

# THE EUROPEANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES THROUGH THE GENDER COMPONENT. CASE-STUDY: THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN ROMANIA'S 2014 EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

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## Abstract

*The aim of this paper is to analyse if the national political parties experience an Europeanization process through the harmonization of their principles and practice with the ones of the European political groups they are part of. In this regard, I shall use the gender dimension as an Europeanization factor. I choose the Social Democratic Party as a case study because it is the biggest left party in Romania, because it is affiliated to the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats (the second biggest political group in the European Parliament) Parliament and because of the ideological premises that a left party would encourage the increase of women's political participation. The analytical approach will be focused on if and how the Social-Democratic Party's political behaviour regarding women's access to political participation changes when it interacts with the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats. More precisely, I shall correlate the ideological position of the Social-Democratic Party, its political behaviour when it comes to elections at the national level, on one hand, and European elections, on the other hand. The main elements of the case study will be the gender dimension of the selection process for the party's candidates for the elections and of the professionalization of the proposed candidates. The theoretical framework of the paper is represented by political representation theories and the ones regarding the Europeanization of political parties.*

**Keywords:** *Europeanization, political parties, gender equality, political representation, women's political participation, elections.*

## 1. Introduction

The present paper covers a research area of political science, proposing an interdisciplinary analysis based on gender studies, electoral studies and the ones regarding Europeanization.

This study is important because it brings into the spotlight the political behaviour of the main political party in Romania, the Social Democratic Party, correlating it with the party's ideological benchmarks and the influence received by part of its European political family, the Party of European Socialists.

The hypothesis of this paper is that the gender component of the European political families' ideology contributes to the Europeanization of the national political parties in the member states of the European Union.

The methodology consists in document and data analysis. In order to test the hypothesis, I shall examine the relation between: a) the party's ideological attitude towards the gender dimension (that officially should be that of the social democracy), b) the party's affiliation to the European party family (the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament).

This paper is divided into two main parts, a theoretical one, where I explain the concepts that I use in the paper, and a practical one, the case-study of the

SDP-S&D. The latter is a gender comparative analysis of the S&D and SDP attitudes regarding the European elections and is also made up of two sections: the first one is based on the positions of the European political platform, the S&D, while the second one focuses on the practice of the national political platform, the SDP, consisting of a comparative analysis of the party's political behaviour regarding the correlation of the gender criteria with the eligible seats of the party list in two kinds of situations: a) when there has not been any external pressure (the national elections) and b) when there has been an external pressure (the European elections).

The theoretical framework of the paper is represented by the theories of Europeanization and of women's political representation. I shall also use elements of the social-democracy ideology in order to establish its role in promoting the equal representation of women in politics among the political parties.

This is an interdisciplinary approach between Europeanization studies and gender studies and also a new model of analysis for countries in Eastern Europe, since there is no other, especially regarding one the EU's most recent participants to the European elections: Romania (at its third European poll).

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## 2. Europeanization of national political parties. Case-study: SDP in Romania

Europeanization “cuts across the domestic and EU levels of politics, though its usage is intended to stress the interdependence of forces between the two”<sup>1</sup>, marking a two-way relationship between the national and supranational level, that can result in top-down or bottom-up influence or even in a *sui generis* situation.

On the other hand, according to Töller, “changes in national policies due to specific, positive Community policies, mostly in form of a directive or a regulation, seem to be the most frequent cases of Europeanization”<sup>2</sup>, while not the only one, since there is also the learning instrument, “which is not triggered by any policy measure that has been passed and that produces any duty to comply and adapt. Rather we can see that perceptions and persuasions were incrementally changed by way of learning, due to a policy discourse, in which the European Commission played a major role.”<sup>3</sup> Featherstone and Kazamias also agree that “Europeanization via the structures of the EU entails more than a passive response to external pressures: the domestic and EU institutional settings are intermeshed, with actors engaged in both vertical and horizontal networks and institutional linkages”<sup>4</sup>. I support the two last perspectives, of a step by step change that can be caused by a non-coercive stimulus resulting from the interaction between the two levels and it will be used in this paper.

The Europeanization of political parties is important within the framework of the representative democracy discourse because it is presumed to reflect attitudes and practices not only of some institutional organizations, but of the citizens involved in the electoral process that the political parties organize.

