

ADDRESSING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
IN POLITICS IN THE OSCE REGION: TOOLKIT

Tool 2

Addressing Violence against Women in PARLIAMENTS



**Addressing Violence Against Women in
Politics in the OSCE Region Toolkit**
Tool 2: Addressing Violence against Women
in Parliaments



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*Addressing Violence Against Women in Politics in the OSCE Region Toolkit
Tool 2: Addressing Violence against Women in Parliaments*

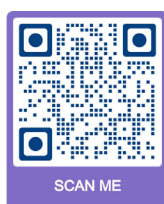
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Toolkit for Addressing Violence against Women in Politics in the OSCE Region

Violence against women in politics is a human rights violation, a barrier to women's political participation, and a serious challenge to democracy, peace and security of the OSCE participating States. There is a need to respond to and eradicate its different manifestation in all areas of political life.

The 2018 OSCE Ministerial Council Decision on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women acknowledges that “women engaged in professional activities with public exposure... are likely to be exposed to specific forms of violence or abuse, threats, and harassment, in relation to their work”. It also “encourage(s) all relevant actors, including those involved in the political process, to contribute to preventing and combating all forms of violence against women, including those engaged in professional activities with public exposure and/or in the interest of society, by, inter alia, raising the issue in public debates, and developing awareness-raising initiatives and other appropriate measures, also considering the chilling impact of such violence on young women.”

This Toolkit for Addressing Violence against Women in Politics in the OSCE Region aims to raise awareness and strengthen the knowledge and capacities of OSCE participating States towards effective measures for addressing and responding to this type of violence. It offers five separate tools:

ODIHR's Toolkit for Addressing Violence Against Women in Politics in the OSCE Region

- **Tool 1 – the Introduction** defines violence against women in politics and describes solutions for effective prevention, protection of victims, the prosecution of perpetrators and coordination of policies.
- **Tool 2 - for Parliaments** provides data and examples of promising practices to guide parliaments towards measures which address violence against women in parliaments and beyond.
- **Tool 3 - for Political Parties** assists political parties in taking internal steps to tackle violence against women within their structures.
- **Tool 4 - for Civil Society** explores the role that civil society and women's movements can play in combating violence against women in politics.
- **Tool 5 - for Women in Politics** is a guide for women affected directly or indirectly by such violence about how to seek protection, remedy and support.

Introduction

Sexism, abuse and violence against women are universal and systemic problems in the world of parliaments. Women politicians are consistently exposed to violence and the threat of violence when conducting their representative duties. Violence against women in politics is unacceptable. It is a violation of fundamental human rights, including the obligation to ensure that women can participate fully, freely and safely in political processes.

In a democracy, elected bodies such as parliaments must be model institutions and a place of work where women and men can fulfil their representative duties on an equal footing and in total safety. Parliaments should be prime examples of modern and gender-responsive democracies, with a zero tolerance policy towards sexism and gender-based violence.

This tool for addressing Violence against Women in Politics (VAWiP) in the OSCE region focuses specifically on violence against women in parliaments and the role of parliaments in addressing VAWiP.¹ It aims to provide data and examples of good practice to guide parliaments towards measures for addressing violence against women in parliaments and beyond.²

The tool is in two sections. Part 1 presents the available data and information on the prevalence of violence against women in parliaments. Part 2 gives an overview of key steps and actions, and promising practices gathered from across the OSCE region. Part 2 is divided into sections that discuss prevention, protection, prosecution, and coordinated policies for addressing VAWiP and each concludes with a summary of measures and practical guidance for parliaments. The two annexes cover examples of parliamentary policies on preventing violence against women and map the existing parliamentary policies or codes on this topic in the OSCE region.

1 See also "Violence against Women Journalists and Politicians: A Growing Crisis", OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's Special Representative on Gender Issues, Annual Report 2021, <<https://www.oscepa.org/en/documents/special-representatives/gender-issues/report-17/4247-2021-report-by-the-special-representative-on-gender-issues-violence-against-women-journalists-and-politicians-a-growing-crisis/file>>.

2 In addition to this toolkit, see, for example, "Guidelines for the elimination of sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliament", Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019, <<https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reference/2019-11/guidelines-elimination-sexism-harassment-and-violence-against-women-in-parliament>>; "Anti-Harassment Policy Guidelines: A Toolkit for Commonwealth Parliaments", Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, 2020, <https://www.cpahq.org/media/1gy15xhi/cwp-anti_harassment-guidelines.pdf>.

Data and the Prevalence of Violence against Women in Parliaments

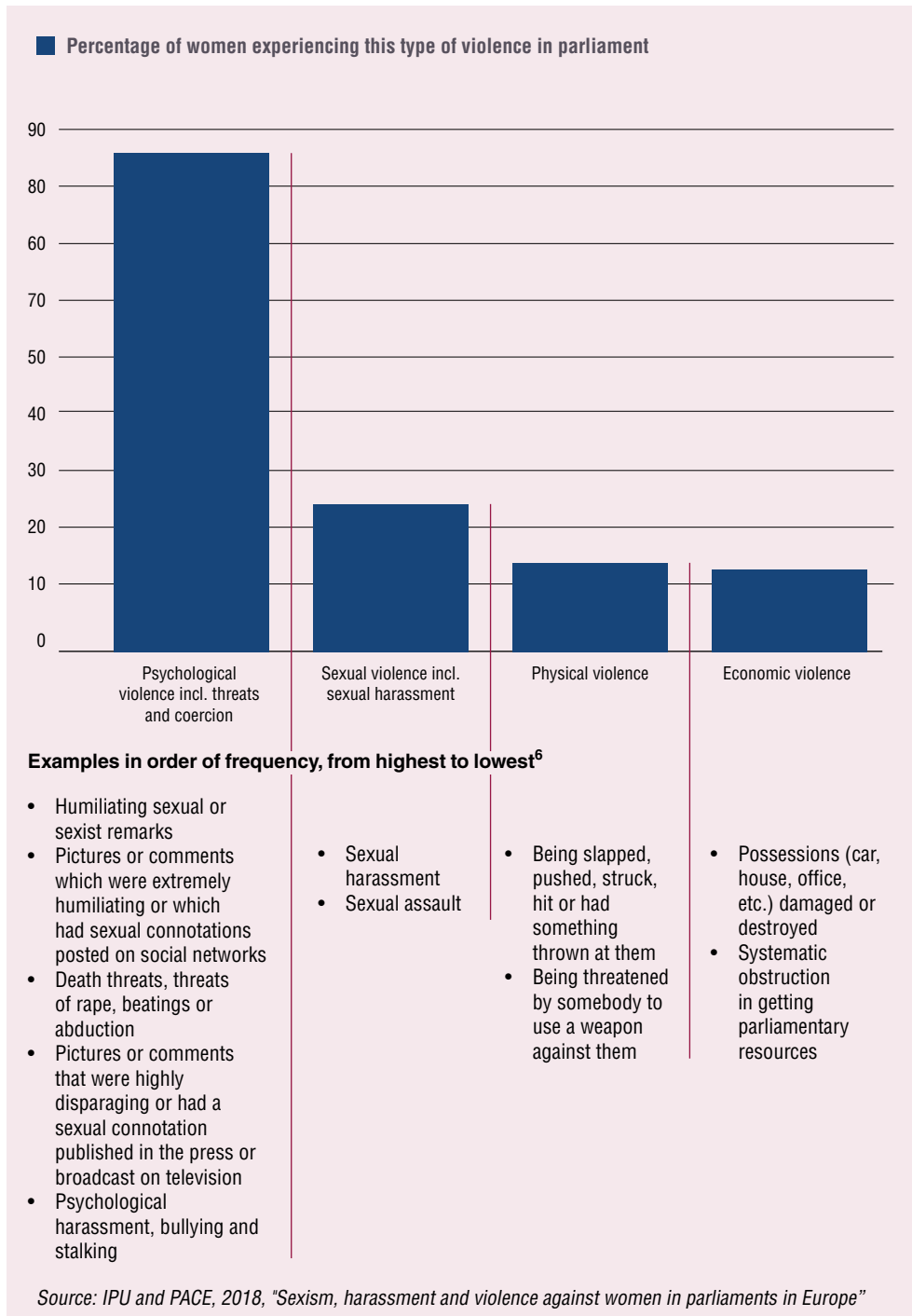
The data and statistics on violence against women in politics, and specifically in parliaments, are deeply worrying. Indeed, acts of sexism, abuse, and violence against women are found in parliaments across the world, including in the parliaments of OSCE participating States. Women politicians, who fulfil key roles in any democracy that promotes human rights, equal opportunities, non-discrimination and gender equality, are being hindered from performing their representative duties.

A 2018 study by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) entitled *Sexism, Harassment and Violence against Women in Parliaments in Europe*, found that 85.2 per cent of surveyed women parliamentarians suffered *psychological violence* in the course of their term of office, 46.9 per cent had received death threats or threats of rape or beating, 58.2 per cent had been the target of online sexist attacks on social networks, 67.9 per cent had been the target of comments relating to their physical appearance or based on gender stereotypes, 24.7 per cent had suffered *sexual violence*, and 14.8 per cent had suffered *physical violence*.³ The study also showed that female MPs under the age of 40 were more frequently subjected to psychological and sexual harassment, and female MPs active in the fight against gender inequality and violence against women were often singled out for attack.⁴ In addition, several of the respondents noted that there was no service or mechanism in their parliament to turn to in the event of harassment or violence.⁵

3 "Sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliaments in Europe", Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), 2018, <<https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/issue-briefs/2018-10/sexism-harassment-and-violence-against-women-in-parliaments-in-europe>>.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*



The various manifestations of *psychological violence* that were prevalent in the 2018 study included humiliating sexual or sexist remarks (67.9%), pictures or comments that were extremely humiliating or which had sexual connotations posted on social networks (58.2%), death threats, threats of rape, beatings or abduction (46.9%), pictures or comments that were highly disparaging or had a sexual connotation published in the press or broadcast on television (39.5%), and psychological harassment, bullying and stalking (27.2%).⁷ There were similar findings from recent studies on online abuse against women MPs. A 2020 study on Finnish women government ministers found that abusive language is common on Twitter and women ministers receive a disproportionate amount of gendered, sexist, and misogynist abuse online which aims to criticize and delegitimize women in ministerial positions.⁸

