



#METOO IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: A CASE STUDY IN FEMINIST  
INSTITUTIONALISM

Nicole E. Fallert

## Introduction

(fig. 1)



It all started with a notebook. Jeanne Ponte was 23 years old in 2014 when she began working as an Accredited Parliamentary Assistant, or APA, for a French Member of the European Parliament, or MEP, in Brussels, Belgium. As a young woman in a male-dominated workplace, she immediately noticed how females were treated in this environment, and experienced unwanted sexual attention and aggression.<sup>1</sup> Amidst rampant sexual harassment, Ponte saw that a “culture of silence” dominated the European Parliament, or E.P. Ponte said her colleagues told her, ““This is normal behavior. You can't change the rules. Politicians are like that.””<sup>2</sup>

Ponte’s friends and family know her to always be carrying a notebook, so it wasn’t an odd choice for her to begin recording accounts of inappropriate behavior in a small flowered journal in response to what she saw. The “Little Sexism Notebook” contained over 80 testimonies by the time the Harvey Weinstein scandal broke in October 2017 and the viral #MeToo movement shook storied institutions around the world.<sup>3</sup> Then Ponte’s boss French MEP Edouard Martin mentioned the notebook, with her permission, in an interview on a local radio station at the same time #MeToo went viral on social media. As the world opened its eyes to the reality of sexual harassment, Ponte’s story went everywhere within days.

The notebook’s revelation signaled the start of the Parliament’s own #MeToo movement. The months following Martin’s interview brought rapid action to address Ponte’s revelation of the “open secret” of gender-based violence in the Parliament.<sup>4</sup> Interview requests flooded Ponte’s inbox. Strangers recognized her on trains. But spokespeople from the E.P. encouraged Ponte to

---

<sup>1</sup> The definition of “sexual harassment” in this paper will accord with the EU’s official definition; “where any form of unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature occurs, with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading humiliating or offensive environment.”

<sup>2</sup> Appendix 1

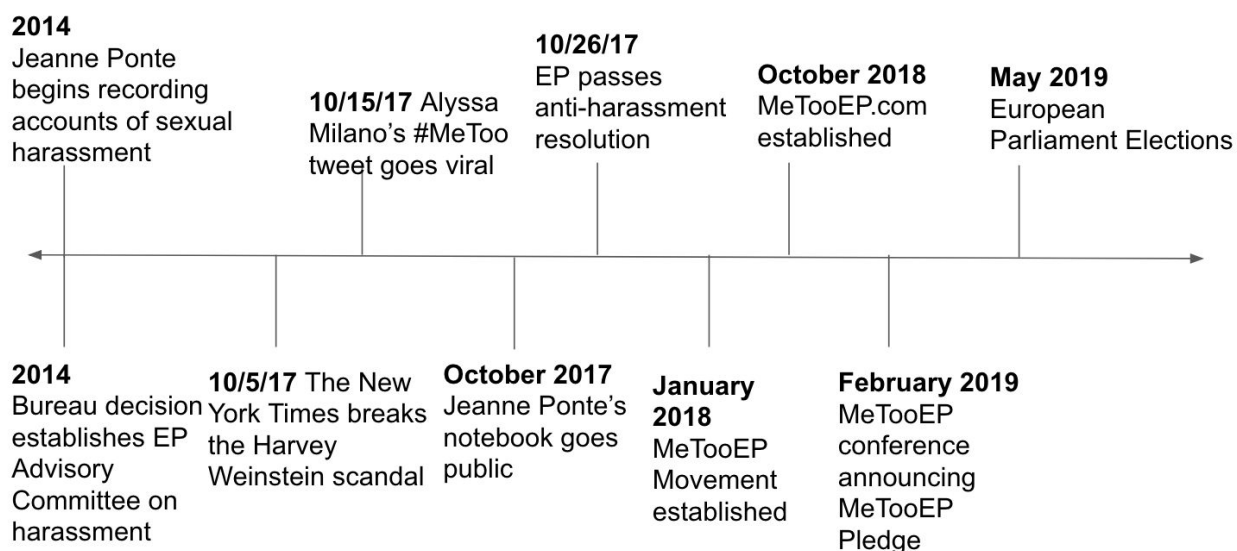
<sup>3</sup> Corine Goldberger, “Jeanne Ponte, the Parliamentary Assistant Who Pins the Machos.” Figure 1.

<sup>4</sup> Nicole Fallert, “Inside the Fight to Make the European Parliament Take Sexual Harassment Seriously.” Figure 2.

tell her story, so she went for it. Ponte answered every interview request, never speaking alone and never giving names in an effort to keep the story about the problem, not the perpetrators.

Then, in January 2018, Ponte and a coalition of Parliament workers officially started the MeTooEP movement. The following October, they established MeTooEP.com, an anonymous blog for survivors to publish testimonies of sexual violence in the E.P. Shortly after, they announced the MeTooEP pledge in February 2019 for candidate MEPs to sign and promise to no longer condone this behavior ahead of the E.P. elections that May.

(fig. 2)



The activism following the notebook's reveal raised an essential question for me: How do feminist movements make institutional change? This thesis used the unprecedented campaign of MeTooEP as a case study to make sense of the way feminist movements can permanently impact patriarchal structures.

My study of MeTooEP demonstrated to me that the movement's strength was its ability to focus public attention on the internal, formal attempts the E.P. had been taking to address gender-based violence, and how that focus revealed mechanisms that favored those in power, rather than their victims. MeTooEP is a "causal story;" it is a reaction which explains the issues of sexual harassment through symbology and storytelling.<sup>5</sup> These totems also instigated a refocusing on the gender equality agenda across the international political environment; at the same time that the E.P. refocused its gender equality agenda, so did other organizations in the international political environment, such as the United Nations. By making sense of this recent history, this discussion develops the study of #MeToo's contributions to gender equality policy by applying a feminist institutionalist lens to a social movement.<sup>6</sup> This thesis is meant to be a tool for feminists building movements, so they too can change their institutions from within. I hope this thesis becomes part of a growing scholarly body of work concerning #MeToo as a defining social mobilizer, rather than as a viral flashpoint.

<sup>5</sup> Deborah Stone, "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas." 285

<sup>6</sup> According to Lune (2014), social movements are "sustained and organized campaigns for social change" (p. 161).

## A focal event in the European Parliament

(fig. 3)



Members of the European Parliament hold up #MeToo signs in plenary session in Strasbourg, France in October 2017 (fig. 3).<sup>7</sup>

The image is a striking testimony to the power of a social media message such as #MeToo. First, I want to establish how the virality of #MeToo was a “focusing event” for the issue. According to Birkland,

Focusing events can lead interest groups, government leaders, policy entrepreneurs, the news media, or members of the public to identify new problems, or to pay greater attention to existing but dormant problems, potentially leading to a search for solutions in the wake of apparent policy failure.<sup>8</sup>

#MeToo re-oriented MEP and interest group attention regarding the issue of sexual harassment. Subsequent “media propagation” of symbols related to the event, such as Ponte’s notebook, “give less powerful groups an advantage in policy debates.”<sup>9</sup> MeTooEP also draws symbology through the MeTooEP blog and the Pledge. This is one explanation why we see anti-harassment policy reach the agenda created — or, an opportunity to make institutional change, in the eyes of Birkland.

