

Equality in the Finnish Parliament



Realisation of gender equality in the Finnish Parliament

Questionnaire and interview survey 2018

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The photo shows Taru Mäntynen's sculpture "Lähestyminen" (1981),
Finnish Parliament's art collection

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Foreword

The study on equality in parliamentary work examines the experiences of Members of Parliament regarding equality between sexes and the realisation of equal working conditions.

In December 2017, the Office Commission decided to order the study from Oxford Research Oy after placing it under competitive bidding. The study was executed by a research group consisting of Anna Björk (D.Soc.Sc), Juho-Matti Paavola (B.Soc.Sc) and Arttu Vainio (Lic.Sc.). The steering group consisted of MPs Ulla Parviainen (Chair, Centre Party), Sari Raassina (National Coalition Party), Tarja Filatov (Social Democratic Party), Hanna Sarkkinen (Left Alliance), Krista Mikkonen (Greens), Sari Tanus (Christian Democratic Party), Anders Adlercreutz (Swedish People's Party), Simon Elo (Blue Reform), Ville Tavio (Vice-Chair, Finns Party), Professor Maria Lähteenmäki, Committee Counsels Ritva Bäckström and Olli Hietanen as well as Legal Counsellor Anri Rantala (Secretary)

The study was conducted during spring and summer 2018. It included a written questionnaire directed to all MPs as well as interviews with 34 MPs on the basis of the preliminary results of the questionnaire.

The objective of the study was to produce information that could be used to promote equality in parliamentary work and the working culture of Parliament. The realisation of equality in the work of MPs has not been previously studied.

The results of the study yielded various interesting and important observations, such as the overrepresentation of men in the most sought-after committees and chair positions and the slower accumulation of seniority among women. MPs' experiences of intimidating feedback on social media and harassing treatment in their work are

particularly troubling. Both women and men expressed a hope of making the balance between work and family easier.

Based on the observations arising from the study, measures will be initiated in the autumn of 2018 to address grievances and promote equality.

On behalf of Parliament, I would like to thank the researchers for their laudable efforts carried out on a tight schedule as well as the steering group for supporting the researchers' work. I would also like to extend my thanks to my predecessor, Speaker Maria Lohela, for her work in launching this important research project.



Paula Risikko

Speaker of Parliament

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CENTRAL FINDINGS

The Parliamentary Office decided in December 2017 to order a study to examine how Members of Parliament felt that gender equality was realised in parliamentary work. The study was conducted during spring and summer 2018 and supported by the steering group nominated by the Parliamentary Office. The study focused on the current electoral term. It was inspired by similar studies conducted in the Swedish Riksdagen in 2016 and 2017.

The study subjects were Members of Parliament. The study materials consisted of a questionnaire survey and interviews. In total, 149 survey sheets were registered, i.e., 74.5 per cent of the Members of Parliament gave their answers. Furthermore, 34 Members of Parliament were interviewed, half of which were men and half female. The genders, parliamentary groups and groups based on experience and age have been considered in the processing of the materials. Based on the survey, the following central findings can be highlighted in terms of the realisation of gender equality in the Finnish Parliament:

1. Members of Parliament find that the gender equality situation is good, although there are differing views on the matter.

The Members of Parliament interviewed did not report any repeated and intentional discrimination due to their gender.

The differences of opinion concerned the amount of attention spent on the gender perspective and what gender equality is considered to include.

All the parliamentary groups as well as age or experience groups were internally divided in their opinions on equality.

Few alternative ways of operating to improve equality were mentioned.

2. Members of Parliament feel that they have good influencing opportunities in the Parliament regardless of their gender.

In the survey, both men and women answered that they were able to influence the opinions of their parliamentary group and the agenda of their party.

Regardless of their gender, the Members of Parliament felt that they got to speak out well both in the parliamentary group, in committees as in the Plenary Hall. Men were felt to be dominating the discussion in the parliamentary group more often than women.

Although both men and women felt that they had good influencing possibilities in the Parliament, men are perceived as being more influential than women in general. When the Members of Parliament were asked to name persons who have particularly much influence in the party, 74 per cent of the people mentioned were men.

3. The networks of Members of Parliament are gender-specific.

The Members collaborated with persons of their own gender both within the party and outside it.

Men mainly networked with men. They trust other men more than women and consider that trust is an important characteristic for increasing influence more often than women.

The fact that networking and trust are gender-specific is indicative of a mechanism which accumulates influence to men in the Parliament.

4. Men are overrepresented as chairpersons.

Men are elected to the Parliament's most prominent chairperson positions more often than women. Of the committee and sub-committee chairpersons, 18 were men and 5 women.

Of the party and parliamentary group chairpersons, two thirds were men. Almost 70 per cent of current Members of Parliament had both a male chairperson of the party and a male chairperson of the parliamentary group.

Women are elected as vice chairpersons: 56.2 per cent of committee vice chairpersons, 47.1 per cent of parliamentary group vice chairpersons and 65.4 per cent of party vice chairpersons are female.

5. Committees are gendered and men are overrepresented in the most sought-after committees.

Both women and men mentioned the International Affairs Committee and the Finance Committee as the most sought-after committees in the survey. Men are overrepresented in both of these. The International Affairs Committee consists of 12 men and 5 women, whereas the Finance Committee has 16 men and 5 women.

Financial and foreign policy are still easily perceived as fields of politics dominated by men, while social welfare and health issues are the domain of women.

The gendered assumptions also determine the types of competence which are considered as belonging to specific areas of politics.

6. Women accumulate seniority more slowly than men.

Seniority is a central factor in almost all parliamentary activities. In addition to parliamentary age, it consists of, for example, experience as chairperson and minister.

Seniority was typically discussed in the interviews as if it were a neutral way of measuring the experience and competence of Members.

Based on the materials, however, the accumulation of seniority is not gender-neutral. Accumulating seniority is more difficult for women than it is for men, because women are not appointed to the most important positions as often as men. The women interviewed expressed that they had to promote themselves out prominently to reach the positions they desired. Both women and men felt, on the other hand, that opportunities opened up to men more automatically when they accumulated experience.

7. People experience disturbing incidents and behaviour at the Parliament.

The survey discussed forms of disturbing incidents and behaviour from several perspectives. The biggest difference between genders was found in the interruptions while speaking and stealing of original ideas experienced.

In the survey, Members of Parliament reported having experienced sexual harassment and hearing sexist jokes in the Parliament. Gender had no statistically significant effect on the prevalence of the experiences. In the survey, 12 women and 17 men expressed that they had experienced sexual harassment in the Parliament, while 41 women and 60 men reported having heard sexist jokes.

Many interviewees brought up the recent discussion on harassment. Attitudes towards it varied between the Members of Parliament. Some interviewees felt that the situation in the Parliament had improved as a result of the discussion.

Based on the interviews, the Members of Parliament do not have any shared opinion as to the harassment and bullying cases concerning Members of Parliament could be dealt with appropriately.

8. Members of Parliament receive threatening feedback in social media.

Of the Members of Parliament who responded to the survey, 72.3 per cent reported having received direct threats. Gender had no effect on the prevalence of the experiences.

Female Members of Parliament received more feedback of a sexual nature on social media than their male colleagues.

Members of Parliament felt that threatening and insulting feedback was a part of their work which had become normal to some extent.

9. More support over the gender lines is needed for combining work as a Member of Parliament and family life

Based on the survey, Members of Parliament find their work stressful. The responses showed no difference between the genders.

Ways to facilitate the combination of work and family life mentioned included arranging child care at the Parliament, improving the possibilities for remote work and renewing the session schedules.

Combining the Member of Parliament's work and family life is perceived as an issue concerning both male and female Members more than before.

1 INTRODUCTION

The Parliamentary Office decided in December 2017 to order a study on the realisation of gender equality at the Parliament. The study was conducted during spring and summer 2018. For the sake of transparency, this report describes the study design and how the study was conducted in as much detail as possible.

The study was aimed primarily at the experiences of the Members of Parliament on the realisation of gender equality in the Finnish Parliament. This starting point leaves room for individuals and interpretations, which may allow finding subtle, repeated methods of action, practices and undercurrents affecting the workplace atmosphere at the Parliament. On the other hand, something will unavoidably remain undetected due to various reasons, such as an ambiguous formatting of a question or the limited time reserved for the interviews conducted. Even with its restrictions, this study demonstrates problematic points related to gender equality which deserve attention.

The implementation and goals of the present publication differ from previous studies on gender perspective discussing the Finnish Parliament and Finnish Members of Parliament. It does not, however, attempt to ignore the information and understanding of the gendered nature of the Parliament and working as a Member of Parliament generated in such studies. This report shows, although indicatively, points of contact with the previously published studies on the subject.

The results of the data collected by means of surveys and interviews are discussed from four perspectives in this report, namely: (1) work done within the parliamentary group, (2) work exceeding the parliamentary group boundaries, (3) the Parliament as a workplace and (4) interfaces between the Parliament and structures of the society. This division is based

on the fact that Members of Parliament work inside the Parliament in several different operational environments, each operating according to their own logic and purpose. The interpretation of gender equality and the preconditions for its realisation vary according to the situation: There may be systematic action to promote the principle of equality within a parliamentary group, for example, while a different operating model is followed in bodies crossing the parliamentary group borders. Furthermore, the gendered structures which permeate the society also affect the Parliament. The question may be asked from the perspective of the realisation of gender neutrality as to how much does the Parliament maintain these structures and what opportunities it has, on the other hand, to challenge them.

The report is structured as follows: Chapter 2 discusses the study design and the implementation of the study. Chapter 3 presents the central findings. Chapter 4 contains a final discussion about the conduct of the assignment and its preconditions. Appendix 1 contains the distribution of answers for all questions and the results of the regressions made. Appendix 2 shows the interview questions. The connections of this study with previous studies on the subject of the Parliament, political representation and gender equality are presented in Appendix 3. The question of gender neutral parliament is also discussed briefly.

2 STARTING POINTS OF THE STUDY

The study ordered by the Parliamentary Office was inspired by the study conducted in two parts in the Swedish Riksdagen in 2016 and 2017, studying the realisation of gender equality in the work of Members of Parliaments and their working environment. The Swedish study's first part¹ corresponds structurally with the questionnaire survey to the Finnish Parliament, and its latter part was implemented² as an independent study based on the survey.

The Finnish study was different from its Swedish model, already in terms of the initial design and more as the project progressed. The differences were mainly related to the implementation of the project. The study conducted in the Finnish Parliament was designed as a two-part study from the beginning. The first part consisted of a survey covering all Members of Parliament. The second part was an interview study with questions based on the initial results of the survey. The study especially focused on the mapping of the Members of Parliament's experiences on gender equality during the current electoral term (2015–2019). Furthermore, and in contrast to Sweden, the international discussion on gender sensitive parliament was one of the perspectives in the Finnish study.

1 Erikson, Josefina & Josefsson, Cecilia (2016): Gender equality in the Swedish parliament - Jämställdheten i riksdagen - en enkätstudie, 10.13140/RG.2.2.30048.4864

2 Erikson, Josefina (2017): Riksdagsledamöters erfarenheter och upplevelser av jämställdheten i riksdagen- en intervjustudie. Rapport till riksdagens arbetsgrupp för jämställdhet, 10.13140/RG.2.2.22520.44809. A study article on the subject was published later: Erikson, Josefina & Josefsson, Cecilia (2018): "The legislature as a gendered workplace: Exploring members of parliament's experiences of working in the Swedish parliament", International Political Science Review January 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512117735952>

2.1 Conduction of the study: surveys and interviews

A steering group nominated by the client, the Parliamentary Office, was set up for the study. The group's members were Members of Parliament, a scientific specialist and officials³. The steering group supported and guided the study. The steering group was also a specialist group with knowledge about the parliamentary work, helping to apply the study's starting points in the Finnish context in particular. The persons implementing the project and the steering group met five times between February and September 2018.

As the intention was to have a good representation of all Members of Parliament in the survey, communication support actions to present the goals of the study were planned before the conduct of the survey. The Members of Parliament in the steering group were provided with a summary of the project and the survey so that the survey could be presented to the parliamentary groups one week before the survey was conducted. A letter from the Speakers of Parliament was sent to all Members of Parliament a couple of days before the survey, encouraging the Members to take the survey. The survey was implemented in the form of paper questionnaires. The questionnaires were distributed in the weekly parliamentary group meetings. A researcher or a member of the steering group presented the background and goals of the survey at the beginning of the meeting. The questionnaires were collected after the meeting, and those absent from the meeting were offered the opportunity to participate later using the questionnaires provided to them.

A total of 149 registered questionnaires were returned to the researchers, some at a later time. This means that 74.5 per cent of all Members of Parliament completed the survey. Some questionnaires did not include all the

3 The steering group consisted of MPs Ulla Parviainen (Chair, Centre Party), Sari Raassina (National Coalition Party), Tarja Filatov (Social Democratic Party), Hanna Sarkkinen (Left Alliance), Krista Mikkonen (Greens), Sari Tanus (Christian Democratic Party), Anders Adlercreutz (Swedish People's Party), Simon Elo (Blue Reform), Ville Tavio (Vice-Chair, Finns Party), Professor Maria Lähteenmäki, Committee Counsels Ritva Bäckström and Olli Hietanen as well as Senior Administrative Officer Anri Rantala (Secretary).

required background information in terms of gender, age and electoral district, for example⁴. The number of responses is lower than the number of questionnaires returned in some questions due to the inadequately filled questionnaires. Of those who reported their gender in the questionnaire, 61.2% were male and 38.8% female. Representatives of the Christian Democratic and Swedish parliamentary group were the most active responders (more than 90% of the group's Members of Parliament). The response rate was the lowest among the National Coalition Party and Finns Party representatives with approximately half of the Members of Parliament returning a filled-in questionnaire (for more details, see Appendix 1, section 3).

The survey results affected the design and implementation of interviews. On the other hand, the preliminary results of the survey were detailed further and elaborated after the interviews. This allowed a relatively versatile analysis of the data collected within quite a short period of time⁵. The analysis of the interviews is based on the interview structure. Summaries were prepared of the recorded interviews, allowing the interviewees to comment on the interviews before they were analysed. The answers were bundled by question based on the summaries. The messages concerning the realisation of gender equality were brought out in particular. The emphasis has been on opinions supported by several interviewees, while some individual mentions have also been discussed due to their significance. Issues crossing the parliamentary group boundaries have also been emphasised in the responses. The impact of the parliamentary group has been controlled in the statistical analyses (see Appendix 1). Belonging to a specific group turned out to be an important variable for some questions, but none of the group appeared to show any systematic differences compared to the other groups. This, in part, also emphasises that the issues are of a nature which crosses the inter-group boundaries.

⁴ See Appendix 1.

⁵ As the interviews were not transcribed due to lack of time, examining them by means of discourse or conceptual analysis, for example, was not possible in this context. The Parliamentary Office will decide on the storage of data and any future research use.

The interview situation varied by Member of Parliament in terms of the space used and the time available for the interview⁶. The selection of interviewees was based on stratified sampling, in which all the Members of Parliament were stratified into four internally homogenous categories based on their gender and experience as a Member of Parliament⁷. The Members of Parliament selected randomly within these categories were contacted by phone to agree on an interview in the Parliament premises. If the interviewee declined or could not be reached, their deputy was contacted. All in all, 34 interviews were conducted. Of the interviewees, 17 were male and 17 female, and they were divided equally also in terms of their experience in the Parliament. Members of Parliament from all parliamentary groups and different electoral districts participated in the interviews.

During the study, data was collected and analysed as follows:

1. Planning and implementation of the survey and analysis of answers
2. Implementation of interviews planned based on the survey results
3. Analysis of interview results and further detailing of survey results
4. Combining the survey and interview results into a comprehensive study

After the analysis, the significance of the study results was discussed with three specialists with regard to previous studies on the Parliament, the parliamentary system and gender.

All the data collected for the study is discussed anonymously in this report in a way which makes it impossible to connect the participants with the answers. Because of this, this report does not contain any direct quotes or anecdotes

6 One hour was allocated for each interview due to practical reasons, but with some interviewees, the meeting only took slightly over half of the planned time.

7 Random sampling was used within these categories to create samples of the same size from all categories. A deputy person was also randomly selected for each interviewee. There were four categories: (1) men with less than two terms' experience in the Parliament; (2) men with more than two terms' experience in the Parliament; (3) women with less than two terms' experience in the Parliament; (4) women with more than two terms' experience in the Parliament.

told during the interviews, for example. Some of the Members of Parliament interviewed said that their interview data could be referred to using their name, but direct quotes have not been used for these persons either in order to ensure a uniform processing of the data.

Preservation of respondent anonymity and transparency of the study process are the most important preconditions of this report. The executor of the study is bound by permanent confidentiality. All the materials collected in the project have been submitted to the Parliamentary Office at the end of the study.

2.2 Reception of the study in the Parliament

The survey questionnaire prompted discussion both in advance in the steering group and afterwards among the Members of Parliament who were the study subjects. The study was criticised especially for the detailed background questions of the questionnaire and gender binarism.

The background questions covered, among other things, the year of birth, parliamentary group, gender and electoral district. When discussed in the steering group, it was expected that these would be met with resistance, but the project nevertheless wanted to collect versatile background information about the respondents in order to guarantee an adequate accuracy and comparability of results.

When asking about the gender, only the options “man” or “woman” were available for the respondents. Some respondents criticised this choice due to the set-up ignoring gender minorities, and the option “other” had been manually added to some questionnaires. To avoid exclusion, a more comprehensive perspective on gender should be considered in future studies of a similar nature⁸. The current report relies on the binary gender sys-

8 Gender diversity is included in the Act on Equality between Women and Men. Discrimination based on gender identity or gender expression was prohibited in this Act in 2015: <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1986/19860609#P6c> (Accessed 30 July 2018). A recent academic contribution on gender concepts and latest humanistic and societal research on the subject: Saresma, Tuija, Rossi, Leena-Maija & Juvonen, Tuula (ed.) (2017): *Käsikirja sukupuoleen*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

tem commonly used in statistically driven studies, and when analysing the questionnaire responses, any definitions outside this have been interpreted as the gender not having been reported.

The impact of criticism due to the background information on the response percentage or the amount of incompletely filled questionnaires is difficult to estimate specifically, because only some of the questionnaires returned blank included a verbal comment as to the reasons for not filling out the form. There were 18 questionnaires which did not contain answers to all or some of the background questions. All background questions were answered in the majority of questionnaires (88 per cent). Members of Parliament also criticised the way the survey was conducted and the study design in the questionnaire, e-mails sent to the researchers and Parliament officials and in social media. It is possible that requesting detailed background information in the questionnaire had an impact on how the respondents reported personal experiences, such as any harassment or discrimination experienced. On the other hand, some of the respondents who criticised the background questions simply did not respond to these questions while filling out the rest of the questionnaire. Some expressed their criticism towards the format of the questionnaire in the open question at the end of the survey. It is therefore probable that the background questions had a bigger impact on the response rate and number of inadequately filled questionnaires than on the contents of answers.

2.3 Swedish studies as inspiration

When preparing the survey to the Finnish Parliament, the executor of the study conducted in Uppsala University, Sweden, was consulted. The questionnaire used in the Swedish Riksdagen was made available in its original form from the researcher who had been in charge of the questionnaire, and it was used as the primary point of reference when preparing the questionnaire to the Finnish Parliament.

The questionnaire was adjusted to correspond with the parliamentary practices by means of discussions with steering group representatives. The goal to seek for approximate comparability with the Swedish studies was achieved in spite of the adjustments. Some questions were changed in part, some questions were ignored as superfluous to this study, and the scale was changed from a ten-point scale to a five-point one.

In contrast to the Swedish survey and interview studies, the Finnish study was originally designed as a two-part project, and the questionnaire was primarily used as an initial mapping of experiences about issues related equality. This means that the questionnaire was a separate part of the study, not a survey study which is assumed to cover comprehensive study questions as an independent study. The survey results were therefore also re-examined in the summary following the interviews.

The questionnaire was divided into five sections based on the themes of the report published by the Swedish researchers. The sections were: (1) background information, (2) expectations and demands towards Members of Parliament, (3) power and influencing opportunities, (4) treatment and (5) networks⁹. Most of the questions were ones asking the respondent to give their evaluation by checking the option closest to their own experience.

The sections of the questionnaire were based on the study themes selected in the Swedish survey, dealing with the gendered practices of parliamen-

⁹ See Appendix 1.

tary work and issues discovered in gender sensitive parliamentary research in terms of how the experiences about working as a Member of Parliament differ between the genders. The study conducted in the Finnish Parliament now is based on these underlying assumptions. It was decided that indicative comparability would be limited to the question as to what differences could be observed based on the respondents' gender. In addition, it was examined whether a specific group arises in the Finnish results with larger differences within the group¹⁰.

The survey on gender equality among Swedish Members of Parliament in 2016 found the biggest differences in the responses of male and female Members aged under 35. The following interview study focused on this group of Members of Parliament aged under 35. The interview report stated that the stories of new Members of Parliament reflect how gender norms, their consequences and counterstrategies are presented in the society based on the study. The report also showed that Members of Parliament are, in general, satisfied with the equality situation in the Swedish Riksdagen: the Members of Parliament felt that they largely had equal opportunities for doing their work as a representative in the Parliament. Obstacles could still, on the other hand, be seen in the way of equality in Sweden, caused in particular by the fact that female Members of Parliament felt that they had to struggle more than men in order to be taken seriously. Riksdagen's female members also felt that they were left on the

10 The section elaborating on the results of the Swedish survey consisted of 40 deep interviews distributed evenly between male and female Members of Parliament. The interview themes were based on the survey questions where differences were observed between the genders especially in the group of Members aged under 35. According to these questions, young women experienced the demands towards themselves as Members of Parliament the strongest, were the most worried about any errors they make in their work and experienced the highest amounts of bad treatment on social media. These problematic issues were discussed in the interview report according to what the Members told about their experiences, by picking out the most significant mentions across party borders from the transcribed interview materials. The answers were discussed in the interview report divided into the following subthemes: demands and expectations towards Members of Parliament, unequal treatment of Members, invalidation, being ridiculed, defamation and blaming as well as double punishment by blaming the person for their choices regardless of the choices made. The researchers also reported other harassment techniques. Furthermore, the report discusses strategies for responding to harassment or other bad treatment. It also includes a separate section on social media. See Erikson 2017.

side often and that they took less space for themselves than their male colleagues. They also felt that they experienced harassing incidents more often than men.¹¹

In contrast to the survey conducted in Sweden, no specific group differing from others in terms of age, experience in the Parliament or other similar characteristic was observed amongst the Finnish Members of Parliament who responded. As a result, the interviewees were selected using the process described in Chapter 2.1. Again, the interview questions¹² were formulated through discussions with the steering group after the initial evaluation of survey results.

11 Erikson 2017, 20.

12 See Appendix 2.

3 GENDER EQUALITY IN THE WORK OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FROM FOUR DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

The survey and interview results are discussed below grouped under four headings. Within the parliamentary group, the distribution of seats in committees and organs and the seniority principle were identified as equality issues. The section also discusses gender bias in experiences related to speaking events and the support available for a Member of Parliament's work. The section on work crossing the boundaries between parliamentary groups examines how Members of Parliament experience their own background as a resource in their parliamentary work and how positive feedback is divided between genders. The section also briefly discusses the meaning of networks from equality perspective. The third section focuses on the Parliament as a place of work. This section is a collection of issues related to the arrangements and formalities of practical work. This section includes the issues concerning the provision of childcare in the Parliament House, experiences on sexual harassment, guidelines on how to act in case of harassment as well as the hierarchies in the building which are perceived as strict. The last section discusses the interfaces between the Parliament and structures of the society. This refers to those dimensions of a Member of Parliament's work which most prominently reach outside of the Parliament House. From the perspective of the realisation of gender equality, this deals with structural issues, such as gender bias related to working life and versatile media.

The division into four perspectives is an artificial one and constructed for the purposes of this analysis – in practice, the issues reach above the functional space assigned for them. The purpose of the division is to give a broad outline of the directions in which the points of the data problematic in terms of equality were observed. At the same time, they are also directions in which the perceived problems may be acted upon.

3.1 Work within the parliamentary group

This chapter discusses issues which are primarily dependent on the work done within parliamentary groups. The seats in committees and bodies as well as chairperson positions are distributed unequally between the genders. Decisions about these seats are made in the parliamentary groups. Women seem to accumulate seniority, which is of utmost importance also in the allocation of seats, slower than men. In terms of speaking events, gender differences arose especially within the parliamentary groups. Women felt more often than men that their original ideas were taken or that they were interrupted when they were speaking. Based on the interviews, explanations for this were usually found within the group.

Chairperson positions

Seeking key roles in various bodies increases the visibility and influence of a Member of Parliament's role. The two latest Speakers of Parliament have been female: Maria Lohela (Blue Reform) and Paula Risikko (National Coalition Party). Before them, this most important position of the Parliament had been held by two other women and 33 men¹³. Men are overrepresented in the most important positions of leadership in the Parliament. Of the

	Commitees				Parliamentary group				Parties				All Mem- bers of Parliament	
	Chair		V-chair		Chair		V-chair		Chair		V-chair			
	Pcs.	%	Pcs.	%	Pcs.	%	Pcs.	%	Pcs.	%	Pcs.	%	Pcs.	%
Men	18	78,3	8	47,1	6	66,7	9	52,9	6	66,7	9	34,6	117	58,5
Women	5	21,7	9	52,9	3	33,3	8	47,1	3	33,3	17	65,4	83	41,5
Total	23	100	17	100	9	100	17	100	9	100	26	100	200	100

Table 1. Number of chairpersons and percentage shares in positions of leadership and the entire Parliament by gender. Sources: the Parliament's website, party websites.

23 committee and sub-committee chairpersons, 78.3 per cent are male, while the majority of vice-chairpersons are female.¹⁴ (Table 1).

The same pattern can also be seen in the positions of leadership in parties represented in the Parliament and in parliamentary groups. Two thirds of party and parliamentary group chairpersons are male. In the four largest parties represented in the Parliament, the chairperson of both the parliamentary group and the party is male. These groups cover 69.5 per cent of the current Members of Parliament. The share of women is significantly higher amongst vice chairpersons, on the other hand. Slightly less than half of all parliamentary group vice chairpersons are female¹⁵. Almost all parties follow the same pattern in terms of vice chairpersons¹⁶: two women and one man. Two out of three party vice chairpersons are therefore female¹⁷ (see Table 1).

It would seem in the light of these results that men are selected to the most prominent places of the Parliament in higher proportion even when the larger number of male Members is taken into account. Female Members of Parliament primarily accumulate deputy positions.

13 The figures also include temporary Speakers. Source: Eduskunnan toimielimet 1907–2014, the Parliament's website: https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/kansanedustajat/entiset_kansanedustajat/tilastotieto-entisista-edustajista/Sivut/eduskunnan-toimielimet-1907-2014.aspx (accessed 27 August 2018)

14 Data on the chairpersons and vice-chairpersons of committees and sub-committees were obtained from the Parliament's Information Service in March 2018.

15 Information of the chairpersons of parliamentary groups was obtained from the Parliament's website: <https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/kansanedustajat/eduskuntaryhmat/Sivut/default.aspx> (accessed 26 August 2018). Groups consisting of one person, i.e., the Movement Now parliamentary group and the parliamentary group of the Citizens' Party were excluded from this comparison.

16 Only the Finns Party deviates from this pattern. According to their website, they only have a 1st and a 3rd vice chairperson, one of which is female and the other male.

17 Information about party chairpersons and vice-chairpersons were obtained from the websites of the parties on 27 August 2018. Centre Party: <https://www.keskusta.fi/Suomeksi/Keskusta/Puoluejohto>; National Coalition Party: <https://www.kokoomus.fi/yhteystiedot>; Social Democratic Party: <https://sdp.fi/fi/tutustu/ihmiset/sdpn-varapuheenjohtajat/>; Blue Reform: <https://www.sininentulevaisuus.fi/sinisten-johto/>; Finns Party: <https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/yhteystiedot/puoluehallitus/>; Greens: <https://www.vihreat.fi/puoluejohto/puheenjohtajisto/varapuheenjohtajat/>; Left Alliance: <http://www.vasemmisto.fi/yhteystiedot/puoluejohto/>; Swedish People's Party: <http://www.sfp.fi/fi/content/politiker>; Christian Democratic Party: <http://www.kd.fi/yhteystiedot/puolue-elimet/>.

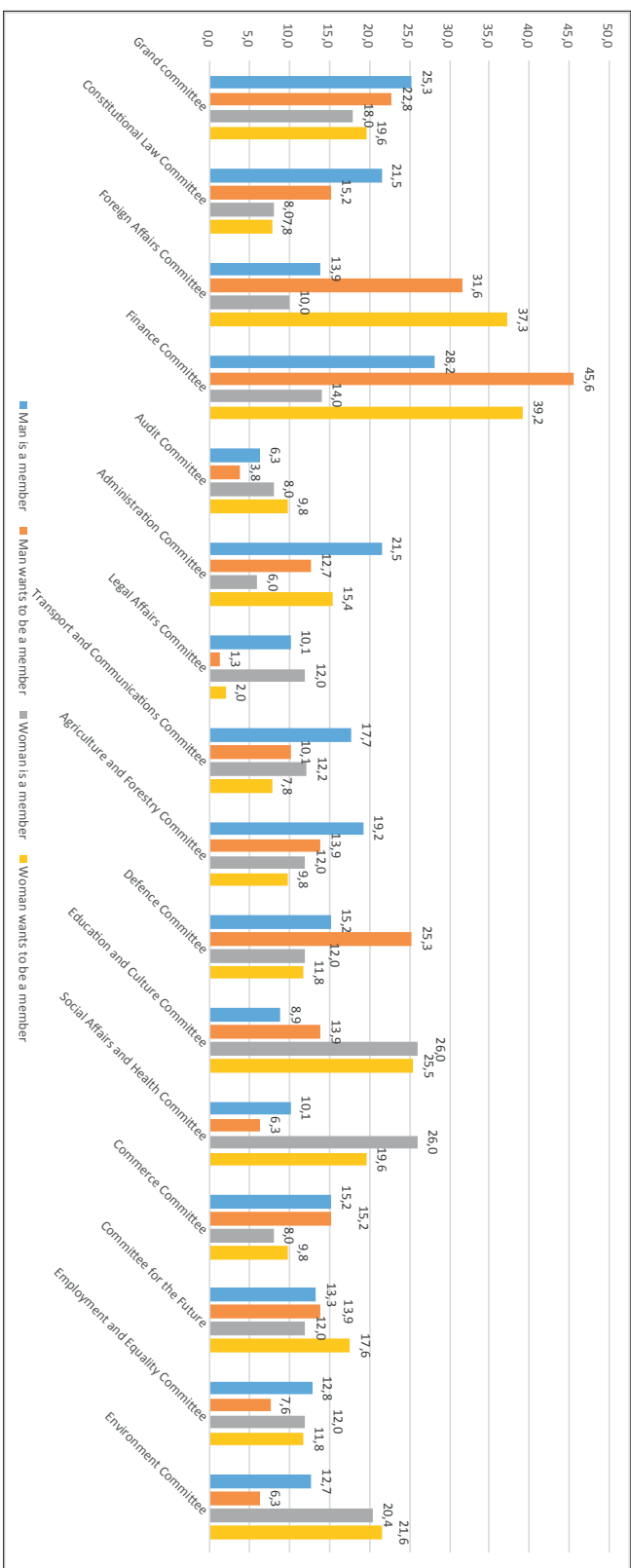


Figure 1. Willingness and membership in committee by gender, per cent of respondents. Questions 11a. In which committees are you involved at the moment? and 11b. In which committees would you like to be involved?

Seats in committee

The parliamentary group decides on the distribution of seats in various bodies amongst the group members. According to the survey, seats in committees were rather widely distributed according to the wishes of the MPs. The most common committees of women and men were also the ones that they wished to participate in the most. Of men, 15 per cent were dissatisfied with their position with regard to seats in committees, while 9.8 per cent of women felt this way¹⁸. In the interviews, the effect of gender on the distribution of committee seats was considered as minor within one's own parliamentary group.

Gender bias in the sectors of politics was also reflected in the distribution of committee seats. Of the respondents, the highest relative proportion of women was found in the Education and Culture Committee, the Social Affairs and Health Committee and the Environment Committee, while the relatively most common committees amongst men were the Finance Committee, the Grand Committee and the Constitutional Law Committee (Figure 1). This situation has become customary over the years¹⁹. The Members of Parliament interviewed mentioned the professional background of MPs, their areas of interest and the general segregation in working life, among other things, as reasons for this. Some interviewees also mentioned the interests of the constituency as a factor steering the committee aspirations. In the interviews, both male and female Members of Parliament mentioned their wishes to diversify the traditional gender division of committees and fields of politics through their own actions.

Some exceptions were also found in the survey analysis as to how the aspirations for committee seats and the seats achieved were related to each other.

18 Question 12. Are you satisfied with your committee seats?

19 On the gender bias of fields of politics in Finland, see, for example, Kuusipalo, Jaana (2011): *Sukupuolittunut poliittinen edustus Suomessa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press. <http://urn.fi/urn:isbn:978-951-44-8454-4>
Lähteenmäki, Maria (2006): "Naiset tasa-arvoisemman yhteiskunnan puolesta 1907–2003.", especially p. 195–198. In Sulkunen, Irma, Lähteenmäki, Maria, Korppi-Tommola, Aura (2006): *Naiset eduskunnassa*. Helsinki: Edita, p. 84–208.

The two absolutely most favourite committees, the International Affairs Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee, stood out clearly from the others.²⁰ A large proportion of both female and male respondents hoped to gain a seat in these. Proportionally more men were, however, selected to both committees, both as members and as deputy members. 37.4 per cent of women and 31.6 per cent of men wish to get a seat in the International Affairs Committee; the members are 10 per cent of the women and 13.9 per cent of the men. 39.2 per cent of women and 45.6 per cent of men wish to get a seat in the Finance Committee; the members are 14 per cent of the women and 28.2 per cent of the men (Figure 1).

Female representation in the International Affairs Committee and in the Finance Committee is even smaller when examining the distribution of seat quality between the genders²¹. In total, 10 women were members or deputy members of the International Affairs Committee. Of them, 5 are actual members, corresponding to 6 per cent of all women in the Parliament. Of the 17 actual members of the International Affairs Committee, 12 are men, corresponding to 10.3 per cent of all male Members of Parliament. The difference is even bigger in the Finance Committee. One out of four male Members of Parliament (25.6 per cent) are members or deputy members of the Finnish Parliament, whereas only approximately one out of eight women (12 per cent) are involved in the Finance Committee.²²

20 In addition to the two exceptions discussed in more detail, at least two other committees can be detected based on the survey results where the willingness to participate does not correspond with actual memberships (Figure 1). Women want to sit in the Administration Committee more often than men, but a clearly higher proportion of male respondents actually were members of the committee. A significantly higher proportion of male respondents indicated that they wished to be in the Defence Committee, but the seats were distributed equally among the genders. It would seem based on the survey that a woman who wants a seat in the Defence Committee will also get one more easily. On the other hand, defence politics was mentioned in the interviews as one of the fields of politics where it would seem to be harder for a female MP to gain a foothold than for a male one.

21 Information about committee chairpersons, vice-chairpersons, members and deputy members are obtained from the Parliament's website (<https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/lakiensaaminen/valiokunnat/Sivut/default.aspx>, accessed 6 July 2018). Information about the type of involvement was requested in the survey, but this information cannot be discussed in this context due to the small size of some groups of respondents (less than 5 respondents). In the interpretation of the survey results, all committee memberships and deputy memberships have been added together, unless mentioned otherwise.

22 In her study, Anne Maria Holli (2014) examined the Parliament's committees, power and gender in 2005–2012. She finds that vertical division of work between genders is breaking and that women are achieving more prominent committee positions than before. Holli finds that horizontal division of work has even gained in strength, i.e., women and men focus, in her opinion, on different sectors of politics even more clearly than before. Based on the current study, both divisions still prevail. (See Appendix 3 in more detail).

Seats in bodies

The study also examined the distribution of seats in various bodies. These refer to bodies to which the parliamentary groups appoint Members of Parliament and for which attendance fees are paid. These include, among other things, various types of supervisory boards. The role of the parliamentary group leadership was emphasised in the distribution of seats in bodies. The practices varied by group. In some cases, the individual wishes of MPs were taken into account, but some interviewees also said that the group leadership directly assigned seats to MPs.

Based on the survey responses, the distribution of seats in bodies repeats the gender bias of certain fields of politics. The three most common organs of female Members of Parliament who responded were Kela, Alko and Yle. The first two of these had a female majority²³. The most common organs of male Members of Parliament were Yle, VR and Posti. The number of female MPs was clearly smaller than their proportional share in all of these organs. Boards of Directors of companies and the Parliamentary Supervisory Council of the Bank of Finland likewise had proportionally more men than women. Gender did not, however, arise as a statistically significant factor when examining the number of seats or chairperson positions in bodies²⁴.

The Members of Parliament interviewed had differing attitudes towards the bodies. On the one hand, positions in supervisory boards were not perceived as desired due to their insignificance, whereas on the other hand, they were seen as opportunities to impact the development of the organisation in question. Some interviewees found the fees nominal, while others considered them as important in terms of financing their election campaign, for example. The bodies were, however, also perceived as useful places to develop one's expertise, supporting the accrual of competence

23 Kela and Alko had a female majority in terms of the total number of seats. Kela had 9 female and 3 male Parliamentary Trustees (<https://www.kela.fi/valtuutetut>, accessed 6 July 2018), and Alko had 7 female and 6 male Parliamentary Trustees (<https://www.alko.fi/alko-oy/yritys/hallinto-ja-johto/hallintoneuvosto>, accessed 6 July 2018).

24 Experience as minister was a statistically significant variable: Members of Parliament with experience as a minister were more likely to report a low number of seats in bodies than the other MPs. (Appendix 1).

in one's area of interest or, for example, having an effect on issues in one's own electoral district.

Seniority principle

In the interviews, people found that seats in committees and bodies were mostly distributed according to the seniority principle. According to the seniority principle, the Members of Parliament who have accumulated the highest amount of parliamentary experience have priority in the distribution of the most desired seats and positions. The personal interests and competence of representatives are also taken into account, but the seniority principle is an important selection criterion especially when several competent candidates are interested in the same position. The most central determinant of seniority is parliamentary age, i.e., the number of years the person has been working as a Member of Parliament. During the interviews, however, the comment was made that the forming of seniority is a complex process which cannot be measured solely based on the Member of Parliament's years of experience. Its accrual is affected by, for example, different kinds of responsible position, such as acting as a chairperson in the party, the parliamentary group or in committees, experience as a minister and experience from the European Parliament. Some positions, on the other hand, such as experience accrued in international cooperation bodies²⁵, only had a minor effect on seniority based on the interviews.

In spite of the complex determination of seniority, it is typically referred to as a neutral way of measuring the experience of MPs. Several interviewees found that experience accrued in the Parliament determines the MP's opportunities to gain different positions significantly more than their other competence. The MPs interviewed also related different kinds of strategies on how to view the distribution of committee positions. As a new Member of Parliament, MPs might, for example, seek a position in a

²⁵ Examples of international positions which are open to Members of Parliament but which only have a minor effect on seniority mentioned in the interviews included the Finnish delegations in the Council of Europe and the Nordic Council.

committee primarily based on what has traditionally been seen as a realistic choice for a first-term Member. With regard to the most popular committees, both tacit and expressed practices were recounted as to the phase in which an MP's seniority was considered as adequate for such positions. Some interviewees mentioned that their own parliamentary group would also try to break the prevailing practices by, for example, knowingly bringing new Members of Parliament above the more experienced ones. No such signs of this kind of operation were, however, observed on a larger scale with regard to, for example, the distribution of positions in the most popular committees²⁶. Furthermore, some of the male Members of Parliament with a lower parliamentary age felt that they would be marginalised twice if also gender were to be a prevailing practice in the distribution of positions in addition to seniority.

Based on the survey and interview data collected, the gender neutrality of the seniority principle can be questioned²⁷. Seniority was not observed directly in the survey and was not approached as a separate theme in the interviews. The importance of seniority was brought up in the interviews especially during the discussion on the distribution of committee seats. The final analysis of the survey results supported the issues brought up during the interviews to some extent.

Several interviewees felt that the proportionally lower share of women in the most desired positions is a consequence of the logic of the seniority principle and that most of the long-standing Members of Parliament are men. The survey data does not, however, support this view. The share of experienced Members of Parliament with seniority accumulated based on their parliamentary age was higher in female respondents than in men. Of the female respondents, 28.8 per cent were on their fourth or higher term in the Parliament, whereas the share of experienced MPs was 25 per cent

26 In the actual members of the International Affairs Committee and the Finance Committee, 21.4 per cent of the men and 10 per cent of the women were first-term Members of Parliament. In them, 46.5 per cent of the men and 50 per cent were experienced MPs with four or more terms of experience.

