



## **Quality in Gender+ Equality Policies**

European Commission Sixth Framework Programme  
Integrated Project

# Framing gender equality in the European Union and its current and future Member States

Deliverable No. 61: Final LARG Report

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### **Quality in Gender+ Equality Policies (QUING)**

*QUING* is an international research project funded within the European Commission's 6th Framework Program. It lasts for 54 months (2006-2011). It aims to address issues of gender and citizenship in the European Union and to provide innovative knowledge for inclusive gender and equality policies in present (and future) EU member states. *QUING* involves twelve project partners across Europe.

### **Challenges**

The European Union is a multilayered, multicultural democracy claiming to be based on mutual respect for its diverse peoples and cultures, introducing goals that value diversity and inclusion while counteracting hierarchies, inequalities and exclusion. Yet, at the level of its member states, many examples of exclusion and polarisation can be found, whether the focus is on ethnicity, religion or sexuality. Gender issues are constitutive of current polarisations. At the same time, gender equality policies, as the most developed policies against inequality, provide the best entrance to developing inclusive gender and equality policies.

### **Objectives**

*QUING* actively brings together and constructs the knowledge needed for such inclusive policies. It conceptualises how attention for intersectionality, the cross-cutting of diverse forms of inequality, can be integrated in policies and how technocratic tendencies in this field can be counteracted. It will also assess the current content, quality and problems of gender equality policies and formulate recommendations and standards for gender training so that policy making fits gender equal citizenship in a multicultural Europe.

### **Activities**

*QUING* integrates five activities: LARG, WHY, STRIQ, FRAGEN and OPERA. These activities cover all present EU member states as well as Croatia and Turkey.

This report is prepared within the LARG activity. *LARG* is a comparative analysis of differences, similarities and inconsistencies in the field of gender+ equality between the EU and its Member States. It provides a systematic overview of these policies in terms of their design and content, giving particular attention to the voice and standing given to civil society voices, and develops a methodology that combines Frame Analysis with an innovative Voice Analysis.

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# Chapter 1

## Meeting the Objectives of the LARG Activity

### 1.1 Objectives

LARG started off from the premise that the concept of gender equality in the current European political space is dynamic and contested: it takes on different meanings in different spatiotemporal contexts (Lombardo, Meier, and Verloo 2009), depending on policy fields, the protagonists articulating them, and the interaction of multiple contextual factors. The main aims of the LARG activity were twofold: to map these multiple meanings of gender equality in 29 countries and the European Union and across a variety of policy fields that are highly relevant from the point of view of gender equality, and to understand the standing and voice of civil society in gender equality texts and in the process of contestation leading to the articulation of these meanings.

The LARG activity set out in its proposal to conduct a comparative analysis of the differences, similarities and inconsistencies in the field of gender+ equality policies between the EU and its (present and future) Member States. LARG was conceived to provide a comprehensive and systematic overview of these policies in terms of their design and content, giving particular attention to the standing and voice of civil society in the debates. The three QUING project objectives that LARG responded to were:

- Assessing the content and quality of gender+ equality policies in the EU's multicultural context;
- Assessing the standing and voice of civil society in gender + equality policies; and
- Explaining deficiencies, deviations and inconsistencies in EU and Member State's gender+ equality policies.

The activity thus had three major research questions to answer:

- How can gender equality frames in the EU and its current and future Member States be systematically described?
- What is the standing and voice present in gender equality policies?
- What are the differences, similarities and inconsistencies in gender equality policies between the EU and its Member States?

Along with answering these questions, LARG also set out to make a methodological contribution by developing an innovative methodology of frame analysis complemented with voice analysis. This methodology can be applied to a large set of countries in responding to the proposed research questions.

### 1.2 The Output

Within the framework set by the research questions, LARG conducted detailed, multilevel country studies of gender+ equality policies in all Member States, two Accession States (Turkey, Croatia), and at the level of the EU. The analysis focused on the period from 1995 to 2007. There are two reasons for this: first, gender mainstreaming as a strategy started following the Beijing Conference, giving a strong impulse to gender equality policies everywhere; and second, we can expect the former state socialist States to have developed gender equality policies some half decade after the collapse of the former regimes. While the

underlying assumption was that all policy fields are relevant to gender equality in one way or another, QUING and LARG within it narrowed the focus of its analysis to four policy themes that have a crucial relevance for gender equality. The research thus looked at general gender equality policies including policies on gender equality machineries, non-employment, intimate citizenship with special focus on partnership issues, and gender-based violence.

The activity produced 15 deliverables. As such, it represents the largest data collection and analysis activity of the QUING project.

### **1.2.1 Country Deliverables**

Four deliverables were substantive data collection deliverables that were country based. Each of these sets of reports made their own contributions to the state of art of research on gender equality. As well, they have the potential to facilitate and inform future research on the field.

These deliverables were:

*D8: State of the art report (public reports, see [www.quing.eu](http://www.quing.eu))*

In the first step, the activity mapped the state of the art on the relevant and recent literature on gender+ equality policies in all European Union countries, in Turkey and Croatia, and in the European Union as a whole. The series of State of the Art reports produced (D8), publicly available on the website of the project, stand as an important contribution in that they provide a systematic overview of policy-relevant literature and research on gender equality across Europe. The value of these reports is especially high in countries of Europe where, in the absence of existing literature reviews, researchers conducted comprehensive desk research on work written predominantly in local languages (and thus inaccessible for wider audiences). The State of the Art Reports provide an excellent starting point and important resource for future comparative gender equality policy research across Europe. These annotated bibliographies can be seen as an important contribution to future European comparative work.

*D19: Issue histories: series of timelines of policy debates (public reports, see [www.quing.eu](http://www.quing.eu))*

The issue histories mapped the recent history of the four QUING policy fields by preparing annotated timelines on the development of these policies. They paid special attention to the standing of relevant actors in the debates, particularly NGOs, international actors and gender equality machineries. They described the major moments of policy shift and the roles played by different actors in bringing about policy change, and also referred to major contestation in the field. Complete bibliographic information for major relevant primary policy documents were collected and supplemented by references to available secondary sources such as news commentary, reports or policy studies. These issue histories make a major contribution to knowledge about policy change and standing in the four research policy fields across Europe in accessible language. They facilitate better and more informed gender equality policy research across Europe.