While it may seem that “a certain level of Europeanization is inevitable given the need to compete in European Parliament (EP) elections”<sup>5</sup>, this paper’s aim is to discover to what degree this Europeanization affects the political practices outside contexts that are not supranational, such as the national parliamentary elections.

Given the fact that “the term Europeanization has been employed to describe new patterns of behaviour and decision making among political actors and institutions resulting from the impact of European integration”<sup>6</sup>, we can measure the grade of Europeanization regarding the political parties’ institutionalization of the gender dimension in Romania by analysing a) the way that the national political parties apply the same type of rules as their European political families at European level, but ignore them at the national level and b) if they act in accordance with their political ideology in the particular case of assuring an equitable gender representation among their candidates.

The SDP’s candidate selection is very significant for the analysis of the level of Europeanization of the political party practice because it may highlight practice differences between the national parties and the European established norm. The later can be generated by the political group and other European bodies<sup>7</sup> and it can be both formal and informal, because even if there is no adopted quota regarding women’s participation in the European Parliament, there are official documents that include this aspect and point out the necessity of equal participation. An example would be the proposal of a threshold of 40% for women members of the European Parliament in the Duff Report<sup>8</sup> or the recommendations of the European Institute for Gender Equality<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, in its Strategy for equality between women and men, the European Commission assumes responsibility for “supporting efforts to promote greater participation by women in European Parliament elections including as candidates”<sup>10</sup>.

The Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament (S&D) is the second biggest political family of the European Parliament, with 191 members of the European Parliament (MEPs), that make up 25,43% of the 751 seats.

It represents the Party of European Socialists (PES) and is positioned on the left side of the classical ideological axis, both SDP and PES sharing a Social

<sup>1</sup> Kevin Featherstone & George Kazamias *Introduction: Southern Europe and the Process of ‘Europeanization’*, South European Society and Politics, 5:2, 1-24, DOI: 10.1080/13608740508539600, (2000), p. 5

<sup>2</sup> Annette Elisabeth Töller, *The Europeanization of Public Policies – Understanding Idiosyncratic Mechanisms and Contingent Results*, European Integration online Papers (EIoP) Vol. 8 (2004) N° 9, p. 4

<sup>3</sup> Annette Elisabeth Töller, *The Europeanization of Public Policies – Understanding Idiosyncratic Mechanisms and Contingent Results*, European Integration online Papers (EIoP) Vol. 8 (2004) N° 9, p. 7

<sup>4</sup> Kevin Featherstone & George Kazamias *Introduction: Southern Europe and the Process of ‘Europeanization’*, South European Society and Politics, 5:2, 1-24, DOI: 10.1080/13608740508539600, (2000), p. 1

<sup>5</sup> Mary C. Murphy & Katy Hayward, *Party Politics and the EU in Ireland, North and South*, Irish Political Studies, 24:4, 417-427, DOI: 10.1080/07907180903274693, (2009), p. 419

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Poguntke; Nicholas Aylott; Robert Ladrech; Richard Kurt Luther, *The Europeanization of national party organizations. A conceptual analysis*, European Journal of Political Research, vol. 46, (2007), p. 748

<sup>7</sup> As the European Parliament, the European Commission, the European Institute for Gender Equality etc

<sup>8</sup> Andrew Duff, *Report on the Proposal for a modification of the Act Concerning the Election of the Members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage of September 1976*, 2009 / 2134 (INI), Committee on Constitutional Affairs, European Parliament, 28.04.2011, p. 48

<sup>9</sup> European Institute for Gender Equality, 2014, *Integrating the perspective of women and men into EU policies: the case of the Lithuanian Presidency*, EIGE, Vilnius

<sup>10</sup> European Commission, *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Strategy for equality between women and men 2010-2015*, 21.09.2010, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2010:0491:FIN:en:PDF>, p. 8

democratic ideology. This should produce effects on both the European group and the national party in terms of promoting gender equality, given the fact that a characteristic of Social democracy is the preoccupation for promoting equality between women and men and the focus on combating social inequalities seen as an interconnection of inequalities regarding economic aspects, power, status or freedoms<sup>11</sup>.

