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Gendering the European Digital Agenda: The Challenge of Gender Mainstreaming Twenty Years after the Beijing World Conference on Women

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GENDERING THE EUROPEAN DIGITAL AGENDA

The Challenge of Gender Mainstreaming Twenty Years after the Beijing World Conference on Women

Claudia Padovani

ABSTRACT

The goals set out in the 1995 Platform for Action of the Beijing World Conference on Women—to achieve gender equality in and through the media—interrogate today's digital policies: To what extent have internationally agreed-upon norms of gender equality and gender mainstreaming been recognized and implemented? To what extent has the knowledge produced by feminist scholarship informed media policy developments? What kind of new knowledge, and analytical frameworks, may contribute to unmask gender-unequal power relations in contemporary media environments? The article addresses these questions with a focus on European discourses and institutional practices for the Digital Agenda.

Keywords: gender equality, digital policies, European Digital Agenda, policy discourse

Introduction: Gendering Media Policy Analysis

The present work addresses issues of gender equality (GE) in the context of the European governance of digital communications twenty years after the UN Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995. The Platform for Action (PfA) adopted on that occasion indicated "Women and Media" as one of the critical areas to be addressed to promote GE within and across societies. Two aspects were identified as core components of the critical area, outlined in what has come to be known as "Section J": "Increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new technologies

Claudia Padovani: Department of Politics, Law, and International Studies (SPGI), University of Padova

of communication" (J.1) and "Promote a balanced and non stereotypes [*sic*] portrayal of women in the media" (J.2).

Since then, the Beijing PfA has stood as a normative reference for governments, international organizations, media companies, associations, and civil society actors to foster gender-aware developments in media structures, content, and operations. With the development of digital media and the widespread, though still unequal, diffusion of the Internet and information and communication technologies (ICTs) worldwide, scholars and policy-makers alike face the challenge of rethinking the relevance of GE norms set in Beijing.

In response to recommendations from Section J, national and international studies have investigated specific aspects, such as media content, gender roles, and organizational and structural constraints, that prevent women's access to, and ownership of, the media and information technologies, as well as their freedom to express their interests and visions.[1] In view of the recent Beijing+20 international celebration, specific efforts to assess the progress made on relevant aspects of Section J have been made by European institutions, like the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE).[2] Moreover, increasing attention is paid to the impact and implication of digital developments for women and girls;[3] and several issues are highlighted, including "old stereotypes" in the "new media," barriers in access to the ICT sector, new forms of gender violence online, and gender awareness in media literacy.

Data concerning persisting inequalities are therefore widely available, and problematic issues have been articulated across different constituencies. But how much of this knowledge has contributed to shaping policy debates and informed policy-making related to media, communication, and information technologies?

It is widely recognized that governing arrangements for the media, as well as media organizations' internal policies, do not fully recognize the

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1. Well-known international projects include the *Global Media Monitoring Project* on gender inequalities in the news media, coordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (www.whomakesthenews.org); and the *Global Report on the Status of Women in the News Media* promoted by the International Women's Media Foundation to investigate gender inequalities in media organizations (https://www.iwmf.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/IWMF-Global-Report-Summary.pdf).

2. European Institute for Gender Equality.

3. See the 2013 report by the Broadband Commission and the 2012 ITU report, "A Bright Future."

problematic nature of the nexus between gender and communication,[4] while the disconnection between GE and the governance of the media has for a long time been a peripheral concern to both media scholars and media policy analysts.[5] Interestingly, the most recent contributions in the ongoing debate on gender and media stress the importance of the policy dimension of issues as diverse as the relation between media and gender violence, unequal access to information, and employment and leadership roles in media structures.[6] At the same time, scholarly as well as advocacy interventions in current debates on the governance of the Internet are contributing to linking the concerns and recommendations expressed in Section J to the challenges emerging from digital transformations, stressing the need to liaise knowledge and practices of information technologies with policy developments.[7] We are thus confronted with a growing number of voices that highlight the relevance of gender-aware communication governance, understood as

> the multiplicity of networks of interdependent actors, that are involved with different degrees of autonomy and power in processes of formal or informal character, through which they produce relevant knowledge, cultural practices and norms, and engage in political negotiation while trying to influence the outcome of decision-making in the domain of media and communication in a transnational context.[8]

Eventually, policy interventions are increasingly considered crucial to establish principles and norms for GE in media operations and to sustain good practices over time,[9] while existing case studies suggest that policies can foster GE if a number of supporting measures are adopted.[10] What seems to be missing are adequate frameworks to analyze and understand existing disconnections between gender concerns *and* media policies: between existing (international and national) formal provisions *and* media

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4. Byerly; Sarikakis and Shade.
5. Jensen, "Gender," "Global Feminist Politics"; Gallagher, "Gender and Communication," "Reframing Communication Rights."
6. This is a position expressed by all contributors to the UNESCO/IAMCR report.
7. Gurumurthy and Chami.
8. Padovani and Pavan, "Actors and Interactions."
9. Gallagher, "Gender and Media."
10. Ross and Padovani, Section V.

operations; between policy discourses on the responsibilities of the media in overcoming gender stereotypes *and* the codes of conduct or equality mechanisms too rarely adopted by media corporations; between the potential for diverse voices to speak and be heard in the digital space *and* persisting challenges to women's communication rights in a loosely regulated domain.

Gendering media policy analysis would not simply mean to "add more women" to media content, to focus more on counting percentages of women and men in newsrooms or boards, and to constantly monitor gender diversity across media landscapes. A gendered media policy analysis, inspired by feminist approaches to the study of world politics,[11] invites a consideration of the *social construction of meanings* in policy developments, the structuring of *ideational elements* of governance into frames, discourses, and norms, and the resulting *historical variability*, hence opening up the possibility for change. It also calls for *theorizing about power* in ways that uncover hidden and gender-unequal power relations, focusing on actors' interactions and their capacity to influence policy processes on the basis of their preferences and interests.[12]

Thus, assessing the Beijing PfA twenty years after its enactment, while investigating today's digital policies, means exploring if and to what extent norms of GE and gender mainstreaming (GM) have been recognized and implemented. It is also necessary to investigate to what extent the knowledge produced by feminist scholarship has informed and shaped policy developments, and to identify what kind of new knowledge may contribute to unmask unequal power relations.