Similarly, in the UK, women MPs receive more tweets targeting them as women and questioning their position as politicians than men MPs.⁹ Some of these tweets contain misogynist abuse as well as demonization and objectification of women MPs.¹⁰

Manifestations of *sexual violence* included sexual harassment (24.7%) and sexual assault (6.2%). Manifestations of *physical violence* included being slapped, pushed, struck, hit or having something thrown at them, and being threatened by somebody to use a weapon against them. Manifestations of *economic violence* (13.5%) included having their possessions (car, house, office, etc.) damaged or destroyed in the course of their terms in office, or facing systematic obstruction in obtaining the parliamentary resources to which they were entitled.¹¹

In addition, the 2018 study showed that women MPs under 40 were exposed to *psychological violence* to a greater extent than the average man MP. For instance, while 67.9 per cent of women MPs had suffered sexist or sexual remarks, the corresponding figure for women MPs under 40 was 77.3 per cent. While 58.2 per cent of women MPs said that they had seen images or comments about them, posted on social networks, which were extremely humiliating or which had sexual connotations, the corresponding figure for women MPs under 40 was 76.2 per cent, and while 27.2 per cent of women MPs were exposed to psychological harassment, bullying or stalking, the corresponding figure for women MPs under 40 was 45.5 per cent.¹²

Similarly, studies have shown that Black and Asian women politicians as well as women

7 *Ibid.*

8 Kristina Van Sant, Rolf Fredheim, and Gundars Bergmanis-Kor ts, "Abuse of Power: Coordinated Online Harassment of Finnish Government Ministers", NATO STRATCOM Centre of Excellence, Riga, February 2021, <https://stratcomcoe.org/cuploads/pfiles/abuse_of_power_online_harassment_of_fin_ministers_16-03-2021.pdf>.

9 Rosalyn Southern and Emily Harmer, "Twitter, Incivility and 'Everyday' Gendered Othering: An Analysis of Tweets Sent to UK Members of Parliament", *Social Science Computer Review*, Volume: 39 issue: 2, 2019, pp. 259-275.

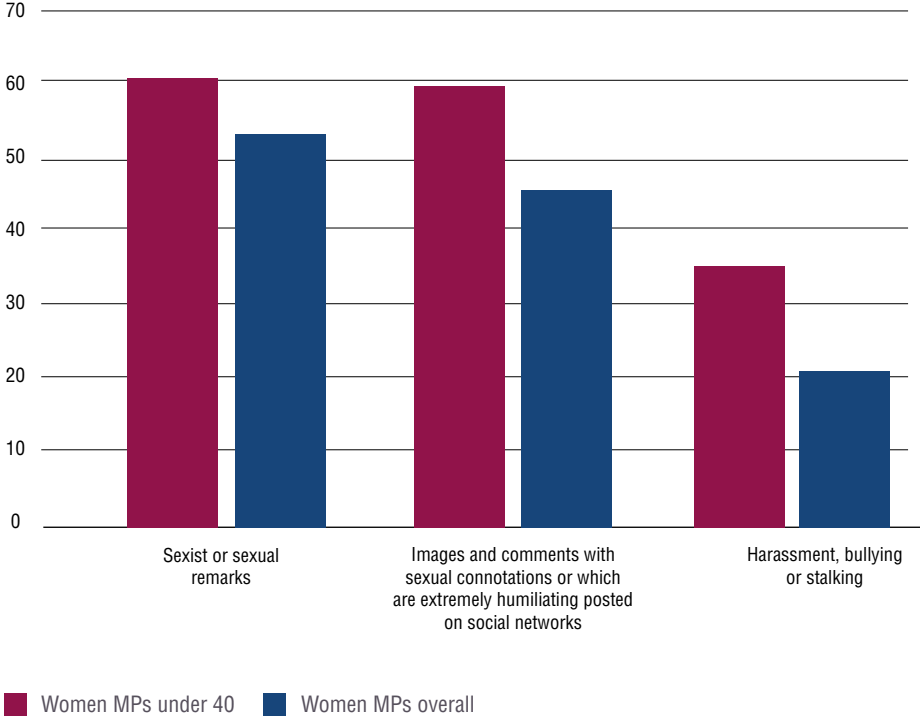
10 *Ibid.*

11 *Op. cit.*, note 3.

12 *Ibid.*

politicians from an ethnic minority are more likely to face violence than white women. Amnesty’s 2018 research on women politicians and journalists in the UK and the US found that Black women were 84 per cent, and Black and minority women were 34 per cent more likely to be mentioned in abusive or problematic tweets than white women.¹³ In the UK, research has found that 63 per cent of Black, Asian women parliamentary candidates or women parliamentary candidates from an ethnic minority experience abuse, and they are also more likely than white women to experience violence.¹⁴

Percentage of women parliamentarians under 40 experiencing this type of violence compared to all women parliamentarians



Source: IPU and PACE, 2018, "Sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliaments in Europe"

13 "Troll Patrol Findings. Using Crowdsourcing, Data Science & Machine Learning to Measure Violence and Abuse against Women on Twitter", Amnesty 2018, last accessed 14 October 2022, <<https://decoders.amnesty.org/projects/troll-patrol/findings>>.
 14 Sofia Collignon, Rosie Campbell, Wolfgang Rüdiger, "The gendered Harassment of Parliamentary Candidates in the UK", The Political Quarterly, Volume 93, Issue 1, 2022, pp. 32-38, <<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/1467-923X.13070>>.

The 2018 IPU-PACE study also shows that there is a considerable amount of sexual and psychological harassment or bullying targeting female parliamentary staff.¹⁵

The perpetrators might vary, ranging from colleagues in the same institution (e.g., the same parliamentary committee), members of the same political party or party fraction, and civil servants and staff members in elected bodies (e.g., civil servants in parliamentary committees), to regular citizens contacting women politicians online or offline. Even family members may exhibit controlling behaviours:

“At first my husband was strongly against my nomination as an MP; at the time he was still in working in Russia, and my husband’s family, including my husband’s parents, helped me explain it to him, and he eventually agreed. However, at first he was very sceptical about my legislative activity. It mentally knocked me out. For example, he asked a lot of questions if someone called or I went to work meetings, and [would] not allow me to travel to Bishkek for professional development seminars, opposed my business trips. However, I have two adult children who helped me to persuade my husband or explain my situation. Now everything is fine. He supports me and does not restrict me.”¹⁶

Interview with a woman MP in Kyrgyzstan

Research also shows that position matters; women politicians in top leadership positions are more exposed to violence than women in other political positions.¹⁷ In addition, women do not only experience violence in politics on the basis of their gender, they can also be exposed to violence in politics, due to their perceived ability, sexuality, race and ethnicity, religion, national origin, language, religion, age, or geography.¹⁸ Therefore, applying an intersectional approach to studies on violence against women in politics will show that women in politics are exposed to violence that is not only gendered, but also lies at the crossroad of several axes of discrimination. Women MPs may therefore be targets of violence in politics because they are women *and young, disabled, of minority background, etc.*

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, note 3.

¹⁶ Quote from a study by Z. Kochorbayeva, N. Prigoda, B. Islanbekova, M. Tyulegenov, “Violence against women in politics in the Kyrgyz Republic: Results of study”, Social Technologies Agency, funded/supported by OSCE/ODIHR, 2 June 2022, <<https://www.osce.org/programme-office-in-bishkek/519390>>.

¹⁷ Sandra Håkansson, “Do women pay a higher price for power? Gender bias in political science in Sweden”, *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 83, No. 2, April 2021, <<https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/709838>>.

¹⁸ Rebecca Kuperberg, “Intersectional Violence against Women in Politics”, *Politics & Gender* 14(4), 13 November 2018, pp. 685-690, <<https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/857778003CD6AB6448FC30DBC1F34416/S1743923X18000612a.pdf/intersectional-violence-against-women-in-politics.pdf>>

The women surveyed in the IPU and PACE 2018 Europe-wide study also noted critically the lack of services or mechanisms in their parliament to turn to in the event of harassment or violence. In fact, based on information provided by 42 parliaments (53 chambers) in every region of the world in 2016, the IPU found that only 21 per cent of participating parliaments had a policy on sexual harassment against MPs, and 48 per cent had a policy for parliamentary staff.¹⁹ Only 28 per cent had a procedure for complaints from MPs and 53 per cent for complaints from parliamentary staff.²⁰

In sum, the available data and statistics on violence against women in politics are alarming. Young women MPs, under the age of 40, seem to be particularly exposed. Meanwhile, only a minority of parliaments have taken steps to combat violence (see [Annexe 2](#) of this tool). Violence against women in politics jeopardizes the rights, liberties, health, quality of life, and sometimes also the lives of women MPs and other women in political roles or women aspiring to become politicians. This is a violation of human rights and a threat to democracy and the development of society.

19 “Sexism, harassment and violence against women parliamentarians”, IPU, 2016, <<https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/issue-briefs/2016-10/sexism-harassment-and-violence-against-women-parliamentarians>>.

20 *Ibid.*

Measures and Promising Practices for Addressing Violence against Women in Parliaments

A series of measures can tackle the various types of violence against women in politics, including:

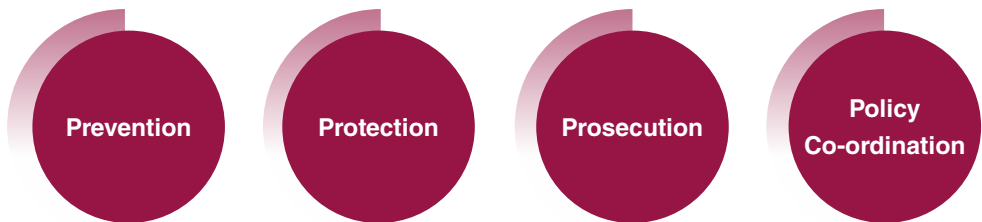
- Promoting, adopting and implementing legal reforms and establishing a robust legislative framework;
- Ensuring legal proceedings against alleged perpetrators;
- Holding official inquiries;
- Introducing codes of conduct;
- Setting up reporting and alternative reporting mechanisms;
- Applying dissuasive sanctions;
- Raising awareness, through i.a., manifestos, open letters and virtual campaigning;
- Providing anti-harassment training and self-defence courses;
- Implementing safety and security solutions, including security patrols, online safety and safe spaces;
- Giving support or referral to support services, redress and self-care;
- Deleting and blocking online;
- Holding listening sessions;
- Providing counter-speech and solidarity;
- Giving emergency grants or other financial measures; and
- Making language adaptations, language guides, amplification, semiotic reversals.²¹

Violence against women in politics is a form of gender-based discrimination and stems from structural gender inequality in society. It is therefore important to point out that any attempt to address this problem needs to take the wider context into account.

