

Bachelor Thesis (B.A./B.Sc.)

Gender equality in the European Union: How do Sweden and Germany implement Gender Mainstreaming?

A comparison of the two different welfare state types.

By:

Inga Voßeler (s1496298/ 384885)

i.vosseler@student.utwente.nl / i_voss05@uni-muenster.de

European Public Administration

Supervisors:

- (I) Dr. Joy S. Clancy, Associate Professor, School of Management and Governance, University of Twente (j.s.clancy@utwente.nl)
- (II) Prof. Dr. Gabriele Wilde, Institute of Political Science, University of Münster (gabriele.wilde@uni-muenster.de)

Date of submission:

02/03/2015

Abstract

Gender Mainstreaming is a political strategy that is widely used and acknowledged in the EU Member States since the Beijing Declaration in 1995. Both the Member States and the EU use the strategy to achieve greater gender equality. Although the aim is similar, if not the same, the practical implementation and its scope and depth vary in each Member State. Sweden is regarded as one of the most gender-egalitarian countries worldwide as gender equalities are high on the political agenda since the 1970s. Also with regard to Gender Mainstreaming the Scandinavian country is depicted as a forerunner: Already since 1994, so one year earlier than the UN Declaration, the strategy serves as the Government's main principle to achieve gender equality within the society. One reason for Sweden's exceptional position is its extensive social welfare system that is based on the belief of an egalitarian society with universal social rights and high benefits. The so-called „dual earner/dual carer“ policy model serves as the base for those welfare policies as it includes long and high parental allowance, high insurance benefits for the individual and well-developed leave and child care facilities. All measures actively support the (re)integration of women into the labour market. In Germany, on the contrary, the „male breadwinner“ model is predominant: The society is shaped by the traditional patriarchal structures of a male-female hierarchy which is also reflected in the social welfare policies such as the child allowance that provides financial incentives for mothers to stay at home to care for the child instead of participating in the labour market. Also the German tax/benefit system is gender biased as benefits are provided to a household and not to an individual so that many women are financially dependent on their husbands or partners. Although gender equality is an own policy field since the 1970s, the gender bias is still reflected in the measures taken: Since 2000, Gender Mainstreaming serves as the main strategy to achieve greater equality among men and women, but the practical implementation is less advanced and less deeply incorporated into politics and political decision-making processes. Therefore, Germany can learn from Sweden with regard to gender equality policies in general and Gender Mainstreaming in particular so that the existing gap between the two countries in terms of equality can be narrowed.

Key words

Equality, EU, Gender, Germany, Mainstreaming, Social Policy, Sweden, Welfare State

Table of Content

| | |
|--|----|
| Abstract | 2 |
| Key words | 2 |
| List of Abbreviations..... | 4 |
| 1. Introduction..... | 5 |
| 2. Theoretical Framework | 8 |
| 2.1 Esping-Andersen's welfare state regime typology..... | 8 |
| 2.2 Conceptualization of Gender Mainstreaming | 10 |
| 2.3 Theory: Comparative feminist welfare state research..... | 11 |
| 2.4 Theoretical concept of Nancy Fraser..... | 12 |
| 3. Methodology | 14 |
| 3.1 Data collection and research design | 14 |
| 3.2 Case selection..... | 15 |
| 3.2.1 <i>Sweden</i> | 15 |
| 3.2.2 <i>Germany</i> | 16 |
| 3.2.3 <i>Gender Mainstreaming as a political strategy</i> | 17 |
| 3.3 Research question | 18 |
| 4. Analysis..... | 19 |
| 4.1 How is Gender Mainstreaming implemented in Sweden and Germany?..... | 19 |
| 4.2 Discussion of findings | 28 |
| 5. Conclusion | 31 |
| Notes | 33 |
| 6. References..... | 35 |
| 7. Annexes | 39 |
| 7.1 Clustering of welfare states according to Esping-Andersen..... | 39 |
| 7.2 Overview of works on welfare state variations from a comparative perspective | 39 |
| 7.3 The Gender Equality Index: Sweden | 40 |
| 7.4 The Gender Equality Index: Germany | 40 |
| Declaration of Academic Integrity..... | 41 |

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---------------|--|
| ALGII | Arbeitslosengeld II (unemployment benefit II) |
| BMFSFJ | Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (Federal Ministry for Family, Seniors, Women and Youth) |
| CDU | Christlich-Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union) |
| CoE | Council of Europe |
| Cp. | Compare |
| CSU | Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union in Bavaria) |
| DO | Diskrimineringsombudsmannen (Swedish Ombudsman for Gender Equality) |
| DST | Deutscher Städtetag (Association of German Cities) |
| EC | European Commission |
| Ed(s). | Editor(s) |
| EIGE | European Institute for Gender Equality |
| EU | European Union |
| GEI | Gender Equality Index |
| GG | Grundgesetz (German Basic Law) |
| GGO | Gemeinsame Geschäftsordnung des Bundestages (Common Rules of Procedure of the Federal Ministries) |
| GKZ | Gender-Kompetenz-Zentrum (Gender-Competence-Centre) |
| Ibid. | Ibidem (in the same place) |
| i.e. | Id est (that means) |
| NSGR | National Secretariat for Gender Research (at the University of Gothenburg) |
| OD | Oxford Dictionary |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| SALAR | Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions |
| SEK | Svensk krona (Swedish krona; currency of Sweden) |
| UN | United Nations |

1. Introduction

In 1995, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action were produced at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. To the present day this Declaration can be seen as the “most progressive blueprint ever for advancing women’s rights” (UN Women, 2014). Signed and ratified by 189 countries, the Declaration provided commitments for change with regard to gender equality and women’s empowerment. Now, 20 years later, much has already changed, but as “(...) the Platform envisioned gender equality in all dimensions of life – (...) no country has yet finished this agenda” (ibid.).

The 20th anniversary of the Declaration can be seen as a good starting point for my Bachelor thesis as it connects the promises from 1995 with today’s national and global challenges to gender equality. No country has fully reached gender equality in its national policies, even though some are on a good way. As one of the many organisations and actors at the conference, the European Commission has played an important role in 1995 as it strongly lobbied for the Declaration (Kantola, 2010). Therefore, logically, gender and gender equality are important factors in the EU policy. Already in the Treaty of Rome from 1957, equality aspects were mentioned (ibid). With the Treaty of Amsterdam from 1997, a major development in the EU gender policy occurred: „Gender Mainstreaming“ came into place. Without providing a concrete definition of this term in the beginning, a gender perspective and analysis was made relevant for all EU policy-making processes and policy fields (ibid). One year later, the Council of Europe developed a definition of the strategy of „Gender Mainstreaming“ that is widely used up to the present day (Council of Europe 2004): It is “(...) *the (re)organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies, at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policymaking.*” By now, Gender Mainstreaming is strongly accepted and implemented as the main strategy to achieve gender equality at both the supranational and the national levels of the EU Member States (Kantola, 2010).

As EU Member States and with having ratified the Declaration from Beijing 1995, Germany and Sweden are both obliged to the binding EU legislation of implementing Gender Mainstreaming into their national policies, actions and programmes. Especially Sweden is often used as a good example and described as a forerunner in terms of achieving gender equality (Jalmert, 2004; Meuser & Neusüß, 2004). In both countries, a respective ministry is responsible for all gender-related topics and activities in the country (BMFSFJ, 2014; Government of Sweden, 2014). Apparently, both countries have the same goal, namely achieving gender equality on national, regional and local levels, but the methods and tools used to achieve this goal are different. Therefore, a comparison of the German and Swedish implementation of Gender Mainstreaming can be chosen as an interesting topic for this thesis. With the Swedish gender equality policy often described as “pathbreaking” (Meuser & Neusüß, 2004, p.17), it will be interesting to analyse what the country does differently in comparison to Germany: Is the Swedish gender policy more efficient than the German one? Can Germany learn from the Nordic country? Or can maybe also Sweden learn from the German model? With Gender Mainstreaming as a result from the 1995 Conference in Beijing - also seen as a “pivotal point” (Frey, 2004, p.31) - it will be interesting to look at the different developments in the two countries – also because of the various underlying types of welfare states: In the literature, Germany is often described as a conservative, corporatist welfare state, while the Scandinavian countries such as Sweden are regarded as egalitarian (Förster, 2014) and social-

democratic (Jochem, 2012). Whereas the Nordic countries are promoting the equity of the sexes through supporting gender-egalitarian access to the labour market, the continental European welfare states are focussing on the difference of the sexes (Behning, 2004).

The “by far most influential and fruitful classification” (Van Kersbergen, 2013, p.145) of the different types of welfare states has been provided by Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990) in his book *“The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism”*: He distinguishes three types of welfare states which are, for him, “key institutions in the structuring of class and the social order” (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p.55). As those “three highly diverse regime types, [are] each organized around its own discrete logic of organization, stratification and societal integration” (p.3), (in)equality within a society is an important and highly debated issue among the scholars of comparative welfare state research such as the feminist authors, who see the welfare state as an “essential pillar in the prevalent gender order” (Theobald, 1999, p.11). Since the 1970s, the coherence between gender relations and welfare states has a prominent position in women and gender research and it is widely acknowledged that a welfare state, its institutions and its various fields of social policy are based upon country-specific ideas of gender relations (Theobald, 1999; Beckmann, 2005). Accordingly, those specific ideas, together with traditionally or historically institutionalised gender roles in society, may present one reason why Germany and Sweden implement the strategy of Gender Mainstreaming differently. As the term itself is rather vague and often seen as “strange“, „bulky“ and „ambiguous“ (Dackweiler 2005, p.118) there is discord about the exact meaning of Gender Mainstreaming, and, above that, as its implementation and efficiency depends on the country-specific context, the two countries are enabled to provide their own understandings of the term and its practical meaning (Kulawik, 2005, p.113). Hence, as Kulawik states correctly: „There is no one Gender Mainstreaming“ (ibid.).

This Bachelor thesis will take a closer look at the possible coherence between the national implementation of Gender Mainstreaming and the country’s underlying type of welfare state, namely the corporatist-conservative and the social-democratic one. It will be asked whether such coherence exists and which role the welfare state actually plays with regard to the realization of Gender Mainstreaming in the private and the public sector as women tend to be employed in the latter. In the theoretical context of the feminist comparative welfare state research and based on the typology of welfare state regimes by Esping-Andersen, the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Germany and Sweden will be analysed with particular regard to the different programmes and actions taken in the various fields of social policy in the two countries.

Scientific relevance

The topic bears strong scientific relevance as Gender Mainstreaming is highly debated and analysed amongst the scholars on either gender studies or studies on the European Union and its policies – or on studies about both: Gender policies in Europe. Within the last years, the amount of publications on the topic of European gender policies has increased significantly with both scientific and theoretical articles, recommendations for actions and implementation, and empirical research: „In the discussion about gender politics as well as in gender-political practice, gender mainstreaming is very present“ (Meuser & Neusüß, 2004, p. 9). Apparently, research on Gender Mainstreaming has a high status in current gender studies (ibid.). Besides, as all European welfare states, which are embedded in gender-political historical paths, are

affected by the problem constellations of the economic internationalisation processes, it is necessary to continue feminist analyses of national gender and welfare state regimes in order to visualize national divergent gender policies and to find answers to the questions of why the gender policies are different in the various EU Member States (Dackweiler, 2003a, p.101). A gender-sensible analytical frame can provide opportunities to mark the macro-political conditions for the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming and to capture its chances and possibilities within the different welfare states (ibid.). Besides, a comparison of two (or more) countries appears to be „particularly fruitful“ as it helps to both realize and explain national differences and similarities and to identify causal mechanisms that caused those variations. Above that, a country-comparison can improve the understanding of Gender Mainstreaming (as a political strategy) as the different national implementations are tested as well as the determinants, which classify a certain mainstreaming-policy as adequate or inadequate (Kulawik, 2005, p.103).

Social relevance

Besides the above mentioned scientific relevance, the topic of Gender Mainstreaming and its implementation also bears social relevance as the EU enlargement brings in more actors, who are involved in policy-making which, thus, provides „multiple meanings and understandings of women, men, gender and gender equality“ (Kantola, 2010, p.214). With this Bachelor thesis, light can be shed upon this multitude of definitions and understandings of gender within the EU and also within its Member States, here namely Germany and Sweden. Similar to the research on Gender Mainstreaming, the welfare state research bears social relevance, too, as it is argued – particularly from the feminist perspective – that a welfare state fosters gender inequality by reinforcing patterns of male dominance and female dependence in both economic and family life (Shaver, 2013, p.95). Therefore, as research on welfare states and their relation to gender issues comprises the aspect of social orders and gender hierarchies in society, the topic of the thesis is socially relevant. Furthermore, as Daly and Rake (2003) summarize: „The welfare state proffers material and ideological support for certain social roles (...) and frequently bolsters or actively supports gender segregation of such roles. The welfare state reinforces divisions along gender lines, as well as those of class and income group. In short, welfare is political and reaches deep into society“ (p.31). Here, one can argue that welfare states were originally designed by men and influenced by the male world views.

This thesis is divided into four sections: In the first one, Chapter 2, the theoretical background will be presented. The focus here is on the comparative feminist welfare state research and its particular conceptualization of Gender Mainstreaming. Besides, it is defined what a welfare state is in the context of this thesis. Here, the main reference is Esping-Andersen's threefold typology of welfare state regimes. In the context of the theoretical framework, Nancy Fraser's 'status model of recognition' is described as it is used to analyse the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Germany and Sweden by establishing certain criteria as guidelines. In Chapter 3, the research design is shortly presented, followed by a justified case selection from which the thesis's hypotheses and research questions evolve. Chapter 4, then, provides the actual analysis of the possible coherence between a welfare state and its respective implementation of Gender Mainstreaming. Chapter 5, finally, concludes the analysis by answering the given research questions and by stating the research's limitations and future prospects. All translations from the German literature into English are made by the author and may be subject to linguistic inaccuracies.

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter examines the thesis's underlying theory. First, Esping-Andersen's model of welfare state regimes is presented, followed by an analytical definition of Gender Mainstreaming. Then, an outline of the feminist welfare state research in general and of Nancy Fraser's concept of gender justice (as a part of gender equality) in particular, is depicted as a necessary step before the analysis of this thesis.