The present article addresses these questions, while proposing a multidimensional analytical framework for the empirical investigation of digital media policies (section "A Multidimensional Analytical Framework on Gender Mainstreaming in European Digital Strategies"). The framework is then applied to the European Digital Agenda (DA) strategy (section "Exploring Gender Mainstreaming in the European Digital Agenda") to sketch out traits of current European governing arrangements in this domain, and the concluding remarks (section "Conclusions") comment on the heuristic potential of the proposed framework toward further exploration of digital policies from a gender-aware point of view. Consistent with the multidimensionality of the adopted framework, empirical analyses in

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11. Tickner; Tickner and Sjoberg.
12. Padovani and Pavan, "Global Governance and ICTs."

the section "Exploring Gender Mainstreaming in the European Digital Agenda" are based on a mixed methodology, including qualitative content analysis of official documents, use of secondary sources, and tracing of online issues networks.

A Multidimensional Analytical Framework on Gender Mainstreaming in European Digital Strategies

Given the relevance of ideational elements to a gender-aware appreciation of policy developments, normative references such as GE and GM offer useful entry points to the elaboration of an analytical framework. While GE has been globally recognized as a fundamental norm since the Beijing conference, building on the idea that "gender differences shape policy processes and outcomes,"[13] GM has been considered an "organizing principle"[14] to ensure that decision making takes into account men's and women's different interests and needs. It has also been referred to as a "policy frame" that should be guiding the activities of international organizations and state actors.[15] As such, GM is a means to operationalize GE across policy areas, including those not directly concerned with gender issues, through the development of specific knowledge and technical capacities within institutions, and the adoption of a number of mechanisms and tools, such as assessment plans, gender audits, and gender proofing.

Gender Mainstreaming in Europe

At the European level, the concept of GM appeared in the Third Action Programme on Equal Opportunities (1991–96). Later, the Treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam provided the legal basis for the development of programs specifically aimed at fostering equality between women and men in employment and working conditions. But the stronger impetus to GM actualization came after the Beijing conference:[16] in 1996, the

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13. True, 369.

14. Wiener, "Contested Meanings."

15. Pollack and Hafner-Burton. See also Mazey.

16. It has been noted that a push toward an explicit commitment to GM came in 1995 with the Santer Commission, appointed from an expanded pool of states, including new members like Sweden, Austria, and Finland that strongly supported equal opportunities strategies at home (http://jeanmonnetprogram.org/archive/papers/00/000201-03.html).

European Commission issued the Communication "Incorporating Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in All Community Policies and Activities," in which GM was defined as:

> The systematic integration of the respective situations, priorities and needs of women and men in all policies and with a view to promoting equality between women and men and mobilizing all general policies and measures specifically for the purpose of achieving equality by actively and openly taking into account, at the planning stage, their effects on the respective situations of women and men in implementation, monitoring and evaluation.[17]

In the following years, institutional developments included the appointment of an Inter-Directorate Group responsible for communicating GM across all Directorates General (DG), and the establishment of a High-Level Commissioners' Group to develop strategies in the different DGs (1997). Between 2010 and 2015, the EU has been working within the framework of a "Strategy for Equality between Women and Men"[18] and most recently it launched the "Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016–2019," in which it is reaffirmed that equality

> will continue to be promoted through the integration of a gender equality perspective into every aspect of EU intervention (preparation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, legal measures and spending programmes) i.e. gender mainstreaming.[19]

Tool kits and guidelines have been produced to support the implementation of a GM approach.[20] Such materials outline a number of conditions to be met to mainstream gender across policy domains. As far as

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17. European Commission COM(96) 67 Final.

18. European Commission COM(2010) 491 Final. It may be noted that in the document the word "media" is mentioned only once in the list of areas of concern in the Beijing Platform for Action, and no reference is made to digital developments.

19. European Commission SWD(2015) 278 Final. Here, the only reference to media aspects are brief mentions of the need to improve the gender balance in economic sectors and occupations, through the Grand Coalition for Digital Jobs (p. 12), and to financially support the Safer Digital Services Infrastructure to combat cyberbullying, acknowledging that girls are more exposed than boys.

20. Examples are Council of Europe; European Commission DG1; EIGE.

human resources, it is required that expert competence is acquired by the interested institutions, and that gender experts take part in planning and decision-making activities; attention should be paid to the percentage of women and men in high-level managerial staff positions; and gender training should be offered, particularly to senior managers. There should also be adequate *ad hoc financial resources* for GM implementation. As per *planning instruments*, gender disaggregated statistics and indicators are core to mainstreaming equality measures; monitoring is expected throughout policy implementation; and policy assessments should be made at specific stages, with checklists and manuals made available to implementing agencies and reports regularly submitted.

GM has gradually come to be understood as the (re)organization, improvement, development, and evaluation of policy processes, so that a GE perspective is incorporated in all policies at all policy levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy making.[21] Mainstreaming gender across policy domains is clearly a demanding principle. Not only are community initiatives to empower women in society to be developed, but also policies on equal opportunities are to be clearly defined; heads of departments are mandated to devote attention to GE issues, and further, European agencies are invited to reflect on how they can contribute to GE in their own domains. Furthermore, the EU and its members are requested to simultaneously mobilize legal instruments, financial resources, and organizational capacities in order to balance, across all sectors, relationships between women and men. Previous analyses have highlighted that wide acceptance of the concept is paralleled by diffused rhetoric. As stated by Hafner-Burton and Pollack: "Despite the apparent universality of gender mainstreaming, the actual implementation of mainstreaming remains highly variable both within and across organizations."[22]

A Multidimensional Analytical Framework

Focusing on procedural aspects of GM is therefore not sufficient to assess institutional capacity to implement a gender culture and translate it into policy provisions. The "checklist" of available mechanisms needs to be integrated with theoretically based models. Useful insights in this direction come from a number of scholarly analyses that have critically

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21. Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 5.
22. Ibid., 30.

investigated GM in Europe.[23] In particular, Hafner-Burton and Pollack have conducted comparative analysis of GM in different policy domains, adopting an approach based on social movement theory, emphasizing the combination of political opportunities, strategic framing, and mobilizing structures.[24] Building on their work, we argue that a multidimensional framework—including adequate appreciation of *historical developments*, alongside consideration of *structural, ideational*, and *relational aspects* of a specific policy domain—would enrich empirical investigations while supporting the attempt of gendering media policy analysis, as discussed in the Introduction.

A focus on *political opportunity structures* (POS) allows one to identify the relevant features of a "political environment that provides incentives for collective action by affecting people's expectations for success or failures."[25] When policy arrangements result from multi-actor interactions, as in communication governance, it is core to assess the degree of openness of a political system whereby actors intervene by trying to influence the policy debate and resulting decisions. Points of access into a policy domain can enhance opportunities for different actors, including the marginal and disempowered, to ensure their interests are taken into account; while consideration of possible allies among the élites of core organizations helps in understanding potential alignments to promote specific claims. The POS also invite consideration for longitudinal developments, since "Political opportunities . . . may change over time as governments change, new organizations are formed, and new access points and élites create <windows of opportunities>"[26] for the actors involved. In the European context, several actors have been active over the years, with different capacities to contribute toward engendering European policies. Including POS in the analytical framework to investigate digital policies helps in assessing how open and inclusive the institutions responsible for the European DA have been, while also taking into account the support received by prominent individuals.