21 Mona Lena Krook, *Violence against Women in Politics*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020)

While different legal frameworks, laws, policies and other measures attempt to address violence against women in politics, no single solution exists to put an end to it. A number of measures, at various levels, are needed that address the various types of violence that women in politics are exposed to, and the diversity of contexts and situations in which they take place. The examples given below can be seen as a non-exhaustive list of promising or good practices for parliaments.

The next part of this section describes the measures that various OSCE participating States have taken to address VAWiP, with a specific focus on parliament. It follows the categorization used by the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (the Istanbul Convention) and its **four pillars**:



This tool is also inspired by the Inter-Parliamentary Union's (IPU) long-term work on the topic with parliaments around the world.²²

- 1 Prevention** focuses on awareness-raising initiatives which may include measures such as campaigns, education in non-violence and gender equality between women and men, challenging gender stereotypes, promoting women's empowerment, programmes for perpetrators, and training professionals.
- 2 Protection** targets safety and support frameworks and may include measures such as information on rights, support services, complaints mechanisms, protection and other security solutions.
- 3 Prosecution** refers to measures such as investigations by independent panels, law enforcement and judicial proceedings, including dissuasive sanction for perpetrators, victims/survivors' rights (including a victim's right to information and support, and victim protection during investigations and proceedings).

22 See for example: "Sexism, harassment and violence against women", *op. cit.*, note 3; and IPU 2019 Guidelines, *op. cit.*, note 2.

4

Coordinated policies focus on organizational measures and may include measures such as research and data collection, coordinating action and implementation monitoring, support and work with civil society and NGOs, and funding for partners involved in combating violence.

PREVENTION

Preventive work is the key to ending violence against women in politics. This requires long-term, systematic, and persistent efforts, and aims to achieve:

- 1) a change in attitudinal and social patterns, and
- 2) a growing awareness of human rights and violence against women, in general, and violence against women in politics, in particular.

Awareness-raising campaigns are critical to prevent violence against women, not only by raising awareness of what constitutes violence and how it is unacceptable, but also to challenge the underlying attitudes and behaviours that support it. Awareness of the generalized existence of systemic abuse is a key step towards a broader process of institutional change. By discussing a topic openly — such as violence against women in politics, a topic that has been taboo within representative bodies — it is possible to name, define, and establish a shared understanding of the problem, and show that parliament is not immune to gender-based violence. It also signals to victims that their claims are taken seriously and that the fault lies solely with the perpetrators. Breaking the silence on violence against women in politics is therefore essential to ending it. By identifying a problem, potential solutions may be chiselled out and discussed. It is essential that campaigns include diverse groups and do not reinforce, for example, ethnicity, disability or class-based stereotypes.



Several parliaments in the OSCE region are involved in **training and education programmes**. In addition to covering harassment and inappropriate behaviour in parliamentary work, these should comprehensively cover all forms of violence against women in politics. They should be practical, regular and mandatory for MPs and parliamentary staff at all levels, and they should be strongly connected to the overall promotion of gender equality, women's rights and the key functions of parliaments: legislation, oversight and representation.



In **Canada**, training sessions on the policy against sexual harassment are organized for MPs and employees. In 2016, an online training course on sexual harassment was launched. In 2018, in-person sexual harassment training for all MPs, cabinet ministers, and party leaders, in both official languages, was introduced.²³



In the **EU**, the European Parliament organizes specific courses aimed at preventing inappropriate conduct and harassment and promoting respectful, professional relations in the workplace. Training geared to preventing harassment is provided to all staff members to enable them to recognize, prevent and combat psychological and sexual harassment. Managers are given similar training so that they can prevent and tackle psychological and sexual harassment within their teams. Tailored courses for parliamentarians on managing and staffing their offices are also being devised. These emphasize prevention by seeking to develop parliamentarians' management skills in order to avoid conflict with their assistants.²⁴



In **Finland** and **Sweden**, psychological and sexual harassment issues are included in the training received by parliamentary staff upon recruitment.²⁵

In addition to general awareness and after identifying violence against women in politics as a problem, a comprehensive legal framework is also needed to prevent and deter it effectively. Laws and policies need to be adopted that send a clear message to everyone that violence against women is neither tolerated in politics nor in society as a whole. Parliaments can adopt and implement **legislation prohibiting and criminalizing violence against women in politics**.

23 See, for example, Krook (2020), *op. cit.*, note 21, p.173-174.

24 "Appropriate behaviour rules", The European Parliament, last accessed 14 October 2022, <<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/at-your-service/en/transparency/appropriate-behaviour>>.

25 See, for example, Erikson & Freidenvall (2022, forthcoming).

In addition, ensuring that legislation on all topics is gender-sensitive is also a crucial way to reduce structural discrimination, promote gender equality and, in the long term, prevent violence against women. ODIHR assists OSCE participating States upon request with legislative reviews to ensure appropriate legal guarantees for the promotion of gender equality in accordance with OSCE commitments and human rights standards.²⁶

None of the OSCE participating States have specifically criminalized violence against women in politics. However, 35 participating States in the OSCE region have ratified the Council of Europe Istanbul Convention, and 55 participating States have ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and thus, are committed to criminalizing all forms of violence against women in public and private spheres perpetrated by individuals or by the state.²⁷ In addition, in OSCE Ministerial Council Decision 15/05, all OSCE participating States have committed “to adopt and implement legislation that criminalizes gender-based violence and establishes adequate legal protection”.²⁸ Currently, the only examples of legislation on preventing violence against women in politics can be found in Latin America, and Tunisia.²⁹



Bolivia was the first country to adopt a law on violence against women in politics; namely law No. 243 on “Harassment and Political Violence against Women”.³⁰ The reason for drafting and adopting the law was that existing electoral laws and legislation on violence against women were found to be insufficient to protect women politicians for example from economic violence, such as denial of salaries.³¹ Law No. 243 defines:

- “political violence” as “physical, psychological or sexual actions, behaviours, and/or aggressions”, and
- “political harassment” as any act “of pressure, persecution, harassment, or threats made by a person or a group of people, directly or through a third party against women candidates, elected and appointed officials or those performing

26 See more at “Requesting Legislative Assistance from ODIHR”, OSCE/ODIHR, 20 December 2018, <<https://www.osce.org/odihr/407447>>.

27 As of July 2022. See the chart of signatures and ratifications of the Istanbul Convention at: <<https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list?module=signatures-by-treaty&treatyid=210>>. See the list of CEDAW ratifications at: <https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?Treaty=CEDAW&Lang=en>.

28 OSCE Ministerial Council Decision on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women, MC.DEC/15/05, Ljubljana, 6 December 2005, <<https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/c/8/17451.pdf>>.

29 “Preventing Violence against Women in Politics. Guidance Note”, UN Women, 2021, <<https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2021/07/guidance-note-preventing-violence-against-women-in-politics>>.

30 Bolivia. 2012. Law No. 243 on Harassment and Political Violence against Women. Art. 7 and 8, <<https://www.comunicacion.gob.bo/sites/default/files/docs/Ley%20N%C2%BA243%20Contra%20el%20Acoso%20y%20Violencia%20Politica%20hacia%20las%20Mujeres.pdf>>.

31 Juliana Restrepo Sanín, “The Law and Violence against Women in Politics”, *Politics & Gender*, Vol. 14, 4, 13 December 2018, pp. 676 – 680, <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X18000594>>

a public service, or against her family with the purpose of shortening, suspending, impeding or restricting the functions attached to her post”.³²

The **Inter-American Model Law** on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women in Political Life³³ was developed in 2017 by the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Follow-up Mechanism to the Belém do Pará Convention (MESECVI) to define forms of violence against women in politics. It also describes responsibilities in terms of prevention, support to victims/survivors, punishment and redress to various actors, including judicial authorities, electoral bodies, political parties, and national women’s machineries, among others. (See [Tool 1 - Introduction](#)).

Additionally, effective policy measures are needed and these include, for example, policies on anti-harassment and codes of conduct. This is the next step towards a broader process of institutional change. The OSCE/ODIHR publication *Realizing Gender Equality in Parliament: A Guide for Parliaments in the OSCE Region*³⁴ discusses criteria for assessing the effectiveness of codes of conduct on this topic. The guide lists the following:

- “Evidence-based development, including robust data collection on the nature and extent of the problem, definition and application of underpinning principles such as gender-based violence and intersectionality;
- Consultation with experts on gender-based violence for the development, implementation and monitoring of the respective code;
- Avoidance of language that blames victims/survivors;
- Applicability to everyone working in parliament, including members, ministers, political staff, parliamentary staff and parliamentary workers;
- Establishment of an independent complaints handling and redress mechanism;
- Mandatory in-person training for all parliamentary workers including members of parliament; and
- Regular opportunities to review the respective code and grievance process and amend them where necessary, and inclusion of public disclosure provisions.”³⁵

³² *Ibid.*

³³ The Inter-American Model Law on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women in Political Life, <https://www.oas.org/en/mesecevi/docs/LeyModeloViolenciaPolitica-EN.pdf> (Accessed on 17 July 2022).

³⁴ “Realizing Gender Equality in Parliament: A Guide for Parliaments in the OSCE Region”, OSCE/ODIHR, 6 December 2021, pp. 36-40, <<https://www.osce.org/odihr/506885>>.

³⁵ *Ibid.* See also: Cheryl Collier and Tracey Raney, “Canada’s Member-to-Member Code of Conduct on Sexual Harassment in the House of Commons: Progress or Regress?”, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 51, No. 4, 2018, pp. 795–815; Tracey Raney and Cheryl Collier, “Privilege and Gendered Violence in the Canadian and British House of Commons”, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 75, (2), April 2022, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsaa069>>. See also Gabrielle Bardall, “An overview of policy responses and solutions to violence against women in politics”, *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, Vol. 3, No. 2, June 2020, pp. 299–301, <<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/341243211>>.