*D33: List of documents for frame analysis (public report, see [www.quing.eu](http://www.quing.eu))*

This list presented the methodological choices made in every country concerning the primary policy documents to be analysed, as well as the data collected and presented within the framework of the timeline deliverable. It constituted an intermediary step in the frame analysis done in each country and the EU.

#### *D40: Series of LARG country reports (restricted to the Consortium)*

LARG country reports presented the results of the frame analysis for each country and the EU and for each policy issue. The data in these reports, stored electronically in the QUING software (see more about the software and the frame analysis in the next methodology chapter), provides an English-language supertext for every policy document analysed within the project – a total of 2086 documents. Data presented in the LARG country reports provide an invaluable tool for researching gender equality policy debates across Europe. The reports provide an analytical reading of these documents done by experienced and trained researchers who understand well the context in which they work, and who work along a standardised methodology. In the longer-term, data in these reports might be made accessible for policymakers to improve their understanding of variation and quality of gender equality policies across Europe and their designing of better gender equality policies in their respective countries.

### **1.2.2 Comparative Deliverables**

Two deliverables presented comparative work. First, similarities and differences in framing gender equality between each country and the EU was analysed. This resulted in a series of country-EU comparative reports (D36). Second, for each of the four policy issues researched within QUING, (general gender+ equality policy, non-employment, intimate citizenship and gender-based violence), patterns of framing were identified across Europe (D48).

In a next step, commonalities in framing gender equality across different relevant policy fields were mapped.

The two deliverables were:

#### *D36: Series of LARG comparative reports (restricted to the Consortium)*

A first comparative analysis of these reports across all the research countries is included in the Chapter 6 on similarities and differences.

#### *D48: Proposal for a typology of gender equality frames across Europe (restricted to the Consortium)*

Based on a cross-issue analysis of the research done in the four QUING policy fields (general gender equality, non-employment, intimate citizenship and gender-based violence), frames across the four issues were analysed according to their relationship to gender equality. This has resulted into a typology for framing gender equality across Europe. Chapter 3 presents this typology.

### **1.2.3 Methodological Deliverables**

A set of six deliverables comprise the methodological work done within the activity. These are currently restricted to the Consortium. A synthesis of them and a description of the contribution they make are presented in Chapter 2.

- D7: Guidelines for preparing the state of the art report in LARG
- D9: Frame and Voice Analysis methodology manual
- D10: Sampling guidelines manual
- D11: LARG-Country reports' methodology manual
- D15: LARG research guidelines

- D22: Comparative study methodology manual for LARG

### **1.3 The Report**

The aim of this report is to synthetically describe the key contributions of the LARG research activity, assess directions for future analysis based on data collected within the activity, and formulate a set of policy recommendations targeted at achieving better quality gender+equality policies at the European level based on the findings of QUING. The report proceeds in three steps. First, it describes the research process and the research methodology of the activity, highlighting the innovative contribution made by the LARG methodology to conducting large-scale comparative, qualitative policy research. Second, the report presents the main findings of the activity along the three main research questions proposed for LARG. Chapters 3 and 4 respond to the question: How can gender equality frames in the EU and its current and future Member States be described systematically? Chapter 3 presents a typology of framing gender equality in Europe that cuts across the four policy issues researched by QUING. Chapter 4 applies the typology to look at what are the difference and similarities in framing gender equality across Europe and across the four issues, and propose a typology of countries along these lines. In order to answer to the second research question, Chapter 5 examines the standing and voice of civil society present in the four gender equality policy fields. Chapter 6 answers the research question on the differences, similarities and inconsistencies in gender equality policies between the EU and its Member States based on comparing the LARG Country Reports. Finally, the last section of the report addresses the way forward: how the results, key findings and the collected data can be used for further research. The LARG final report provides good starting points for developing policy recommendations for the QUING project. Recommendations for the projects will be developed based on a reading together of the LARG activity results with WHY, STRIQ and OPERA activity results.

The analysis in the LARG final report is based on primary data collected within the framework of the activity, and secondary analysis from country and comparative reports written within the framework of LARG.

## Chapter 2

### Methodological Innovation

The ambition of the LARG activity is twofold: analytic and evaluative. First, it attempts to map and explain the similarities, differences and inconsistencies in gender+ equality policies in Europe. Second, it tries to assess the quality of these policies. To achieve these goals, the project needed a methodology that was at the same time capable of pursuing such a large-scale comparison and to generate standards on which such a quality assessment can be based.

The starting point of the research was that gender equality is a dynamic, contested concept that takes on different meanings in different spatiotemporal contexts. The concept travels through space and time, crossing national as well as institutional borders. In this process, its meaning is stretched, shrunk and bent (Lombardo et al. 2009): “gender equality can be filled with a variety of meanings that arise from different political histories, contexts, struggles, and debates. That is, gender equality is a concept open to interpretation and contestation by different actors.” The study of such a concept and such processes of interpretation and contestation necessitate a discursive approach to politics and policy.

#### 2.1 Critical Frame Analysis: A Theoretical Framework

In recent years such a discursive approach to policy analysis has achieved significant following among scholars of policy studies (see e.g. Bacchi 1999, Ferree et al. 2003, Fischer et al. 1993, Fischer 2003, Hajer and Wagenaar 2003, Lombardo et al. 2009, Verloo 2007). A key methodological tool used by such approaches is policy frame analysis, the study of how “public policies rest on frames that supply them with underlying structures of beliefs perceptions, and appreciation” (Fischer 2003: 144). Although the concept of frame analysis is traced back to Goffman (1974) and Snow et al. (1986), its introduction to the field of policy analysis can be attributed to Schön and Rein (1994). Elaborating on their definition, Verloo defines a policy frame as an “organising principle that transforms fragmentary or incidental information into a structured and meaningful problem, in which a solution is implicitly or explicitly included” (2005: 20).

To cut an order into the now wide-ranging discussions in the literature on the generality, intentionality and normativity of frames, the project proposed to differentiate between three levels of frames: *issue frames*, *document frames* and *metaframes*.