Strategic framing helps to clarify the discursive dimension of policy making. Understood as "conscious and strategic efforts by groups of people to

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23. Rees, *Mainstreaming Equality*; Mazey; Verloo; Rees, "Reflections." For an updated analysis of GM implementation by the European Commission, see also Hafner-Burton and Pollack, "Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union."

24. Hafner-Burton and Pollack, "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance."

25. Tarrow, 76–77.

26. Hafner-Burton and Pollack, "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance," 7.

fashion shared understanding of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action,"[27] frames can be strategically elaborated by social movements organizations to articulate problematic issues, so as to gain support and mobilize individuals to participate in collective action.[28] Frames can as well be promoted in policy venues and used to articulate issues in relation to existing, dominant, or alternative institutional frames.[29] As such, frames are one of the ideational components—together with principles, discourses, and norms—that are core to an approach to supranational politics that reflects the socially constructed nature of policy knowledge and meanings, as articulated by feminist scholarship.[30] In her analysis of GM in the EU, Sonia Mazey has indeed suggested that GM is a "policy frame" put forward by strategic actors seeking to ensure greater attention to gender issues.[31] To what extent GM as a policy frame has been articulated in the EU DA and, more generally, how GE has been framed in that context, remains open to empirical investigation.

Finally, *mobilizing structures* are identified as collective vehicles, formal and informal, through which people engage in collective action.[32] Several works have described the realities of transnational advocacy that have contributed to make the women's movement visible and relevant on the international scene since the 1970s.[33] Others have explored transnational networks around gender and media empirically.[34] Indeed, operationalizing and analyzing networks—often enmeshed in the very processes through which formal decision making is made—may provide a complementary standpoint to more conventional investigations of decision-making processes and help to uncover power relations that enable, or constrain, alternative views and conflicting interests. Actors' different structural positions in networks translate into different capacities to influence network dynamics and this, in turn, can affect their overall degree of effectiveness. Investigating networks contributing to the European DA as mobilizing

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27. McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 6.
28. Snow and Benford.
29. Keck and Sikkink.
30. Tickner; Ackerly, Stern, and True; Wiener, *The Invisible Constitution*.
31. Mazey.
32. McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald.
33. Moghadam; Dufour, Masson, and Caouette.
34. Padovani; Padovani and Pavan, "Global Governance and ICTs."

TABLE 1   A Multidimensional Framework to Investigate Gender Mainstreaming in European Digital Policies

	Dimensions of Gendered (Digital) Policy Analysis	Methodologies and Focus
Historical Variability over Time	Evolution of policy narrative	Review of policy narrative on the European information society
	Structural elements and openness of political system	Analysis of POS
	Ideational elements and social construction of meaning	Analysis of frames constituting the EU DA
	Power relations and actors' interactions	Analysis of mobilizing structures looking at online issue networks

structures may therefore respond to feminist calls to maintain a focus on power relations.[35]

By connecting these elements within a single analytical framework, both the content and process of policy arrangements can be investigated. Considering historical variations while focusing on the interplay between institutional arrangements, the discursive dimension of policy frames, and the dynamics of actors' interactions allows for a better understanding of GM in European digital policies. Table 1 provides a synthetic depiction of the multidimensional framework and how it is applied in the following paragraphs.

Exploring Gender Mainstreaming in the European Digital Agenda

It has been suggested that the gradual introduction of a gender perspective into existing policies has the potential to "transform the discourse, procedures and participants of EU and national policies."[36] Our guiding question is: Where do European plans for digital developments, and in particular the DA strategy, stand in relation to this transformative potential?

Applying the proposed framework, we provide an overview of a complex domain characterized by a plurality of actors and interests, and by the meaningful interplay of offline and online discursive practices.[37] Investigating milestone documents and thematic events, as well as relevant

35. Young; Yeatmann; Allen; Tickner and Sjoberg; Padovani and Pavan, "Networks and Power."
36. Hafner-Burton and Pollack, "Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance," 453.
37. Padovani and Pavan, "Actors and Interactions."

websites and their interlinkages, we explore evolving policy discourses on the European knowledge society to assess if and to what extent GE is a constitutive component of the strategies and programs adopted by the EU in relation to digital transformations.

Gender-Blindness in the European Discourse on the Information Society

A brief historical overview of ideas and policy interventions around Europe as a knowledge society[38] shows a very marginal focus on GE in the Union's policy discourse toward smart and sustainable growth, and the creation of an "all-inclusive digital society." The history can be traced back to 1979, when the Strasbourg and Dublin European Councils declared that the dynamic complex of information industries, based on the new electronic technologies, offered a major source of economic growth and social development. Since then, the economic imperative to reorganize European markets in a globally competitive environment has been a driving force behind European initiatives. Milestone documents in the 1990s included the 1993 "White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment"; the 1994 so-called Bangemann Report "Europe and the Global Information Society"; and the "Green Paper on the Convergence of the Telecommunications, Media and Information Technology Sectors, and the Implications for Regulation: Towards an Information Society Approach"[39] adopted in 1997. Unsurprisingly, none of these documents—which conceptualized the information society within a neoliberal framework of growth and competition in a global market—included any specific reference to women's conditions and needs.

With the opening of the new millennium, a Directorate General specifically focused on the information society was created, and the "eEurope 2002 Action Plan"[40] was adopted as an integral part of the Lisbon strategy for making the European Union "the world's most dynamic knowledge-based economy" by 2010. In this plan, "gender" is never mentioned; nor are girls and boys, in spite of a focus on youth and students. "Women" is mentioned once, in the section "Benchmarking: Investing in People and Skills," in which the Commission states that "Overall more men than women have the opportunity to use telework and it is most widespread amongst

38. For a historical overview, see Shahin and Finger.
39. European Commission COM(97) 623.
40. European Commission COM(2001) 140 Final.

managers" (para. 2.2). Similarly, in "eEurope 2005: An Information Society for All,"[41] GE never appears, while the term "women" is used once, among a set of specific actions related to e-learning.