2.1 Esping-Andersen's welfare state regime typology

In order to fully understand the typology by Esping-Andersen and the underlying idea of this thesis, one initially needs to define what 'welfare' and then subsequently, what a 'welfare state' is. As 'welfare' has been discussed in various disciplines such as economic theory, philosophy or sociology, there has never been one unanimous definition of what it concretely means or how it can be measured. Nonetheless, many authors have provided definitions to make the term more tangible. One of them is Bent Greve, who defines 'welfare' as

„(...) the highest possible access to economic resources, and a high level of well-being, including the happiness of [all] the citizens, a guaranteed minimum income to avoid living in poverty, and, finally, having the capabilities to ensure the individual a good life.“ (Greve, 2013a, p.3)

In other words, „welfare is thus a concept relating to aspects of central importance for individuals“ lives“ (ibid.). Similar to Greve's conception, Michael Hill says that 'welfare' depends on many things such as family, work, friendship, and environment as well as support from the state (Hill 2013, p.12). He also provides a basic definition of the 'state' by referring to Max Weber who defined a 'state' as

„[A]n administrative and legal order subject to change by legislation“ that claims „binding authority over all action taking place in the area of its jurisdiction.“

(Weber, 1947 in Hill, 2013, p.12)

With regard to the importance of welfare to a modern state, Hill speaks about a „web of institutions“ (p.12) that make up a state and that are all subject to change by legislation or the government. Mainly, in the current research, a welfare state is seen coherent with a nation state. With having these short definitions and concepts in mind, Hill then provides a first basic definition of a „welfare state“ from a dictionary which represents a „popular view widespread in the mid-20th century“: A welfare state is

„[A] social system or state in which socialist principles have been put into effect with the purpose of ensuring the welfare of all who live in it, for example by paying unemployment benefits, old age pensions etc. and by providing other social services.“

(Chambers Dictionary, 1998 in Hill, 2013, p.12)

Based on this definition, a connection to the work of Esping-Andersen and his ideas about welfare states can be drawn: For him, who recognized that much of the earlier literature and research on welfare states mainly neglected the welfare state itself and rather focused on other connected phenomena such as power or industrialization, de-commodification and social stratification are important factors which constitute a welfare state: Such de-commodification occurs „when a service is rendered as a matter of right, and when a person can maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market“ (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p.21f.). Besides, also social citizenship rights play a role for the constitution of a welfare state for

Esping-Andersen: „If social rights are given the legal and practical status of property rights, if they are inviolable, and if they are granted on the basis of citizenship rather than performance, they will entail a de-commodification of the status of individuals vis-à-vis the market“ (p.21). Above that, the concept of social citizenship also involves social stratification as „one’s status as a citizen will compete with, or even replace, one’s class position“ (ibid.). Accordingly, Esping-Andersen poses the question of what kind of stratification is respectively promoted by the social policy of a welfare state. He concludes that „[t]he welfare state is not just a mechanism that intervenes in, and possibly corrects, the structure of inequality; it is, in its own right, a system of stratification. It is an active force in the ordering of social relations“ (p.23).

Having taken those considerations and the fact that there are international variations in welfare state stratification and social rights as a starting point, Esping-Andersen comes to the idea that welfare state variations with regard to the arrangements between state, market and family, can be clustered around three main regime-types: *Liberal*, *conservative-corporatist* and *universal, social democratic* (p.26f.).¹

In the liberal model modest universal transfers, or modest social-insurance plans predominate and benefits mainly cater to a „clientele of low-income, usually working-class², state dependents“ (p.26). In this model, the limits of welfare equal the marginal propensity to opt for welfare instead of work and de-commodification-effects are minimized. The order of stratification is a „blend of a relative equality of poverty among state-welfare recipients, market differentiated welfare among the majorities, and a class-political dualism between the two“ (p.27). Examples of this model are the United States or Canada and also increasingly the United Kingdom. Due to the limited space of this thesis, the liberal model will not be further looked at or analysed. It is mentioned here for the sake of completeness when regarding Esping-Andersen’s model, but the focus of this thesis will lay on the following two types of welfare state regimes as they include the chosen countries Germany (as the conservative welfare state) and Sweden (as the social democratic one).

In the second model, the conservative one, the preservation of status differentials predominates: Rights are attached to class and status (p.27). This consequently means that the redistributive impact is negligible. Besides, such corporatist regimes are often typically shaped by the (Catholic) Church and „hence strongly committed to the preservation of traditional family-hood“ (p.27): This means that non-working wives are often excluded from social insurance while family benefits shall encourage motherhood. Simultaneously, day care and other similar family services are underdeveloped. Above that, as the principle of subsidiarity is in charge in those welfare states, it is emphasized through this principle that the state will only interfere when the family’s capacity to service its members is exhausted (ibid.). Examples of such a conservative welfare state are Germany, Austria, France, and Italy.

The third and smallest regime-cluster identified by Esping-Andersen is „composed of those countries in which the principles of universalism and de-commodification of social rights were extended also to the new middle classes“ (ibid.). As in those nations - with the Scandinavian countries being the best and most prominent examples - social democracy was the dominant force behind social reforms, they are labelled as ‘social democratic’. „Rather than tolerate a dualism between state and market, between working class and middle class, the social democrats pursued a welfare state that would promote an equality of the highest standards, not an equality of minimal needs as was pursued elsewhere“ (ibid.). Compared to the

corporatist-subsidiarity model, the principle of this third model is „not to wait until the family's capacity to aid is exhausted, but to pre-emptively socialize the costs of family-hood“ (ibid.). Also, it is not the ideal to maximize the dependence on the family but rather to increase the capacities for individual independence (Esping-Andersen, p.28). The social democratic welfare state also enables women to choose work rather than the household and it provides a huge amount of services and responsibilities for children, the aged and the helpless (ibid.). With its fusion of welfare and work a social democratic regime is committed to a full-employment guarantee but also, simultaneously, „entirely dependent on its attainment“ (ibid.).

Esping-Andersen's model has strengths and weaknesses (Jochem, 2012), but is, nonetheless, regarded as one of the most important and influential works on comparative welfare state research: His comparative typologies can (potentially) open up the perspective for both the specific patriarchal character of political-ideological traditions and for androcentrically shaped power balances (Dackweiler, 2003a, p.93). Compared to earlier studies on welfare states Esping-Andersen does not solely focus on income distribution or redistribution, but also looks at the underlying causes for the different distributional consequences of the different welfare structures and, adjoining, poses the question whether the welfare structures have a direct impact on equality (p.56): „Apart from its purely income-distributive role, the welfare state shapes class and structure in a variety of ways“ (57f.). Despite the feminist critique saying that he „neglects crucial aspects of the welfare state and [that] he misclassifies or leaves no place in his schema for particular national welfare systems (...)“, Esping-Andersen's work is still regarded as a „springboard“ for a major growth in feminist writing on the welfare state (Daly, 2000, p.49f.). For that reason, and although there are many other authors and scholars in the field of comparative welfare state research, I decided for Esping-Andersen and his model as it is still widely used and cited in current literature regardless the fact that the work is already 25 years old.³

2.2 Conceptualization of Gender Mainstreaming

As Gender Mainstreaming is an essential part of feminist theory and gender-equality seeking welfare state policies, at first a proper definition of the term is needed.⁴ Besides the 'European' definitions provided by, inter alia, the European Commission and the Council of Europe, also many analytical scientific definitions exist. I have decided to use the definition set out by Teresa Rees (2005) as it is a clear-cut, precise definition that is, nonetheless, similar to the one from the Council. It is, furthermore, useful as it depicts a feminist approach that considers Gender Mainstreaming as a European political strategy:

„Gender Mainstreaming is the promotion of gender equality through its systematic integration into all systems and structures, into all policies, processes and procedures, into the organization and its culture, into ways of seeing and doing.“ (Rees, 2005, p.560)

Based on this definition, Rees further argues that Gender Mainstreaming is „about ensuring that systems and structures do not (...) indirectly discriminate on the grounds of gender“ (ibid.). For her, the heart of Gender Mainstreaming is „the identification of androcentric practices that underpin the organisation and its culture as well as its policies and practices, and tackling them“ (ibid., p.560f.). Besides, the strategy could take the promotion of gender equality as its key policy goal while using a range of policy arenas in order to achieve this goal (ibid.). „Hence gender mainstreaming moves away from accepting the male, or rather a dominant version of masculinity as the norm“ (ibid., p.559).⁵ Rees' concept is built upon the

international definition of 'gender equality' that came up in the 1990s in the context of the 1995 UN Conference on Women in Beijing in which also the term „Gender Mainstreaming“ was firstly broad into the public interest. The UN's definition reads as follows:

„[Gender equality] refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, recognizing the diversity of different groups of women and men. (...) Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centred development.“⁶ (UN Women, 2014a)

As this is a broad definition that is acknowledged and used by many international (political) actors worldwide and as it is not time-bound, I will use it as the underlying idea of gender equality in this thesis as well. Although I am focussing on European policies, such a global definition appears adequate to be used.

2.3 Theory: Comparative feminist welfare state research

As mentioned earlier, the welfare state and research on it plays an important role in feminist theory and the research on gender (Theobald, 1999, p.11). According to Dackweiler (2010) welfare state policies are from the start „gender policies“ as they are oriented towards „gender models“ about specific rights and duties, tasks and activities, and times and places of men and women (p.521). Consequently, a welfare state's institutions are an „arena of gender-political fights“ (p.521) about material and symbolic gender orders and structures. Therefore, gender-sensible comparative welfare state research is necessary to better understand causes, types and historical paths of national differences and similarities (Dackweiler, 2010). Besides, with welfare states as „agent[s] shaping gender relations“ (Daly, 2000, p.8), a comparative research can help to answer the question whether there is a relation between gender and the welfare state (as the welfare state is mediating the relation between home and market) and how this relation proceeds under different institutional and ideological conditions (ibid.). For Daly, feminist work on the welfare state can be seen „as a critical response to either the downgrading of women and gender in mainstream work or their outright exclusion from it“ (ibid., p.31) with the comparative dimension being the most exercised one in this field of research „for more than one purpose“ (Daly & Rake, 2003, p.30).

Over the past decades, much research on the relation between gender and the welfare state has been conducted by feminist scholars such as Diane Sainsbury who states that „[i]n the case of the welfare state, feminist scholarship has made several major contributions. First and foremost, feminists have endeavoured to bring gender into the analysis by focusing on women and their relation to the welfare state. (...) Second, feminists have examined how social programs and social rights have been gendered. (...) Third, feminists have also demonstrated how key mainstream conceptions and assumptions are gendered in the sense that they are primarily rooted in the experiences of men. (...) Fourth, in contrast to mainstream analysis, which has stressed economic processes (...) as a crucial determinant in the formation of the welfare state, feminists have emphasized the interrelationships between the family, the state, and the market in structuring the welfare state“ (Sainsbury, 1996, p.34f.). Apart from Sainsbury, many other authors could be mentioned as they provide similar ideas and concepts

about the above mentioned interrelationships.⁷ Within the last years, „the scope of the domain of welfare is broadened beyond the formal economy to encompass the domestic sphere [and] social reproduction is drawn to the centre of analysis“ (Daly, 2000, p.35). Also, other divisions in welfare states apart from those based on class are taken into account.

Country comparisons can help evaluating the presented „best practices“ in a country’s national gender policies and can also provide a better understanding of cultural differences in national gender regimes (Behning & Sauer, 2005). Also, the different implementation of Gender Mainstreaming can be compared with regard to „best practices“. In that context, according to many feminist scholars, the EU plays an important role as its Member States need to create and re-legitimate social, family, labour market and equality policies according to supranational standards and as the European Union influences the welfare state policies of its members (Dackweiler, 2010a). In each Member State, Gender Mainstreaming - as a European political strategy - meets a „historically densely knotted web of gendered and gendering welfare state institutions“ (Dackweiler, 2005). This fact leads feminist scholars to ask how those welfare institutions co-create specific participation opportunities and conflict constellations between men and women in the fields of, inter alia, social, family, and equality policy (ibid.). Besides, the different structural welfare state institutions lead to gender-specific differences with regard to the participation rates in the labour market, the income distribution and the time spent by the responsible actors (Behning, 2005). Furthermore, it is asked whether the specific welfare gender-political institutional structure is the respective national context for Gender Mainstreaming and, if yes, which political gender equality principle Gender Mainstreaming meets and in which it should be implemented in order to change that principle in a gender-fair and just way (Dackweiler, 2005).

Both internationally and on a European level, the role of the woman and women’s importance for the welfare state changed over the last 40 years: While in the 1980s women were regarded as objects of a patriarchal, sexist welfare state, the 1990s brought the change of women being agents of change, development and creation of welfare state measures and actions (Dackweiler, 2005). While on the one hand, there were still gender hierarchies to be found among the various welfare states, all capitalist welfare states, on the other hand, simultaneously reformed discriminatory regulations and created a new field of women and equality policy (Dackweiler & Schäfer, 2010). Since the 21st century, a change from the so-called ‘male breadwinner model’ towards the ‘adult worker model’ takes place in the EU and internationally (ibid.; Dackweiler 2010a). This trend towards „individualization“ brings along a tendency towards egalitarian gender regimes which depend on equal – synonymous with non-discriminatory – access to social rights and participation (Dackweiler & Schäfer, 2010). The latter aspect leads to Nancy Fraser (2003, 2004) and her ‘status model of recognition’, that puts both recognition and redistribution in the centre of a socially fair and equal social policy.

2.4 Theoretical concept of Nancy Fraser

Nancy Fraser is among the most important contemporary feminist authors. I have decided to use her model and her ideas about gender equality and welfare for this thesis as she presents an „explicit gender-fair theory of justice“ that represents a huge contribution to the current debate about justice among (feminist) scholars (Ludwig & Hofbauer, 2005). Her work, which is centred on the normative principle of „participatory parity“, can be used to analyse and better understand the justice-fostering potential of Gender Mainstreaming (ibid.). While many other authors, for example Axel Honneth⁸ or Barbara Bergman⁹ mainly focus on the importance of

redistribution of (monetary) resources in order to achieve gender equality, Fraser states the importance of an integrative approach that combines a politics of redistribution with a policy of recognition (Fraser 2004, p.34). Thus, for her, feminist politics need to be two-dimensional to properly address the issue of gender inequality and injustice: „Only by looking to integrative approaches that unite redistribution and recognition can we meet the requirements of justice for all“ (ibid.).