As the EPP does not participate directly to the elections, I cannot take into consideration its electoral behaviour, but I shall use its discourse and actions in the domain of gender equality.

The gender dimension is an element of the S&D manifesto through its chapter: *A Union of equality and women's rights*, which tackles issues as the gender pay and pension gap, violence against women, reconciling professional and family life and promoting women's free choice and access to sexual and reproductive rights<sup>12</sup>. Also, the manifesto's introduction contains a call towards its citizens and it is illustrated by four women of different backgrounds, suggesting the need for encouraging women's participation to public life. Moreover, the PES's declaration of principles refers to promoting gender equality, "building on the achievements of the feminist movement"<sup>13</sup>. This is further translated into the PES Strategy for 2010-2014, as it stipulates that "gender inequalities are incompatible with our vision of a fair society" and that "our concrete objectives are to fight for a European Women's Rights Charter, the improvement of parental leave rights and child care, the promotion of women's reproductive rights and the eradication of human trafficking"<sup>14</sup>.

Moreover, Martin Schulz's acceptance discourse at his nominating as candidate of the PES for the presidency of the European Commission before the 2014 European elections recognizes the gender bias in the European societies through remarks such as "women are hit hardest by the crisis", "we are closing

the gender pay gap and more women are holding top jobs; because I want my daughter to have the same opportunities my son has" or "inequality between men and women is a scandal in Europe in the 21st century"<sup>15</sup>.

Furthermore, after the 2014 elections, S&D launched its call for the future European Commission and one of the points of interest of the new commissioners was "strengthening efforts to combat discrimination on the grounds of gender, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age, sexual orientation, or identity", "closing the gender employment and pay gaps and combating all forms of violence against women"<sup>16</sup>.

Likewise, S&D has contributions to a set of policies that comprise the gender component, such as backing the Maternity leave Directive, the Directive on Violence Against Women or supporting Spanish women in their protests for reproductive rights.

Furthermore, the PES develops three European campaigns: *Your future is my future - a European Youth Guarantee now!*<sup>17</sup>, *Equal Pay, it's about Time!*<sup>18</sup>, *A Charter for European Women's rights*<sup>19</sup>, *Women and Pensions*<sup>20</sup>, *My Body, My Rights*<sup>21</sup> and *Financial Transaction Tax*<sup>22</sup>. The first one is gender mainstreamed through its component of *Gender dimension of youth unemployment*<sup>23</sup>, while the next four are entirely gender-focused, highlighting the activity of the PES Women organization within the party.

The S&D group is involved in organizing events that cover gendered issues as women's empowerment, sexual and reproductive rights or access to decision-making positions (*Women for Change, Change for Women*<sup>24</sup>, *All of us! Mobilizing for abortion rights*<sup>25</sup>, *Toward an EU directive on Violence against Women*<sup>26</sup>, *S&D Convention of Violence against Women*<sup>27</sup>,

<sup>11</sup> Alice Iancu, *Social democratia*, in Mihaela Miroiu, *Ideologii politice actuale* (Iasi: Polirom, 2012), p. 101-102

<sup>12</sup> PES manifesto, *Towards a new Europe*, 1.03.2014, Rome

<sup>13</sup> PES Council, *PES Declaration of principles*, 24.11.2011

<sup>14</sup> PES Presidency, *PES Strategy 2010-2014. A Mandate for Change*, 4.02.2010

<sup>15</sup> Martin Schulz, *Speech at the Rome Congress of the Party of European Socialist*, 1.03.2014

<sup>16</sup> Group of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament, *Europe - A Call For Change*, 24.06.2014, [http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/europe\\_call\\_for\\_change\\_en\\_140625.pdf](http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/europe_call_for_change_en_140625.pdf)

<sup>17</sup> The Party of European Socialists, Young European Socialists and PES Women campaign *Your future is my future - a European Youth Guarantee now!*, <http://www.youth-guarantee.eu/>

<sup>18</sup> PES Women campaign *Equal Pay, it's about time!*, [http://www.pes.eu/equal\\_pay#middle](http://www.pes.eu/equal_pay#middle)

<sup>19</sup> PES Women campaign *A Charter for European Women's rights*, [http://www.pes.eu/a\\_charter\\_for\\_european\\_women\\_s\\_rights#big-nav](http://www.pes.eu/a_charter_for_european_women_s_rights#big-nav)