In 2004, "Regulation (EC) No 808/2004" was issued by the European Parliament and the Council, as the legal basis for surveys on ICT usage in households and by individuals. It established a common framework for the systematic production of community statistics on the information society (Art. 1) and "sex" was included in Annex II—"Breakdowns of Data Provision"—as one of the criteria for statistics supplied for individuals (alongside age group, educational level, employment situation, and regions).[42]

The "i2010—A European Information Society for Growth and Employment"[43] initiative was launched in 2005, laying out broad policy orientations for the renewed Lisbon partnership and audiovisual media policies in the EU. Here the idea of a single European information space is structured around a double frame: on the one side, reflecting the neoliberal approach, ICTs are seen as "a powerful driver of growth and employment"; on the other side, building "a fully inclusive information society" is seen as "essential." In spite of the explicit reference to the quality of citizens' lives, equality is never referred to in the text, nor are gender and mainstreaming, women and men, or girls and boys. Fostering organizational skills is crucial, but there is no "embodiment" of such competences in women and men.

In 2010, the Commission adopted the "Digital Agenda for Europe":[44] the first of the seven pillars of the "Europe 2020 Strategy," which sets the objectives for European growth by 2020. The Digital Agenda (DA)—managed by the European Commission Directorate General for Communications Networks, Content & Technology (Connect)—aims at better exploiting the potential of ICTs in order to foster innovation, economic growth, and progress.[45] Again, none of the terms associated with GM, nor a systematic

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41. European Commission COM(2002) 263 Final.

42. It may be noted that debates concerning statistical data in relation to information technologies were taking place, in the same years, in the context of the UN-promoted WSIS, where the need to elaborate sex disaggregated data was highlighted, to support and inform policy decisions in national contexts clearly marked by gender divides.

43. European Commission COM(2005) 229 Final.

44. European Commission COM(2010) 245.

45. The full implementation of the Digital Agenda is expected to increase the European GDP by 5 percent over the next years, by increasing investment in ICT, improving e-skills levels in the labor force, enabling public sector innovation, and reforming the framework conditions for the Internet economy.

consideration of women's needs and expectations, can be found in the document, while an "efficiency frame" concerning women's participation in the knowledge society emerges in relation to digital literacy and necessary skills for innovation and growth.[46] But these concerns are not restated in the "Digital Agenda for Europe—Driving European Growth Digitally"[47] adopted in December 2012, nor in the "Digital Market Strategy for Europe"[48] adopted in May 2015, in which no reference at all is made to women's participation in digital growth.

Two decades of interventions to design a European area of innovation and knowledge have barely included any reference to norms of GE, nor have they reflected the GM principle. When women were mentioned, this was in relation to very specific aspects (i.e., different opportunities for telework or the key skills needed to improve employability), instrumental to the idea of making the EU a global knowledge-based economy. This absence persists in the most recent documents, such as the Communication "Taking Stock of the Europe 2020 Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth."[49] In reviewing the 100 indicators of the DA and identifying seven priority areas of intervention—including a new and stable broadband regulatory environment, new public digital service infrastructures, and a Grand Coalition on Digital Skills and Jobs—the term "gender" appears only once, alongside age and regional differences, to stress persisting inequalities.

Political Opportunity Structure and the European Digital Agenda

The POS of any domain can be open, moderate, or closed, depending on institutional access points for advocacy groups, and on élites as allies who may be supportive of specific claims. In this respect, the EU has been described as quite open to external actors' interventions, but with significant variations among different Directorate Generals.[50] So, what have

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46. Para. 2.6.1 highlights that "given there are 30 million women between the ages of 15–24, it is necessary to improve the attractiveness of the ICT sector for professional use and in particular for the production and design of technology"; while para. 2.6.2 calls for actions to "Promote a higher participation of young women and women returners in the ICT workforce through support for web-based training resources, game based eLearning and social networking."

47. European Commission COM(2012) 784 Final.

48. European Commission COM(2015) 192 Final.

49. European Commission COM(2014) 130 Final/2.

50. Pollack and Hafner-Burton.

been the opportunities to intervene and make gender issues visible and compelling in the DA?

Since 2010, a number of open public consultations have been launched[51] as a means to involve European citizens in the elaboration of the DA strategy, but none of those consultations focused explicitly on gender issues.[52] General issues and principles were addressed in the early consultations; a focus on measurement and open research, cloud computing, and standard characterized the 2013–14 period; and the use of innovative data technologies to produce well-grounded and evidence-informed policies was discussed in 2015.

At the same time, different stakeholders have performed consultative processes and channeled their claims through the European institutions. This has been the case for a 2010 initiative by the European Centre for Women and Technology (ECWT),[53] which launched a consultation amongst its partners, based on which a "Position Paper on Gender and Technologies: Lining up for a Gender Action-Plan for the Digital Agenda"[54] was elaborated to

> open a dialogue with all stakeholders (public, private, academia and NGOs) in Europe engaged in collaboration for measurably and significantly increasing the number of girls and women in ICT, innovation and technology, with the goal to join forces for a strategic Gender Action Plan for implementing the Digital Agenda and the Europe 2020 Strategy with a gendered approach.

The position paper formed the background for a Joint High-Level DG INFSO and Hungarian EU Presidency Conference titled "Women in Science, Innovation and Technology in the Digital Age," organized in

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51. For a chronology, see European Commission, "Past Consultations."

52. Personal communication with Maria Sangiuliano, at the time deputy director ECTW, July 6, 2015.

53. http://womenandtechnology.eu. Active since 2008 as a not-for-profit organization, the ECWT is a multi-stakeholder partnership of over 100 entities, reflecting expertise in women and technology development. Its goal is to improve women's role in traditionally male-dominated fields such as the ICT and science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) and to value their potentials in terms of innovation, creativity, and leadership. The Centre also operates as the European Point of Contact of a common global framework based on the "Declaration of the International Task Force for Women and ICT," recognized by the UN Global Alliance for Information and Communication Technologies and Development (GAID) as a Community of Expertise for Gender and ICT.

54. European Centre for Women and Technology.

Budapest in March 2011. It also presented a number of concrete proposals toward the elaboration of a Gender Action Plan for the DA, which would include formal consultative processes, a call for more elaborated disaggregated statistics, a multi-sectorial approach to GE that would involve different DGs (Education and Research, Entrepreneurship, Employment and Workforce), and a call for multi-actor partnerships. The ECWT thus contributed to raising the profile of gender issues in the DA narrative.

Crucial to these developments has been the support of an institutional entity, the EIGE, and of élite allies like Viviane Reding and Neelie Kroes, who served, respectively, as information society commissioner and as commissioner for the DA and vice president of the EU, over the period 2008–14. Gender-oriented initiatives, such as the "Code of Best Practices for Women in ICT and the European Directory of Women in ICT," were implemented in the period 2008–9.[55] A number of high-level meetings contributed to the visibility of growing concerns with gender inequality issues: a workshop on "Women for Smart Growth" was held on the occasion of the 2011 Digital Agenda Assembly; several "Girls in ICT Day" sessions have been hosted at the European Parliament and co-organized by the European Commission, the Parliament, and the ITU; a "Women and Girls Go Digital" high-level conference was hosted by the Greek presidency of the Union in April 2014.[56]

Opening the 2011 Budapest conference, Commissioner Kroes highlighted: "They made us use the technology, but we had no input into its design and evolution" and acknowledged that "getting and keeping women in ICT is about more than the technology or the school system. It's about career progression, equal pay and facilities to reconcile their family and professional life."[57]

Other high-profile female figures from different European institutions also contributed to promote a gender-aware vision of the DA, including Dalia Grybauskaitè, president of the Lithuanian Republic; Amalia Sartori and other members of the EU Parliamentary Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality;[58] and Virginia Langbakk, director of the EIGE.