27 Some interviewees questioned the principle as a whole based on that the mandate that the MPs get from the voters for handling different matters is of equal value regardless of their parliamentary age.

in the male respondents²⁸. Ministerial experience was also divided equally between the genders in the survey data: 23.8 per cent of men and 23.1 per cent of women told that they had experience as a minister. In spite of this, the most desired committee seats according to the survey data were distributed unevenly between the genders (see Figure 1, page 28).

Many interviewees expressed that seniority does not accumulate to men and women the same way. First of all, the interviewees felt that female MPs have more difficulty reaching key positions which accumulate seniority. Men are overrepresented in the most valued committee and chairperson positions. Women, on the other hand, typically hold positions which the interviewees found less significant in terms of the accumulation of seniority, and such positions were also perceived as being more easily reachable to candidates. The Parliament's international delegations were mentioned as an example of this. The examination of chairperson positions supports this view. Men are overrepresented in committee chairperson positions which are important for the accumulation of seniority (see Table 1, page 25). Correspondingly, 4 of the chairpersons of the international delegations which were mentioned as less significant were men and 5 women. Likewise, 4 men and 5 women were vice-chairpersons in international delegations²⁹.

Secondly, some interviewees told their experiences of the fact that the same amount of seniority accumulated carries a bigger weight for male Members of Parliament than for the female ones. Based on the interview, there were several indicators in this direction. Based on the interviews, most of the male MPs interviewed clearly viewed seniority as an accumulating capital which automatically opened doors to the more appreciated

28 The number of first-term MPs was also higher in female respondents. Of the survey respondents, 32.7 per cent of the women and 27.5 per cent were first-term MPs. The share of second and third-term MPs was higher for male than for female respondents.

29 The following were considered as international delegations in this respect: Finnish delegation to the Nordic Council, Finnish Delegation to the Council of Europe, Finnish delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, Finnish Delegation to the Conference of Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region, Finnish delegation to the Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference, Finnish delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Parliamentary Assembly – Union for the Mediterranean, Finnish Executive Board of the Inter-Parliamentary Union IPU and the Forum for International Affairs. Data on the chairpersons and vice-chairpersons were obtained from the Parliament's Information Service in March 2018.

committees. This is a significant point in terms of the justification of the seniority principle: it can be assumed that reliance on the clear accumulation of seniority and the opportunity to accumulate it enforces the feeling of seniority as being fair. On the other hand, the most outspoken MPs to question the justification of the seniority principle in the interviews were men. The female MPs interviewed repeatedly expressed their experiences of having to prove their competence and willingness quite loudly in order to obtain positions of responsibility in committees and in the parliamentary group. Some of the experienced female Members of Parliament said in the interviews that gender seems to have more impact in the early stages of career as an MP, and felt that the difference evened out when one accumulated seniority.

In the discussions concerning gender bias in terms of the sectors of politics, female Members of Parliament recounted experiences of resistance and suspicion when trying to get into the more desired committees. According to the interviewees, this was related to, for example, different interpretations of MPs as to what issues and subject areas each sector of politics covered. In foreign policy, for example, women have more competence related to developmental cooperation or global issues than men.

Some interviewees found, however, that this was of lesser importance than competence in traditional foreign policy issues, such as defence or diplomacy. This is not an insignificant problem. Interpretations following the traditional norms can be used to ignore relevant competence arising from outside the norms in the distribution of committee seats or the moderation of a discussion. Highlighting and proving such competence is, based on the interviews, a multifaceted issue affected by, for example, the atmosphere in the discussion and the MP's personality and position in the group or committee. Some interviewees suspected that female Members of Parliament found it harder to present their competence and opinions when there was competition for the seats. The experience mentioned by some interviewees that a female Member of Parliament trying to move forward and to key positions is still considered as an exception rather than the norm is also related to this.

This study primarily focused on the Parliament's situation during this electoral term. A detailed examination of the differences, if any, between the career development and accumulation of competence of female and male Members of Parliament was therefore not possible within the given framework. The interviewees were also not asked directly about gender bias in the accumulation of seniority. The data collected does, however, give indications that seniority is not a gender-neutral issue. The seniority principle is a central concept in terms of equal working opportunities between MPs, defining almost all parliamentary activity. Its more detailed examination would therefore be of utmost importance also for the realisation of gender equality.

Influencing opportunities within the group

The Members of Parliament felt that they were mostly able to influence the positions of the parliamentary group and the policies and agenda of the party (Figure 2). Gender was not a statistically significant variable. Respondents with experience as a minister felt that they had better influencing opportunities than others. The parliamentary age of the MP was very close to being statistically significant when influence in the party was examined, but, somewhat surprisingly, in a decreasing manner. Members of Parliament with long experience in the Parliament were more likely than others to report that they found their opportunities to influence the party's agenda weaker than MPs with less experience (Appendix 1).

The respondents felt, however, that outside their own influencing opportunities, the distribution of power had a gender bias. The respondents were asked to name individuals whom they consider having particularly large opportunities for influencing the goals and policies of the respondent's party. Both men and women mainly named men. 78.6 per cent of the individuals named by men and 68.8 per cent of the individuals named by women were men (Figure 12 on page 51). The men's influence which was experienced as larger is partly explained by the fact that the chairpersons of the biggest parties and parliamentary groups are men. The chairpersons of parties and parliamentary group as well as ministers were mentioned

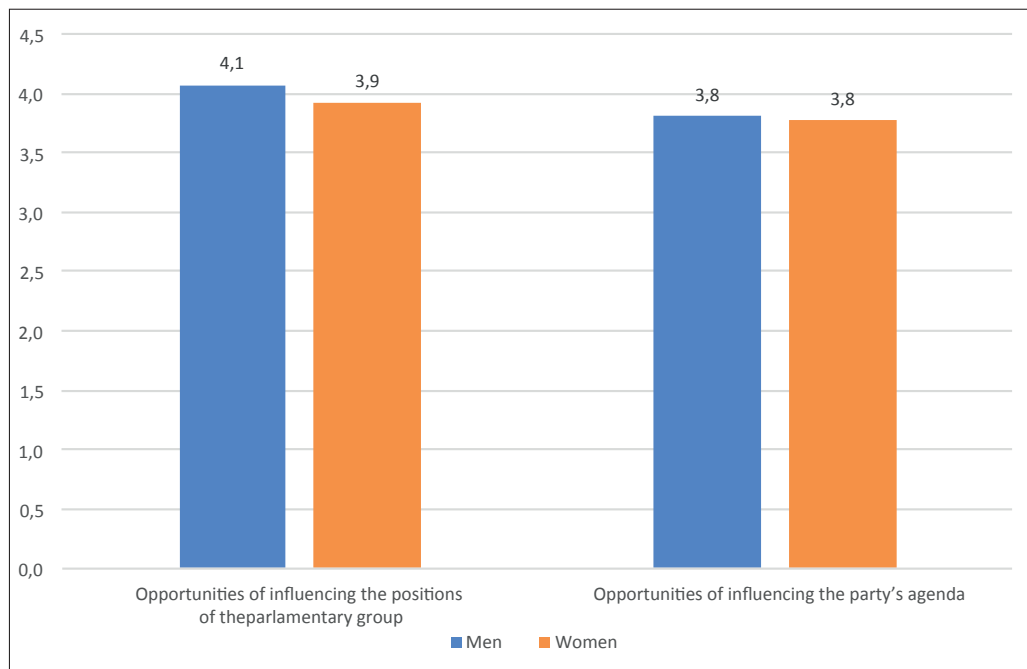


Figure 2. Experienced influencing opportunities, averages by gender. Questions 28. How would you evaluate your opportunities of influencing the position of your parliamentary group in various issues? and 29. How would you evaluate your opportunities of influencing the agenda and policies of your parliamentary group? Scale of 1–5, where 1 = extremely poor and 5 = extremely good.

repeatedly either by name or solely based on the position. In total 36.2 per cent of those who responded to the question about influence named a particular position.³⁰

30 Question 41. If desired, you can name one or more individuals, subquestion A) Whom you consider having particularly large opportunities for influencing the goals and policies of your party. 80 persons who responded to this question mentioned a particular position. The most typically mentioned positions were party chairperson, parliamentary group chairperson or minister(s). Some of the responses which included a position also named an individual, while others only mentioned the position. The name was calculated in the gender distribution only if it was mentioned specifically. If the response was, for example, only “chairperson of the parliamentary group” without naming an individual, this was calculated as a position but not included in the gender distribution.

Distribution in terms of taking the floor

Talking situations were examined in the survey from three different perspectives. First, it was examined how the respondents felt that they took the floor themselves compared to other MPs. Second, it was studied whether certain persons dominated the floor or were the turns to speak distributed evenly. The third perspective was the experience of the relative amounts of taking the floor for each gender. The last section brought up differences in the responses of male and female Members of Parliament.

The respondents felt that they took the floor often compared to the other MPs present especially in committees and in the parliamentary group (Figure 3). No statistically significant differences were observed between the genders. The respondents felt that they took the floor slightly less often

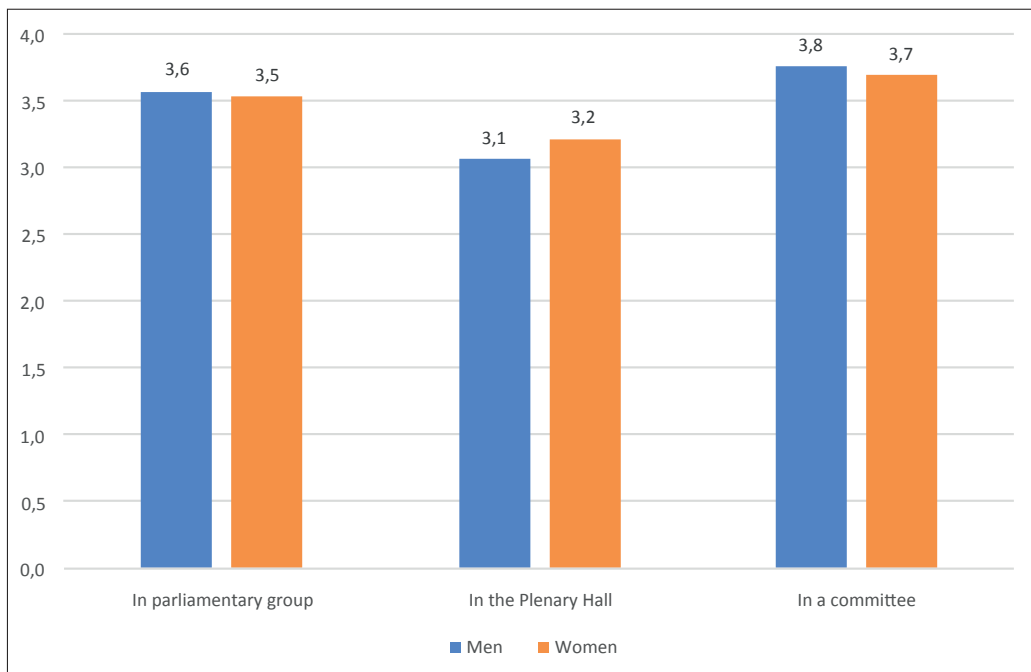


Figure 3. How often does the respondent take the floor, response averages by gender.
 Question 30. How often do you take the floor in meetings compared to the other MPs present?
 Scale of 1–5 where 1 = never and 5 = very often.

in the Plenary Hall than in the group. With regard to the Plenary Hall, the responses of female were more typically average responses, whereas amongst men, there were lots of those who spoke more often than others as well as of those who spoke less often than others. After controlling for the other variables, gender was not found to be a statistically significant variable. Respondents who had experience as minister felt that they took the floor more often than others in the Plenary Hall (Appendix 1). It was felt that some MPs dominated the floor more in meetings and the plenary session. Discussion was more balanced in informal contexts (Figure 4). The experiences of male and female respondents did not differ from each other. Age was a statistically significant variable in informal discussions – a younger respondent was more likely to find that the discussion was balanced and equal than an older respondent (Appendix 1).

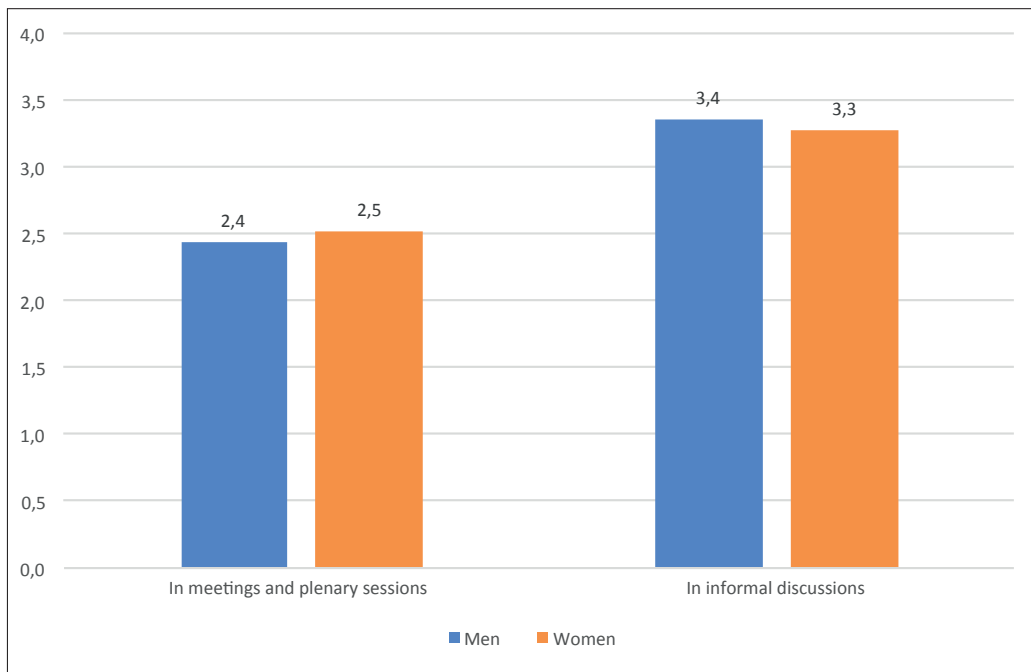


Figure 4. Atmosphere in discussions, response averages by gender. Question 31. How would you describe the atmosphere in discussions between MPs? Scale of 1–5, where 1 = Some of the MPs dominate the conversation and 5 = The discussion is balanced and equal

Experiences of gender balance in conversation varied. Women found more often than men that men spoke relatively more. This difference was emphasised with regard to parliamentary groups, where a quarter of the women felt that men spoke relatively more, while only one in ten men felt the same way. Almost 15 per cent of men felt that women spoke more and 7.5 per cent of women felt this way (Figure 5). The difference in experiences was less pronounced in committee; the responses were divided more equally between genders (Figure 6). Some MPs did, however, feel that the discussion was balanced and equal both in parliamentary groups and in committees.

The difference between the parliamentary group and committees was explained in the interviews by committee meetings following a strict struc-

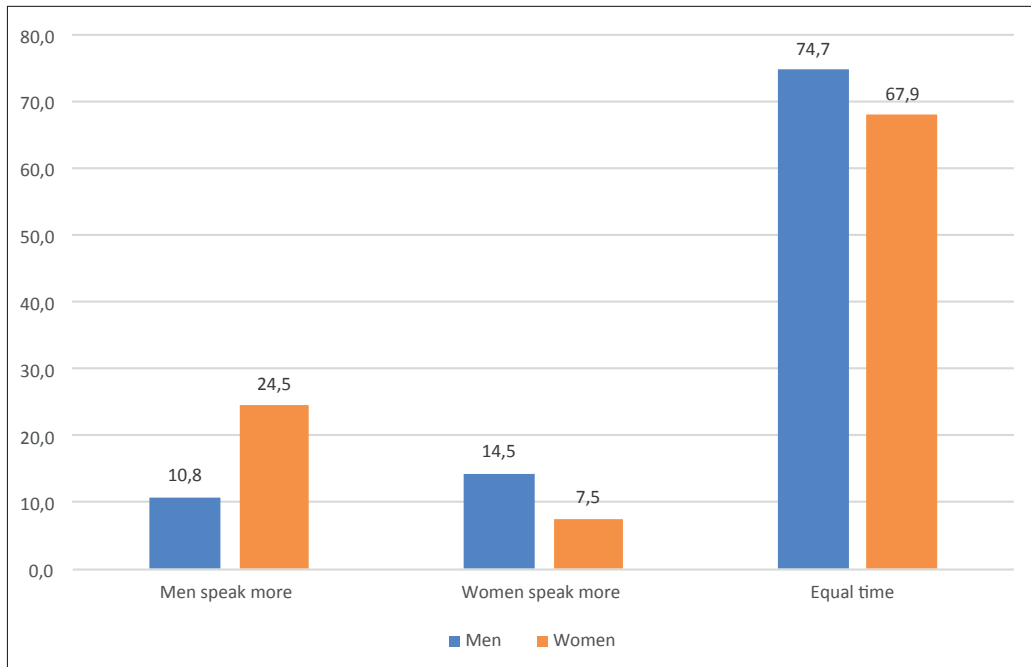


Figure 5. Distribution of speaking in parliamentary group, distribution of responses per gender. Question 32. Do you feel that, among all the MPs present, men and women spend equal time speaking in your parliamentary group? Response alternatives: 1 = No, men speak relatively more, 2 = No, women speak relatively more, 3 = Yes, men and women spend equal time speaking.

ture under the guidance of the chairperson. Some interviewees brought up that discussion in the parliamentary group between colleagues from the same party whom you know may sometimes be very informal. It would seem that in the informal discussions in parliamentary groups, men are perceived as speaking more than women. Some interviewees, on the other hand, emphasised that also group meetings follow a certain structure and that the group chairperson holds the floor more than others, as do the individuals who have been selected as rapporteurs of the committee groups. Many interviewees noted that men hold these central positions more frequently and that men therefore speak relatively more due to their position.

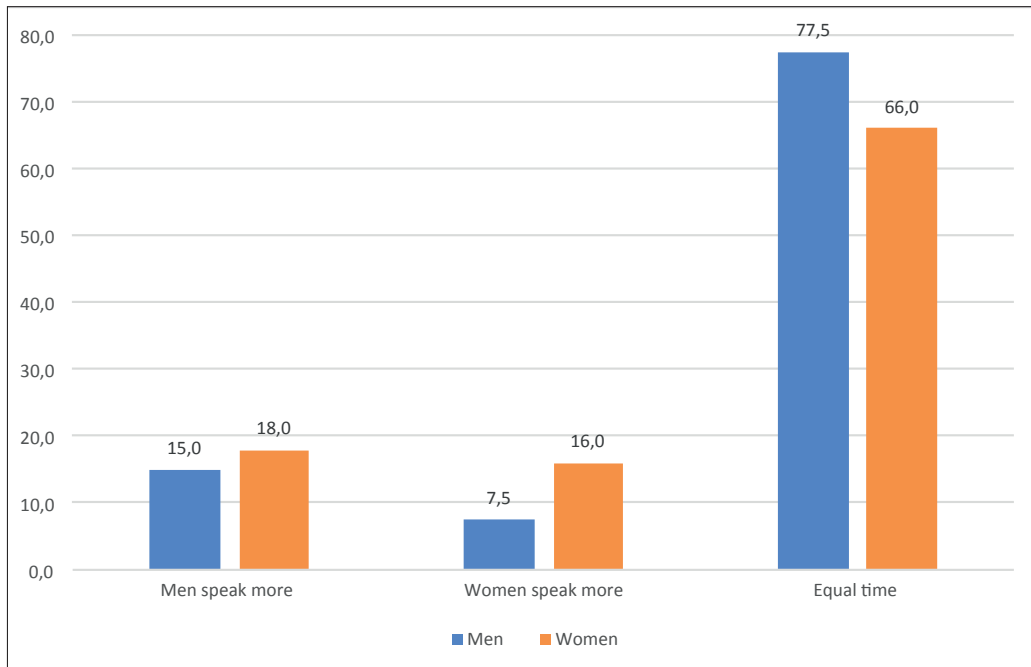


Figure 6. Distribution of speaking in committees, distribution of responses per gender. Question 33. Do you feel that, among all the MPs present, men and women spend equal time speaking in committees? 1 = No, men speak relatively more, 2 = No, women speak relatively more, 3 = Yes, men and women spend equal time speaking.

Stealing of original ideas and interruptions

In the survey, female MPs responded more often than men that their original ideas were taken or that they were interrupted when they were speaking (Figure 7). Gender was a statistically significant variable for both of these after the other factors had been controlled (see Appendix 1).

In the interviews, the hierarchical nature of parliamentary work was brought out as one of the reasons for the gender difference in experiences on incidents where one's ideas were stolen or they were interrupted while speaking. The most impactful initiatives are often made through parliamentary groups or the party leadership. It is therefore beneficial for an idea originating from a normal MP that it is presented as coming from the group or the party leadership. Likewise during discussion, the group or committee leadership often have a special position as the leaders of discussion, and they may therefore have to interrupt other MPs. Positions

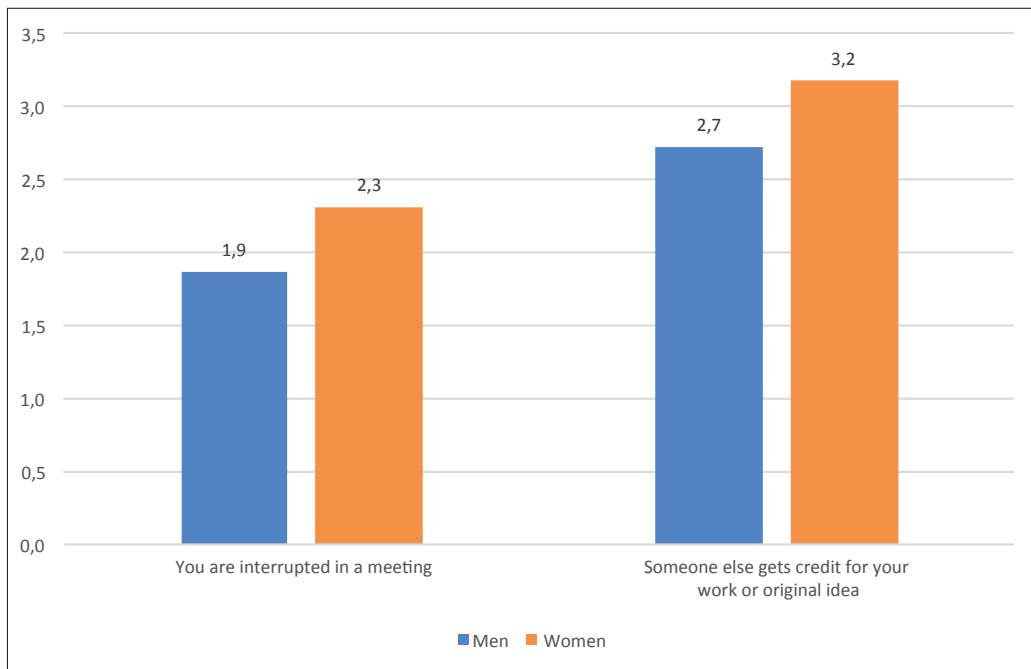


Figure 7. How often has the respondent experienced incidents, response averages by gender. Question 34. How often have you experienced the following types of incidents in Parliament? Scale of 1–5 where 1 = never and 5 = very often.

of leadership are held more commonly by men, which may explain why female MPs feel more often that others take credit for their ideas or that men interrupt them while they are speaking. Part of both male and female MPs told during the interviews that it is felt that women need more background work and better argumentation to support their claims in order to obtain enough weight for them. In the same context, several of the female MPs interviewed told about their experiences of a male MP either taking credit for their work or being heard on a matter which a female MP has brought up earlier.

Some interviewees told that they had been faced with incidents where a woman's opinion or idea only gained weight after a male MP had expressed it. In the interviews, getting heard was linked to seniority or personal charisma in part, but both female and male MPs recounted situations where gender bias played a role and personal experiences of how the ideas of female MPs had been ignored. This was seen as being related to the gender bias in the fields of politics: especially foreign policy and finances were perceived as areas where it was more difficult for female MPs to bring out their ideas. According to the interviewees, also the appreciation and weightings of the fields of politics had an impact on the matter. This means that it is also about how the different areas of politics are interpreted and what questions, say, foreign policy is perceived as covering.

Support received for work

Regardless of gender, most Members of Parliament felt that they received enough support for their work. The share of those not receiving adequate support remained under 20 per cent in all the questions. Additional support was desired especially for becoming familiar with current affairs as well as monitoring of them and media monitoring. Additional support was needed the least for preparing protests and diverging opinions. (Figure 8)

The initial analysis of survey responses seemed to show differences between both the gender and belonging to the parliamentary group office³¹ model.

31 In the parliamentary group office model, the assistants of MPs serve the parliamentary group office. The assistants of MPs whose parliamentary group is not included in the parliamentary group office model are employed by the Parliamentary Office.

The question was therefore included in the interview. The interviewees did not, however, recognise such differences in the support offered to the different genders; instead, they were mainly satisfied with the support system of their parliamentary group. Where any comments were made about the functionality of the support system, they culminated in the question of what kind of support the MP wished to get from the assistants. Especially those MPs who needed support for calendar management or writing found the parliamentary group office inadequate in this regard. Some interviewees also expressed the need for better induction training for first-term MPs. All in all, the support available for the work as an MP was considered excellent, especially in terms of issues.

These differences disappeared in the more detailed statistical analysis. When the respondents were divided into groups according to gender and belonging to the parliamentary group office model, male MPs not included in the parliamentary group office model found less often than others that they did not receive adequate support, whereas female MPs not included in the parliamentary group office model reported more often than others in many questions that they did not receive adequate support. Gender or the³² parliamentary group office model were not statistically important factors in terms of sources of support. Younger MPs had checked more often than others that they received support both from the group experts and their own political reference group.³³

32 Question 19. From which source did you receive said support for your parliamentary work?

33 In the interpretation of questions regarding support, it should be noted for question 18 that the small number of MPs who did not receive enough support decreases the reliability of results and causes large confidence intervals. Furthermore, the reliability of both question 18 and question 19 is decreased by the fact that whether a respondent is included in the parliamentary group office model or not is determined based on their own statement. The data may contain inaccuracies with this respect as it became apparent in the interviews that the MPs did not always know whether their parliamentary group was included in the parliamentary group office model or not. The results should therefore be considered as indicative – possibly with the exception of men not included in the parliamentary group office as they repeatedly stood out from the others. For them, the difference is explained by the high proportion of “I do not need support” responses (Appendix 1)

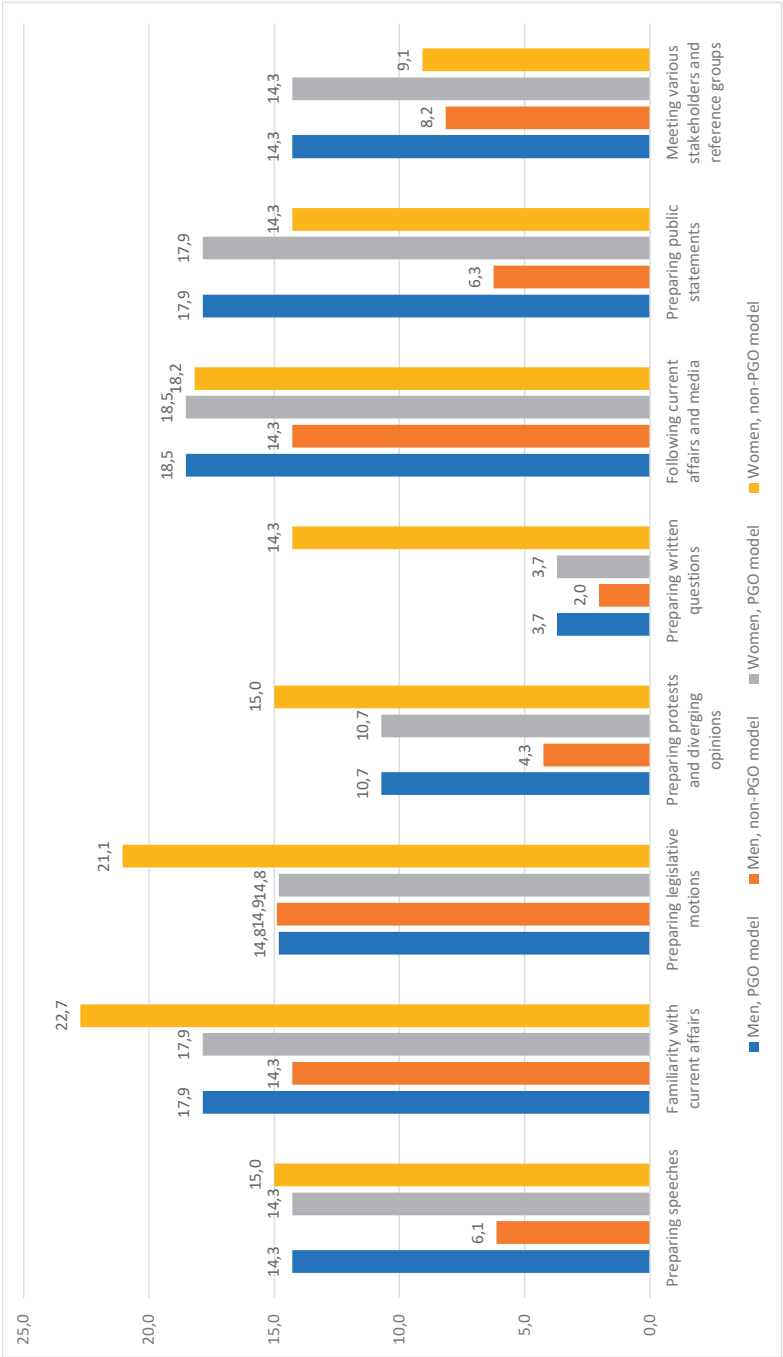


Figure 8. MPs who received insufficient support, percentage share according to gender and inclusion in parliamentary group office model. Question 18. In your work as an MP, do you receive support in the following tasks? 1 = I do not receive support; 2 = Insufficient; 3 = Sufficient; 4 = I do not need support. Respondents responding 1 or 2 were considered as not receiving enough support.

3.2 Work crossing parliamentary group borders

This chapter discusses cooperation between Members of Parliament especially based on background and networks of the Members. For female MPs, the importance of background in associations was emphasised in relation to men both in the survey and in the interviews. The ways positive feedback was expressed had some differences between male and female MPs. Networks also had an impact on this as one of the channels of providing feedback. In the survey, men were named as reliable and influential clearly more often than female MPs. Experiences of this are described in more detail in this subchapter.

Previous experience

In the interviews, experience and education accrued before the parliamentary work were considered significant especially in the early stages of an MP's career. Previous experience often has an effect on the types of issues the MP becomes involved in and which committee they seek to become members of. It may also help the MP to justify why they should be selected for a particular position, especially in their first term in office.

The survey indicated differences between women and men with regard to the kind of special expertise they have to support their work in committees. Female respondents emphasised the importance of background in associations for their competence in committees more often than men, whereas men's responses often focused on professional competence especially (Figure 9).

The same trend can also be seen in the question regarding the characteristics which the respondents found important for working as an MP. In these responses, women emphasised values and social activity more than men (Figure 10).

Most interviewees found it natural to emphasise their professional identity, and this was also perceived as being somewhat useful in challenging

gender roles in the different fields of politics. On the other hand, those MPs who recognised the emphasised importance of background in associations felt that it was a very powerful factor affecting their own political experience and career. The interviews show some indications of the fact that professional background might be more important than background in associations, even though the majority of interviewees found working in associations useful especially in terms of mastering different subject matters.

Despite that personal experience was not necessarily connected to the juxtaposition of professional background or background in associations, differences in such experiences were primarily connected to the more general segrega-

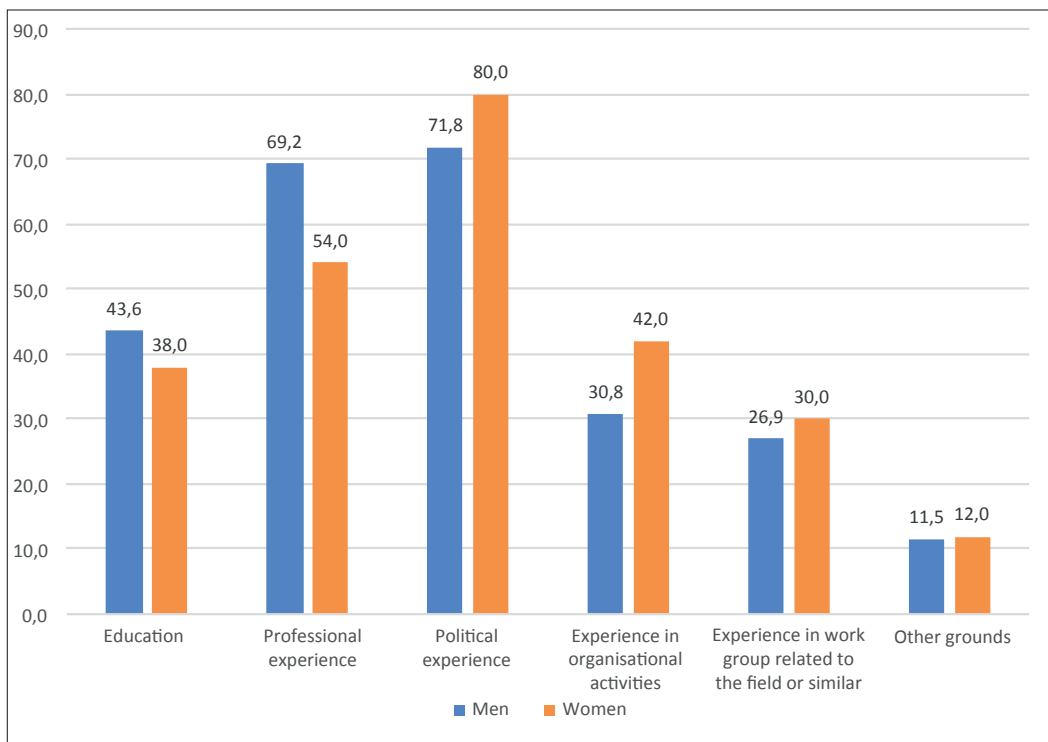


Figure 9. Expertise in relation to committee seats by gender, per cent of respondents.

Question 17. What types of special expertise do you possess in relation to the committee seats you currently occupy (select the most suitable alternatives, maximum three)?

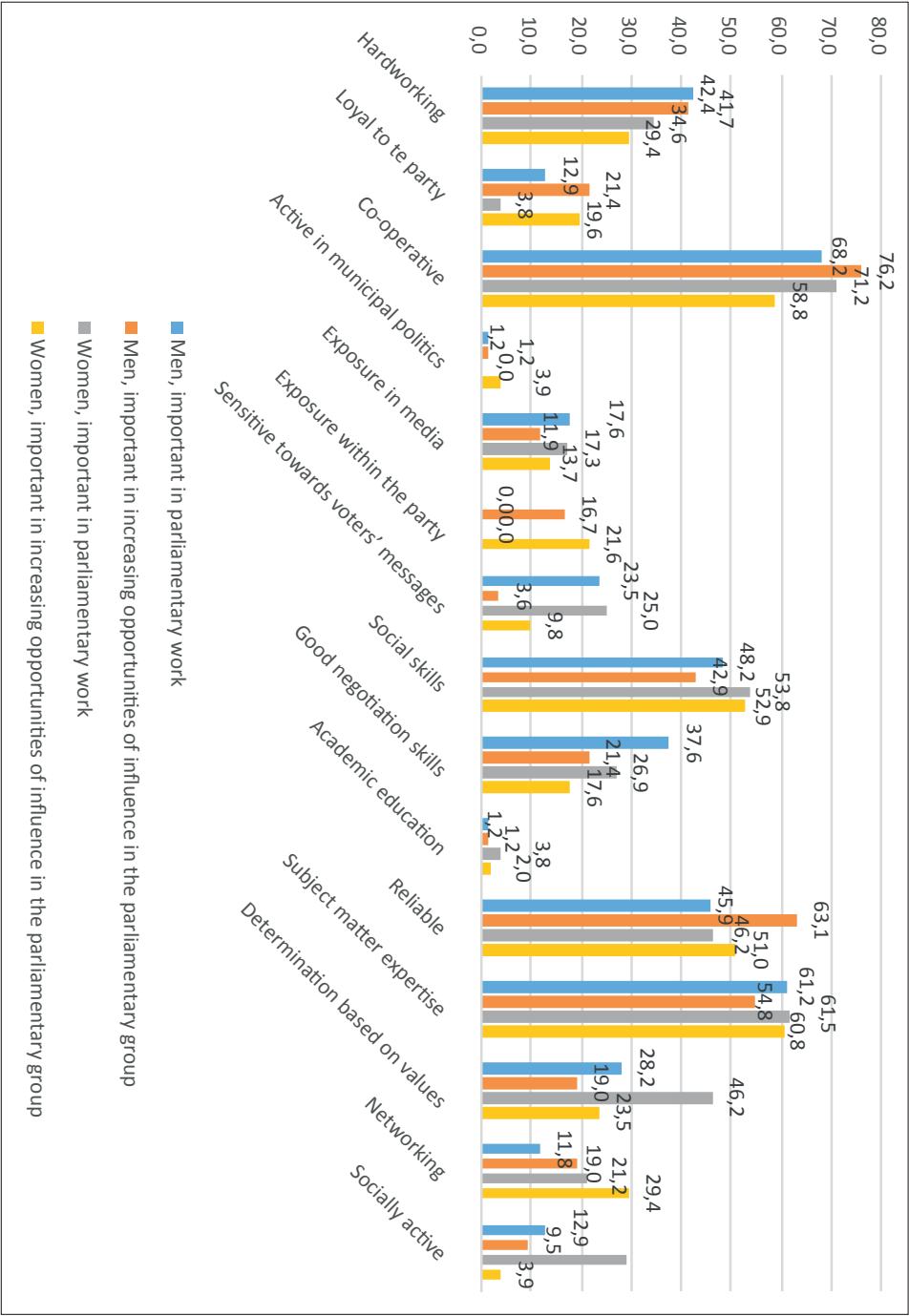


Figure 10. Important characteristics in terms of working as a Member of Parliament and opportunities of influence by gender, per cent of respondents. Questions 26. Which of the following, in your opinion, are important characteristics in parliamentary work? (Check the four most important ones) and 27. Which of the following characteristics do you consider most important for increasing an MP's opportunities of influence within your parliamentary group? (Choose the four most important ones).

tion of work life through the strong associational background of the social welfare and healthcare sector. Some interviewees, on the other hand, mentioned that the visibility of associations in the finance sector and in the field of economics in general is not very high. Furthermore, some female MPs interviewed in particular reminded that associations had an impact on the increased number of female MPs and the promotion of their standing. Some interviewees also felt that their background and reference group had a major impact on their early political career even when the MP was not known to the public previously.

The interviewees explained that they emphasised their professional competence already in the elections stage. This referred in particular to the emphasis of male candidates or male professional backgrounds with respect to references to values and experience in associations made by female candidates. The question gave rise to a discussion of the possible superiority of women's social skills compared to male MPs and of the strength of men's professional network. The Parliament was still found to even out the differing starting points: a Member of Parliament has the same mandate regardless of their previous professional or societal status, and everyone must accumulate parliamentary experience themselves. Many interviewees felt, though, that women needed associations more than men in order to reach key positions in politics in the first place and in order to get elected³⁴.

The issue of associational and professional background was mainly approached from two perspectives in the interviews. On the one hand, the discussion was about how the different kinds of backgrounds are useful to an elected MP in their work and how they are represented in the Parliament. On the other hand, the discussion concerned the effects different backgrounds have on people's opportunities to move forward in their

34 Kuusipalo, for example, has made references to political operating methods which were considered as typical for women in particular. They are closely linked to the utilisation of networks of the civil society, such as different kinds of organisations and movements, as a channel for political involvement. On the other hand, Kuusipalo points out that Finnish women also operated within the political system rather early. See Kuusipalo 1989: "Naisena politiikan huippupaikoille?" *Sosiologia* 26:2, p. 89–103. Women's organisations have, however, played an important role as enablers of such activity (see, for example, Kuusipalo, Jaana 1999: "Suomalaiset naiset politiikassa". In *Suomalainen nainen*, p. 55–78. Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava, p. 56–58.

political career and to be elected to the Parliament in the first place. The interviewees linked, in broad lines, working in associations to values more closely than professional background, despite the fact that also professional background can be strongly linked to one's personal value system.

It seemed that the interviewees emphasised the relationship of any background in associations and a professional identity in different ways.

It could also be observed in the interviews that mainly characteristics perceived as being masculine are often associated with professional background and those which are feminine are linked to a background in associations. In the interviews, many men in particular described individuals with professional competence and background as an entrepreneur as focused on solutions, practical and productive, whereas individuals with background in associations were perceived to be expressive, careless and discussing. The interviewees emphasised that these characteristics were related to the background experience, not the gender. Impressions of a competent professional as a man and a person with associational background as a female did, however, seem to be quite strong amongst Members of Parliament.

