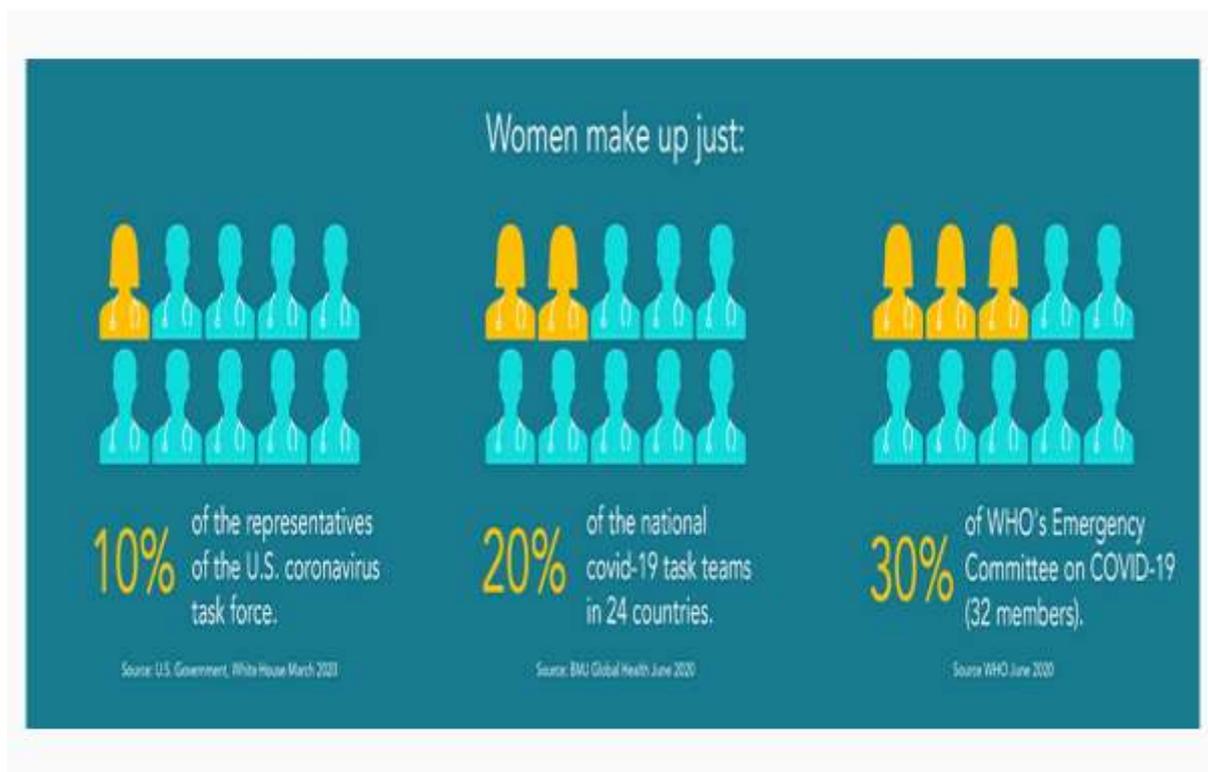
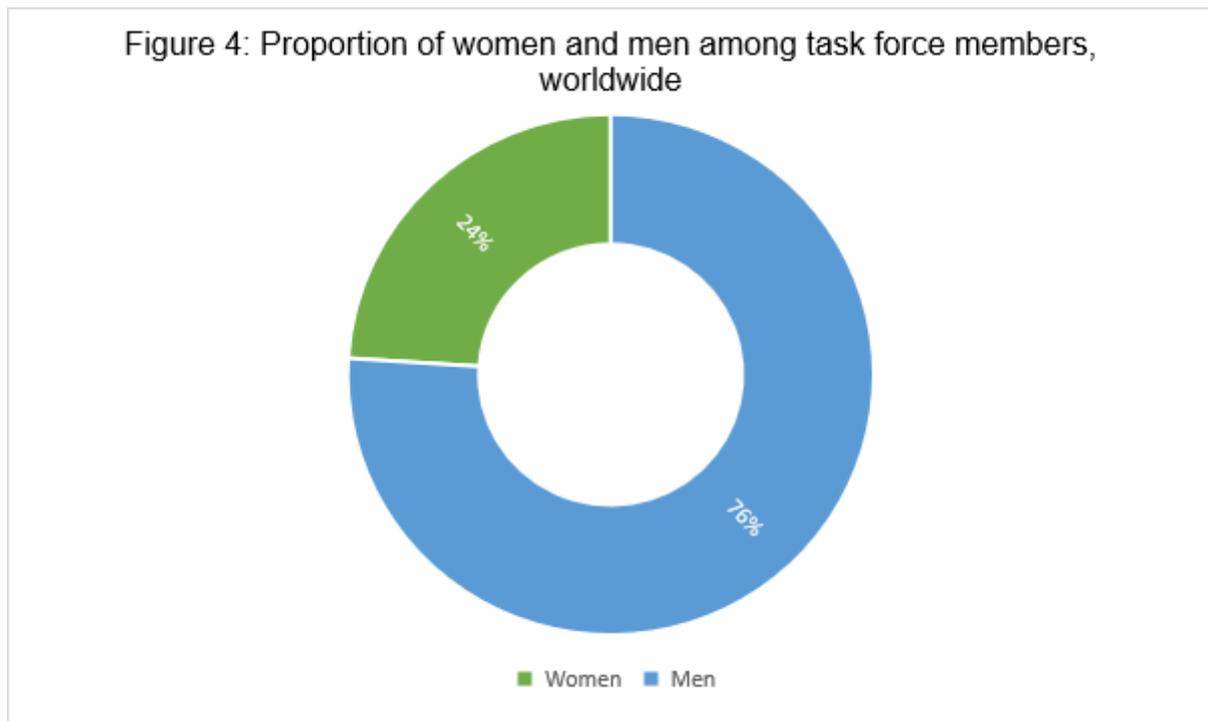


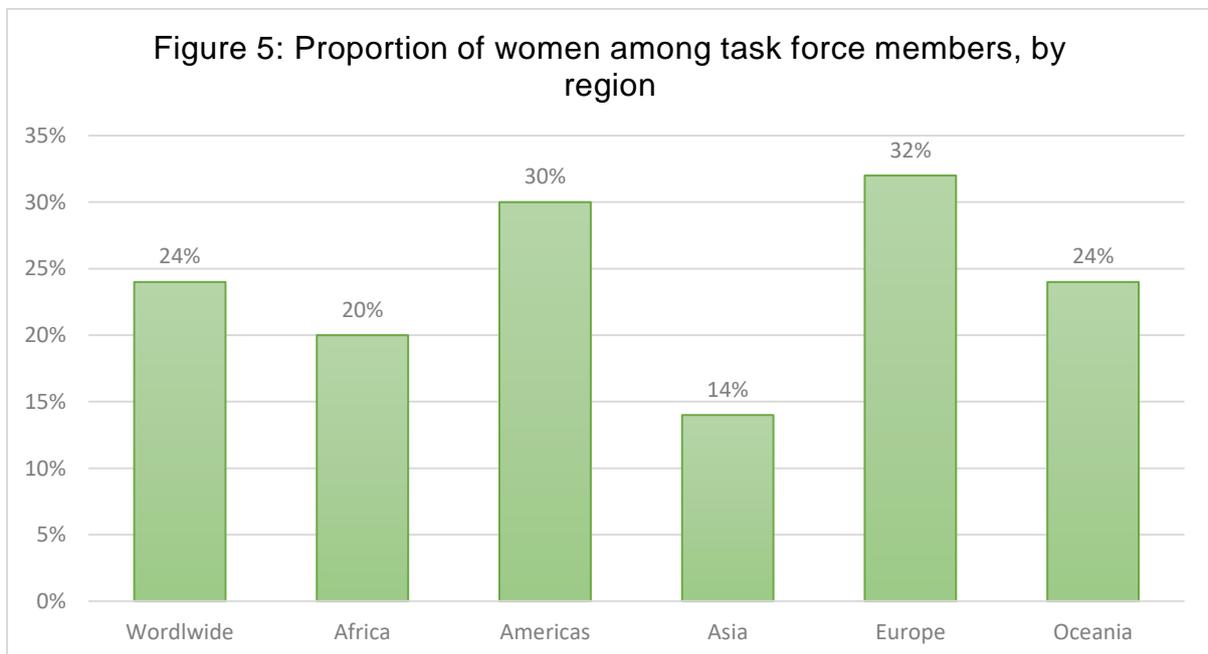
Figure source: <https://www.womeningh.org/>