*Issue frames* are policy frames that provide a relatively coherent story/reasoning in which issue-specific prognostic elements respond to issue-specific diagnostic elements. Issue frames are abstract, synthetic constructs in the sense that they are not necessarily linked to any one text in their pure form. There is no deterministic relationship between issue frames and the agents articulating them: frames can be articulated equally by state and non-state actors, be dominant state frames or be contesting non-governmental frames. Issue frames have an inherent normative aspect: by identifying certain social facts as problematic and proposing changes towards a more desirable state of the world, issue frames cannot avoid being normative and value-driven. At the same time, issue frames are issue specific. As such, normative claims are often encoded in empirical statements about the world. Issue frames cannot be reduced to their normative background.

*Document frames* describe how a particular document or actor constructs the issue at hand. Document frames may overlap with issue frames – a single issue frame can be used in a document coherently – but more often they are linked to one or more issue frames, and can

articulate fragmented or hybrid versions of those. This notion of document frames builds upon the insight that policy documents:

“are better understood as ‘assemblages’ than as rational sets of interventions for certain purposes. [They result] from struggles, and they often combine elements from different competing actors, either from within the state or from different mobilising networks outside of it” (Bustelo and Verloo 2009).

Finally, *metaframes* are overarching frames of a higher level of generality that stretch over different policy issues and can be operationalised as the normative aspects of issue frames. An initial set of metaframes likely to be found in documents based on the available literature was compiled at the beginning of the research (see Walby et al. 2007). This list included equality, human rights, economic development, capabilities and well-being, crime and justice, and health. The research aimed at refining and amending this list of frames based on the empirical material gathered during the course of the research.

The interrelation between the three levels of frames is clear: metaframes are to be understood as the common, non-issue specific elements of issue frames, while document frames are concrete mobilisation (and usually combinations) of issue frames.

In order to operationalise the study of issue frames, further elaboration is needed on what kinds of elements build up a policy frame and how the quality of policy documents is to be assessed. These factors can be grouped in three groups:

- features that derive from the specific genre of policy documents,
- (a set of) formal criteria that derive from theory-based evaluation or program logic evaluation, and
- normative criteria derived from democratic theory and gender theory.

Although rather tautological, the claim that ‘policy frames are frames present in policy documents’ is helpful, since it draws attention to the fact that the elements of policy frames are the components that build up a policy document: a list of policy frame elements can be arrived at by analysing the ‘genre’ of policy documents. Although often identified as two competing approaches to genres, recent scholarship in the field of genre studies recognises that genres are at the same time empirical and normative constructs (Gillaerts and Shaw 2006): the description of a category or class of texts as having particular form, content or style at the same time creates a standard based on which similar texts are measured. The following list, developed with reference to earlier work done within the framework of the MAGEEQ project ([www.mageeq.net](http://www.mageeq.net)) and social movement research (Snow and Benford 1992), contains such descriptive/normative features of policy documents:

**1. Problem-oriented.** The document contains an analysis of the current socio-economic, cultural or political situation and describes how it differs from a desired/ideal situation.

**2. Causalistic.** The document contains an analysis of what leads to the current situation; how the problems identified can be explained; often assigning responsibility to particular actors for causing the problem.

**3. Future-oriented.** The document has a vision about the desired/ideal situation with which the current situation is contrasted. This ‘vision’ is formulated as ‘objectives’.

**4. Practical.** The document describes how the set objectives can be achieved: it proposes a variety of activities to pursue (ends-means logic).

**5. Delegative.** The document assigns or delegates responsibilities in terms of who should pursue what activity.

**6. Targeted.** The document describes which social groups are affected by the problem, and activities proposed are also linked to specific target groups.

**7. Budget.** The document provides information on how to finance the activities proposed.

**8. Creating authority.** The document uses references to support the claims it makes. The references can include scientific studies, statistics, legislative and policy examples in other countries, expert opinions or references to binding (international) norms, etc.

**9. Categorisation.** The document contains the naming of certain groups of citizens thus fixing and solidifying social groups and identities.

When analysing particular documents, these features can be translated to questions such as: What is the problem to be solved? Whom does it affect? Who/what causes the problem to appear or reproduce? What is the objective? What needs to be done? Who should do it? What references are used to support the claims? These and similar questions can be called 'sensitising questions' (Verloo and Lombardo 2007: 35) that provide a certain interpretative tool when reading policy documents in search of policy frames. The different responses to these questions are the core aspects of issue frames: issue frames can be identified through an analysis of these different responses. If a set of document shares a particular answer, while another set does not, the claim can be made that the two sets of documents exemplify two different policy frames.

As discussed above, these features not only describe policy documents, but also provide criteria based on which such policy texts can be evaluated. If a document lacks some of the features previously discussed, this can be used as a point of criticism.

Theory-based evaluation or program logic evaluation (see e.g. Chen 1990, Owen and Rogers 1999) provide further evaluative criteria of policy documents:

**10. Specificity.** The document does not stop at general problem statements and vague wishes, but gives details both in terms of problems to fight and ways to achieve it.

**11. Consistency.** There is a logical consistency between various aspects of the document: the activities proposed contribute (at least in theory) to the desired objectives and respond to the problems identified; the target groups are in accordance with groups linked with the problem (either as being affected by the problem or causing the problem); the impact mechanism of proposed actions correspond to the causal analysis of the problems.

**12. Comprehensivity.** The document gives a comprehensive account of the problem at hand, and discusses the full range of activities that can lead to the realisation of the objectives (and proposes to pursue the best of those).

Although consistency is an important criterion, due to the nature of policy documents it very often does not hold true. Comprehensivity can be evaluated based on comparing each document to all the other documents that deal with a similar issue to see if some problems identified or solutions proposed by the other documents are present or not in the document at hand.

As it is clear from the above, a frame analysis approach can be used to evaluate policies based on criteria deduced from general features of policy documents and a theory-based evaluation approach. However, Bustelo and Verloo (2009) rightly point out that although

frame analysis is a valuable tool when doing policy design evaluation, it cannot be used to evaluate two equally important aspects of policies: policy relevance and policy impact. To assess whether the problems identified are the 'real problems' society has to face and whether the proposed activities will actually lead to the objectives set are questions that cannot be answered by discursive policy analysis. This is because of its premise – that problems are political constructions, made in political struggles between political actors with various amounts of power.