Positive feedback

The gender had an effect on how the respondents felt they were receiving positive feedback. The MPs who responded to the survey received positive feedback most often from outside the Parliament, i.e., from voters and party members. Women felt that they received positive feedback inside the Parliament less often than men, from other MPs, party leadership and the parliamentary group leadership. Men, on the other hand, felt that they

35 When the responses were controlled for the effect of background variables, gender was seen as a statistically significant variable in the feedback received from other MPs and the party leadership. The reliability of the result was weaker for the other items, but gender was still the closest of all variables to being significant and the direction of the effect was as expected. This is a strong indication that gender affects the experience of receiving feedback.

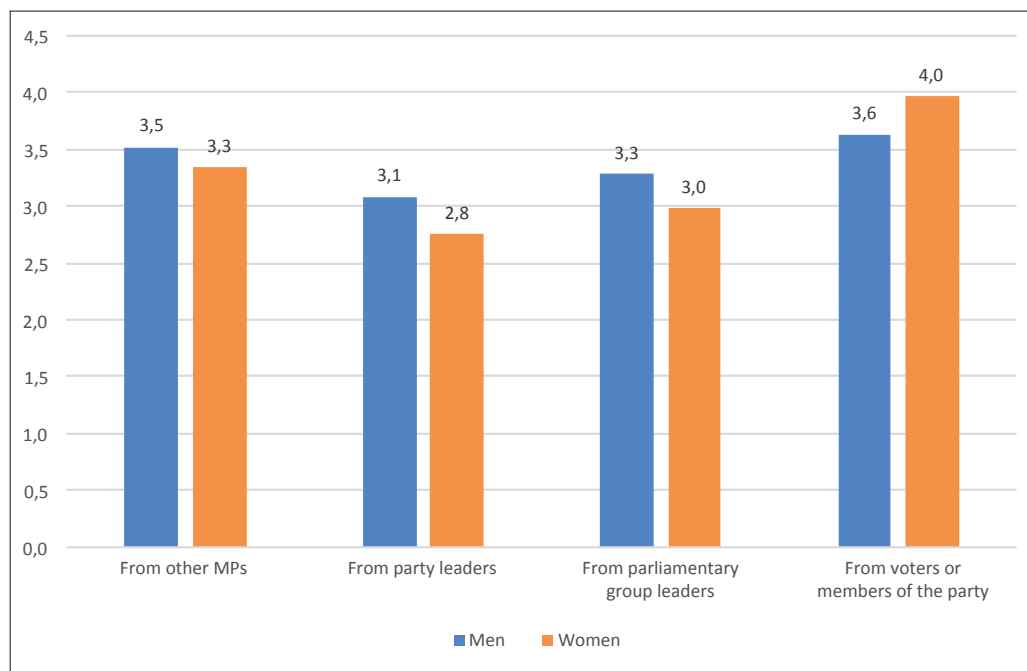


Figure 11. Positive feedback response averages by gender. Question 36. How often do you receive positive feedback on your work from different parties? Scale of 1–5 where 1 = never and 5 = very often

37. Does the majority of positive feedback related to your work come from male or female MPs or equally from male and female MPs?		
Response	Men	Women
From male MPs	13,4	9,4
From female MPs	11,0	24,5
Equally from male and female MPs	75,6	66,0

Table 2. Positive feedback, response shares by gender. Question 37. Does the majority of positive feedback related to your work come from male or female MPs or equally from male and female MPs? 1 = From male MPs; 2 = From female MPs; 3 = Equally from male and female MPs.

received positive feedback less often from outside the Parliament, from voters and party members (Figure 11).³⁵

Male respondents also felt that they received feedback more evenly from both genders, whereas female respondents emphasised positive feedback from women. One woman out of four felt that they received more positive feedback from female than male MPs (Table 2).

The MPs interviewed were asked about the possible gender bias in receiving and giving positive feedback. Some of the MPs interviewed recognised this phenomenon to some degree, but the experiences of receiving feedback in the first place were varied. Both male and female MPs mentioned that there were different ways of giving feedback in such a way that positive feedback would be given more freely amongst female MPs, also deliberately to other female MPs. The general experience was that positive feedback was more of a between-the-lines-type and with a high emphasis on specific subject matter. This applied amongst men in particular but also when given by men to female MPs. In general, the interviewees found that technology had lowered the threshold for giving positive feedback. Some interviewees also hoped that the culture of compliment and encouragement would be enhanced within the Parliament.

The interviewees noted that feedback is given informally especially in networks which are structured around shared interests. Some male MPs said that it was easier to give feedback to a male colleague than to a female MP. The organisation of women in their own networks was perceived as increasing support between female MPs, whereas it was felt that support between male MPs was relayed more easily also without verbal positive feedback.

Networks

In the light of the survey results, gender bias seems obvious. The respondents collaborated the most with persons of their own gender both within the party and outside it. When the respondents were asked to name individu-

als with whom they collaborated the most inside their own party, four out of five individuals named by men were men. Women named men and women more evenly. With regard to persons outside the party, 72.1 per cent of the individuals named by men were men, whereas 37.1 per cent of the individuals named by women were men (Figure 12).

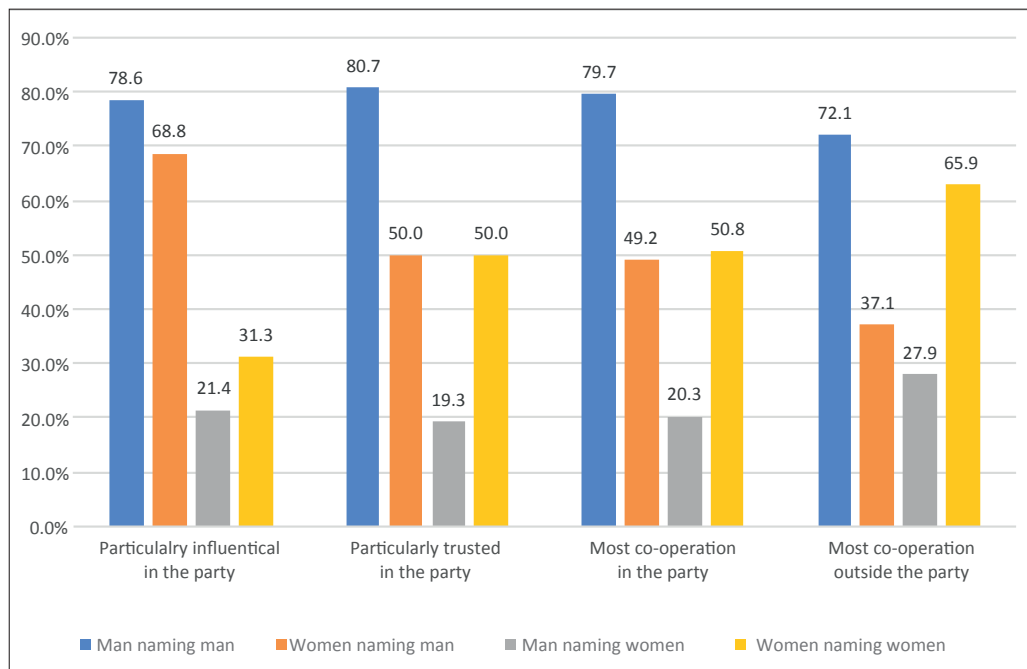


Figure 12. Individuals named by gender, percentages. Question 41. If desired, you can name one or more individuals, subquestions a = Whom you consider having particularly large opportunities for influencing the goals and policies of your party; b = who invokes the most trust within your party; c = Whom you prefer to cooperate with in your party; d) = Whom you cooperate with the most outside your party³⁷

36 Question 40. Which networks or groups within Parliament do you consider the most influential (maximum three most important)?

37 Open answers were given to question 41. In total, 80 respondents had made some kind of entry for the question. Some responses did not, however, name an individual; instead, they referred to group chairperson or committee colleagues. Individuals were named in the responses as follows: Item A – 104 names, B – 111 names, C – 120 names, D – 78 names.

The Network of Finnish Women Members of Parliament (16 mentions) and the so-called sauna committee (6 mentions) were most commonly named as influential networks in the survey responses. Also TUTKAS was mentioned repeatedly in the very varied set of responses.³⁶

Many interviewees mentioned both the women's network and the sauna committee as influential networks. Women's network and the sauna committee have established themselves as networks in the Parliament. The interviewees found that the purpose of the women's network was to actively provide information, inspire discussion and prepare legislative motions. Also the feminists' network and men's network have been established as networks supporting and promoting the perspective of equality. They were also mentioned both in the survey and in the interviews.

The women's network was mentioned in the interviews as a provider of information on equality across group boundaries. The women's network's support has also helped pass some central legislation on gender equality, such as the subjective right to day care and a change of the Equality Act with respect to quotas. The improved situation in terms of equality was also perceived as having had an effect on the levelling out of the women's network's activity, although some positions in the women's network's committee were seen as more sought after than before. Some female MPs interviewed also found that it would be necessary to get the male MPs' support behind the women's network and to back the work on equality so that the decisions promoted by the women's network can be accepted.

The interviewees found the Parliament's internal networks significant for various reasons. Some mentioned that they improved competence on subject matters and understanding across party limits, but also that they increased the influencing opportunities of female Members of Parliament, for example. On the other hand, many interviewees and MPs who responded to the survey found it hard to find time for informal participation and being involved in various kinds of networks. Interviewees hoped for new ways of informal networking. Some interviewees would prefer different kinds of spending time together instead of the social evening cul-

ture, allowing the increased interaction between MPs regardless of gender. On the other hand, many interviewees found that any kind of additional work would be impossible in terms of time management. A more prominent role of officials in the arranging of clubs and calling meetings was mentioned as one possible alternative which might lead to more regular activity. The interviewees emphasised the importance of networks and social relationships to the parliamentary work especially in terms of cooperation and building comfortable personal relationships. Some mentioned that the networks also increased the amount of peer support.

Some of the MPs interviewed mentioned the gendered nature of the networks. They felt, however, that this was mostly due to becoming involved in different matters based on personal interest. On the other hand, the interviewees found that the networks provided an opportunity to create personal relationships with MPs from other parts of the country and across the cabinet/opposition division. Some interviewees mentioned that there are differences in participation also with regard to whether the MP lives permanently in Helsinki or nearby or further away from their home town. In such cases, networks provide a social environment in a new city, but they may be impossible for an MP whose time is spent travelling between cities.

The gendered nature of the network can be considered as problematic when examined from the perspective of the accumulation of influence. In the survey, both men and women named men clearly most often when asked about the party's most influential individuals. When asked about individuals who invoke the most trust within one's own party, four individuals out of five named by men were men (Figure 12)³⁸. Men also empha-

38 Question 41. If desired, you can name one or more individuals, subquestion b = who invokes the most trust within your party. When asked about individuals who invoke trust, more than 80 per cent of the individuals named by men were men, whereas for women, the individuals named were divided equally between men and women (Figure 12 on page 51).

39 Question 27. Which of the following characteristics do you consider most important for increasing an MP's opportunities of influence within your parliamentary group? 63.1 per cent of male respondents and 51 per cent of female respondents checked trust as important (Figure 10 on page 46). Both mentioned the ability to cooperate as important the most often, but with men, trust was the second most important characteristic, surpassing subject matter expertise for increasing the opportunities of influence.

sised trust more than women when asked about characteristics important in terms of influence (Figure 10 on page 46)³⁹. It appears therefore, based on the survey responses, that male MPs are generally considered as being more influential than women. Furthermore, they network more with men, appreciate trust and rely more on men. The interviews did not give any indications that the MPs would deliberately mainly network with MPs of their own gender. The gender bias of networks is connected to, for example, the distribution of the fields of politics and areas of interest between men and women. The fact that influence, networking and trust are gender-specific is indicative of a mechanism which accumulates influence to men in the Parliament.

3.3 The Parliament as a place of work

This Chapter discusses the working conditions and opportunities of Members of Parliament from the perspective of the practical arrangement of work. Central questions are those related to well-being, such as those about the stress caused by work, opportunities to combine work with family life and disturbing incidents. Based on the results, the stress caused by an MP's work is not different based on gender, and the difficulties found in combining work and family life are no longer only perceived as a problem of young women. Disturbing incidents were charted in the survey from several perspectives. The biggest differences were found in sections concerning speaking and the stealing of original ideas. Due to their context, these have been discussed in section 3.1. This section focuses, among other things, on the subquestions concerning sexual harassment and sexist jokes. Only minor differences were observed between the genders in these issues.

Stress caused by work

Working as a Member of Parliament was experienced as highly stressful. In the survey questions, the majority of respondents regardless of sex felt that the demands and pressure directed at them were high (Figure 13). Work often continues to the evening and weekends. In the interviews, MPs from areas other than the Helsinki metropolitan area felt that they had to do

MP work in their own electoral districts outside the sessions. In the survey responses, however, distance from Helsinki was not a statistically significant variable in terms of stress caused by work or working in the evenings or on weekends. Instead, MPs from all parts of the country felt that they needed to continue working outside of sessions as well.

The stress of working as an MP was also reflected in the fact that 63.4 per cent of the respondents reported that they had considered resigning as an MP due to excessive pressure or motivational issues. Most had, however,

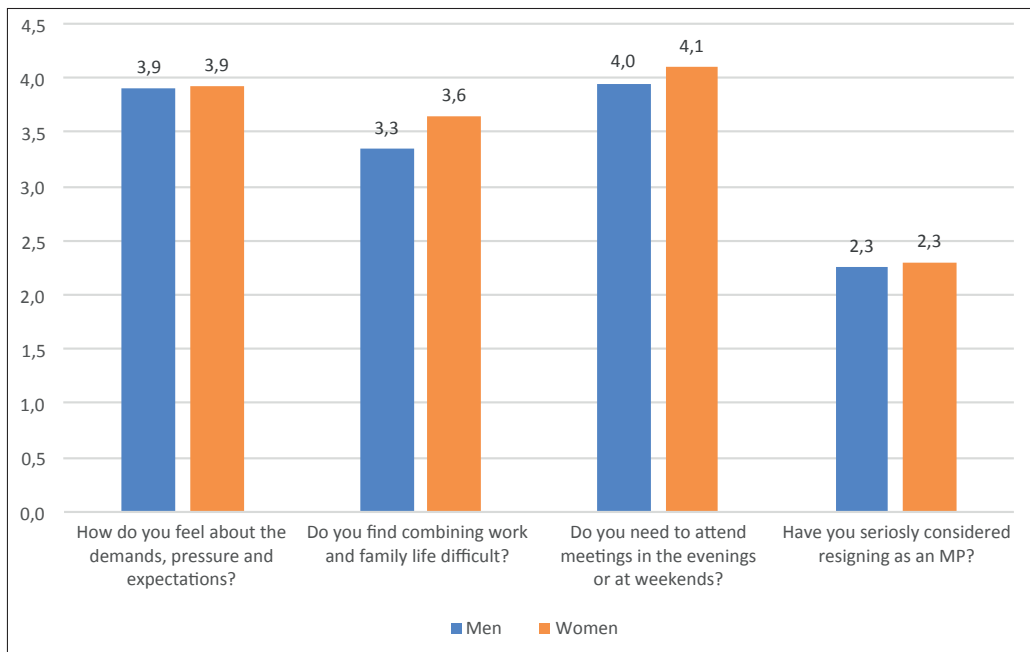


Figure 13. Stress caused by working as an MP, response averages by gender. Question 22. How do you feel about the demands, pressure and expectations directed at you as an MP? (Scale of 1–5, where 1 = extremely low and 5 = extremely high). Question 23. Do you find it difficult to balance parliamentary work and family life? (Scale of 1–5, where 1 = extremely seldom and 5 = extremely often). Question 24. Do you often need to attend meetings or work in the evenings or at weekends? (Scale of 1–5, where 1 = extremely seldom and 5 = extremely often). Question 25. Have you seriously considered resigning as an MP due to excessive pressure or motivational issues? (Scale of 1–5 where 1 = never and 5 = very often).

only considered resigning seldom (Table 3). No statistically significant differences between the genders were observed in the responses (Appendix 1).

Some interviewees accepted the current way of working and its stressfulness as being a part of the nature of parliamentary work. It was expressed very extensively in both the survey and the interviews, however, that the predictability of the schedules of MPs should be increased by, for example, making changes to session schedules, having one evening in the week free from sessions or improving the possibilities for remote work⁴⁰. Many interviewees criticised the current visitor practice which was found to be unnecessarily rigid and decreasing the MP's opportunities to, for example, accept groups of visitors from their own electoral district.

The good stress tolerance of MPs was brought out both in the open survey responses and in the interviews. Some interviewees explained that threatening feedback, hard treatment in the media and even physical threats, for example, had become normal to such a degree that they had become

Have you seriously considered resigning as an MP due to excessive pressure or motivational issues?		
Response	Men	Women
1	34,5	37,3
2	26,2	25,5
3	21,4	15,7
4	15,5	13,7
5	2,4	7,8

Table 3. Resigning as an MP, distribution of responses per gender. Question 25. Have you seriously considered resigning as an MP due to excessive pressure or motivational issues? Scale of 1–5 where 1 = never and 5 = very often.

⁴⁰ Many interviewees referred to the working paper by Liisa Hyssälä and Jouni Backman published in February 2018 "Kansanvallan peruskorjaus. Kaikki voimavarat käyttöön" (Sitra). <https://media.sitra.fi/2018/02/02133038/kansanvallanperuskorjaus.pdf>

an almost unchallenged part of working as an MP. Some interviewees also mentioned that focus on the individual has increased in general, which has an impact on parliamentary work. Personal branding, more restricted political specialisation than before and reduced sense of community amongst Members of Parliament may also, in part, increase the experiences of stress related to the work.

Combining work and family life

MPs with families did not find the pressure caused by the work any higher than those who did not have a family. Instead, children living at home had an impact on the experience about combining work and family life. The more children an MP had living at home, the harder they found it to combine work and family life. The age of the children was insignificant.

Furthermore, education and the age of the MP were close to being statistically significant. The younger MPs and those with a higher education found it more difficult to combine work and family life (Appendix 1).

According to those interviewed, combining family with working as an MP has traditionally been on the women's agenda. The matter was, however, currently considered as important by both genders, both based on the survey responses and the interviews. In the survey, gender was not a statistically significant factor with regard to difficulties in combining work and family life (Appendix 1).

Arranging child care in the Parliament gave rise to discussion in the interviews, and the issue was also brought up in the open survey responses. It should be noted from an equality perspective that the discussion concerning the preconditions for small children's work has moved on to problematics concerning all genders. Many interviewees expressed how unusual it was, in all, for a female MP to temporarily resign from parliamentary work after they had a child or bring the child to the Parliament even in the 1990s, not to mention the previous decades and periods of absence reported by fathers. Even though the current practice is signifi-

cantly different, the child care issue still remains unsolved. The ways mentioned to facilitate the situation varied somewhat by gender in the interviews: Male MPs mostly mentioned the possibility to work remotely and a more structured rhythm of work as possible resolutions. Only three of the men interviewed mentioned child care, whereas of the female MPs interviewed, nine found child care arranged in the Parliament of key importance for the resolution of the problem. The question of how the combination of work and family life could be supported more actively in the Parliament was emphasised in the interviews.

Combining work and family life was partly facilitated by the session scheduling change adopted during Speaker of Parliament Riitta Uosukainen's term in which all votes were moved to the beginning of sessions. Despite the improvements, the variability and unpredictability of an MP's work make it more difficult, based on the survey responses and interviews, to observe the demands of family life. The situation of MPs from parts of the country other than the Helsinki metropolitan area is made more difficult by the long distances and the lack of support networks. On the other hand, also the size of the parliamentary group has an effect on the flexibility of work: the smaller parliamentary groups have no deputy members in committees, which reduces the flexibility of committee work in case of sickness, for example. Some interviewees also noted that being a Member of Parliament meant that you have to, in practice, be reachable at all times and

be always flexible if working in a committee, for example, requires it. On the other hand, the long session recesses were criticised for being a rigid practice which causes congestion to the calendar.

Disturbing incidents

Different forms of disturbing incidents experienced by MPs were brought up in the survey and the interviews. This part of the data comprises, for example, incidents of language of sexual nature, diminishing behaviour and sexual harassment. This also includes the comments included in the data about how the strict hierarchy in the Parliament causes imbalance between the Members of Parliament and employees or officials. The common factor in comments concerning the MPs and the staff alike was incidents where another person violates the assumed limits of appropriate behaviour either verbally or physically. Solutions mentioned as ways of coping with such incidents included, for example, avoiding certain situations and, in broader context, changing one's own behaviour, immediately setting the boundary when faced with inappropriate behaviour and ignoring the incident. In some cases, inappropriate behaviour had also been reported to a third party and the conflict had been resolved. Both the survey and the interviews referred to the interpretative nature of the incidents and the unclear boundaries between appropriate and disturbing behaviour.

Disturbing incidents were examined from several perspectives in the survey⁴¹. The most commonly experienced forms of disturbing incidents were sexist jokes and questioning of choices made in personal life (Figure 14). There are differences between the genders in the averages, but when the analysis was controlled for background variables, gender was not a statistically significant variable in terms of disturbing incidents experienced (Appendix 1).

41 Question 34, subquestions 3–7. In subquestions 1. You are interrupted in a meeting and 2. Someone else gets credit for your work or original idea, gender was a statistically significant variable. These issues are discussed in conjunction with speaking events in Chapter 3.1 on page 26.

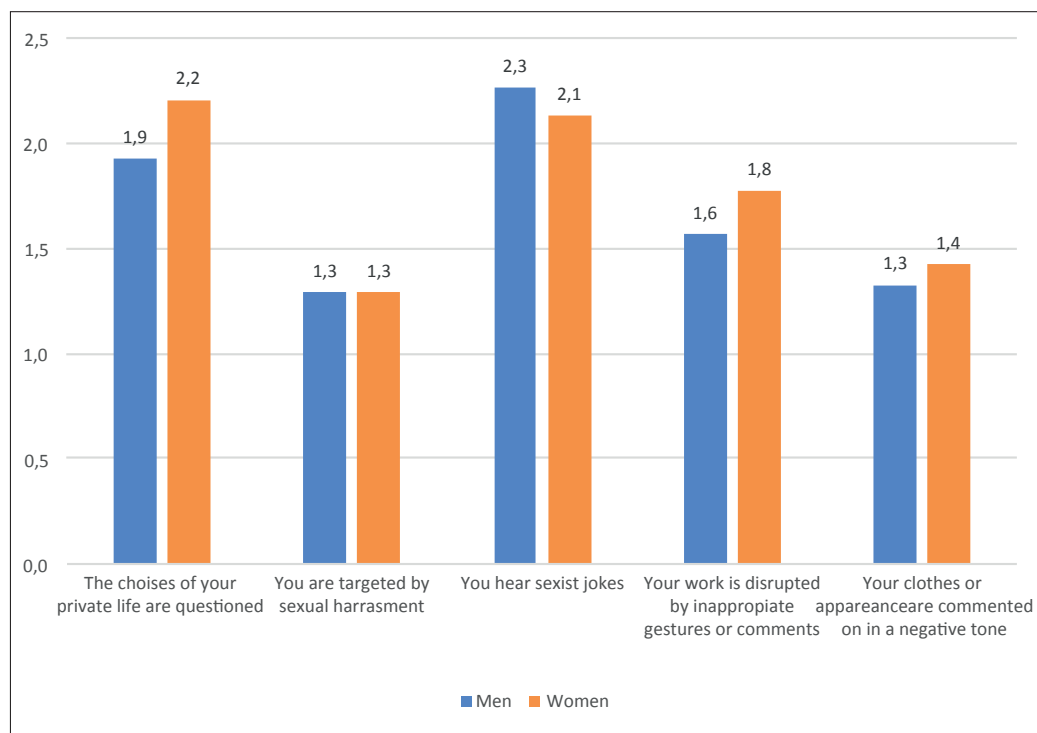


Figure 14. Disturbing incidents, averages of responses by gender. Question 34. How often have you experienced the following types of incidents in Parliament? Subquestions 3–7. Scale of 1–5 where 1 = never and 5 = very often.

You hear a fellow MP telling sexist jokes		
Results	Men	Women
1	28,6	22,6
2	39,3	47,2
3	17,9	24,5
4	6,0	5,7
5	8,3	0,0

Table 4. Sexist jokes, distribution of responses by gender. Question 34. How often have you experienced the following types of incidents in Parliament? Subquestion 5. You hear a fellow MP telling sexist jokes. Scale of 1–5 where 1 = never and 5 = very often.

Three out of four respondents reported that they had sometimes heard sexist jokes. Most of those who had heard such jokes had only heard them seldom (Table 4). A couple of interviewees also mentioned sexist language. Such cases mentioned humour between male Members of Parliament, disturbing comments to assistants and, for example, commenting on the appearance of a new female assistant to a fellow Member of Parliament.

Some Members of Parliament reported experiences of sexual harassment in the study. Gender had no effect on the prevalence of the experiences; instead, harassment had been experienced by men as well as women. 79.5 per cent of men and 76.9 per cent of women had not experienced sexual harassment (response alternative 1). 13.3 per cent of men and 17.3 per cent of women reported that they had experienced sexual harassment infrequently, selecting response alternative 2. None of the respondents reported having experienced sexual harassment very often (response alternative 5). The other responses were divided between alternatives 3 and 4 in such a way that 6 per cent of men and 5.8 per cent of women responded with alternative 3 and 1.2 per cent of men checked the response alternative 4 (Table 5). None of the other controlled factors were statistically significant either, i.e., the likelihood of experiencing harassment is not affected by, for example, age or education (Appendix 1). Both genders experienced criti-

You are targeted by sexual harassment		
Results	Men	Women
1	79,5	76,9
2	13,3	17,3
3	6,0	5,8
4	1,2	0,0
5	0,0	0,0

Table 5. Sexual harassment, distribution of responses by gender. Question 34. How often have you experienced the following types of incidents in Parliament? Subquestion 4. You are targeted by sexual harassment. Scale of 1–5 where 1 = never and 5 = very often.

cism of choices in personal life, commenting their appearance and harassment of their work. The average response of female MPs was higher in these questions than that of male MPs (Figure 14). In an analysis controlling the background variables, gender was not a statistically significant variable in these questions. Age was a statistically significant variable with regard to comments on the appearance and very close to being statistically significant with regard to the questioning of choices made in personal life. Young Members of Parliament were more likely to report experiencing both of the above mentioned types of disturbing behaviour more often than others. Consequently, when examining the averages of the responses, differences between genders do not become statistically significant. When examining the proportion of respondents who have not experienced these forms of harassment at all, however⁴², differences can be seen between men and women. Almost half of the men had never been in a situation where the choices made in their personal lives would have been questioned, whereas three women out of four had experienced such questioning. The appearance of every third female respondent had been commented on unpleasantly, while every fifth man had experienced the same (Figure 15).

Disturbing incidents were discussed in the interviews primarily from the perspective of guidelines and operating methods. Based on the interviews, the Members of Parliament do not have any shared opinion as to the harassment and bullying cases concerning Members of Parliament could be dealt with appropriately. Everyone appointed a party which they would notify of such incidents, however. The interviewees were asked what they felt would be the most natural way to deal with any cases of harassments, how such incidents could be prevented and whether they were aware of the official parliamentary guidelines for such cases. The interviewees were not asked of any personal experience of harassments, but in some cases, also these came up. The interviewees mentioned as natural parties to report harassment to, among other things, the Speaker, the parliamentary group office, the parliamentary group leaders and also the occupational health

⁴² Proportion of respondents whose response to the various subquestions of question 34. How often have you experienced the following types of incidents in Parliament? was "1 = never".

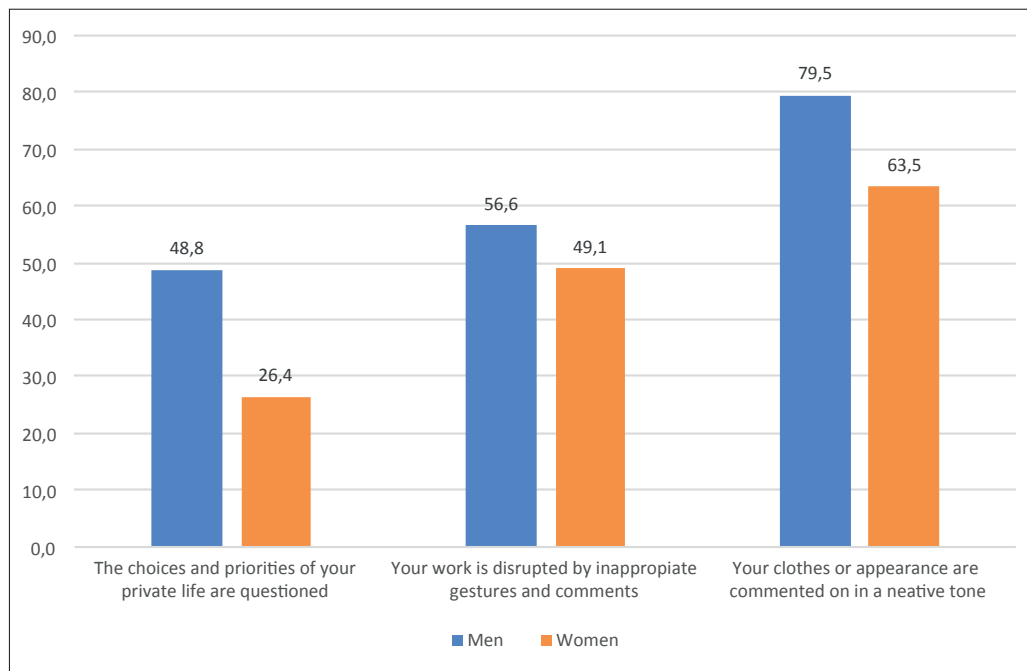


Figure 15. Shares of responses “1 = never” by gender. Question 34. How often have you experienced the following types of incidents in Parliament? Subquestions 3, 6 and 7.

services. The interviewees found it important to get the matter processed quickly and to encourage the Member of Parliament to specify the boundaries for inappropriate behaviour as soon as they feel that they have been crossed

The interviewees who mentioned that they personally had experienced harassment had, as a general rule, ignored the situation, responded to the behaviour experienced as disturbing or dropped the matter as an isolated incident. Some interviewees mentioned how surprising and confusing the harassment incident was: responding to it immediately was difficult due to the balance of power and, in general, the crossing of boundaries which were obvious to themselves. Furthermore, some interviewees mentioned that the experience of disturbing behaviour may accumulate from little things. Comments regarding the gender, even when they are seemingly

harmless or intended as humour, can be ignored as isolated incidents, but become a problem when they occur repeatedly.

Many interviewees mentioned the effect of the recent discussion on harassment, both internationally and in Finland, on the Parliament. They felt that the atmosphere had become more aware and that the equality situation had improved compared to the previous electoral terms, but also in a shorter perspective. Some interviewees mentioned that publicity had decreased disturbing treatment as the transparency of parliamentary work had slowly started to improve. This was seen as applying to sexist jokes and language of sexual nature in general.

All interviewees disapproved of sexual harassment, but attitudes towards the #metoo campaign were divided. Some interviewees referred to the campaign as a source of confusion. Clearer discussion about harassment in particular was desired widely in order to determine clear boundaries and avoid misunderstandings. When this topic was discussed, a part of both male and female interviewees mainly brought out their opinions that the prevention of sexual harassment had gone too far due to the campaign. They felt that this hindered daily activities and might lead to ungrounded accusations. On the other hand, the interviewees shared several cases where the campaign was only discussed by means of humour, emphasising exaggeration and excess carefulness in particular. These interviewees felt that this kind of attitude diminished experiences of harassment and as unnecessarily inappropriate and purposeful misunderstanding.

The study focused on the experiences of Members of Parliament about the realisation of gender equality only. The survey and interviews did not examine the perspective of other Parliament employees or the experiences that Members of Parliament had of other employees other than with regard to support offered for their work. Many MPs mentioned both the open questions of the questionnaire and in the interviews that the Parliament is hierarchical especially with regard to the various staff groups. This most commonly came up in the form of concern about harassing and diminishing behaviour towards assistants and other staff. With regard to

sexual harassment experienced by assistants, both the interviewees and the MPs who responded to the questionnaire mentioned that the action had been undertaken in the matter over the years and that the assistants' position had improved. In spite of this, they felt that there were still shortcomings and that the situation should be systematically surveyed in order to obtain updated information. It was felt that the parliamentary group office model had improved the assistants' situation especially through the provision of permanent employment relationships, but some interviewees still felt that the assistants' reports of harassment and bullying are not taken seriously enough. It was also mentioned that this applied to other staff as well, such as cleaning staff. Some interviewees suggested conducting an equality survey covering the entire staff, including the parliamentary group office employees and officials of the Parliamentary Office, or at least the assistants.

3.4 Interfaces between the Parliament and structures of the society

Segregation of working life, prevailing gender norms and ideas of what gender equality means are examples of structures influencing also in the Parliament. The versatile media is one of channels through which they influence. For this reason, both the survey and the interviews covered MP experiences of both traditional and social media especially from the perspective of media roles and feedback received. The gender bias in the fields of politics may also impact media visibility, and female MPs are still felt to get more attention related to their appearance at the cost of the subject matter. New female MPs reported getting more feedback of a sexual nature on social media, and direct threats were experienced by both male and female MPs. Being able to tolerate threats and insulting feedback is perceived as a part of being an MP, and social media is also considered as a useful and well-functioning channel for bringing out one's opinions. On the other hand, the side effects of discussion churning in social media and the uncontrolled nature of discussion as well as the limited time available

restrict some MPs' manner and willingness of participation in discussion in this way.

The media

Regardless of the interviewee's gender, the people interviewed repeatedly referred to societal structures which still continue to generate different roles to the genders in addition to the segregation of working life. The most experienced interviewees felt that the equality perspective is currently observed self-evidently in legislation, parliamentary practices and the culture of work. Some interviewees felt that this was a sign of gradual reaction to the discussion in the society. In spite of this, there has been no change in the set-up in which the chairperson positions of parties, parliamentary groups and committees are mainly held by men even now. The situation with regard to the Speakers of Parliament is different in 2018: Paula Risikko (National Coalition Party) was elected the Speaker of Parliament following Maria Lohela (Blue Reform).

The versatile media is another dimension of political activity intertwined with the gendered structures. From a gender equality perspective, the media hold a central role in the construction of the public expert roles of Members of Parliament⁴³. Based on the data, MPs have different attitudes towards different media. The MPs follow different approaches and strategies with regard to their media appearances and bringing out their political opinions in different channels. The media play a role in how room is given in public to the different genders in the different fields of politics and the perspectives from which the MPs are discussed in media in different contexts. These factors contribute to how the media structures and challenges the perception of how political expertise is constructed in the different sectors.

In the interviews, the discussion about the role of the media was interwoven with how and how much visibility the MP gets and wants in the various media as well as the boundary conditions of such visibility. Many

⁴³ The Inter-Parliamentary Union collects information on, for example, how female politicians are treated in the media <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/media.htm> (accessed 30 July 2018).

interviewees expressed that foreign and finance politics were visible in the media as male fields of politics. It was also felt that this reinforced the gender bias in these fields for specialists other than politicians as well, as financial media discussion was perceived as being dominated by men. As an example, some interviewees mentioned the regional, health and social services reform, a field traditionally perceived as the core field of female specialists, where men and male MPs voices have become the more frequent in the media the more the matter concerned finances and the administrative reform. The interviewees felt that in this context, the opinions of women mainly commented on the contents of the social welfare sector and social welfare services. Even though it is not possible to take a stand on the distribution of media visibility in terms of content or statistical distribution of volumes in this study, it is noteworthy how prevailing the image of the media's role as an upholder and enabler of gender bias in the fields of politics was in the interviews.

Media appearances and receiving invitations to interviews are a question larger than the gender, as was generally pointed out by the interviewees. The media roles had several dimensions identified in the interviews. Many interviewees felt that the types of shows and discussions the MPs were asked to participate in were primarily a question of expertise and performance skills. On the other hand, some interviewees mentioned that the media largely decide who to ask for comments mainly depending on the networks and the impressions concerning people's expertise. Some interviewees suspected that the media sometimes took the easy way by choosing to use personal contacts, individuals who were on the rise or the involved in commotion and, in general, through familiarity. Some interviewees expressed that it was difficult to get heard in the media, because the media looks for conflicts and exaggerated opinions, and long-term legislative work which progresses with small steps does not fit this very well.

The role of media and media roles were seen as twofold with regard to young female MPs. In the interviews, both male and female MPs expressed their experience of the different treatment and casting of the genders in the media as to what kinds of subjects are highlighted, what is expected

and what kind of agenda may bring visibility to the MP. The Presidential Independence Day Ball was mentioned as an example of individual events of high visibility. The interviewees found it strange how much the media focused on appearances and especially the outfits and hairstyles of female MPs. Some of the female MPs interviewed had experienced several incidents where their outfit or appearance had been prioritised over the subject matter in the media and that media visibility had mainly been available through changes in their personal life. On the other hand, the interviewees also mentioned the opportunities to gain visibility based on age and gender in particular. Both male and especially female interviewees mentioned incidents where a young female MP gets to express her opinion in situations where a young male MP has more difficulty gaining media exposure.

Social media

Based on the survey responses and the interviews, feedback received on social media shows some gender bias. The survey revealed that women felt that they were getting messages of a sexual nature clearly more often than men (Figure 16). The distribution of women's responses is not equal, though. Only some women feel that they get comments referring to their sexuality or gender. Age and education also had an effect on the experiences on feedback through social media. Young respondents and those with high education felt that they received insulting comments more often than others (Appendix 1). Of those interviewed, the MPs younger than average especially recognised that they used social media actively as a discussion channel in addition to one-directional provision of information. Based on the interviews, Members of Parliament use social media as their communications channel to varying degrees. The experiences about social media related in the interviews were largely related to how actively and on what political themes the MP engages in discussions on social media. Many interviewees also highlighted that the recognition and visibility of the Member of Parliament impact the volume and quality of feedback. Some of the interviewees mentioned that MPs who are prominent in the traditional media get more negative comments on social media.

When interviewed, female Members of Parliament younger than the average did not, as a general rule, feel that they would receive unreasonable volumes of disturbing feedback. Male Members of Parliament also recounted during the interviews that they received comments about their appearance and threats against their family, even though this seems to be targeted at women more commonly. Some male MPs had been victims of highly violent threats, but some female MPs interviewed also told about direct threats against themselves. In the query, 72.3 per cent of male respondents and 73.6 per cent of female respondents reported that they had received direct threats on social media. These cases would seem to be related to areas of politics such as immigration, where societal and political polarisation is common. Some interviewees told that the discussion around immigration in 2015 in particular made the atmosphere tenser.

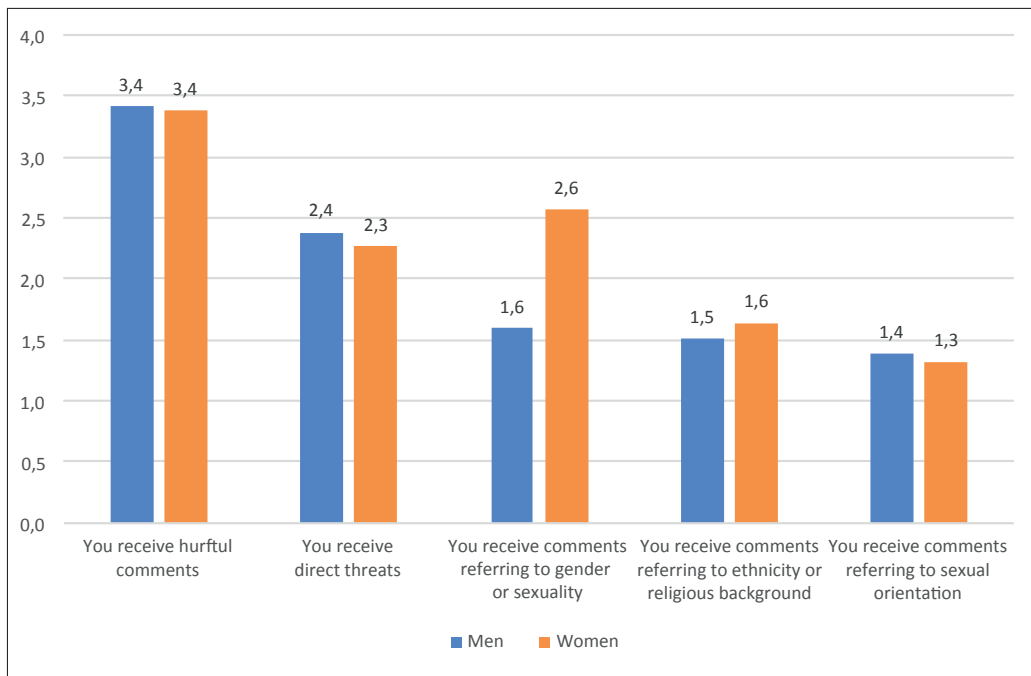


Figure 16. Social media feedback, response averages by gender. Question 35. Have you encountered some of the following incidents when using social media? Scale of 1–5 where 1 = never and 5 = very often.