The small number of women in decision-making positions or as experts in key roles influenced the composition of the national task forces set up everywhere to tackle the pandemic. Assessing the gender gap in these bodies, a study by van Daalen et al. (2020) emphasized the exclusion of gender-diverse voices. According to the data that they collected from 115 experts and decision-making task forces for Covid-19 from 87 countries, only 3.5% of them had gender parity in their membership, 11.4% contained mostly women while in 85.2% men were the majority. In 81.2% of all cases, the task forces were headed by men. The authors have also stressed the fact that such imbalanced compositions set a precedent for the future. Overall, worldwide, men made out 76% of task force members (Figures 3-4) and women 24%, with Europe (32%) having the highest percentage, and Asia (14%) the lowest.

Women in Governance



Source: <https://data.undp.org/gendertracker/>



Source: <https://data.undp.org/gendertracker/>

With gender a key determinant of health, women's inclusion in crisis response decision-making is crucial (Davies and Bennett, 2016). The European Parliament (Shreeves and Boland 2021) has also recognized the need for more women to be part of pandemic response decision-making to take gender differences into consideration.

In Greece (Box 1), the gender composition of the task force committee established in February 2020 for the tackling of the pandemic had 26 members, 8 women and 18 men. All members were health experts; therefore, the committee did not include any experts on gender issues, despite the fact that many of the measures suggested had a direct impact on the lives of women, and especially women with children. Indeed, this numerical underrepresentation of women in Task Forces and Health committees came as no surprise, given the overall low numbers of women in decision-making, therefore this imbalance was never challenged as a problem.

Box 1: Gender composition of Task Force Committee in Greece

Name of Task force: Commission for the Management of Emergency Events due to Infectious Diseases

Type of Task Force: Decision-making and expert

Women: 8 Women; 18 Men (26 total) 30.8%W

Women head of force: No

Women head of Government: No

Description: The Commission was created in February 2020. The Commission works with the Ministry of Health and is composed of 26 members, all who are health experts and many who specialise in infectious diseases. The Commission is divided into a Scientific Committee (SC) and the Department of Civil Protection (CP). The SC is responsible for monitoring the pandemic at the local and international levels and giving advice related health risks and necessary response measures. The CP has a deputy minister which can intervene in COVID response when needed.

Source: van Daalen KR, Bajnoczki C, Chowdhury M, *et al.* and <https://data.undp.org/gendertracker/>

Female political participation during the pandemic: general

A [report](#) by the National Democratic Institute (Brechenmacher and Hubbard, 2020) identified four risks to the political participation of women after the pandemic:

(a) Increasing economic precarity and a return to traditional gender roles. The pandemic disproportionately affected the economic power of women. Worldwide, women are employed more than men in the informal economy or in less protected jobs. When their mobility becoming more restricted this had an adverse effect on their income. In addition, women had to take up more caring roles (either for children or the elderly) leaving them less time available.

(b) Greater reliance on informal practices that reinforce male political dominance. During the pandemic most formal political processes (such as primaries for the selection of candidates, party congresses etc.) halted, and there was a shift to more informal political practices. Such practices tend to favour political gatekeepers (that are usually male) whilst the political outsiders do not have the same access to them. In other words. “Crises enable informal rules and institutions to flourish—and these tend to favor the already dominant group” (Ibid, p. 3)

(c) Inequities in access to online platforms. The move to online campaigning during the pandemic is also a factor that may increase women’s online harassment. The much-discussed increase in gender-based violence during the pandemic (see ProGender Report on Gender-Based violence) is likely to have also moved to the public sphere. Although the discussion on violence targeted towards women in politics is not new (Krook, 2020) there are reasons to assume that it may have increased during the pandemic, since women politicians tend to be subjected more than men to online political harassment (Rheault, Rayment and Musulan 2019)

(d) Decreased public visibility of women. Another point that the authors stress is that the pandemic may have made women less publicly visible, pushing the debate on women’s rights off the agenda. The fact that most task forces and heads of committees worldwide were consisted of men, as we have already stressed, made men the ones dominating media briefings, political discussions, press conferences etc. Therefore, this perpetuated the image of politics as a male dominated sphere, potentially discouraging younger women from engagement with politics, in the absence of visible role-models.

Although it is early to assess the full impact of the pandemic on female political participation, recent data (Flash Eurobarometer 2022) document the changes in women's economic power and time, both resources that have a proven link to their equal participation in public life (Paxton and Hughes 2014, pp. 124-128). Nearly four in ten women (38%) agree that the pandemic has had a negative impact on their income. During the pandemic, women did less paid work that they wanted, either because of the pandemic's impact on the job market (31% agree this applies to them) or because of the increase in work at home (25% agree). In addition, one in five women in the EU have considered or decided permanently to reduce the amount of time they allocate to paid work due to the pandemic (21%). Finally, 44% of women agree that the pandemic had a substantial negative impact on their work-life balance and 29% of women agree that, because of the pandemic, their professional decisions changed (Flash Eurobarometer 2022, p.9). The figures for Greece were even higher, with 31% of women in Greece reporting that the Covid-19 pandemic made them somewhat and much more dependent financially on others (partners, relatives etc.), compared to 19% of the EU average (ibid, p. 36).

Key findings of this section:

- Women experienced losses in income and time, both resources linked to enhanced political participation.
- Their descriptive representation in representative bodies (National and/or Regional Parliaments) that were elected during the pandemic did not change significantly. However, any negative impact may take time to materialize.
- There were changes in the political process during the pandemic (remote parliamentary work; online political communication); it is still not clear whether these facilitated or impeded their equal participation
- Women make up the majority of health workers but were largely absent from Task Forces and Health committees worldwide, that were set up to deal with Covid-19.

HOW THE PUBLIC DEBATE ADDRESSED THE WOMEN IN GOVERNANCE ISSUE DURING COVID-19?