Based on those thoughts, Fraser developed her ‘status model of recognition’ which has the aim „to deinstitutionalize androcentric patterns of value that impede gender parity and to replace them with patterns that foster it“ (Fraser, 2004, p.31). The above mentioned „participatory parity“ is seen as the „proper standard“ for warranting claims for both recognition and redistribution (ibid.). For a better understanding of the model, one needs to look at Fraser’s definition of ‘parity’: She defines it as a qualitative condition that basically means „being peer“, „being on a par with others“ or „interacting with each other on equal footing“ (Fraser, 2004, p.29). According to Fraser, parity applies throughout the whole of a person’s social life with the parity of participation taking place in a multiplicity of interaction arenas such as the labour market, sexual relations, the family life, public spheres or voluntary associations in civil society. Still, in each of these arenas participation has a slightly different meaning: The respective understanding of parity must be tailored to the kind of participation at issue, which depends on the nature of the social interaction in question (ibid.). Having these definitions in mind, one can regard the model which „(...) means a politics aimed at overcoming subordination by establishing women as full members of society, capable of participating on a par with men“ (p.30). Accordingly, the status approach requires „examining institutionalized patterns of cultural value for their effects on the relative standing of women“ (ibid.).

As Fraser wants to break with those feminist approaches that focus exclusively on gender, she turns her focus to the mentioned aspect of recognition saying that this leads to a new understanding of gender justice which includes questions of distribution, representation, identity and difference. Therefore, also gender needs to be regarded as two-dimensional: While from the distributive perspective, gender as a „class“-like differentiation is rooted in the economic structure of a society; from a recognition perspective it is rooted in the status order of society as a „status“-differentiation. In summary, gender, for Fraser, is a category that is compound of both status and class and which combines a political-economic with a cultural-discursive face (Fraser, 2004). The resulting implications for feminist politics are to regard redistribution and recognition as complementary claims for justice and equality and to display the patterns of value which deprive women of their equal participation opportunities (Hofbauer & Ludwig, 2005).

Following this, a political strategy, that aims and is able to implement gender parity and equality, would need to fulfil the following requirements.

- A fair and equal distribution of resources and of the access to socio-political and economic decision-making structures must be ensured.
- A focus must be to open up the view on the authoritatively structured institutionalized gender-specific attributions.
- Heterogeneous identities and ways of life must be recognized.

(Fraser, 2003 & 2004; Hofbauer & Ludwig, 2005)

Particularly the last point is important as it aims to change the existing socio-political and economic structures and as it has the principle of participatory parity as its central normative benchmark. This principle, once more, contains the concept of justice as a part of gender equality. To achieve this, social arrangements that permit all (adult) members of society to interact with one another as peers are required. Fraser (2004) established a minimum of two criteria that need to be satisfied if a (political) strategy shall successfully be implemented:

- The distribution of material resources must ensure the participants' independence and right to vote.
- Institutionalized patterns of cultural value must express equal respect for all participants and must ensure equal opportunities for achieving social esteem.

While the first, objective condition precludes forms and levels of economic dependence and inequality, the second one, the intersubjective, precludes institutionalized value patterns that systematically depreciate some categories of people and qualities associated with them.

The presented criteria shall later be used as guidelines in the analysis of the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Germany and Sweden. Additionally, some normative principles, set out by Fraser in an earlier work, shall be taken into account in the analysing part of this thesis:¹⁰ To adequately measure gender parity, Fraser (1997) named seven principles which all must be equally valued: Anti-poverty, anti-exploitation, income equality, leisure time equality, equality of respect, anti-marginalization, anti-androcentrism¹¹ (Fraser, 1997, p. 53f.). Having those criteria in mind, I will try to answer the questions whether or how they are fulfilled in the two chosen countries.

3. Methodology

In this chapter the research design is shortly presented. It is followed by the justification of my case selection and the resulting research hypotheses and research questions.

3.1 Data collection and research design

In order to collect an adequate amount of data and information on the chosen topic, mainly an analysis of the relevant primary and secondary literature is conducted. Besides books, journals and peer-reviewed articles also public documents (e.g. from the European Commission) and legal documents, such as the various Treaties of the European Union, are taken into account. Literature is selected by recommendation, but the selection is also based on reading as the books and articles often contain cross-references to other authors.

As the scientific interest of this thesis is to find out whether there is a coherence between the different types of welfare states and the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming, a descriptive case study with a small sample size ($n=2$) is the research design at hand. Simultaneously, the design is qualitative as the aim is to gain an understanding of underlying reasons and motivations with regard to the scientific interest. The focus of the research design is on analysing existing differences between the two chosen countries. In the present case study, with Germany and Sweden being the objects of study, the different types of welfare states (here, mainly the social democratic and the conservative one) make up the *independent variable* while the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming is the *dependent variable* as it is influenced by the types of welfare states: With regard to the main topic it will be analysed

whether the characteristics of the two different welfare state regimes have an influence on the national implementation of Gender Mainstreaming.

3.2 Case selection

In this section I justify why I have chosen Sweden and Germany as the country examples for the different welfare state types and why I have decided for analysing Gender Mainstreaming as one strategy of the EU gender equality policies. Based on this justification, three hypotheses are framed. This section starts with Sweden as the country serves as a role model to which I compare Germany with.

3.2.1 Sweden

In order to make the current state (as of 2010) of gender equality in the EU comparable, the *European Institute for Gender Equality* (EIGE) has created the *Gender Equality Index* (EIGE, 2014).¹² According to this index, Sweden is leading in all six dimensions: The country's overall score is 74.3 (out of a 100) points which is both high above the EU average (54.0) and above Germany's score (51.6). Regarding the measured categories, the index places Sweden as the most gender-egalitarian country in the EU. Not only does this support the position of Sweden as a forerunner in equality policies in Europe, but with Denmark (73.6) and Finland (73.4) on the second and third place in the ranking, the index also underlines the exceptional position of Nordic countries with regard to gender equality (EIGE, 2014). The low inequality rate is a common feature of the „Nordic welfare model“ as set out in the literature (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Kangas & Kvist, 2013).

Besides tackling poverty, the Nordic welfare states aim to address „a wider range of social inequalities“ with all members of society having the same opportunities and possibilities (ibid.). Hence, social rights are universal (Behning, 2004). Although the Nordic welfare states share various similarities, Sweden can still be distinguished from its neighbour countries: Being the „ideally social democratic welfare state as such“ (Förster et al., 2014), Sweden is a country that strongly supports men and fathers in order to achieve gender equality (Jalmert, 2004; Behning, 2004). Much emphasis is put on men's caregiving roles while, simultaneously, high female labour market participation is actively supported by the state (ibid.). This men's support shall help to foster the role of the father and shall lead, accordingly, to a change of men's roles in society (Jalmert, 2004).

With regard to Gender Mainstreaming, Sweden is „relatively unique“ in integrating men into the strategy's implementation (ibid.). Since the 1990s, Gender Mainstreaming is a core aspect of gender equality policies in the country where the main idea of the political actors is that men and women shall have the same rights, opportunities, duties and responsibilities in all parts of society (ibid.).¹³ One concrete aspect of those policies is the establishment of a government agency called *ombudsman* for the topic of equality which shall help to promote equal access to the labour market for men and women (Förster et al., 2014). It oversees compliance with the Discrimination Act that came into force in 2009 (Statistics Sweden, 2014). The aim of the egalitarian access, together with the public and intensive care for children, is a main feature of the Swedish and of the other Nordic welfare states as well (Behning, 2004; Kaufmann, 2013). This principle of egalitarianism, which is seen as significant characteristic of the Swedish society, results from a „continued movement towards equality for women, the downplaying of gender differences, and (...) an early questioning of marriage as the basis of

family life“ (Kaufmann, 2013). Besides, the „rejection of occupation-specific and the early choice of a universal social security system“ also express the Swedish egalitarianism (ibid.).

As a „pre-active“, „caring“, social democratic welfare state (Jochem, 2012), Sweden’s position results from, inter alia, a generous parental leave, subsidised child care, and the treatment of partners as individuals in the tax and benefit system as well as from low levels of poverty and from an extensive service provision (Shaver, 2013, p. 100f.). Simultaneously, Sweden is described as an expenditure-intensive welfare state with a strong state at the centre: A benchmark of the country’s social policy is the comprehensive provision of social services through the state (Jochem, 2012, cp. tables at pp. 174 & 194).

I have decided for Sweden as the country example of a universal, socialist welfare state because of all the above mentioned reasons and also because „(...) equality for women, not only in politics but also in economic life, succeeded more strongly here than in most European countries“ (Kaufmann, 2013, p.120). Based on the presented literature and the data from the GEI, the following research hypothesis can be framed and shall later be tested within the analysis section:

H1: *Sweden can be regarded as a forerunner in achieving gender equality due to its social welfare system and, therefore, countries with lower GEIs can learn from it.*

3.2.2 Germany

According to the GEI, gender equality is not as much existent in Germany as in other EU Member States – particularly when compared with the Nordic countries: Germany ranks eleventh position in the index with a score of 51.6 points which makes a difference of more than 20 points compared to leading Sweden (EIGE, 2014). The score is even below the EU average of 54 points.¹⁴ Nonetheless, gender equality is a main goal of the current government’s action plan and both the Federal Ministry and regional ministries have established several measures to achieve it (BMFSFJ, 2014a). Moreover, Germany is one of the few EU-Member States with a woman as the head of the government.

While in Sweden equality of the sexes is promoted, in Germany the idea of the difference of the sexes is predominant (Kulawik, 2005; Behning, 2004). As most of the other continental welfare states (according to Esping-Andersen’s typology), Germany strongly supports the „male breadwinner model“ that focuses on the traditional family where the husband has the primary responsibility for the economic support of the household through full-time paid employment whereas the wife has the main responsibility for the household work and the care of its dependent members (Shaver, 2013). Concurrently, „only limited services to facilitate the reconciliation of (female) labour market participation and household care provision“ are provided (Clegg, 2013, p.163). Hence, the gender logic „has biases towards traditional gender roles with low levels of female labour force participation, male authority, and the principle of subsidiarity by which the state avoids taking on roles that would supplant that of the family“ (Shaver, 2013, p.100).

One reason for this way of thinking is the political history of a long conservative and religious party rule, which is a dominant characteristic of the continental, corporatist welfare states (ibid.): As outlined in 2.1, Germany’s social policy is shaped by the Church and, thus, committed to the „preservation of traditional family-hood“ (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p.27). Unlike in Sweden, in Germany social rights are not universal, but conditional „upon a blend of

labour market attachment and financial contributions“ (ibid., p.49). Individual rights are traditionally derived - either through a family member or directly - from employment status (Clegg, 2013, p.163).

Another aspect that differentiates Germany, as a conservative, continental welfare state, from the Nordic countries is generosity: A rather high share of the country's national wealth is devoted to social protection and, simultaneously, „designed to foster stability and social integration“ (Shaver, 2013, p.100; Clegg, 2013). Still, at the same time, this focus on security and stability diverts the attention from equality and emancipation so that a gender division, particularly in the labour market, still exists (Clegg, 2013). A result from this division is a comparably high poverty rate among women, especially among lone mothers (Shaver, 2013).

To sum up the presented characteristics, Germany's gender policies are strongly influenced by the traditional, conservative thinking and the idea of the traditional family within a stable social security system. Gender equality plays a role in the social policies, but this role is not in the centre of attention as there is still persistence of ideas about men's jobs and women's jobs (Kantola, 2010). All these facts are one reason why I have chosen Germany as the second country example for this thesis. The data from the GEI is another reason because it reveals that much still needs to be done with regard to achieving gender equality in the country. Above that, the rather large difference between the two welfare states and their respective social policies also is a reason for my choice as it indicates an interesting comparison with highly informative results. Therefore, again, based on the presented findings about the German welfare state and its differences compared to the Swedish state, a second hypothesis can be set up for the analysis:

H2: *The form of a welfare state, for example the corporatist-conservative and the universal-social democratic type, influences a country's national gender policies.*

3.2.3 Gender Mainstreaming as a political strategy

„Gender mainstreaming is seen by many as an attempt at innovation in gender equality policies, an attempt to overcome the limitations of previous gender equality strategies.“ - This statement from Mieke Verloo (2001) aptly sums up what makes Gender Mainstreaming such an interesting, „revolutionary“ (ibid.) instrument in international politics.¹⁵ As a political strategy that is „meant to actively counteract this gender bias and to (...) promote more equitable relations between women and men“ (Verloo, 2002), it has been adopted by all Member States of the EU. With the Treaty of Amsterdam, Gender Mainstreaming found its way into European law (European Council, 1997; Kantola, 2010). Since the enforcement of the Treaty, the EU Member States are obliged to transfer the idea of Gender Mainstreaming into national law and to actively support equality measures. Whilst acknowledging the strategy's potential, the EU is pursuing a „twin-track approach“ consisting of Gender Mainstreaming and positive actions: While the former means proactively adjusting the respective politics, the latter signifies concrete measures for the improvement of the women's societal situation (Rees, 2005; Behning, 2004; Frey, 2004). Therefore, Gender Mainstreaming does not replace other gender equality strategies, but rather complements them as it broadens the scope of implementation and strengthens the importance of gender equality in the EU: „Gender Mainstreaming has the potential to address some of the shortcomings of earlier policies and tools by extending the scope to all policy-making fields and legislation and by requiring a more

structured and holistic approach to understanding the origins and consequences of gender inequalities“ (Kantola, 2010, p. 146).

Some authors have questioned whether Gender Mainstreaming is an appropriate gender equality strategy and whether it has a concrete, precisely defined goal (Behning, 2004). As the strategy is imposed on the EU Member States from a supranational angle – in order to seek coherence - and as the implementation differs from state to state, the various historical and cultural initial positions within the Member States are important (Meuser & Neusüß, 2004): Each state has specific gender egalitarian objectives based on cultural traditions and institutional entrenchment which brings along a plurality of gender-political goals both within and among the Member States (Behning, 2004). Besides, there is „considerable confusion“ as to what Gender Mainstreaming actually means, „especially among those responsible for implementing it“ (Rees, 2005, p.556). As the term does not translate well from English into other European languages, and as there often is no word for ‘gender’, in most Member States the English term is used (ibid.). Nevertheless, it is argued that exactly this discord and the openness of both the definition and the goals that are to be achieved are the advantages of Gender Mainstreaming: It is the suitable gender equality strategy for the EU due to the absence of a clear gender equality goal. This uncertainty ensures that Gender Mainstreaming is compatible with the various national gender equality policies in Europe. Furthermore, the concrete implementation is left to the Member States so that the above mentioned plurality is preserved (Meuser & Neusüß, 2004). Therefore, the strategy, its adoption into national law and its respective implementation can easily be adapted to the Member State’s welfare system as there is a rather wide scope of action.