Nevertheless, based on the EU commitment to democracy and equality in gender relations and previous work on democratic theory and gender theory (Lombardo & Ronaldsen Agustin 2009) the following further criteria can be adopted, all of which contribute to the likelihood that the gender equality policy is both relevant and the solution feasible.

**13. Inclusive policymaking.** The document refers to consultations with a wide range of stakeholders affected by the policy.

**14. Structural understanding of gender.** The document goes beyond mentioning gendered social categories, and has a complex understanding of gender that includes the distribution of resources, relations of power and an understanding of gender norms.

**15. Intersectional inclusion.** The document does not limit the analysis to the question of gender, but looks at how gender and other forms of inequalities (race/ethnicity, sexuality, age, class, etc.) are intertwined.

**16. Commitment to gender equality.** The document explicitly endorses the idea of gender equality and organises objectives and activities to achieve it.

**17. Gender-explicitness.** The document discusses the problem explicitly in gendered terms.

The 17 points above provide a conceptual framework for critical frame analysis that is well suited for both the comparative study of policy frames in gender equality policies as well as assessing the quality of these policies. It achieves the first purpose by providing interpretative tools to look for certain information in policy documents based on which policy frames can be identified/constructed. It achieves the second purpose by generating a set of criteria and gathering necessary data to evaluate the policy design aspects of gender equality policies.

## **2.2 Critical Frame Analysis: A Practical Methodology**

Even though frame analysis enjoys a growing popularity among policy studies scholars, a consistent practical methodology for collecting and interpreting frame analysis data has not been developed. Most of the existing research efforts focus on a small number of countries and documents and use ad hoc qualitative techniques of interpretation. When developing a methodology for the QUING research the following challenges had to be met:

**Qualitative approach needed.** To answer the questions posed by the project, detailed, in depth information had to be recorded about documents. Neither the automatic computer-based processing of textual data, nor the reduction of complexity to a few closed questions was a viable solution. We needed a methodology that was open to the specificities of local policy contexts and allow as much flexibility as possible.

**Linguistic diversity.** Most of the documents analysed are only available in each country's native language, which means that comparative analysis is only possible on data pre-processed by country researchers. Close reading of the original document as used by most

frame analysis projects was not an option. We needed a methodology that retains as much richness of the data as possible, yet processes the data in one language, English.

**Amount of data to analyse.** The research aimed at analysing policy documents from 30 polities during a 12-year time span. It was clear that not all relevant documents could be analysed, so a consistent methodology for selecting the most relevant documents had to be found. Even with the boundaries set (approx. 50-70 documents per country), this meant analysing over 2000 documents. Some of the documents were short (few pages) while others reach several tens or even hundreds of pages. We needed a methodology that would allow us to manage such a large amount of data in a systematic manner.

**Comparability.** The aim of the project was to compare policies across countries; this meant that the selection of documents and the recording of information about them had to be standardised to a certain degree to enable such comparison. We needed a consistent methodology that combined flexibility of qualitative coding with the standardisation needed for comparability.

**High number of researchers.** The linguistic diversity and the amount of documents to process meant that many researchers (sometimes located in their home country) had to be involved in the process. We needed a methodology that was simple enough to be used by a large number of researchers and tools to ease collaboration between them.

To respond to these challenges, a detailed methodology for selecting, coding and interpreting documents was developed. The major steps of this methodology were the following:

1. choosing policy fields;
2. mapping policy processes;
3. sampling documents;
4. coding documents;
5. standardisation of codes;
6. frame construction;
7. mapping frames to documents;
8. metaframe construction;
9. country comparison.

The following sections will detail each of these steps.

### **2.2.1 *Choosing Policy Fields***

In order to operationalise gender equality QUING has narrowed down its research focus to four policy fields of core relevance to gender+ equality issues. Besides specific targeted gender equality policies and policies on gender equality machineries called General Gender Equality policies in the project terminology, three other issues were selected. These were: non-employment, intimate citizenship and gender-based violence. The non-employment field focuses on the legitimisation of non-employment, as an exception from the routine expectation of employment as the norm. Intimate citizenship is understood to be a set of policies that regulate intimate partnerships, claims about the body, the traditional and non-traditional relationships and sexuality. The gender-based violence field encompasses policies addressing any form of violence rooted in structural gender-based inequalities that results or are likely to results in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering in public or private life of women, men or children based on their gender. Each of these wider issues was operationalised along 3-4 sub-issues; each sub-issue had to be covered in every country sample. However, the choice of the specific topic within the sub-issues was made by country

research teams based on what they found most salient within the framework in their country. This has resulted in some variation in the topics covered in each sample. The following section describes shortly the issues, their relevance, the sub-issues along which they were operationalised, and finally the choices made by the research team on the specific topics analysed within each issue in every country. See Table in Annex III for the variation of topics chosen within each country.

### **General gender+ equality**

The policy field General Gender Equality was operationalised to include two sub-issues:

**1. General gender+ equality legislation.** This sub-issue encompasses new legislation of general importance concerning either gender specifically or, in cases where no specific gender equality policy is available, inequality more generally. Policies transposing EU Directives and other international norms such as CEDAW were also considered here.

**2. General gender+ equality machinery.** This topic was meant to include policies creating gender equality machineries where available or more general equality bodies, where no specific gender focus was present. It includes debates on new institutions, reform of existing institutions, integration of governmental machineries dealing with gender and other inequalities.

*What debates were considered most relevant in the field for the research period across our countries, and which topics were chosen hence?*

The variation that occurs in sampling the most relevant texts for the countries follow the same lines in both sub-issues used to operationalise the policy field. The main difference in this field between countries relates to whether their debates focused on specific gender equality policies, laws and machineries, or they had gender equality-related debates embedded in the context of general equality or anti-discrimination policies and related governmental machineries.