The impact of men and women leaders

Literature has long emphasized the issue of public trust when it comes to complying with measures that are taken during a crisis (either health crises, economic, or political). There is evidence that trust in government is related with taxpaying and various forms of social and political participation. During the outbreak of the covid-19 pandemic, there was evidence that public trust was a major factor related to compliance to the measures imposed by governments (Pak, McBryde and Adegboye 2021). One aspect that was highlighted was the different attitudes to the measures, related to the gender of both leaders and citizens (Willis, Smith and Devine 2021). Willis et al. argued that women's and men's levels of trust in their leaders during the pandemic may be driven by different evaluations: women are more socialized to value compassion and caring, while men are more socialized to value competence. The fact that the pandemic crisis was related to the health sector, a policy area more associated with caring responsibilities and the private sphere (ibid, p. 234) could potentially mean that citizens would 'favour' leaders that were perceived to hold those traits.

The most evident public debate during the first months after the outbreak of the pandemic, related to the issue of women and governance, was around the perceived positive impact of female leaders in managing the pandemic. Several news outlets, both mainstream² and social media depicted accounts of how countries with women leaders fared better, compared to countries with male leadership. Accounts included such cases as Prime Minister of New Zealand Jacinda Arden, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg, Danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen, Prime Minister of Iceland Katrín Jakobsdóttir and President of Taiwan Tsai Ing-wen and her vice president, Chen Chien-Jen. What all these countries had in common was a very low fatality rate, faring significantly better than

² <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2020/04/20/female-world-leaders-hailed-voices-reason-amid-coronavirus-chaos/>

most other countries during the first months of 2020.³ In most -or all-of those cases, women leaders were praised not just for their compassionate and caring approach, but also for the fact that they specifically addressed the need and worries of children, especially younger ones, who were severely affected by school closures and restrictions of movement.⁴

Indeed, journalistic accounts⁵ claimed that the crises of the 21st century must be addressed with a new type of leadership, that includes traits that are considered as more 'feminine': amongst them are qualities such as empathy, caring, resilience, and collaboration, which are seen as contrasting with the more 'masculine' and militaristic type of leadership that demands control, command and 'strong leadership'. The latter were often linked with leaders such as USA President Donald Trump, UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson or Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, with disastrous effects regarding the handling of the pandemic.⁶ Indeed, it is interesting to note, that in many cases in Greece, the lead figure for communicating the decisions of the Task Force for Covid-19, Nicos Hardalias, Deputy Minister of Civil Protection and Crisis Management between 15 March 2020 and 31 August 2021, often appeared wearing clothing related more to outdoor action rather than office work (Image 1), reflecting therefore a more masculine and combat-like type of leadership and approach of the pandemic.

³ <https://voxeu.org/article/women-leaders-are-better-fighting-pandemic>

⁴ <https://www.wilpf.org/covid-19-womens-leadership-sets-the-example/>

⁵ <https://theconversation.com/why-women-leaders-are-excelling-during-the-coronavirus-pandemic-138098>

⁶ <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/news/covid-has-shown-we-need-to-do-away-with-hyper-masculine-styles-of-leadership>

Image 1: Deputy Minister of Civil Protection and Crisis Management Nicos Hardalias in a Press Conference



Image Source: <https://www.brief.com.cy/d/1>

Even Christine Lagarde, Head of the European Central Bank and former IMF leader emphasized female leadership during the first months of the pandemic, claiming that “when you look at those countries that were led by women, and the path that they took and the policies that they adopted, and the communication style that was in play was quite stunning”.

However, as the pandemic progressed and more data became available, the debate shifted to the absence of women in decision-making bodies related to the pandemic. As seen in the previous section, although women were more affected by measures such as restrictions of movement and school closures and constituted the large majority of keyworkers during the pandemic, in sections such as Health and Retail, they remained underrepresented in all Task Force bodies and committees worldwide. Accounts stressing the need for a more balanced representation in decision-making came more from NGOs and international organization with experience in Health crises (WHO, UN Women etc.) but were not equally reflected in the media debate.

Public debate in Greece followed the same lines, with journalistic accounts highlighting the success of female leaders, often in a stereotypical manner of female

sensitivity. However, the imbalance of their absence from decision making did not attract the same level of attention.

The impact of female leaders: academic and policy research

Academic and policy research, as opposed to media accounts, is a rather lengthier and more time-consuming process based on meticulous data gathering and analysis. Not surprisingly therefore, publications on the impact of female leadership during the pandemic, or female underrepresentation in decision-making during Covid-19 showed less unanimous praise on female leadership, their findings being more contingent upon the time frame, or the methodology applied.

During 2020, when the pandemic was at its initial stage worldwide, some research (Garikipati and Kambhampati, 2020) examined the policy responses and the number of deaths in the first quarter of 2020, in 194 countries. The authors found that countries led by women systematically fared better, however their insight mostly served as a serving point for further speculation, rather than as a definite explanation. Earlier accounts on black women Mayors in US cities also supported such claims (Funk, 2020). Piscopo (2020) was rather more cautious, being one of the first to point that the connection between women leaders and better pandemic performance might be spurious. She stressed the importance of other factors, such as the capacity of the state and the kind of governance, finding that women tend to be leaders in countries of the global North, with exactly such characteristics (trust in governance, public spending, low corruption, efficient administration etc.) that produce better outcomes. However, she did not dismiss entirely the relationship between female leadership and state capacity, proposing that maybe women leaders have more societal concerns and therefore propose policies that expand state capacity. Later that year, another research (Windsor et al, 2020) found limited support for the impact of female leaders, drawing similar conclusions, that such countries do not perform better *because* they have elected female leaders, but precisely *because* they score high in a set of various cultural, economic and social indicators, they elect female leaders. In their words “public attention has focused on female chief executives, rather than the types of society-wide values and priorities

that contextualize their leadership. Rather, we note that women-led countries are positioned to excel in many ways after the pandemic because of gendered policymaking incentives embodied in the national culture.” (ibid, p. 3).

Further research, as more data became available, found that countries with female leaders did have better epidemiological image, this however was also attributed to the country’s institutional context, such as the maturity of democracy and gender representation in parliament and bureaucracy (Sanghee 2021). The outcomes were also related to the fact that countries led by women tend to have better universal healthcare coverage (Abrás, Polato e Fava and Kuwahara, 2021).

Although the lion’s share of academic research went on the evaluation of female leadership, the underrepresentation of women in decision-making was also given attention. Brooks and Saad (2020), using data from a survey amongst the US population suggested that men and women tend to have different concerns regarding Covid-19 measures, with those of women being more likely to become overlooked, given female underrepresentation at leadership positions either at the workspace or in politics. Another aspect researched was the possible effect of the positive publicity given to female leadership (Johnson and Williams, 2020). The favorable coverage of ‘feminine’ traits could open up opportunities for the way politics is perceived, enabling supposed feminine traits to be equally valued. However, there was still no clear evidence, since on the one hand favorable coverage could make politics more inclusive, it could however on the other hand [reinforce gender stereotypes regarding femininity and masculinity at the risk of essentializing them.](#)

In terms of style of leadership, an analysis of the speeches made by male and female leaders around the world (Dada et al. 2021) found that women spoke more frequently about the impact of Covid-19 on the individual scale and were more likely to mention a wider range of social welfare services, whilst men used war metaphors to describe Covid-19 with greater frequency. Their different communication style was also related to different socially constructed gendered characteristics. Women leaders proved more successful because [they could appear more empathetic and as having the ability to better address certain vulnerable audiences \(older people, children\).](#)

Another important finding regarding the impact of women in governance (Grigoryan and Khachatryan 2021) concluded that gender balance in all spheres of social life (business, labor market, etc.) and not just in politics, is the key explanatory factors for the policy reactions to the pandemic.