Online comments were also affected by the platform in which the discussion took place. Some interviewees found that using blog platforms was a neutral way of engaging in public dialogue. Negative feedback to personal social media channels, such as their own Facebook page, was found as clearly disturbing by the interviewees. They tried to direct such discussion to their political Facebook profile. Many interviewees mentioned that e-mail was a less disturbing feedback channel than Facebook. Many Members of Parliament said that they had made one-directional provision of information as their social media strategy: they would tell about things, but only participate in the discussion to a limited degree. Some interviewees felt that this approach was problematic, deliberately attempting to also talk about issues which generate a lot of feedback. Based on the interviews, however, the general conclusion can be made that negative feedback received in social media has an effect on what and for which kinds of issues the MPs use each individual channel.

The experience that Members of Parliament have on receiving different types of feedback was emphasised in the interviews. Social media is just one communications channel, and even though it has certain typical characteristics, such as the lower than usual threshold for giving insulting and filthy feedback, it is not the only way to communicate with citizens. Members of Parliament get hard feedback about their work also in person in different kinds of events, by e-mail and as general comments in various media. Many interviewees found that feedback to men was focused on facts, whereas feedback to women was based on their appearance and personality. On the other hand, social media was also seen as a resource when it acts as a channel for positive feedback. Positive sides of social media cited also included the possibility to reach large amounts of people, tell about one's opinions and listen to feedback from the field.

Experience of the significance of gender in parliamentary work

Both some survey responses and some interviews indicated that problematising the discussion on gender equality is not necessary with regard to parliamentary work. From this perspective, gender is irrelevant in parliamentary work; instead, competence and seniority acquired in the Parliament in particular have the biggest weight when decisions are made on positions of responsibility. These responses emphasised the significance of the personal interests of MPs in the development of their political as Members of Parliament. The persons who shared this perspective in the interviews did not find it relevant to parliamentary work that attention be paid to gender.

On the other hand, some MPs criticised the conduct of the study because they felt that the means selected did not provide enough information about the versatile impacts of gender on parliamentary work. The respondents who expressed their frustration of the study method criticised it mostly for watering down an important issue. In these cases, conducting a study was found important in general, but the method of implementation selected was perceived as problematic.

Based on both the survey and interview data, the majority of Members of Parliament find that the equality situation in the Parliament is good. Room for improvement and obvious problems are, however, also identified. Based on the data collected in this study, the impact of gender varies among Members of Parliament, even though equality is an established part of legislation and legislative work. One of the administrative goals is so-called gender mainstreaming, or considering gender impacts as a cross-sectional perspective in all legislation. The experiences reflect, however, the possibility that the concept of equality from the gender perspective may be understood and experienced in many different ways while, at the same time, it is generally considered as a goal worth seeking.

4 CONCLUSIONS

This type of study, focusing solely on the experiences of the Members of Parliament, was now conducted for the first time in the Finnish Parliament. The Swedish Riksdagen, the inspiration to this study, had an institutionally different starting point for the study as Sweden has a separate parliamentary working group for equality and the work atmosphere in Riksdagen has been monitored from this perspective before the study for a longer period of time and more systematically than in Finland. The response rate of the survey remained slightly lower in Finland than in Sweden.

This report does not include any proposals of actions regarding gender equality to the Parliament. According to the Swedish model, it only focuses on describing the situation within the framework set by the starting points and restrictions set for the study. After the study results were presented, an action plan was accepted in Sweden⁴⁴, according to which work on equality is continued in the Parliament. The work is organised by a interparliamentary group representing all the parliamentary groups and different genders. Also the sensitive parliament self-evaluation of the Inter-Parliamentary Union was implemented in Swedish Riksdagen.

When considering the gender bias in the distribution of committee seats, for example, and that this is generally recognised, it is noteworthy that the MPs who responded to the survey or were interviewed, hardly mentioned the practices within their groups which clearly resulted in this situation. It would seem in more detail that structures are recognised as prevailing outside the Parliament and having an effect on the composition of the Parliament. On the other hand, it is more difficult to find alternatives for influencing the situation in terms of the practices applied and choices

⁴⁴ See <http://www.riksdagen.se/globalassets/01.-aktuellt/201718/handlingsprogrammet-for-jamstalldhet-a5-juni-2018-v2.pdf>

made in one's own parliamentary group. Some interviewees felt that attention was already being paid to gender equality in their own parliamentary group. Most interviewees felt that the group genuinely tried to act fairly in the distribution of seats. Ideas of how gender equality should be observed in these situations varied clearly between the interviewees. Based on the interviews, some of the experiences of inequality in the Parliament's internalised practices are accepted as a part of MP's work.

The data also brought up some experiences of inequality not related to gender. The cabinet/opposition set-up was especially criticised as causing inequality and restricting the MP's work with regard to obtaining opportunities to take the floor or getting visibility, among other things. The possibilities of MPs from areas other than the Helsinki metropolitan area for working equally with those from electoral districts near Helsinki were questioned. The highly hierarchical nature of the Parliament as a place of work was repeatedly mentioned, and there were concerns about the inequality experienced by assistants and other staff, even though this was also seen as how things are done in the Parliament. This project, however, focused on gender equality amongst Members of Parliament. Other issues which were brought up were therefore only discussed insofar as they were related to gender equality. The study observed women and men as groups, ignoring the differences within the groups. Such grouping hides differences and classifications within the group, which would, if examined, allow examining the realisation of gender equality from a wide perspective. The choice was made in this context, however, to use statistical methods for the processing of data in order to control other background factors in addition to the gender and to observe the different age and experience groups in interviews in addition to the gender distribution.

The results of the project were discussed with three specialists in the final project stages. The purpose was to provide more support for the information contained in the report for those who wished to obtain more information about the research on gender equality in the parliamentary context⁴⁵. The spe-

⁴⁵ Parliamentary procedures, parliaments as a research subject and gender equality in representative democracy were discussed with Professor Anne Holli and Professor (Emeritus) Kari Palonen. Researcher Josefina Erikson commented the results of this study from the perspective of the studies conducted in Sweden. The project researchers wish to thank the specialists for these discussions.

cialists did not have access to the report or its draft; instead, the discussions were based on a brief explanation of the background and description of the most central findings. This small-scale round of interviews gave the project researchers the opportunity to hear the additional perspectives of specialists which explained the central findings. Not all comments could be taken into account here, and with the exception of the brief presentation in Appendix 3, the evaluation of the highlighted central findings from the perspective of previous research is left out of this report.

Conducting this study on gender equality in the Parliament required support from Parliamentary Office officials in various stages. This included the planning and execution of communications, arranging the steering group meetings, the practical actions for the implementation as well as active contacts with the executors of the study. Furthermore, the support received from the Members of Parliament and external science specialist in the project steering group was of utmost importance, especially in the implementation of the survey. Assistants of MPs also participated on the planning of schedules and booking of rooms in the interview phase. Conducting this study in the agreed schedule would not have been possible without all of this practical support.

The central parts of the study, i.e., the survey and the interviews, have been used as supplementary to each other, not as independent survey or interview studies. In spite of its limitations, the survey worked well as a mapping before the interviews which gave more perspectives into and depth to the survey themes, but also questioned them. Based on the study, we were able to point out, according to the initial goals, some problematic points which slow down the improvement of gender equality in the Parliament.

5 APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Distribution of responses and regressions

Appendix 2. Interview questions

Appendix 3. Significance of previous research for the background and results of this study

Appendix 1. Distribution of responses and regression results

Appendix 1 contains the distribution of responses in all the questions of the questionnaire, related graphs and the regression results insofar as they are mentioned in the report.

The IBM SPSS Statistics 25 software was used for the regressions. The coding of the determining variables in the regressions is as follows:

Gender: Question 2. Gender, answer 1 = man, 2 = woman.

Year of birth: Question 1. Year of birth, response as two digits 19XX – the larger the value, the younger the age.

Parliamentary group: Question 3. Parliamentary group. Groups in randomised order. In the section, the other groups are compared with the result of parliamentary group 1.

Distance: Question 4. Electoral district. The electoral districts are divided into three categories according to the distance of the district's largest city from Helsinki (under 100 km, 100–200 km, over 200 km). The results are compared with the category 'over 200 km'.

Years of experience: Question 5. For how many years in total have you acted as an MP, answer in two digits.

Experience as a minister: Question 6. Do you have experience as a minister, answer 1 = yes, 2 = no.

Parliamentary group office model: Question 7. My parliamentary group is included in the parliamentary group office model in terms of assistants of MPs, answer 1 = yes, 2 = no.

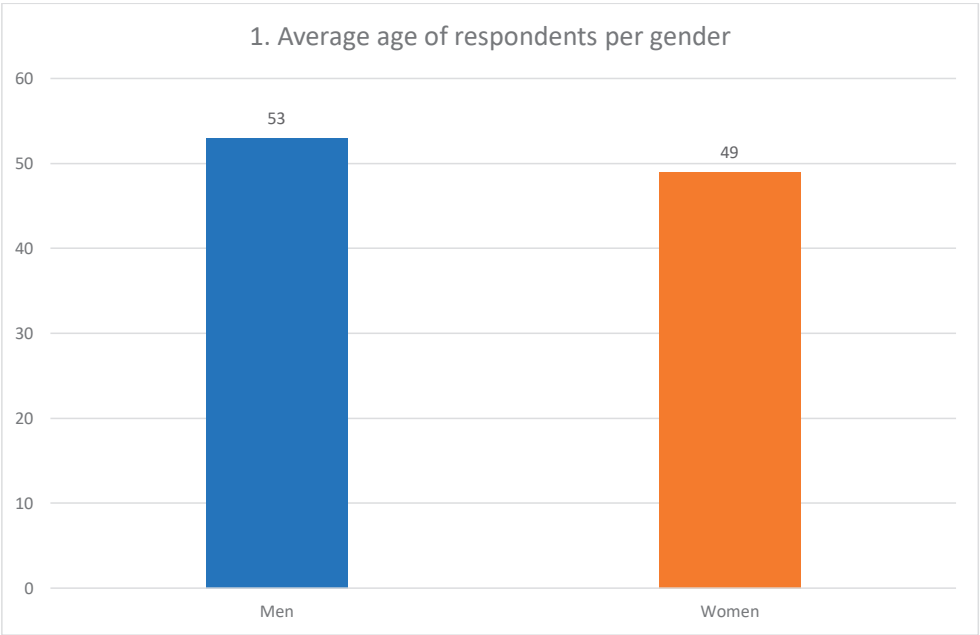
Children living at home, no.: Question 8a. Number of children living at home, answer in one digit.

Under the age of 7: Question 8b. Of whom under the age of 7, answer in one digit.

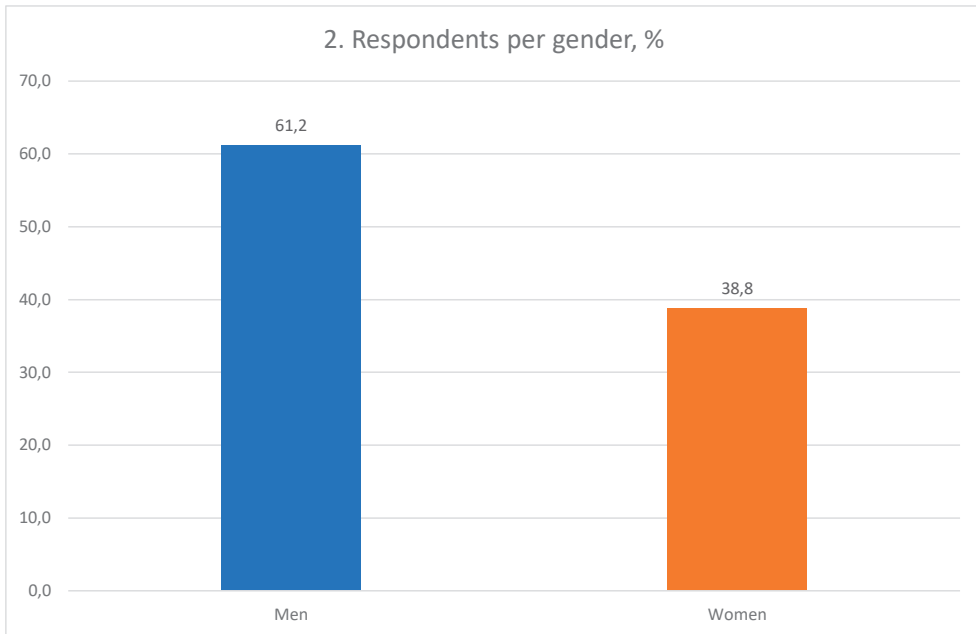
Position as a caregiver of a loved one: Question 9. Are you acting as a caregiver of another loved one, answer 1 = yes, 2 = no.

Education: Question 10. Which of the options best describes your education (including current studies), answer 1–5 ascending according to level of education.

1. Year of birth. N=139, empty 10		
<i>Before 1961</i>	<i>1962–1972</i>	<i>1973 or after</i>
47	47	45
33.8%	33.8%	32.4%

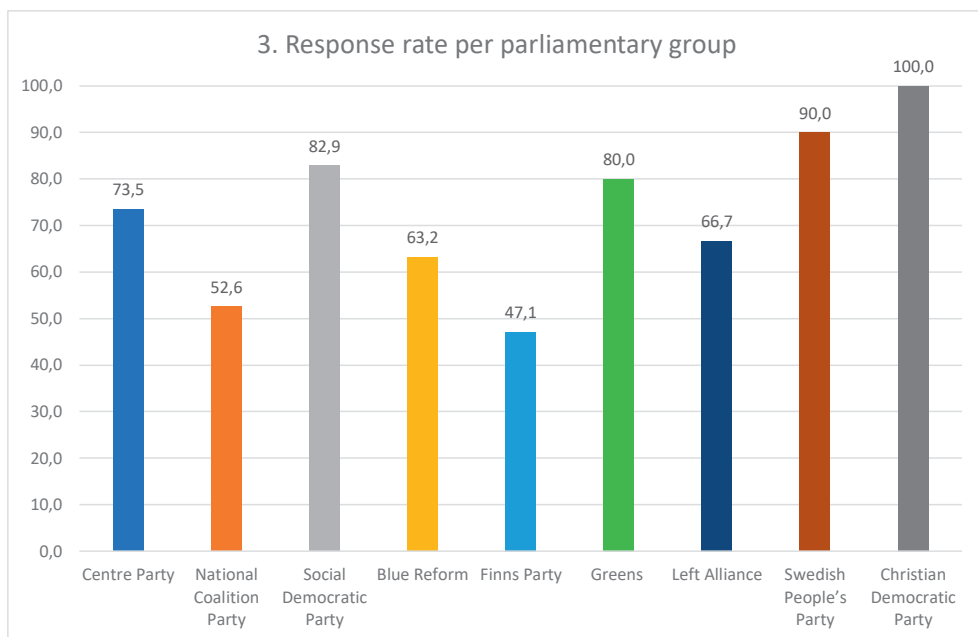


2. Gender. N=139, empty 10	
<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
85	54
61.2% (58.5%/200)	38.8% (41.5%/200)

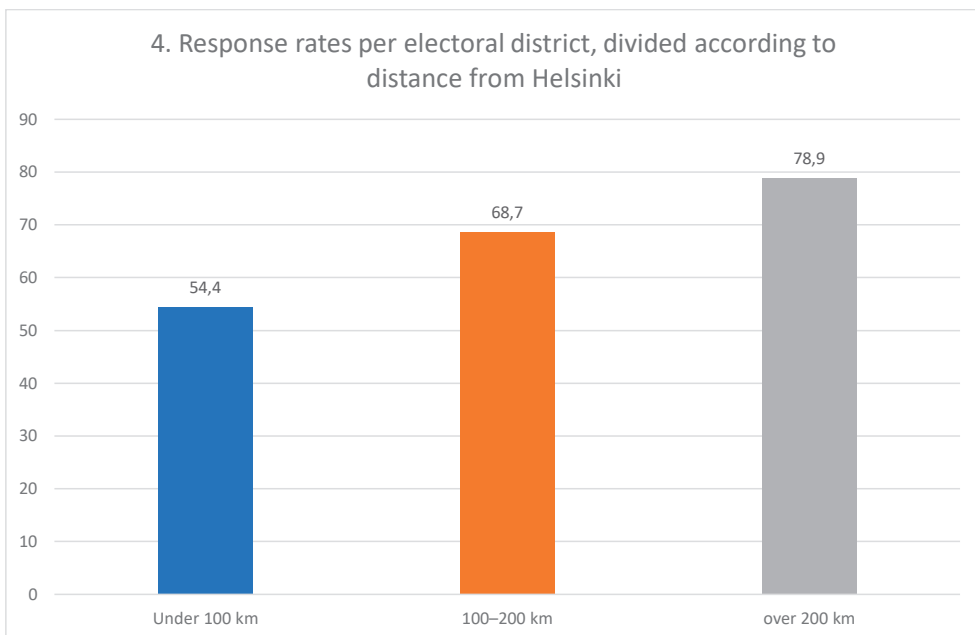


APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

3. Parliamentary group. N=139, empty 10			
<i>Parliamentary group</i>	<i>MPs total</i>	<i>Received responses</i>	<i>Response rate</i>
Centre Party	49	36	73.5%
National Coalition Party	38	20	52.6%
Social Democratic Party	35	29	82.9%
Blue Reform	19	12	63.2%
Finns Party	17	8	47.1%
Greens	15	12	80.0%
Left Alliance	12	8	66.7%
Swedish People's Party	10	9	90.0%
Christian Democratic Party	5	5	100.0%
No response		10	
	200	149	74.5%

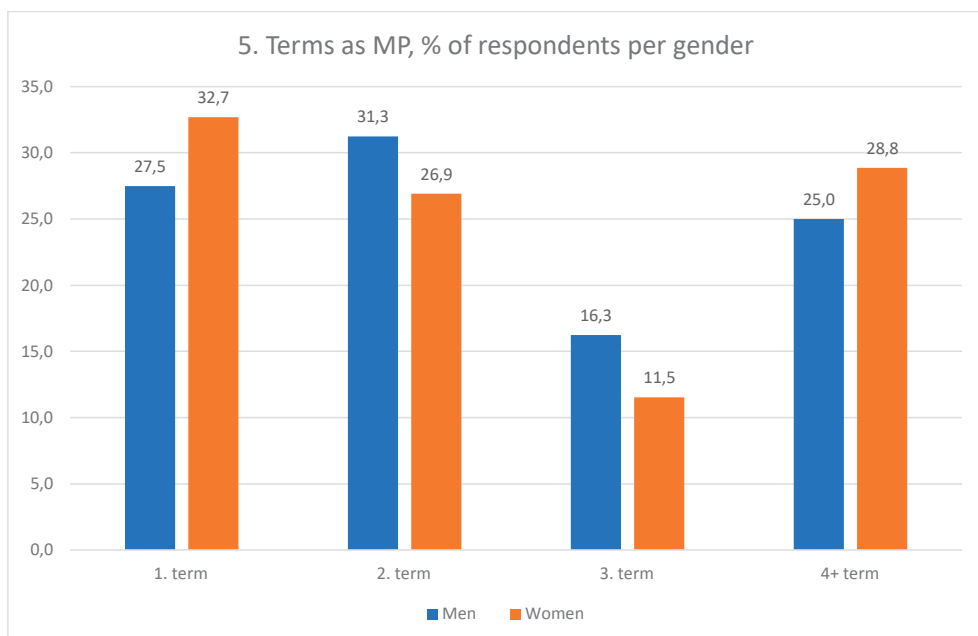


4. Electoral district. N=137, empty 12			
<i>Electoral district (per distance from Helsinki)</i>	<i>MPs total</i>	<i>Received responses</i>	<i>Response rate</i>
Helsinki and Uusimaa (under 100 km)	57	31	54.4%
Southwest Finland, Tavastia, Pirkanmaa and Southeast Finland (100–200 km)	67	46	68.7%
Åland Islands, Savonia-Karelia, Satakunta, Vaasa, Central Finland, Oulu, Lapland (over 200 km)	76	60	78.9%
No response		12	
Total	200	149	74.5%

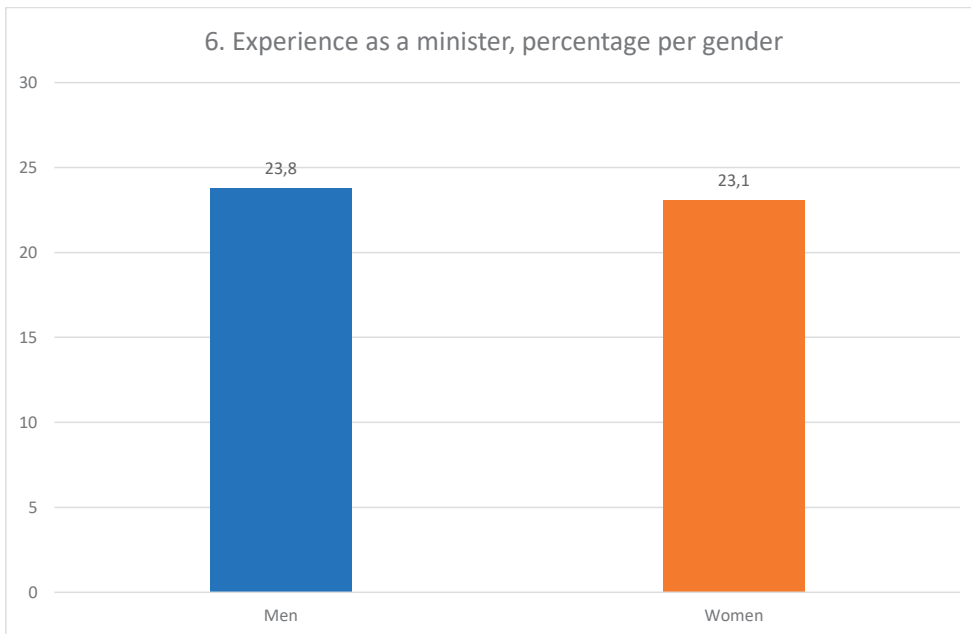


APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

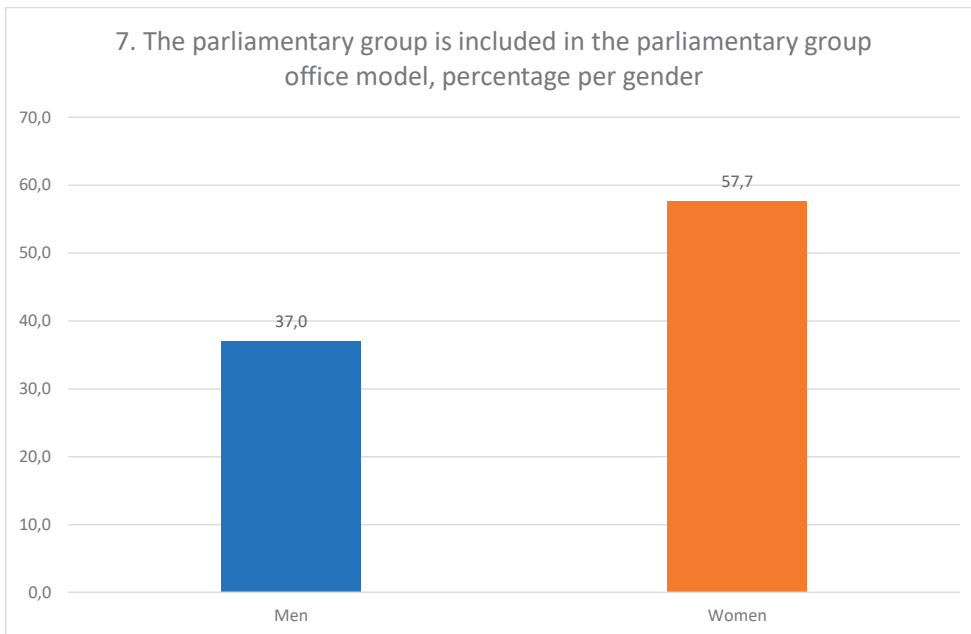
5. For how many years in total have you acted as an MP? N=137, empty 12		
<i>Number of terms as MP</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>% of respondents</i>
1 term (0–3 years)	41	29.9%
2 terms (4–7 years)	41	29.9%
3 terms (8–11 years)	19	13.9%
4 terms (12– years)	36	26.3%
Total	137	100%



6. Do you have experience as a minister? N=140, empty 9	
Yes	No
32	108
23.0%	77.0%



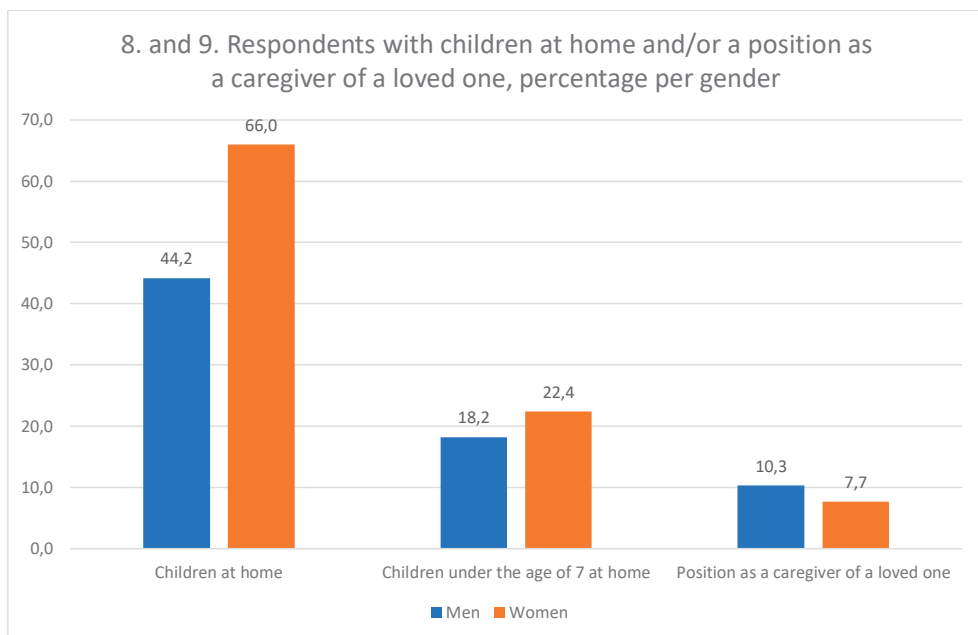
7. My parliamentary group is included in the parliamentary group office model. N=137, empty 12	
Yes	No
62	75
45.3%	54.7%



8a. Number of children living at home. N=131, empty 18		
<i>Children at home</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>% of respondents</i>
0	64	48.9%
1	17	13.0%
2	29	22.1%
3	14	10.7%
4	5	3.8%
5	2	1.5%
Total	131	100%

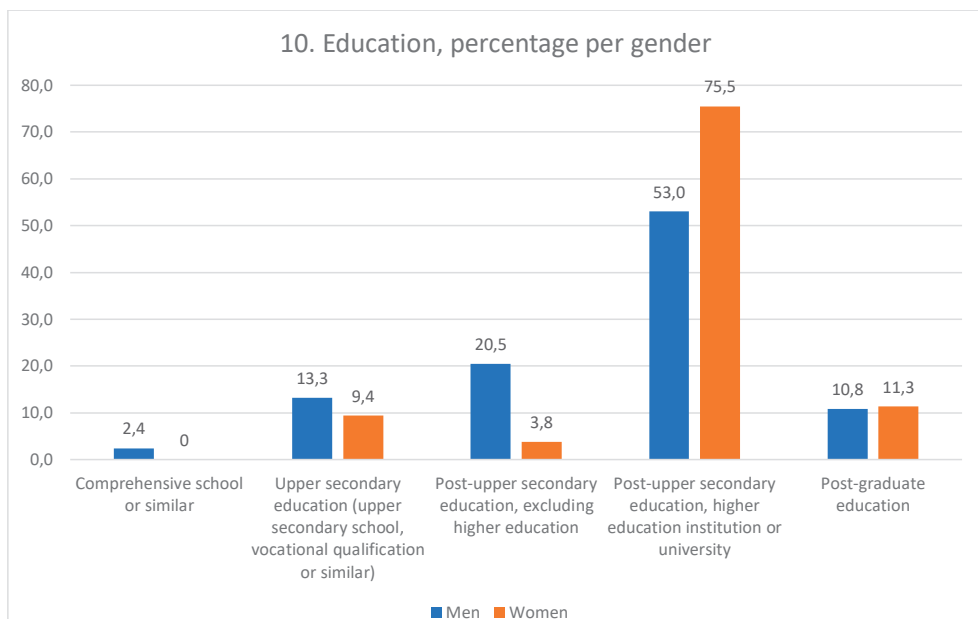
8b. Number of children under the age of 7 living at home. N=131, empty 18		
<i>Children under the age of 7 at home</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>% of respondents</i>
0	106	80.9%
1	19	14.5%
2	6	4.6%
Total	131	100%

9. Are you acting as a caregiver of another loved one? N=134, empty 15		
<i>Position as a caregiver of another loved one</i>	<i>Respondents</i>	<i>% of respondents</i>
Yes	13	9.7%
No	121	90.3%
Total	134	100%



APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

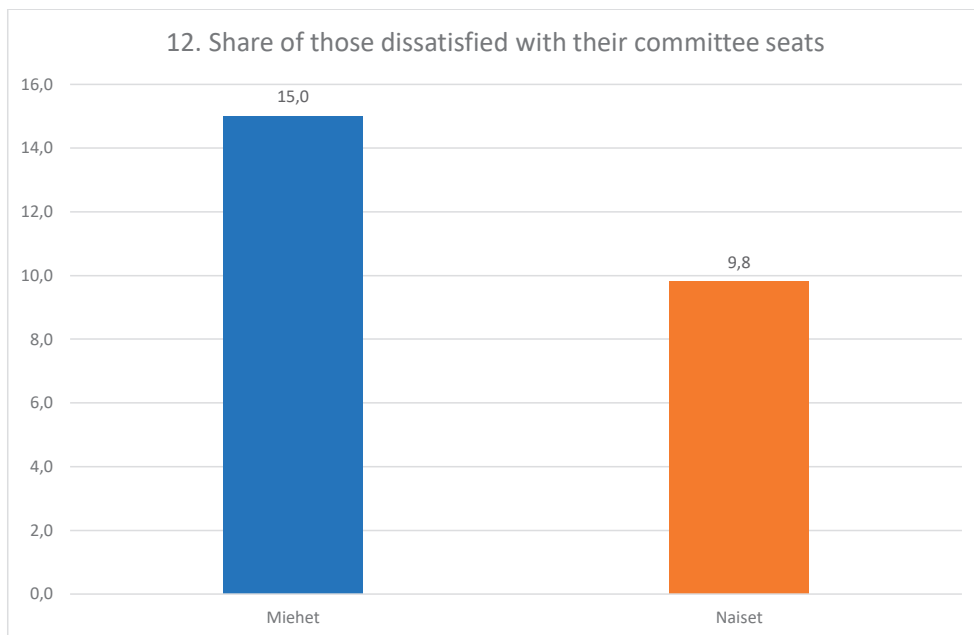
10. Which of the options best describes your education? N=141, empty 8		
Education	Respondents	% of respondents
Upper secondary education (upper secondary school, vocational qualification or similar); or comprehensive school or similar	21	14.9%
Post-upper secondary education, excluding higher education	19	13.5%
Post-upper secondary education, higher education institution or university	85	60.3%
Post-graduate education	16	11.3%
Total	141	100%



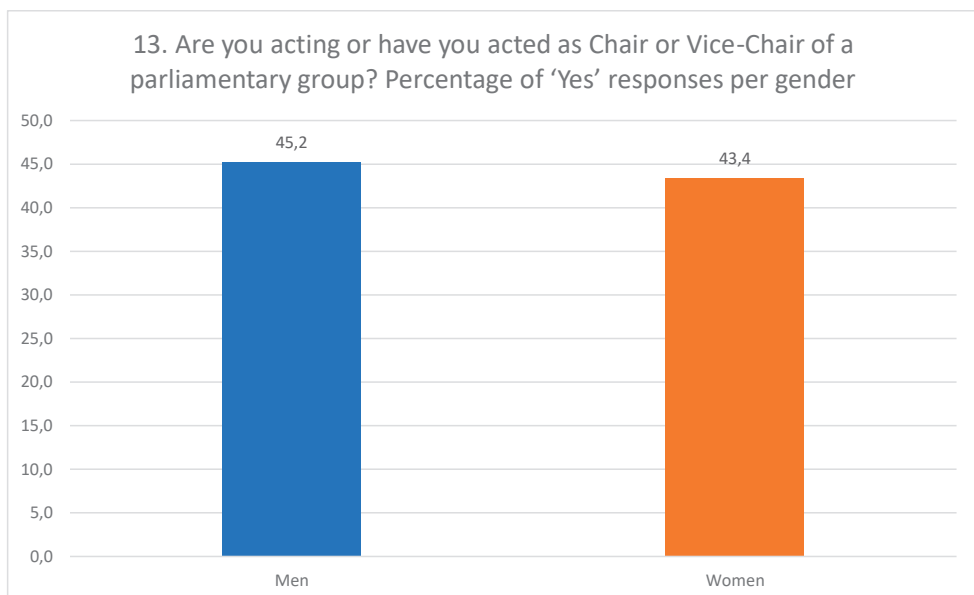
11a. In which committees are you involved at the moment? (Chair, Vice-Chair, member or deputy member)		
11b. In which committees would you like to be involved? You can also select the committee in which you would like to be involved. Please select a maximum of three committees. N=137, empty 12		
	11a. Involved	11b. Would like to be involved
Grand Committee	31	30
Constitutional Law Committee	21	16
Foreign Affairs Committee	17	47
Finance Committee	31	57
Audit Committee	11	9
Administration Committee	22	15
Legal Affairs Committee	16	4
Transport and Communications Committee	21	13
Agriculture and Forestry Committee	21	17
Defence Committee	19	26
Education and Culture Committee	20	25
Social Affairs and Health Committee	22	16
Commerce Committee	16	17
Committee for the Future	17	22
Employment and Equality Committee	18	13
Environment Committee	21	18

EQUALITY IN THE FINNISH PARLIAMENT

12. Are you satisfied with your committee seats? N=140, empty 9	
Yes	No
122	18
87.1%	12.9%



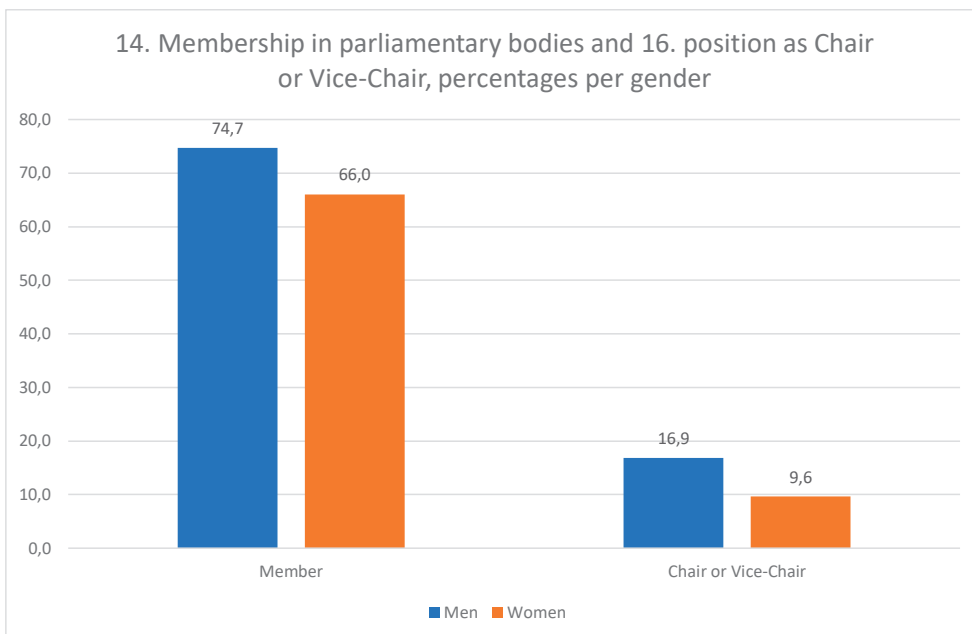
13. Are you acting or have you acted as Chair or Vice-Chair of a parliamentary group? N=144, empty 5	
Yes	No
64	80
44.4%	55.6%



APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

14. At the moment, are you a member appointed by party, Parliament or parliamentary group in a parliamentary body where a separate remuneration is paid in addition to the MP's salary? N=144, empty 5	
Yes	No
101	43
70.1%	29.9%

16. Are you acting as Chair or Vice-Chair in some of the aforementioned parliamentary bodies? N=142, empty 7	
Yes	No
20	122
14.1%	85.9%

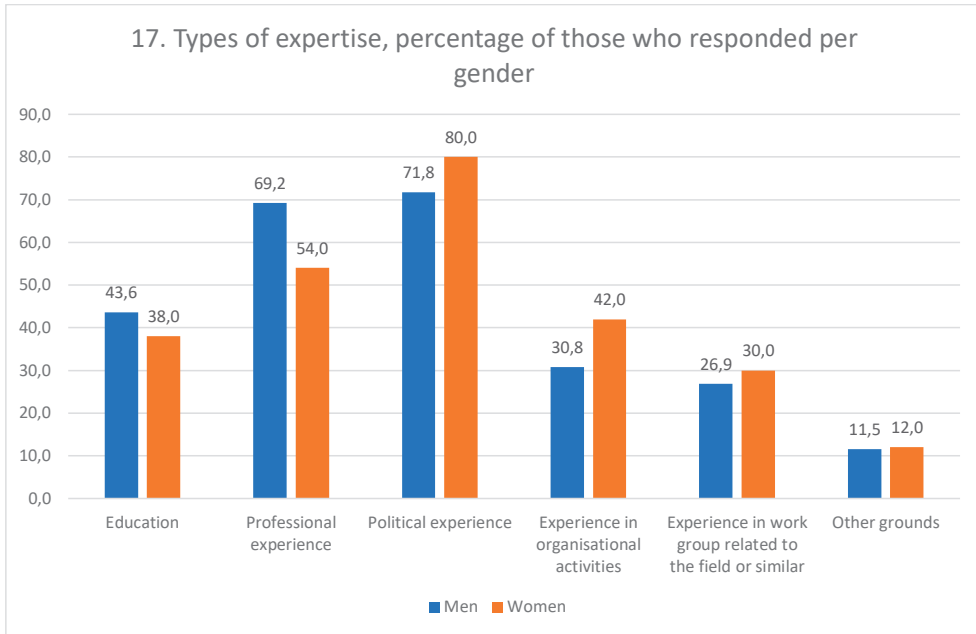


Linear regression, question 14. At the moment, are you a member appointed by party, Parliament or parliamentary group in a parliamentary body where a separate remuneration is paid in addition to the MP's salary? (N = 129)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.869	.021	-.231	.273
Age	.133	-.010	-.023	.003
Years of experience	.164	.015	-.006	.036
Experience as a minister	.001	.553	.221	.885
Education	.973	.003	-.147	.153
Parliamentary group 2	.599	-.091	-.431	.250
Parliamentary group 3	.011	-.729	-1.287	-.170
Parliamentary group 4	.851	-.059	-.673	.556
Parliamentary group 5	.145	-.504	-1.185	.177
Parliamentary group 6	.892	.030	-.405	.465
Parliamentary group 7	.151	-.351	-.832	.130
Parliamentary group 8	.450	-.169	-.610	.272
Parliamentary group 9	.845	-.036	-.403	.330

APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

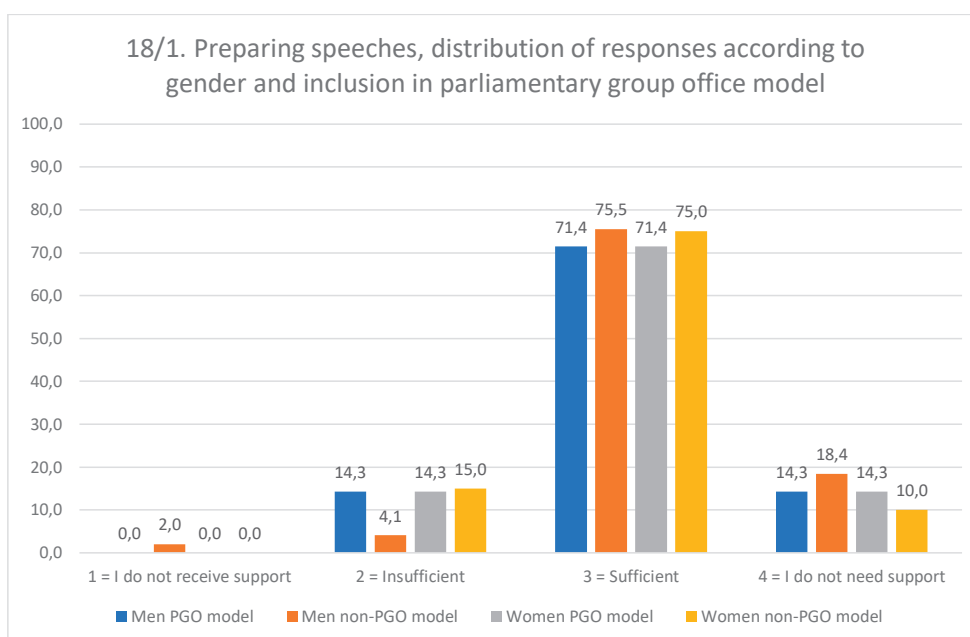
Logistic regression, question 16. Are you acting as Chair or Vice-Chair in some of the aforementioned parliamentary bodies? (N = 129)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.391	1.748	.487	6.271
Age	.584	.984	.927	1.043
Years of experience	.218	.944	.862	1.034
Experience as a minister	.246	.366	.067	2.000
Education	.157	.566	.257	1.244
Parliamentary group 2	.608	.678	.154	2.991
Parliamentary group 3	.388	2.298	.348	15.183
Parliamentary group 4	.999	230133435.491	.000	.
Parliamentary group 5	.810	.710	.044	11.577
Parliamentary group 6	.436	.341	.023	5.109
Parliamentary group 7	.999	351056037.587	.000	.
Parliamentary group 8	.960	1.067	.087	13.124
Parliamentary group 9	.438	.462	.066	3.257

17. What types of special expertise do you possess in relation to the committee seats you currently occupy? Please select a maximum of three options. N=138, empty 11		
	No.	%
Formal education	56	40.6%
Professional experience	86	62.3%
Political experience	102	73.9%
Experience in organisational activities	48	34.8%
Expertise obtained in a working group relevant to the field or in another committee	37	26.8%
Other grounds	17	12.3%

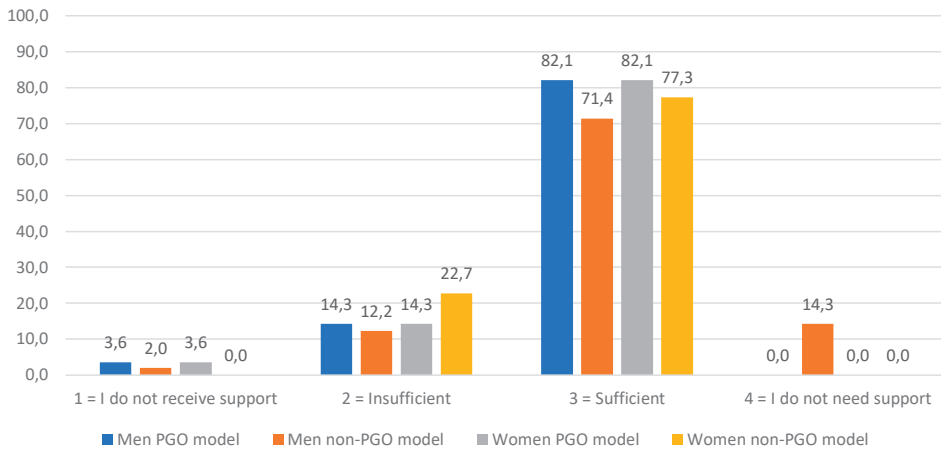


APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

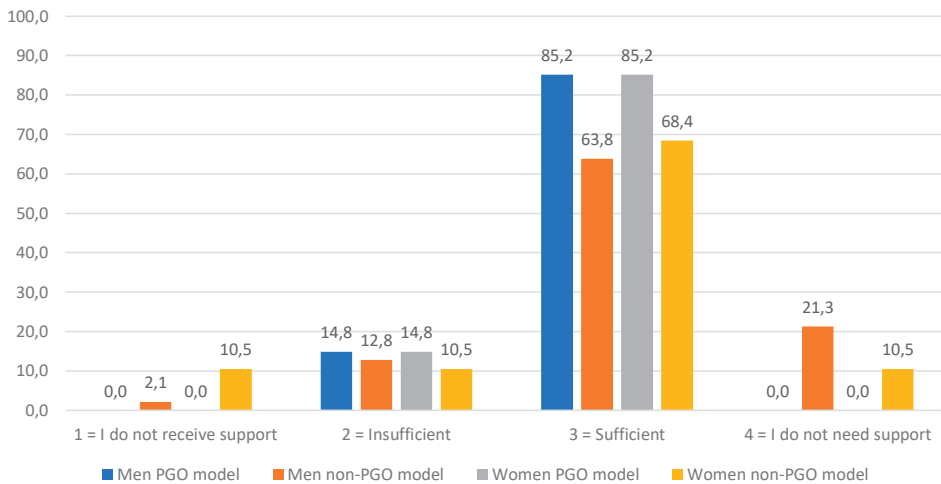
18. In your work as an MP, do you receive support in the following tasks? N=137-143						
	No support	Insufficient	Sufficient	No need	total	empty
Preparing speeches	2	15	101	23	141	8
Familiarity with current affairs	4	25	103	11	143	6
Preparing legislative motions	4	18	100	15	137	12
Preparing protests and diverging opinions	1	10	95	31	137	12
Preparing written questions	3	6	112	20	141	8
Following current affairs and media	2	26	99	14	141	8
Preparing public statements	2	19	102	17	140	9
Meeting various stakeholders and reference groups	1	18	108	15	142	7



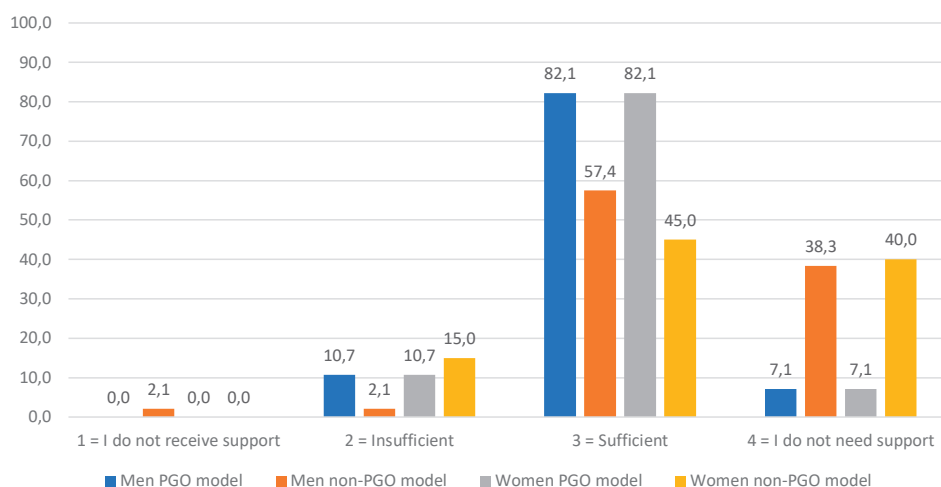
18/2. Familiarity with current affairs, distribution of responses according to gender and inclusion in parliamentary group office model



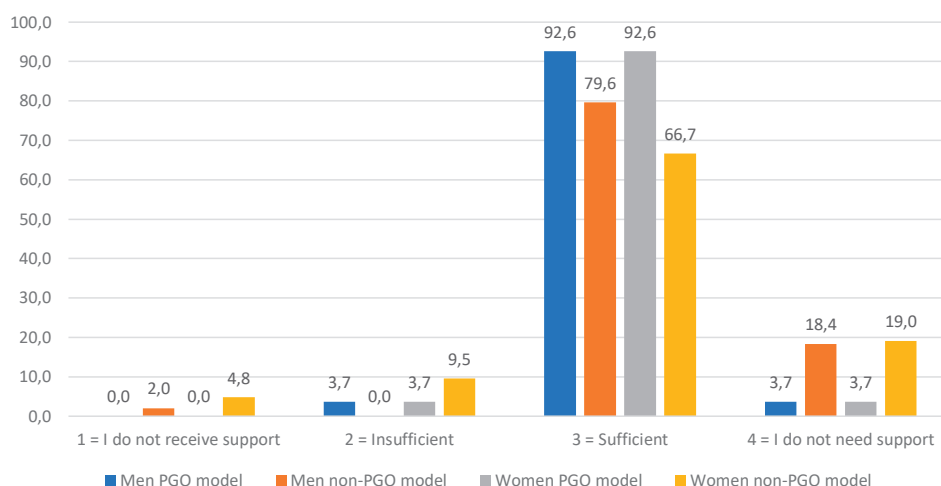
18/3. Preparing legislative motions, distribution of responses according to gender and inclusion in parliamentary group office model



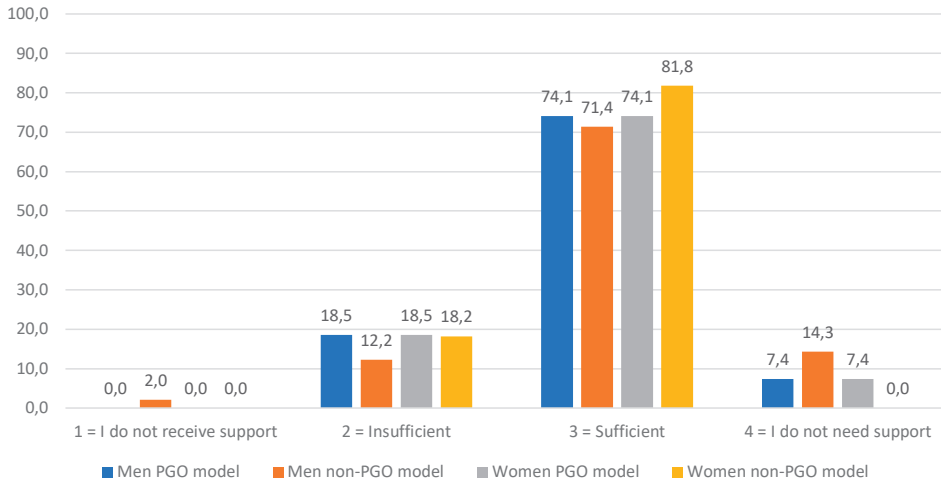
18/4. Preparing protests and diverging opinions, distribution of responses according to gender and inclusion in parliamentary group office model



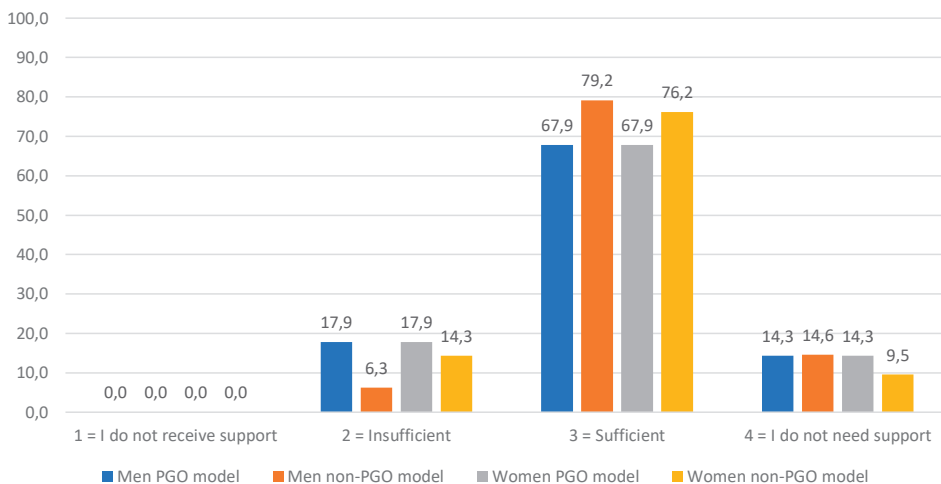
18/5. Preparing written questions, distribution of responses according to gender and inclusion in parliamentary group office model



18/6. Following current affairs and media, distribution of responses according to gender and inclusion in parliamentary group office model

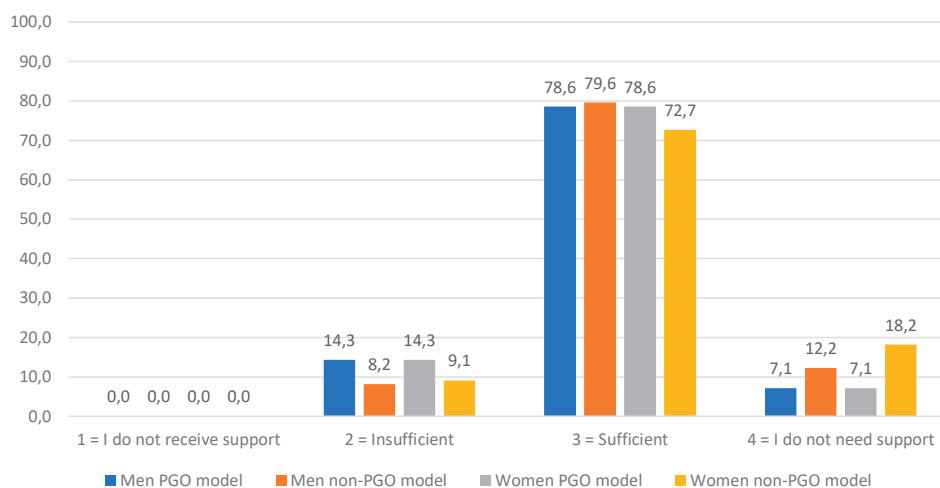


18/7. Preparing public statements, distribution of responses according to gender and inclusion in parliamentary group office model



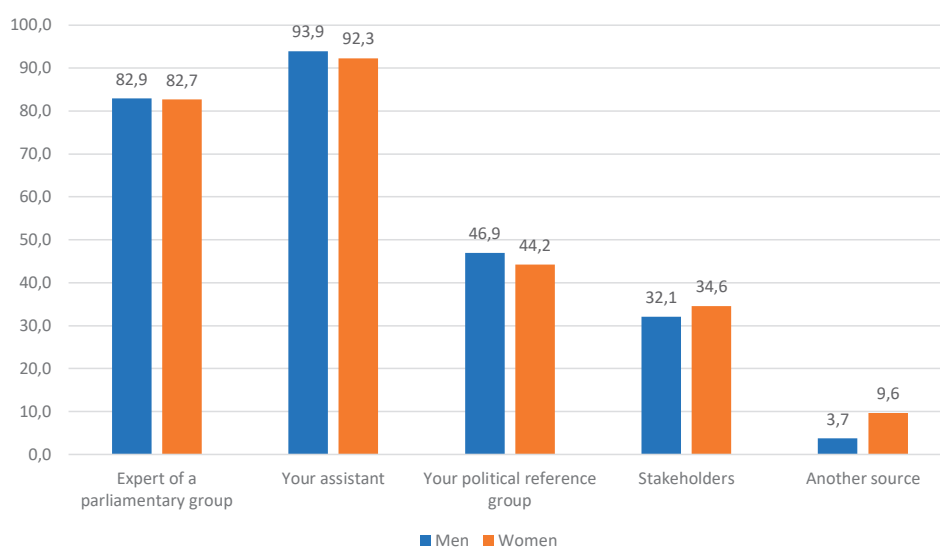
APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

18/8. Meeting various stakeholders and reference groups, distribution of responses according to gender and inclusion in parliamentary group office model



19. From which source did you receive said support for your parliamentary work? N=143–144, empty 5–6		
	No.	%
Expert of a parliamentary group	119	82.6%
Your assistant	135	93.8%
Your political reference group	66	46.2%
Stakeholders	49	34.3%
Another source	10	7.0%

19. From which source did you receive said support for your parliamentary work? Percentage of those who responded out of all respondents per gender.



Logistic regression, question 19/1. Expert of a parliamentary group (N = 129)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.312	.571	.193	1.691
Age	.014	1.076	1.015	1.141
Years of experience	.196	1.058	.971	1.153
Experience as a minister	.235	2.173	.604	7.815
Parliamentary group office model	.740	.843	.308	2.310
Education	.341	1.318	.746	2.328

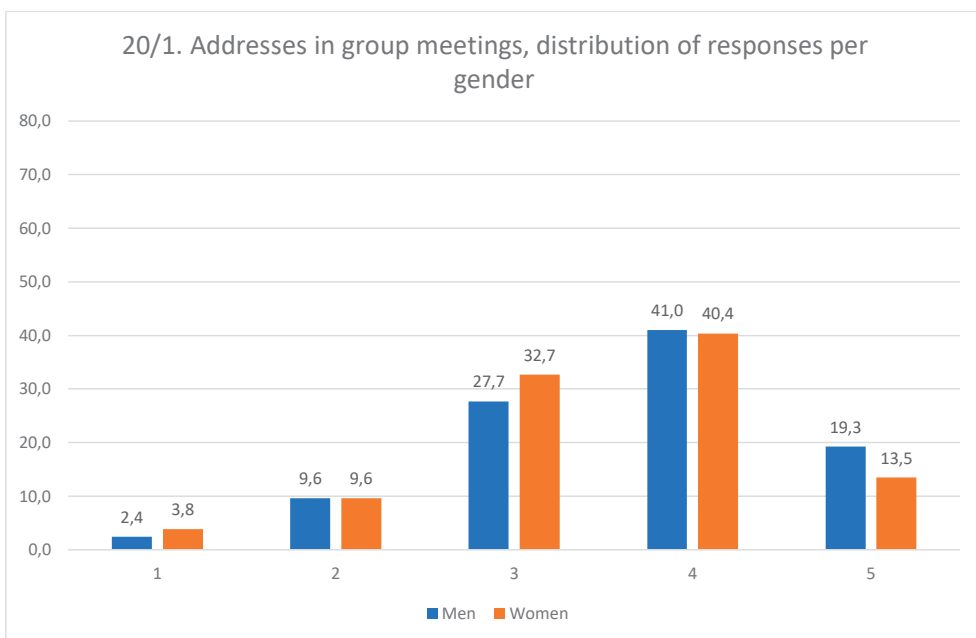
Logistic regression, question 19/2. Your assistant (N = 124)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.502	.590	.126	2.757
Age	.805	1.011	.929	1.099
Years of experience	.285	.940	.838	1.053
Experience as a minister	.259	.249	.022	2.785
Parliamentary group office model	.620	1.455	.330	6.419
Education	.230	1.563	.754	3.243

Logistic regression, question 19/3. Your political reference group (N = 123)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.677	.844	.380	1.874
Age	.007	1.061	1.016	1.107
Years of experience	.337	1.034	.966	1.108
Experience as a minister	.796	.865	.288	2.599
Parliamentary group office model	.164	1.723	.801	3.705
Education	.501	1.174	.736	1.874

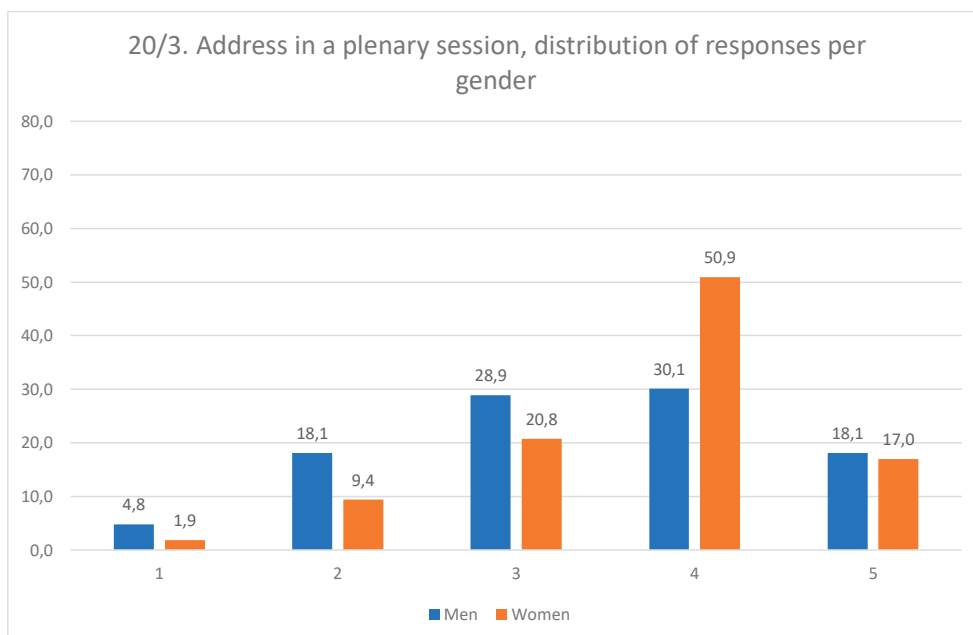
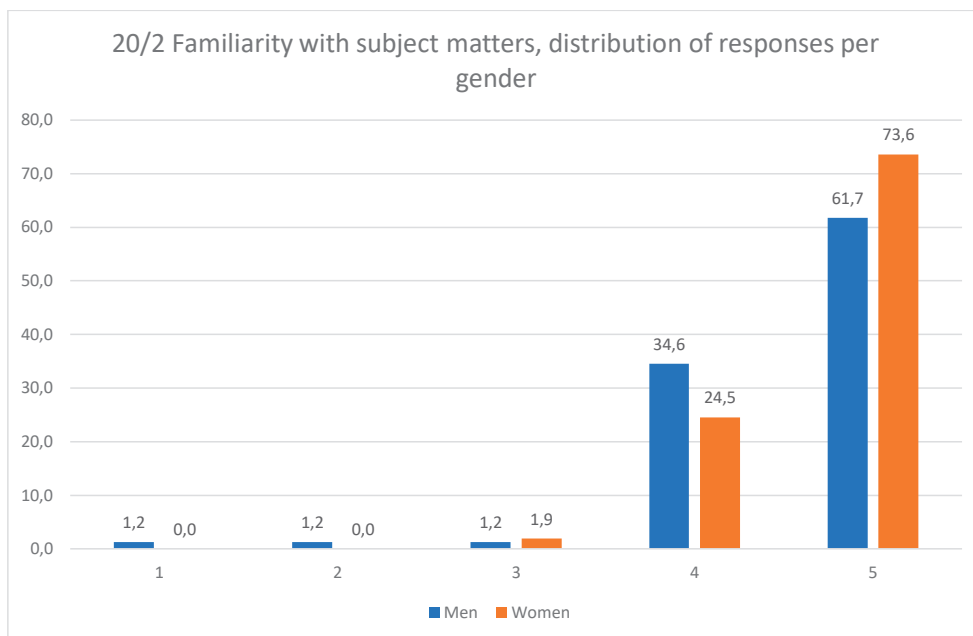
APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

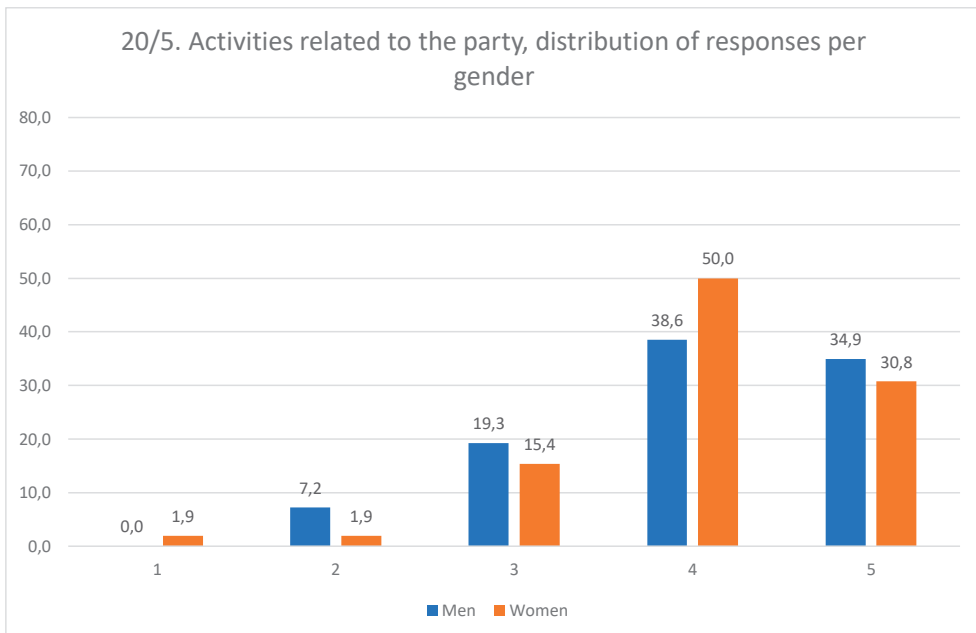
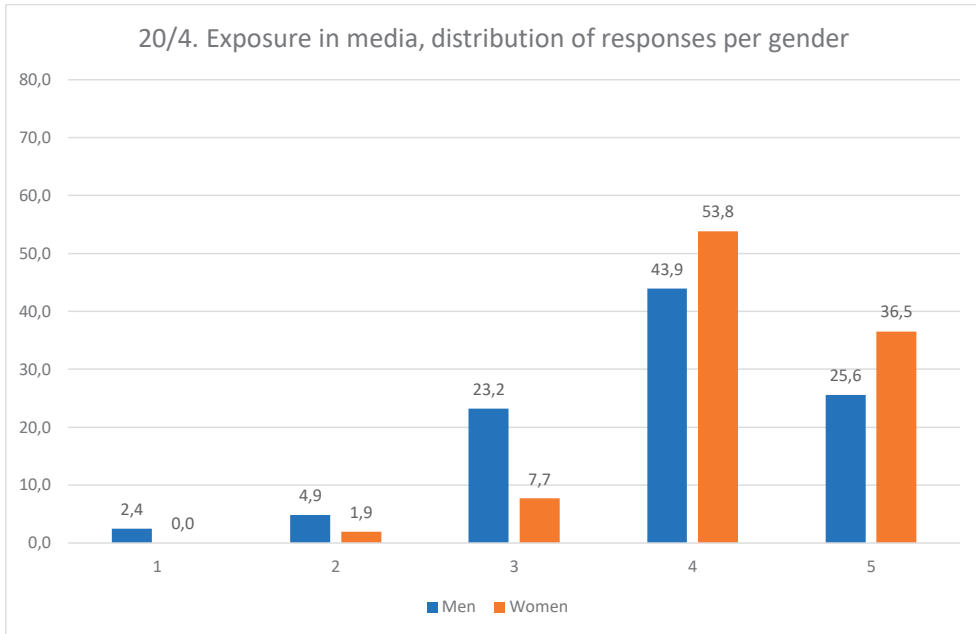
Logistic regression, question 19/4. Stakeholders (N = 123)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.637	1.215	.542	2.724
Age	.448	1.016	.974	1.060
Years of experience	.914	1.004	.934	1.080
Experience as a minister	.365	1.745	.524	5.816
Parliamentary group office model	.658	1.193	.547	2.602
Education	.878	1.038	.646	1.668

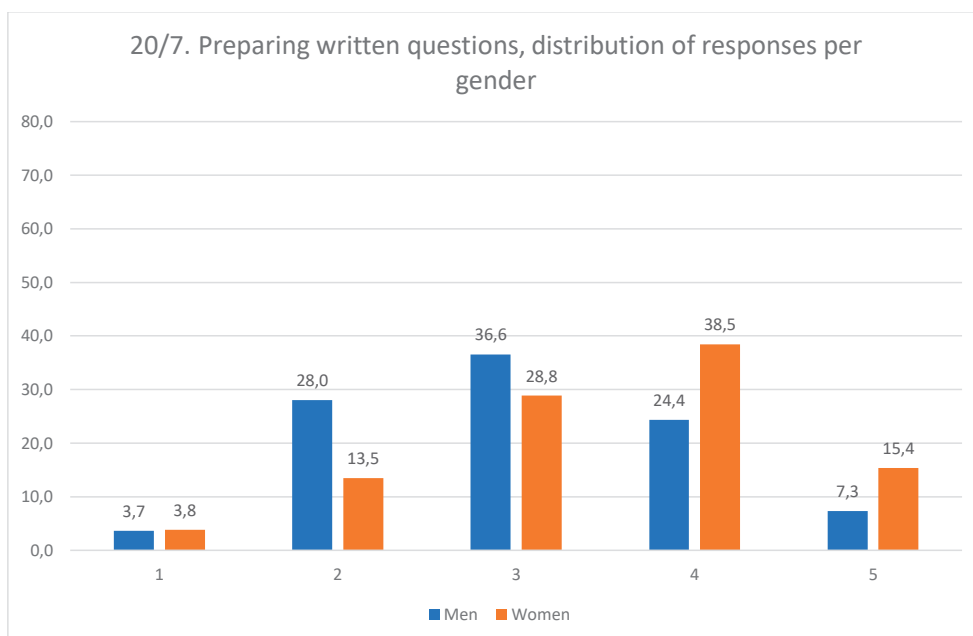
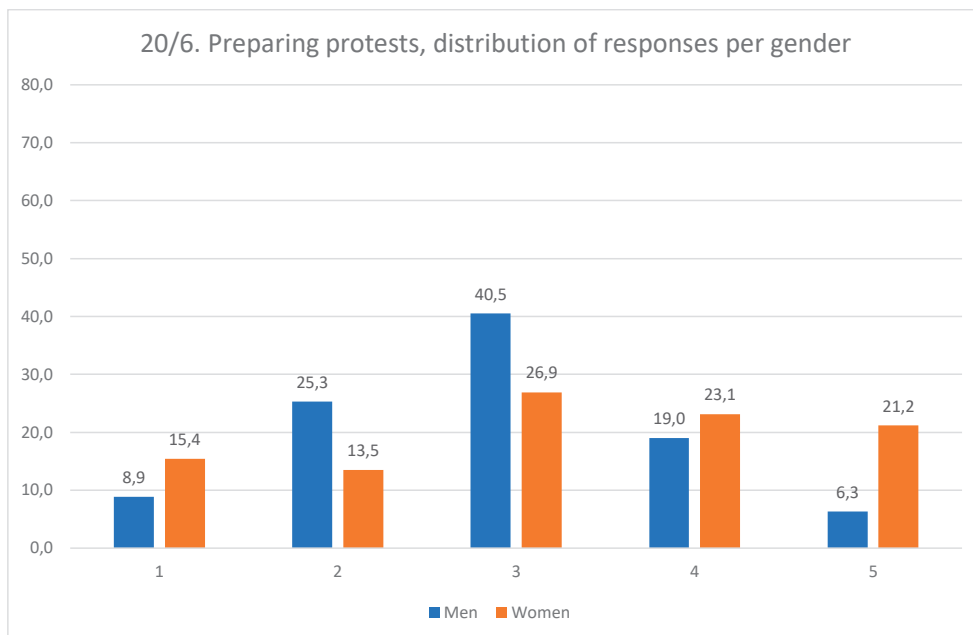
20. How important do you consider the following aspects of parliamentary work?							
N=141–146							
	1 = Not at all important					5 = Extremely important	
	1	2	3	4	5	total	empty
Addresses in parliamentary group meetings	4	13	44	59	25	145	4
Familiarity with subject matters discussed in committee or parliamentary group	1	1	2	43	97	144	5
Taking the floor in a plenary session	5	20	37	59	25	146	3
Exposure in various media	2	5	26	69	42	144	5
Activities supporting the party, promoting the status and politics of the party	1	8	24	62	50	145	4
Preparing protests and diverging opinions	15	29	49	29	19	141	8
Preparing written questions	5	33	47	44	25	144	5
Influencing municipal politics	9	29	37	43	25	143	6
Meeting interest groups and civic organisations	1	17	30	67	30	145	4
Interaction with voters	1	1	4	33	106	145	4

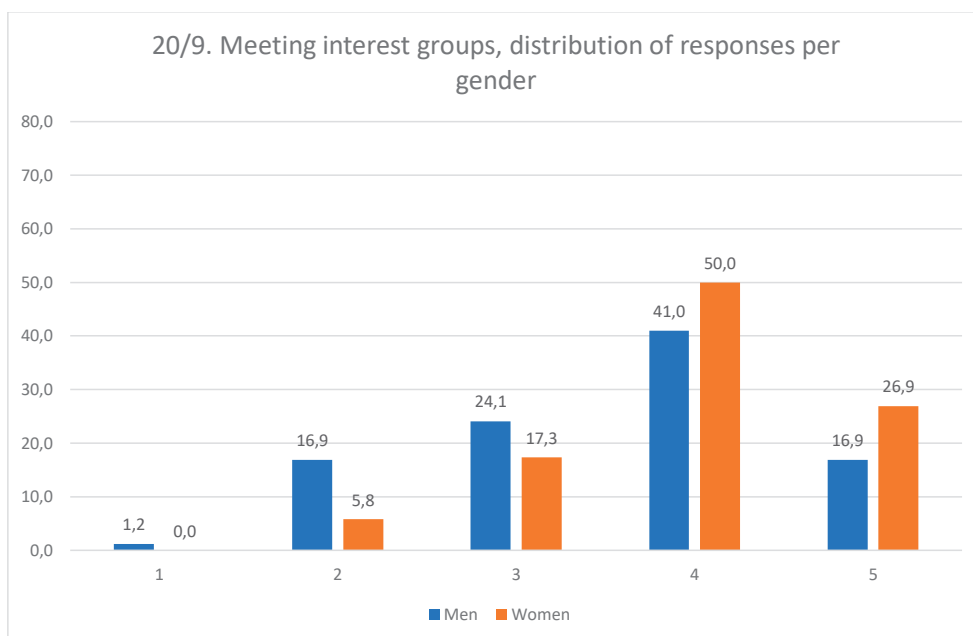
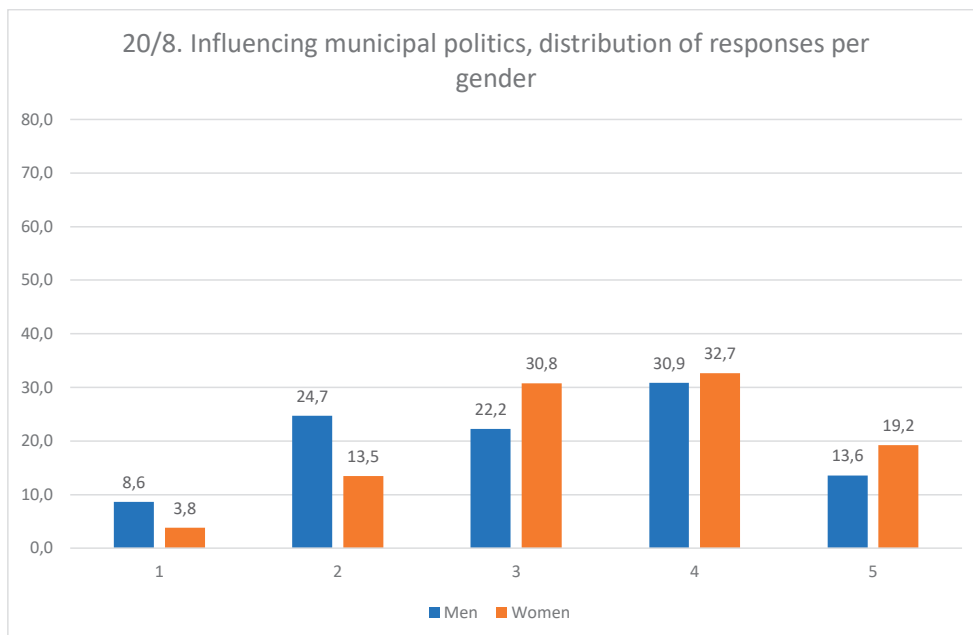


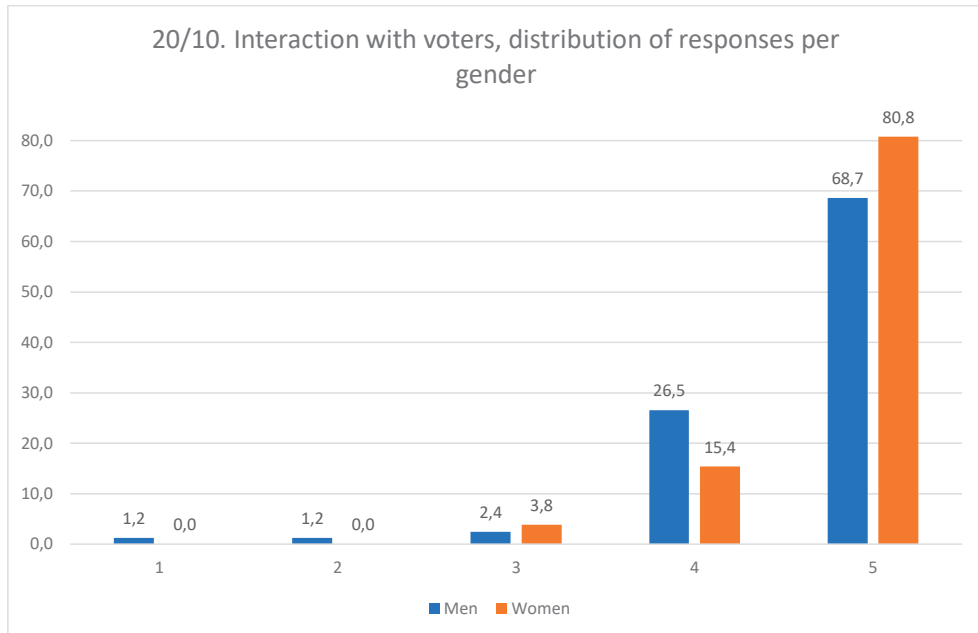
APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION



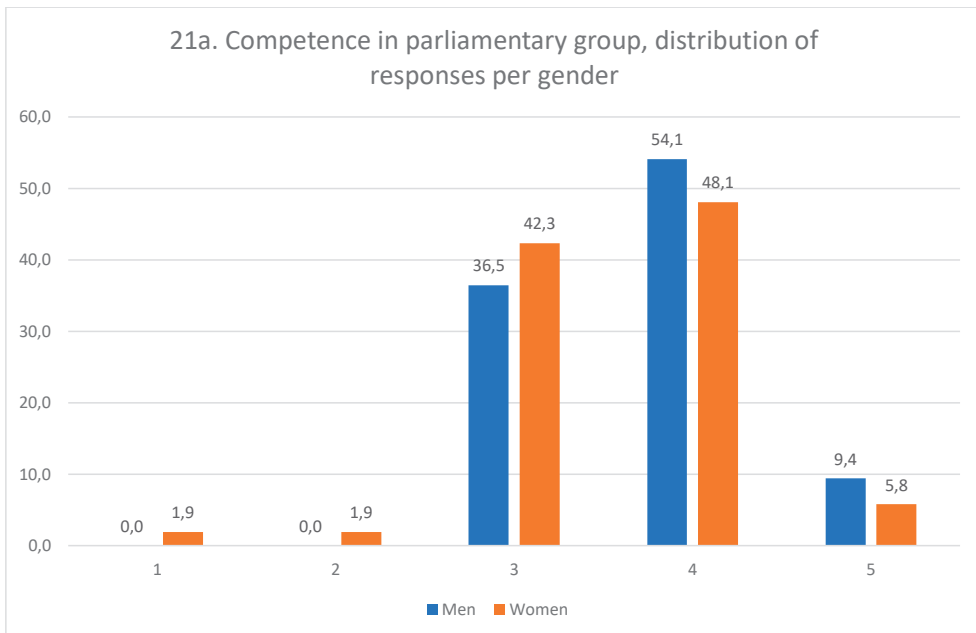








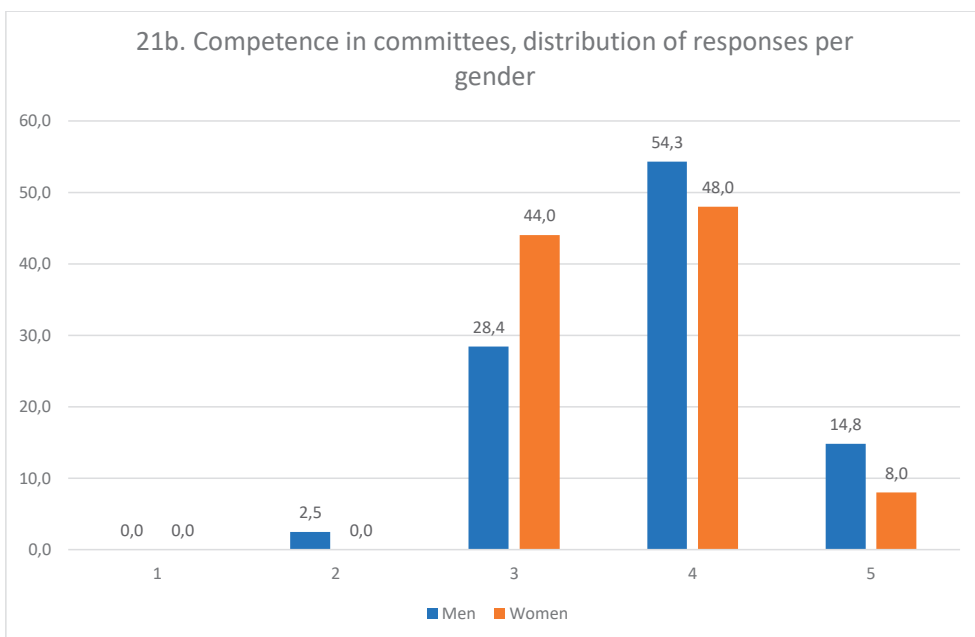
21.a How would you personally assess your political experience and competence compared to other MPs in the parliamentary group? N=147, empty 2, respondent's gender unknown=10					
1 = Considerably lower		5 = Considerably higher			
All respondents					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	1	57	75	13	147
0.7%	0.7%	38.8%	51.0%	8.8%	100%
Men					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	0	31	46	8	85
0%	0%	36.5%	54.1%	9.4%	100%
Women					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	1	22	25	3	52
1.9%	1.9%	42.3%	48.1%	5.8%	100%



APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

Linear regression, question 21.a How would you personally assess your political experience and competence compared to other MPs in the parliamentary group? (N = 129)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.143	-.176	-.412	.060
Age	.389	-.005	-.017	.007
Years of experience	.001	.030	.012	.048
Education	.144	.105	-.036	.246
Parliamentary group 2	.093	.280	-.047	.608
Parliamentary group 3	.095	.455	-.080	.990
Parliamentary group 4	.060	.522	-.023	1.066
Parliamentary group 5	.068	.607	-.046	1.260
Parliamentary group 6	.110	.339	-.078	.756
Parliamentary group 7	.911	.026	-.434	.486
Parliamentary group 8	.022	.497	.074	.920
Parliamentary group 9	.886	-.025	-.375	.324

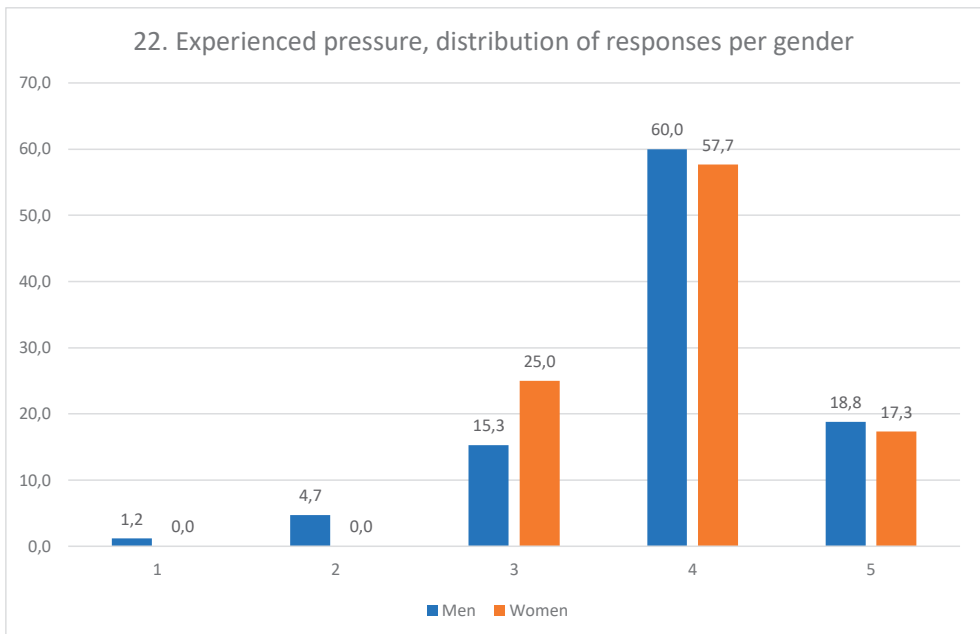
21.b How would you personally assess your political experience and competence compared to other MPs in committees? N=141, empty 8, respondent's gender unknown=10						
1 = Considerably lower					5 = Considerably higher	
All respondents						
1	2	3	4	5	Total	
0	2	46	77	16	141	
0.7%	2.7%	18.4%	59.9%	18.4%	100%	
Men						
1	2	3	4	5	Total	
0	2	23	44	12	81	
0%	2.5%	28.4%	54.3%	14.8%	100%	
Women						
1	2	3	4	5	Total	
0	0	22	24	4	50	
0%	0%	44.0%	48.0%	8.0%	100%	



APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

Linear regression, question 21.b How would you personally assess your political experience and competence compared to other MPs in committees? (N = 129)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.176	-.182	-.445	.082
Age	.019	-.016	-.030	-.003
Years of experience	.629	.005	-.015	.025
Education	.031	.176	.016	.336
Parliamentary group 2	.920	-.019	-.386	.348
Parliamentary group 3	.411	.246	-.345	.837
Parliamentary group 4	.864	-.052	-.653	.549
Parliamentary group 5	.544	-.221	-.939	.497
Parliamentary group 6	.266	.261	-.202	.723
Parliamentary group 7	.283	-.277	-.784	.231
Parliamentary group 8	.957	-.014	-.513	.486
Parliamentary group 9	.790	.053	-.341	.448

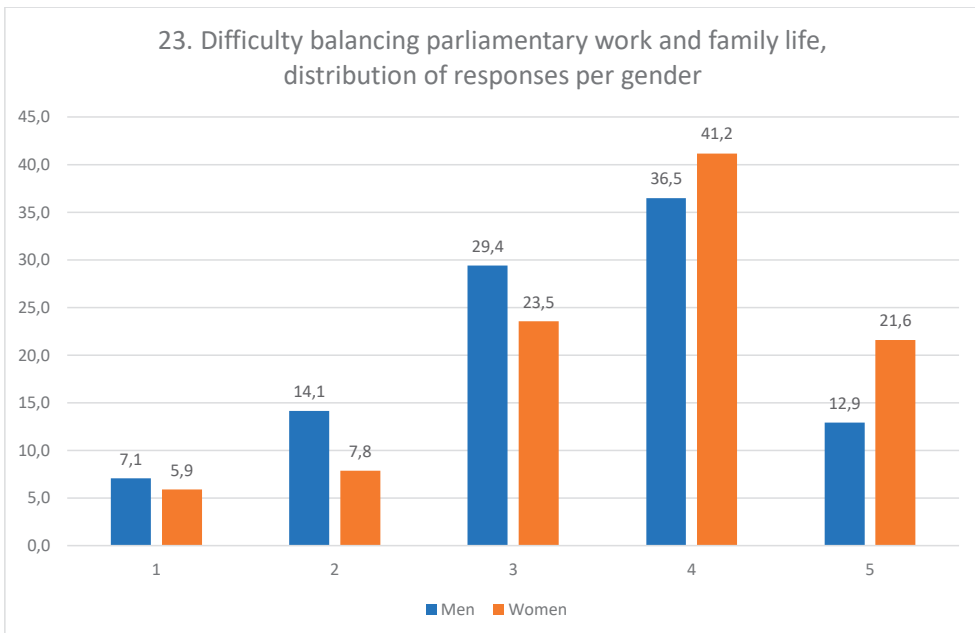
22. How do you feel about the demands, pressure and expectations directed at you as MP? N=147, empty 2, respondent's gender unknown=10					
1 = Extremely low			5 = Extremely high		
All respondents					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	4	27	88	27	147
0.7%	2.7%	18.4%	59.9%	18.4%	100%
Men					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	4	13	51	16	85
1.2%	4.8%	15.5%	59.9%	19.0%	100%
Women					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	0	13	30	9	52
0	0	25.0%	57.7%	17.3%	100%



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Linear regression, question 22. Experience of demands, pressure and expectations as MP (N = 117)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.377	.141	-.175	.456
Year of birth	.331	.009	-.009	.027
Years of experience	.446	.009	-.015	.034
Children living at home, no.	.345	-.058	-.179	.063
Under the age of 7, no.	.824	-.035	-.349	.278
Position as a caregiver of a loved one	.659	.112	-.390	.614
Education	.506	.068	-.133	.268
Distance under 100	.293	.214	-.188	.617
Distance 100–200	.969	-.007	-.360	.345
Parliamentary group 2	.269	-.254	-.706	.199
Parliamentary group 3	.933	-.032	-.792	.728
Parliamentary group 4	.641	.188	-.611	.987
Parliamentary group 5	.988	.006	-.822	.834
Parliamentary group 6	.207	-.351	-.900	.197
Parliamentary group 7	.536	-.206	-.862	.451
Parliamentary group 8	.467	.204	-.349	.757
Parliamentary group 9	.230	-.299	-.791	.193

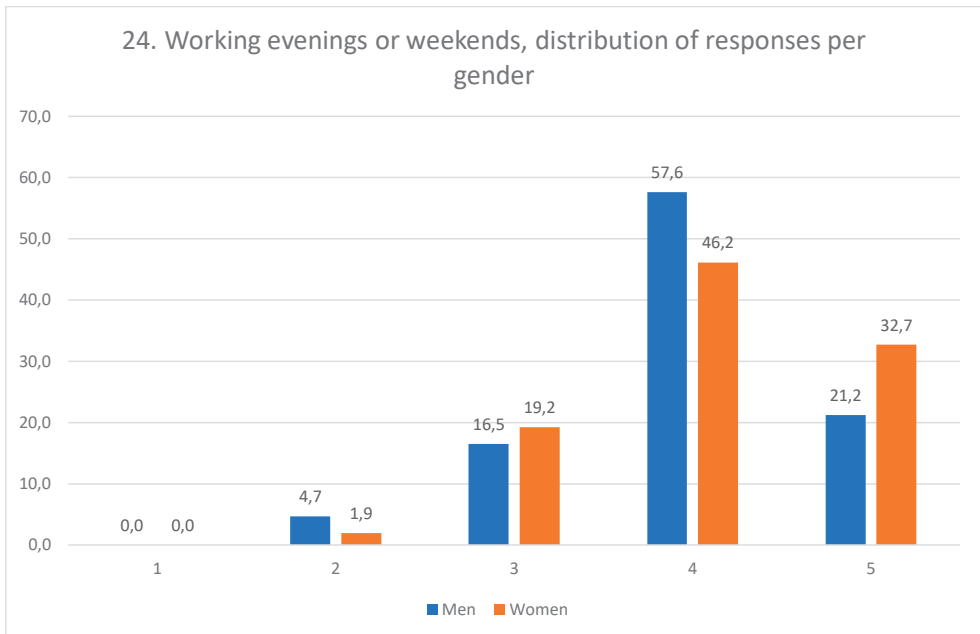
23. Do you find it difficult to balance parliamentary work and family life? N=146, empty 3, respondent's gender unknown=10					
1 = Very rarely			5 = Very often		
All respondents					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
10	18	38	55	25	146
6.9%	12.3%	26.0%	37.7%	17.1%	100%
Men					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
6	12	25	31	11	85
7.1%	14.1%	29.4%	36.5%	12.9%	100%
Women					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
3	4	12	21	11	51
5.9%	7.8%	23.5%	41.2%	21.6%	100%



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Linear regression, question 23. Do you find it difficult to balance parliamentary work and family life? (N = 116)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.984	.004	-.401	.409
Year of birth	.061	.022	-.001	.045
Years of experience	.978	.000	-.032	.031
Children living at home, no.	.010	.206	.050	.362
Under the age of 7, no.	.600	.107	-.296	.509
Position as a caregiver of a loved one	.151	-.469	-1.112	.174
Education	.055	.252	-.006	.509
Distance under 100	.077	-.467	-.984	.051
Distance 100–200	.278	-.250	-.705	.205
Parliamentary group 2	.353	.276	-.311	.863
Parliamentary group 3	.464	.360	-.613	1.334
Parliamentary group 4	.109	-.836	-1.862	.190
Parliamentary group 5	.505	.358	-.703	1.418
Parliamentary group 6	.116	.562	-.140	1.265
Parliamentary group 7	.704	.161	-.680	1.003
Parliamentary group 8	.726	.125	-.349	.757
Parliamentary group 9	.972	-.011	-.791	.193

24. Do you often need to attend meetings or work in the evenings or at weekends? N=147, empty 2					
1 = Very rarely			5 = Very often		
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	5	24	79	39	147
0%	3.4%	16.3%	53.7%	26.5%	100%
Men					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	4	14	49	18	85
0%	4.7%	16.5%	57.6%	21.2%	100%
Women					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	1	10	24	17	52
0.0%	1.9%	19.2%	46.2%	32.7%	100%



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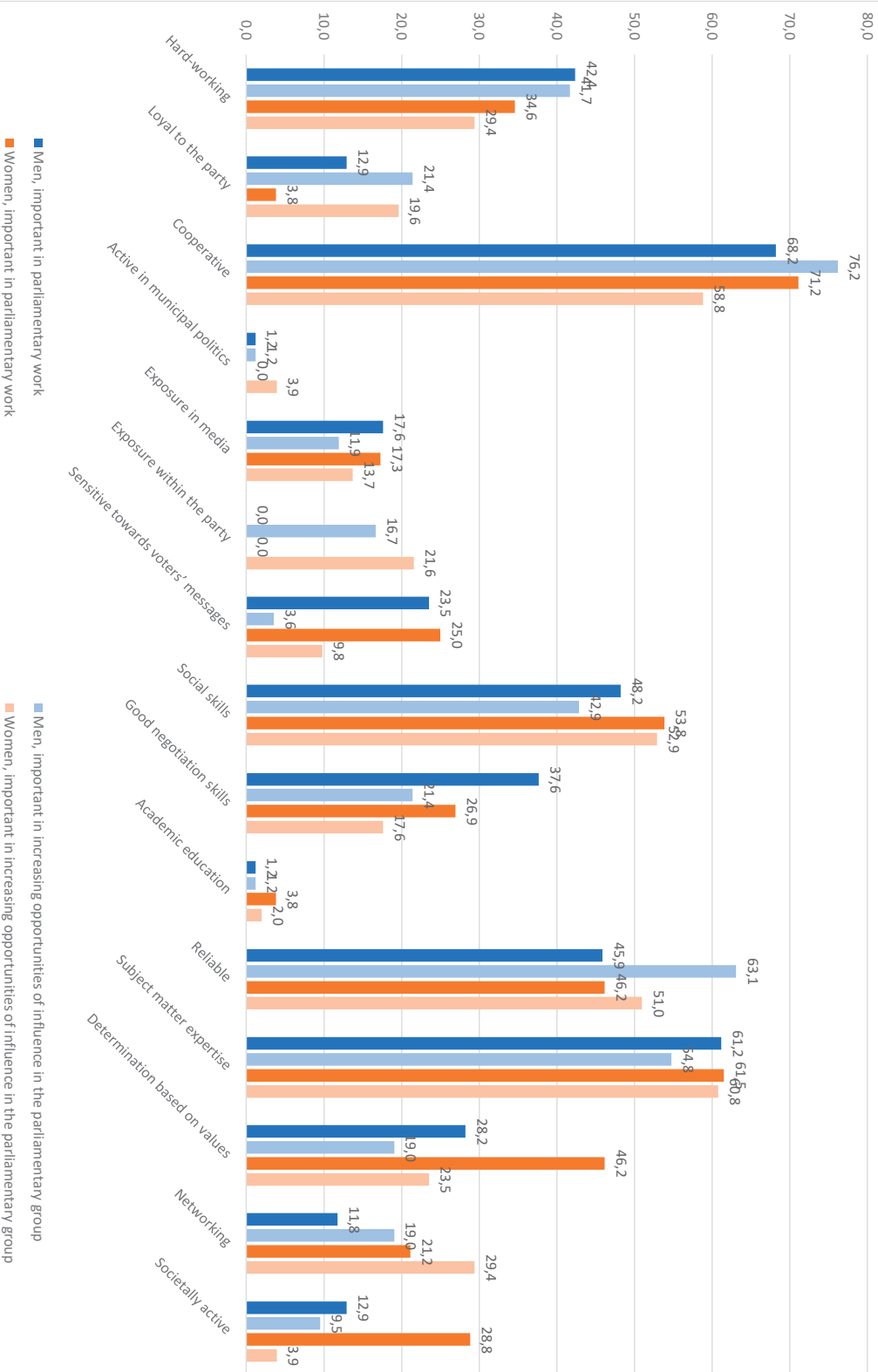
Linear regression, question 24. Do you often need to attend meetings or work in the evenings or at weekends? (N = 116)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.501	-.106	-.025	.010
Year of birth	.421	-.007	-.034	.014
Years of experience	.400	-.010	-.072	.166
Children living at home, no.	.436	.047	-.281	.335
Under the age of 7, no.	.862	.027	-.245	.740
Position as a caregiver of a loved one	.321	.248	-.016	.378
Education	.071	.181	-.441	.348
Distance under 100	.817	-.046	-.514	.178
Distance 100–200	.338	-.168	-.235	.661
Parliamentary group 2	.347	.213	-.222	1.275
Parliamentary group 3	.166	.527	-.644	.923
Parliamentary group 4	.725	.140	-.164	1.466
Parliamentary group 5	.116	.651	-.329	.751
Parliamentary group 6	.440	.211	-.711	.581
Parliamentary group 7	.842	-.065	-.794	.294
Parliamentary group 8	.364	-.250	-.255	.715
Parliamentary group 9	.348	.230	-.791	.193

26. Which of the following, in your opinion, are important characteristics in parliamentary work? Please select four most important characteristics. N=147, empty 2, gender unknown=10						
	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>		<i>All</i>	
	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>
Hard-working	36	42.4	18	34.6	58	39.5
Loyal to the party	11	12.9	2	3.8	14	9.5
Cooperative	58	68.2	37	71.2	102	69.4
Active in municipal politics	1	1.2	0	0	1	0.7
Exposure in media	15	17.6	9	17.3	25	17.0
Exposure within the party	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
Sensitive towards voters' messages	20	23.5	13	25.0	35	23.8
Social skills	41	48.2	28	53.8	71	48.3
Good negotiation skills	32	37.6	14	26.9	49	33.3
Academic education	1	1.2	2	3.8	4	2.7
Reliable	39	45.9	24	46.2	69	46.9
Subject matter expertise	52	61.2	32	61.5	90	61.2
Determination based on values	24	28.2	24	46.2	49	33.3
Networking	10	11.8	11	21.2	23	15.6
Societally active	11	12.9	15	28.8	29	19.7

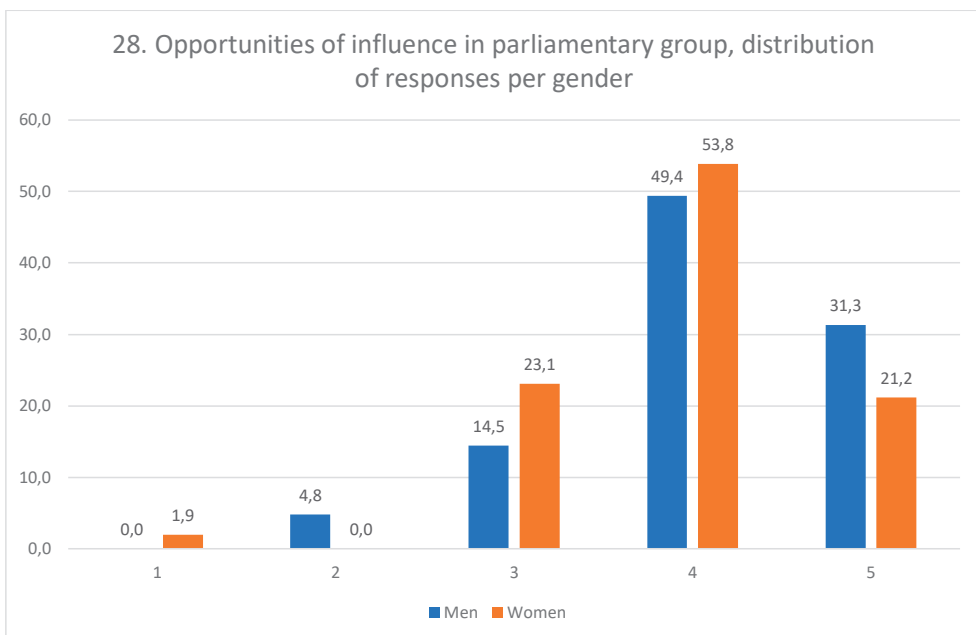
27. Which of the following characteristics do you consider most important for increasing an MP's opportunities of influence within your parliamentary group? Please select the four most important characteristics. N=144, empty 5, gender unknown=10						
	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>		<i>All</i>	
	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>no.</i>	<i>%</i>
Hard-working	35	41.7	15	29.4	55	38.2
Loyal to the party	18	21.4	10	19.6	28	19.4
Cooperative	64	76.2	30	58.8	100	69.4
Active in municipal politics	1	1.2	2	3.9	3	2.1
Exposure in media	10	11.9	7	13.7	17	11.8
Exposure within the party	14	16.7	11	21.6	26	18.1
Sensitive towards voters' messages	3	3.6	5	9.8	8	5.6
Social skills	36	42.9	27	52.9	66	45.8
Good negotiation skills	18	21.4	9	17.6	30	20.8
Academic education	1	1.2	1	2.0	2	1.4
Reliable	53	63.1	26	51.0	86	59.7
Subject matter expertise	46	54.8	31	60.8	82	56.9
Determination based on values	16	19.0	12	23.5	29	20.1
Networking	16	19.0	15	29.4	35	24.3
Societally active	8	9.5	2	3.9	12	8.3

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26. and 27. Which characteristics are important, percentage of those who responded out of all respondents per gender.



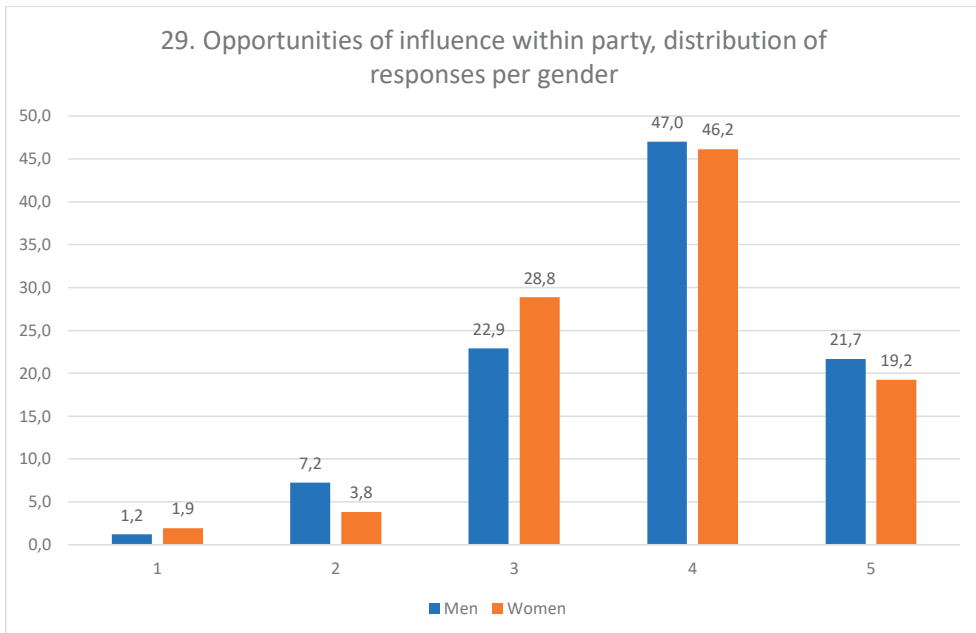
28. How would you evaluate your opportunities of influencing the position of your parliamentary group in various issues? N=145, empty 4, respondent's gender unknown=10					
1 = Extremely poor good					5 = Extremely
All respondents					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
2	4	25	74	40	145
1.4%	2.8%	17.2%	51.0%	27.6%	100%
Men					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	4	12	41	26	83
0.0%	4.8%	14.5%	49.4%	31.3%	100%
Women					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	0	12	28	11	52
1.9%	0.0%	23.1%	53.8%	21.2%	100%



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Linear regression, question 28. How would you evaluate your opportunities of influencing the position of your parliamentary group in various issues? (N = 126)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.680	-.064	-.372	.243
Age	.388	.007	-.009	.024
Years of experience	.689	-.005	-.031	.021
Experience as a minister	.004	-.599	-1.007	-.190
Education	.478	-.065	-.246	.116
Parliamentary group 2	.180	-.285	-.704	.134
Parliamentary group 3	.851	.064	-.606	.733
Parliamentary group 4	.096	.626	-.113	1.364
Parliamentary group 5	.625	-.202	-1.017	.614
Parliamentary group 6	.121	.411	-.110	.932
Parliamentary group 7	.329	.285	-.291	.861
Parliamentary group 8	.662	.117	-.412	.646
Parliamentary group 9	.880	-.034	-.479	.411

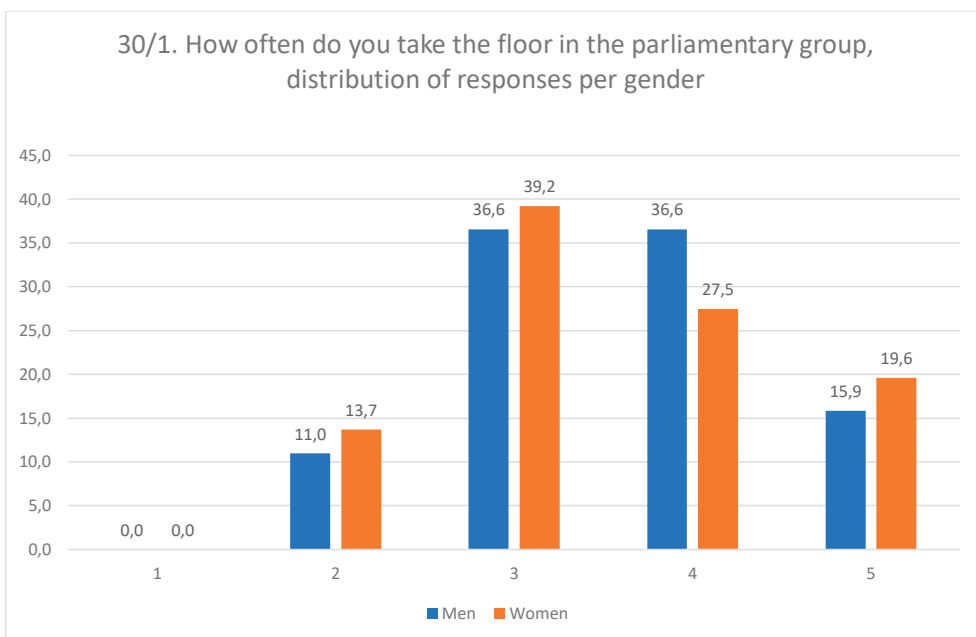
29. How would you evaluate your opportunities of influencing the agenda and policies of your parliamentary group? N=145, empty 4, respondent's gender unknown=10					
1 = Extremely poor good			5 = Extremely		
All respondents					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
3	8	37	68	29	145
2.1%	5.5%	25.5%	46.9%	20.0%	100%
Men					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	6	19	39	18	83
1.2%	7.2%	22.9%	47.0%	21.7%	100%
Women					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	2	15	24	10	52
1.9%	3.8%	28.8%	46.2%	19.2%	100%



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Linear regression, question 29. How would you evaluate your opportunities of influencing the agenda and policies of your parliamentary group? (N = 126)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.927	-.016	-.365	.332
Age	.568	.005	-.013	.024
Years of experience	.076	-.027	-.056	.003
Experience as a minister	.005	-.663	-1.126	-.200
Education	.453	-.078	-.284	.127
Parliamentary group 2	.710	-.089	-.564	.385
Parliamentary group 3	.353	.357	-.402	1.116
Parliamentary group 4	.217	.524	-.313	1.361
Parliamentary group 5	.471	.338	-.587	1.262
Parliamentary group 6	.224	.365	-.226	.955
Parliamentary group 7	.277	.360	-.293	1.013
Parliamentary group 8	.468	.221	-.379	.821
Parliamentary group 9	.250	.294	-.210	.798

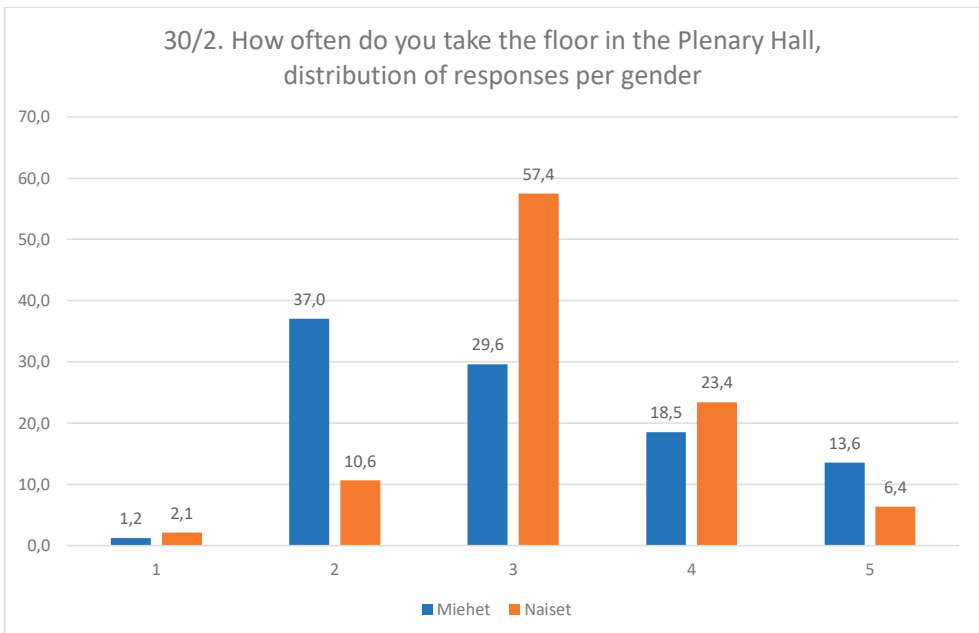
30/1. How often do you take the floor compared to the other MPs present in the parliamentary group? N=143, empty 6, respondent's gender unknown=10					
1 = Never		5 = Very often			
All respondents					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	16	54	49	24	143
0.0%	11.2%	37.8%	34.3%	16.8%	100%
Men					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	9	30	30	13	82
0.0%	11.0%	36.6%	36.6%	15.9%	100%
Women					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	7	20	14	10	51
0.0%	13.7%	39.2%	27.5%	19.6%	100%



APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

Linear regression, question 30/1. How often do you take the floor compared to the other MPs present in the parliamentary group? (N = 124)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.444	-.150	-.536	.237
Age	.263	.012	-.009	.032
Years of experience	.298	.017	-.015	.050
Experience as a minister	.599	-.137	-.650	.377
Education	.379	.102	-.126	.330
Parliamentary group 2	.291	.279	-.242	.800
Parliamentary group 3	.122	.655	-.178	1.489
Parliamentary group 4	.584	.255	-.666	1.177
Parliamentary group 5	.269	.570	-.446	1.585
Parliamentary group 6	.277	.370	-.300	1.039
Parliamentary group 7	.173	.497	-.220	1.214
Parliamentary group 8	.216	.426	-.252	1.105
Parliamentary group 9	.128	.429	-.125	.983

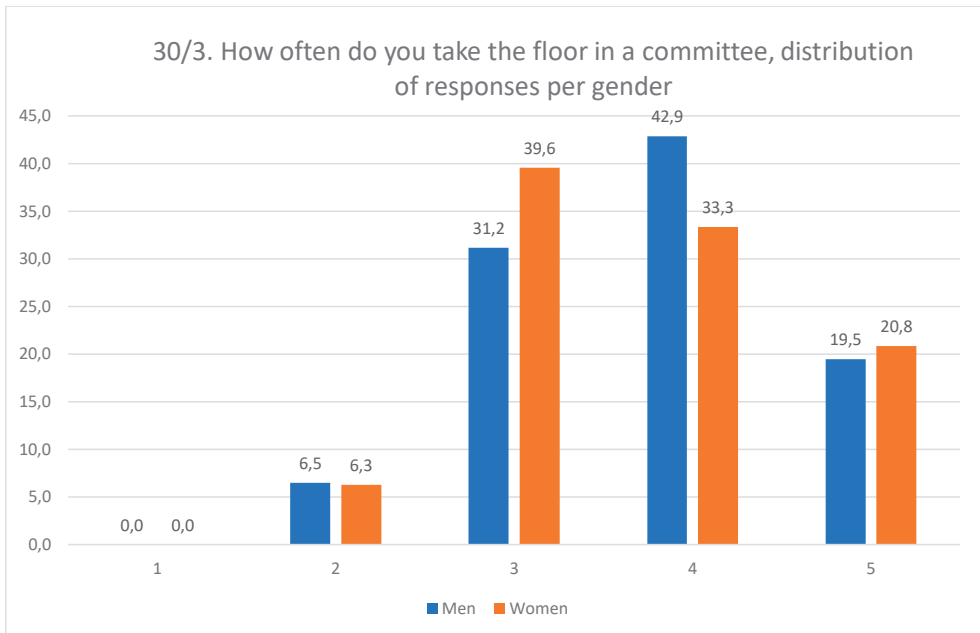
30/2. How often do you take the floor compared to the other MPs present in the Plenary Hall? N=138, empty 11, respondent's gender unknown=10					
1 = Never			5 = Very often		
All respondents					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
2	38	56	28	14	138
1.5%	27.5%	40.6%	20.3%	10.1%	100%
Men					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	30	24	15	11	81
1.2%	37.0%	29.6%	18.5%	13.6%	100%
Women					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	5	27	11	3	47
2.1%	10.6%	57.4%	23.4%	6.4%	100%



APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

Linear regression, question 30/2. How often do you take the floor compared to the other MPs present in the Plenary Hall? (N = 119)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.942	.015	-.392	.422
Age	.793	.003	-.019	.024
Years of experience	.971	.001	-.034	.035
Experience as a minister	.037	-.590	-1.144	-.035
Education	.225	.146	-.091	.383
Parliamentary group 2	.729	.098	-.461	.657
Parliamentary group 3	.311	.444	-.421	1.309
Parliamentary group 4	.181	-.649	-1.604	.306
Parliamentary group 5	.079	.942	-.110	1.995
Parliamentary group 6	.753	.111	-.586	.807
Parliamentary group 7	.979	-.010	-.757	.737
Parliamentary group 8	.422	.278	-.406	.963
Parliamentary group 9	.317	-.299	-.890	.291

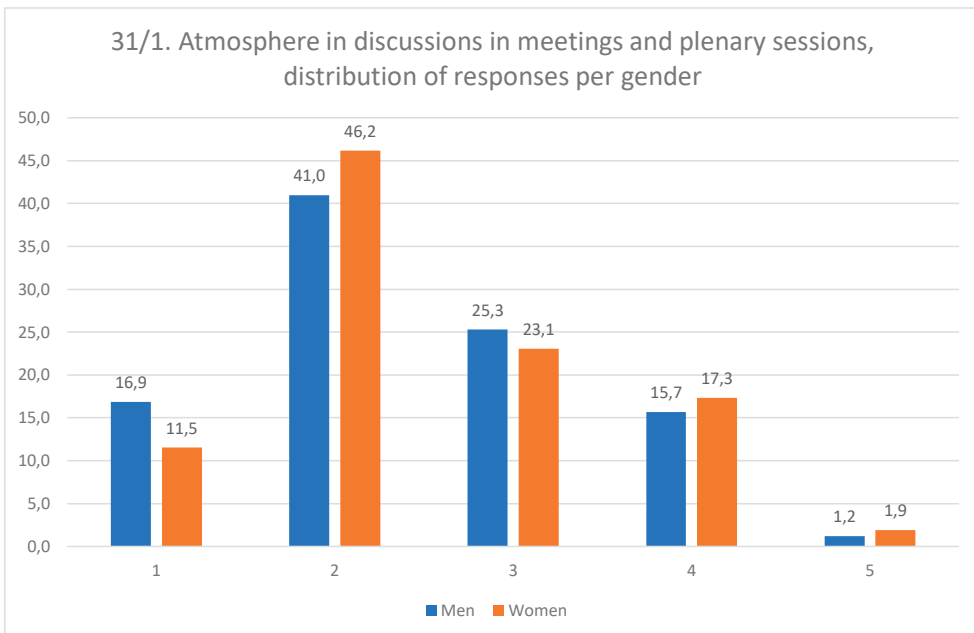
30/3. How often do you take the floor compared to the other MPs present in a committee? N=135, empty 14, respondent's gender unknown=10					
1 = Never					5 = Very often
All respondents					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	8	45	56	26	135
0.0%	5.9%	33.3%	41.5%	19.3%	100%
Men					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	5	24	33	15	77
0.0%	6.5%	31.2%	42.9%	19.5%	100%
Women					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	3	19	16	10	48
0.0%	6.3%	39.6%	33.3%	20.8%	100%



APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

Linear regression, question 30/3. How often do you take the floor compared to the other MPs present in a committee? (N = 116)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.585	-.100	-.462	.262
Age	.167	-.013	-.033	.006
Years of experience	.701	-.006	-.037	.025
Experience as a minister	.338	-.269	-.824	.285
Education	.168	.152	-.065	.369
Parliamentary group 2	.646	-.117	-.623	.388
Parliamentary group 3	.981	.009	-.762	.780
Parliamentary group 4	.199	-.557	-1.410	.297
Parliamentary group 5	.477	-.338	-1.280	.603
Parliamentary group 6	.648	.141	-.469	.750
Parliamentary group 7	.236	-.406	-1.080	.269
Parliamentary group 8	.850	-.065	-.742	.612
Parliamentary group 9	.796	-.069	-.596	.458

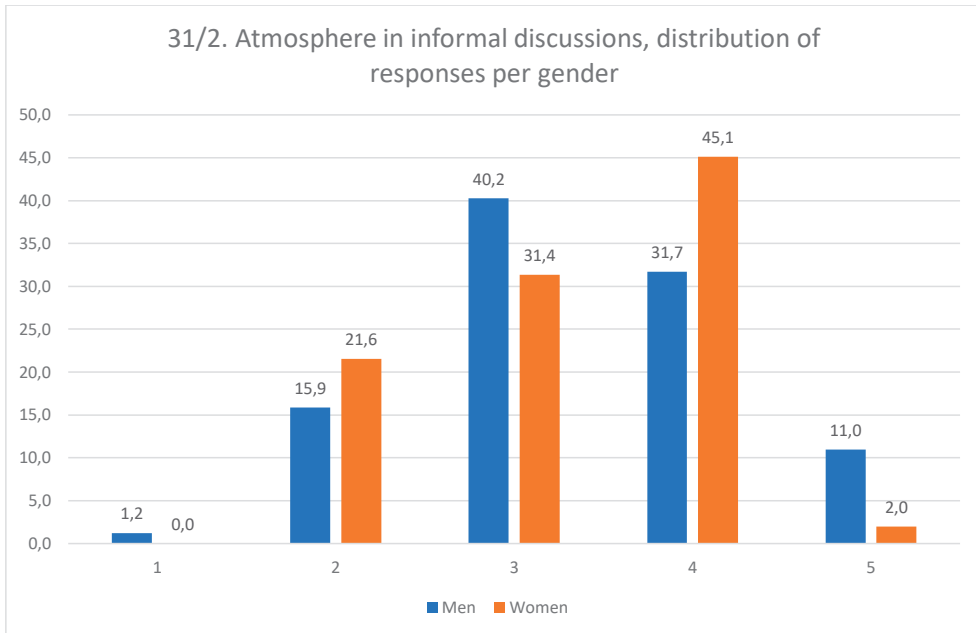
31/1. How would you describe the atmosphere in discussions between MPs in meetings and plenary sessions? N=144, empty 5, respondent's gender unknown=10					
1 = Some of the MPs dominate the conversation and equal 5 = The discussion is balanced					
All respondents					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
21	61	36	24	2	144
14.6%	42.4%	25.0%	16.7%	1.4%	100%
Men					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
14	34	21	13	1	83
16.9%	41.0%	25.3%	15.7%	1.2%	100%
Women					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
6	24	12	9	1	52
11.5%	46.2%	23.1%	17.3%	1.9%	100%



APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

Linear regression, question 31/1. How would you describe the atmosphere in discussions between MPs in meetings and plenary sessions? (N = 126)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.954	.012	-.398	.422
Age	.666	.005	-.017	.026
Years of experience	.221	.022	-.013	.056
Experience as a minister	.460	-.205	-.754	.343
Education	.570	-.069	-.311	.172
Parliamentary group 2	.210	.358	-.205	.920
Parliamentary group 3	.612	.228	-.662	1.119
Parliamentary group 4	.375	-.442	-1.426	.541
Parliamentary group 5	.878	-.084	-1.170	1.002
Parliamentary group 6	.714	.129	-.565	.822
Parliamentary group 7	.813	.092	-.675	.859
Parliamentary group 8	.373	.318	-.387	1.023
Parliamentary group 9	.157	.421	-.164	1.006