In the *general gender+ equality legislation* sub-issue, roughly half of the countries, Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia, Sweden and UK have sampled debates on general equality and anti-discrimination laws. Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, EU, Finland, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain and Turkey had debates specifically on gender equality regulations within the examined period.

In the *general gender+ equality machinery* sub-issue, gender-specific debates are more frequent. Debates around equality bodies focusing on several inequalities are sampled only for: Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden and the UK, several of which are in the phase of merging previously existent gender equality bodies into machineries dealing with not just gender.

### **Non-Employment**

The focus in the policy field non-employment, as conceptualised by QUING, is on the legitimisation of non-employment as an exception from the routine expectation of 'employment as the norm'. It is about defining who is not employed, who does not need to be employed and for what reasons. As such, it is about categorising citizens (citizens who study or are old, or give care to other people, or who do not have a legal status) and investigating the links between the rights and duties associated with these categories. It is about those parts of employment-related regulation that either define sanctions or privilege states of non-employment for very specific groups and for very specific reasons.

Feminists and gender scholars debate if and the extent to which full participation in employment helps to achieve equality between men and women in society. Looking at whom is *not* employed turns this conventional approach upside-down. There is considerable variation in which groups of women are regarded as legitimately non-employed both within countries and between countries. Non-employment is a good window through which to look anew at how policy fields, actions and discourses embedded in different types of gender regimes in Europe regulate entry and exit paths for men and women to the labour market, the short-term and long-term rewards of paid jobs, and the distribution of benefits of social welfare provisions. This approach allows us scope to examine both old structural and newly shaped inequalities that men and women in general, and men and women in ethnic and religious groups, different in their material status, sexual orientation, migrant or citizen status, and abilities enjoy in the labour market and at the workplace. Also, non-employment for men and women (varying by these sub-categories) is constituted by constraints and pressures for participation in domestic (care) work, and by differential access to the welfare services that make combining work and family life possible (Sainsbury 1999, Esping-Andersen 2003).

Non-employment was operationalised in QUING to cover four policy sub-fields. These are:

**1. Tax and benefit policies.** Social insurance, active labour market policies (e.g. reintegration after unemployment), disablement/sickness, parenting, pensions, including care component of state pension and age of retirement, special attention paid to exclusions from benefits through partnership and citizenship status (e.g. lone parents, migrants).

**2. Care work.** Care for children, elderly or disabled including unpaid and paid work in the home (e.g. domestic work), state provision, privately purchased care, voluntary provision, special attention paid to use of migrant/minoritised labour;

**3. Reconciliation of work and family life in employment.** Maternal, paternal and parental leave (also for adoption), flexible hours working, also for breastfeeding, part-time work;

**4. Gender pay gap and equal treatment in employment.** Equal pay is seen to legitimately influence women's decision as to whether or not to be in employment. Thus, this sub-issue includes implementation of equal pay and equal treatment legislation, as well as other mechanisms like pay audits.

*What debates were considered most relevant in the field for the research period across our countries, and which topics were chosen hence?*

The topics of policy debates sampled under this field are mainly cross-cutting, with links to not just one sub-issue used in the conceptualisation of non-employment.

The policy topic most widely sampled in this field is connected to some aspect of *work-life balance*. Work-life balance is discussed under multiple sub-issues, particularly reconciliation, care work and tax and benefits, but also to equal treatment of women in the labour market. The majority of texts in this topic are, in one way or another, concerned with the availability of various childcare benefits, parental leaves, including paternity and maternity leaves. In some countries, the reintegration of caretakers into the labour market is emphasised more than in others. Issues such as the flexibilisation of working hours, the possibility of part-time work, the improvement of both public and private childcare facilities, and the promotion of the social status of paid or unpaid domestic workers are debated, which indicates a labour market-oriented approach.

Another major topic covered in debates analysed in this policy field is *retirement*. Pension debates address different aspects of the issue: equalising the retirement age of men and women in compliance with EU requirements, undertaking more general reforms of the

redistribution system of aging societies, or tackle the issue of coverage to social groups who are not covered by current pension schemes.

### ***Intimate citizenship***

Intimate citizenship is understood as a set of policies that regulate intimate partnerships, claims about the body, traditional and non-traditional relationships and sexuality (Plummer 2003). These policies take shape around issues such as sexuality, reproductive capacities, (new) living arrangements, (new) families, care for the partner/s, ways of raising children, and questions about identities and representation of identities. The consequences of them are that certain groups within a political community, while having the formal status of citizenship, can be subjected to inequality and exclusion due to the unjust distribution of not only economic but also legal, symbolic, social and cultural rights.

Intimate citizenship is important because of its implications for equality within private relationships and of sexuality for the structuring of gender itself. Intimate citizenship is a central component of gender (in)equality. As feminists have shown, it inhabits the private as a site of politics – as the classic, hidden, seemingly unregulated and undemocratic site of a gendered hierarchy – and is a core component of social, political and cultural representations of the public/private divide. This is why gender equality politics in many contexts and much theoretical work have focused on marriage regulations and practices. In addition, questions focus on the relationship between gender and sexuality and thus, on the implications of sexuality for the structuring of gender itself.

Three policy sub-issues were chosen to operationalise Intimate Citizenship. These were:

- 1. Divorce, marriage and separation.** Conditions under which marriage and divorce is legally possible; the regulation of post-marital relations; child custody; matrimonial property; partnership rights on crossing borders for residence, employment, education.
- 2. Sexual orientation discrimination and partnerships.** Decriminalisation and age of consent for same-sex relationship, discrimination in employment and access to goods and services, legal recognition of same-sex couples, registered partnership and same-sex marriage.
- 3. Reproduction rights.** Legality and availability of abortion, funding and availability of assisted reproduction, reproductive health and contraception.

*What debates were considered most relevant in the field for the research period across our countries, and which topics were chosen hence?*

In the first sub-issue (*divorce, marriage, and separation*), texts on simplifying divorce proceedings (Belgium, Estonia, Hungary, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain), recognizing non- and extramarital relationships (Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Latvia), child custody after divorce (Austria, Czech Republic, France, Italy, Slovakia, Slovenia, ), property regimes and alimonies (Poland, Turkey, UK) and family reunification (EU, Germany, Netherlands) were the topics most often chosen.