Several parliaments in the OSCE region have adopted **anti-harassment policies and codes of conduct** (see the two **Annexes of this Tool** for the full list parliamentary codes and examples of parliamentary codes on VAWiP):



In **Bosnia and Herzegovina**, the Council of the Stari Grad municipality of the City of Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina amended the Council's ethical codes in 2018 to prohibit sexual harassment, and to protect elected officials who report sexual harassment from retribution. The amendments were made on the initiative of women councillors. The ethical codes label sexual harassment as one of the most severe violations of the codes and a perpetrator will face a public reprimand in punishment.³⁶



Croatia adopted a Code of Ethics for Civil Servants on 25 March 2011 covering sexual harassment against civil servants. Article 6 of the Code states that civil servants shall be protected against sexual harassment, non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature, with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of civil servants and governmental employees and creating and intimidating, hostile, degrading or offensive environment.³⁷

Canada – Case example of parliamentary policies on addressing sexual harassment and violence

As an annexe to the Standing Orders, the House of Commons has adopted a Code of Conduct for Members of the House of Commons: Sexual harassment between members³⁸.

Section 2 of the Code of Conduct for Members of the House of Commons defines sexual harassment as follows: “conduct of a sexual nature, including a comment, gesture or contact, whether on a one-time or recurring basis, that might reasonably be expected to cause offence or humiliation”.

Section 7 then states that: “Without limiting the definition of sexual harassment in any manner, sexual harassment may include the following:

- (a) demands for sexual favours or sexual assault;
- (b) inappropriate or unwanted physical contact such as touching, patting or pinching;

³⁶ UN Women, *op.cit.*, note 29.

³⁷ Code of Ethics, Government of Croatia, 2011, <<https://vlada.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/2016/Glavno%20tajni%C5%A1tvo/ENG/documents%20in%20english/Code%20of%20Ethics%20for%20Civil%20Servants.pdf>>.

³⁸ Appendix II: Code of Conduct for Members of the House of Commons: Sexual Harassment Between Members, House of Commons, Canada, accessed 25 May 2022, <<https://www.ourcommons.ca/procedure/standing-orders/Appa2-e.html>>.

(c) insulting comments, gestures or practical jokes of a sexual nature that cause discomfort or embarrassment; and

(d) inappropriate enquiries or comments about an individual's sex life.”

Pursuant to the Code of Conduct, MPs undertake in writing to adhere to the Code and help ensure a working environment that is free from sexual harassment (section 11).

In addition, the House of Commons has adopted policies for other personnel categories: Members of the House of Commons Workplace Harassment and Violence Policy (2021)³⁹ applies to all MPs (as employers), personnel employed by MPs, interns and volunteers (paid or unpaid). This policy covers prevention and protection measures such as training and safety protocols as well as a workplace harassment and violence resolution process with a reporting and complaints system, investigation and a concluding report, which may be used to impose remedial or disciplinary measures. The policy also includes a list of examples of different types of violence and harassment.



In the **EU**, the European Parliament has adopted a policy on preventing harassment and discrimination.⁴⁰ Members shall refrain from any type of psychological or sexual harassment and respect the Code of Appropriate Behaviour in exercising their duties (see Rule 10 (6) of the Rules of Procedure). The Code of Appropriate Behaviour for Members of the European Parliament seeks to ensure that members behave towards everyone working in the European Parliament with dignity, courtesy and respect and without prejudice or discrimination. In doing so, members are expected also to behave in a professional manner and refrain, in their relations with staff, from degrading, insulting, offensive or discriminatory language or any other unethical, demeaning or unlawful actions. The Code of Appropriate Behaviour is annexed to Parliament's Rules of Procedure (Annex II). Upon taking up office in Parliament, each member is required to sign a declaration confirming his or her commitment to complying with the Code. Members who have not signed this declaration may not be elected as office-holders in Parliament or any of its bodies, be appointed as a rapporteur or participate in an official delegation or inter-institutional negotiations. All declarations, whether signed or not, will be published on members' profile pages on the Parliament's website. Since Members' signatures cannot be published on the website, the presence of a date on a declaration means it was signed on that day.

39 Members of the House of Commons Workplace Harassment and Violence Prevention Policy, House of Commons, Canada, 28 January 2021, accessed on 25 May 2022, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/content/boie/pdf/policy_preventing_harassment-e.pdf>.

40 Appropriate behavior rules”, European Parliament, *op. cit.*, note 24.

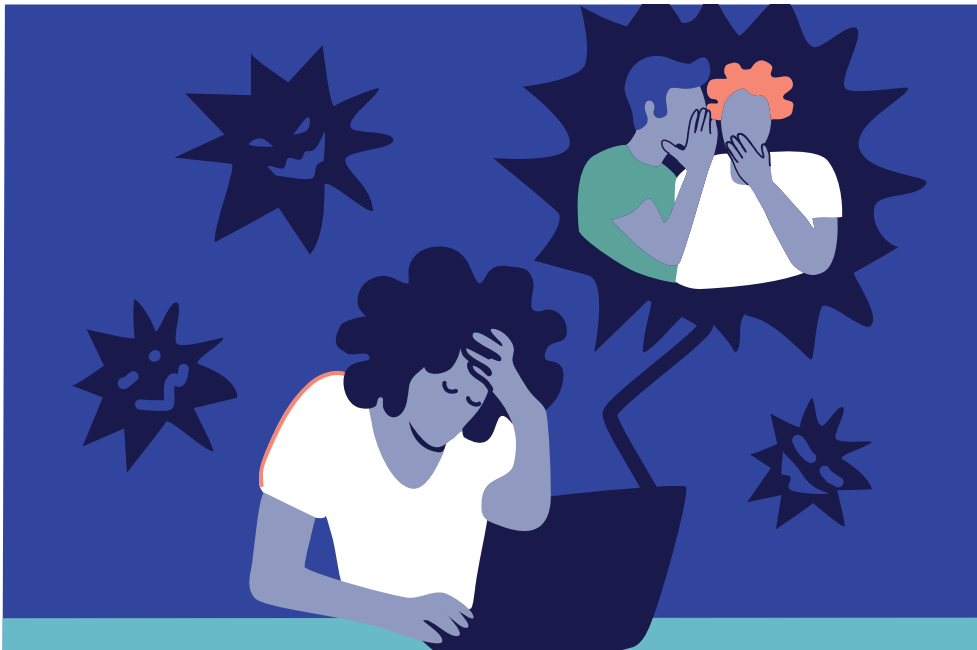


In **Sweden**, the Swedish Parliament has adopted a policy against psychological and sexual harassment. It applies to acts between parliamentary employees. There is no mechanism in respect of parliamentarians.⁴¹



In the **United States of America**, in 2018, agreement was reached in Congress to reform the existing sexual harassment policy. This entails eliminating mediation requirements and lengthy waiting periods, making members (not taxpayers) responsible for the settlements, increasing transparency by publishing reports of committee findings, making anti-harassment training mandatory for members and parliamentary staff, and requiring regular staff surveys about workplace culture during congressional periods.⁴²

Several parliaments in the OSCE region are involved in **awareness-raising campaigns and other sensitization campaigns**, including more general measures to achieve a gender-equal working place. Parliaments can contribute to prevention of violence against women in politics by developing a 'good parliament' culture, i.e., a workplace and environment that promotes good work conditions and practices and combats discrimination and attitudes that support violence.



41 Erikson & Freidenvall (2022, forthcoming).

42 "Women in parliament in 2018: The year in review", IPU, 2019, <<https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2019-03/women-in-parliament-in-2018-year-in-review>>.

Primary prevention here involves reforms of all aspects of the culture, work environment and practice, with the aim to increase the capacity of the whole institution to prevent violence against women, both within and outside its walls.



In the **EU**, in 2008 the European Parliament adopted its first guidelines on gender-neutral language in the European Parliament and updated them in 2018⁴³. As gender equality and non-discrimination are fundamental values of the European Union, the aim of the guidelines is to ensure gender-inclusive language is used in the Parliament's documents and communications in all official languages. Since language may be used to exclude and discriminate, it is important to employ language which is inclusive.

In 2018, the **Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (PACE)** launched the #NotInMyParliament campaign. The hashtag aimed to “send a loud and clear message that this behavior is simply unacceptable,” according to PACE President Liliane Maury Pasquier, following a joint study with the Inter-Parliamentary Union showing high rates of sexism, harassment and violence against women in European parliaments.⁴⁴



In **France**, manifestos and open letters have also been used to combat sexual violence. In 2016, following the sexual harassment scandal involving Denis Baupin, then deputy Speaker of Parliament, more than 500 activists and elected officials joined forces to call for “an end to impunity” for sexual harassment in politics, which resulted in 17 former women government ministers — from parties across the ideological spectrum — to publish a joint call denouncing sexist remarks and behaviour in French politics, stating that “the political world has a duty to be exemplary”. Six months after these manifestos and open letters, women staff members at the French Parliament launched their own awareness-raising collective, *Chair Collaboratrice*. In early 2019, members of the collective published an editorial in which they called on the Government and both Houses of the Parliament to create an independent office that could welcome women's testimonies, support them in their efforts and provide them with support in court proceedings. Around the same time, a poster campaign at the National Assembly and the Senate gave reminders of the articles of the Criminal Code relating to sexual harassment and useful information on existing victim reception and guidance services.⁴⁵

43 “Gender-Neutral Language in the European Parliament EU Parliament”, European Parliament, 2018 <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/151780/GNL_Guidelines_EN.pdf>.

44 #NotInMyParliament initiative, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, 23 November 2018, <<https://pace.coe.int/en/pages/not-in-my-parliament>>.