<sup>20</sup> PES Women campaign *Women and Pensions*, [http://www.pes.eu/women\\_and\\_pension#big-nav](http://www.pes.eu/women_and_pension#big-nav)

<sup>21</sup> PES Women campaign *My Body, My Rights*, [http://www.pes.eu/my\\_body\\_my\\_rights#big-nav](http://www.pes.eu/my_body_my_rights#big-nav)

<sup>22</sup> PES and Europeans for Financial Reform campaign *Financial Transaction Tax*, [http://www.pes.eu/financial\\_transaction\\_tax#big-nav](http://www.pes.eu/financial_transaction_tax#big-nav)

<sup>23</sup> The Party of European Socialists, Young European Socialists and PES Women campaign *Your future is my future - a European Youth Guarantee now!*, [http://www.youth-guarantee.eu/gender\\_dimension](http://www.youth-guarantee.eu/gender_dimension)

<sup>24</sup> Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, *Women for Change, Change for Women Conference Programme.*, [http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/SD-Women\\_Day-programme\\_150304\\_revised.pdf](http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/SD-Women_Day-programme_150304_revised.pdf)

<sup>25</sup> Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, Greens/European Free Alliance, Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left, All of us! Mobilizing for abortion rights, <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/channel/joint-conference-all-us-mobilizing-abortion-rights-audio-en>

<sup>26</sup> Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, *Toward an EU directive on Violence against Women*, [http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/3221\\_EN\\_violence\\_against\\_women\\_091210\\_0.pdf](http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/3221_EN_violence_against_women_091210_0.pdf)

<sup>27</sup> Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, *S&D Convention of Violence against Women*, <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/events/sd-convention-violence-against-women-10-april-2013-15h15-asp-3g-2-registration-required>

*Prevention of Crime and Violence Against Women - Right to Life and Dignity*<sup>28</sup>, *Women on Boards*<sup>29</sup> etc).

Another important aspect is that the S&D is composed by 28 national delegations, led by a head of delegation, which are women in 15 cases, representing 53% of the total. Europeanization “is a process of power generation (...) among European institutions, the state and civil society”<sup>30</sup>, but it can also be manifested within these structures, on their different levels, part of the multilevel governance functioning of the European Union.

The 2014 elections were a major opportunity for the political groups to shift their internal functioning towards an environment that resembled more and more one of a political party. These elections are the first to be held after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty that stipulates that the political group that wins the most seats in the European Parliament would also nominate the candidate for the European Commission<sup>31</sup>. Hence the importance of observing if the national component acts in accordance to its European family actions and directions.

In Romania, the scrutiny for the election of the members of the European Parliament is a list scrutiny, according to the principle of proportional representation, while persons who are not affiliated to political parties can run independently<sup>32</sup>. The national elections are organized in a single vote scrutiny since 2008<sup>33</sup>. Thus, for the comparison of eligible positioning I shall use the party threshold for all European elections and the 2004 national elections and the party eligible constituencies for the 2008 and 2012 national elections.

So, first of all, I need to set the eligibility threshold for the SDP’s candidates on the electoral list proposed by the party. I shall take into consideration the data offered by the National Institute of Statistics and the Romanian Central Electoral Office.

It can be observed that the SDP’s electoral scores have been: for the 2000 elections: the Chamber of Deputies – 155 seats, Senate – 65 seats; for the 2004 elections (in the National Alliance, together with the Romanian Humanist Party): the Chamber of Deputies – 132 seats, Senate – 57 seats ; for the 2008 elections (together with the Conservative Party): The Chamber of Deputies – 114 seats, Senate – 49 seats, for the 2012

elections (in the Social-Liberal Union, together with the National-Liberal Party and the Conservative Party): the Chamber of Deputies – 273 seats, Senate – 65 seats.

If we corroborate the number of seats obtained by the SDP and the total number of members of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, we see that the SDP’s electoral score ranged around 47% in 2000: 47,40 % for the Chamber of Deputies and 46,42% for the Senate), 42% in 2004 (together with the Romanian Humanist Party): 42,03% for the Chamber of Deputies and 41,60% for the Senate, 35% in 2008 (together with the Conservative Party): 34,13% for the Chamber of Deputies and 35,76% for the Senate and 68% in 2012 (in the Social-Liberal Union, together with the National-Liberal Party and the Conservative Party): 66,26% for the Chamber of Deputies and 69,31% for the Senate.