Policy questions addressed by texts analysed under the second sub-issue (*sexual orientation*) form three largely distinct groups: in most countries debates about marriage or partnership rights for same sex couples were analysed (Austria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, EU, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, UK), in some countries the debate has moved away from partnership to the question of adoption (Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Sweden) while in another set of countries family issues has not reached the policy agenda and

questions of decriminalization and anti-discrimination were analysed (Bulgaria, Cyprus, Lithuania, Malta, Turkey)

In the *reproduction* sub-issue, most of the country researchers sampled texts on assisted reproduction. Some countries decided for texts on abortion, as those proved to be of huge interest in their country. These included Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Turkey, and the UK.

### **Gender-based Violence**

Since the mid-1980s, the issue of violence against women has been at the core of a process of mainstreaming women's rights into human rights (Kelly 2005, Sally Merry Engle 2006, Coomaraswamy 1996). By widening protection from the public sphere into the private sphere and thus challenging the classical understanding of human rights, this mainstreaming process has been deemed an unequivocal success. However dilemmas and ambivalences over the meaning of these achievements for travelling notions of women's rights are many. Especially problematic in the process of mainstreaming is the potential to lose the transformative content of gender equality that is understood to be at the heart of addressing violence against women effectively (Kelly 2005). In international practice, the conceptual shift from *violence against women* to *gender-based violence* can be seen as part of these ambivalences. While this shift has allowed for the encompassing of more 'kinds' of victims, the turn to the concept of gender-based violence is seen to have shifted attention from gender equality. By looking at policy debates on gender-based violence in Europe, we aim to map how some of these controversies play out in national and EU-wide contexts.

For QUING purposes, we defined gender-based violence to mean any form of violence rooted in structural, gender-based inequalities that results or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering, including threats, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty in public or private life of women, men or children. Gender-based violence is hence understood in QUING to include any form of violence in the family or in the household that is based on gender, including violence against children, any form of gender-based violence against women, men or children perpetrated by private persons in the community, such as rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, any form of violence based on gender in employment situations, and gender-based violence perpetrated by different state actors, in prisons, by police or in conflict situations.

Questions in the focus of QUING were many. Can sexual violence be conceptualised as constitutive of gendered violence, or is there gendered violence without sexual violence? Can there be gender-based, and/or sexual violence against men, or is sexual violence always and only violence against women? Another question relates to the threshold used to differentiate nuisances in everyday life from violence and scandalised immoral acts. That is, why are certain acts seen as part of sexuality and social interaction, while others cross a line of unacceptability? Does 'sexual' mean sexuality or gender in such contexts? Are perpetrators and victims/survivors seen within categories of class/poverty, ethnicity, religion, age, migration and citizenship status, and other forms of differentiation? If so, to what extent? And are these categories seen as overlapping or singular? Additionally, it is important to examine whether policies against gender-based violence are part of gender equality policies – explicitly, politically, and institutionally – and whether, how, and with what effects they are integrated in other dominant policy fields, like employment, family, security and policing. Within this, how are legal reactions – e.g. criminal, civil, social/welfare regime, police activity, including the question of which institution is made responsible to eradicate violence where – structured?

For gender-based violence three policy sub-issues were chosen:

- 1. Domestic violence.** Defined as between intimate partners or family members (including elderly and children), civil law restraining orders, criminal restraining orders, variations by minoritised groups;
- 2. Sexual assault.** Rape, marital rape, sexual assault/abuse, stalking, and sexual harassment
- 3. Forced marriage, female genital mutilation, 'honour' crimes and trafficking for sexual exploitation, ability to cross borders to seek refuge/asylum on grounds of gender-based violence.** State responses to forms of violence that can be defined culturally, forms that relate to migration and cultural-ethnic-religious diversity.

*What debates were considered most relevant in the field for the research period across our countries, and which topics were chosen hence?*

Variation in the sub-issue of *domestic violence* is between countries that have texts on general domestic violence or violence against women policies, and others that have texts on the introduction of the specific instruments to deal with domestic violence, such as civil or criminal restraining orders.

Texts on including the prohibition of sexual harassment in policies, largely due to EU influence, are those most prevalently analysed in the sub-issue *sexual assault*. Texts about rape, and particularly marital rape, are sampled in several countries including Finland, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, and Turkey.

In the sub-issue *forced marriage, female genital mutilation, 'honour' crimes and trafficking*, the majority of countries consider texts on trafficking policies and laws that are often EU driven. However, in several countries, texts on FGM, honour killing and forced marriages are seen as more salient during the research period. This is the case in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and Sweden. The question of honour killing is a distinct issue in the Turkish analysis.

For a mapping of debate topics per country, see Annex III.

## **2.2.2 Mapping Policy Processes**

Once gender equality was operationalised as a set of policy fields, the next step was to compile detailed chronological listings of policy developments in each country in the period covered by the project. This step followed the methodology of policy process analysis (Sutton 1999): the main aim was to trace when and how issues appeared on the political agenda, who had contributed to the debates (especially which groups from civil society) and what documents were produced. The types of documents collected includes bills, laws, policy plans, policy reports, party programmes, parliamentary debates, court decisions, consultation papers, position papers, as well as official letters and statements. To complement these primary sources, additional information about policy developments (such as media coverage, published interviews with actors involved) was also collected. Besides a chronological list of documents, researchers were asked to provide short summaries of the key points of each policy moment. Issue histories thus provide a systematic overview of the policy developments in each country, a list of actors that participated in policy formulation, as well as a rich collection of policy documents to analyse.

### **2.2.3 Sampling**

The next step was to choose documents for analysis from the long list of documents collected for the issue histories. For the purpose of comparability, documents selected had to be similar in topic and type. Four categories of policy documents were found to be crucial to understanding policy debates on a specific sub-issue in a given country. *Laws* as binding legal documents form the core of any state policy. In order to understand the motivation and framing behind the law, explanatory memorandum attached to bills were coded as well. The second type of documents comprises *policy plans*: although less authoritative, they are crucial as they are usually more comprehensive, include a detailed analysis of the problem, and cover soft law and sub-law elements of government policy. *Parliamentary debates* were analysed to understand how the policy resonates within the larger policy environment, and especially what types of contestations of the state policy are present. *Civil society texts* were chosen to cover the voice of non-state actors, most importantly the women's movement, but in some cases trade unions, human rights organisations and opposing voices. Finally, an additional optional fifth category was left open to include other types of documents (such as court decisions, reports, refused bills, etc.) that were deemed important for understanding the state of policy in a given country. Researchers were asked to choose one text from each of the four categories of documents: laws with their explanations, policy plans, parliamentary debates and civil society documents.