Work had been done before #MeToo’s rise, but the image of MEPs holding signs in a 2017 Strasbourg plenary session alerted feminists within the institution that this was the chance to do more. Unprecedented issue visibility in the Parliament heightened the importance of gender-based violence to its members. The pro-change group, some of whom are victims of such violence, were “suddenly” given enough attention to mobilize their cause, while more powerful groups, such as E.P. leaders and MEPs, were given a window to respond — or defend the existing policies. The understanding of #MeToo as a focusing event explains how MeTooEP rose

<sup>7</sup> Nicole Fallert, “Inside the Fight to Make the European Parliament Take Sexual Harassment Seriously.” Figure 3.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas A. Birkland, “Focusing Events, Mobilization, and Agenda Setting.” 55

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 56

as a highly-organized advocacy coalition which was able to achieve sustained relevance within the E.P. community.

One reason MeTooEP has sustained the energy from the focusing event for nearly two years is that the movement asserts who, and what, is to blame for the issue.<sup>10</sup> The coalition identifies causal factors for sexual harassment and violence in the Parliament: failed formal mechanisms and a culture of silence.

As 2020 looms, many discussions of #MeToo read as if the movement is over and done. MeTooEP's strategy has kept the focal event from "blowing over;" it is unique in that the movement has been mobilized for over two years.<sup>11</sup> Focal events are received differently among policy communities, but the case of #MeToo upholds Birkland's argument about saliency. If the event gives human agency and cause to an issue, interest groups will better influence the policy agenda. The interpretation of #MeToo as a focusing event helps us understand why the mobilization of MeTooEP was significant, and how the movement's sustained visibility and political pressure — especially given the status quo of the pro-change coalition in the Parliament — are leading to the 2019 elections.

### **Feminist Institutionalism (F.I.)**

In studying MeTooEP, I have drawn on the feminist institutionalist approach. If institutions are a "collective entity or any way of organizing relationships that are widely familiar and routinely practiced" and often contain "unwritten rules,"<sup>12</sup> feminist institutionalism is an approach that strives to examine how institutions' organization and rules form, and how they are influenced by gender inequalities. Krook and Mackay explain that F.I. theory evolved along with neo-institutionalism to provide a framework that explained how our increasingly organized world is gendered.<sup>13</sup> In other words, feminist institutionalism looks at how ideas, norms and values are experienced unequally along the lines of gender.<sup>14</sup> In the E.P. context, F.I. urges us to evaluate the Parliament's organization and rules in relation to gendered criteria.

In an ever-structured society, gender norms become further incorporated into institutions' policies.<sup>15</sup> Feminist institutionalists study how these invisible social constructs are reflected as a "logic" determining attitudes and actions.<sup>16</sup> For feminist institutionalists, metrics frequently used to provide gender equality do not do enough to correct disparity and the patriarchal structures that constraints women's actions.<sup>17</sup> This thought process emphasizes the importance of paying attention to qualitative factors to measure how organizations are gendered.

A byproduct of a more organized world is an increase in the number of social movements, including MeTooEP.<sup>18</sup> The F.I. lens also provides an understanding of the potential impact of movements such as MeTooEP by showcasing how these coalitions can become "legitimate participants" in the organizational world.<sup>19</sup> In an environment of organizations,

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 67

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 72

<sup>12</sup> Howard Lune, *Understanding Organizations*. 2

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 125

<sup>14</sup> Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay, *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. X.

<sup>15</sup> Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay. IX

<sup>16</sup> Howard Lune, *Understanding Organizations*. 79

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Howard Lune, *Understanding Organizations*. 127

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

external social movements like MeTooEP are issue “entrepreneurs” advocating new demands.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, feminist institutionalism evaluates organizations as “open systems,” suggesting that the internal structure of the Parliament does not function in “isolation” of the greater European political and historical environment.<sup>21</sup> Values, norms, and beliefs concerning gender trickle in from the European political context into the Parliament’s culture and decision-making. The F.I. lens reveals that this environment affects the Parliament because gender inequality and discrimination are functions of power more broadly in Europe.<sup>22</sup> The E.P. is a gendered institution because external conditions in Europe influence the Parliament’s status quo.

My analysis follows the three components of the feminist institutionalist framework: formal processes, including the mechanisms, committees, laws, etc. already addressing gender-based violence in the Parliament; informal processes, such as the empowering social movement that rose in reaction to a focal event; and connections between the formal and informal processes, or how long a social movement lasts until its terms must be institutionalized.

<sup>23</sup> The efficacy of the Parliament’s formal processes regarding sexual harassment demands an analysis of MeTooEP as an empowering reaction to these formal processes. However, social movements may only last to an extent before they must work with institutional structures.

### **Why the E.P.’s steps against gender-based violence weren’t enough**

It’s important to acknowledge that a history of gender equality work existed in the Parliament and the greater political environment long before #MeToo went viral. While gender-based violence was on the Parliament’s policy agenda, these formal attempts did not successfully change the institutional logic which enables an environment of harassment in the first place. Reflecting on the Parliament’s formal processes, which existed before #MeToo, lets us understand how they do not “have the effects the creators intended” and are too weak to support survivors of gender-based violence.<sup>24</sup>

The E.U. has taken legislative steps against gender-based violence since its initiation. The Maastricht Treaty (1993), the Treaty of Rome (1957), and Treaty of Accession (1973) provided initial protections to women in E.U. institutions, establishing “equal opportunities and equal treatment” for all E.U. citizens.<sup>25</sup> The European Convention on Human Rights (1953), as well as these treaties, expect that all new member countries promote human rights and anti-discriminatory policies in order to be granted accession — a meaningful first step against gender-based violence.<sup>26</sup> Formal measures to protect women have been a priority in the Parliament’s work for years since the E.U. was founded. In 2009, the Parliament passed a resolution which recognized that male violence against females was an “inequality” issue and a “public health problem,” heightening the status of gender-based violence on the E.P. agenda.<sup>27</sup> A related 2011 resolution “demands Member States to ensure that perpetrators are punished in accordance with the gravity of the crime,”<sup>28</sup> while a 2012 directive was passed by the Parliament

<sup>20</sup> Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay, *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. 191

<sup>21</sup> Howard Lune, *Understanding Organizations*. 107

<sup>22</sup> Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay, *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. 3

<sup>23</sup> Ibid 4-6

<sup>24</sup> Howard Lune, *Understanding Organizations*. 11

<sup>25</sup> Gender Equality in Ireland, “Equality between Men and Women.”