A latest report by [UN Women](#) (UN Women, 2022) analyzed all the measures adopted during the pandemic in a total of 226 countries, and identified the main reasons behind responses that were gender sensitive: These were strong democratic institutions, higher levels of women in Parliaments and strong feminist movements that advocated for gender sensitive measures.

Key findings of this section:

- Media accounts of women in governance emphasized their success in handling the pandemic.
- Their style of governance was seen as more ‘empathetic’ and ‘feminine’ in contrast to the more aggressive and ‘masculine’ style of men in leadership positions.
- Although there was evidence for the above, accounts risked at essentializing feminine versus masculine traits.
- Further research highlighted that it was not the presence of women in leadership that accounted for the better outcome; rather that countries with high scores in a set of socio-economic indicators tend to elect women leaders.
- NGOs addressed the gender imbalance in Health Committees and Task Forces.

HOW HAVE THE POLICIES AGAINST COVID-19 IMPACTED ON THE WOMEN IN GOVERNANCE ISSUE?

Where the policy responses to the pandemic gender sensitive?

Although there is a wealth of data and publications on the impact of lockdowns and other Covid-19 policies on women, it is much more difficult to grasp the impact of them on women in Governance. Measuring the impact of pandemic policies to women's representation in politics and decision-making kind of reverses the question: we do not question what these policies meant for women but rather what it meant (not) having women in the decision-making process. A [briefing](#) by the European Parliament emphasized the lack of gender balance in decision-making during the pandemic and adopted a [resolution](#) that stressed the need for a gender-sensitive approach, with gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting reflected in all aspects of the response to the Covid-19 crisis (European Parliament, 2021). Special emphasis was also given to the implementation of programmes such as Next Generation EU, for the recovery of the economy, that ought to take into account the fact that women were disproportionately affected in socio-economic terms by the pandemic.

A UN Women (2020b) policy brief raised concerns that:

1. COVID-19 is affecting political institutions, processes and policies. Throughout the world, women remain significantly under-represented in many aspects of decision-making.
2. Women are leading effective responses even as they remain under-represented in decision-making forums. Women's participation is also needed in emergency response groups and task teams and in operation centres. But these teams tend to predominantly recruit from police, fire and transport services —where few women are in leadership positions—and typically include few women experts from health, education, social affairs or national gender equality mechanisms. Women's unequal representation puts their

specific needs at risk of being overlooked in the development, scrutiny and monitoring of COVID-19 policies, plans and budgets, including for economic recovery and future health resilience.

3. New burdens risk further hindering women’s participation. With many of the traditional spaces of public engagement and debate unavailable, social media and the Internet are growing in importance as forums for information, consultation and deliberation. In many parts of the world, women are less likely than men to have access to a phone or computer (the ‘digital gender divide’), which risks negatively affecting their access to public information and expression.

The consequences from the lack of gender diversity in Health Committees

NGOs and health experts stressed the fact that epidemics have a gendered aspect, impacting women more in socioeconomic terms (Bali et al. 2020). However, women, and especially those of ethnic or sexual minority, are usually underrepresented in health leadership even though they face higher risks. The benefits for including them at the decision-making process are multiple, as evident from Figure 6.

Figure 6: Benefits of gender inclusive and diverse decision-making



Figure Source: Bali et al. 2020

Past evidence from peace, disaster and business sectors suggests that lack of diversity and women's expertise in decision-making limits the effectiveness of the responses adopted. Similar criticism in the lack of gender diversity in expert task forces (van Daalen et al. 2020, p. 1) found this to be "a symptom of a broken system, where governance is not inclusive of gender, geography, sexual orientation, race, socio-economic status or disciplines within and beyond health – ultimately excluding those who offer unique perspectives and expertise". The importance of sex and gender disaggregated data and the adoption of an inclusive approach that goes beyond the binary representation was also suggested.

The 'hypermasculine' leadership style during the pandemic was also seen as a possible cause of policy failures (Waylen 2021). A preliminary study indicated that the reluctance of hypermasculine leaders to take the pandemic seriously contributed to incoherent policy-making and poor communication that reduced levels of public trust and contributed to high rates of infection and death (ibid, p 1153). Another important argument, between the global financial crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic was the fact that, although very different, both were gendered (O'Dwyer, 2022). Work on the European Union (EU) has highlighted the gendered consequences of the austerity measures taken in response to the crisis (Karamessini and Rubery, 2013). Therefore, future policies of the EU, especially the NextGenEU funding should have a gendered lens. It was argued that discussions around the recovery funds prioritize male forms of employment, and male-dominated industries, in spite of the fact that female-dominated forms of employment and female-dominated industries have been the hardest hit by the pandemic and lockdowns (O'Dwyer, op.cit. p. 160). Women's invisibility in decision-making raised concerns for the legitimacy of the policies adopted (Smith 2020), raising also awareness that their absence may exacerbate inequalities, since their needs will not be adequately taken into account.

[Policy briefs](#) stressed therefore that this underrepresentation resulted in gender-blind policy decisions that could harm women and girls and addressed the need for good quality data on the gendered effects of the pandemic - either epidemiological or socio-economic.

In the same vein, Wenham and Herten-Crabb (2021) when researching the UK government, concluded that it has failed to consider gender in its Covid-19 response. By analysing the UK's Scientific Advisory Group on Emergencies (SAGE) meeting

minutes and background the authors found that “acknowledgement of the gendered dynamics of particular issues, such as school closures and feminised (or masculinised) employment sectors, were largely absent in SAGE meeting minutes and that explicit references to women were largely of a biological (sex) nature, rather than social (gender). Over time we saw increased references to the gendered impacts of policy in meeting background documents, though these references largely reproduced gendered stereotypes and roles rather than actively engaging with the gender issues” (bid, p. 1) They stressed the fact that since most task force members were epidemiologists and behavioral scientists, they lacked training in gender analysis. Since the framing of the covid-19 emergency was an epidemiological emergency, rather than a social, political and economic one, scientist from these fields were mostly included in the Task forces. The authors suggested that such emergencies should be viewed in a more holistic way in order to include gender advisors.

In March 2020 an initiative by Women in Global Health (WGH), and Women of Color Advancing Peace and Security (WCAPS) launched the [Operation 50/50](#) as a response for the lack of female leadership in the Covid-19 responses worldwide. As part of this initiative, a list of 100 women health security experts was compiled and made public. This list aimed to gather female experts and encourage policy experts to include them to policy-making bodies and the media to quote them as experts.

In February 2020 a small group of academics from public health, international relations, public policy, and development economics decided to research on the gendered effects of Covid-19 and government responses to the outbreak, having previously examined the intersection between gender and health emergencies during Ebola, Zika, Cholera, and beyond. They established a [network](#) for the study of the gendered effects of covid-19, first in Canada, the UK, China, and Hong Kong and later in June 2020 they included Bangladesh, Nigeria, Kenya, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Brazil.