Topical harmonisation was performed through issues and sub-issues: policy contexts differ from country to country, and thus the same topics are not always discussed in all the countries. Policy developments also shifted in time among the countries, so a topic that is currently on agenda in one country might have been on the agenda years before in another. Sub-issues served as a tool of standardisation: they were open enough to allow for flexibility for the local contexts, but coherent in the sense that the main issues at stake are likely to be similar. So, for example, decriminalisation and same-sex marriage cover very different stages in the recognition of LGBT rights, but are still likely to bring out similar argumentation. Researchers were asked to choose one document for each sub-issue, and each type of text if available.

By combining the two criteria above (one document for each sub-issue and each type of document) researchers were asked to choose a minimum of 48 documents (4 types of documents, one for each of the 12 sub-issues) and add additional documents up to 60 if it was needed to cover the variety of debates and voices in the local context. If more than one document fitted the criteria above, researchers were asked to choose the ones that: (1) are the most recent; (2) are the most comprehensive; (3) are the most authoritative; (4) are the most debated; (5) have the highest potential impact on gender; and (6) contain the greatest policy shift. Preliminary document lists were compiled by country researchers with detailed explanation on why that particular text was selected. If needed these decisions were negotiated with the comparative team to enhance representativity and comparability. All together 2086 documents were selected for analysis in the 29 countries and the European Union.

### **2.2.4 Coding**

Documents chosen for the sample were entered into an online database containing the full text of the documents as well as codes describing various aspects of the document including its context (date, occasion, audience) and its content. The content of the documents was recorded through the help of qualitative coding following a coding scheme prepared to correspond to the features of policy documents described in greater detail in the previous section.

In order to strike a balance between the openness of coding and the need to standardise the coding for the purpose of comparison a syntactic coding scheme was used. Syntactic coding (Roberts 1989, Franzosi 1989) is a coding method in which statements in documents are coded as structured sets of simpler codes following a pre-given structure (story grammar). The problem with conventional coding methods is that they either (1) use short codes for individual elements in a text thus disregarding the syntactic relations between them; or (2) use long and complicated codes that are hard to standardise.

To understand the first problem better, take the following example. A document contains the sentence: "civil society organisations should provide training for police forces dealing with domestic violence issues because they are the ones having enough information." If such a statement is coded with the help of simple codes, one ends up with codes such as [civil society organisations], [police dealing with domestic violence], [training], [have information], but *without* the information on how these codes relate to each other in the text. If one were to query documents that assign responsibilities to civil society organisations, it would be impossible to do so since the coding does not record that civil society organisations are mentioned in the text as having a particular responsibility. The solution to this problem is to standardise (set in advance) the syntactic relations that are characteristic of statements in a particular genre of texts, and let researchers use open coding to construct structured sets of open codes that follow those syntactic relations. To continue the example, the statement is a prognostic one that describes a policy action to be implemented. Policy actions are characterised most importantly by an activity that has to be implemented, an actor that has to implement it, and a target group who is affected by the activity. Policy actions often also contain argumentation as to why that action should be used to achieve the given objective, and (at least ideally) contain budget for the given activity. The following story grammar contains the most important elements found in policy action statements.

```
POLICYACTION {  
    RESPONSIBLE:  
    ACTIVITY:  
    TARGETGROUP:  
    QUALIFIER:  
    MOTIVATION:  
    BUDGET:}
```

With the help of this story grammar, one would code the statement above as:

```
POLICYACTION {  
    RESPONSIBLE: civil society organisations  
    ACTIVITY: training  
    TARGETGROUP: police dealing with domestic violence  
    QUALIFIER:  
    MOTIVATION: they have information  
    BUDGET: no}
```

Based on the characteristic statements found in texts belonging to the genre of policy documents and the sensitising questions described above 10 such story grammars were defined to record information found in documents: voice, reference, problem, past policy action, causality, diagnostic dimension, objective, policy action, mechanism, and prognostic dimension. The *Voice* story grammar records the person or entity responsible for producing the text including background information such as affiliation, known personal characteristics and the group the speaker represents. The *Reference* story grammar records all the documents, actors, events, etc. the document refers to create authority (such as international documents, research results, existing policy commitments, etc.). The *Problem* story grammar

records information about the problems the document aims to address including information on whom the project affects, who is responsible for causing the problem, and why is it considered a problem. The *Past policy action* story grammar records activities taken in the past to address the problem and their evaluation. The *Causality* story grammar records in a structured format what causes the problem or what it leads to and the actors involved in this causation. The *Diagnostic dimension* story grammar records analytic information about how gender and intersectionality appears in the diagnostic part of the document. The *Objective* story grammar records the abstract, general goals the policy aims to achieve. The *Policy action* story grammar records information about proposed action to take, their target group and the actor responsible for implementing it. The *Mechanism* story grammar records in a structured format how the document argues the proposed policy action will lead to the desired objective. Finally, the *Prognostic dimension* story grammar records analytic information about how gender and intersectionality appears in the prognostic part of the document.

Each of these story grammars (similar to the one above on policy actions) contains several fields that are relevant for that type of statement. Some of the fields in the story grammars were more interpretative than others, meaning that the researchers did not have to code the words found in the policy statements, but rather interpret the statements according to preset categories. For example, the researchers were asked to decide whether the intersectionality relationship discussed in the document is one of separate, inarticulate, additive, mutually constitutive, limited, competing or hierarchical. Similarly, researchers were asked to decide whether the causality discussed in the document is linked to resources, norms, coercion, knowledge, pressure or psychology. For these fields, a closed list of values was used that researchers were to choose from. The guidelines contained detailed descriptions of what each of the codes meant. Researchers were asked to code each substantive statement in the documents with the help of a corresponding story grammar, using multiple story grammars if needed. A very time-consuming exercise, this took approximately half a year of fulltime work in each country. For a list of all story grammars with their relevant fields, see Annex I.