<sup>26</sup> European Court of Human Rights, “Gender Equality.” 1

<sup>27</sup> European Parliament, “Elimination of Violence against Women.” 2

<sup>28</sup> European Parliament, “European Parliament Resolution of 5 April 2011 on Priorities and Outline of a New EU Policy Framework to Fight Violence against Women.”

and the Council “call[ing] on the Member States to improve their national laws and policies to combat all forms of violence against women and to act in order to tackle the causes of violence against women, not least by employing preventive measures, and called on the Union to guarantee the right to assistance and support for all victims of violence.”<sup>29</sup> However, member countries have been slow to implement anti-discriminatory measures, let alone criminal punishment for sexual harassment. By 1992, France was the only member state with penal law addressing sexual harassment.<sup>30</sup> In other states, broadly written laws concerning domestic violence are applied to cases of sexual harassment.<sup>31</sup> E.U. policy is not sufficient because it does not require member countries to implement universal anti-discrimination standards and specific rules applying to gender-based violence.

But the fact these policies reached the Parliament floor reveals to us that legislators knew gender-based violence was an issue long before MeTooEP. In February 2014 — three years before #MeToo went viral — the European Parliament Recommendations to Commission on Combating Violence against Women were announced. The recommendations focus on six areas “underlying any measures to combat violence against women:” policy, prevention, protection, prosecution, provision, and partnership.<sup>32</sup> By recommending policy to the Commission, the Parliament appears already aware of issue prevention in the context of Europe. The irony is how quickly it becomes clear that the Parliament’s recommendations do not recognize what is happening within its own walls.

### **The Committee**

MeTooEP also drew public attention to the fact that existing response mechanisms did not allow victims to feel safe enough to share their stories. Since 2014, the Advisory Committee on Harassment and its Prevention at the Workplace has been the body that hears victim testimonies. It consists of five members nominated by the Parliament’s president. As of October 2017, the Committee had never received a formal complaint of sexual harassment, according to a E.P. press release immediately following an episode in which MEPs held up #MeToo signs during the plenary session.<sup>33 34</sup> By 2019, the Committee had received sixteen complaints, according to E.P. Quaestor and Committee Member Elisabeth Morin-Chartier. Fifteen of these cases have been closed and one is ongoing. The president has imposed sanctions on five cases, two involving MEPs.<sup>35</sup> There is a clear discrepancy between the number of cases which reach the president’s desk and the pages of testimonies accessible on MeTooEP.com, however. After Ponte’s notebook became public, an official statement entitled “Parliament rolled out campaign against sexual harassment last year,” claimed the Committee was ahead of MeTooEP in battling sexual harassment. However, the high number of harassment reports exposed by MeTooEP and the low number of cases reviewed by the Committee contradicts this claim that the Parliament was in control of the situation. The Committee’s “campaign” consisted of mere leaflets

---

<sup>29</sup> “Directive 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 Establishing Minimum Standards on the Rights, Support and Protection of Victims of Crime and Replacing Council Framework Decision 2001/220/JHA.”

<sup>30</sup> Tanya Martinez Shively, “Sexual Harassment in the European Union: King Rex Meets Potiphar’s Wife.” 1103

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Parliament, “European Parliament Resolution of 25 February 2014 with Recommendations to the Commission on Combating Violence Against Women.”

<sup>33</sup> European Parliament, “Parliament Rolled out Campaign against Sexual Harassment Last Year.”

<sup>34</sup> Judith Mischke, “#MeToo: Female MEPs Tell of the Own Sexual Harassment Experiences.”

<sup>35</sup> Appendix 6

distributed to MEPs explaining “how to avoid improper behavior towards your staff.”<sup>36</sup> The “pro-active” action by the Committee was clearly not successful, given that over 127 female and 11 male E.U. employees reported cases of sexual harassment to POLITICO Europe in 2017.<sup>37</sup> Even more revealing is the fact that only about 40 out of 751 MEPs have opted for mandatory anti-harassment training.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, few officials are even aware of the E.P.’s official definition of sexual harassment, let alone that the Committee exists to hold them accountable. The 80 testimonies in Ponte’s notebook alone demonstrate the issue is much greater than the Committee can handle.

### **Barriers to a European solution**

MeTooEP brought attention back to the resolutions the Parliament had previously passed to address sexual harassment. It also indicated that these attempts didn’t succeed. Resolutions are non legally-binding “[suggestions for] a political desire to act in a given area.”<sup>39</sup> These create policy windows for the E.U. — opportunities for ideas to reach the Commission’s agenda and the Parliament to pressure member countries to pass specific national laws.<sup>40</sup> The most significant reason Parliament resolutions aren’t credited with addressing this issue is the absence of an E.U.-wide law against gender-based violence at the time this thesis was written.

Especially in the case of the October 2017 Parliament resolution reacting to #MeToo, these suggestions from the Parliament have not yet influenced the Commission to use its right of initiative to propose such a law. According to E.U. law, the right of initiative is only for the Commission; the Commission pitches legislation and the Parliament sees through its development with the help of the Council.<sup>41</sup> Given that ideas of harassment and legal approaches vary by member country, the likelihood that MEPs would agree on a single policy seems low, even if it is initiated.

The October 2017 resolution may not have resulted in an E.U.-wide law, but the measure is different from the previous anti-harassment resolutions passed from the 1970s through 2014. The resolution was an instance in which #MeToo was mentioned in an E.P. measure, the first official response to the movement.<sup>42</sup> The fact the resolution is a direct response to the #MeToo movement also changes the meaning of a “zero-tolerance” approach to gender-based violence. The 2017 resolution reiterates a 2014 resolution’s zero-tolerance policy, but this time it was a response to a feminist social movement.<sup>43</sup> In the F.I. perspective, the Parliament’s decision to formally address #MeToo and advocate for those without power is considered a feminist win.<sup>44</sup> As a result, the resolution is a “resource” that gives power to individuals in the institution.<sup>45</sup> In this way, we see how the Parliament was making the greatest effort within its competence to address gender-based violence.

The absence of a Commission proposal is one part of a long history of approaches to gender-based violence existing on the policy agenda without resulting in executed change. For

<sup>36</sup> European Parliament, “Parliament Rolled out Campaign against Sexual Harassment Last Year.”

<sup>37</sup> Ryan Heath, “Harassment in the Brussels EU Bubble.”

<sup>38</sup> Appendix 1

<sup>39</sup> Nicholas Moussis, “3.3 The Legal System of the European Union.”

<sup>40</sup> Thomas A. Birkland, “Focusing Events, Mobilization, and Agenda Setting.”

<sup>41</sup> “Right of Initiative.”

<sup>42</sup> European Parliament, “Combating Sexual Harassment and Abuse in the EU.”