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55. Personal communication with Maria Sangiuliano, deputy director ECTW, July 6, 2015.

56. Websites can be accessed at: http://ec.europa.eu/digital-agenda/en/22-women-smart-growth; https://ec.europa.eu/digital-agenda/en/girls-ict-day; http://www.womengodigital.eu.

57. See also "Women and ICT."

58. In its "Report on Progress on Equality between Women and Men in the European Union in 2013," the Committee called "upon the Commission to ensure that gender be fully mainstreamed in the priority accorded to the digital agenda in the next five years" (para. 15, p. 15).

Though formal documents on digital strategies have shown scant attention to GE norms and operational principles, in recent years calls have multiplied to address this gap. This can be seen as the result of a strategic use of opportunity structures by committed mobilizing networks like the ECWT and the European Women's Lobby (EWL), with the support of élite allies from within the Union. Gender issues seem to have slowly found a legitimate, though still peripheral, place in the digital policy arena, as demonstrated by the publication, in 2015, of the "Opinion on Gender Equality and the Digital Society in Europe: Opportunities and Risks" by the Commission's Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men. The document explicitly recognizes that "women's full engagement in the digital world is a must" and that they should not only "benefit from ICTs but also be equal players in directing the evolution of the digital world." It also includes a number of recommendations and specific measures to be implemented, at the national and European level, to harness opportunities for work, education, and participation, and to mitigate risks deriving from, and resulting in, gender stereotypes, cyber violence against women, and their exclusion from access to ICTs and working opportunities.[59]

What remains to be seen is how sustainable this emerging orientation is, as élite supporters like Reding and Kroes are no longer in leadership position in the DA institutional framework; and only a diffused gender-sensitive culture and sustained mobilizing structures, both operating across offline and online spaces of interaction, could guarantee ongoing commitment to GE in future digital developments.

Framing Gender in the European Digital Agenda

Technical, organizational, and cultural changes contribute to structure and, at the same time, depend on the ways in which gender issues in ICT and digital transformations are understood, articulated, and framed. Policy frames are therefore relevant to the analysis of perspectives on GE that have made their way into the European information and knowledge society discourse.

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59. European Commission's Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men. Interestingly, as noted earlier (footnote 19), none of the language of this document seems to have found its way into the "Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality" adopted in December of the same year.

As outlined earlier, almost no reference to gender-related issues can be found in the series of milestone EU documents, until the adoption of the DA strategy in 2010. Here a very specific reading of GE is included in a list of 100 objectives and actions to be addressed. Pillar VI of the Agenda—titled "Enhancing Digital literacy, Skills and Inclusion"—tackles aspects of the digital divide, and includes the only specific reference to women: Action 60 refers to the need to "Increase participation of women in the ICT workforce; to reverse and improve the lack of female workforce in the ICT sector."[60]

This frame speaks to the concerns outlined in various European initiatives, exemplified by the approach adopted in the "Code of Best Practices for Women and ICT" in 2009.[61] Here it is highlighted that the number of young people studying and choosing careers in ICT is decreasing and not keeping up with a growing demand, while an important skills gap and shortage of qualified staff is predicted in the sector, and thus threatening to seriously weaken the whole economy. At the same time, women are underrepresented at all levels in the ICT sector, and especially in decision-making positions: training and encouraging especially young women to enter and stay in the sector is the EU's response. A similar approach characterizes the series of "shadowing days" to show young women that technology is not just "strictly for geeks,"[62] and the online "European Directory of Women in ICT" (EUD) to foster progress both at a professional and educational level.[63] In the same line are the "E-Skills weeks" launched with the "E-skills for 21st Century Fostering Competitiveness, Growth and Jobs" Communication[64] or the "Ada Awards" initiative, by the Digital Leadership Institute, in partnership with the a number of European networks.[65]

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60. "Action 60."

61. A "Code of Best Practices for Women in ICTs" was elaborated by major IT firms with the support of the ECWT, with the aim to attract women in ICT, keep them in the sector and "help them reach their full potential." This was presented to the European Commission on March 8, 2009, as part of broader initiatives to raise awareness and highlight job opportunities.

62. Young women paired with successful career women working in IT, to follow their mentors in daily activities.

63. Part of a tender issued by DG InfSoc and realized by the ECWT, the Directory is no longer available online; it was designed and implemented in the period 2008 to 2009 as a searchable database of all major stakeholders, activities, good examples, statistics, and indicators, which contributed to establishing web-based collaborations around women in ICT.

64. European Commission COM(2007) 496 Final.

65. Named after Lady Ada Lovelace, the world's first computer programmer, the award is an initiative of the Digital Leadership Institute. *The Ada Awards*.

Clearly, the main frame according to which a gender lens is included in the DA implementation plan is that of attracting more women into ICT jobs. As such, it speaks to the main goal (and dominant frame) of EU institutions since the Lisbon Council: that of enhancing Europe's competitiveness and putting it back on the path of growth. In this context, enabling women to enter ICT jobs would provide a boost to the EU economy and foster a European job market capable of facing global competition.

We need to ask whether this frame resonates with how gender inequalities have been addressed in supranational discursive spaces concerning the governance of communications and ICTs.

In 1995, Section J of the Beijing PfA stressed the need to address structural imbalances and obstacles to GE. Ten years later, the UN World Summit on the Information Society adopted a Declaration of Principles (2003) where the world governments affirmed

> that development of ICTs provides enormous opportunities for women, who should be an integral part of, and key actors, in the Information Society. We are committed to ensuring that the Information Society enables women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis on equality in all spheres of society and in all decision-making processes.[66]

In 2015, such a statement has been reinforced in the Outcome Document of the WSIS+10 Review, which acknowledges once again "that a gender divide exists as part of the digital divide," and commits the international community "to mainstreaming gender in the World Summit on the Information Society process," calling for

> immediate measures to achieve gender equality in Internet users by 2020, especially by significantly enhancing women's and girls' education and participation in information and communications technologies, as users, content creators, employees, entrepreneurs, innovators and leaders.[67]

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66. World Summit on the Information Society, Preamble, Para. 12. See ITU, "World Summit."
67. ITU Outcome Document of the WSIS+10 Review (para. 27). See ITU, "World Summit," for documents of the WSIS+10 Review Process.