Based on this discussion in contemporary literature, the choice of Gender Mainstreaming as an object of analysis can be justified. The strategy is widely discussed, praised and also criticised. The potential, the advantages and the disadvantages are highly debated among (feminist) scholars. Thus, on the basis of the presented findings, the following third hypothesis can be phrased:

H3: *Gender Mainstreaming is an effective and important strategy to achieve gender equality. It can flexibly be adapted to the different EU welfare state regimes and it does not exclude other equality strategies.*

3.3 Research question

As a last step before the analysis and based on the three developed hypotheses, the actual research questions are framed. With regard to the scientific interest as set out in the introduction, the analysis will be guided by and will try to answer the following research questions which are supported by several sub-questions to facilitate the research:¹⁶

RQ1: *Is there a relation between the different types of welfare state regimes that Germany and Sweden are assigned to by Esping-Andersen and the different implementation of the strategy Gender Mainstreaming on a national level?*

RQ2: *If at all, to what extent is there a relation between the types of welfare states and the different social-/ gender-/ equality policies of the two countries?*

RQ3: *Is Gender Mainstreaming an appropriate strategy that enables gender equality as its national adaptation depends on the countries’ underlying welfare state regimes?*

4. Analysis

In this chapter, the practical implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Sweden and Germany and the strategy's significance within the national policies will be analysed. Special regard will be given to the developed hypotheses and the stated scientific interest. As Gender Mainstreaming is a widely used and broadly acknowledged strategy to achieve gender equality, it covers various policy fields. Taking them all into account in the analysis would go beyond the scope of this thesis and, therefore, the main focus will be on labour market and employment policies, combined with reconciliation policies. Although education and health care policies also belong within the framework of welfare policies, they will only be treated as a minor matter due to the limited space. Besides the welfare aspect, the choice of policy fields is also justified by the scientific literature which provides particularly much information and practical examples of Gender Mainstreaming in the chosen fields.

Instead of a tripartite analysis as in Chapter 3, a single analysis section is provided. Combining the analysis of the two countries and of Gender Mainstreaming enables a better comparison on specific aspects and also ensures that the strategy is regarded within a practical context and not as an isolated subject of study. The analysis is followed by a short discussion of findings (4.2). It serves to sum up the results and to verify or falsify the stated hypotheses.

4.1 How is Gender Mainstreaming implemented in Sweden and Germany?

When analysing the implementation of gender equality policies in general and Gender Mainstreaming in particular in Sweden and Germany, it appears useful to first have a look at the historical development of those policies in the two countries.

Historical development of gender equality policies: Parental allowance

The 1970s mark the beginning of gender equality policies in both countries as since then they are regarded and treated as own policy fields (BMFSFJ, 2014b; Nyberg, 2012). In Sweden, this „new thinking“ was particularly represented through the introduction of the so-called „dual-earner/dual-carer family“ policy model (Nyberg, 2012, p.68). It should both strengthen the position of women in the labour market and increase the responsibility of men for domestic work and child care (ibid.). Concomitant with this model, financial parental allowance was introduced in 1974, making Sweden the first country worldwide to do so (Statistics Sweden, 2014). These benefits enable men to have the right to parental allowance on the same terms as women (ibid., p.44). The introduction of financial benefits is based „on the firm belief that men and women should share power and influence equally“ in a country where gender equality is seen as a „cornerstone of modern Swedish society“ (The Swedish Institute, 2013). Nowadays, parents can take up to 480 days of parental leave of which 60 are reserved for each parent and cannot be transferred (Statistics Sweden, p.10). This makes it legally mandatory for fathers to take up leave in order to care for their child. The so-called „father's months“ („*pappamånader*“) are a sign of the fact that in Sweden men were integrated into equality policies and processes from the beginning as it was recognised that equality does not only concern women, but both sexes (Döge & Stiegler, 2004).

Twelve years later than in Sweden, in 1986, family benefits („*Erziehungsgeld*“) were introduced in Germany (Schildt, 2002). In the beginning the main focus was on women as they did most of the child care work. Over the years, as the scope of gender equality policies widened, focus was also put on fathers and since 2007 the newly created parental allowance

(„*Elterngeld*“) provides equal opportunities to take up parental leave for both parents. Unlike in Sweden, it is not required by law in Germany that men take up parental leave. Nonetheless, with the new form of financed child care, new incentives for fathers are created: The allowance is paid for two more months (14 instead of twelve) if both parents take up parental leave (Botsch & Maier, 2009). Besides, the „*Elterngeld*“ „represents a change in the paradigm of German family policy as it recognizes that mothers are „employed“ persons who need an income replacement during the period of child care“ (ibid., p.29).

Nevertheless, in Germany the so-called - and above mentioned – ‘(male) breadwinner model’ persists as the German social security system provides various financial incentives such as the new care allowance („*Betreuungsgeld*“) for mothers to stay at home with their child instead of (re)entering the labour market (Botsch & Maier, 2009; OCED, 2012). That latter sphere is still male-dominated. Besides, wage-related social insurance and taxations favour one-earner and married couples as women are still often seen in a „traditional“ role with having the main responsibility for the household and care work (Daly, 2000). Hence, a difference compared to Sweden can be depicted: While the Nordic country favours the above mentioned dual-earner model, the German tax/benefit system is the only one in the OECD that „significantly favours single breadwinner couples over dual-earner families“ (OECD, 2012).

The legal and political introduction of Gender Mainstreaming

After several measures and steps towards achieving gender equality within the 1970s and 1980s, Gender Mainstreaming appeared on the political agenda of both countries in the mid-1990s. While Germany mainly learned about this new strategy in the context of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing 1995, Sweden had already introduced it one year earlier: In 1994, the bill „Shared power, shared responsibility“ („*delad makt, delat ansvar*“) (Government bill 1993/94: 147) was brought before the parliament (EIGE, 2015).¹⁷ As Gender Mainstreaming is first mentioned in this bill, it serves as the Government’s main strategy to achieve gender equality since then (ibid.). This means that, inter alia, a gender perspective is taken into account in the preparatory proceedings of all decisions by the Cabinet (CoE, 2004). It is also since 1994 that all statistics in Sweden must be disaggregated by sex (Statistics Sweden, 2014). Nonetheless, the Declaration still influenced Swedish equality policies.

In Germany, the former red-green coalition mentioned Gender Mainstreaming as a cross-cutting task in 1998 (Döge & Stiegler, 2004). Already since 1994, the State is obliged to foster gender equality according to the German Basic Law (cp. Art. 3, §2, sentence 2 GG¹⁸) and with the adoption of the Beijing Declaration from 1995 and the commencement of the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999, the Common Rules of Procedure of the Federal Ministries have also integrated Gender Mainstreaming (cp. §2, GGO) (ibid.): Gender equality is seen as a basic principle of federal governance and shall be fostered by all political, legal, and administrative measures of the federal ministries and their areas of accountability (EIGE, 2013). With the change of the laws, the German government is „acknowledging that there’s no gender-neutral reality and that men and women are differently affected by political and administrative decisions“ (BMFSFJ, 2014). Therefore, all decision-makers must integrate a gender-perspective into their daily work - at the state, the regional and the local level (ibid.).

Responsible actors and institutions

In both countries, a single federal ministry or division of a ministry is responsible for the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming on a national level: In Sweden, Åsa Regnér is the responsible *Minister for Children, the Elderly and Gender Equality* in the newly elected Swedish government. She works on behalf of the *Ministry of Health and Social Affairs* (Government of Sweden, 2015). Her task is to ensure that progress is made and also that follow-up measures are taken (EIGE, 2013). Nonetheless, each minister is responsible for the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in his/her policy area (ibid.). On the regional level, the *County Administration Boards* (CABs) and SALAR (the *Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions*) are the main actors to ensure that Gender Mainstreaming is implemented in the municipalities (EIGE, 2013a; CoE, 2004). Above that, the Equality Ombudsman (*Diskrimineringsombudsmannen*, DO), as an official government agency, works to fight discrimination and to protect equal rights for all Swedish citizens (Swedish Institute, 2013). Since 2011, a webpage called „*includegender*“ strengthens the Gender Mainstreaming process in Sweden with efforts at all levels: It provides methods, tools and practical examples of „good practice“ (ibid.). In Germany, the *Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth* is led by Federal Minister Manuela Schwesig (BMFSFJ, 2014). Besides, there are regional ministries in the German federal states. Since 2003, the *Genderkompetenzzentrum* (GKZ) in Berlin is responsible for ensuring the Gender Mainstreaming-process within the federal administration as it provides consultation, activities, and the dissemination of information about Gender Mainstreaming (Döge & Stiegler, 2004).

When analysing Gender Mainstreaming in Sweden, it is important to know that although the term and its meaning are known and widely acknowledged, it was decided to not use this term in practice, but to use a term that everybody understands, that creates identity, and that legitimates both the way to and aim of achieving gender equality. Hence, „*jämställdhetsintegrering*“ was created (Pettersson, 2004a, p.26).¹⁹ As outlined earlier, the term „Gender Mainstreaming“ causes confusion regarding its concrete meaning and often there is no good translation into other languages. Thus, one can argue that the Swedish government found a good way to integrate Gender Mainstreaming into society without problems of understanding. Besides its own phrasing, Sweden was the country in Europe to first and most consequently bring Gender Mainstreaming into the political and administrative reality (ibid.). Since 1994, both the political will and the technical dimension, such as money, time and human resources, are provided in the country which is important as „Gender Mainstreaming (...) requires the will and firm commitment of policy-makers to redress not only the existing imbalances between women and men, but to tackle the reasons for this imbalances“ (CoE, 2004, p. 14; Pettersson, 2004a).

Gender training and tools for Gender Mainstreaming

In the context of this political will, several tools for Gender Mainstreaming have been established in Sweden: One is gender training courses which are offered to civil servants by SALAR on the local and regional level. These trainings aim at mainstreaming gender into decision-making activities, municipalities, county councils and private companies.²⁰ Overall, SALAR's programme has provided such training courses for 66.000 civil servants until 2013 (EIGE, 2013a). On the state level, gender training programmes are provided by the *National Secretariat for Gender Research* (NSGR) at the University of Gothenburg. Over the period from

2008-2010, more than 2000 staff members of the ministries took part in conferences, workshops, seminars or a summer school on a voluntary basis (ibid.). Together with the *Division for Gender Equality* the training is coordinated and managed within government offices: Gender Mainstreaming is part of the initial staff training for new ministry staff at all levels and in all policy areas: While a 30-minute basic training seminar is offered to all staff members as an introduction to the topic, new managers in the offices receive a 45-minute Gender Mainstreaming module as part of their management training (ibid.).

In Germany, gender training is not as common as in Sweden. Since 2005, new impulses to ensure Gender Mainstreaming at the federal level are missing (EIGE, 2013a). Also, there is a trend towards „diversity measures“ and the „subsuming“ of Gender Mainstreaming under broader anti-discrimination measures which has led to a decrease in the number of gender training courses (ibid.). At the federal level only one initiative was carried out since 2005.²¹ Any offered training is provided by external gender-experts and the types of training range from awareness-raising to training sessions that address specific questions in a particular policy field (ibid.). Besides, once more, „at the regional state and local level, the commitments and implementation of gender training vary depending on the political will of the authorities“ (ibid.). Generally, most communities and municipalities know the strategy Gender Mainstreaming and it is implemented in different policy fields such as city planning, youth policy and public transport policy (DST, 2012).

Another tool for Gender Mainstreaming that was developed in Sweden is the so-called *3R-method*: It is based on a systematisation of Swedish experience of work on gender equality and shall help incorporating gender equality considerations into the work of local authorities (CoE, 2004).²² The idea behind this method is a systematic review of men's and women's representation in different places and positions, of the distribution and utilisation of resources and of the question why goods, services and situations are as they are (CoE, 2004; Pettersson, 2004b). Due to its frequent implementation in Sweden, the 3R-method is widely known and, meanwhile, also used in other countries, for example in Germany: On a local level, the city of Hanover is using the method in order to implement Gender Mainstreaming: For the design of a programme for holiday activities for adolescents, the 3 Rs are equally taken into account as for printed matters of the local administration (DST, 2012).²³ The fact that Germany copies the Swedish-based tool indicates the forerunning-quality in terms of gender equality that has been attributed to the Nordic country.

The welfare state and Gender Mainstreaming: Labour market, employment and reconciliation

Active labour market policies play an important role in the national implementation of Gender Mainstreaming. In Sweden, they shall help to fulfil the „institutionalized commitment to full employment“ (Sainsbury, 1996, p.32). As a Gender Mainstreaming infrastructure is in place in the Swedish government offices, the latest labour market bill contained direct reference to the strategy (EC, 2008). Generally, gender equality and, alongside, Gender Mainstreaming, play an important role in Swedish labour market policies: In 2009, a written communication to the Swedish parliament stressed the importance to coordinate and develop gender equality measures targeting working life, business, education and social policy. A total of SEK 235 million (≈ € 25 million) was provided for these measures (Government of Sweden, 2009). Here, Gender Mainstreaming serves as the principal strategy in order to „combat the tendency to neglect gender equality issues“: In 2007, SEK 125 million (€ 13.3 million) were granted to

SALAR to target efforts to develop Gender Mainstreaming in county councils and municipalities. Additional SEK 13 million (€ 1.3 million) were given to the NSGR to further develop Gender Mainstreaming methods in 2008 (ibid.). Whereas in Sweden full employment of both sexes is actively targeted, in Germany, on the contrary, the new basic income scheme („Hartz“-reforms, ALGII), hinders full employment as the situation of female returners after long periods of full-time caring remains problematic due to the household and not the individual being the benefit receiver. Married and cohabiting women do not have independent benefits (EC, 2008; Botsch & Maier, 2009). Besides, any individualised entitlements are solely for workers (and not for carers) while simultaneously, strong incentives towards the dependence of spouses are created (Daly, 2000).