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Moya Lloyd, “Power, Politics, Domination, and Oppression.” 112

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.



example, the E.U. Committee on Employment and Social Affairs was appointed in February 2001 to produce a report on harassment at the workplace.<sup>46</sup> Nearly six months later, the report moved for a motion for a resolution addressing the “calls” and “recommendations” for institutional action. This resolution merely suggested that member countries establish procedures, training programs, and confidential mechanisms for reporting. As long as formal responses remain in the form of resolutions, member countries will never be legally compelled to make changes on the national level. Only E.U. law fully binds the member countries.

As a result of the resolutions system, each E.U. member country has approached the Parliament’s October 2017 resolution differently. It is up to them to decide how to implement the document’s suggestions. France, for example, legally banned street harassment in August 2018. In a November 2017 survey of Hungarians, half of all respondents believed sexual harassment cases require no legal consequences.<sup>47</sup> Recall how the Parliament is not “isolated” from the European political context. National lethargy toward the issue of gender-based violence trickles into the Parliament.

Courts have also diminished interest in proposing a European anti-gender violence law. In connection to the aforementioned parliamentary immunity, few member countries would feel compelled to direct their resources to European harassment cases rather than their own legal priorities, further disincentivizing the acceptance of an E.U.-wide law. Gender parity within the Parliament also matters in making E.U. law. If there were more female MEPs, the 2017 resolution may have been more widely endorsed, prompting the Commission to initiate a law. For example, Hungary has many more male MEPs, a likely explanation for why that country has yet to act locally on behalf of the Resolution. Hungary’s MEPs are only 19% female.<sup>48</sup> Official Parliament measures are only as effective to a member country, and the E.U. at large, as the priorities of that nation’s MEPs.

Further, the Resolution may have been passed for more political reasons by some MEPs. The fact that members have been slow to implement the resolution nationally suggests some may have voted to pass the measure in solidarity with the Parliament, but fear local repercussions from voters for promoting such a policy.

The Parliament continues to make suggestions, however. On Nov. 9, 2018, MEPS adopted renewed measures against sexual harassment.<sup>49</sup> As in previous examples, the language used by the E.P. can recommend, but not make law. By merely “adopting measures,” the E.P. is not indicating a permanent change on any level. The measures instead constitute another kind of resolution. However, 528 of 751 MEPs voted in favor of the measures, which ask the Commission to develop legal standards concerning violence against women. These standards may be applied within the E.U.’s jurisdiction. By creating a unified judicial approach to sexual misconduct, MEPs would be considered under European law — potentially eliminating the power of parliamentary immunity. The fact remains that the Parliament can only work within its competences; an E.U.-wide law would need to come from the Commission and the Council. However, even if this were passed by the E.P., successful implementation would not be guaranteed. Because the Parliament is not isolated from the European political environment, the

---

<sup>46</sup> Committee on Employment and Social Affairs, “Report on Harassment at the Workplace.”

<sup>47</sup> Kitti Erdo-Bonyar, “Hungarians’ Views On Sexual Harassment - Survey.”

<sup>48</sup> European Parliament, “Men and Women Distribution.”

<sup>49</sup> European Parliament, “MEPs Adopted Measures to Combat Mobbing and Sexual Harassment.”

E.U. would struggle to remove local barriers and pass a supreme law banning gender-based violence.

### **#MeToo's storytelling devices**

What is dangerous is silence. Sexual harassment is an open secret because every worker, woman or man, knows who they need to avoid. They know what kind of strategy you need to develop in order to not be looked at as a piece of meat — to try to protect yourself. - Jeanne Ponte<sup>50</sup>

Causal stories like those of MeTooEP are amplified through illustrative tools. According to Stone, “[the] deliberate use of language and of symbols in particular [is] a way of getting an issue onto the public agenda or, alternatively, keeping it off.”<sup>51</sup> The #MeToo movement has largely maintained public relevance through its symbology. Time magazine’s cover of “the empty chair,” the Time’s Up logo, actresses donning black gowns at the 2018 Golden Globe Awards, and pussy hats at the 2017 Women’s March: these images have come to represent the #MeToo ascendance to the public agenda. Ponte’s flowered notebook now joins these symbols as artifacts of this history.

While an artifact implies temporality, Ponte’s notebook joins these symbols as signals of a more permanent realization: the breakage of a culture of silence. Recurring symbols of #MeToo like Ponte’s notebook are more than a flash of celebrity endorsement or scandalized firings. They demonstrate cause and intent. Stone writes, “[Causal stories] claim that a condition formerly interpreted as accident is actually the result of human will, either indirectly (mechanical or inadvertent cause) or directly (intentional cause); or they show that a condition formerly interpreted as indirectly caused is actually pure intent.”<sup>52</sup>

Symbols attribute intent over accident. Ponte’s physical representation of the invisible culture of harassment “describes harms and difficulties, attributes them to actions of other individuals or organizations, and thereby claims the right to invoke government power to stop the harm.”<sup>53</sup> Activists use symbols like the notebook to “manipulate” the issue — to myth-make. The narrative associated with the symbols reinforces the issue’s human culpability everytime it confronts the public eye. We see the notebook and we assign how all are responsible for this, and what we can do to address this violence.

In the F.I. perspective, causal symbols are “resources” which give power to MeTooEP. For someone encountering these symbols for the first time or the hundredth, they provoke the mind to recount why the issue was caused and to what end it has been addressed. Consider the MeTooEP logo: the feminine pink-purple color, the logo with a faded E.U. flag; the logo is a causal device. The logo keeps the issue in public consciousness when shared on social media or posted on the MeTooEP pledge. Subconsciously, we see these symbols and attribute causality to the image. This meaning-making process fueled MeTooEP into public consciousness following #MeToo’s virality.

### **Em-powerment**

(fig. 4)

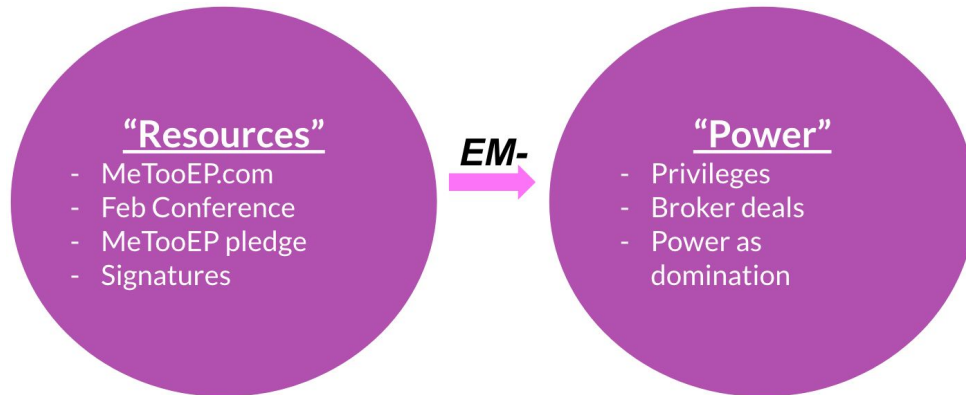
---

<sup>50</sup> Appendix 1

<sup>51</sup> Deborah Stone, “Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas.” 282

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 289

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.