More elaborated frames have been proposed in recent years by supranational entities as well as civic organizations and independent researchers. According to the Broadband Commission,[68] the integration of gender in national ICT and broadband policies goes along with the need to improve sex-disaggregated ICT statistics and measurement. Furthermore, steps to boost the affordability and usability of ICT products and services should parallel efforts to improve relevant content online, while policies informed by gender-relevant data and knowledge should include a focus on services that facilitate active participation.

Heike Jensen, who conducted a two-decade longitudinal analysis of the UN policy discourse around gender and media,[69] identified three main areas of concern: (a) media and ICT content, with persisting stereotyped depictions of men and women, and pornography; (b) the need for broad dissemination of information about women's rights, and for orienting the media and ICTs toward values such as peace, respect, and nondiscrimination (alongside building infrastructure and communications and information networks that benefit women); and (c) concerns about education, training, and career development, which partly resonate with the European approach, but directly tackle unequal power relations with a stronger focus on equality in leadership positions.

Unequal relations are also core to Anita Gurumurthy's research. Director of IT for Change, an Indian-based NGO that promotes digital GE in rural areas, she argues that we need to move beyond the assumption that digital technologies are empowering "per se," which still seems to prevail in EU narratives.[70] On the contrary, Gurumurthy and Chami stress the fact that socio-technical practices reproduce gender power differences; hence, it is important to examine "what norms are privileged in the structure of the Internet and how the logic of techno-social spaces is contingent upon

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68. Broadband Commission. The Broadband Commission for Digital Development is a joint initiative of ITU and UNESCO, set up in response to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon's call to step up UN efforts to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The Commission was established in May 2010 with the aim of boosting the importance of broadband on the international policy agenda, and expanding broadband access in every country as key to accelerating progress toward national and international development targets. See http://www.broadbandcommission.org.

69. Jensen, "Global Feminist Politics."

70. The Digital Agenda Assembly stated: "the proposed 'women agenda,' which calls for greater integration of women in ICTs and within the Digital Agenda, will *naturally* result in the greater effectiveness and efficiency of the 100 DA Actions" (p. 3, emphasis added).

design and production of technological architecture."[71] Gender differences are thus to be considered in the design, implementation, and evaluation phases; and the analysis of social, cultural, and economic situations should inform ICT policies in their integration with other policies.

These more comprehensive readings—also reflected in the Association for Progressive Communication's "10 Points Proposal to Revise Section J"[72]—show that not only economic empowerment, but also gender responsive governance, women's public political participation, educational opportunities, and issues related to women's access to information, knowledge, and technology should be included in digital policy frameworks and interventions. These constitutive elements thus engage with the broader ecosystem of digital challenges and opportunities while addressing persisting social and unequal power structures.

Since narratives have "the ability to enable or constrain different pathways for action" and because "relationships of power critically circumscribe the imagination,"[73] the narrow frame adopted in the European DA results is highly problematic. As Robin Mansell observes: "prevailing policy debates rarely acknowledge the contested power relations amongst those involved in ICT investment initiatives."[74] While recognition of contested interests among stakeholders would be essential in addressing disempowering consequences, the dominant neoliberal language adopted by the European institutions allows space for individual development and achievement, but only as a functional element to economic growth and global competition.[75] What seems to emerge in the European context is what Vandana Shiva defined as "trade-related feminism": a situation where "the empowerment of women is reduced to a means towards economic success, thereby making the <freedom to trade> and not the <freedom of women> the central issue."[76]

It should be acknowledged that small signs of change can be found in recent official statements. The conclusions of "The Gender Dimension

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71. Gurumurthy and Chami, 8.

72. Association for Progressive Communication.

73. Tickner and Sjoberg, 66.

74. Mansell.

75. An example of this is the wording of the 2011 Digital Agenda Assembly: "Europe's women represent greatly underutilised human capital and competitive advantage . . . they should be seen not as a 'problem' but as a source of innovative ideas, products and markets—i.e., a competitive advantage."

76. Shiva, quoted in Sisson Runyan.

in the Europe 2020 Strategy" conference (March 2013) include self-criticism—"the absence of a gender dimension in the Europe 2020 strategy reflects a lack of political ambition: worse, a lack of political will"—calling on member states and EU institutions to ensure that a genuine gender-mainstreamed approach is adopted. But the risk remains that a one-dimensional narrative would constrain the possibilities, for women and men, to actually harness the progressive potential of digital transformations. In this case, women would end up having "voice without agency, participation without politics and collaboration without appropriation."[77]

Mobilizing for Gender Equality?

Alongside opportunity structures and frame elaboration, GM in the European governance of digital communications can also be investigated by looking at the networks of actors, governmental and nongovernmental, that operate as mobilizing structures for GE, contribute to the elaboration of discourses and positions, organize and participate in events, and design and implement initiatives.

Empirical investigation through a relational approach allows adequate consideration of the diversity of actors and processes, as well as of the dynamics and complexities through which policy frames and programs are discussed and adopted. On the one side, actors involved in transnational networks interact through bargaining and negotiation, thus "producing [an] inter-subjective understanding of issues and (sometimes) norms";[78] on the other side, interactions today take place through face-to-face encounters as well as in the online space, in both cases contributing to the consolidation of frames and normative positions.[79] An initial exploration of European networks that aim at establishing norms of GE and mainstreaming in digital strategies can therefore be conducted looking at the discursive spaces constituted by actors' online interactions.

An entry point to the analysis is offered by the ECWT: the ECWT presents itself as a multi-stakeholder network aimed at increasing the number of women in technology and education, research and innovation, workforce, entrepreneurship, leadership, and the media. Among its partners are public entities such as the Province of Venice and the Barcelona Chamber

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77. Gurumurthy, 4.
78. Sørensen and Torfing, 9.
79. Padovani and Pavan, "Actors and Interactions."

of Commerce; private entities like Nokia, Accenture, and a number of consultancy agencies; academic partners and NGOs; European organizations such as SchoolNet; and non-European entities, among which include Women in Global Science and Technology (WIGSAT) from Canada, and the Asia Pacific Center for Women and Technology, for a total of about ninety organizational actors. Partner organizations to the ECWT are here taken as "starting points" to elaborate the network shown in Figure 1: an issue network focused on GE in digital Europe, stemming from the ECWT consortium.[80]