In two policy briefs that they released, in [October 2020](#) and [March 2021](#), they suggested that the Independent Panel for Pandemic Preparedness and Response (IPPPR) and the Review Committee of International Health Regulations (IHR) that were established to assess WHO’s response should take into account the following:

- (1) In terms of decision making, ensure equal gender representation on the IHR committee. Although committee members were selected from a pool of experts, this was not made public, therefore there were no data on the ration between men and women in it.
- (2) Include gender advisors in the experts committee, that will ensure that the committee will take into account the gender effects of its policies.
- (3) Collect gender disaggregated data. This will ensure that all inequalities are properly addressed
- (4) Take an intersectional approach, ensuring that the interests of women in the Global South are also taken into account

Impact of the pandemic in women's political participation: The Parliaments

Some preliminary research on the impact from the closure of Parliaments in the UK (Hibbs 2022) suggested that local councils' formal organizational norms and practices pre-pandemic privileged presenteeism. Remote attendance was an organisational solution improving women's political participation and representation in local government since it enabled organisational practice for those who must travel long distances, those who work, those with caring responsibilities and those with disabilities or other access requirements. Other work, on the impact on women's candidacy in elections (Gatto and Thome 2020) indicated that even amid a crisis that has gendered implications for personal time and resources, the main obstacle to women's prospects is not their personal political ambition or their efforts but the way they perceive their access to campaign resources and party gatekeeper support.

According to IPU reports ([Women in parliament in 2020. The year in review](#)), Covid-19 prompted MPs to respond to profoundly gendered needs among their constituents (ibid, p. 18). Since many aspects of the pandemic had a clear gender impact (higher burden on women on school closures and remote learning; increase in domestic and gender-based violence) international organizations such as IPU and UN Women issued [policy proposals](#) specifically for Parliaments, to address the issue under a gender-sensitive approach. More specifically NGOs and feminist academics

suggested that National Parliaments should cover the following areas so that gender-neutral or gender-blind parliamentary strategies can become gender-responsive (UN 2020a, pp. 8-11):

1. Gender mainstreaming and women's participation and leadership in parliamentary decision-making on Covid-19. For policymaking to be as inclusive and efficient as possible, mapping and securing the participation of both men and women is a must. At a time when parliaments and their structures are meeting in a reduced capacity, often with a reduced number of members, it is vital to secure the participation of women at all levels and their leadership in the decision-making and oversight committees, units and/or task forces put in place in parliament to respond to the crisis
2. COVID-19 and gender-responsive legislation: Laws adopted by parliament to allow the government to take measures to mitigate the impact of COVID-19 should be gender-responsive.
3. Overseeing the government's COVID-19 response from a gender perspective: Structures set up to oversee government action during the crisis need to be gender-sensitive in their composition, mandate and working methods.
4. Communicating and raising awareness on COVID 19 and its effects – the role of MPs and parliaments. Awareness-raising that focuses on social distancing and hygiene measures should draw attention to the importance of sharing care responsibilities equally between women and men.
5. Gender-sensitive parliaments in times of COVID-19: Measures taken can gain efficiency by integrating a gender perspective from the very beginning. The crisis should be an opportunity to fast-track decisions, processes and working methods for parliament to remain, be or become a gender-sensitive institution.
6. Parliamentary action today for a better tomorrow: The current COVID-19 crisis brings great challenges, but it may also open windows of opportunity to address and redress existing imbalances and inequalities and build fairer and more resilient societies in the long run.

Examples of best practices for Women in Governance

The EIGE launched an [online tool](#) for internal parliamentary use, that will help identify whether Parliaments are gender sensitive. It works as a self-assessment instrument that gives examples of gender sensitive practices in Parliaments across the EU.

In Greece and Iceland some best practices from Municipalities during the pandemic included⁷:

The Municipality of Agios Demetrios in Attica reacted by creating social welfare programs to support vulnerable groups of the population. At the forefront of the municipality work women in high-level positions, such as the Administrative and Financial departments. A 12-hour hotline was activated, 7 days a week for vulnerable groups, in which citizens who could not move from their homes (elderly, people with special needs, with chronic diseases) called this line to support their immediate needs. In the first quarantine, the municipality's social workers and psychologists made 3,000 phone calls to elderly and vulnerable citizens to ensure that their vital needs (regulation of medical prescriptions, delivery of medicines at home, delivery of food, transportation to vaccination centers) were a priority. Part of the economic measures to support local markets was the decision to suspend for six months the municipal taxes and taxes for small businesses that suspended their operation during the quarantine.

The Municipality of Reykjavik launched an observatory on social welfare and labor issues and received quarterly reports to the municipality's executive committee on what was happening in matters of social welfare and work in order to adapt their measures, based on numbers and statistics. In the pandemic they helped minorities and the elderly by using new ways to prevent isolation, and the homeless by renting homes.

Some best practices from Parliaments, included:

In Italy, many parliamentary staff members were working remotely, and staff with children under the age of 16 have been allowed to take parental leave while schools were closed (IPU 2021, p. 6).

⁷ Source: <https://progender.panteion.gr/press-release-women-in-governance/>

Key findings of this section:

- Lack of women in health committees made policy responses to Covid-19 gender blind
- Parliament closures and remote work may have helped disadvantaged groups, whilst the gendered needs of the electorate may have made politicians more aware of the gender dimension of political decisions.
- Investment in gender disaggregated data collection and the inclusion of experts from domains that are not male dominated will make policies more gender-sensitive
- The post-crisis policies in the EU (such as Next Gen EU funds) should take into account the gender aspect
- There is a window of opportunity for the crisis to change the way we address imbalances and inequalities if we want our societies to become more resilient and cohesive in the future.

POLICY PROPOSALS

- Ministries and relevant authorities, such as the national statistical institute (ELSTAT) must invest in **sex disaggregated data**, taking into account intersecting inequalities, such as race, sexual orientation and class and include the gender dimension in all policy outputs.
- The General Secretariat for Demography and Family Policy and Gender Equality should launch a **nationwide quantitative survey on the effects of the pandemic in political participation and representation**, topped up with qualitative methods of analysis (e.g., focus group discussions of vulnerable groups, analysis of online hate speech towards female politicians etc.).
- The General Secretariat for Demography and Family Policy and Gender Equality should establish a **monitoring system of regular reporting** to the government or representative elected bodies in respect of **the progress achieved on gender equality initiatives** in Greece.
- All relevant parties should ensure a **more gender balanced composition in Health Committees** supervised by the Ministry of Health and include gender experts and scientists from social and behavioral sciences.
- The Hellenic Parliament should become more **gender-sensitive** regarding the inclusion of women's issues and concerns in Parliamentary agenda by adopting the recommendations of the [EIGE toolkit](#).
- The Hellenic Parliament should invest in **gender training** for all staff members and in gender sensitive measures.
- The Government must **take into account the gender aspect in all post-crisis policies in the EU** (such as the NextGen EU funds) ensuring a gender-balanced distribution of the funds.
- The General Secretariat for Demography and Family Policy and Gender Equality should create a **post Covid-19 Task Force** that will develop ideas and policies for the inclusion of women in decision-making. To do so the Task Force must work to tackle stereotypes and assist in cultural change towards a more gender-inclusive society.
- Feminist movements and NGOs must be consulted and included in all steps.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY & RESOURCES