While in Sweden 77 per cent of the women are employed (of which 24 per cent work part-time), in Germany about 46.1 per cent (in 2012) of the female citizens are integrated into the labour market (Statistics Sweden, p.51; Destatis, 2015). Of these women, 78.8 per cent work part-time (ibid.). Not only the number of women in gainful employment differs in the two countries, but also the gender pay gap does: On average, Swedish women earn 14 per cent less per hour than men (OECD, 2012). In Germany this gap is higher with about 22 per cent (BMFSFJ, 2014). Although equal pay legislation is - on paper - provided in the latter country, „(...) since 1980, there have been no major changes in equal pay legislation. The concept of “equal pay for work of equal value” changed the perspective from direct to indirect pay discrimination (...). However, institutionalised mechanisms to implement the principle of equal pay are still missing in Germany“ (Botsch & Maier, 2009, p.23). One reason for the lack of such mechanisms is that „(...) neither the Government nor the social partners are acting on behalf of this right and obligation“ (ibid., p.28).²⁴

Both the gaps in active labour market participation between the sexes and in the average earnings require measures to counteract the resulting gender inequality. Therefore one field, in which Gender Mainstreaming also plays a role, is reconciliation policy: In both countries reconciliation of work and family life is high on the political agenda, but the underlying societal view of the role of men and women, and the social policy and financial starting points are different (EC, 2008). One aspect to consider is the provision of public child care: As part of the extensive Swedish welfare programme, publicly financed child care has become „more or less universal“ in the country (Nyberg, 2012, p.73). From the beginning this was an „important foundation“ of the presented dual earner-family model as it helps mothers to (re)enter the labour market more easily as (external) child care is not that problematic in terms of availability and access (ibid.).²⁵ Another helpful activity was the introduction of the so-called „gender equality bonus“ that shall further encourage fathers to take up parental leave (EC, 2008).²⁶ The public provision of such high benefits, together with the provision of day care facilities which are both of high quality and sufficient availability, other family services, medical services, education at all levels and transport is a typical feature of the Swedish welfare state as it depicts the comprehensiveness of social public services for the whole population (Sainsbury, 1996). Nevertheless, even in such a social welfare state as the Swedish, traditional normative ideas of ‘male’ and ‘female’ exist. Therefore, in 1997, a gender programme for social welfare state arrangements was introduced with the aim of increasing the efficiency and quality of the welfare policies and equal access to the services of the welfare state for men and women (Pettersson, 2004a).

Within the last years, targets have been set to increase the number of child care places and to reorganise the parental leave scheme in Germany, but there still is societal resistance to a more modern concept of working women (EC, 2008). The first target regards the problem that there is a lack of quality child care in Germany, especially for the group of 1-year olds (Botsch & Maier, 2009). Simultaneously, policies are designed to improve the compatibility of child care and labour market participation of spouses and it is debated about men's roles as fathers and the necessity to create family-friendly policies in the workplaces which could include fathers and encourage them to participate in parental leave (ibid.). The current debate about men's and women's roles in society can be ascribed to the presented, still existing „male breadwinner“-model in which the women is mainly seen in the 'traditional' role of a mother who is responsible for the household and the care of its dependent members (Daly, 2000).

Because of this traditional ideal, that is also prevalent in politics as particular one of the ruling coalition parties, the CDU/CSU, supports this view in their beliefs and political agenda, welfare policies, such as reconciliation policies, are still focussing on single-earner heterosexual couples. The different types of child allowance and parental allowance - as presented earlier - support those policies by providing incentives for the women to stay at home rather than to (re)enter the labour market. Thus, one can say that the German employment policies and Gender Mainstreaming are „not yet in a conceptual or strategic alliance“ as the targets set out are sometimes contradictory to the measures that are taken to - theoretically - achieve gender equality. Furthermore, financial resources are often not properly allocated to reach the targeted goals (Botsch & Maier, 2009). Moreover, the relation between equal opportunity policies for men and women, such as reconciliation, and Gender Mainstreaming is often not clear-cut and sometimes „not very fruitful“ (ibid., p.43). Also, there is still a lack of data and empirical work on this relation as well as political support on major levels (considering the traditional belief of the CDU) so that Gender Mainstreaming cannot develop its full capacity in the German employment and social policies (ibid.). Another reason for the deficit in the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming compared to Sweden is the „path dependency“ integrated in the welfare state model: The two sexes are often seen as one homogenous group respectively whereby „gender“ is often reduced to „women“. As a consequence, often the underlying structures of gender inequality are neither challenged nor changed (Döge & Stiegler, 2004).

Assessment of the developed criteria and their fulfilment in the two countries

With having all these given facts in mind, one can now assess whether the developed criteria (based on Nancy Fraser) are fulfilled regarding the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Sweden and Germany. Starting with the Scandinavian country, one can say that the strategy was acknowledged rather early compared to the rest of Europe. It is the official government strategy to achieve gender equality and, thus, legally established. Germany has also accepted and integrated the strategy in both its federal and regional policies and actions. Legal establishment of Gender Mainstreaming is provided in the country as well. Both countries of interest have a range of different actors being involved in the practical implementation of the strategy and have conducted various measures and activities within the strategy's scope. Hence, it now needs to be clarified how 'successful' (with regard to achieving gender equality) the respective national implementation is. For that, the developed criteria (cp. *Chapter 3*) will be used as they help to identify the strategy's potential:

The first criterion is whether resources are fair and equally distributed among the actors involved. This criterion should mainly be considered regarding the distribution of financial resources such as wages or the above presented parental/ child allowance. Although in both countries Gender Mainstreaming is implemented in employment policies, still a wage gap of (averaging) 14 per cent in Sweden and 22 per cent in Germany exists. Thus, pay is not equally distributed. Regarding the tax/benefit systems of the two countries, especially in Germany resources are not equally allocated as the household is privileged over the individual and as wives are often financially dependent on their husbands who are, according to the system, the main income earner and, thus, also benefit receivers (OECD, 2012). As Gender Mainstreaming and employment policies, although they are intertwined, are often not in a „conceptual alliance“, one can say that in Germany the strategy does not fulfil the criterion – at least not completely (Botsch & Maier, 2009, p.42). In Sweden it is also not completely fulfilled because of, inter alia, the existing wage gap and the high gender gap when it comes to leading positions. Nonetheless, the country's goal is that „(...) the concept of equality must be taken into account when resources are distributed, norms are created and decisions are taken“ (The Swedish Institute, 2013). Besides, at least since 2009, one principal aim of the government (according to the *Action Plan on Gender Equality Policy*) is „(...) to combat and transform systems that preserve the gender-based distribution of power and resources in society“ (EIGE, 2013). So, apparently, gender-equal distribution and allocation is important for Swedish policy. This ideal is accompanied by the presented 3R-method which asks for exactly the *resources* and their distribution according to male and female specifics and which is, simultaneously, a tool for the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming (Pettersson, 2004b).

For completely fulfilling the first criterion, not only resources must be distributed equally, but also the access to socio-political and economic decision-making structures must be equally fair provided to women and men: As this is also part of the above presented principle aim of the Swedish Government, one recognises that this aspect is taken into account in the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Sweden. Above that, representation, for example in parliament which is a decision-making political institution, is mentioned in the 3R-method as the first *R* asks for *representation* (CoE, 2004). As the method is part of the Swedish Gender Mainstreaming strategy, the latter tries to provide equal access for men and women. Also the bill „shared power, shared responsibility“ from 1994 and the active labour market policies that aim at integrating women more strongly into the labour market, support this effort. Another aspect that can be considered is the obligatory gender training for new ministry staff which shall help to promote the idea of Gender Mainstreaming (EIGE, 2013a). Nonetheless, as above mentioned, in Sweden - as well as in Germany - a high gender gap with regard to the representation in leading positions persists. So, it is to observe that although the political will and commitment to achieve equal access to decision-making structures for both sexes exist, it is not fully realized in practice. In Germany, once again, the women are hindered to participate in the labour market through various measures (e.g. financial incentives) so that this gap is likely to persist. A change in the tax/benefit system would need strong political will – which at the same time is another reason for the failure of this criterion in Germany. As long as the labour market and employment policies do not offer equal career prospects for women, Gender Mainstreaming will not be able to achieve equal access to political and economic decision-making structures. Within the last years, the BMFSFJ has nonetheless recognised that equal access to leading positions, an equal participation share of women and men in the labour market and equal career opportunities are important aspects of the country's social and

gender-egalitarian development as they both support the economic and demographic development of the country, but also its social cohesion (BMFSFJ, 2014). It remains to be seen whether this theoretical insight can be transformed into political and administrative practice in Germany so that, then, Gender Mainstreaming can fulfil the criterion.

As a second criterion, Gender Mainstreaming needs to acknowledge the authoritatively structured institutionalised gender-specific attributions: In both countries, it is noticed that women and men are differently affected by political, social or economic decisions and that both sexes also have specific skills or knowledge. Germany and Sweden both, thus, recognize that through using Gender Mainstreaming, better, i.e. more efficient, use of those human resources can be made (inter alia Pettersson, 2004b; Botsch & Maier, 2009). The better these human resources are known and integrated, the more likely it is, for example, to achieve gender equality in an institution or a workplace. As both countries are trying to integrate a gender perspective into the daily work at all government offices and workplaces, gender-specific attributions are of significant importance as they can help to identify gender-based problems, challenges and their solutions. Nonetheless, it is necessary to mention that some of these attributions are created or (re)institutionalised by exactly this daily work as there still is gender segregation in the choice of subjects, career prospects, and distribution over sectors: In both countries, for example, the service sector is female-dominated whereas, the managing positions in big firms and companies are still male-dominated (OECD, 2012). Particularly in Sweden, Gender Mainstreaming is therefore used „to ensure that women and men enjoy the same power and opportunities to shape their own lives“ (Swedish Government, 2009). So, one can state that in the Nordic country Gender Mainstreaming fulfils the criterion as it considers the gender-specific attributions while it is used to change them at the same time. The strategy is supported by the underlying welfare model of the dual earner/dual carer which - at least on paper - provides the same opportunities to men and women from a welfare perspective. The persistent „male breadwinner“ model in Germany, on the contrary, may even reinforce the institutionalised gender-specific attributions as Gender Mainstreaming aims indeed at increasing gender equality, but does not address the underlying social ideas of „male“ and „female“ and the respective ascribed roles of men and women (Botsch & Maier, 2009). As those traditional roles are more prevalent in Germany, it is to conclude that Gender Mainstreaming fulfils the criterion at least partly due to its ambitions to achieve greater gender equality. Nonetheless, the welfare state model works counter-productive as it supports traditional gender-specific attributions.

Furthermore, as a third criterion, the heterogeneous identities and ways of life within a society must be recognised. Generally, the main idea behind Gender Mainstreaming is exactly the heterogeneity of a society as the strategy shall not make everybody equal, but provide equal chances to everyone by adopting a gender perspective. Therefore, one can note that both in general, and in Germany and Sweden in particular, Gender Mainstreaming recognises the various identities and ways of life within the respective societies. Concretely, this means that the strategy recognises that men and women are different and that, as said earlier, they are differently affected by policies and administrative measures. Above that, men and women lead different lives, for example when it comes to gainful employment or unpaid care work and household work. Gender Mainstreaming must therefore recognise that these two dimensions are still gender-segregated and that measures need to be taken to change the situation. In the two chosen countries, this aspect leads back to, inter alia, the respective parental leave and family benefits system: In Sweden it is legally mandatory for fathers to take at least 60 days of

parental leave. The law, together with financial incentives, shall encourage fathers to stay at home with their child and it shall, simultaneously, narrow the gender gap between paid and unpaid work (Government of Sweden, 2009). This will, in the long run, lead to a more gender equal society. Thus, the „father's months“ are part of the government's overall Gender Mainstreaming strategy. Accordingly, the strategy fulfils the criterion in the Scandinavian country. In Germany, Gender Mainstreaming similarly fulfils the criterion as particularly on the local level, the strategy takes into account the different female and male interests, for example when considering the holiday activities for adolescents in Hanover (DST, 2012). Other examples from German cities support the fulfilment of the criteria.²⁷ So, to conclude, the criteria of recognising a society's heterogeneity is fulfilled by both the Swedish and the German Gender Mainstreaming implementation.

A fourth criterion is that the distribution of material resources must ensure the participants' independence. This criterion assumes that each participant, i.e. each woman and man in a society, is treated as an independent individual. This individuality must be recognised by Gender Mainstreaming when the strategy is used to equally distribute material resources in order to achieve greater gender equality within the society or within a certain institution or workplace. One can also relate this aspect to the distribution of financial benefits and allowances within a national tax system. Although gender equality is a national goal in Sweden and Germany, it is not always supported by the economic system (as shown earlier): Particularly in the German tax system, women are not treated as independent individuals when it comes to benefits. They are rather seen and treated as household members who are (financially) dependent on their husband or partner (Botsch & Maier, 2009). Nevertheless, the way in which both countries understand and apply Gender Mainstreaming depicts that the strategy aims at treating each person as independent, especially with regard to choices, opportunities and abilities. One example is the Swedish education system: As the idea of Gender Mainstreaming is incorporated at all levels of this system, the teaching methods are aiming to „(...) allow each child to grow into a unique individual“ (The Swedish Institute, 2013). Here, the aspect of independence emerges from the implementation of the strategy. Taken this into account, one can assume that Gender Mainstreaming in Sweden more or less fulfils the criterion. Regarding Germany, the assessment of the criterion is slightly more difficult as the theoretical base of Gender Mainstreaming contains exactly that each person is to be treated independently. Still, the political practice in Germany is not wholly following the theoretical approach. Nonetheless, when looking at how Gender Mainstreaming is implemented in, for example, the ministries or other political workplaces, it is to assume that the strategy regards each participant as an independent individual who shall have the same equal opportunities as everyone else so that greater gender equality can be achieved. Taking this area of implementation as the primary area of concern, Gender Mainstreaming fulfils the criterion.

The fifth and last criterion that needs to be fulfilled is that the institutionalised patterns of cultural value must express equal respect for all participants and must ensure equal opportunities for achieving social esteem. This criterion is similar to the one above as it is about how the participants are treated, namely as independent individuals who all receive the same respect within a society regardless the underlying social values of this society. As it bears resemblance with the other criteria, also the assessment of the two countries' implementation is similar: In Germany, the underlying cultural value of the society is expressed in the 'male breadwinner' model which is rather traditional: women and men are ascribed different roles

and abilities. They are, accordingly, treated differently as gainful employment (which is ascribed to the man as the main breadwinner for the family) is ranked higher in social acceptance than unpaid household and care work (which is ascribed to the woman/wife). It is questionable in how far this different treatment is expressed through unequal or the same respect and whether it enables men and women to achieve the same social esteem. Gender Mainstreaming is used to combat the prevalent traditional thinking and to break with the persistent male-female hierarchy in society. So, one can say that the strategy tries providing equal respect to men and women, although it has to struggle with the traditional view of male and female roles in German society which is often influenced by the Church. In Sweden, the situation is slightly different, as the Swedish society is based on an egalitarian principle of universal equality among the citizens (Kantola, 2010). Here, it is more likely that men and women are treated with the same respect and that they are given the same opportunities to achieve social esteem. Once again, Gender Mainstreaming serves as a helpful tool to increase gender equality in the country as it points out that, although men and women are different, they all shall have equal rights, duties and opportunities. Concluding, in both countries the criterion is basically fulfilled as Gender Mainstreaming is increasingly used to provide equal opportunities in, inter alia, the respective society and as gender equality is put high on the political agenda in Sweden and Germany (Government of Sweden, 2009; BMFSFJ, 2014).