45 Krook (2020), *op. cit.*, note 21, pp. 163-166.



In **Italy**, the Italian Parliament has undertaken general sensitization initiatives. In 2016, the President of the Italian Chamber of Deputies dedicated a room to women. The Women's Room shows the pictures of the first women to be active in political representation in Italy at national, regional and local levels. On a blank wall, there are three mirrors, one for each political position that has not yet been held by a woman (President of the Republic, the Senate and the Council of Ministers).⁴⁶ Below the mirrors, women visitors can read

“You could be the first”. Sweden implemented a similar initiative earlier in 2010, when the Swedish Parliament launched its newly decorated women's room, showing pictures of the first female MP, the first female cabinet minister, the first female party leader and the first female Speaker of Parliament. On a blank wall, there is a mirror. Below the mirror, visitors can read “Sweden's first Prime Minister – Could it be you?”⁴⁷



Also in **Sweden**, the Swedish Parliament organizes debates and public seminars on a regular basis. For instance, it arranged a debate on the #MeToo movement and a public seminar, at which parliamentarians and two ministers read out anonymous statements by women politicians who had been victims of sexual abuse during their time in various parties. It also arranged a Nordic seminar on violence against women in politics, in which research on the topic was presented, followed by a round-table discussion with participating MPs, including the speakers and MPs from the parliaments in Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and the regional parliament in Åland.⁴⁸



In the **United States**, manifestos and open letters have been used to combat sexual violence. In October 2017, more than 140 women engaged in California's politics — legislators, staff, consultants, and lobbyists, both Democrats and Republicans — signed an open letter published in the Los Angeles Times.⁴⁹

By addressing sexism and by challenging existing power relations, one can also help prevent violence against women in politics. Exposure to so-called **domination techniques** (also known as master suppression techniques) is not new to politicians, and neither are **counter-strategies to combat this type of violence**. Domination techniques are conscious and unconscious strategies used to assert power over others. Those who use physical or psychological domination techniques exploit their advantage or position of power to either put, or keep other people at a disadvantage in their professional and/or private lives.

46 This has changed with the appointment of Meloni as Prime Minister, the President of the Council of Ministers, in 2022.

47 Lenita Freidenvall & Josefina Erikson, “The speaker's gender equality group in the Swedish parliament - a toothless tiger?”, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 8(3), 20 April 2020, pp. 627-636. <<https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2020.1752442>>.

48 Interview with the first Deputy Speaker Åsa Lindestam, Swedish Parliament.

49 Krook (2020), *op. cit.*, note 21, p. 166.

Domination techniques are often used through insults or harassment related to gender, and they are therefore examples of semiotic violence⁵⁰ (See forms of violence against women in politics in the **Introductory Tool**). As early as the 1970s, the Norwegian sociologist Berit Ås identified a series of five domination techniques, including Making invisible, Ridicule, Withholding information, Double binding/punishment, Heaping blame and Putting to shame, later adding two more: Objectifying, and Violence and threats of force.⁵¹



In **Canada**, semiotic reversals have been used to combat semiotic violence. When Canadian MP Gerry Ritz tweeted a link to a news article⁵² “has anyone told our Climate Barbie?”, the Minister of Environment and Climate, Catherine McKenna, responded by tweeting back “Do you use that sexist language about your daughter, mother, sister? We need more women in politics. Your sexist comments won’t stop us.”⁵³ This is an example of how individual MPs can make use of these ‘reversals’.

These measures can be perceived as a counter-strategy to the domination techniques of objectifying (to assess and appraise someone based solely on their outward appearance) and of ridicule (to mock and make fun of a person).



In the **United States**, semiotic reversals have also been used to combat semiotic violence. When Donald Trump called Hillary Clinton a “nasty woman” during the presidential debate in 2016, Trump’s opponents echoed the use of “nasty” in ways that disassociated the word, resulting in #NastyWoman trending on Twitter. Somebody wrote “if she is a nasty woman, I want to be a nasty woman too”.⁵⁴ Semiotic reversals can be used by individual politicians to their advantage. In addition, amplification has been used to combat semiotic violence in the US. When a woman MP made a key point in Congress, other women would repeat it, crediting its author. Therefore, this measure can be perceived as a counter-strategy to the domination technique of Making invisible (to make somebody invisible, or to marginalize or exclude a person).

50 Symbolic or semiotic violence, as a broad term, is increasingly being added by academia to definitions of violence against women in politics, to describe the use or effects of symbolic acts, sexualized language or images, gendered disinformation, or moral questioning intended to harm women’s representation, voice and agency in politics (See forms of violence against women in politics in the Introductory Tool).

51 See for example, the Swedish Karolinska Institute’s guidance for their staff on master suppression techniques and counter strategies, <<https://staff.ki.se/master-suppression-techniques>>, (accessed on 25 May 2022).

52 Josh Dehaas, “McKenna calls out outgoing Conservative MP for sexist ‘climate Barbie’ tweet,” CTV News, 19 September 2017, <<https://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/mckenna-calls-out-outgoing-conservative-mp-for-sexist-climate-barbie-tweet-1.3597464>>.

53 Krook (2020), *op. cit.*, note 21.

54 Krook (2020), *op. cit.*, note 21.

GUIDANCE FOR PARLIAMENTS ON PREVENTION

Prevent violence against women in politics by awareness-raising and training activities

- Run training on respect at work and the prevention of violence and harassment for all people working in parliament;
- Run mandatory and regular online or offline courses for all new MPs and new staff members, and arrange regular seminars and workshops on the topic of violence and harassment at the workplace and in politics;
- Work on education and sensitization, for instance by celebrating the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women on 25 November, organizing a conference or seminar to address violence against women in politics, improving workplace culture, including gender-sensitive language policies, and ensuring gender-responsive and family-friendly working conditions (access to childcare, fixed meeting times, etc.).

Prevent violence against women in politics by improving the legal and policy framework (see also **Annexe 1 of this toolkit)**

- Adopt and implement legislation prohibiting and criminalizing violence against women in politics;
- Adopt a stand-alone parliamentary policy against violence against women in politics, and/or consider expanding standing orders, rules of procedures or codes of conduct to cover the issue along with other gender-equality measures with sufficient, independent enforcement mechanisms;
 - » Define violence against women in politics and acts of violence in line with international standards and the national legal framework, and clearly state the objectives of the policy;
 - » Cover all categories of people/functions working in parliament in the policy (both MPs and parliamentary staff). Specify how people will be covered and protected by the policy; and determine the scope of where the policy is to be applied;
 - » Clearly state roles and responsibilities for implementation, monitoring and evaluating the policy;

- » Ensure the policy covers all the measures mentioned in this tool — prevention, protection, prosecution and coordinated policies;
- » Assign a budget and ensure sufficient human resources for the parliamentary mechanisms addressing violence against women in politics;
- » Include monitoring and evaluation mechanisms that feed into revisions of the policy within a set timeframe;
- Ensure national laws and the various parliamentary policies and procedures are harmonized and make sure there are no gaps in the protection or enforcement mechanisms;
- Communicate policies inside the parliament and beyond; and
- Make MPs and all parliamentary staff sign the policy.



PROTECTION

A comprehensive legal framework is key to ending violence against women in politics. As noted in the previous section, laws and policies need to be adopted, but to be effective, there must also be mechanisms that secure their proper implementation. Therefore, parliaments should not only adopt laws and policies that work, but also provide for implementation mechanisms.

These latter measures include complaints-handling mechanisms and access to high quality counselling and support services. These are necessary to achieve a broader process of institutional change.

Several parliaments in the OSCE region have adopted legal frameworks to protect women in politics from violence by setting up **complaints mechanisms** and other **safety measures**. It is important that complaints mechanisms are independent and cover both MPs and parliamentary staff.



In **Austria**, the Parliament has established an independent structure, the *Clearingstelle*. This consists of an independent expert appointed by the Speaker of Parliament whom MPs from both chambers, staff from political groups and parliamentary assistants can contact in the event of harassment. People have confidential access to various types of information and individualized counselling. It works primarily on prevention and awareness-raising initiatives and establishing a climate of respect within the institution.⁵⁵



In the **EU**, at the European Parliament, a mechanism has been established for handling complaints of psychological or sexual harassment filed against an MP by a member of staff, a parliamentary assistant or an intern.⁵⁶ The complaints are first examined by the relevant administrative department, which prepares the files for the advisory committee responsible for preventing harassment at work, based on the evidence submitted with the complaint and any additional evidence gathered. It is then decided whether a complaint is *prima facie* admissible and whether interim measures should be adopted. If there is sufficient evidence, the advisory committee then conducts an investigation, during which hearings are held with the complainant, witnesses and the accused. Once the procedure has been completed, the committee sends its reasoned opinion to the President of the European Parliament in a confidential report. Under Staff Rule 24, staff members and parliamentary

55 "Guidelines for the elimination of sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliament", Inter-Parliamentary Union, *op. cit.*, note 2.

56 See more information on the ethical conduct of staff and civil servants at the European Parliament: Appropriate behaviour rules, *op. cit.*, note 24.

assistants can file for support and assistance, and the nominating authority can take all urgent measures necessary to protect their safety. In cases where the President has concluded that harassment has indeed been committed, the victim can get their legal fees covered by parliament if they decide to initiate judicial proceedings against the European deputy concerned. In addition, if an assistant can no longer work with their deputy because of harassment, their salary may be covered by the deputy's budget for parliamentary assistants.⁵⁷



In **Sweden**, there is an official procedure for lodging complaints with the Head of Human Resources at the parliament, and for follow up investigations. This procedure, using written or oral notification, makes it possible to avoid any reprisals and contact with the accused. The investigation is confidential. Each side is interviewed individually and may be accompanied by representatives. The interviews are logged, and each party is informed of the progress of the internal investigation. The employer must ensure that the harassment has ceased. The victim and the accused has access to occupational health care. These arrangements are highlighted in training for managers and presented to all new employees. Awareness-raising programmes are also to be introduced.⁵⁸



57 "Guidelines for the elimination of sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliament", Inter-Parliamentary Union, *op. cit.*, note 2.

58 Erikson & Freidenvall (2022, forthcoming), and interviews with the Speaker's Working Group on Gender Equality in the Parliament of Sweden. See also IPU 2019.