Journal articles and book chapters

- Aldrich, A., & Lotito, N. (2020). Pandemic Performance: Women Leaders in the COVID-19 Crisis. *Politics & Gender*, 16(4), 960-967. doi:10.1017/S1743923X20000549.
- Bali S, Dhatt R, Lal A, et al. Off the back burner: diverse and gender-inclusive decision-making for COVID-19 response and recovery. *BMJ Global Health* 2020;5:e002595. doi:10.1136/bmjgh-2020-002595
- Besley, T., Case, A. (2000). Unnatural experiments? Estimating the incidence of endogenous policies. *Econ. J.* 110, F672–F694.
- Bratton, K.A., Ray, L.P. (2002). Descriptive representation, policy outcomes, and municipal day-care coverage in Norway. *Am. J. Polit. Sci.* 46 (2), 428–437.
- Brooks, D., & Saad, L. (2020). Double Whammy: Why the Underrepresentation of Women among Workplace and Political Decision Makers Matters in Pandemic Times. *Politics & Gender*, 16(4), 1110-1122. doi:10.1017/S1743923X20000628
- Christmas-Best, V., & Kjaer, U. (2007) «Why so Few and Why so Slow? Women as Parliamentary Representatives in Europe from a Longitudinal Perspective». In: M. Cotta & H. Best (Eds.), *Democratic Representation in Europe: Diversity, Change and Convergence*, (σ. 77-105). Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Clayton, A., Zetterberg, P. (2018). Quota shocks: electoral gender quotas and government spending priorities worldwide. *J. Polit.* 80 (3).
- Cullen, P., & Murphy, M. (2020). Responses to the COVID-19 crisis in Ireland: From feminized to feminist. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 28(2), 348- 365. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12596>
- Dada S, Ashworth HC, Bewa MJ, et al. (2021). Words matter: political and gender analysis of speeches made by heads of government during the COVID-19 pandemic. *BMJ Global Health* 2021; 6:e003910. doi:10.1136/bmjgh-2020-003910
- Dahlerup, D. Leyenaar, M. (eds.) (2013), *Breaking Male Dominance in Old Democracies*. Oxford University Press.
- Davis, E. S. and B. Bennett (2016). A gendered human rights analysis of Ebola and Zika: locating gender in global health emergencies, *International Affairs*, Volume 92, Issue 5, pp. 1041–1060. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12704>
- Funk, K. (2020). Local Responses to a Global Pandemic: Women Mayors Lead the Way. *Politics & Gender*, 16(4), 968-974. doi:10.1017/S1743923X20000410
- Garikipati, S. & Kambhampati, U. (2020). Leading the Fight Against the Pandemic: Does Gender 'Really' Matter?. *Feminist Economics*, 27:1-2, 401-418, DOI: 10.1080/13545701.2021.1874614
- Gatto, M., & Thome, D. (2020). Resilient Aspirants: Women's Candidacies and Election in Times of COVID-19. *Politics & Gender*, 16(4), 1001-1008. doi:10.1017/S1743923X20000537
- Hanifah, L. (2021). Challenging Underrepresentation of Women Leadership in Global South during COVID-19. *Global South Review*. Retrieved from:

<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/dbfe/498ad3e5769194718b92ed0778def90e3a68.pdf>

Heath, R.M., Schwindt-Bayer, L.A., Taylor-Robinson, M.M. (2005). Women on the sidelines: women's representation on committees in Latin American legislatures. *Am. J. Polit. Sci.* 49 (2), 420–436.

Hessami, Z. and M. Lopes da Fonseca (2020). Female political representation and substantive effects on policies: A literature review. *European Journal of Political Economy*. 63, 101896, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2020.101896> Abras, Ana Claudia Polato e Fava & Monica Yukie Kuwahara (2021) Women Heads of State and Covid-19 Policy Responses, *Feminist Economics*, 27:1-2, 380-400, DOI: 10.1080/13545701.2020.1864432

Hicks, D.L., Hicks, J.H., Maldonado, B. (2016). Women as policy makers and donors: female legislators and foreign aid. *Eur. J. Polit. Econ.* 41, 46–60.

Holman, M.R. (2014). Sex and the city: female leaders and spending on social welfare programs in the US municipalities. *J. Urban Aff.* 36 (4), 701–715.

Hughes M. Melanie and Pamela Paxton (2008) Continuous Change, Episodes, and Critical Periods: A Framework for Understanding Women's Political Representation over Time. *Politics & Gender*, 4: 233-264.

Johnson, C., & Williams, B. (2020). Gender and Political Leadership in a Time of COVID. *Politics & Gender*, 16(4), 943-950. doi:10.1017/S1743923X2000029X

Kakepaki M. (ed.). (2016). Η Πολιτική Αντιπροσώπευση στη Σύγχρονη Ελλάδα. Χαρακτηριστικά και φυσιογνωμία των μελών του Ελληνικού Κοινοβουλίου 1996 - 2015 [Political representation in contemporary Greece: Characteristics and profile of the Greek MPs during the period 1996-2015]. Athens: Papazisis.

Kakepaki, M., Kountouri, F., Verzichelli, L., & Coller, X. (2018). The Sociopolitical Profile of Parliamentary Representatives in Greece, Italy and Spain Before and After the “Eurocrisis”: A Comparative Empirical Assessment. In G. Cordero & X. Coller (Eds.), *Democratizing Candidate Selection: New Methods, Old Receipts?* (pp. 175–200). Springer International Publishing

Karamessini, M. and J. Rubery (eds.) (2013). *Women and Austerity: The Economic Crisis and the Future for Gender Equality*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Kittilson, M.C. (2008). Representing women: the adoption of family leave in comparative perspective. *J. Polit.* 70 (2), 323–334.

Koch, M.T., Fulton, S.A. (2011). In the defense of women: gender, office holding, and national security policy in established democracies. *J. Polit.* 73 (1), 1–16.

Krook, M. L. and D. Z. O' Brien (2012) All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide. *The Journal of Politics*, Volume 74, Number 3. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381612000382>

Krook, M. L. (2020). *Violence against women in politics*. Oxford University Press.

Leah Hibbs (2022): “I was able to take part in the chamber as if I was there” – women local councillors, remote meeting attendance, and Covid-19: a positive from the pandemic?, *Journal for Cultural Research*, DOI: 10.1080/14797585.2021.2011365

Matland, R. E. (1998). Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 23(1), 109–125. <https://doi.org/10.2307/440217>

Mayer, C.H., & May, M.S. (2021). Women Leaders Transcending the Demands of Covid-19: A Positive Psychology 2.0 Perspective. *Frontiers in Psychology*. Retrieved from: <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.647658/full>

Meagher, K., Singh, N.S., & Patel, P. (2020). The role of gender inclusive leadership during the COVID-19 pandemic to support vulnerable populations in conflict settings. *BMJ Global Health*, 5(9). doi:10.1136/bmjgh-2020-003760. Retrieved from: <https://gh.bmj.com/content/bmjgh/5/9/e003760.full.pdf>

Norris, P. and J. Lovenduski. 1995. *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race and Class in the British Parliament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Dwyer, M. (2022). Gender and Crises in European Economic Governance: Is this Time Different?, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Wiley Blackwell, vol. 60(1), pages 152-169.