With that said, one can conclude that in neither of the two countries, Gender Mainstreaming as the main political strategy to achieve gender equality fulfils all criteria completely. Still, the main aspects are covered and it became obvious during the analysis that Gender Mainstreaming in Sweden and Germany takes all the important things, such as equal respect or equal roles in society, into account. As both countries use and implement the strategy regularly and in a broad scope, it is likely that its role may increase in the future so that, then, the failed aspects of the criteria can be fulfilled. It remains arguable whether Gender Mainstreaming can anyhow be regarded as a strategy helpful to achieve gender equality and it needs to be clarified how it stands in relation to Nancy Fraser's concept of gender justice and gender parity. Also it needs to be assessed how deep its connection to a country's underlying welfare system is. These questions shall be answered in the following section.

4.2 Discussion of findings

As the analysis has shown, Gender Mainstreaming is a widely used strategy to achieve gender equality. In the two countries of interest, the practical implementation varies significantly with regard to absolute numbers such as projects or participants, to its national spreading, its legal establishment, and its political and technical support. Sweden uses the strategy in a broader scope on both the state and the local level. It also works with Gender Mainstreaming longer than Germany does. Taking the *first hypothesis* (3.2.1) into account, the question whether Sweden can be regarded as a forerunner in achieving gender equality raises. It is also to discuss whether the Swedish social welfare system is a reason for the country's advance compared to Germany: Sweden's welfare system is extensive with high provisions of benefits, a well-developed leave facility, and good-quality and sufficient child care facilities (EC, 2008). The welfare policies are based on an egalitarian belief and social rights are regarded as universal (Kantola, 2010). One speciality about the Swedish welfare state is that its arrangements increasingly incorporate policy measures aiming at including male partners to take greater part in the care of children (Shaver, 2013). By integrating men into the gender equality process the country shows that gender equality requires the support of both men and

women as it does concern both sexes and not only women. Having this in mind, the *first hypothesis* can be verified as other EU countries with lower GEIs can learn from the Swedish approach to achieve gender equality with the integration of women and men. The welfare system plays a role for this learning aspect as it is based on an egalitarian view of the society where everyone shall have the same power and resources (Government of Sweden, 2009).

Subsequently, the *second hypothesis* (3.2.2) follows: It asks whether, in general, the corporatist-conservative type of welfare states, as for instance Germany, and the universal-social democratic type such as Sweden influence a country's national gender policies. Here, reference to the two types of policy models must be made: Whereas the Swedish 'dual earner/dual carer' model is reflected in the universal, generous tax and benefit system that focuses on the individual, the German 'male breadwinner' model supports the household and not the individual as the main benefit receiver (OECD, 2012, Botsch & Maier, 2009). Therefore, the welfare treatment of men and women is different. Those two types of welfare models also influence the countries' labour markets and the respective employment policies: Through its extensive welfare system as described above, Sweden actively works towards full employment and an equal representation of women and men in the labour market. The German tax/benefit system, on the contrary, hinders full employment as it provides financial incentives to mothers/spouses to stay at home instead of (re)entering the labour market (Botsch & Maier, 2009). This reinforces the gender segregation in the latter. Thus, also the *second hypothesis* can be verified as the countries' underlying welfare models influence the respective gender policies as different starting positions for gender equality measures and actions are created.

While there appears to be a causal coherence between the welfare state types and the respective national gender policies, it remains to discuss whether the practical implementation of Gender Mainstreaming is also influenced by the different welfare state policies and whether the strategy is a good measure to achieve gender equality in the long run - both on the national and the European level. Above that, one can also argue whether the criteria based on Nancy Fraser are appropriate to analyse the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming. Starting with the latter argument, according to Hofbauer & Ludwig (2005), Gender Mainstreaming only has limited potential as a strategy that fosters justice while being socio-critical at the same time based on Fraser's conception of justice and equality. The authors argue that the strategy is mainly about participation, access to resources and integration of women into existing social and political structures, but that it is not about changing those, often patriarchal, structures or the connected patterns of cultural value (p. 40). Within the context of gender equality in the European Union, they further argue that the dimension of redistribution (as set out in Fraser's status model) is marginally considered whereas the dimension of recognition has a central role in EU equality policies (Hofbauer & Ludwig, 2005): For them, Gender Mainstreaming is not aiming at redistributing income or wealth, reorganising a country's labour market structure or democratise procedures, but mainly at disseminating knowledge and fostering competences particularly for women so that those can better establish themselves within the existing structures (p. 36f.).

This rather critical view that is closely based on Fraser's ideas contrasts the picture that has been drawn in the analysis of the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Sweden in Germany as in both countries it is regarded as the main, and therefore, important strategy to achieve gender equality. As the country examples have shown, if political will and technical resources are provided, Gender Mainstreaming can contribute significantly to make a society

more gender equal and fair. Still, these conditions must be fulfilled: If a government is not willing to integrate a gender perspective into its policies while simultaneously changing the underlying structures, a strategy such as Gender Mainstreaming will not bring the desired results. If there is the theoretical plan to implement the strategy, financial and human resources must be provided, otherwise it remains at „a lot of paper and too little action“ as approaches towards Gender Mainstreaming do „not always move beyond rhetoric“ (Verloo, 2002). For the actors who are responsible for the practical implementation it is always a challenge to transform the written promises into concrete action (Frey, 2004). To finish with this aspect, one can verify the first part of the *third hypothesis* (3.2.3): Gender Mainstreaming is important as it is widely used and acknowledged as an appropriate strategy to achieve gender equality and if it is implemented sufficiently, based on political will and technical resources and if it aims at changing existing societal structures instead of just integrating a new (gender) perspective into them, it can constitute an effective gender equality measure that can help transforming societies.

One other aspect that has been stressed by many authors and that is also reflected in the German and the Swedish way of using the strategy is that Gender Mainstreaming does not exclude other equality strategies, but that it rather complements them (Döge & Stiegler, 2004): Each country that wants to achieve gender equality will also need anti-discrimination strategies (as for example laid out in the EU anti-discrimination directives that have been adopted by Germany in 2004 (*General Act on Equal Treatment*)) as well as specific measures targeting women (ibid; EIGE, 2013). A distinction that shows that, for example, the latter and Gender Mainstreaming can co-exist has been made by Verloo (2001): According to her, specific equality policies, on the one hand, are necessary because there are unequal starting positions for men and women and because women are disadvantaged and treated as one homogeneous group. These policies mainly address gender equality agencies (p.4). Gender Mainstreaming, on the other hand, mainly addresses governments and other political actors who are involved in decision-making as it recognises an existing gender bias in politics and social institutions that results in gender inequality (ibid.). Still, the political actors need to make sure that the coexistence of the various strategies is understood by the society so that Gender Mainstreaming is not reduced to women's policies and that it is not feared that the strategy would exchange earlier policies that targeted women (Frey, 2004; Kantola, 2010). Hence, the second aspect of the *third hypothesis* can be verified.

The last aspect of the *third hypothesis* that needs to be considered is the connection between Gender Mainstreaming and the welfare state. As it was shown in the analysis, the scope and quality of the implementation is based on a country's underlying social welfare model that reflects the thinking of the respective society. So, basically, it can be verified that Gender Mainstreaming can flexibly be adapted to the different EU welfare state regimes as it always depends on the country's social welfare system, the according legal establishment and, above that, on the will and commitment of the policy makers. Nevertheless, as the main idea behind the strategy remains the same regardless the welfare system of a country, the national adoption will always be similar. Only the scope or depth of the strategy's incorporation into national law and daily politics can vary. Apparently, as research shows, Gender Mainstreaming seems to function best in countries with a social, highly beneficial welfare system that is based on the belief of an egalitarian society. Still, if resources and political will exist, the implementation in other types of welfare states can also be fruitful as some of the local German examples show.

5. Conclusion

„Mainstreaming is a fundamental strategy - it may take some time before it is implemented, but it has potential for a sustainable change“ – This statement by the Council of Europe (2004, p. 12) neatly sums up the findings of the present thesis: For more than 20 years now, the strategy Gender Mainstreaming is known and used in Sweden. Although in Germany, the acknowledgement of the strategy happened a few years later than in the Scandinavian country, still much time has passed since its first mentioning and much has been changed and improved to the present day – in both countries. Sweden and Germany use and implement the strategy on a broad and regular basis in order to achieve the goal of greater gender equality in society. Nonetheless, the practical implementation differs with regard to the actors involved, the legal establishment, and the importance of the strategy in daily political work such as in the ministries and government offices. One aim of this thesis was to present those differences, but also the similarities of the two countries' approaches to gender equality. The scientific interest, thus, was to find out whether coherence between the national implementation of Gender Mainstreaming and the country's underlying welfare state type (according to Esping-Andersen) exists. After having analysed the Swedish and German implementation, it is to conclude that there is coherence as the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming is somehow influenced by the country's underlying welfare model. The implementation depends on a country's social policy as sufficient financial (and human) resources are needed. It further depends on the country's political will for change of the existing societal structures and the connected social ideas about men and women. In the concrete case study it was to examine that Sweden, a country with an extensive social welfare system and a society based on an egalitarian belief of universal rights and equality, implements Gender Mainstreaming consistently and committedly over more than 20 years and that it has incorporated the strategy into all policy fields and political areas of concern. By now, Gender Mainstreaming is widely known and used at both the state and ministry, and the regional level. In Germany, the strategy is also widespread in communities and municipalities all over the country as all the 16 federal states have made efforts to incorporate Gender Mainstreaming into their policies. Also at the federal level, the strategy is implemented.

Nonetheless, compared to the Scandinavian country Germany lags behind with regard to, inter alia, the absolute number of projects and participants, the legal establishment (on both the federal and the state level) and the regular use in government offices and political decision-making institutions. This can be explained with the distinct welfare models that are the base of the German and Swedish social welfare systems: The Swedish 'dual earner/dual carer' model supports the country's active labour market policies and is based on the belief of a society where social rights are universal and in which each person is equal („Nordic egalitarian model“; Kantola, 2010). The German 'male breadwinner' model, on the contrary, supports the traditional societal thinking of men as the paid breadwinners for their families and of women as the ones responsible for the unpaid care and household work. This thinking is reflected in the country's social expenditure and, thus, in the welfare arrangements: The child allowance provides financial benefits to mothers to stay at home in order to care for the child and the tax system privileges single earner marriages over dual earner couples. A lack of quality child care also consolidates the backlog in Germany's gender equality policies compared to Sweden.

This raises the question whether Germany - or other EU Member States - can learn from Sweden with regard to socio-political or welfare state-political programmes and actions. Could

the Swedish 'model' also be applied to other European countries in order to improve the respective gender-specific situation, for example on the labour market? As the space of this thesis is limited, the answer to those questions shall be transferred to future (feminist) welfare state research as a good starting point to draw on is provided. Nonetheless, one can observe that it can be helpful to for a country to get inspiration from another state particular when it comes to reforming policies: It can be, therefore, learned from the country, that it is important to support rather than to block institutional change (Jochem, 2012). Apparently, in the Nordic countries the individual qualifications of each citizen are highly valued and treated accordingly. Hence, it would already be much learned from the North when this realisation was not only incorporated in speeches by German politicians, but also in political practice (ibid., p.231). Jochem (2012) also states, while comparing Germany to the Scandinavian countries, that if the German-speaking countries can learn from Scandinavia, and if they also want it politically, then it would be first and foremost the striving towards social equality and economic dynamics and the will not to leave any citizen alone in this dynamics (p.16).

To conclude, it is necessary to say that the topic is very broad and much more research and analysis could have been conducted. Due to the limited space of the thesis, it was tried to narrow the questions down and to only look at the possible coherence between Gender Mainstreaming and the German and Swedish welfare states. It is a topic that bears both strong social and scientific relevance. It will be interesting to see how the two countries will continue with their gender equality policies and whether there will be significant policy changes towards a stronger incorporation of Gender Mainstreaming in the near future. In the case of Germany it is of particular interest whether the relatively new child allowance or the newly introduced minimum wage will influence the gender bias in society such as the gender pay gap or the amount of fathers who take up parental leave. Besides the limited space, another limitation of the present research was the language: Although most of the information about Gender Mainstreaming is available in English, maybe some of the Swedish-written literature could have provided more information, particularly about the practical implementation of the strategy in the country. Nonetheless, as there is a huge amount of English-written literature about Gender Mainstreaming and about welfare states available, it was a challenge to sort out the most necessary and useful articles and books. Compared to the literature found, in this thesis only a small amount has been used and cited.

Gender Mainstreaming will be a topic of strong concern and relevance within the next years as gender equality is not completely achieved in any EU country. Strategic measures and tools are necessary to reach this goal. As it was pointed out, Gender Mainstreaming as a political strategy can be of huge help if implemented with sufficient political will and financial resources. Also, if it shall be of maximum use for a country to achieve gender equality, Gender Mainstreaming must address the society's underlying structures and change them as well as combating traditional thinking and institutionalised patterns of cultural value. As said earlier, it is not a strategy to put in action once, but it is a long time-consuming process until it is fully incorporated into national politics and into the social thinking and until it can reveal its full potential as an effective strategy to be used to eliminate gender inequality. Still, after 20 years it is „(...) a strategy in full development and many options and paths might still have to be discovered“ (CoE, 2004, p.7).

Notes

¹ Table 1 (in annex) provides an overview on how welfare states are clustered according to Esping-Andersen.

² As Esping-Andersen does not provide a definition of his own, one can refer to the basic definition of „working-class“ as stated in the Oxford dictionary: *„The social group consisting of people who are employed for wages, especially in manual or industrial work“* (OD, 2015).

³ Next to the model of Esping-Andersen, other authors also developed various concepts to compare and analyse welfare state variations. An overview of the most important models can be found in annex 7.2.

⁴ Because of the thesis's limited space, no definition of 'gender' will be provided in the continuous text. Nonetheless, for a better overall understanding, I will refer to the definition given by Sheila Shaver (2013): *„At its most basic level, gender refers to men's and women's ways of seeing themselves and the world, roles and life course patterns, resources and capacities. Although not reducible to biology, gender is closely intertwined with male and female bodies and bodily capacities such as sexuality, fertility and reproduction. As a social construction, gender has its foundations in time, place, and culture, so that societies vary in expectations about social identities of masculinity and femininity and the social behaviours of men and women. (...) Gender inheres not only in the social identities of individuals but also is the social fabric that connects them as a member of society. The relations are patterned in both personal lives and collective social arrangements. (...) Gender thus forms a primary dimension of social structure shaping relations between women and men, and, just as importantly, relations among women and among men. (...) Gender is a central feature of paid work (...) it also shapes citizenship, democratic government, and the identities and expectations of the citizens themselves“* (94f.).