The **United Kingdom** has set up an Independent Complaints and Grievance Scheme (ICGS), which handles complaints related to bullying, harassment and/or sexual misconduct. It serves not only those who have experienced violence but also witnesses and those who are aware of incidents of bullying, harassment or sexual misconduct. The ICGS consists of several policies adopted by the Parliament: Behaviour Code, Bullying and Harassment Policy, Bullying and Harassment Procedure, Sexual Misconduct Policy, and Sexual Misconduct Procedure. The ICGS has a helpline, which provides support and guidance on the available options as well as on procedures. The helpline is confidential and independent of Parliament, and operated by an independent charity, which is specialized in support services for victims/survivors of crimes and traumatic events. Once a complaint is made, an independent investigator will assess it. If it meets the criteria for investigation, a full independent investigation will be conducted by an external investigator. Two guides have been developed for the investigation process; one for the person making the complaint and another for the person who has had a complaint made against them.⁵⁹ The ICGS also offers an independent sexual violence adviser, who can support the victim/survivor through any proceedings within the ICGS or the criminal justice system. The adviser can also provide information and referral to other support services. Accessibility to the ICGS is ensured by providing reasonable adjustments to ensure equal opportunities, such as translation services, video calling and live captioning, and flexible contact hours. Finally, the ICGS publishes annual reports presenting anonymized data on users, investigations and training courses.⁶⁰

United Kingdom — parliamentary security measures

All MPs have access to recommended security measures for their constituency offices and homes.

Any MP or peer, or staff member who has security concerns when away from the parliamentary estate is advised, in the first instance, to contact their local police. This includes reporting threats and abuse received via the internet and social media. In addition, the police maintain a Parliamentary Liaison and Investigation Team to assist all members and all staff with advice on any specific, immediate threat or urgent issue, or to discuss general security concerns while on the estate. There is also a Members' Security Support Service; a dedicated and specialized team in Parliament which supports members in accessing security measures for offices and homes.

59 Independent Complaints and Grievance Scheme (ICGS), accessed on 15 July 2022, <<https://www.parliament.uk/about/independent-complaints-and-grievance-scheme/>>

60 *Ibid.*

The team can also provide personal security advice to MPs, peers and their staff, including support and advice on social media safety⁶¹

Following the murder of MP Jo Cox in 2016, the Parliamentary Estimates Committee decided to offer automatically enhanced security to all MPs — including panic buttons, extra lighting, and additional locks. These security solutions were offered without MPs having to apply to have them installed. In the United Kingdom, online psychological violence is also combated through deleting, blocking and reporting abuse. For Diane Abbott, the first black woman elected to the British Parliament, this task is part of her staff's daily routine.

Alternative reporting mechanisms have also been applied by some parliaments to combat sexual violence, including blogs and websites, especially when official mechanisms have not been able to respond sufficiently well to complaints and grievances. They can also provide impetus for improving official parliamentary mechanisms.



In the **EU**, European Parliament staff came together in 2018 to launch the #MeTooEP blog to provide a venue for women to share anonymously any incidents of sexual harassment they have experienced or witnessed at the parliament. Additionally, the blog explains what sexual harassment is and what to do when faced with it, as well as providing resources for seeking help⁶².



In **France**, in October 2016, *Chair Collaboratrice* created a website for female political staff in France to report their stories anonymously, arguing that “together we are stronger” and that it can “demonstrate the existence of a mass phenomenon”. On the same page, staff members also had the option to leave contact details to obtain further information or help.⁶³

61 *Ibid.*

62 Maïa de la Baume, “European Parliament gets MeTooEP blog”, Politico, 8 October 2018, <<https://www.politico.eu/article/european-parliament-gets-metooep-blog/>>.

63 Krook (2020), *op. cit.*, note 21, p. 164.

GUIDANCE FOR PARLIAMENTS ON PROTECTION

- Adopt and implement legislation prohibiting and criminalizing violence against women in politics, including strong protection mechanisms;
- Establish independent complaints mechanisms that cover both MPs and parliamentary staff at all levels;
- Ensure a victim/survivor-centred approach in all measures;⁶⁴
- Provide access, assistance and advice to those affected by violence in politics online and offline, such as:
 - » Establish a helpline and/or designate a contact point to provide information and guidance;
 - » Provide information about the reporting and complaints mechanism (see the next section);
 - » Offer support and counselling services at the parliament or referral to external services;
 - » Ensure safety and protection measures to prevent further contact and violence;
 - » Provide free (legal) aid or other procedural support;
- Establish reparation measures for complainants, such as compensation;
- Encourage women who have suffered violence in politics and/or women's rights organizations to file complaints to national courts, the ombudsperson and/or international treaty bodies through their respective complaints procedures.

⁶⁴ See for example, Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, (CETS No. 210), Istanbul, 11/05/2011, Art. 7: "...place the rights of the victim at the centre of all measures", <<https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list?module=treaty-detail&treaty-num=210>>.

PROSECUTION

To end violence against women in politics, disciplinary sanctions against the perpetrators need to be established and enforced. In line with the Istanbul Convention as well as CEDAW, there must be provisions for punishment and sanctions. Parliamentary immunity and privileges should not hinder the addressing of harassment and violence against women in politics, and they should not protect MPs who perpetrate violence.⁶⁵

There are limitations to immunity in some OSCE participating States, such as in instances of hate speech, racist remarks or threats of violence or crime.⁶⁶

In resolution 2274(2019), the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe recommended to “consider reviewing immunity rules which afford immunity from prosecution to members of parliament for sexual harassment and violence against women, unless this has already been done”.⁶⁷ These, along with independent investigation and sanctioning mechanisms, are crucial steps towards a broader process of institutional change.



65 Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences on violence against women in politics, A/73/301 - E - A/73/301, 2018, p. 19, <<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1640483>>.

66 “Parliamentary Integrity: A Resource for Reformers”, OSCE/ODIHR, 8 February 2022, <<https://www.osce.org/odihr/511576>>.

67 Resolution 2274 (2019) on Promoting parliaments free of sexism and sexual harassment, PACE, 9 April 2019, <<http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=27614&lang=en>>. For examples and guidance on parliamentary immunity see also OSCE/ODIHR “Parliamentary Integrity”, *op. cit.*, note 64.

Several good practices on complaints mechanisms and sanctions are in place in the parliaments of OSCE participating States:



The **Albanian Parliament** has defined disciplinary measures in its Assembly Regulations of the Republic of Albania (Art 65) for any form of sexual harassment. The disciplinary measure includes exclusion from participation in a committee and/or in a plenary session for 10 days in cases of sexual harassment of any form.⁶⁸



In the **EU**, at the European Parliament, the Advisory Committee is responsible for dealing with complaints of harassment committed by parliamentarians. It comprises six members, of whom three are parliamentarians chosen by the President of the Parliament from among the institution's quaestors, two are appointed by the Accredited Parliamentary Assistants Committee and one is a representative of the administration. A medical service representative and a legal service representative from the European Parliament provide expert advice to the Committee. In a proven case of harassment, following a confidential internal investigation and on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee, the President can impose a sanction in accordance with Chapter 4 of the European Parliament's Rules of Procedure. These range from a reprimand to suspension or removal from a number of parliamentary functions.⁶⁹



France has set out sanctions to combat sexual violence that, if properly applied, should have a dissuasive character. In 2017, France passed a law on "trust in political life", which stipulates that anyone found guilty of a crime or misdemeanour, including sexual harassment, receives a compulsory supplementary punishment of ineligibility to hold or run for parliament for a maximum of 10 years.⁷⁰

In 2017 the Senate Bureau adopted the following interpretive decision of the Senate Rules of Procedure: "acts of harassment, whatever their nature, constitute a failure to observe the ethical principle of dignity applicable to the members of the Senate". Thus, where psychological or sexual harassment is proven, perpetrators are subject to censure as a disciplinary action, with or without temporary exclusion, as provided for in Rules 94 and 95 of the Senate's Rules of Procedure. Such disciplinary action is issued by the Senate Bureau and results in

68 "GREVIO Baseline evaluation report, Albania", Council of Europe, GREVIO/Inf(2017)13, 24 November 2017, <<https://rm.coe.int/grevio-first-baseline-report-on-albania/16807688a7>>.

69 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, Bureau of the European Parliament, 2 July 2018, <<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/resources/library/media/20181003RES14909/20181003RES14909.pdf>>. See also Internal rules on harassment and its prevention at the workplace and on harassment complaints involving accredited parliamentary assistants and members of the European Parliament, the Bureau of the European Parliament, 14 April 2014, <[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/reg/2014/0004/EP-PE_REG\(2014\)422616_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/reg/2014/0004/EP-PE_REG(2014)422616_EN.pdf). 2015>.

70 Krook (2020), *op. cit.*, note 21, p. 170.

a reduction in the offending senator's parliamentary allowance. A parliamentary official may be disciplined in proportion to the seriousness of the offences and may be automatically removed from office, in accordance with Rule 145 of the Rules of Procedure. Criminal sanctions may follow separately.⁷¹



In **Italy**, legal reforms and procedures have been used to combat semiotic violence. Former Integration Minister Cecile Kyenge has pursued and won several legal cases related to the sexist and racist abuse she faced during her time in office. In 2017, Mario Borghezio was ordered to pay 50,000 euros. He had described the cabinet with Kyenge's inclusion using a racial slur and in 2019, Roberto Calderoli was found guilty of racial hatred and a slur against Kyenge which resulted in an 18-month prison sentence.⁷²



In the **UK**, as part of the Independent Complaints and Grievance Scheme (ICGS), an Independent Expert Panel was set up in 2020 to determine on appeals and sanctions when complaints are brought against an MP.⁷³ The panel is entirely independent, meaning that no MPs take part in its decisions.⁷⁴ The sanctions of the panel include the following. "For sitting MPs, these run from requiring apologies to the complainant and the House, through training and withdrawal of access to services, to suspension or expulsion from the House. The most serious sanctions require the agreement of the House. For former MPs the Panel can remove their right to a former Members Pass, publicly reprimand them, or recommend that the House does".⁷⁵ The Panel covered seven complaints and published reports on six cases in 2021.⁷⁶ The 2021 Annual Report details one case, that of Mr Daniel Kawczynski MP who was found to have breached the Code of Conduct for MPs, and was recommended to apologize to the House and be suspended for one sitting day⁷⁷, as "he was repeatedly rude, aggressive and impatient with the Complainants and other staff before, during and after the meeting; he made critical and untruthful comments on a WhatsApp group shared with other Committee members; he threatened formal complaint".⁷⁸ These measures were implemented on 19 January 2022.⁷⁹

71 "Guidelines for the elimination of sexism, harassment and violence against women in parliament", Inter-Parliamentary Union, *op. cit.*, note 2.