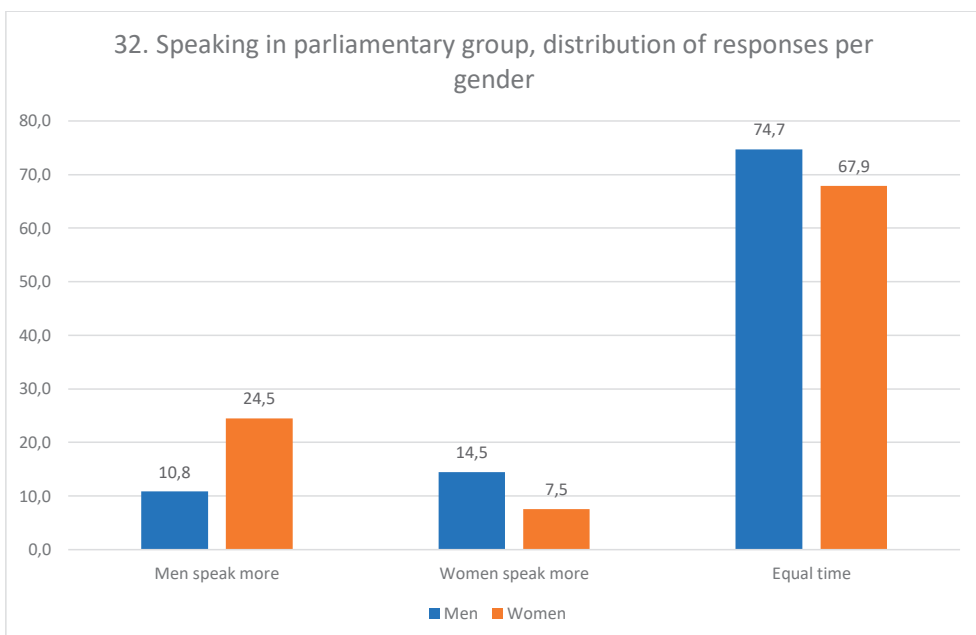
31/2. How would you describe the atmosphere in informal discussions between MPs? N=143, empty 6, respondent's gender unknown=10					
1 = Some of the MPs dominate the conversation and equal 5 = The discussion is balanced					
All respondents					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	26	51	54	11	143
0.7%	18.2%	35.7%	37.8%	7.7%	100%
Men					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	13	33	26	9	82
1.2%	15.9%	40.2%	31.7%	11.0%	100%
Women					
1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	11	16	23	1	51
0.0%	21.6%	31.4%	45.1%	2.0%	100%



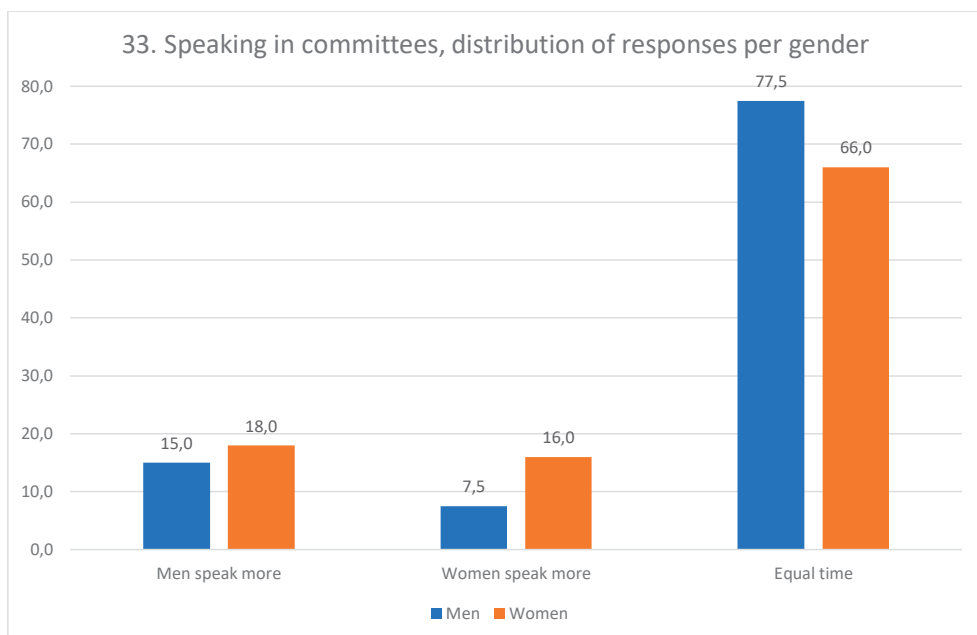
APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

Linear regression, question 31/2. How would you describe the atmosphere in informal discussions between MPs? (N = 124)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.460	-.136	-.500	.228
Age	.038	.021	.001	.040
Years of experience	.249	.018	-.013	.049
Experience as a minister	.894	.033	-.452	.518
Education	.641	-.051	-.266	.164
Parliamentary group 2	.770	.073	-.421	.567
Parliamentary group 3	.990	-.005	-.790	.781
Parliamentary group 4	.938	-.034	-.903	.835
Parliamentary group 5	.891	.066	-.892	1.025
Parliamentary group 6	.271	-.353	-.986	.279
Parliamentary group 7	.158	.486	-.192	1.163
Parliamentary group 8	.562	.183	-.441	.807
Parliamentary group 9	.465	.194	-.330	.719

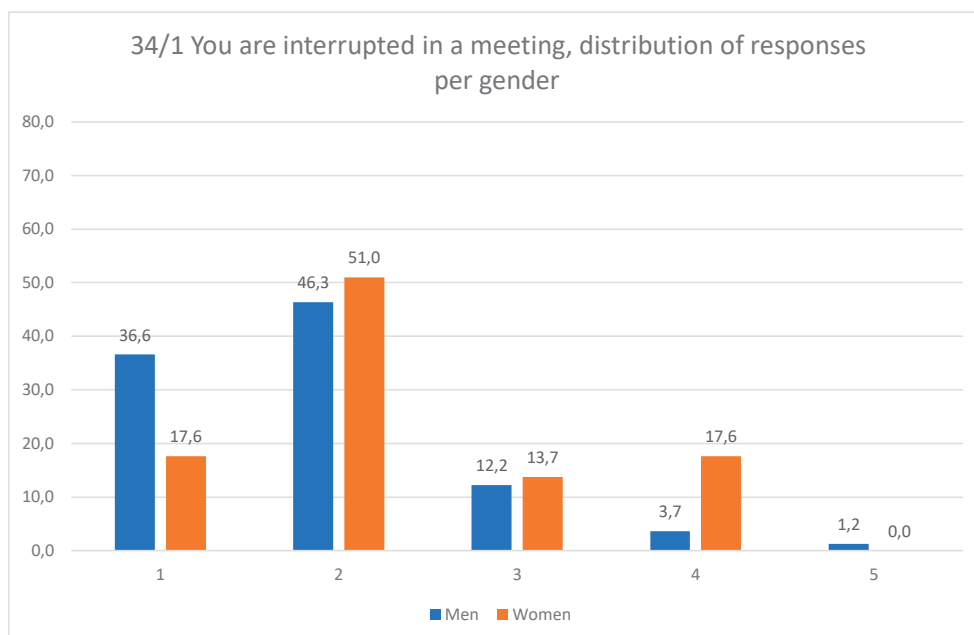
32. Do you feel that, among all the MPs present, men and women spend equal time speaking in your parliamentary group? N=146, empty 3, respondent's gender unknown=10		
<i>All respondents</i>	<i>Responses</i>	<i>%</i>
No, men speak relatively more	23	15.8%
No, women speak relatively more	17	11.6%
Yes, men and women spend equal time speaking	106	72.6%
Total	146	100%
<i>Men</i>		
No, men speak relatively more	9	10.8%
No, women speak relatively more	12	14.5%
Yes, men and women spend equal time speaking	62	74.7%
Total	83	100%
<i>Women</i>		
No, men speak relatively more	13	24.5%
No, women speak relatively more	4	7.5%
Yes, men and women spend equal time speaking	36	67.9%
Total	53	100%



33. Do you feel that, among all the MPs present, men and women spend equal time speaking in a committee? N=140, empty 9, respondent's gender unknown=10		
<i>All respondents</i>	<i>Responses</i>	<i>%</i>
No, men speak relatively more	23	16.4%
No, women speak relatively more	17	12.1%
Yes, men and women spend equal time speaking	100	71.4%
Total	140	100%
<i>Men</i>		
No, men speak relatively more	12	15.0%
No, women speak relatively more	6	7.5%
Yes, men and women spend equal time speaking	62	77.5%
Total	80	100%
<i>Women</i>		
No, men speak relatively more	9	18.0%
No, women speak relatively more	8	16.0%
Yes, men and women spend equal time speaking	33	66.0%
Total	50	100%

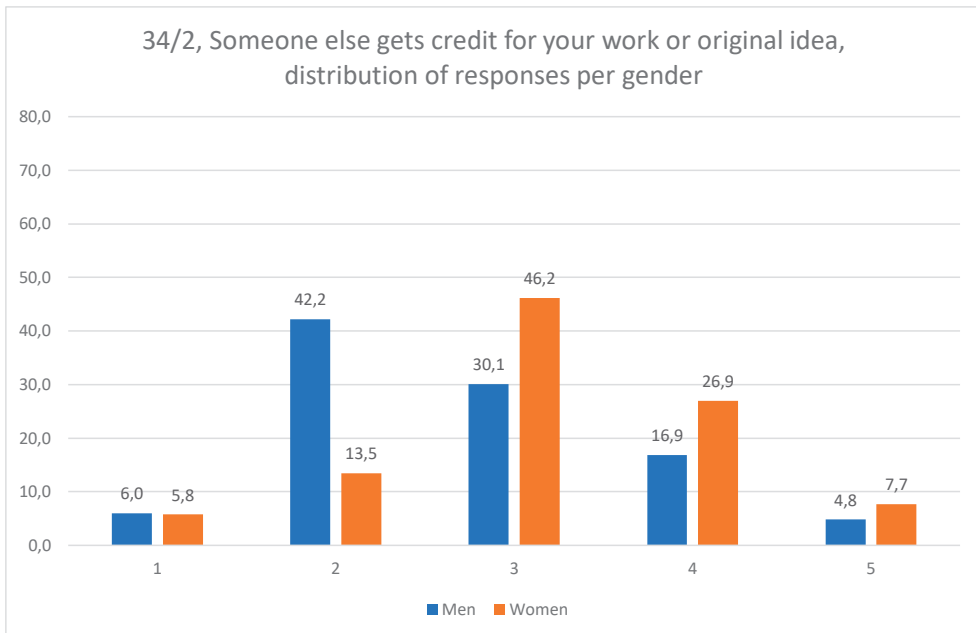


34. How often have you experienced the following types of incidents in Parliament? N=142–146, respondent's gender unknown=10							
	1 = <i>Never</i>			5 = <i>Very often</i>			
<i>All respondents</i>	1	2	3	4	5	<i>total</i>	<i>empty</i>
You are interrupted in a meeting	42	67	18	14	1	142	7
Someone else gets credit for your work or original idea	8	44	51	31	10	144	5
The choices and priorities of your private life are questioned	58	47	20	15	4	144	5
You are targeted by sexual harassment	113	21	8	2	0	144	5
You hear a fellow MP telling sexist jokes	39	62	28	9	8	146	3
Your work is disrupted by inappropriate gestures or comments	78	49	9	9	0	145	4
Your clothes or appearance are commented on in a negative tone	106	28	5	5	0	144	5
<i>Men</i>	1	2	3	4	5	<i>total</i>	<i>empty</i>
You are interrupted in a meeting	30	38	10	3	1	82	3
Someone else gets credit for your work or original idea	5	35	25	14	4	83	2
The choices and priorities of your private life are questioned	40	20	13	6	3	82	3
You are targeted by sexual harassment	66	11	5	1	0	83	2
You hear a fellow MP telling sexist jokes	24	33	15	5	7	84	1
Your work is disrupted by inappropriate gestures or comments	47	29	3	4	0	83	2
Your clothes or appearance are commented on in a negative tone	66	11	2	4	0	83	2
<i>Women</i>	1	2	3	4	5	<i>total</i>	<i>empty</i>
You are interrupted in a meeting	9	26	7	9	0	51	3
Someone else gets credit for your work or original idea	3	7	24	14	4	52	2
The choices and priorities of your private life are questioned	14	24	6	8	1	53	1
You are targeted by sexual harassment	40	9	3	0	0	52	2
You hear a fellow MP telling sexist jokes	12	25	13	3	0	53	1
Your work is disrupted by inappropriate gestures or comments	26	17	6	4	0	53	1
Your clothes or appearance are commented on in a negative tone	33	16	3	0	0	52	2



Linear regression, question 34/1. You are interrupted in a meeting (N = 125)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.008	.456	.124	.788
Age	.455	-.007	-.024	.011
Years of experience	.018	-.030	-.055	-.005
Education	.005	.282	.085	.478
Parliamentary group 2	.070	-.429	-.895	.036
Parliamentary group 3	.467	.272	-.466	1.011
Parliamentary group 4	.643	-.176	-.928	.575
Parliamentary group 5	.454	.342	-.559	1.242
Parliamentary group 6	.261	.328	-.247	.903

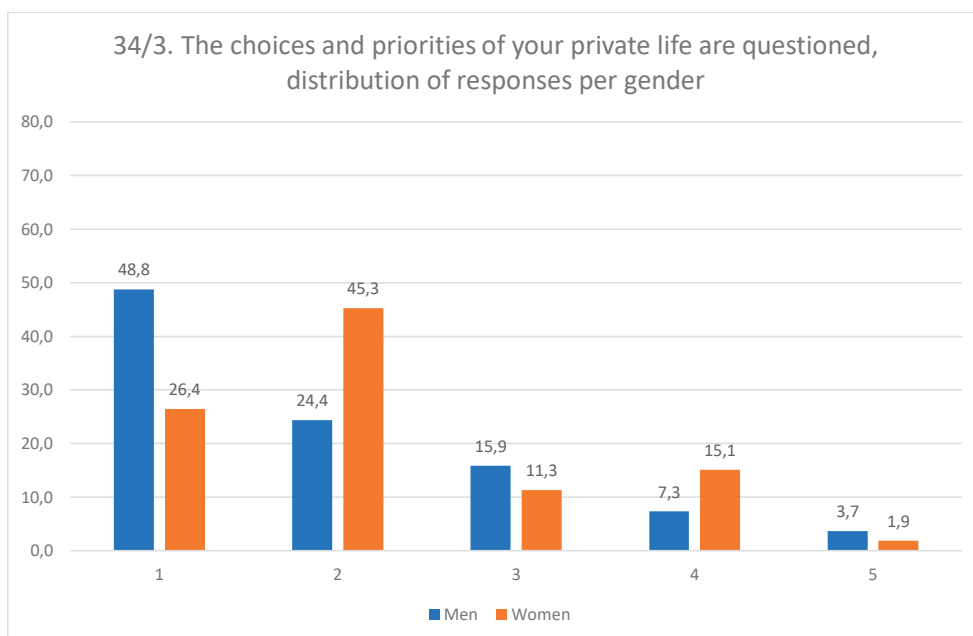
Parliamentary group 7	.678	-.133	-.766	.500
Parliamentary group 8	.808	.074	-.525	.672
Parliamentary group 9	.616	.124	-.364	.611



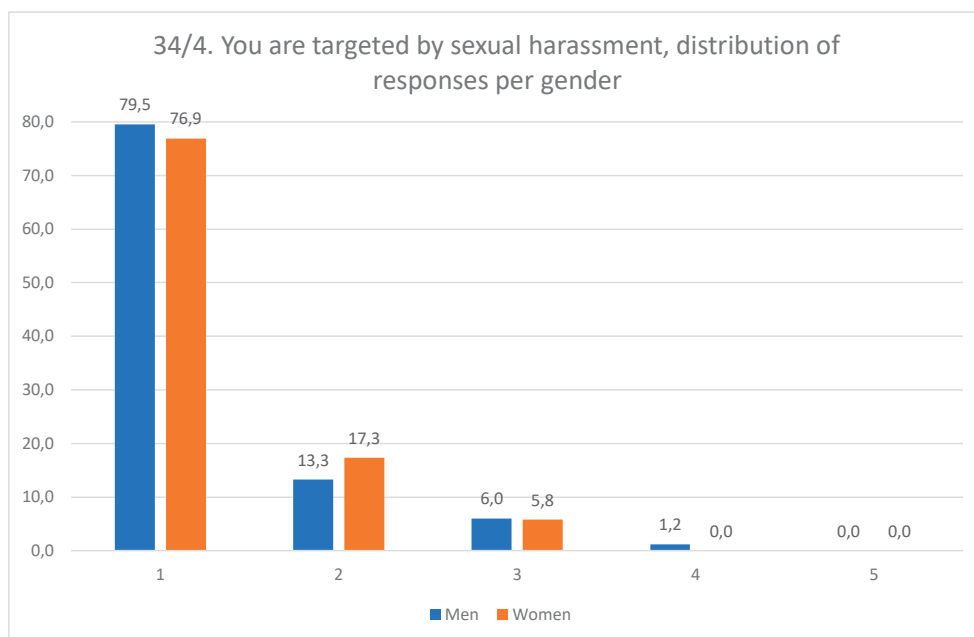
Linear regression, question 34/2. Someone else gets credit for your work or original idea (N = 127)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.006	.514	.147	.880
Age	.920	.001	-.018	.020
Years of experience	.397	.012	-.016	.039
Education	.062	.206	-.010	.422
Parliamentary group 2	.896	.033	-.472	.539

APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

Parliamentary group 3	.043	.845	.028	1.663
Parliamentary group 4	.500	.283	-.547	1.114
Parliamentary group 5	.876	.079	-.918	1.075
Parliamentary group 6	.336	.311	-.327	.948
Parliamentary group 7	.305	.365	-.337	1.066
Parliamentary group 8	.002	1.073	.412	1.734
Parliamentary group 9	.015	.667	.132	1.202



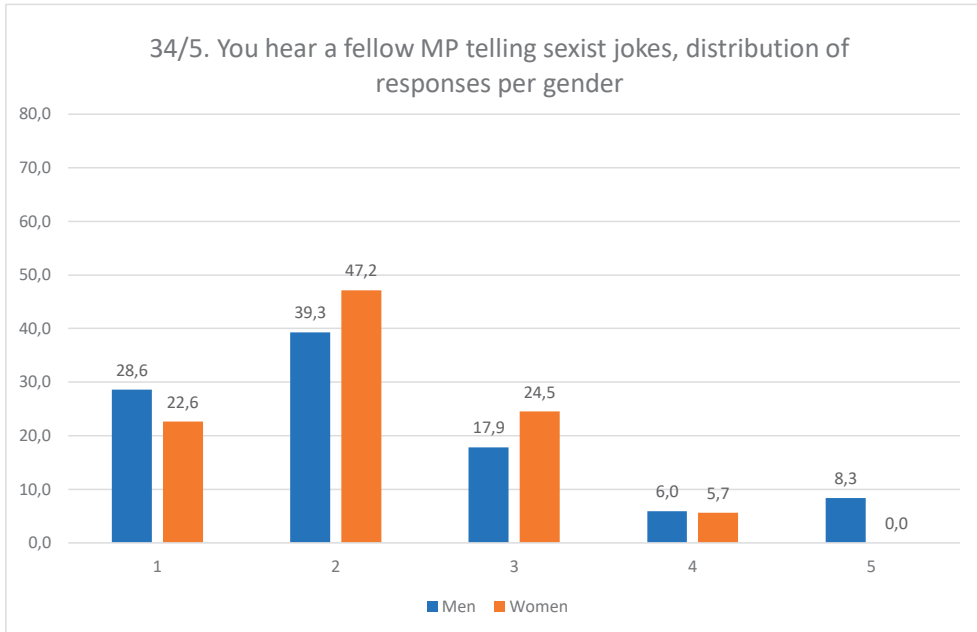
Linear regression, question 34/3. The choices and priorities of your private life are questioned (N = 127)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.291	.234	-.203	.672
Age	.057	.022	-.001	.045
Years of experience	.212	.021	-.012	.054
Education	.681	.054	-.206	.315
Parliamentary group 2	.090	.523	-.083	1.129
Parliamentary group 3	.339	.476	-.506	1.457
Parliamentary group 4	.208	.639	-.360	1.639
Parliamentary group 5	.922	.060	-1.137	1.257
Parliamentary group 6	.332	.377	-.389	1.143
Parliamentary group 7	.853	.079	-.764	.922
Parliamentary group 8	.053	.785	-.011	1.580
Parliamentary group 9	.434	.255	-.388	.898



Linear regression, question 34/4. You are targeted by sexual harassment (N = 127)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.606	-.064	-.308	.181
Age	.187	.009	-.004	.021
Years of experience	.741	.003	-.015	.022
Education	.323	.072	-.072	.217
Parliamentary group 2	.876	-.026	-.360	.308
Parliamentary group 3	.556	.162	-.382	.706
Parliamentary group 4	.991	.003	-.551	.557
Parliamentary group 5	.517	-.218	-.882	.446
Parliamentary group 6	.945	-.015	-.438	.409
Parliamentary group 7	.509	-.164	-.653	.325

EQUALITY IN THE FINNISH PARLIAMENT

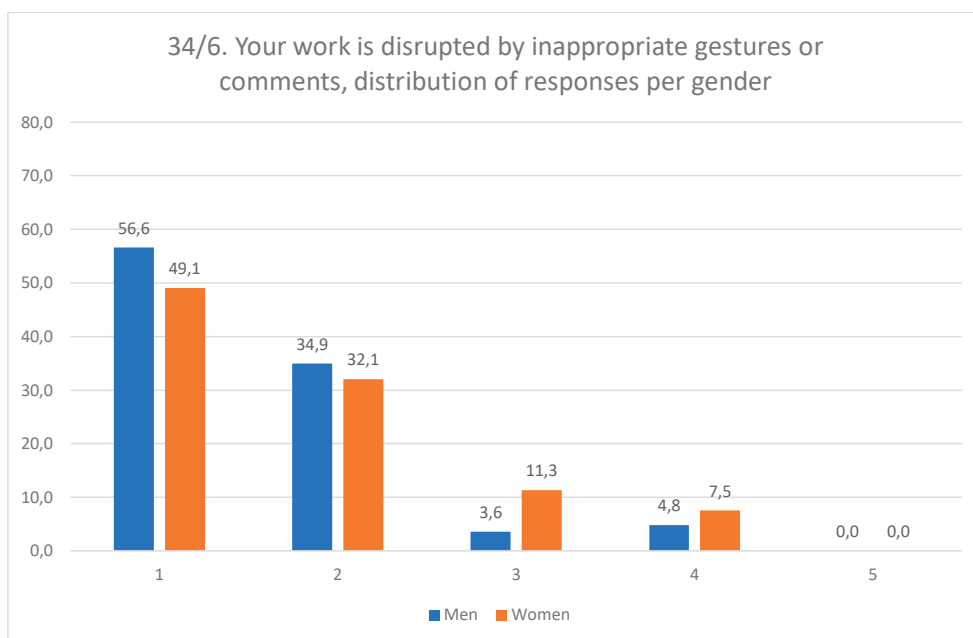
Parliamentary group 8	.930	.020	-.421	.460
Parliamentary group 9	.844	.035	-.319	.390



Linear regression, question 34/5. You hear a fellow MP telling sexist jokes (N = 129)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.396	-.174	-.580	.231
Age	.354	.010	-.011	.031
Years of experience	.573	.009	-.022	.039
Education	.219	-.149	-.388	.090

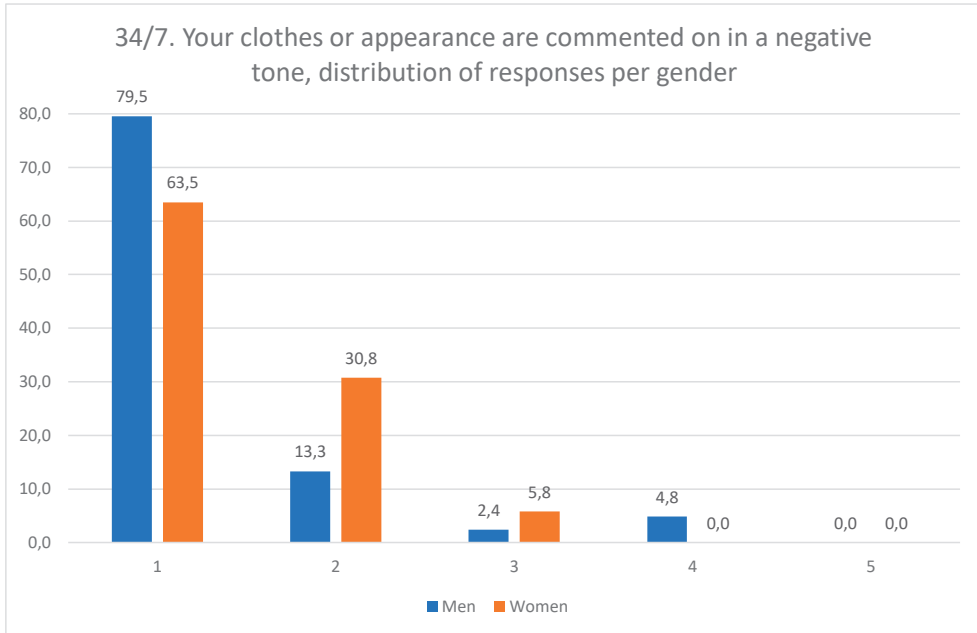
APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

Parliamentary group 2	.931	-.024	-.583	.534
Parliamentary group 3	.116	.727	-.182	1.636
Parliamentary group 4	.297	-.490	-1.415	.436
Parliamentary group 5	.322	-.557	-1.666	.553
Parliamentary group 6	.013	.906	.198	1.613
Parliamentary group 7	.729	-.137	-.917	.644
Parliamentary group 8	.502	.244	-.474	.962
Parliamentary group 9	.789	.080	-.512	.673



Linear regression, question 35/6. Your work is disrupted by inappropriate gestures or comments (N = 128)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.351	.144	-.160	.447
Age	.198	.010	-.005	.026
Years of experience	.445	-.009	-.032	.014
Education	.489	.063	-.117	.244
Parliamentary group 2	.522	.136	-.283	.554
Parliamentary group 3	.001	1.127	.446	1.808
Parliamentary group 4	.427	-.279	-.973	.415
Parliamentary group 5	.735	-.142	-.973	.689
Parliamentary group 6	.324	.265	-.265	.796
Parliamentary group 7	.590	.160	-.425	.744
Parliamentary group 8	.267	.311	-.241	.862
Parliamentary group 9	.012	.569	.125	1.013

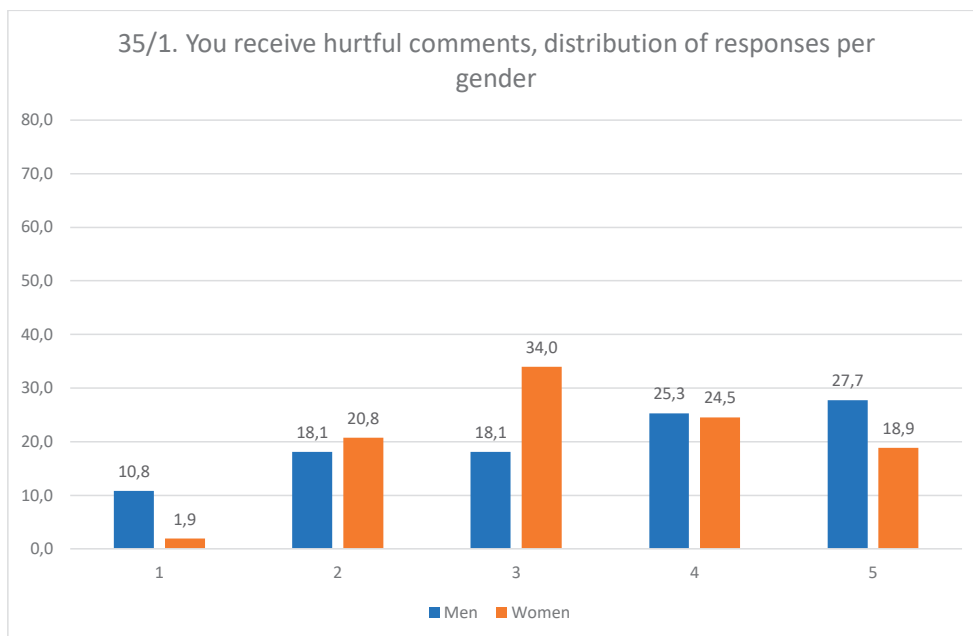
APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION



Linear regression, question 34/7 = Your clothes or appearance are commented on in a negative tone				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.653	-.063	-.338	.213
Age	.042	.015	.001	.029
Years of experience	.853	-.002	-.023	.019
Education	.178	.112	-.052	.275
Parliamentary group 2	.342	.182	-.196	.559
Parliamentary group 3	.220	.383	-.231	.997
Parliamentary group 4	.852	.059	-.567	.686
Parliamentary group 5	.531	-.238	-.987	.512
Parliamentary group 6	.843	.048	-.430	.526
Parliamentary group 7	.236	-.333	-.886	.220
Parliamentary group 8	.950	-.016	-.513	.482
Parliamentary group 9	.937	.016	-.384	.416

35. Have you encountered some of the following incidents when using social media? N=142–145, respondent's gender unknown=10							
	1 = Never			5 = Very often			
<i>All respondents</i>	1	2	3	4	5	<i>total</i>	<i>empty</i>
You receive hurtful comments	11	29	36	35	34	145	4
You receive direct threats	40	50	27	22	6	145	4
You receive comments referring to gender or sexuality	66	44	9	16	7	142	7
You receive comments referring to ethnicity or religious background	99	24	9	7	5	143	5
You receive comments referring to sexual orientation	112	18	6	5	3	143	5
<i>Men</i>	1	2	3	4	5	<i>total</i>	<i>empty</i>
You receive hurtful comments	9	15	15	21	23	83	2
You receive direct threats	23	27	15	14	4	83	2
You receive comments referring to gender or sexuality	49	23	5	4	1	82	3
You receive comments referring to ethnicity or religious background	61	10	5	2	4	82	3
You receive comments referring to sexual orientation	65	8	5	2	2	82	3
<i>Women</i>	1	2	3	4	5	<i>total</i>	<i>empty</i>
You receive hurtful comments	1	11	18	13	10	53	1
You receive direct threats	14	20	11	7	1	53	1
You receive comments referring to gender or sexuality	12	19	4	11	5	51	3
You receive comments referring to ethnicity or religious background	34	10	4	4	1	53	1
You receive comments referring to sexual orientation	41	9	1	2	0	53	1

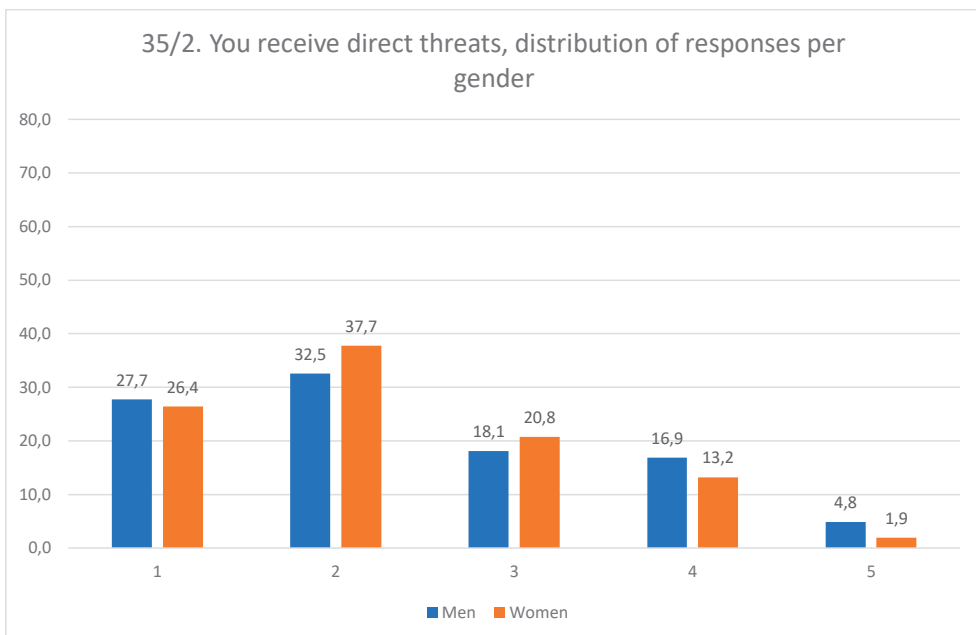
APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION



Linear regression, question 35/1. You receive hurtful comments (N = 128)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.555	-.139	-.606	.327
Age	.018	.030	.005	.055
Years of experience	.098	.030	-.006	.065
Education	.031	.303	.028	.578
Parliamentary group 2	.383	-.284	-.925	.358
Parliamentary group 3	.785	.144	-.900	1.188
Parliamentary group 4	.700	.207	-.856	1.270
Parliamentary group 5	.770	-.189	-1.463	1.086
Parliamentary group 6	.585	.225	-.588	1.038

EQUALITY IN THE FINNISH PARLIAMENT

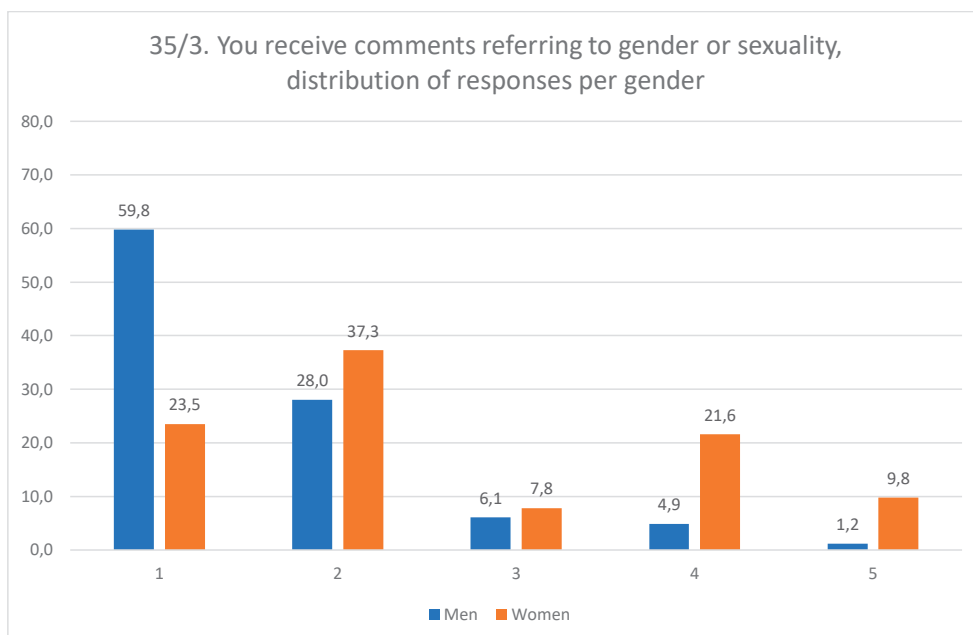
Parliamentary group 7	.026	-1.019	-1.915	-.123
Parliamentary group 8	.275	.476	-.383	1.334
Parliamentary group 9	.220	.423	-.257	1.104



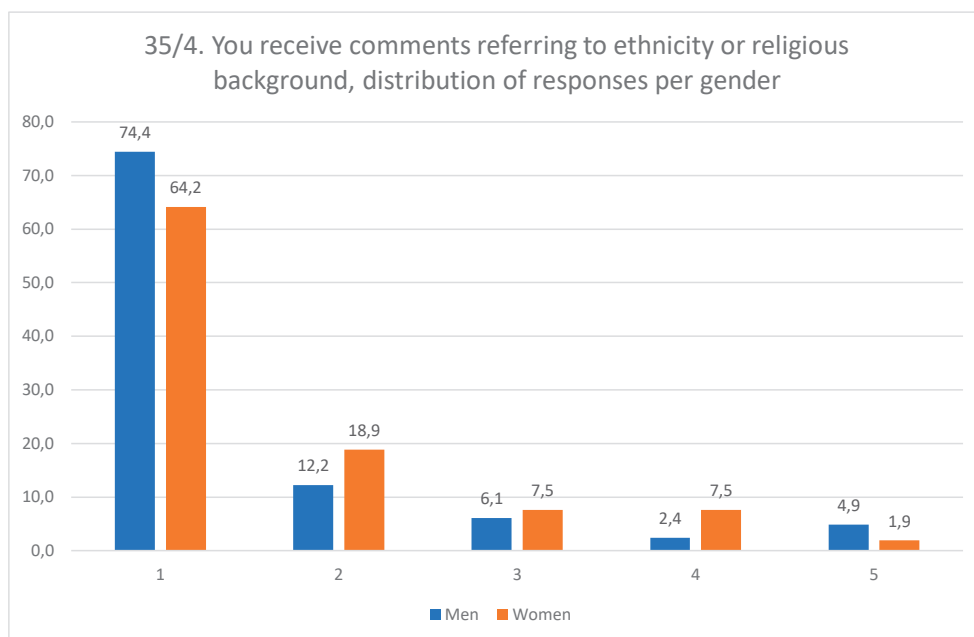
Linear regression, question 35/2. You receive direct threats (N = 128)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.429	-.181	-.632	.271
Age	.080	.021	-.003	.045
Years of experience	.086	.030	-.004	.064

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Education	.106	.219	-.047	.484
Parliamentary group 2	.251	-.361	-.982	.259
Parliamentary group 3	.685	.207	-.802	1.217
Parliamentary group 4	.540	-.319	-1.347	.710
Parliamentary group 5	.743	.204	-1.028	1.437
Parliamentary group 6	.954	-.023	-.810	.764
Parliamentary group 7	.137	-.656	-1.522	.211
Parliamentary group 8	.173	.575	-.255	1.405
Parliamentary group 9	.629	-.161	-.819	.497

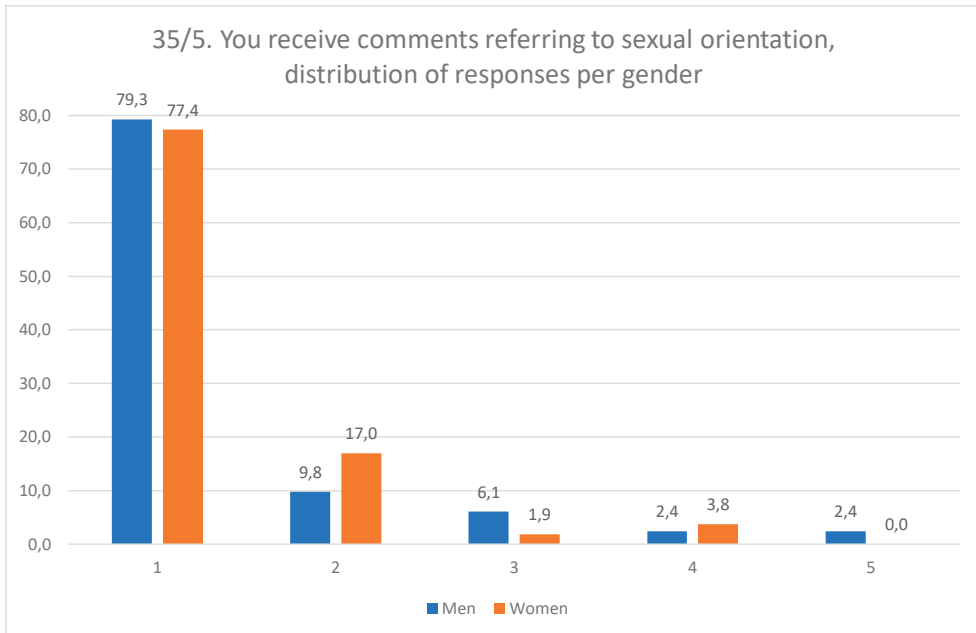


Linear regression, question 35/3. You receive comments referring to gender or sexuality (N = 125)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.000	.893	.468	1.317
Age	.027	.025	.003	.047
Years of experience	.061	.030	-.001	.061
Education	.963	.006	-.243	.254
Parliamentary group 2	.892	.039	-.526	.604
Parliamentary group 3	.188	.615	-.306	1.537
Parliamentary group 4	.186	-.629	-1.566	.308
Parliamentary group 5	.100	-.941	-2.065	.183
Parliamentary group 6	.217	.450	-.267	1.166
Parliamentary group 7	.572	-.226	-1.015	.564
Parliamentary group 8	.865	-.070	-.883	.743
Parliamentary group 9	.587	.167	-.440	.774



Linear regression, question 35/4. You receive comments referring to ethnicity or religious background (N = 127)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.860	-.036	-.434	.363
Age	.140	.016	-.005	.037
Years of experience	.215	.019	-.011	.049
Education	.766	.036	-.201	.273
Parliamentary group 2	.643	.129	-.419	.676
Parliamentary group 3	.559	-.264	-1.156	.628
Parliamentary group 4	.273	-.505	-1.413	.404
Parliamentary group 5	.000	2.070	.981	3.159
Parliamentary group 6	.590	.190	-.505	.884

Parliamentary group 7	.195	.503	-.262	1.268
Parliamentary group 8	.740	.126	-.627	.880
Parliamentary group 9	.266	-.328	-.910	.253