⁵ For Rees (2005), Gender Mainstreaming is the third of three broad approaches to gender equality that have evolved within the last decades. She calls those approaches „tinkering“ (equal treatment), „tailoring“ (positive action) and „transforming“ with the latter aiming at integrating gender equality into mainstream systems and structures (p.557). In the framework of the latest approach, Gender Mainstreaming turns the focus away from individuals and their individual rights and towards the „institutionalised sexism“ and the underlying systems and causes gender, and other, inequalities (p.559).

⁶ The main ideas of this definition such as equal rights or access to resources can also be found, although not literally, in the Beijing Declaration from 1995 (UN, 1996, p.7f.).

⁷ Both Daly (2000) and Sainsbury (1996) provide a good overview of the existing literature on feminist welfare state research in their books. Due to the limited space of this thesis, no detailed description of those concepts and ideas can be provided here.

⁸ Compared to Honneth and his „model of self-fulfillment“, Fraser's model allows to morally justify the claims for recognition under the modern conditions of value pluralism and it locates evil in social interactions rather than in individual psychological dynamics (Fraser, 2003, p. 46f.).

⁹ For Bergmann, gender policies need to follow strategies that allow gainful work for both men and women. Only when there are no gender-specific arrangements which put men and women into unequal positions and situations, parity could be achieved (Bütow, 2010, p.58).

¹⁰ In her work on the importance of care work and its allocation within a household, Fraser also established an alternative welfare state concept with the „universal care worker“ which shall help to combine the welfare state, its social policy, its paid and unpaid (care) work (Fraser 1997; Bütow, 2010).

¹¹ Anti-androcentrism basically means that the „male way of doing and acting“ should not (longer) be the norm which women should aspire to.

¹² The GEI compares the 27 EU Member States (as of 2010) in six core dimensions of gender equality: *work, money, knowledge, time, poverty* and *health*. Each category is measured on a scale ranging from 1 (= inequality) to 100 (= equality). Also a total score that combines the single values is created in order to make the points comparable. Annex 7.3 provides an

overview of the values appointed to Sweden in the various categories and compared to the other EU Member States.

¹³ According to Kantola (2010), „Sweden has arguably been one of the few countries in the EU to have adopted a Gender Mainstreaming approach that combats the structural roots of gender inequality in society“ (p.135).

¹⁴ Annex 7.4 provides an overview of Germany's score in the various categories measured in the index.

¹⁵ One has to keep in mind that this statement is 14 years old and that much has happened since then – both in theoretical literature and in the political practice.

¹⁶ The research questions will be supported and guided by the following sub-questions. *What is the Swedish „best practice“? To which policy fields does the term actually apply? What makes the Swedish policies so „successful“? Where do the German and Swedish national gender policies differ? How and what can Germany (maybe) learn from the Swedish gender policies? How powerful are the different types of welfare states with regard to the implementation of national gender politics? Which role does the European Union play as the supranational promoter of Gender Mainstreaming in its Member States? Do the European gender policies and binding legislation take into account the different types of welfare states and, accordingly, the different social policies and the different attitudes towards gender equality? Do they consider the various historical cultural and societal backgrounds of the Member States and the connected ideas of social gender order and hierarchies?*

¹⁷ There is no official English translation of the bill available.

¹⁸ The article states: „The state shall promote the actual implementation of equal rights for women and men and take steps to eliminate disadvantages that now exist.“ (EIGE, 2013)

¹⁹ Directly translated, the term means „equality integration“. In Sweden, it is used synonymously with the term „Gender Mainstreaming“.

²⁰ For example, in a programme for sustainable gender equality, 46 municipalities (out of 290), 13 regional governments (out of 20), nine regional associations, three private companies took part. An online platform and a forum to share experiences were created for the participants (EIGE, 2013a).

²¹ The only initiative was a project commissioned by the BMFSFJ in partnership with the Federal Academy for Public Administration.

²² The three *R* stand for representation, resources and realia. While the first two are quantitative, the third *R* is qualitative asks why a specific situation is the way it is (Pettersson, 2004b; CoE, 2004). For Rees (2005), the first *R* is based on the principle of democracy with the collection, analysis, publication and dissemination of gender-disaggregated statistics. By contrast, the other two *Rs* are based on the principle of justice, fairness and equity as Gender Mainstreaming raises questions about the traditional resource allocation (Rees, 2005, p.569). In Sweden, the use of the 3R-method is often linked with the use of a checklist consisting of questions that ask about the „how“ and „why“ (Pettersson, 2004b). A detailed description of the method can be found at: *Council of Europe, 2004, p.37f.*

²³ Since a council order from 2003, all printed matters must be gendered in the local administration: On every matter it must be noted whether gender-disaggregated data has been gathered and evaluated and in how far women are differently affected by the proposed measure than men with regard to *representation*, *resources* and *realia* (=participation) (DST, 2012).

²⁴ Since the 1st January 2015, an all-encompassing minimum wage is legally guaranteed to all employees (with only very few exceptions). The minimum wage can be regarded as one step towards the principle of equal pay.

²⁵ Since the 1970s publicly financed child care has been steadily expanded. This was supported by legislation: In 1995 local authorities became duty bound to provide child care without undue delay to all children aged 1-12 years with working or studying parents and children in need of special support. Since 200 not only these children, but also those with parents on parental leave and unemployed parents have a right to a place in publicly financed child care.

At the same time, all 4- and 5- year olds became entitled, free of charge, to 525 hours of preschool yearly. Since 2010, this is also the case with all 3-year olds (Nyberg, 2012, p.71f.).

²⁶ It is given when parental allowance is used. It applies to parental allowance days at the sickness benefit level, excluding the days that are reserved for each parent. The maximum bonus can be given if these days are shared equally (Statistics Sweden, 2014, p.46).

²⁷ The Association of German Cities provides various examples of the practical implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in its member cities: In the city of Berlin land-use plans are analysed by looking at how men and women use this land, how it can help for parents to reconcile work and family and how it can be made safe and family-friendly. A similar implementation can be found in the city of Wiesbaden where, through a survey, both men and women were asked about their wishes and opinions regarding the renovated station forecourt. On purpose, the sex of the anonymous participants was asked in order to better see and understand whether the needs and interests differ between the sexes and what is particularly important for women and men respectively (DST, 2012).

6. References

- Becker, Ruth & Kortendiek, Beate (eds.) (2010):** *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung. Theorie, Methoden, Empirie*. 3., erweiterte und durchgesehene Auflage. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. Cited as: *Becker & Kortendiek (2010): Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung*.
- Beckmann, Sabine (2005):** *Die Bedeutung von Geschlechterbeziehungen und Care für die feministische Wohlfahrtsstaatsforschung*. In: *femina politica. Zeitschrift für feministische Politik-Wissenschaft*. 14. Jg. Heft 2/2005: *Modernisierung des Wohlfahrtsstaates – Modernisierung sozialer Ungleichheit?* P.42-51.
- Behning, Ute (2004):** *Implementation von Gender Mainstreaming auf europäischer Ebene: Geschlechtergleichstellung ohne Zielvorstellung?* In: Meuser & Neusüß (2004): *Gender Mainstreaming*, pp. 122-134.
- Behning, Ute (2005):** *Europäisierung wohlfahrtsstaatlicher Geschlechterarrangements und Gender Mainstreaming. Forschungs- und Evaluierungsperspektiven*. In: Behning & Sauer (2005): *Was bewirkt Gender Mainstreaming?*
- Behning, Ute & Sauer, Birgit (eds.) (2005):** *Was bewirkt Gender Mainstreaming? Evaluierung durch Policy-Analysen*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag. Cited as: *Behning & Sauer (2005): Was bewirkt Gender Mainstreaming?*
- Botsch, Elisabeth & Maier, Friederike (2009):** *Gender Mainstreaming in Employment Policies in Germany*. Berlin: Discussion Paper 08, 12/2009.
- Buckel, Sabine & Dackweiler, Regina-Maria & Noppe, Ronald (eds.) (2003):** *Formen und Felder politischer Intervention. Zur Relevanz von Staat und Steuerung*. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot. Cited as: *Buckel et al. (2003): Formen und Felder politischer Intervention*.
- Bütow, Birgit (2010):** *Das Bedingungslose Grundeinkommen*. In: Dackweiler & Schäfer (eds.) (2010): *Wohlfahrtsstaatlichkeit und Geschlechterverhältnisse aus feministischer Perspektive*. P.48-66.
- Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (BMFSFJ) (2014):** *Strategie „Gender Mainstreaming“*. Retrieved from: <http://www.bmfsfj.de/BMFSFJ/gleichstellung,did=192702.html> (September 11, 2014)
- Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (BMFSFJ) (2014a):** *Gleichstellungspolitik – Politik für Frauen und Männer*. Retrieved from: <http://www.bmfsfj.de/BMFSFJ/Gleichstellung/politik-fuer-frauen-und-maenner.html> (January 02, 2015)
- Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (BMFSFJ) (2014b):** *Nationale Gleichstellungspolitik*. Retrieved from: <http://www.bmfsfj.de/BMFSFJ/gleichstellung,did=88068.html> (January 20, 2015)

- Clegg, Daniel (2013):** *Central European welfare states*. In: Greve, Bent (ed.) (2013): *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State*. P. 161-170.
- Council of Europe (2004):** *Gender mainstreaming. Conceptual framework, methodology and presentation of good practices. Final report of activities of the Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming (EG-S-MS)*. Brussels.
- Dackweiler, Regina-Maria (2003a):** *Zur Analyse wohlfahrtsstaatlicher Geschlechterregime*. In: Buckel et al.: *Formen und Felder politischer Intervention*. P.88-105.
- Dackweiler, Regina-Maria (2005):** *Gender Mainstreaming im Kontext nationaler Geschlechter regime. Welche Chancen, welche Hindernisse?* In: Behning & Sauer (2005): *Was bewirkt Gender Mainstreaming?* P.117-129.
- Dackweiler, Regina-Maria (2010):** *Wohlfahrtsstaat: Institutionelle Regulierung und Transformation der Geschlechterverhältnisse*. In: Becker & Kortendiek (2010): *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung*. P.520-531.
- Dackweiler, Regina-Maria (2010a):** *Wandel bewirken: Die neue Frauenbewegung als Akteurin im Transformationsprozess wohlfahrtsstaatlicher Geschlechterregime*. In: Dackweiler & Schäfer (eds.) (2010): *Wohlfahrtsstaatlichkeit und Geschlechterverhältnisse aus feministischer Perspektive*. P.20-47.
- Dackweiler, Regina-Maria & Schäfer, Reinhild (eds.) (2010):** *Wohlfahrtsstaatlichkeit und Geschlechterverhältnisse aus feministischer Perspektive*. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.
- Daly, Mary (2000):** *The gender division of welfare. The impact of the British and German welfare states*. Cambridge University Press.
- Daly, Mary & Rake, Katherine (2003):** *Gender and the welfare state. Care, work and welfare in Europe and the USA*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Deutscher Städtetag (DST) (2012):** *Gender Mainstreaming: Best-Practice-Beispiele aus den Kommunen*. Arbeitshilfe. Berlin & Cologne.
- Döge, Peter & Stiegler, Barbara (2004):** *Gender Mainstreaming in Deutschland*. In: Meuser & Neusüß (2004): *Gender Mainstreaming*. pp. 135-157.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1990):** *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- European Commission (EC) (2008):** *Gender mainstreaming of employment policies. A comparative review of thirty European countries*. Brussels: Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities. Unit G1.
- European Council (1997):** *Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty on European Union, the Treaties establishing the European Communities and certain related acts*. 97/C 340/01.
- European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) (2013):** *Gender Inequality Index. Country Profiles*. Retrieved from (January 23, 2015):
<http://eige.europa.eu/content/document/gender-equality-index-report>
- European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) (2013a):** *Study on gender training in the European Union: mapping, research and stakeholders' engagement (2012–13)*.
- Sweden: www.eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/MH3012956ENN.pdf
 - Germany: www.eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/MH3012940ENN.pdf
- European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) (2014):** *The Gender Equality Index*. Retrieved from: <http://eige.europa.eu/content/gender-equality-index#/> (December 31, 2014)
- Germany: <http://eige.europa.eu/content/gender-equality-index#/?country=DE>
 - Sweden: <http://eige.europa.eu/content/gender-equality-index#/?country=SE>
- European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) (2015):** *Sweden – Gender Mainstreaming*. Retrieved from (January 20, 2015): <http://eige.europa.eu/content/govt-bill-199394147-j%C3%A4mst%C3%A4lldhetspolitiken-delad-makt-%E2%80%93-delat-ansvar-0>
- Förster, Christian & Schmid, Josef & Trick, Nicolas (eds.) (2014):** *Die nordischen Länder. Politik in Dänemark, Finnland, Norwegen und Schweden*. Wiesbaden: Springer Verlag. Cited as follows: Förster et al. 2014.