The network is traced making use of a tool called Issue Crawler,[81] a software designed to systematically crawl the web and trace sets of resources and websites that share a thematic focus on a specific issue and are connected among themselves via hyperlinks.[82] Which node (actor/organization) is connected to which, and who is excluded from online interactions;
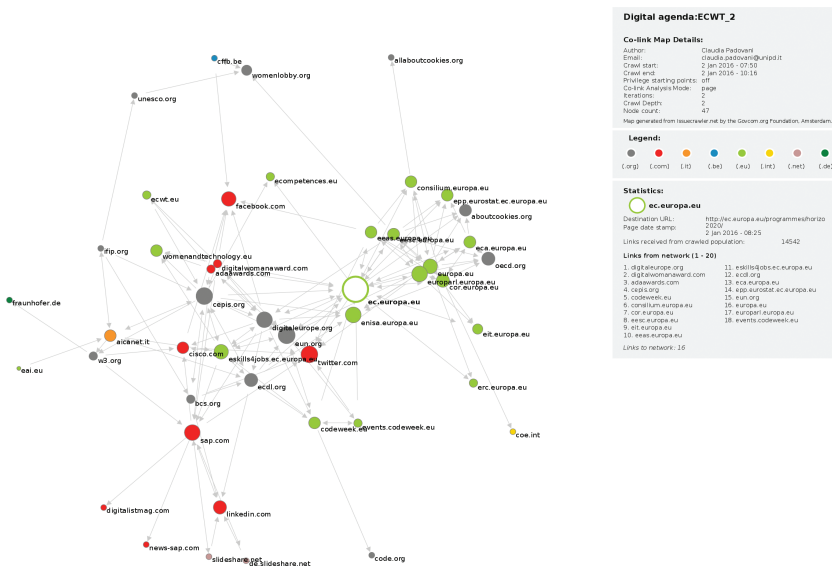

FIGURE 1   Issue network on GE in the European DA (starting points: ECWT members; crawl conducted on January 3, 2016)

80. The issue network shown in Figure 1 was traced in January 2016, using as starting points the list of ECWT partners available on the organization's website in summer 2015. In the reorganized current website, the list is no longer available. It is reproduced in Appendix A to this article.

81. www.issuecrawler.net. The software starts from a given set of URLs—here, the list of ECWT partners—and performs a process called *co-link analysis* to produce maps of the hyperlink patterns of interaction among nodes/actors.

82. Rogers.

which node receives many links from and sends links to the network; and which node tends to reciprocate links or not are all relevant aspects of online discursive dynamics. The issue network thus allows one to identify which actors are best positioned to have their views widely circulated and/ or to connect different sections of a network, potentially exercising some kind of influence by using a certain vocabulary, articulating and fostering frames, and supporting or opposing alternative solutions.

Nodes are characterized with different colors according to the top-level domain of their URLs. The issue network appears as a European one, the majority of nodes being colored in green (.eu). Most of the green nodes represent European institutional websites, including ec.europa.eu—which sits at the center of the network and receives the highest number of links from the network—but also the sites of the European Parliament and Council. In this cluster are included the Committee of the Regions, the Economic and Social Committee, as well as the sites of Eurostat, and those of the European Institute of Innovation Technology and of the European Research Council. This cluster of European entities, densely connected among themselves and reciprocating according to an institutional logic, is visible on the right side of the figure, while a second cluster, more diverse in its composition, is visible in the center-left. The latter is made up of a small number of European entities focused on digital development, such as the Council of European Professional Informatics Societies (cepis.org) and that of Digital Europe (digitaleurope.org), a lobbying structure organized in policy groups. Both nodes appear as relevant in the network and central to their cluster, receiving and sending a high number of links, thus show-ing a high degree of recognition by network members, and a good under-standing of the network's dynamics, a centrality that can be activated to frame issues according to these organizations' perspectives. Also interesting in this cluster are nodes representing entities focused on digital education and certification of digital competences, such as European Schoolnet, the ECDL.org site, and bcs.org: training and education activities are also cru-cial in channeling a certain understanding of issues and norms, including those related to GE and mainstreaming.

Almost "surrounding" those "digital champions" are a (small) number of (small) nodes that reflect a more focused engagement with GE, some of which have an .eu TLD, thus stressing their European character—the ecwt.eu and womenandtechnology.eu, the eskills4jobs.eu—and nodes related to events ideated to foster gender in the digital context, like codeweek, digitalwomen-award.com, and adawards.com (all mentioned in the previous paragraphs).

These are the only nodes that represent some kind of a mobilizing structure to foster GE: they would be expected to contribute to mobilize energies and information exchange across the network, through their in- and out-links from and toward different actors in the network, suggesting an intention to bring their concerns into the conversation. On the contrary, they seem to gravitate around the more central nodes in the digital discourse; are not widely recognized from the other nodes, nor do they seem to make any significant outreach effort; and are basically disconnected from the institutional cluster which they are expected to influence, in order to have European institutions integrate a gender perspective into their digital policies.

The ec.europa.eu website and (interestingly) that of the European Agency for Network and Information Security (enisa.europa.eu) operate as connectors between the two clusters: while the main European Union website receives and sends links to members of both groups, the Enisa website only receives links from the network, thus constituting a recognized authority (around security issues). Thanks to their structural position, they are both likely to exert some kind of discursive influence in the network, and to have their views and positions circulated across a variety of actors, thus contributing in "setting the stage" for the online multi-actor conversation.

Finally, it can be noticed that nodes of international organizations—those that may have elaborated more articulated understandings of GE concerns in the digital context—remain at the periphery of the network: the Council of Europe only receives links, and only from EU agencies; UNESCO is the only node, together with the European Social and Economic Committee, that links to the EWL site, thus recognizing the EWL's role in promoting gender norms and mainstreaming; the CoE is included in the network only through an in-link from the Committee of the Regions. None of these nodes is positioned in this network to meaningfully contribute to the European discourse.

It should be stated that issue networks' and nodes' linking behavior are not a reflection of offline dynamics; rather, they are to be considered as a complementary discursive space. Yet this is an interesting space to investigate, and a problematic one, particularly when, in relation to the issues discussed in this article, it provides the picture of a fragmented set of actors. This suggests a limited capacity to coordinate forces and promote change, among those very actors that have declared their interest in fostering GE according to EU goals. And, most of the organizational starting points adopted for the analysis, partners to ECWT and those expected to

mobilize for gender-aware digital developments, no longer appear in the network.

The discursive space is also characterized by a disconnection between institutional and societal dynamics in spite of a certain degree of openness in the EU opportunity structure, and likely to be centered around the main, yet narrow, frame of GE in digital Europe that stems from institutional perspectives, and is channeled through professional and educational agencies.