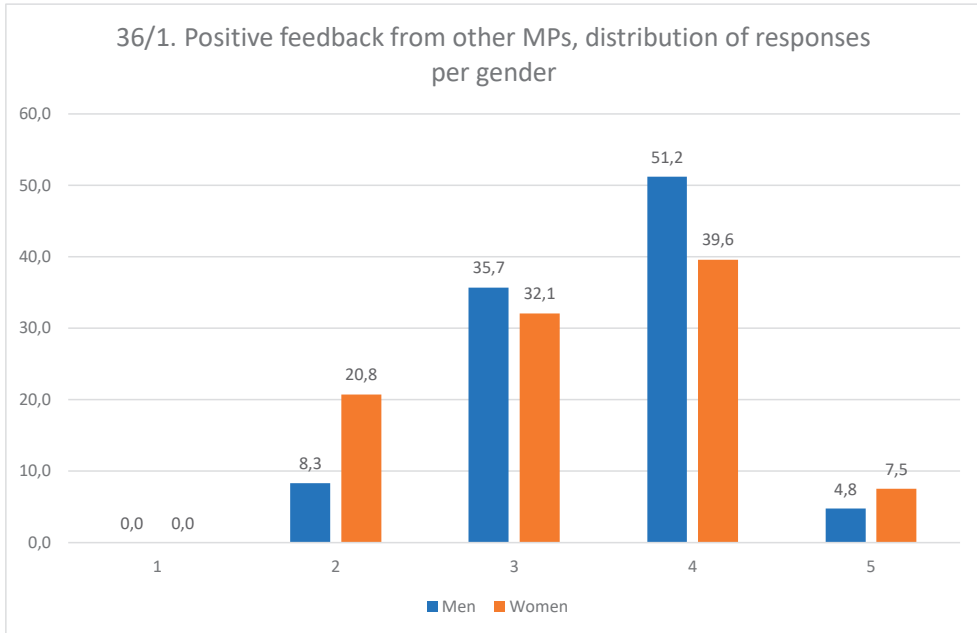


Linear regression, question 35/5. You receive comments referring to sexual orientation (N = 127)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.334	-.146	-.445	.153
Age	.031	.018	.002	.033
Years of experience	.083	.020	-.003	.042
Education	.492	-.062	-.240	.116

APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

Parliamentary group 2	.744	.068	-.343	.479
Parliamentary group 3	.227	.410	-.259	1.080
Parliamentary group 4	.611	-.175	-.857	.506
Parliamentary group 5	.834	-.087	-.904	.731
Parliamentary group 6	.000	1.041	.520	1.563
Parliamentary group 7	.378	.257	-.318	.831
Parliamentary group 8	.982	-.007	-.572	.559
Parliamentary group 9	.302	.229	-.208	.665

36. How often do you receive positive feedback on your work from different parties? N=143–147, respondent's gender unknown=10							
<i>1 = Very rarely 5 = Very often</i>							
All respondents	1	2	3	4	5	total	empty
From other MPs	0	18	51	70	8	147	2
From party leaders	19	30	49	40	8	146	3
From parliamentary group leaders	12	25	43	54	9	143	6
From voters or members of the party	2	10	30	79	24	144	4
Men	1	2	3	4	5	total	empty
From other MPs	0	7	30	43	4	84	1
From party leaders	9	14	29	25	7	84	1
From parliamentary group leaders	4	13	27	32	6	82	3
From voters or members of the party	2	9	19	41	12	83	2
Women	1	2	3	4	5	total	empty
From other MPs	0	11	17	21	4	53	1
From party leaders	9	11	17	14	1	52	2
From parliamentary group leaders	8	9	13	18	3	51	3
From voters or members of the party	0	1	10	31	10	52	2

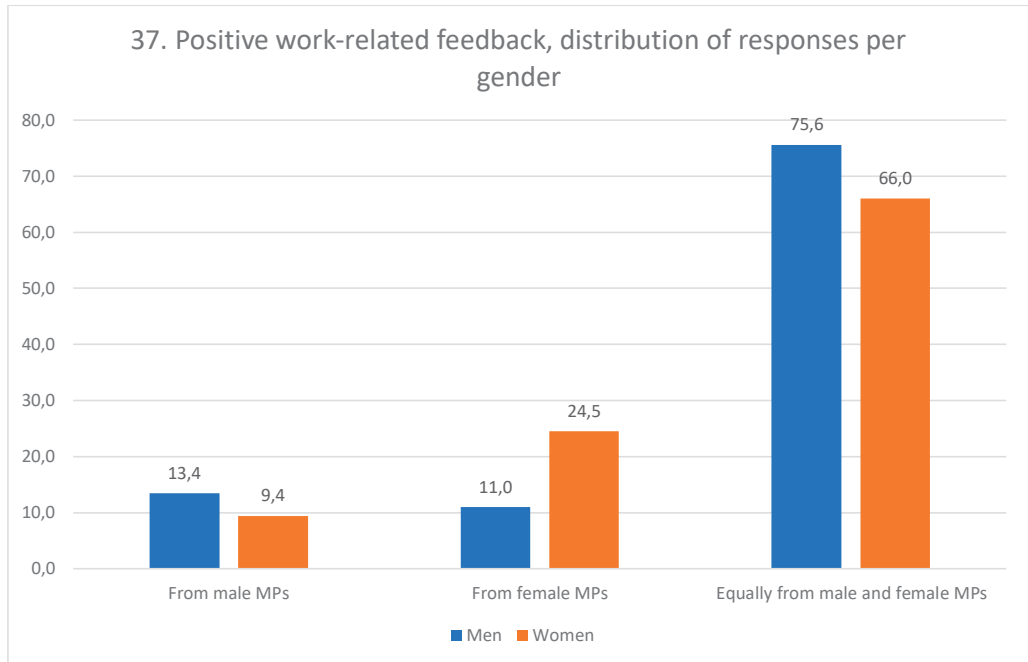


Linear regression, question 36/1. Positive feedback from other MPs (N = 129)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.016	-.378	-.683	-.072
Age	.281	.009	-.007	.024
Years of experience	.130	.018	-.005	.040
Education	.239	.107	-.072	.287
Parliamentary group 2	.818	.049	-.372	.470
Parliamentary group 3	.241	.407	-.277	1.092
Parliamentary group 4	.265	-.394	-1.091	.303
Parliamentary group 5	.791	.112	-.724	.947
Parliamentary group 6	.050	-.532	-1.065	.001

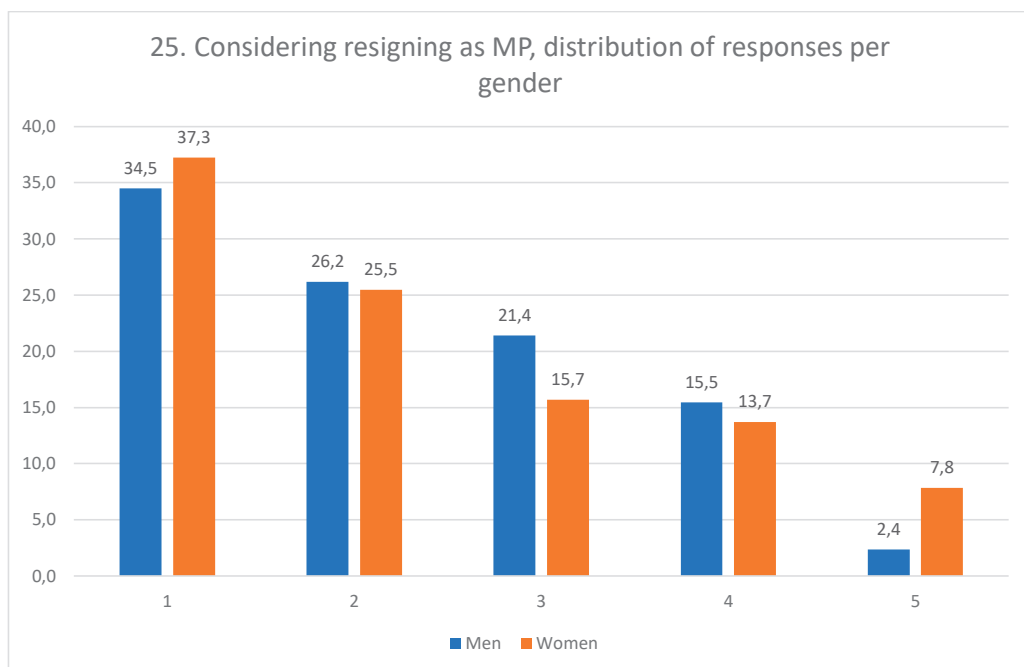
APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

Parliamentary group 7	.640	.149	-.479	.776
Parliamentary group 8	.929	.026	-.551	.603
Parliamentary group 9	.384	.211	-.268	.691

37. Does the majority of positive feedback related to your work come from male or female MPs or equally from male and female MPs? N=144, empty 5, respondent's gender unknown=10		
All respondents	Responses	%
Mostly from male MPs	16	11.1%
Mostly from female MPs	24	16.7%
Equally from male and female MPs	104	72.2%
Total	144	100%
Men	Responses	%
Mostly from male MPs	11	13.4%
Mostly from female MPs	9	11.0%
Equally from male and female MPs	62	75.6%
Total	82	100%
Women	Responses	%
Mostly from male MPs	5	9.4%
Mostly from female MPs	13	24.5%
Equally from male and female MPs	35	66.0%
Total	53	100%



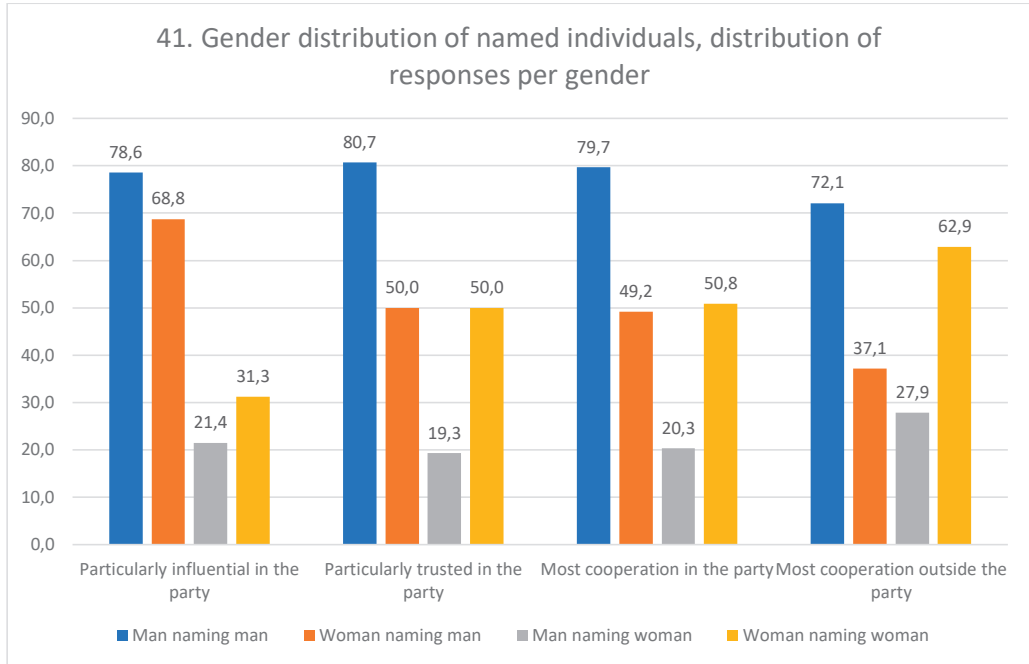
25. Have you seriously considered resigning as an MP due to excessive pressure or motivational issues? N=145, empty 4, respondent's gender unknown=10						
1 = Never					5 = Very often	
All respondents						
1	2	3	4	5	Total	
53	36	26	22	8	145	
36.6%	24.8%	17.9%	15.2%	5.5%	100%	
Men						
1	2	3	4	5	Total	
29	22	18	13	2	84	
34.5%	26.2%	21.4%	15.5%	2.4%	100%	
Women						
1	2	3	4	5	Total	
19	13	8	7	4	51	
37.3%	25.5%	15.7%	13.7%	7.8%	100%	



Linear regression, question 25. Have you seriously considered resigning as an MP due to excessive pressure or motivational issues? (N = 116)				
	p	B	95.0% confidence interval – lower limit	95.0% confidence interval – upper limit
Gender	.563	-.151	-.668	.366
Year of birth	.847	.003	-.026	.032
Years of experience	.303	.021	-.019	.061
Children living at home, no.	.822	.022	-.175	.220
Under the age of 7, no.	.726	.091	-.423	.605
Position as a caregiver of a loved one	1.000	3.208E-5	-.817	.817
Education	.468	.120	-.207	.447
Distance under 100	.690	-.134	-.799	.531
Distance 100–200	.486	-.202	-.775	.371
Parliamentary group 2	.417	.303	-.435	1.041
Parliamentary group 3	.074	1.127	-.110	2.363
Parliamentary group 4	.593	-.351	-1.651	.948
Parliamentary group 5	.812	-.162	-1.509	1.185
Parliamentary group 6	.070	.825	-.069	1.718
Parliamentary group 7	.861	-.095	-1.167	.977
Parliamentary group 8	.148	.660	-.239	1.560
Parliamentary group 9	.924	-.039	-.849	.771

APPENDIX 1. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES AND REGRESSION

41. If desired, you can name one or more individuals,												
Question	Man naming man		Woman naming man		Man naming woman		Woman naming woman		Man institution		Woman institution	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a = Whom you consider having particularly large opportunities for influencing the goals and policies of your party	44	78.6	33	68.8	12	21.4	15	31.3	19	38.8	10	32.3
b = Who invokes the most trust within your party	46	80.7	27	50.0	11	19.3	27	50.0	7	13.7	4	12.5
c = Whom you prefer to cooperate with in your party	47	79.7	30	49.2	12	20.3	31	50.8	2	3.9	4	12.5
d) = Whom you cooperate with the most outside your party	31	72.1	13	37.1	12	27.9	22	62.9	1	2.0	2	6.3



Open questions in the questionnaire form:

38. Please name the networks and groups operating within Parliament (maximum three most important),

a. Of which you are a member

b. Of whose operations you are actively participating

39. Please name the key networks outside Parliament of whose operations you are actively or quite actively participating (maximum three most important).

40. Which networks or groups within Parliament do you consider the most influential (maximum three most important)?

You can elaborate on your answer, if desired.

41. If desired, you can name one or more individuals,

a. Whom you consider having particularly large opportunities for influencing the goals and policies of your party

b. Who invokes the most trust within your party

c. Whom you prefer to cooperate with in your party

d. Whom you cooperate with the most outside your party

42. If there any other relevant information you wish to tell the researchers?

Appendix 2. Interview

Appendix 2 gives information about the distribution of the interviewees by gender and age group. Geographical distribution was also taken into account in the selection of interviewees. Furthermore, the Appendix contains the interview questions which were sent to the interviewees in advance for review.

Distribution of interviews based on the gender, age and years as MP of the Members of Parliament. Total number of 34							
Men 17				Women 17			
Aged under 50 years: 8		Aged over 50 years: 9		Aged under 50 years: 7		Aged over 50 years: 10	
Less than 2 terms: 4	More than 2 terms: 4	Less than 2 terms: 5	More than 2 terms: 4	Less than 2 terms: 5	More than 2 terms: 2	Less than 2 terms: 5	More than 2 terms: 5

Interview questions

I Presentation of the project/revision

1. Are you aware of the equality study project? How well do you know the objectives of the project?

II Observations about the survey: General

2. Based on the survey, it seems like that the Members of Parliament generally find that they have good influencing opportunities in the party/inside the parliamentary group and committees. Differences between female and male MPs who responded to the survey were observed in

- a) how the MPs felt they were treated when speaking, what kind of
- b) support they receive,
- c) how committee seats are distributed and in terms
- d) of feedback received in social media

Does this correspond with your impression of the work environment at the Finnish Parliament and working as a Member of Parliament?

III Committees and parliamentary bodies

3. What do you think are the most important bodies of the Parliament

4. Distribution of seats in committees: The International Affairs Committee and the Finance Committee are popular amongst both male and female respondents of the survey. It would, however, seem that male MPs have better opportunities to get a seat in these committee. Why do you think this might be? On what grounds do you think that the seats in the most popular committees are distributed?

5. *Women checked experience from the association level, parliamentary work and their own competence as important areas more often than men. Men emphasised professional experience. In your opinion, what might cause this difference in the responses? How does background experience impact a political career (from the perspective of an MP)?*

IV Treatment in the Parliament and in (social) media

6. *There were some reports of sexual harassment.*

What would be the best way to deal with such incidents appropriately?

What would be the best way to arrange, for instance, how to report

7. *When asked about social media, younger women reported commenting on gender and sexuality more than others. Direct threats were reported by male MPs with almost no exceptions. What kind of feedback do you receive in social media? Do you feel that gender has an effect on the feedback you receive in social media?*

8. *How do you find that the different sectors of politics are discussed in national media? Are male and female MPs treated differently in national*

9. *Female MPs also reported more often than men that they felt that they were interrupted while speaking and that someone else took credit for their original idea or work. Female MPs also said that they felt that men talked relatively more in the parliamentary group than women. Do you recognise such incidents in your parliamentary work?*

10. *Female MPs also reported more often than men that they felt that they were interrupted while speaking and that someone else took credit for their original idea or work. Female MPs also said that they felt that men talked relatively more in the parliamentary group than women. Do you recognise such incidents in your parliamentary work?*

V The Parliament as an institution: practices

11. *In general, the Members of Parliament felt that they received adequate support for their work as MPs from the assistants, for example. Female respondents, however, reported that they receive too little or no support at all for the various aspects of parliamentary work in cases where the parliamentary group was included in the parliamentary group office model. Why do you think this is? What are your experiences with regard to receiving support?*

12. *The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU, see appendix) has prepared a test for determining the degree of gender sensitivity of a parliament. The test reviews the rules and practices of the parliament, for example, from an institutional perspective.*

Are you familiar with the term “gender-sensitive parliament” ? Should the Finnish Parliament study the gender sensitivity of the rules and practices in the sense of the materials produced within IPU?

13. *How do you feel that the parliamentary practices of the Finnish Parliament support the uniform opportunities of everyone to carry out their duties (functionality of the assistant system, session and meeting hours, the Parliament House and Little Parliament as physical spaces)?*

14. *How influential are the informal networks operating in the Parliament’s premises? What do you think is the meaning of these networks? Should the operation and influencing of the network be made more transparent?*

Appendix 3: Significance of previous research for the background and results of this study

Research on parliaments and the work of Members of Parliament from the gender perspective have mainly been used as references in the interpretation of results in this report. The background information of the Swedish studies has also affected the design of the Finnish study through the survey questionnaire used. Previous research is referenced here insofar as it explains or deepens the perspectives which have arisen from the data collected. From the Finnish perspective, this means references to the construction of gender roles in the Finnish political field and the conception of what gender equality means in the Finnish discussion. International research, especially research published in the field of political studies, is referenced when discussing realised equality instead of formal equality. The idea of gender-sensitive parliament which has arisen in the Inter-Parliamentary Union, for example, is about examining the equality situation in the practical parliamentary work in addition to the gender distribution of elected MPs. The last section of the Appendix is a brief list of studies about the different forms of parliamentary representation.

Background of the studies conducted in Sweden

The Swedish studies selected as models for this project are based on international studies on gender equality. They report, for example, results according to which women are faced with higher demands than men and that they also require more from others. Furthermore, there are studies which indicate that a higher female representation in the parliament and in politics in general has an impact on the agendas and the contents of politics. The different areas of interest and roles of women and men also seem to be divided into different political sectors. The Swedish survey therefore examined the personal experiences of MPs in their influencing opportunities and power. Both the survey and the interview materials studied the treatment experienced by the Members of Parliament in the parliament and outside it. Studies on the influence of networks according to which male-dominated networks carry a larger weight in politics were also part of the questionnaire, but this theme could only be studied partially because several MPs did not respond to the questions of this section.¹

In Sweden, the interviews conducted as a separate project utilised studies and theories discussing the consequences of gender stereotypes and gendered norms to the treatment of men and women, the opportunities to perform the same tasks at workplaces and their perceptions of themselves and their role.² Furthermore, the interview study relies on the suppression techniques publicised by Ås³ which are used to suppress others in different situations. This theme is included briefly in this study as well, but it is not discussed in detail due to the different kind of interview and data processing technologies used

¹ Erikson & Josefson 2016, s. 10, 20, 25, 30

² Erikson 2017, 2; 18

³ Ås, Berit (1978): *Hersketekniker". Kjerringråd* (3), 17-21.; Ås, Berit (2004): *The five master suppression techniques Women in White: The European Outlook*. Stockholm: Stockholm City Council, 79-83.

As in the Swedish model, the starting point of this study as well emphasises individual experiences. A systematic study of such experiences allows us to go into the prevailing culture of operations and models of action and structures which are difficult to identify (see chapter 2). In the study on the Finnish Parliament, these premises defined the survey part and thereby also the interviews. In addition, the perspective presenting the idea of gender-sensitive parliament was introduced (see below).

Gender equality and political representation from the perspective of the Finnish Parliament

Gender equality in the Finnish Parliament and the significance of gender in Finnish politics have been studied from a variety of perspectives. Studies related to women's right to vote and female Members of Parliament are also highlighted on the Library of Parliament website.⁴ Of the studies mentioned, the themes discussed in Jaana Kuusipalo's⁵ studies, for example, can also be identified in the materials of this study.⁶ In particular, this concerns the experiences of gendered roles of politicians both in the Parliament and in the media, which were brought up in the interviews.⁷ The gender bias of specific political sectors especially has a long history and played a role in the materials collected in 2018, as did the meaning of networks in the promotion of equality.

The development of Finnish equality politics and the characteristics of the national gender equality narrative are not discussed in more detail in this report which focuses on describing the current situation. The established political culture has, however, an effect on what the concept of equality is perceived as covering. The Finnish tradition of equality should therefore be noted in this context, according to which "equality has been determined as a social question rather than one concerning women and those in less advantageous situations in general".⁸ An improved standing of women has therefore been considered beneficial to men as well due to its financial and social policy effects. Researchers have pointed out that Finland has been doing well in terms of indicators commonly used for equality as such indicators concern the exact areas in which the Finnish policies promoting equality have worked well.⁹

In spite of the positive signals, the situation of equality in Finland also contains a problem. This problem arises from the fact that the problematics of gender equality are more extensive than what is covered by the commonly used indicators.

⁴ See <https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/tietoaeduskunnasta/kirjasto/aineistot/yhteiskunta/historia/naisten-aanioikeus-110-vuotta/Sivut/default.aspx>; <https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/tietoaeduskunnasta/kirjasto/aineistot/yhteiskunta/historia/naisten-aanioikeus-110-vuotta/Sivut/kirjallisuus-ja-verkkolahteet.aspx>

⁵ Kuusipalo, Jaana (2011): Sukupuolitunut poliittinen edustus Suomessa. Tampere: Tampere University Press. <http://urn.fi/urn:isbn:978-951-44-8454-4>

⁶ On women's political rights and participation in parliamentary politics especially from the historical perspective, see also Sulkunen, Irma, Lähteenmäki, Maria, Korppi-Tommola, Aura (2006): *Naiset eduskunnassa*. Helsinki: Edita.

⁷ On the relationship between politicians and the media, see in particular Niemi, Mari K.: *Kaksi tietä huipulle. Media ja puoluejohtajuus Suomessa naisten noususta populismin aaltoon*. Dissertation. Publications of the University of Turku. 2014

⁸ Kantola, Johanna, Nousiainen Kevät & Saari Milja (2012): "Johdanto", in Kantola, Johanna, Nousiainen, Kevät & Saari, Milja (ed.) (2012): *Tasa-arvo toisin nähtynä. Oikeuden ja politiikan näkökulmia tasa-arvoon ja yhdenvertaisuuteen*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, p. 15

⁹ Kantola, Johanna, Nousiainen Kevät & Saari Milja (2012): "Johdanto", in Kantola, Johanna, Nousiainen, Kevät & Saari, Milja (ed.) (2012): *Tasa-arvo toisin nähtynä. Oikeuden ja politiikan näkökulmia tasa-arvoon ja yhdenvertaisuuteen*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, p. 7–30. Of the commonly used indicators of equality, the following are mentioned: women's working rate, women obtaining the right to vote and participate in elections early, women's participation in political decision-making, education of girls and women as well as reproductive health and lifetime expectancy (2012, p. 23)

Such signals therefore also cover and exclude some factors affecting the realisation and experience of equality. The study of legislative history which has focused on the prevention of discrimination has observed, among other things, violence against women and reproductive and sexual health as “female-specific” issues,¹⁰ thereby paying special attention to the differences between genders. The prevention of discrimination through EU legislation in particular has also become part of Finnish equality politics.¹¹ The varying conceptions of gender equality activists and theoreticians on the role of the state in the safeguarding of gender equality have had an impact on which issues have been interpreted as relevant on the gender equality agenda.¹² The materials collected for this study can be interpreted as partially reflecting the diversification of the idea and concept of equality and its possible differing interpretations. A question which remains open in this study is the degree to which the interpretations of MPs on gender equality are uniform, what kinds of differences there are and what the background is against which they may be understood.

In Finland, Jaana Kuusipalo in particular has studied the experiences of the importance of gender in the political careers of female politicians who have reached high political positions.¹³ The interviews conducted in the 1980s and 1990s highlighted the need to struggle to show their competence in situations where a woman is faced with gender-based assumptions of incompetence and insecurity.¹⁴ As stated in the Swedish reports, politics has mostly been reserved for men, and the prevailing forms have therefore also determined what constitutes political credibility.¹⁵ The interviews conducted by Kuusipalo also discussed the impact of female politicians on the contents of and the work methods used in politics and discussed the value judgment of the different political sectors. According to the opinions expressed in the interviews, the division into political sectors should be deconstructed in such a way that finance and foreign policies would not be elevated to a controlling position as separate and the most valued fields. Instead, they should be treated as dimensions affecting all fields of politics.¹⁶ The gender bias of the various fields of politics and the differing interpretation are discussed also in the materials of this report. The interviews conducted for the present study also brought up experiences of female MPs and views of male MPs on how female MPs must work harder than their male colleagues to show that they are competent.

From the institutional perspective, the selection of committee members and the strong role of parliamentary group in these selections are central issues in this study.

¹⁰ Kantola, Johanna, Nousiainen Kevät & Saari Milja (2012): “Johdanto”, in Kantola, Johanna, Nousiainen, Kevät & Saari, Milja (ed.) (2012): *Tasa-arvo toisin nähtynä. Oikeuden ja politiikan näkökulmia tasa-arvoon ja yhdenvertaisuuteen*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, p. 14

¹¹ Kantola et al. 2012, p. 22

¹² Kantola, Johanna (2006): *Feminists Theorize the State*. Palgrave Macmillan: London. Also see e.g. Holli, Anne: “Why the State? Reflections on the politics of the Finnish equality movement Association 9”, in Keränen, Marja (ed.) (1990): *Finnish “Undemocracy”. Essays on gender and politics*. Helsinki: The Finnish Political Science Association

¹³ Kuusipalo’s dissertation from 2011 mentioned above summarises the central articles published from the data.

¹⁴ Kuusipalo, Jaana (1999): “Suomalaiset naiset politiikassa”. In *Suomalainen nainen*, p. 55–78. Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava: Helsinki, p. 69

¹⁵ Kuusipalo (2006, 31) has commented that there are similarities between hegemonic masculinity and political credibility. According to her, such similarities include strength, independence, rationality and objectivity. Women have had to relate themselves to these norms. In article Kuusipalo, Jaana: (2006): “Nainen poliitikkona ja poliitikko naisena: Poliitiikan sukupuolituminen Suomessa.” In Moring, Anna (ed.): *Sukupuolen politiikka: “Naisten äänioikeuden 100 vuotta Suomessa”*, p. 27–34. Helsinki: Kustannusyhtiö Otava, p. 31

¹⁶ Kuusipalo 2006, p. 33–34

The gender bias of different political sectors is still strongly present, and the International Affairs Committee and the Finance Committee mentioned in this study as well have been seen as the most respected and clearly male-dominated committees in the materials collected from 1945 on.¹⁷ Anne Maria Holli has noted that the gender division can also be seen inside the committee: men are far more likely to be selected as committee chairpersons than women. It seems, however, that this difference is starting to level out in the study published in 2014.¹⁸ Holli also comments on the influential position of committee co-ordinators,¹⁹ which is indicative of the vertical division of work between genders in the same way as the distribution of chairperson and vice chairperson positions. The role of committees co-ordinators has not been discussed in detail in this study discussing equality in parliamentary work.

In Finnish central government, the significance of gender has recently been discussed in, for example, a Ministry of Social Affairs and Health memo discussing the mainstreaming of the gender perspective (2014).²⁰ The report on gender-aware budgeting was finished in spring 2018.²¹ The Act on Equality between Women and Men passed in 1986 was last amended by acts which entered into force on 1

On the gender-sensitive parliament

Gender-sensitive parliament is a concept²⁴ which has been established by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, IPU.²³ Inter-Parliamentary Union produces materials to support its policies on the organisation of parliamentary work. The Union promotes the enforcement of gender equality in parliaments, and the materials constructed around the concept of gender-sensitive parliament discuss this work.²⁵ Gender-sensitivity means taking the needs and interests of various genders in the parliamentary structures and work.²⁶

17 Holli, Anne Maria (2014): "Sukupuoli, valta ja työnjako valiokunnissa." In Raunio Tapio and Matti Wiberg (ed.): Eduskunta – kansanvaltaa puolueiden ja hallituksen ehdoilla, Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press 2014, 132–149

18 Holli 2014, 146

19 Holli 2014, 146; also see Holli, Anne Maria & Saari, Milja (2009): Sukupuoli eduskunnan asiantuntijakuulemisissa. Tasa-arvoasiain neuvottelukunta. <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-00-2792-6>, s. 37-39

20 See Anna Elomäen Sukupuolinäkökulman valtavirtaistaminen valtionhallinnossa 2000–2014. Arvioiva selvitys: http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/70327/URN_ISBN_978-952-00-3542-6.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y. On the mainstreaming of gender perspective, see e.g. Saari, Milja: "Sukupuolinäkökulman valtavirtaistaminen tasa-arvopolitiikan strategiana", in Kantola, Johanna, Nousiainen, Kevät & Saari, Milja (ed.) (2012): Tasa-arvo toisin nähtynä. Oikeuden ja politiikan näkökulmia tasa-arvoon ja yhdenvertaisuuteen. Helsinki: Gaudeamus

21 See Anna Elomäki's report published in the publication series of the Government's survey and study operations in April 2018: Sukupuolietoinen budjetointi –muiden maiden hyvät käytännöt: <http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/160804/22-2018-Sukupuolietoinen%20budjetointi.pdf>

22 <https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1986/19860609#P6c>

23 Inter-Parliamentary Union is an international cooperation body which has been active since the end of the 1800s, formed by the parliaments and the members of parliaments in different countries. Finland is represented by an Executive Board in the Union meetings. All 200 Members of Parliament are, however, members of IPU based on their position. See www.ipu.org The goal of the Inter-Parliamentary Union is to promote peace and democracy. To support this goal, it acts as a discussion forum and formulates recommendations of best practices in order to develop representative democracy and institutions.

24 See e.g. Inter-Parliamentary Union (2011): Gender-Sensitive Parliaments: A Global Review. Geneva: IPU.

25 See e.g. <http://archive.ipu.org/iss-e/women.htm>; <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2018-03/women-in-parliament-in-2017-year-in-review>; <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2016-10/sexism-harassment-and-violence-against-women-parliamentarians>;

26 <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2016-07/gender-sensitive-parliaments>

27 <http://eige.europa.eu/about-eige>

The independent research organisation EIGE (European Institute for Gender Equality)²⁷ operating in connection with the European Union uses the concept of “gender-sensitive parliament” to describe a parliament which considers the gender perspective more widely than by, for example, only reviewing the gender distribution of the members of parliament.²⁸

Inter-Parliamentary Union publishes assessment reports on the global numbers and influencing opportunities of female members of parliament.²⁹ Both the Inter-Parliamentary Union (2016) and EIGE (2018) have developed a set of criteria which can be used for the assessment of gender-sensitivity in a specific parliament.³⁰ These self-assessment tools present perspectives which should be observed when discussing the gender-sensitivity of the parliament. The EIGE tool divides parliaments on local and national parliaments based on registration and also provides a generic option for taking the test without registration.³¹

The Inter-Parliamentary Union’s work on gender-sensitive parliament is also discussed in a separate publication assessing the diversity of the parliament.³² The report dissecting the practices and parliamentary culture of the British parliament, Westminster, contains a total of 43 recommendations paying attention to the inclusiveness of representation from a perspective wider than the gender issue. In addition to gender-sensitivity, access of people from different ethnic backgrounds and socio-economic classes, for example, to key political positions is taken into account as well as the uniform influencing opportunities of everyone who has received a mandate.

The concept of gender-sensitive parliament also has bearing on the conduct of the present study, as it was selected as the context supplementing the Swedish studies already in the design phase. The self-assessment tools of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and EIGE as well as the concepts of gender-sensitive parliament aim at bringing attention to good practices and the application of them in different parliaments. They allow a discussion of differences and similarities in gender situations in different parliaments and a deconstruction of any issues found in one’s own parliament. Any strengths observed can also be reported, thereby increasing the knowledge about good practices supporting the realisation of equality. The use of external assessment criteria was not discussed in the survey part of this study. External assessment criteria were mentioned briefly in the interviews, though, by asking how useful the Members of Parliament found such tools themselves. The opportunity to apply such tools in the Finnish Parliament was mostly perceived as something positive, although assessing their meaning proved to be a difficult task in the short period of time reserved for the interviews. The topic area and self-assessment method is not generally known, at least not in detail, which made it difficult for the interviewees to evaluate its suitability for the Finnish context. The criteria were, on the other hand, seen as valuable triggers of discussion which might help in finding useful ways to discuss gender equality in parliamentary work from a practical perspective.

The strength of self-assessment tools lies in that they bring different perspectives into discussion, attention to gender-biased practices and promote an extensive institutional approach observing the

²⁸ <http://eige.europa.eu/news-and-events/news/your-parliament-doing-enough-advance-gender-equality>

²⁹ <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2018-03/women-in-parliament-in-2017-year-in-review>

³⁰ <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/handbooks/2016-11/evaluating-gender-sensitivity-parliaments-self-assessment-toolkit>; <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/toolkits/gender-sensitive-parliaments>

³¹ <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/toolkits/gender-sensitive-parliaments/how-use-tool>

³² Childs, Sarah (2016): The Good Parliament. Tech.rep. Bristol, UK: University of Bristol Report. <https://www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/news/2016/july/20%20Jul%20Prof%20Sarah%20Childs%20The%20Good%20Parliament%20report.pdf>

Childs' assessment of the equality status in Westminster is an example of the application of the gender-sensitive perspective as a part of a more extensive proposal to renew practices, observing the intersectional³³ approach to the study of equality. The benefit of this approach is the delicate identification and deconstruction of the internal differences within the generic groups of "female MPs" and "male MPs", providing analytically more detailed information about the preconditions of representation than when using a coarser level of types. The idea of gender-sensitive parliament, however, also acts as an independent approach for the discussion of gender equality, and it can also be used in equality measurements in highly esteemed parliaments.

Observations about the study

The share of female MPs exceeded 40 per cent in 2007 in Finland.³⁴ From this perspective, the political representation of women in Finland is at a good level internationally. More diverse information about the realisation of gender equality³⁵ is, however, obtained by analysing political representation from different perspectives.³⁶ One of the established fields of study in international political research is the discussion paying attention to the consequences and contents of representation in parallel with quantitative representation. Central issues in these studies include, among other things, why women should be represented in political forums, who are the women representing and who and what kinds of backgrounds do the elected members of parliament represent. Furthermore, attention is paid to, for example, the way of discussing female-specific issues in cases where gender equality has been achieved based on quantitative balance.³⁷ From the perspective of this study conducted in the Finnish Parliament, asking these questions in studies about the parliament would be extremely important in order to accurately assess the realisation of gender equality. A multifaceted picture describing different perspectives on equality could be obtained using questions such as these, for example.

³³ On intersectionality in academic discussion, see e.g. Kantola, Johanna and Nousiainen, Kevät (2009): "Institutionalising Intersectionality in Europe: introducing the themes". *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 11:4, 459–477; a brief presentation is also given on the National Institute for Health and Welfare website: <https://thl.fi/fi/web/sukupuolten-tasa-arvo/sukupuoli/sukupuolentutkimus/intersektionalisuus-sukupuolentutkimuksessa> or the WoM World of Management's equality glossary: <http://wom.fi/tasa-arvotietoa/tasa-arvosanasto/>

³⁴ <https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/tietoaeduskunnasta/kirjasto/aineistot/yhteiskunta/historia/naisten-aanioikeus-110-vuotta/Sivut/naiset-kansanedustajina.aspx>

³⁵ Through a slight modification of the presentation of the shift of focus in the research on equality, attention can also be given to actual realised equality instead of just formal equality or equal opportunities. This means a distinction on whether the rights of individuals and their equal opportunities are emphasised in the discussion, or if the focus is on the equality of the results of representative processes. In practice, this could mean observing, say, the balance between genders in the distribution of key parliamentary positions or taking the floor (on the shifts of focus in equality discussions in legal and political discourses, see Kantola et al. 2012).

³⁶ The multifaceted assessment of representation has become established as a separate sector in political research. Hanna Pitkin's *The Concept of Representation* published in 1967 has, in particular, turned out to be an influential work for the research in the field also from the perspective of the realisation of gender equality. From the perspective of feminist political research, Pitkin has been useful for the study of representative democracy, but the focal points of its influence have required some reconsideration. A general presentation of this development of research agenda is given in Childs, Sarah & Lovenduski, Joni (2013): "Political representation". In Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola & Lauren Weldon (Eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013. On the discussion about the relationship and practices of representation and deliberation in the parliament, see Pekonen, Kyösti (2011): *Speech at the Parliament*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

³⁷ Childs, Sarah & Lovenduski, Joni (2013): "Political representation". In Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola & Lauren Weldon (Eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013, 485–514.

This allows focusing any action plans on equality work on the issues which give the best possibilities to address the issue.

The research described above and research in many fields of research left outside this description can be utilised in order to better understand the effects of gender and gender equality on the agendas, operating culture and legislative contents in parliamentary politics. From the perspective of gender, the varied research of speaking events and the related dynamics may be an effective tool to understand politics related to gender roles.³⁸ Such study is focused on parliaments as separate forums for politics³⁹ with shared procedures and good practices for all MPs.⁴⁰ Attention is therefore not so much on the background of the Members of Parliament or the relationship between an MP and those they represent, but on the operation of MPs within the representative system and under its terms. According to this logic, seniority, for example, starts to accumulate from the MP's first term in office and continues to accumulate according to the same conditions for all MPs in spite of their gender, for example. The parliament also nevertheless mainly ends up in a situation where male MPs are overrepresented in political key positions. Reasons for this could be sought in many directions, but it would be good to analyse the impact of gender – or lack thereof – at least. Based on the materials collected, it would appear that a more detailed analysis of the gender bias in the seniority principle would bring significantly more insight into how gender is reflected in and impacts the work of an MP. The significance of parliamentary age and experience must not be diminished, as they are a valuable part of parliamentary work and in principle achievable to all. It is more about the need for a critical analysis of situations where the seniority principle cause a substantial bias in the gender distribution. Likewise, there is a need to analyse the situations where ignoring the seniority principle would give an MP with a lower parliamentary age the opportunity to accumulate seniority or challenge the prevailing gender structures in committees, for instance.

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³⁸ On the unparliamentary discourse strategies in Sweden and Great Britain, see, for example: Ilie, Cornelia (2013): "Gendering confrontational rhetoric: discursive disorder in the British and Swedish parliaments", *Democratization*, 20:3, 501-521, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2013.786547

³⁹ The study of parliamentarism and parliamentary politics is partly a separate field of study, analysing, for instance, the significance of procedures, parliamentary discussions and the history of parliaments, often from a comparative perspective. See e.g. Palonen, Kari (2018): *Parliamentary Thinking. Procedure, rhetoric and time*. Palgrave Macmillan: London; Ihalainen, Pasi & Palonen, Kari (2009): *Parliamentary sources in the comparative study of conceptual history: methodological aspects and illustrations of a research proposal*. *Parliaments, Estates & Representation*, 29, 17–34. Pekonen, Onni (2014): *Debating "the ABCs of parliamentary life": the learning of parliamentary rules and practices in the late nineteenth-century Finnish Diet and the early Eduskunta*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä. Dissertation. 978-951-39-5843-5

⁴⁰ Beetham, David (2006): *Parliament and democracy in the 21st century. A guide to good practice*. IPU 2006, http://archive.ipu.org/PDF/publications/democracy_en.pdf

APPENDIX 3. SIGNIFICANCE OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH FOR THE BACKGROUND AND RESULTS OF THIS STUDY

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