Empowerment is a word frequently used in media concerning #MeToo. In the context of a feminist movement, “em-powerment” is a process in which resources transform into the power necessary to make institutional change.

When the Parliament’s formal processes couldn’t address an institutional issue, a group of workers without political power gathered resources: testimonies on the MeTooEP.com, participation in the MeTooEP conference, over 300 signatures on the MeTooEP pledge. This conceptualization of empowerment as a process explains how these resources made the group powerful enough to influence the policy agenda, according to a 2019 article for the journal *Women’s Studies International Forum* by S. Laurel Weldon. Weldon writes that #MeToo was able to make an impact on the institutional level because of its specific approach to de-powering patriarchal structures and em-powering targeted groups.<sup>54</sup> Weldon also suggests that “power flows through us by virtue of our social identity and institutional position, whether or not we wish to exercise power (fig. 4).<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, we may be silenced by these same identities and social positions in other contexts.”<sup>56</sup> Highly bureaucratic environments like the Parliament quiet the power of certain groups, such as APAs, female MEPs, and other marginalized groups in order to maintain a functioning system, often without these groups’ conscious consent. Em-powerment refers to the conscious process of breaking that silence. The “em” prefix to the word “power” implies the act of silenced groups of gaining governing ability by collecting resources. According to feminist institutionalists, MeTooEP is an example of em-powerment because victims whose voices were previously silenced by an institutional force are now given the power to speak, and, eventually, influence dominant Parliament decision-makers.

Em-powerment is a necessary phenomena, given women’s traditional roles within institutions. Historically, female power in this context is implicit rather than explicit.<sup>57</sup> Their authority is so silenced that women cannot access labor without the help of men and must influence others indirectly in order to achieve their goals. Resources such as money and education are typically given by men to women so they may gain access to any level of labor, let alone excel. According to the October 2017 Parliament resolution, 75% of women in top management positions in Europe have been sexually harassed. Even if women gained enough

<sup>54</sup> S. Laurel Weldon, “Power, Exclusion and Empowerment: Feminist Innovation in Political Science.”

<sup>55</sup> S. Laurel Weldon, “Power, Exclusion and Empowerment: Feminist Innovation in Political Science.” 130.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

resources to be influential in institutions, they still lack sufficient social resources to protect themselves from the dominating power of men.

While men have the pleasure of accessing any organizational resources they please, women must only engage with men in situations which are dictated by the level of resources they own.<sup>58</sup> By merit of their position, women in the Parliament have acquired enough resources to presumably be influential; however, they cannot be totally powerful in the way that males in the institution can, as “power consists in the relationship between men and women, a relationship that accords men certain powers over women.”<sup>59</sup> Here we see why no amount of formal work by the Parliament could successfully address the invisible discrepancy between the resources available to men versus women.

Due to socialized institutional logics, organizations dominate social groups in the way that men dominate women.<sup>60</sup> In the social understanding of men as sexually dominant of women, masculine institutional logics are dominant to feminist institutional logic. MeTooEP is propelled by feminist institutional logic. Therefore, through the process of em-powerment, MeTooEP has gathered resources to challenge the power of dominant decision-makers. Because the Parliament is in the resource-holding role, the institution will dominate MeTooEP no matter what. Therefore, MeTooEP must use the Parliament’s own institutional logic as a means to an end, in order to make an organizational change. This explains why the em-powerment process is a continuous cycle of gathering resources, gaining power, and making change.

The em-powerment process can be stalled by conflicting ideas of gender equality among EU decision-makers. Even if MeTooEP appeals to their decision-making logic, inherent norms can conflict with the acceptance of the cause. An empowered formal Parliament approach to gender-based violence must coalesce the diverse positive and negative associations of female power from within the bloc, but this is easier said than done.

With thousands of international employees, the Parliament consists of conflicting perceptions of female value. For example, only two women hold management positions in the Parliament, whereas over half of APAs are female.<sup>61</sup> Employing more women in secondary and tertiary roles in the Parliament reinforces ideas that women should supplement men’s work. Even if APAs are working for female MEPs, they still exist beneath the dominating power of the institution. Male APAs may presume they have more power than their female counterparts and even exert that power in the form of sexual misconduct. Perpetrators sexualize victims in situations when both actors hold the same amount of power in order to appear dominant. Therefore, male APAs may seek further responsibility or promotion by silencing and objectifying their female equals. Male employees are also more likely to work full-time — there were 367 males on part-time E.P. staff vs. 1,221 female part-time staffers in 2017 — granting them more opportunities to connect with promotion opportunities.<sup>62</sup> In 2017, the number of women in middle management posts in the E.P. Secretariat increased by nearly 40%; however, merely incorporating women within a patriarchal structure does not eliminate the risk of

---

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 114

<sup>60</sup> S. Laurel Weldon, “Power, Exclusion and Empowerment: Feminist Innovation in Political Science.”

<sup>61</sup> European Parliament, “Women in the European Parliament.”

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

gender-based discrimination.<sup>63</sup> For these reasons, em-powerment must be an effort from the ground up. If only top officials make changes, the issue will persist on other levels.

### **#MeToo as Entrepreneurship**

Em-powerment from the ground up requires issue entrepreneurship — the campaigning of a movement within an institution to gather resources. MeTooEP exemplifies how feminist movements within organizations are self-starting and risk-averse.

The Me Too Movement is a recent chapter in a much longer feminist history. In the U.S., the Me Too Movement existed long before #MeToo went viral on October 15, 2017, eleven days after The New York Times published an report revealing sexual harassment allegations against Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein.<sup>64</sup> Tarana Burke founded the Me Too Movement in 2006 to support victims of sexual violence and “to build a community of advocates,” initially for black and low-income women.<sup>65</sup> The hashtag didn’t go viral until American actress Alyssa Milano posted: “If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted write ‘me too’ as a reply to this tweet” on October 15th.” According to the Pew Research Center, #MeToo has been used more than 19 million times through September 30, 2018.<sup>66</sup> The virality of the phrase stimulated responses from organizations across the globe,<sup>67</sup> and allegations against powerful individuals in politics, television, and journalism, among other industries, came to light.<sup>68</sup>

“Just because the media pressure of Hollywood is behind us does not mean it is not still happening,” Ponte told EUobserver in October 2018.<sup>69</sup>

The MeTooEP movement was officially started in March 2018 by Jeanne Ponte and a coalition of E.P. workers in an effort to break down normalized behavior and make invisible violence visible. The coalition supported the implementation of the October 2017 resolution, which had been passed in plenary session the previous October, gaining 1,000 signatures within one week to present to the Parliament.<sup>70</sup> The blog followed this petition, especially as it became clear that enforcing new measures against sexual harassment could be an uphill battle; change means giving up normative, formal patriarchal structures. The resistance brings a historically private issue into the political arena, through individual workers who call attention to the blurred boundary between governmental and personal behavior.