What emerges from this initial exploratory analysis is a limited plurality of actors involved in the online conversation, most of which do not have GE as their main focus and concern. Moreover, their linking behavior reflects a tendency to mostly relate to similar actors, thus not favoring an intersubjective elaboration of frames and solutions to ongoing inequalities. Actors that may have a greater understanding of GE challenges—such as thematic NGOs, academic circles, unions, and women's groups—are almost absent from the network, or marginally positioned. If they are active transnationally, including through harnessing the potential of online spaces, they are unlikely to take part, and influence, the online conversation that has been mapped here.

Conclusions

Twenty years after the Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women, GM in European digital policy remains a challenge: the two-decade-long trajectory through which the European policy discourse around the information society and knowledge economy has consolidated has not brought about an adequate recognition of the relevance of gender differences and concerns. International studies and feminist scholarship from around the globe have produced knowledge about the causes of inequality and specific challenges to gender-inclusive knowledge societies; but these remain disregarded in European policy circles, where a neoliberal frame prevails in relation to women's access to the IT sector, as a means to contribute to boosting European global competitiveness. Similarly, little consideration has been given to the broader normative framework provided by the Beijing PfA, and Section J in particular, whereby a more articulated understanding of women's communication rights is expressed.

Efforts are being made by networks of NGOs and other actors—including IT companies, public administrations, and universities, occasionally with

the support of meaningful allies from within the institutional sphere—to mobilize energies toward a better understanding of GE in the many areas of digital transformations: from smart cities to health issues, from employment opportunities to fostering GE in leadership positions. Yet these mobilizing structures also tend to gravitate around the narrow institutional approach. As a result, GE concerns have not gained adequate status in the content of the European digital policy discourse, while actors' interactions and initiatives are just beginning to translate the principle of equality into policy guidelines and implementation.

The analytical framework adopted in this article combined a focus on structural aspects of European communication governance—such as the degree of institutional openness to alternative views and perspectives, actors' positioning, and potential influence—with the recognition that narratives and frames, as well as actors' discursive interactions, play a fundamental role in promoting or constraining change. Such a multidimensional approach reflects a feminist methodology, which calls for adequate recognition of historical trajectories and narratives, alongside a focus on political actors' capacity to influence courses of action.

The framework allowed for the outlining of the main features, and shortcomings, of the European approach to gender-aware digital policies, and could be applied to orient more in-depth investigations in digital, cultural, organizational, and political dynamics as the region moves toward the objectives set forth in the DA. Political will is needed to seriously implement GM as an operational principle, through adequate procedures and mechanisms, for instance, by elaborating adequate indicators for equality, organizing for ongoing monitoring, and implementing gender budgeting options. Moreover, a diffused culture of GE should be fostered across all levels and actors, as set forth in the Beijing Platform. As the international community embarks on a renewed commitment to realize the objectives of Section J—through a UNESCO-promoted Global Alliance for Media and Gender (GAMAG)[83] and a UN-promoted Gender and Media Compact—it will be essential to observe, and stimulate, the European capacity to harness the opportunities to make GE a reality in the governance of communication over the next twenty years.

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83. This initiative was launched in 2014 and held its first General Assembly held in December 2015. See Global Alliance on Media and Gender.

APPENDIX A

ECWT members' web addresses (used as starting points for tracing issue network in Figure 1).

http://www.ecwt.eu/en/home
http://www.cambrabcn.org
http://www.taftie.org/content/cti-kti-switzerland
http://www.provincia.venezia.it
http://www.statigeneralinnovazione.it/online/
http://www.tillvaxtverket.se/sidhuvud/englishpages.4.21099e4211fd-ba8c87b800017332.html
http://www.toosz.hu
http://www.acrosslimits.com
http://www.accenture.com/no-en/company/Pages/index.aspx
http://www.amarantocompany.com
http://www.athene-prosjekt.no/en/
https://www.be.capgemini.com
http://www.didael.it/sito/index.htm
http://www.pasher.co.il/english/indexLarge.asp
http://www.iais.fraunhofer.de/index.php?id=4823&L=1
http://www.gen-viva.com
http://www.global-contact.net
http://www.hyperborea.com/web/guest/home
http://www.implementek.com
http://www.inovaconsult.com
http://www.mdd-consultancy.com
http://www.militos.org/en/
http://netconsulting.it
http://www.nokia.com
http://www.papirbreddeninnovasjon.no
http://www.portiaweb.org
https://www.promis.eu/eu/
http://go.sap.com/index.html
http://www.sap.com/country-selector.html
http://www.sap.com/corporate-en/about/our-company/innovation/index.html
https://www.steinbeis-europa.de/index.php5?lang=2
http://www.t-media.fi

http://www.tsoft.hu/digitalcity/projects/tsoft/page.jsp?dom=AAAAGE
FK&prt=AAABEHCU&fmn=AAABEHDE&men=AAABEHCZ

http://www.thewomensorganisation.org.uk

http://visenso.cyber-classroom.de/startseite.html?L=1

http://dlii.org

https://unive.academia.edu/Departments/CISRE_Centro_
Internazionale_di_Studi_sulla_Ricerca_Educativa_e_la_Formazione_
Avanzata

http://dimeb.informatik.uni-bremen.de/index.php?id=43&L=1

http://www.fondazionepolitecnico.it/en/

http://www.hamk.fi/english/Sivut/default.aspx

http://en.uoa.gr

https://www.kit.edu/kit/english/

http://www.metropolia.fi/en/

http://www.ntnu.edu

http://www.samk.fi/english/

http://www.tamk.fi/web/tamken

https://www.tilburguniversity.edu

http://uopeople.edu

http://web.unitn.it/en/rucola

http://universidadeuropea.es/en/

http://www.cnit.it

http://www.donnetecnologie.org

http://www.ati.es

http://bwa.bg

http://www.millennia2015.org/page.asp?id=300&langue=EN

http://www.donnetecnologie.org/

http://www.enterprising-women.org

https://femeintehnologie.wordpress.com

http://www.women.org.mt

http://www.hepis.gr/en/Pages/home.aspx

http://icst.org

http://www.blogjump.eu

https://www.mita.gov.mt/en/Pages/The-Agency.aspx

http://www.mintiff.de/content/0/58/59/

http://www.nokatud.hu/english

http://www.elka.pw.edu.pl

http://www.imede.gr/?lang=en

http://www.observa.it/?lang=en

http://www.scuoladirobotica.it//en/Home/index.html
http://www.ukrc.org.uk
http://www.vhto.nl/over-vhto/english-page/
http://www.witec-eu.net/node/47
http://www.witec-eu.net/node/71
http://womenintechnology.co.uk
http://voxfemina.asso.fr/fr/
http://www.ercis.org
http://www.eun.org
http://www.knowledge-economy.net
http://www.annholmes.ca/Home.html
http://wisat.org/home/
http://www.apcwt.org

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