72 Krook (2020), *op. cit.*, note 21, pp. 206-207.

73 Independent Expert Panel webpage, UK Parliament, accessed 15 July 2022, <<https://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/standards-and-financial-interests/independent-expert-panel/>>.

74 *Ibid.*

75 Independent Expert Panel Annual Report 2021, UK Parliament, 3 March 2022, <<https://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/standards-and-financial-interests/independent-expert-panel/annual-reports/>>.

76 *Ibid.*

77 *Ibid.*

78 "Daniel Kawczynski Fifth Report of Session 2021–22", House of Commons Committee on Standards, 13 January 2022, <<https://committees.parliament.uk/publications/8457/documents/85654/default/>>.

79 Independent Expert Panel, Annual Report 2021, *op. cit.*, note 72.



In the **United States**, sanctions are used to combat sexual violence that, if properly applied, can have a dissuasive character. In 2018, the Congressional Accountability Act was revised. The revised act improves the process for congressional employees to report allegations of sexual harassment, stipulating that legislators are financially liable for harassment settlements, and increases transparency regarding the settlements reached. The revisions were part of Representative Jackie Speier's efforts to reform the Congressional Accountability Act to change the process for workers at Capitol Hill to bring forward complaints of sexual harassment. Prior to the reform, victims were required to undergo three months of mandated counselling and mediation, as well as two cooling-off periods before they could file an official complaint. During the first 30 days, moreover, victims were forbidden from telling anyone else that they were pursuing a complaint against a lawmaker or fellow staffer.⁸⁰

GUIDANCE FOR PARLIAMENTS ON INVESTIGATING INCIDENTS AND SANCTIONING PERPETRATORS

- Introduce measures that can be taken to stop the violence, protect complainants and compensate victims;
- Ensure that parliamentary immunity and privileges do not hinder the addressing of harassment and violence against women in politics;
- Avoid secondary victimization⁸¹;
- Put in place an independent complaints mechanism, which can receive and process complaints and is confidential, fair and responsive to victims' concerns; specify who can report complaints and how impartial investigations are conducted and how the process is reported;
- Ensure the members of the complaints mechanism have previous experience on the investigating and proceedings of incidents, and offer them mandatory training;
- Refer criminal offences to the police or relevant authorities;
- Prohibit and guarantee that complainants or witnesses do not face any reprisals;

⁸⁰ Krook (2020), *op. cit.*, note 21, pp. 170-171.

⁸¹ See the definition of secondary victimization, for example, by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE): "Secondary victimization occurs when the victim suffers further harm not as a direct result of the criminal act but due to the manner in which institutions and other individuals deal with the victim. Secondary victimization may be caused, for instance, by repeated exposure of the victim to the perpetrator, repeated interrogation about the same facts, the use of inappropriate language or insensitive comments made by all those who come into contact with victims." <<https://eige.europa.eu/thesaurus/terms/1358>> (accessed on 25 May 2022).

- Prohibit mandatory mediation and reconciliation mechanisms in line with international standards;
- Introduce disciplinary sanctions against the perpetrators commensurate with the seriousness of their acts;
- Ensure anonymized and sex-disaggregated data is collected and published about the complaints mechanism, investigations, outcomes of investigations and sanctions, accompanied by independent assessments to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of the mechanism.

COORDINATED POLICIES

To end violence against women in politics, parliaments may introduce coordinated, organizational measures, such as research and data collection and the promotion of inter-agency cooperation. In line with the Istanbul Convention, parliaments can demonstrate that violence against women, including women in politics will not be tolerated. They can collect and collate data and conduct research into the prevalence of all forms of violence against women (in politics) and the effectiveness of their measures. They can promote inter-agency cooperation, by ensuring that there are appropriate mechanisms in place that provide for effective cooperation among the judiciary, public prosecutors, law-enforcement agencies, local and regional authorities and NGOs. They can promote continuous monitoring and regular follow-up of policies, measures and initiatives. This is the last key step towards a broader process of institutional change.

Several good practices in the field of **data collection, monitoring, reporting and coordinated policies** may be identified in the parliaments of the OSCE participating States:



In **Canada**, the House of Commons produces annual reports on harassment and violence prevention. The Annual Report of the Members of the House of Commons Workplace Harassment and Violence Prevention Policy 2021-2022 outlines data collected on cases processed in terms of numbers, nature and outcomes of harassment and violence complaints, as well as the training courses held and the number of people who completed them as required by the Members of the House of Commons Workplace Harassment and Violence Prevention Policy.⁸²

⁸² The Annual Report of the Members of the House of Commons Workplace Harassment and Violence Prevention Policy 2021-2022, House of Commons, Canada, 2022, <<https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Misc/2021-2022-PreventionReport-e.pdf>>.

With regard to training courses, in 2021-2022, the House provided 14, three-hour in-class sessions on preventing harassment and violence to MPs covering all MPs of the 44th Parliament. Online, self-paced training was also offered to supplement previous courses and all 227 MPs and 535 of the MPs' employees completed an online course. Other awareness-raising activities are also reported, such as briefing sessions.⁸³

The report indicates that five complaints were reported in 2019-2020, two in 2020-2021 and eight in 2021-2022. The grounds for complaints were divided into 'abuse of authority', 'harassment', 'sexual harassment', 'discrimination', 'multiple grounds', and 'violence' (including psychological harassment).⁸⁴ The Report also lists the status of the respondent (MP, colleague/member's employee, not identified), and the outcome of complaints as well as the results of the investigation. Of eight complaints in 2021-2022, one was withdrawn, six were negotiated, and one was passed on for investigation, which is not yet complete.⁸⁵



In **Sweden**, regular investigations have been made since 2005 on the conditions under which women and men MPs conduct their representative duties, as well as their exposure to harassment. Follow-ups were made in 2010 and 2015. A survey conducted in 2015, revealed that women were more frequently interrupted when speaking in the assembly chamber and their physical appearance was commented on to a greater extent. Young women MPs were more exposed to sexist and inappropriate behaviour. Based on these findings, researchers were recruited to make a qualitative interview series with MPs, resulting in several publications that were presented and discussed at seminars and workshops in Parliament.⁸⁶



In the **United Kingdom**, official inquiries have been used as a means to combat sexual violence. In 2017, as a result of the #MeToo movement, the British Parliament set up an official multiparty, bicameral working group — made up of MPs, parliamentary staff, assistants and a sexual violence expert — to develop an Independent Complaints and Grievance Scheme to handle complaints related to bullying and harassment on the parliamentary estate. In 2018, the working group published a report and recommended not only introducing an independent complaints procedure, but also a new behaviour code on bullying, harassment and sexual harassment for everyone working or lawfully present on the parliamentary estate.

83 *Ibid.*

84 *Ibid.*

85 *Ibid.*

86 Freidenvall & Erikson *op. cit.*, note 46.

They also recommended procedures for dealing with reports of sexual harassment and a training system to support the new code. It also put in place a number of immediate measures, such as interim human resources support for MPs' staff, including an expanded helpline. Today, both Houses are seeking to implement the recommendations of a Gender-Sensitive Parliament Audit carried out in 2018. The House of Commons also appointed an independent Director for Cultural Transformation to lead the work of applying the recommendations from the Dame Laura Cox report on problematic parts of the parliamentary workplace culture with a view to effecting tangible, measurable and lasting change.⁸⁷

GUIDANCE FOR PARLIAMENTS ON COORDINATED POLICIES

Data collection and revision of policies

- Ensure anonymized and sex-disaggregated data is collected and published on the complaints mechanisms, investigations, outcomes of investigations and sanctions to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of the mechanism;
- Conduct regular surveys and investigations on violence against women in politics;
- Regularly monitor, analyse and evaluate the implementation of the policy and its effectiveness and impact over time;
- Communicate the results by arranging seminars and workshops;
- Share the results, lessons learned and promising practices by engaging with other parliaments;
- Invite independent researchers to conduct studies on the topic, including interviews; and
- Revise and improve policies based on evidence-based assessment of their results.

Leadership and cooperation

- Involve leaders: a strong political will is needed for any topic to be addressed as a matter of priority. If results are not demanded by leaders, there will most likely be implementation gaps. In a parliamentary setting, leaders include the Speaker, chairs of standing parliamentary committees and party leaders;
- Establish cross-party alliances; get consensus on the need to prioritize the topic and to support action for the cause;

87 Krok (2020), *op. cit.*, note 21, pp. 169-170.

- Foster partnerships between women and men. Men should also be encouraged to champion efforts to put an end to violence, to contribute to transforming attitudes and societal roles, and to lead by example;
- Cooperate and consult regularly with national gender equality bodies and machineries and with women's rights organizations which provide support to the victims/survivors of violence against women; and
- Cooperate with international organizations, such as ODIHR, NDI, IPU and/or UN Women to prevent violence against women in politics.

CONCLUSION

This tool is about how to address violence against women in parliaments and gives examples of existing measures taken by the parliaments of OSCE participating States to adopt new and better measures to combat violence against women in politics and to transform parliaments into safe and respectful workplaces, free from violence.

This tool presents the **four principles** that should be followed to promote a broader process of institutional change in parliaments. The four principles are based on the four pillars of the Istanbul Convention — prevention, protection, prosecution and coordinated policies. Partnerships and political will are also key to successful efforts in addressing violence against women in parliaments.

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- Based on the ODIHR exercise that mapped the

Annexe 1: Examples of Parliamentary Codes Addressing Violence

situation in 56 participating States, 11 participating States have integrated provisions that prohibit various, or some forms, of violence against women in politics (VAWiP) in their parliamentary “Codes of Conduct” or “Rules of Procedure” (see Annexe 2). This document provides a selection of examples on how this can be done, addressing the following issues:

- (1) How is VAWiP defined?
- (2) Where are VAWiP-related provisions integrated?
- (3) What are the objectives of VAWiP-related provisions?, and
- (4) How are prohibitions against VAWiP formulated?

HOW IS VAWiP DEFINED?