The understanding of the em-powerment process raises a new point about the nature of feminist movements like #MeToo. The process is entrepreneurial.<sup>71</sup> Feminist institutionalists argue that “gender equality entrepreneurs ... are needed to construct and frame reform proposals to mobilize coalitions of different interests to work together.”<sup>72</sup> Women create solutions to social violence and have been self-starters when brokering deals because they have historically been

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Jodi Kantor and Megan Twohey, “Harvey Weinstein Paid Off Sexual Harassment Accusers for Decades.”

<sup>65</sup> MeToo Movement, “History & Vision.”

<sup>66</sup> Monica Anderson and Skye Toor, “How Social Media Users Have Discussed Sexual Harassment since #MeToo Went Viral.”

<sup>67</sup> Google Trends, “Me Too Rising.”

<sup>68</sup> Zarkov, Dubravka, and Kathy Davis. “Ambiguities and Dilemmas around #MeToo: #ForHow Long and #WhereTo?” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 25, no. 1 (February 2018): 3–9. doi:10.1177/1350506817749436.

<sup>69</sup> Petter Teffer, “Frustrated EU Parliament Staffers Set up #MeToo Blog.”

<sup>70</sup> Sally Farhat, “#MeTooEP: Fighting Sexual Harassment in the European Parliament.”

<sup>71</sup> Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay, *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. 191

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

unseated at the negotiation table, according to Casale.<sup>73</sup> She added that peace talks which include women are 35% more likely to last 15 years or more. This fact is not because women are pacifiers:

Often there's this inherent argument being made that women are inherently more peaceful. I do not subscribe to that school of thought. I think if the situation were flipped, we would do just as much as men. It's about power. It's about resources. It's about getting the most inclusive view of how to solve society's problems — which is what a peace agreement is — how to solve societal problems ... The argument is that no, it's not that women are more peaceful, nice or better people. We have been traditionally left of power structures and had to go around the system to be entrepreneurs of our own needs, and society's needs. That creativity gives us a leg up in solving problems.<sup>74</sup>

Feminists solutions like Burke's and Ponte's are distinct because they have adapted to being left out of formal peace talks. An example of a formal peace agreement is the structure of the Advisory Committee — victims were not at the decision table. Low trust in the Committee pushes victims away from formal mechanisms and toward their own answers: the MeTooEP blog and pledge.

Sexual harassment in the Parliament is a form of social war. If victims had been included in discussions at the beginning, the violence may have been avoided. If victims had been included as the conflict started to arrive, they could have asked for protection for their bodies. Now, the conflict has occurred, and the victims are finally being included in reconstructive conversations to demand equal resources to recover.<sup>75</sup> Women in the Parliament are now creating structures to heal on their own because they never got to fight for their security in the first place.

But no entrepreneurial venture goes without risk. The consequence of #MeToo is the potential loss of some goals as a compromise for investment from institutional leaders. Thus, MeTooEP cannot gain the support of all MEPs without capitulating on some elements of its platform, an issue that will likely be raised in the 2019-2024 mandate. The success of any entrepreneur depends on the interest of investors. For MeTooEP, the investors are people with power in the Parliament. Until the Parliament has a full stake in the cause of movement, i.e., feminists holding all the positions of influence, MeTooEP will have to strike deals with Parliamentary leadership. According to Casale, the movement must “play the short and the long game.”<sup>76</sup> To focus too soon on the end goal — new Parliament organizations and E.U.-wide laws against sexual harassment — would be self-sabotage for MeTooEP. Empowering less powerful individuals too quickly shocks the patriarchal system and is an impetus for even more social violence, i.e., pushback from powerful Parliament voices, such as the conservative MEPs. For now, as the movement's symbols gain visibility, their testimonies will legitimize the need to put more resources into the issue of sexual harassment, helping the issue gain stakeholders — to em-power.

---

<sup>73</sup> Appendix 7

<sup>74</sup> Appendix 7

<sup>75</sup> Appendix 7

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

## Works Cited

- Allyson Hobbs. "One Year of #MeToo: The Legacy of Black Women's Testimonies." *The New Yorker*, October 10, 2018.  
<https://www.newyorker.com/culture/personal-history/one-year-of-metoo-the-legacy-of-black-womens-testimonies>.
- Andrea Peto, and Weronika Grzebalska. "How Hungary and Poland Have Silenced Women and Stifled Human Rights." *The Conversation*, October 14, 2016.  
<http://theconversation.com/how-hungary-and-poland-have-silenced-women-and-stifled-human-rights-66743>.
- Christina Wassholm, and Soraya Post. "Feminist Responses to Growing Nationalism in the European Union." Swedish Feminist Initiative; Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament, May 2018.  
[https://feministinitiative.eu/assets/uploads/2018/05/feminist\\_responses\\_to\\_growing\\_nationalism\\_in\\_the\\_eu\\_a4\\_digit.pdf](https://feministinitiative.eu/assets/uploads/2018/05/feminist_responses_to_growing_nationalism_in_the_eu_a4_digit.pdf).
- Committee on Employment and Social Affairs. "Report on Harassment at the Workplace." European Parliament. Accessed April 14, 2019.  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+REPORT+A5-2001-0283+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN>.
- Corine Goldberger. "Jeanne Ponte, the Parliamentary Assistant Who Pins the Machos." *Marie Claire*. December 18, 2018.  
<https://www.marieclaire.fr/jeanne-ponte-parlement-europeen-too-metooep-metooep-harcelement-sexuel-europeen-parliament-me-too,1288645.asp>.
- Council of Europe. "Chart of Signatures and Ratifications," n.d.  
<https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/210/signatures>.
- Deborah Stone. "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas." *Political Science Quarterly* 104, no. 2 (Summer 2018): 281–300.
- "Directive 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 Establishing Minimum Standards on the Rights, Support and Protection of Victims of Crime and Replacing Council Framework Decision 2001/220/JHA." Official Journal of the European Union, October 25, 2012. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A32012L0029>.
- Eline Schaart. "EU Official Sentenced to 4 Years in Prison for Rape of Colleague." *POLITICO Europe*. February 19, 2019.  
<https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-official-sentenced-to-4-years-in-prison-for-rape-of-colleague/>.
- Elizabeth Vallance, and Elizabeth V. Davies. *Women of Europe: Women MEPs and Equality Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Emily O'Reilly. "MetooEP Event 'Time's Up on Sexual Abuse and Harassment in Institutions and Society.'" European Ombudsman. *European Ombudsman* (blog), February 6, 2019.  
<https://www.ombudsman.europa.eu/en/speech/en/109651>.
- Erin Anderssen, and Laura Stone. "'Little Sexism Notebook' Sparks Debate in Europe and Beyond." *The Globe And Mail*, February 5, 2018.

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/little-sexism-notebook-sparks-debate-in-europe-and-beyond/article37869746/>.