Thus, the SDP had quite a high electoral score in 2014, around 48%, so the score obtained in the European elections would have allowed the elections of a satisfactory number of the candidates on the list for a position of social-democrat members of the European Parliament. Nonetheless, the SDP’s electoral score has decreased from 2000 to 2008 and the 2012 result would have probably been around these same figures if the SDP wouldn’t have made an alliance with the National-Liberal Party (NLP) and the Conservative Party (CP), forming the Social-Liberal Union. This is relevant especially since at the European elections, the SDP ran only besides the CP, separately from the NLP, expecting thus a slightly lower score.

The following comparative analysis will be based on the data of the last 3 national<sup>34</sup> and European<sup>35</sup> parliamentary elections in Romania.

At the 2004 national elections, the SDP proposed 50 candidates, from whom 20 were women (40%) and 30 men (60%). The differences between the Chamber of Deputies<sup>36</sup> (15 women and 20 men of a total of 35) and the Senate<sup>37</sup> list (5 women and 10 men of a total of 15) were significant: 43% women in the first and 33% in the second.

<sup>28</sup> Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, *Prevention of Crime and Violence Against Women - Right to Life and Dignity*, <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/events/sd-group-conference-prevention-crime-and-violence-against-women-right-life-and-dignity>

<sup>29</sup> Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, *Women on Boards*, <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/events/sd-conference-women-boards-wednesday-14-november-15h00-18h30-room-asp-3g-3-european>

<sup>30</sup> Sabine Saurugger & Claudio M. Radaelli, *The Europeanization of Public Policies: Introduction*, *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 10:3, 213-219, DOI: 10.1080/13876980802276847, (2008), p. 14

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<sup>32</sup> Permanent Electoral Authority, *Law no. 33 of 16 January 2007 Republished on the organization of European Parliament elections*

<sup>33</sup> Permanent Electoral Authority, *Law no. 35 of 13 March 2008 for elections for the Chamber Deputies and the Senate*

<sup>34</sup> National elections held in 2004, 2008, 2012

<sup>35</sup> European elections held in 2007, 2009, 2014

<sup>36</sup> Candidate list of the SDP for the 2004 parliamentary elections for the Chamber of Deputies of Romania, <http://www4.pmb.ro/wwwt/wwwcs/electorale/DEPUTATI.htm>

<sup>37</sup> Candidate list of the SDP for the 2004 parliamentary elections for the Senate of Romania, <http://www4.pmb.ro/wwwt/wwwcs/electorale/SENAT.htm>

In the same way, at the 2007 European elections<sup>38</sup>, the SDP proposed 45 candidates, from whom 16 were women (35%) and 29 men (65%). As said before, the configuration on the list is also important, resulting in favouring women in the national elections with 55% over the eligible threshold and also in the European elections with 38% women in eligible positions.

Therefore, there is no significant difference between the 2004 national elections and the 2007 European ones. This can be seen as an expected result, given the fact that 2004-2007 was a pre-accession period in which the SDP wanted to construct a European image both within Romania and the European Union.

At the 2008 national elections<sup>39</sup>, the SDP proposed 452 candidates, from whom 58 were women (13%) and 394 men (87%). The differences between the Chamber of Deputies (49 women and 266 men of a total of 315) and the Senate (9 women and 128 men of a total of 137) were not significant, given the fact that they were both very low: 16% women in the first and 7% in the second.

By contrast, at the 2009 European elections<sup>40</sup>, the SDP proposed 43 candidates, from whom 16 were women (37%) and 27 men (63%). As said before, the configuration on the list or in eligible constituencies is also important, favouring them in the European elections with 33% in the eligible positions.

Thus, this set of elections mark a bigger difference in terms of promoting a gender balanced candidate proposal.

At the 2012 national elections<sup>41</sup>, the SDP proposed 452 candidates, from whom 47 were women (10%) and 405 men (90%). The differences between the Chamber of Deputies (37 women and 278 men of a total of 315) and the Senate (10 women and 127 men of a total of 137) were not significant: 12% women in the first and 7% in the second.