Provisions that explicitly target VAWiP typically refer to sexual harassment in politics, and often exclude the various other forms of gender-based violence. Definitions of sexual harassment vary and include the following:



Canada: various parliamentary documents include several definitions of “sexual harassment” and of workplace violence:

“**Sexual harassment**” means “any conduct of a sexual nature, including, a comment, gesture or contact, whether on a one-time or recurring basis, that might reasonably be expected to cause offence or humiliation. ... a power imbalance between a complainant and a respondent or an abuse of power by the respondent is a relevant factor for a finding of sexual harassment, however, it is not a necessary element.”⁸⁸

88 Rule 2 “Interpretation”, Code of Conduct for Members of the House of Commons: Sexual Harassment between members of June 9 2015, Appendix to Standing Orders of the House of Commons. <<https://www.ourcommons.ca/procedure/standing-orders/Appa2-e.html>>

“Sexual harassment may include:

- Demands for sexual favors or sexual assault
- Inappropriate or unwanted physical contact such as touching, patting or pinching
- Insulting comments, gestures or practical jokes of a sexual nature that cause discomfort or embarrassment
- Inappropriate enquiries or comments about individual’s sex life.⁸⁹

“What is sexual harassment? Sexist remarks, workplace sexual harassment, asking questions, talking or writing about personal sexual activities, rough or vulgar humor related to sexuality, circulating or displaying pornography, sexual images, offensive sexual jokes, demanding hugs, dates or sexual favors, mannerisms, or conformity to sex-role stereotypes, threatening or taunting someone based on sexual orientation.”⁹⁰

Harassment and violence: “any action, conduct or comment, including of a sexual nature, that can reasonably be expected to cause offence, humiliation or other physical or psychological injury or illness to an employee, including any prescribed action, conduct or comment.”⁹¹ “Workplace violence may include but is not limited to:

- Verbally threatening to attack a worker;
- Leaving threatening notes or sending threatening emails to someone at work;
- Shaking a fist in a worker’s face;
- Wielding a weapon at work;
- Hitting or trying to hit a worker;
- Sexual violence against a worker;
- Kicking an object the worker is standing on, such as a ladder; and
- Trying to run down a worker using a vehicle or equipment such as a forklift.”⁹²

89 Rule 7 “Rules of Conduct”, Code of Conduct for Members of the House of Commons: Sexual Harassment between members of June 9 2015, Appendix to Standing Orders of the House of Commons. <<https://www.ourcommons.ca/procedure/standing-orders/Appa2-e.html>>.

90 Senate harassment and violence prevention policy of 8 December 2021, Appendix B. <https://sencanada.ca/content/sen/committee/432/CIBA/reports/CIBA_4th_APPENDIX_HVP_2021-08-12_E.pdf>

91 Senate harassment and violence prevention policy of 8 December 2021, <https://sencanada.ca/content/sen/committee/432/CIBA/reports/CIBA_4th_APPENDIX_HVP_2021-08-12_E.pdf>

92 *Ibid.*, Appendix B



Luxembourg: Sexual harassment is defined as “all sexual behaviour or any other behaviour based on gender, of which the official must have realized this could harm the dignity of a person, and can be physical or verbal.” The intention is presumed fulfilment of one of three conditions:

- “1) the conduct is abusive and harming for the person;
- 2) the behaviour creates an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment for the targeted person; and
- 3) whether the targeted person accepts or refuses the behaviour, the conduct is harmful to the person’s professional interests.”⁹³



United Kingdom: the definition of “bullying, harassment and sexual misconduct” is “verbal (jokes, catcalls, asking personal questions, obscene phone calls, threats or reprisals if sexual requests turned down, inappropriate gifts, tracing movements of another person without good reason, circulation of pornography.”⁹⁴

WHERE ARE VAWiP-RELATED PROVISIONS INTEGRATED?

- In most cases VAWiP-related provisions are integrated into Codes of Conduct (e.g., Albania, Canada, Iceland, the United Kingdom), Rules of Procedure (e.g., Belgium), or “Statute of Officials within the Chamber of Deputies” (e.g., Luxembourg).
- In some cases, they are integrated into general “Codes of Ethics for Civil Servants” that also apply to MPs and parliamentary staff (e.g., Croatia, Ireland).
- In several cases, parliaments have adopted special guidelines that focus on harassment:



Canada enacted a “Code of Conduct for Members of the House of Commons: Sexual Harassment between members of June 9 2015, Appendix to Standing Orders of the House of Commons”.



Finland includes VAWiP-related provisions in its “Guidelines of the Bureau of Parliament for the prevention of inappropriate behaviour and harassment”. The Guidelines were adopted in March 2017 and they reaffirm a zero-tolerance policy toward harassment. They contain advice on procedures that should be followed in case of harassment and relevant contact details



France included provisions related to sexual harassment in the “Interpretative Decision on the Code of Conduct.”

93 Art. 10 Statute of officials within the Chamber of Deputies, Annexe 4 of Rules of Procedures, <https://www.chd.lu/sites/default/files/2022-04/Reglement_CHD_16122021.pdf>.

94 Appendix B “Definitions”, Code of Conduct for Members of the House of Lords, <<https://www.parliament.uk/globalassets/documents/lords-commissioner-for-standards/HL-Code-of-Conduct.pdf>>.



The **United Kingdom** has both a Sexual Misconduct Policy and Procedure for UK Parliament, and a Bullying and Harassment Policy and Procedure for UK Parliament from 2022 under the “Independent Complaints and Grievance Scheme”.

WHAT ARE THE OBJECTIVES OF VAWiP-RELATED PROVISIONS?

The stated objectives of VAWiP-related provisions include the following:



Canada:

“a) create an environment... that allows all members to excel in public duties and functions and that is free of sexual harassment. ...

b) encourage reporting, by members, of sexual harassment”⁹⁵



Iceland: the objective of the provision against harassment is to enable MPs and parliamentary staff to “do their jobs in a healthy environment where any form of sexual or gender-based harassment, bullying or degrading conduct is prohibited.”⁹⁶

HOW ARE PROHIBITIONS AGAINST VAWiP FORMULATED?

Prohibitions against VAWiP are phrased, for example, in the following manner:



Albania:

“1. The Deputy is prohibited from any behaviour of a sexual nature that affects the dignity of anyone and that is considered unwanted, unacceptable, inappropriate or offensive to the other person, as well as creates a disturbing, unstable, hostile and intimidating work environment. For the purpose of this article, the conduct of the deputy includes and is not limited to physical actions, words, gestures or any kind of virtual communication.

2. The deputy shall try to provide and maintain a working environment without sexual harassment. He/she shall react immediately, report, request the identification and investigation of the case, when he/she becomes aware of any allegation of sexual harassment, enabling the victim of sexual harassment not to fear, not to be denigrated and not to ignore her claim.”⁹⁷

95 Rule 1 “Mission” Code of Conduct for Members of the House of Commons: Sexual Harassment between members of June 9 2022, Appendix to Standing Orders of the House of Commons of Canada, <<https://www.ourcommons.ca/procedure/standing-orders/Appa2-e.html>>.

96 Article 5(d) of Code of Conduct for Members of the Althingi, Parliament of Iceland. <<https://www.althingi.is/english/about-the-parliament/code-of-conduct-for-members-of-the-althingi/>>.

97 Art. 10 “Prohibition on sexual harassment”. Code of Conduct for the Deputies of the Parliament of the Republic of Albania, <<https://www.parlament.al/Files/RaporteStatistika/Kodi%20i%20Sjelljes.pdf>>.



Belgium: "...public officers shall have respect for the dignity for all people and omit themselves from any physical, moral and verbal abuse, in particular from any sexual behaviour and any manner of sexual and moral intimidation."⁹⁸



Canada: "A member shall not sexually harass another member".⁹⁹



Croatia: "civil servants shall be entitled to protection against sexual harassment, any behaviour constituting non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature, which has the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of civil servants and governmental employees and creates and intimidating, hostile, degrading or offensive environment".¹⁰⁰



France: "acts of harassment, whatever their nature, constitute a failure to observe the ethical principle of dignity applicable to the members of the Senate". Thus, where harassment is proven, without prejudice to criminal sanctions, the perpetrators (whether the harassment is psychological or sexual) are subject to such disciplinary action as censure, with or without temporary exclusion, as provided for in Rules 94 and 95 of the Senate's Rules of Procedure."¹⁰¹



Iceland: "Members of the Althingi shall not subject other Members, employees of the Althingi or guests to any sexual or gender-related harassment or bullying or conduct themselves toward them in any other demeaning manner."¹⁰²



Ireland: "Civil servants should ensure their behaviour towards other colleagues is appropriate in the workplace Civil servants should support a positive working environment by observing and supporting the Civil Service policy on harassment, sexual harassment and bullying."¹⁰³



United Kingdom: "behaviour that amounts to sexual misconduct is a breach of this Code."¹⁰⁴

98 Art. 3.7 Deontological Code for Public Officers, Belgium. 2018, <https://www.lachambre.be/kvvcr/pdf_sections/deonto/Code_de_deontologie_des_mandataires_publics.pdf>.

99 Rule 6 "Rules of Conduct", Code of Conduct for Members of the House of Commons: Sexual Harassment between members of June 2022, Appendix to Standing Orders of the House of Commons of Canada, <<https://www.ourcommons.ca/procedure/standing-orders/Appa2-e.html>>.

100 Article 6, Code of Ethics for Civil Servants., Croatia, <<https://www.sabor.hr/en/code-ethics-civil-servants>>.

101 Annexe au XX bis de l'Instruction générale du Bureau, Décision interprétative, The Senate of France, <<https://www.senat.fr/reglement/reglement79.html/>>.

102 Art. 8 of Code of Conduct for Members of the Althingi, Parliament of Iceland, <<https://www.althingi.is/english/about-the-parliament/code-of-conduct-for-members-of-the-althingi/>>.

103 Civil Service Code of Standards and Behaviour of 2004 – Section 12, Ireland, <https://prod-g2g-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/documents/Civil-Service-Code-of-Standards-and-Behaviour_1.pdf>.

104 Rule 17 Code of Conduct for Members of the House of Lords, United Kingdom, <<https://www.parliament.uk/globalassets/documents/lords-commissioner-for-standards/HL-Code-of-Conduct.pdf>>.