European Commission. "Questions & Answers: International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women." Accessed April 22, 2019. [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-17-4849\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-17-4849_en.htm).

European Court of Human Rights. "Gender Equality." European Court of Human Rights, January 2019. [https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/FS\\_Gender\\_Equality\\_ENG.pdf](https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/FS_Gender_Equality_ENG.pdf).

European Parliament. "Combating Sexual Harassment and Abuse in the EU," October 26, 2017. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+TA+P8-TA-2017-0417+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN>.

———. "Decision On The Functioning Of The Advisory Committee Dealing With Harassment Complaints Concerning Members Of The European Parliament And Its Procedures For Dealing With Complaints," July 2, 2018.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/resources/library/media/20181003RES14909/20181003RES14909.pdf>.

———. "Elimination of Violence against Women," November 26, 2009. [https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/sites/antitrafficking/files/european\\_parliament\\_resolution\\_of\\_26\\_november\\_2009\\_on\\_the\\_elimination\\_of\\_violence\\_against\\_women\\_1.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/sites/antitrafficking/files/european_parliament_resolution_of_26_november_2009_on_the_elimination_of_violence_against_women_1.pdf).

———. "EP Timeline: From Past to Present," n.d. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/external/html/ephistory/default\\_en.htm](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/external/html/ephistory/default_en.htm).

———. "European Parliament Resolution of 5 April 2011 on Priorities and Outline of a New EU Policy Framework to Fight Violence against Women." European Parliament, April 5, 2011.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P7-TA-2011-0127+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>.

———. "European Parliament Resolution of 25 February 2014 with Recommendations to the Commission on Combating Violence Against Women," February 25, 2014.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P7-TA-2014-0126+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>.

———. "European Parliament Resolution of 26 October 2017 on Combating Sexual Harassment and Abuse in the EU," October 26, 2017.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+TA+P8-TA-2017-0417+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN>.

———. "Internal Rules On Harassment And Its Prevention At The Workplace And On Harassment Complaints Involving Accredited Parliamentary Assistants and Members of The European Parliament," April 14, 2014.

[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/reg/2014/0004/EP-PE\\_REG\(2014\)422616\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/reg/2014/0004/EP-PE_REG(2014)422616_EN.pdf).

———. "Measures to Prevent and Combat Mobbing and Sexual Harassment at Workplace, in Public Spaces, and Political Life in the EU." *Legislative Observatory* (blog), November 9, 2019.

[https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/ficheprocedure.do?lang=&reference=2018/2055\(INI\)](https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/ficheprocedure.do?lang=&reference=2018/2055(INI)).

———. "Men and Women Distribution," 2014. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/gender-balance.html>.

———. "MEPs Adopted Measures to Combat Mobbing and Sexual Harassment," November 9, 2018.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/fr/press-room/20180906IPR12121/meps-adopted-measures-to-combat-mobbing-and-sexual-harassment>.



- . “Parliament Rolled out Campaign against Sexual Harassment Last Year,” October 23, 2017.  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20171023IPR86650/parliament-rolled-out-campaign-against-sexual-harassment-last-year>.
- . “Parliamentary Immunity,” n.d.  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/faq/6/parliamentary-immunity>.
- . “Rules of Procedure of the European Parliament,” September 2015.  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+RULES-EP+20150909+RULE-009+DOC+XML+V0//EN>.
- . “Salaries and Pensions.” Accessed April 8, 2019.  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/faq/13/salaries-and-pensions>.
- . “The Parliament Budget.” Accessed April 8, 2019.  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/organisation-and-rules/parliaments-budget>.
- . “Women in the European Parliament,” March 8, 2018.  
[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/2018/0001/P8\\_PUB%282018%290001\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/2018/0001/P8_PUB%282018%290001_EN.pdf).
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. “Violence against Women: An EU-Wide Survey,” 2014.  
[https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2014-vaw-survey-main-results-apr14\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2014-vaw-survey-main-results-apr14_en.pdf).
- European Women’s Lobby. “European Coalition to End Violence against Women and Girls.” *European Women’s Lobby* (blog), March 6, 2017.  
<https://www.womenlobby.org/European-Coalition-to-end-violence-against-women-and-girls>.
- Gender Equality in Ireland. “Equality between Men and Women.” *Gender Equality in Ireland* (blog). Accessed April 14, 2019. <http://www.genderequality.ie/en/GE/Pages/WP13000032>.
- “Glossary of Summaries.” *EUR\_Lex* (blog). Accessed December 12, 2018.  
[https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/initiative\\_right.html](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/initiative_right.html).
- “Golder et Al. - 2017 - Votes for Women Electoral Systems and Support for.Pdf,” n.d.
- Golder, Sona N., Laura B. Stephenson, Karine Van der Straeten, André Blais, Damien Bol, Philipp Harfst, and Jean-François Laslier. “Votes for Women: Electoral Systems and Support for Female Candidates.” *Politics & Gender* 13, no. 01 (March 2017): 107–31.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X16000684>.
- Google Trends. “Me Too Rising,” n.d. <https://metoorising.withgoogle.com/>.
- Howard Lune. *Understanding Organizations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, n.d.
- IANS. “UN Conducts #MeToo Survey; One in Three Employees Report Sexual Harassment.” *The Economic Times*, January 16, 2019.  
<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/magazines/panache/metoo-one-in-three-un-employees-report-sexual-harassment-in-past-two-years/articleshow/67552001.cms>.
- Jennifer L. Berdahl, Marianne Cooper, Peter Glick, Robert W. Livingston, and Joan C. Williams. “Work as a Masculinity Contest.” *Journal of Social Issues* 74, no. 3 (2018): 422–48.
- Jess Cartner-Morley. “Dior Delivers 1960s Feminism to a New Generation in Paris.” *The Guardian*. February 27, 2018.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/fashion/2018/feb/27/dior-delivers-1960s-feminism-new-generation-paris>.

Jodi Kantor, and Megan Twohey. "Harvey Weinstein Paid Off Sexual Harassment Accusers for Decades." *The New York Times*, October 5, 2017.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/05/us/harvey-weinstein-harassment-allegations.html>.

Jonathan Steele. "Immunity of Parliamentary Statements." *Nottingham Law Journal* 21 (Annual 2012).

<http://go.galegroup.com/turing.library.northwestern.edu/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CA327955036&v=2.1&u=northwestern&it=r&p=AONE&sw=w>.

Judith Mischke. "#MeToo: Female MEPs Tell of the Own Sexual Harassment Experiences." *POLITICO Europe*, October 25, 2017.

<https://www.politico.eu/article/european-parliament-metoo-female-meps-tell-of-their-own-sexual-harassment-experiences/>.

Kitti Erdo-Bonyar. "Hungarians' Views On Sexual Harassment - Survey." *Daily News Hungary*, November 20, 2017. <https://dailynewshungary.com/hungarians-think-sexual-harassment/>.