By contrast, at the 2014 European elections<sup>42</sup>, the SDP proposed 42 candidates, from whom 16 were women (38%) and 26 men (62%). As said before, the

configuration on the list or in eligible constituencies is also important, favouring them in the European elections with 38% in the eligible positions.

Thereby, the SDP's electoral strategy was similar in both national and European elections in a Euro-optimistic period between 2004 and 2007. The differences were visible afterwards, since the SDP was preoccupied with building a gender balanced candidate proposal only in European elections, revealing a low degree of Europeanization for national contexts.

In conclusion, there is a significant difference between the behaviour of the SDP in the European contexts, when it complies to the European influence and in national elections, when there is a slightly lower degree of balancing the candidates in terms of gender equality.

### 3. Conclusions

I compared the political party's electoral behaviour in the two defining situations: the national and the European elections. The purpose was to observe if there is any change in the last one, when there is a pressure of the European group the SDP belongs to, the S&D. The results were clarifying with respect to the fact that the SDP has a moderate gender balanced candidate proposal for both national and European elections, but in the same time, the percentage grows when referring to the European contexts.

I think this analysis is needed in order to confront the political discourse and practice of the European political families with the ones of their national components for a better understanding of the level of Europeanization and implicitly, of the steps that further need to be taken in that respect.

Future research can focus on adding more variables to this model of analysis and identifying other factors that may influence the political conduct of national and supranational political entities.

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<sup>38</sup> Candidates list for the European Elections, 2007 <http://www.alegeri.tv/europarlamentare-2007/partidul-social-democrat-psd>

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- Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, Women for Change, Change for Women Conference Programme,, [http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/SD-Women\\_Day-programme\\_150304\\_revised.pdf](http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/SD-Women_Day-programme_150304_revised.pdf)
- Group of Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament, Europe - A Call For Change, 24.06.2014, [http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/europe\\_call\\_for\\_cahnge\\_en\\_140625.pdf](http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/europe_call_for_cahnge_en_140625.pdf)
- Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, Greens/European Free Alliance, Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left, All of us! Mobilizing for abortion rights, <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/channel/joint-conference-all-us-mobilizing-abortion-rights-audio-en>

- Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, Toward an EU directive on Violence against Women, [http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/3221\\_EN\\_violence\\_against\\_women\\_091210\\_0.pdf](http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/3221_EN_violence_against_women_091210_0.pdf)
- Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, S&D Convention of Violence against Women, <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/events/sd-convention-violence-against-women-10-april-2013-15h15-asp-3g-2-registration-required>
- Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, Prevention of Crime and Violence Against Women - Right to Life and Dignity, <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/events/sd-group-conference-prevention-crime-and-violence-against-women-right-life-and-dignity>
- Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, Women on Boards, <http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/events/sd-conference-women-boards-wednesday-14-november-15h00-18h30-room-asp-3g-3-european>
- PES Women campaign Equal Pay, it's about time!, [http://www.pes.eu/equal\\_pay#middle](http://www.pes.eu/equal_pay#middle)
- PES Women campaign A Charter for European Women's rights, [http://www.pes.eu/a\\_charter\\_for\\_european\\_women\\_s\\_rights#big-nav](http://www.pes.eu/a_charter_for_european_women_s_rights#big-nav)
- PES Women campaign Women and Pensions, [http://www.pes.eu/women\\_and\\_pension#big-nav](http://www.pes.eu/women_and_pension#big-nav)
- PES Women campaign My Body, My Rights, [http://www.pes.eu/my\\_body\\_my\\_rights#big-nav](http://www.pes.eu/my_body_my_rights#big-nav)
- PES and Europeans for Financial Reform campaign Financial Transaction Tax, [http://www.pes.eu/financial\\_transaction\\_tax#big-nav](http://www.pes.eu/financial_transaction_tax#big-nav)
- The Party of European Socialists, Young European Socialists and PES Women, Your future is my future - a European Youth Guarantee now!, <http://www.youth-guarantee.eu/>
- The Party of European Socialists, Young European Socialists and PES Women, Your future is my future - a European Youth Guarantee now!, [http://www.youth-guarantee.eu/gender\\_dimension](http://www.youth-guarantee.eu/gender_dimension)