Pak A, McBryde E, Adegboye OA. Does High Public Trust Amplify Compliance with Stringent COVID-19 Government Health Guidelines? A Multi-country Analysis Using Data from 102,627 Individuals. *Risk Manag Healthc Policy*. 2021;14:293-302. Published 2021 Jan 26. doi:10.2147/RMHP.S278774

Pantelidou Maloutas, M. (2005). Comparing frames framing comparisons: Greece/Eu frames on gender inequality in politics. Thematic issue of *The Greek Review of Social Research*, 117, 2005, pp.149-167.

Pantelidou Maloutas, M. (2006) Μισός αιώνας γυναικείας ψήφου/ Μισός αιώνας γυναίκες στη Βουλή [Half a century of women's vote/half a century of women in Parliament] Athens, Hellenic Parliament Foundation.

Paxton, P. and M. Hughes. (2014). *Women, politics and power. A global perspective*. Sage Publications (2nd edition).

Phillips, A., (1995). *The Politics of Presence*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Piscopo, J. (2020). Women Leaders and Pandemic Performance: A Spurious Correlation. *Politics & Gender*, 16(4), 951-959. doi:10.1017/S1743923X20000525

Pitkin. H. (1972). *The Concept of Representation*, University of California Press.

Rheault, L., Rayment, E., & Musulan, A. (2019). Politicians in the line of fire: Incivility and the treatment of women on social media. *Research & Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168018816228>

Sanghee Park (2021) Gendered leadership during the COVID-19 pandemic: how democracy and representation moderate leadership effectiveness, *Public Management Review*, DOI: 10.1080/14719037.2021.1937294

Schwindt-Bayer, L.A. (2006). Still supermadres? Gender and the policy priorities of Latin American legislators. *Am. J. Polit. Sci.* 50 (3) 750–585.

Sergent, K., & Stajkovic, A. D. (2020). Women's leadership is associated with fewer deaths during the COVID-19 crisis: Quantitative and qualitative analyses of United States Governors. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 105(8), 771–783. <https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000577>.

Smith, J. (2020). Where Are the Women? Descriptive Representation and COVID-19 in U.K. Daily Press Briefings. *Politics & Gender*, 16(4), 991-1000. doi:10.1017/S1743923X20000513

Svaleryd, H. (2009). Women's representation and public spending. *Eur. J. Polit. Econ.* 25, 186–198.

van Daalen KR, Bajnoczki C, Chowdhury M, et al. Symptoms of a broken system: the gender gaps in COVID-19 decision-making. *BMJ Global Health* 2020; 5:e003549. doi:10.1136/bmjgh-2020-003549

Waylen, G. (2021). Gendering political leadership: hypermasculine leadership and Covid-19, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 28:8, 1153-1173, DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2021.1942160

Weeks, A.C. (2017). Quotas Matter: the Impact of Gender Quota Laws on Work-Family Policies. Mimeo.

Wenham C, Herten-Crabb A. (2021). Why we Need a Gender Advisor on SAGE. *LSE Public Policy Review*. 1(4): 7, pp. 1–12. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31389/lseppr.25>

Willis, H., Jessica C. Smith & Daniel Devine (2021) Care to trust? Gender and trust in leaders during the Coronavirus pandemic, *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 31:sup1, 232-244, DOI: 10.1080/17457289.2021.1924737

Windsor LC, Yannitell Reinhardt G, Windsor AJ, Ostergard R, Allen S, Burns C, et al. (2020) Gender in the time of COVID-19: Evaluating national leadership and COVID-19 fatalities. *PLoS ONE* 15(12): e0244531. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0244531>

Policy briefs, reports and media accounts

Algayerova, O. (2021, March 8). Stepping up for women leaders will benefit us all in the pandemic recovery. United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. Retrieved from: https://unece.org/circular-economy/news/stepping-women-leaders-will-benefit-us-all-pandemic-recovery?fbclid=IwAR2Y18hibcvrbbioDhfmQ5U-pzcf-E5CUspO-fvxR7C1tKN_SpOoYwOI-Yo

Araya, I. A. (2020). World Leaders and COVID-19: Women, Populists, and Political Families Reacted Faster. SSRN. Retrieved from: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3728270

Bellace, J., Low, C., & Rothbard, N. (2021, May 30). Has the Pandemic Set Female Leadership Back?. KNOWLEDGE@WHARTON. Retrieved from: <https://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article/pandemic-set-female-leadership-back/>

Brandazza, D., Amiot, M., Darden, K., Watson, W. & Morin, G. (2021, May 25). Leadership In Turbulent Times: Women CEOs During COVID-19. S & P Global. Retrieved from: <https://www.spglobal.com/assets/documents/ratings/research/100106597.pdf>

Brechenmacher, S. and C. Hubbard (2020). How the coronavirus risks exacerbating women's political exclusion. National Democratic Institute. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Brechenmacher_Hubbard_Women_Exclusion.pdf

Burni, A., & Domgörgen, F. (2021). Why female leaders stand out on their political communication during the pandemic. German Development Institute. Retrieved from: <https://www.die-gdi.de/en/the-current-column/article/why-female-leaders-stand-out-on-their-political-communication-during-the-pandemic/>

Champoux-Paillé, L., & Croteau, A.M. (2020, May 13). Why women leaders are excelling during the coronavirus pandemic. The Conversation. Retrieved from: <https://theconversation.com/why-women-leaders-are-excelling-during-the-coronavirus-pandemic-138098>

Coscieme, L., Fioramonti, L., Mortensen, L., Pickett, K., Lovins, L. H., McGlade, J., Ragnarsdottir, K., et al. (2020). Women in power: Female leadership and public health outcomes during the COVID-19 pandemic. MedRxiv. 10.1101/2020.07.13.2015239.

Cuthbertson, A. (2020, July 25). Coronavirus tracked: How women leaders outperform men during pandemic. Independent. Retrieved from: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/coronavirus-cases-women-men-leaders-countries-data-a9635396.html?fbclid=IwAR1ow256nHr1mIX0SqpWYoBB-M_ndWea72yCmH9rnVPxJTvleY1yCQVFuxM

Cutruzzula, K. (2020, September 24). 6 things we can learn from how women leaders have handled the pandemic. TED Conferences. Retrieved from: <https://ideas.ted.com/6-things-we-can-learn-from-how-women-leaders-have-handled-the-pandemic/>

EIGE (2021). Gender equality Index 2021. Health. Publications Office of the European Union. Retrieved from: https://eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/gender_equality_index_2021_health.pdf

European Parliament (2021) The gender perspective in the COVID-19 crisis and post-crisis period. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-0024_EN.pdf

Ellis, A. (2020, November 25). “Building Forward Better” – Why Women’s Leadership Matters. Global Governance Forum. Retrieved from: <https://globalgovernanceforum.org/building-forward-better-why-womens-leadership-matters-during-covid-19-beyond/>

Flash Eurobarometer (2022). Women in times of Covid-19. DG Comm. Public Opinion Monitoring Unit. <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/api/deliverable/download/file?deliverableId=80615>

Fuhrman, S. & Rhodes F. (2020). Where are the women? The Conspicuous Absence of Women in COVID-19 Response Teams and Plans, and Why We Need Them. CARE International. Retrieved from: https://www.care-international.org/files/files/CARE_COVID-19-womens-leadership-report_June-2020.pdf

Grant Thornton International Ltd (GTIL). (2021, February 22). Women in senior leadership positions pass critical 30% mark despite global pandemic. Retrieved from: <https://www.grantthornton.global/en/press/press-releases-2021/Women-in-senior-leadership-positions-pass-critical-mark-despite-global-pandemic/>

Grigorian, A. and K. Khachatryan (2021). Female Representativeness and Covid-19 Policy Responses: Political Representation and Social Representativeness. Free Network. Policy Paper Series.