Lewis North. "Catherine Bearder MEP Statement on Sexual Harassment in the European Parliament." *Catherine Bearder MEP* (blog), October 24, 2017.

[http://www.bearder.eu/catherine\\_bearder\\_mep\\_statement\\_on\\_sexual\\_harassment\\_in\\_the\\_european\\_parliament](http://www.bearder.eu/catherine_bearder_mep_statement_on_sexual_harassment_in_the_european_parliament).

Lyric Thompson, and Teresa Casale. "Baby Steps toward a Feminist United Nations." *Foreign Policy*, January 29, 2019.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/01/29/united-nations-guterres-feminist-campaign/>.

Maia de la Baume. "European Parliament Gets MeTooEP Blog." *POLITICO Europe*. October 8, 2018. <https://www.politico.eu/article/european-parliament-gets-metooep-blog/>.

Maia de la Baume, and Philip Kaleta. "German Conservatives Resist #MeToo Measure in European Parliament." *POLITICO Europe*. January 29, 2019.

<https://www.politico.eu/article/german-conservatives-resist-metoo-european-parliament-measure/>.

Martin Banks. "EU Election Candidates Urged to Join Fight against Sexual Harassment." *The Parliament Magazine*. February 7, 2019.

<https://www.theparliamentmagazine.eu/articles/news/eu-election-candidates-urged-join-fight-against-sexual-harassment>.

Meaghan Beatley. "Andalusia's Far-Right Vox Party Espouses an 'anti-Radical-Feminist' Platform." *PRI*, December 22, 2018.

<https://www.pri.org/stories/2018-12-11/andalusias-far-right-vox-party-espouses-anti-radical-feminist-platform>.

———. "Betting on Anti-Feminism as a Winning Political Strategy." *The Atlantic*. April 24, 2019. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/04/spain-vox-feminism/587824/>.

MeToo Movement. "History & Vision." *MeToo Movement* (blog). Accessed April 10, 2019. <https://metoomvmt.org/about/#history>.

"MeTooEP." *MeTooEP* (blog). Accessed December 12, 2018. <https://metooep.com/who-we-are/>.

Mona Lena Krook, and Fiona Mackay. *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Monica Anderson, and Skye Toor. "How Social Media Users Have Discussed Sexual Harassment since #MeToo Went Viral." *Pew Research Center*. Accessed April 8, 2019.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/10/11/how-social-media-users-have-discussed-sexual-harassment-since-metoo-went-viral/>.

Moya Lloyd. "Power, Politics, Domination, and Oppression." In *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Nicholas Moussis. "3.3 The Legal System of the European Union." Blog. *Europedia.Moussis.Eu* (blog). Accessed December 9, 2018. [http://www.europedia.moussis.eu/books/Book\\_2/2/3/3/index.tkl](http://www.europedia.moussis.eu/books/Book_2/2/3/3/index.tkl).

Nicole Fallert. "Inside the Fight to Make the European Parliament Take Sexual Harassment Seriously." *Vox.Com*. March 22, 2019. <https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18234860/me-too-european-parliament-leads-to-sexual-harassment-pledge>.

Paula England. "The Gender Revolution: Uneven and Stalled." *Gender & Society* 24, no. 2 (April 2010): 149–66.

Peter Teffer. "Frustrated EU Parliament Staffers Set up #MeToo Blog." *Euobserver*. October 4, 2018. <https://euobserver.com/institutional/142990>.

Rachel A. Dudley. "Confronting the Concept of Intersectionality: The Legacy of of Audre Lorde and Contemporary Feminist Organizations." *McNair Scholars Journal*, 2006. <https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1063&context=mcnair>.

Rachel B. Vogelstein, and Jamille Bigio. "Three Things to Know: The Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017." *Council on Foreign Relations*, October 13, 2017. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/three-things-know-women-peace-and-security-act-2017>.

Ryan Heath. "Harassment in the Brussels EU Bubble." *POLITICO Europe*, October 23, 2017. <https://www.politico.eu/blogs/playbook-plus/2017/10/sexual-harassment-assault-in-the-brussels-eu-bubble-metoo/>.

S. Laurel Weldon. "Power, Exclusion and Empowerment: Feminist Innovation in Political Science." *Women's Studies International Forum* 72, no. January-February 2019 (2019). <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0277539517305071>.

Sally Farhat. "#MeTooEP: Fighting Sexual Harassment in the European Parliament." *AN-NAHAR*. October 10, 2018. <https://en.annahar.com/article/877254-naya--metooep-fighting-sexual-harassment-in-the-european-parliament>.

Sen. Shaheen, Jeanne (D-NH). "S. 1141 - Women, Peace, and Security Act of 2017." *Congress.gov*, March 16, 2017. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/1141>.

"Shaping Europe." *House of European History* (blog). Accessed December 12, 2018. <https://historia-europa.ep.eu/en/permanent-exhibition/shaping-europe>.

"Shively - Sexual Harassment in the European Union King Rex .Pdf." Accessed December 6, 2018. <https://digitalcommons.law.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5597&context=lalrev>.

Tanya Martinez Shively. "Sexual Harassment in the European Union: King Rex Meets Potiphar's Wife." *Louisiana Law Review* 55, no. 6 (July 1995). <https://digitalcommons.law.lsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5597&context=lalrev>.

Teresa Casale. "A Seat at the Table for Women -- And A Big Step Closer to World Peace." *Ms. Magazine*, October 10, 2017. <https://msmagazine.com/2017/10/10/seat-table-women-big-step-closer-world-peace/>.

Teresa Casale, Lyric Thompson, Sarah Gammage, and Lila O'Brien-Milne. "Progress Under Threat: A Report Card on the Secretary-General's Second Year from the Feminist UN Campaign." International Center for Research on Women, 2018.  
[https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/ICRW\\_2018\\_EndofYearReportCard\\_v5\\_WebReady.pdf](https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/ICRW_2018_EndofYearReportCard_v5_WebReady.pdf).

Teresa Welsh. "Guterres Improves Grade on Feminist UN Campaign Agenda." *Devex*, January 24, 2019.  
<https://www.devex.com/news/guterres-improves-grade-on-feminist-un-campaign-agenda-94194>.

The Council of the European Union. "COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2000/78/EC." Official Journal of the European Communities, November 27, 2000.  
<https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32000L0078&from=EN>.

"The Legal System of the European Union." *Europedia.moussis.eu. Europedia.Moussis.Eu* (blog). Accessed April 1, 2019. [http://www.europedia.moussis.eu/books/Book\\_2/2/3/3/index.tkl](http://www.europedia.moussis.eu/books/Book_2/2/3/3/index.tkl).

Thomas A. Birkland. "Focusing Events, Mobilization, and Agenda Setting." *Journal of Public Policy* 18, no. 1 (April 1998): 53–74.

United Nations. "Gender Equality," n.d.  
<https://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/gender-equality/>.