- Fraser, Nancy (1997):** *Justice interruptus. Critical reflections on the „postsocialist“ condition.* London: Routledge.
- Fraser, Nancy (2003):** *Soziale Gerechtigkeit im Zeitalter der Identitätspolitik. Umverteilung, Anerkennung und Beteiligung.* In: Fraser & Honneth (2003): *Umverteilung oder Anerkennung?* P.13-128.
- Fraser, Nancy & Honneth, Axel (2003):** *Umverteilung oder Anerkennung? Eine politisch-philosophische Kontroverse.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag. Cited as: Fraser & Honneth (2003): *Umverteilung oder Anerkennung?*
- Fraser, Nancy (2004):** *Feminist politics in the age of recognition: A two-dimensional approach to gender justice.* In: *Studies in Social Justice.* Volume 1, No.1, 2007, p.23-35. Also in: Beerhorst, Joachim & Demirovic, Alex & Guggemos, Michael (eds.) (2004): *Kritische Theorie im gesellschaftlichen Strukturwandel.* P.453-474 (German version).
- Frey, Regina (2004):** *Entwicklungslinien: Zur Entstehung von Gender Mainstreaming in internationalen Zusammenhängen.* In: Meuser & Neusüß (2004): *Gender Mainstreaming,* pp. 24-39.
- Government of Sweden (2009):** *Fact sheet on gender equality policy.* Stockholm.
- Government of Sweden (2014):** *Gender Mainstreaming.* Retrieved from: <http://www.government.se/sb/d/4096/a/125215> (September 11, 2014)
- Government of Sweden (2015):** *Government and Ministries: Ministry of Health and Social Affairs: Åsa Regnér.* Retrieved from: <http://www.government.se/sb/d/19198> (January 21, 2015)
- Greve, Bent (2013):** *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State.* London: Routledge.
- Greve, Bent (2013a):** *What is welfare and public welfare?* In: Greve, Bent (ed.) (2013): *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State.* P. 3-10.
- Hill, Michael (2013):** *What is a welfare state?* In: Greve, Bent (ed.) (2013): *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State.* P. 11-19.
- Jalmert, Lars (2004):** *Männer und Geschlechterpolitik in Schweden.* In: Meuser & Neusüß (2004): *Gender Mainstreaming,* pp. 206-219.
- Jochem, Sven (2012):** *Die politischen Systeme Skandinaviens.* Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Kangas, Olli & Kvist, Jon (2013):** *Nordic welfare states.* In: Greve, Bent (ed.) (2013): *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State.* P. 148-160.
- Kantola, Johanna (2010):** *Gender and the European Union.* The European Union Series. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kaufmann, Franz-Xaver (2013):** *Variations of the Welfare State. Great Britain, Sweden, France and Germany between Capitalism and Socialism.* Edited by Lutz Leisering. *German Social Policy series.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Kulawik, Teresa (2005):** *Jenseits von Determinismus und Funktionalismus. Policy-Ansätze und vergleichende Geschlechterforschung.* In: Behning & Sauer (2005): *Was bewirkt Gender Mainstreaming?* P.103-116.
- Lang, Klaus & Mönig-Raane, Margret & Pettersson, Gisela & Sommer, Michael (eds.) (2004):** *Die kleine große Revolution. Gender Mainstreaming – Erfahrungen, Beispiele, Strategien aus Schweden und Deutschland.* Hamburg: VSA-Verlag. Cited as: Lang et al. (2004): *Revolution.*
- Ludwig, Gundula & Hofbauer, Ines (2005):** *Gender Mainstreaming – Geschlechtergerechtigkeit limited?* In: *femina politica.* 2/2005. *Modernisierung des Wohlfahrtsstaats – Modernisierung sozialer Ungleichheit?* P.32-42.
- Meuser Michael & Neusüß, Claudia (eds.) (2004):** *Gender Mainstreaming. Konzepte – Handlungsfelder – Instrumente.* Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. Cited as follows: Meuser & Neusüß (2004): *Gender Mainstreaming.*
- Nyberg, Anita (2012):** *Gender Equality Policy in Sweden: 1970s-2010s.* In: *Nordic journal of working life studies,* Vol. 2, No. 4. P. 67-84.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2012):** *Closing the Gender Gap. Act now.* Paris.

- Germany: www.oecd.org/gender/ClosingTheGenderGap-Germany.pdf
 - Sweden: www.oecd.org/gender/Closing%20the%20Gender%20Gap%20-%20Sweden%20FINAL.pdf (January 26, 2015)
- Oxford Dictionary (OD) (2015):** Definition: working class. Retrieved from (January 22, 2015): <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/working-class>
- Pettersson, Gisela (2004a):** *Drehbuch für Wachstum und nachhaltige Entwicklung*. In: Lang et al. (2004): *Revolution*. P. 25-43.
- Pettersson, Gisela (2004b):** *Fester Boden – weite Sprünge*. In: Lang et al. (2004): *Revolution*. P. 44-52.
- Rees, Teresa (2005):** *Reflections on the uneven development of gender mainstreaming in Europe*. In: *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7:4, p.555-574.
- Sainsbury, Diane (1996):** *Gender, equality and welfare states*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schildt, Axel (2002):** *Innere Entwicklung der Bundesrepublik bis 1989*. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. Retrieved from (January 20, 2015): <http://www.bpb.de/izpb/9744/innere-entwicklung-der-bundesrepublik-bis-1989?p=all>
- Shaver, Sheila (2013):** *Gender issues in welfare states*. In: Greve, Bent (ed.) (2013): *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State*. P. 94-104.
- Statistics Sweden (2014):** *Women and Men in Sweden. Facts and Figures 2014*. Stockholm.
- Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis) (2015):** *Qualität der Arbeit. Dimension 1: Arbeitssicherheit und Gleichstellung: Teilhabe von Frauen am Erwerbsleben*. Retrieved from: https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/Indikatoren/QualitaetArbeit/QualitaetDerArbeit.html?cms_gtp=318944_slot%253D1&https=1 (January 26, 2015)
- Theobald, Hildegard (1999):** *Geschlecht, Qualifikation und Wohlfahrtsstaat. Deutschland und Schweden im Vergleich*. Berlin: WZB.
- The Swedish Institute (2013):** *Gender Equality: The Swedish approach to fairness*. Stockholm.
- United Nations (1996):** *The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4-15 September 1995*. New York: Department of Public Information, United Nations.
- UN Women (2014):** *The Beijing Platform for Action: inspiration then and now*. Retrieved from: <http://beijing20.unwomen.org/en/about> (October 12, 2014)
- UN Women (2014a):** *Concepts and definitions: equality between women and men*. Retrieved from: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/conceptsanddefinitions.htm> (December 28, 2014)
- Van Kersbergen, Kees (2013):** *What are welfare state typologies and how useful are they, if at all?* In: Greve, Bent (ed.) (2013): *The Routledge Handbook of the Welfare State*.
- Verloo, Mieke (2001):** *Another Velvet Revolution? Gender mainstreaming and the politics of implementation*. IWM Working Paper 5:2001. Vienna.
- Verloo, Mieke (2002):** *The Development of Gender mainstreaming as a Political Concept for Europe*. Conference Gender Learning Leipzig 6-8 September 2002.

7. Annexes

7.1 Clustering of welfare states according to Esping-Andersen

TABLE 3.3 The clustering of welfare states according to conservative, liberal and socialist regime attributes (cumulated index scores in parentheses)

| | <i>Conservatism</i> | | <i>Degree of Liberalism</i> | | <i>Socialism</i> | |
|--------|---------------------|-----|-----------------------------|------|------------------|-----|
| Strong | Austria | (8) | Australia | (10) | Denmark | (8) |
| | Belgium | (8) | Canada | (12) | Finland | (6) |
| | France | (8) | Japan | (10) | Netherlands | (6) |
| | Germany | (8) | Switzerland | (12) | Norway | (8) |
| | Italy | (8) | United States | (12) | Sweden | (8) |
| Medium | Finland | (6) | Denmark | (6) | Australia | (4) |
| | Ireland | (4) | France | (8) | Belgium | (4) |
| | Japan | (4) | Germany | (6) | Canada | (4) |
| | Netherlands | (4) | Italy | (6) | Germany | (4) |
| | Norway | (4) | Netherlands | (8) | New Zealand | (4) |
| | | | United Kingdom | (6) | Switzerland | (4) |
| Low | | | | | United Kingdom | (4) |
| | Australia | (0) | Austria | (4) | Austria | (2) |
| | Canada | (2) | Belgium | (4) | France | (2) |
| | Denmark | (2) | Finland | (4) | Ireland | (2) |
| | New Zealand | (2) | Ireland | (2) | Italy | (0) |
| | Sweden | (0) | New Zealand | (2) | Japan | (2) |
| | Switzerland | (0) | Norway | (0) | United States | (0) |
| | United Kingdom | (0) | Sweden | (0) | | |
| | United States | (0) | | | | |
| | | | | | | |

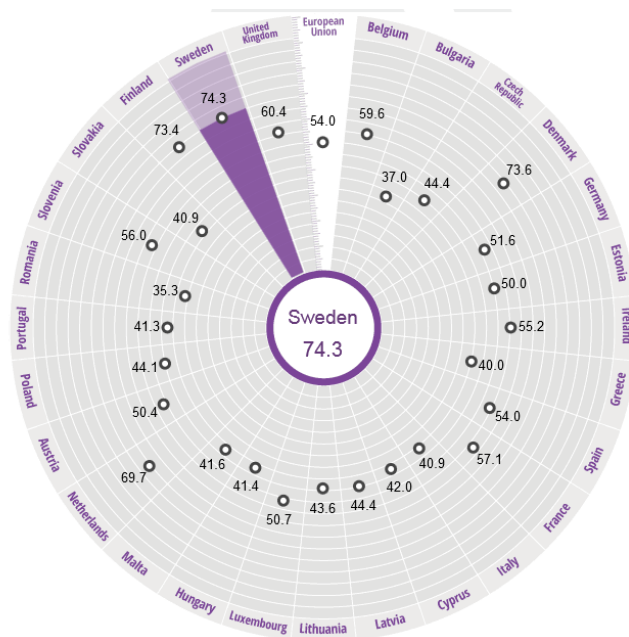
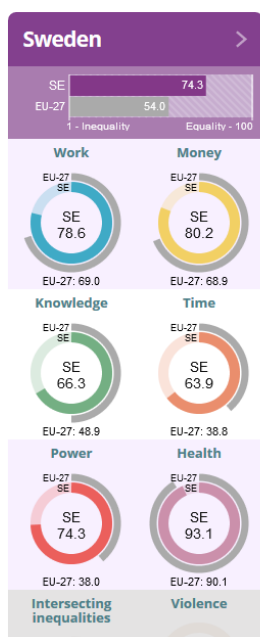
The table is taken from Esping-Andersen (1990), p. 74.

7.2 Overview of works on welfare state variations from a comparative perspective

| Table 2.1 Conceptual and empirical focuses of some recent work on welfare state variation | | |
|---|--|---|
| Author | Conceptual Focus in Relation to the Welfare State | Empirical Indicators |
| Esping-Andersen 1990 | Degree of de-commodification | Wage replacement rates; length of contribution periods; method of financing of transfers; degree of transfer equality |
| | Principles of stratification | Degree of corporatism; etatism; significance of means-tested poor relief; private pensions; private health spending; average universalism; average benefit equality; range of entitlements |
| | State-market relations | State/market mix in pension provision; conditions under which individuals exit from and enter the labour market |
| Castles and Mitchell 1990 | The redistribution process | Distribution of market incomes; final distribution of incomes; extent of net redistribution |
| | Linkages between welfare effort, instruments and outcomes | Degree of transfer equality; household transfers as a percentage of GDP; income and profit taxes as a percentage of GDP |
| Lewis 1992 | The strength of the male breadwinner model crossnationally | Extent and form of female labour force participation; bases of women's entitlements; treatment of mothers and other carers; primacy of family policy; treatment of and outcomes for lone mothers |
| Scheiwe 1994 | How institutional arrangements in labour market, welfare state, family and marital law construct poverty risks for mothers | Form, conditions and levels of child support payments; childcare service provision; conditions of transfer entitlement as they relate to family situation; treatment of marriage as against parenthood; tax allowances; ideology underlying transfers |
| Shaver and Bradshaw 1993 | Degree of support for domestic labour in tax benefit package | Comparison of net disposable income of one-earner couples to single person; support for a dependent wife compared to that for children; comparison of lone parents to one-earner couples |
| Orloff 1994 | The institutional division of labour among states, markets and families in providing welfare | Resources provided by each to different types of household, men and women; levels of adequacy of such resources |
| | The gender stratification structures and effects of income maintenance provision | The level of differentiation of programmes directed at ameliorating the consequences of market vs. family failure; the proportions of men and women making claims based on workforce participation, citizenship, need and family or marital status |
| | The bases of social rights | The relative treatment of men and women, workers and caregivers; conditions of access to transfers; the degree of leverage given to workers vis-à-vis the market; women's capacities to form and maintain autonomous households |
| Sainsbury 1996 | The elaboration of models of social policy as they impact upon women | Familial ideology; basis of entitlement; recipient and unit for transfers; unit of contribution; taxation, employment and wage policy; state involvement in the sphere of care |
| | Outcomes of gender equality reforms | Women's access to transfers; location of women in insurance- and assistance-based programs; equality of transfers received |

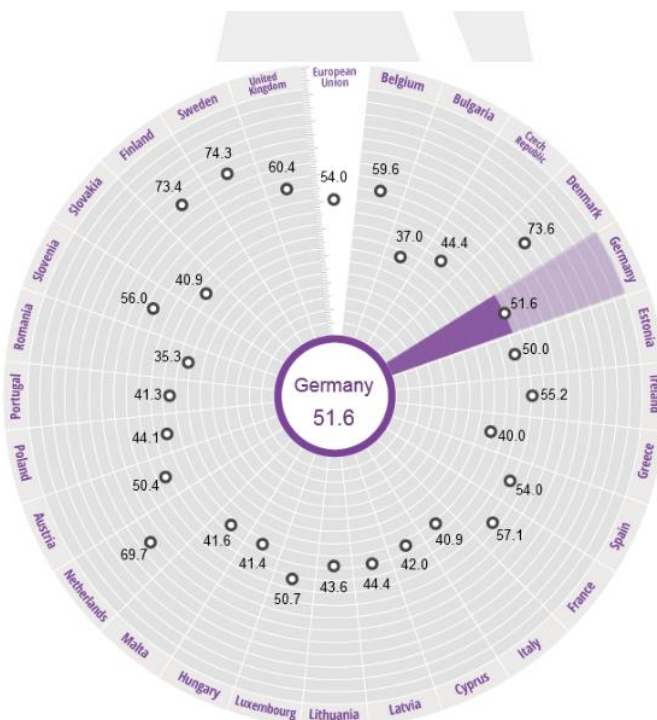
The table is taken from Daly (2000), p.50-51.

7.3 The Gender Equality Index: Sweden



Retrieved from: <http://eige.europa.eu/content/gender-equality-index#/?country=SE>
(December 31, 2014)

7.4 The Gender Equality Index: Germany

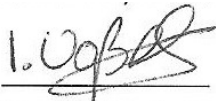


Retrieved from: <http://eige.europa.eu/content/gender-equality-index#/?country=DE>
(December 31, 2014)

Declaration of Academic Integrity

I hereby confirm that the present thesis „*Gender equality in the European Union: How do Sweden and Germany implement Gender Mainstreaming? A comparison of the two different welfare state types.*“ is solely my own work and that if any text passages or diagrams from books, papers, the Web or other sources have been copied or in any other way used, all references - including those found in electronic media - have been acknowledged and fully cited. The same or related material has not been previously submitted for another course.

Münster, 2nd March 2015

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'I. Voßeler', written over a horizontal line.

(Inga Voßeler)