Harik, H. (2021, March 5). Are women leaders a better fit for the COVID-19 response? R&E Search for Evidence. Retrieved from: <https://researchforevidence.fhi360.org/are-women-leaders-a-better-fit-for-the-covid-19-response>

Helmich, D., & Post, E. (2021, May 27). Success of Women Leadership during COVID-19: At Risk of Essentialising “The Feminine”?. Utrecht University. Retrieved from: <https://www.uu.nl/en/news/success-of-women-leadership-during-covid-19-at-risk-of-essentialising-the-feminine>

Horsford S. & Jerlström, M. (2020, May 12). COVID-19: Women’s Leadership Sets the Example. Retrieved from: <https://www.wilpf.org/covid-19-womens-leadership-sets-the-example/>

Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2021). Women in Parliament in 2020. The year in review <https://www.ipu.org/women-in-parliament-2020>

Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2022). Women in Parliament in 2021. The year in review. <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2022-03/women-in-parliament-in-2021>

Lewis, H. (2020, May 6). The Pandemic Has Revealed the Weakness of Strongmen. The Atlantic. Retrieved from: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2020/05/new-zealand-germany-women-leadership-strongmen-coronavirus/611161/>

Liji, T. (2020, July 17). COVID-19 outcomes better in countries with female leaders. News-Medical. Retrieved from: <https://www.news-medical.net/news/20200717/COVID-19-outcomes-better-in-countries-with-female-leaders.aspx?fbclid=IwAR36Ne8ODw0zyz3GxNDH7jr2nW3ceO-RfrpGXyVAmE0zwMsCzLX8twj7who>

McLean, V. (2020, May 12). Coronavirus is showing yet again why the world needs more strong female decision-makers. Euronews. Retrieved from: <https://www.euronews.com/2020/05/12/coronavirus-showing-yet-again-why-the-world-needs-more-strong-female-decision-makers-view>

Morfoot, A. (2021, July 1). Study Finds Pandemic Presented Women With New Challenges and Opportunities. Variety. Retrieved from: <https://variety.com/2021/biz/news/kpmg-study-pandemic-women-challenges-opportunities-1235007947/>

Policy Brief no18. COVID-19 AND WOMEN’S LEADERSHIP: FROM AN EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO BUILDING BACK BETTER. UN Women

Shreeves, R. and M. Boland (2021). Women in politics in the EU. State of Play. Briefing. European Parliamentary Research Service. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/689345/EPRS_BRI\(2021\)689345_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/689345/EPRS_BRI(2021)689345_EN.pdf)

Sumegha Asthana, Sara E Davies, Roopa Dhatt, Ann Keeling, Arush Lal, Alexandra Phelan, Maike Voss and Clare Wenham (October 2020) Strengthen gender mainstreaming in WHO’s pandemic preparedness and response, Policy Brief.

UN Development Programme (2021, June 8). Women shine as leaders, yet their absence at top levels of public service threatens pandemic recovery. Retrieved from: <https://www.undp.org/press-releases/women-shine-leaders-yet-their-absence-top-levels-public-service-threatens-pandemic>

UN Development Programme. (2021, March 8). Betting on women's leadership as we recover from COVID-19. Retrieved from: <https://www.undp.org/blogs/betting-womens-leadership-we-recover-covid-19>

UN Environment Programme. (2021, March 8). Women in leadership: Achieving an equal future in a COVID-19 world. Retrieved from: <https://www.unep.org/unepmap/news/news/women-leadership-covid-19-IWD-2021>

UN Women (2022). Government responses to Covid-19. Lessons on gender equality for a world in turmoil. Retrieved from: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2022/06/government-responses-to-covid-19-lessons-on-gender-equality-for-a-world-in-turmoil>

UN Women (2020a). Sarah Childs and Sonia Palmieri. A Primer for Parliamentary Action. Gender Sensitive Responses to COVID-19.

UN Women. (2020b). COVID-19 and women's leadership: From an effective response to building back better. Retrieved from: <https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/policy-brief-covid-19-and-womens-leadership-en.pdf?la=en&vs=409>

UN Women. (2020c). Women, Peace & Security | Women in decision-making: COVID-19 and beyond. Retrieved from: <https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/-/media/field%20office%20eseasia/docs/publications/2020/10/ap-wps-women-in-decision-making-during-and-post-covid-9-oct.pdf?la=en&vs=955>

UN Women. (2020, June 16). Take Five: "Women leaders around the world have demonstrated successful management of the pandemic". Retrieved from: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/6/take-five-vjosa-osmani>

UN Women. (2020, September 21). Women's leadership and decision-making has never been more urgent, say women leaders from across the world. Retrieved from: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/9/news-coverage-womens-leadership-and-decision-making>

UN Women. (2021, April 28). Take five: Young women leaders in Malawi are ready to build back better from COVID-19. Retrieved from: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2021/4/take-five-young-women-in-malawi-are-ready-to-build-back-better>

WHO (2021 March 4). Inspiring change: women's leadership in health care is vital during the COVID-19 pandemic and beyond. ReliefWeb. Retrieved from: https://reliefweb.int/report/world/inspiring-change-women-s-leadership-health-care-vital-during-covid-19-pandemic-and?fbclid=IwAR0NFKwJS0ZEzKlw5IcuFVvrHqrEk14S_34sGFOIsmwViff5y7lkqvEuET8

Women in Global Health and Gender and COVID-19 Project. Policy Brief: The Gendered Impact of COVID-19 for the Independent Panel for Pandemic Preparedness and Response (IPPPR) (8 March 2020).

Women's Leadership is key to effective Covid-19 response in Timor-Leste. (2020). International Women's Development Agency. Retrieved from:
<https://iwda.org.au/assets/files/Timor-Brief-Tetum-FINAL-English-1.pdf>

World Economic Forum. (2021, March 31). Pandemic Pushes Back Gender Parity by a Generation, Report Finds. In Global Gender Gap Report 2021. Retrieved from:
https://www.weforum.org/press/2021/03/pandemic-pushes-back-gender-parity-by-a-generation-report-finds/?fbclid=IwAR0LuhqV9nhhmIWcF7tr-ONZzb5fB3o20cR15rQ3_HZ8fQUCHafDnzurEm8

Zenger, J., & Folkman, J. (2021, September 17). Research: Women Are Better Leaders During a Crisis. Harvard Business Review. Retrieved from:
https://hbr.org/2020/12/research-women-are-better-leaders-during-a-crisis?fbclid=IwAR13m_h88NTMYg-ijp_ltKM05cOgHWfUbMcykReKSDPk2fyVrp3t2Pova28

Iceland
Liechtenstein
Norway grants

ProGender

A Digital Hub on Gender,
the COVID-19 Crisis and its Aftermath

The project is implemented by:



Centre for
Gender
Studies