To complement this thorough analysis of the document, which in fact is a form of systematic close reading, researchers were also asked to fill out a simpler coding scheme with a small set of closed questions corresponding to the most important concerns of the research. Questions addressed whether a document uses gender and in what sense, whether intersecting inequalities are present, the most important policy actions, and whether the document refers to civil society consultations or not. For a full list of questions, see Annex II.

### **2.2.5 Code Standardisation**

Even though syntactic coding introduces one level of standardisation to the coding, open coding still means that in some cases, different words were used in the fields of story grammars to code the same basic information. This results from the nature of qualitative coding, since codes are closely following what is said in the texts. For qualitative analysis, it matters a great deal whether a document is using one label for an activity or social group or another (e.g. homosexuals, gays or same-sex couples). At another level of analysis, such differences are no longer important; more comprehensive and abstract codes are needed. In order to enable both types of analysis, the individual codes entered to the system by researchers were organised into a hierarchical structure.

In this standardisation process, codes that are similar to each other were organised into more general, higher-level codes. During this standardisation process, an important principle was to try to be relatively free of any theoretical bias, staying as close to the original meanings of codes as possible, and focusing on standardisation and logical organisation.

Rather than using a fixed set of generality levels, the depth of hierarchies varies between the different branches in the categories. This allows both 'flat categories' that simply group codes into a smaller, more manageable number of categories on the same level, as well as categories with several levels of groupings inside so that analysis can be executed on several levels of generality. Besides the flexibility in terms of the depth of hierarchy, codes could be also attached to more than one category, making possible a multi-dimensional grouping of codes. So, for instance, the category of 'migrant girls' was added to the categories of 'females', 'children' and 'migrants' all organised within even more general categories ('gender', 'age', 'citizenship') within the overarching category of social groups. The hierarchy also allows for cross-linking categories so that the first decidedly 'un-theoretical' categorisation can be re-grouped to create more abstract, analytic categories. An example is linking institutional actors (feminist NGOs and gender departments) with the social group 'gender' and references to gender-relevant international documents to create the abstract category of 'gendering'. The flexibility of this hierarchical organisation means that the analysis of documents can be accomplished on several levels, including detailed comparison of a smaller number of documents as well as comparison of overarching categories among various countries or even the whole database. This bottom up method of starting from close-to-text coding and using groupings to achieve higher levels of abstraction also has the advantage of being transparent: the process of abstraction is traceable in the construction of the hierarchy. This process of standardisation is very time consuming, and therefore choices had to be made which standardisation to prioritise. The choices made are explained below.

### **2.2.6 Frame Construction**

As described in the conceptual framework, for the purpose of policy comparison issue frames are of central importance. Following coding and code standardisation, the next step was to construct issue frames for each of the four issues. The frame construction process started from the hypothesis that some of the fields in story grammars are more relevant to the core of the frames than others. The fact that a policy includes information on budgeting is an important but not substantial difference in content; the same can be said for qualifier fields that coded extra information about policy statements (such as priority, prevalence, etc.) The fields that appeared to be most decisive are the actor, norm, location and causality/mechanism dimension fields. These fields of special importance we named marker fields: these were the fields that 'mark' difference between the frames. While the problem and objective fields are also decisive, we worked with the hypothesis that *if documents share certain marker fields, they are likely to share other fields*, such as goal, problem, policy action, etc. (to put in a more formalistic model: variance in marker fields explains variance in the other fields). Constructing the hypothesis in this way provided a practical solution for starting the frame construction process. We had to concentrate first on marker fields, and later check if the groups of texts created based on the marker fields were, in fact, similar in other aspects as well.

The first step in frame construction was to standardise and reduce the amount of codes for each of the marker fields to a manageable number: occurrence frequencies based on the code hierarchies were used to identify the most relevant values for each of the marker fields in each of the issues. As a next step, co-occurrence of different marker field – value pairs were examined to identify combinations that appear more often than others. These often-occurring combinations served as frame skeletons that grouped together similar documents based on their marker fields. To give an example: the passive actor/target group of 'same-sex couples' tends to appear together with the norm of 'equal treatment' and the location of 'economy', while the 'LGBT' or 'gays and lesbians' passive actor/target group tend to occur more often with the norm of 'equality' in general and causality based on 'norms'. This observation led to the identification of two different frames in the intimate citizenship issue: the *equal rights for same-sex couples* and the *transformative equality of LGBT people*

*frames*. While the equal rights for same-sex couples frame the issues in non-discrimination terms and limits the question to largely to financial matters, the transformative equality frames proposes a larger scale cultural transformation doing away with heteronormative privileges altogether. As a last step, the remaining fields (most importantly problem, goal and policy action) of these groups were examined to check if they are similar as well. In some cases, the groups based on the marker fields still contained documents with quite different prognoses and diagnoses if all the fields were taken into consideration; and these difference formed, discernable groups of documents within the larger group of texts. For example, in the case of reproductive rights within intimate citizenship, there was a set of documents that presented women as passive actors, health and quality of life as an underlying norm, and knowledge as causality in both problem and prognostic statements. However, in one group of documents, this co-occurrence was placed in the context of reducing the number of abortions while in another case it was placed in the context of making sure that abortions are truly voluntary. In such instances objective and problem statement codes also needed to be taken into consideration to differentiate between the *alternatives to abortion* and the *informed choice* frames.

The frame list (with frame skeletons and the content of other fields relevant for that group of documents) was sent to country researchers to check if they make sense in their local context, i.e. if the frames identified this way cover the major points in the topics in the local context. In some cases frames were adjusted (combined, broken up) to arrive at the final list of frames.

### **2.2.7 Mapping Frames to Documents**

For the next step of the research, researchers were asked to recode documents with the help of the descriptions of frames in the frame list: to decide if a document belongs to a frame or not. This was based mostly on the codes recorded for documents (i.e. frame mapping based on correspondence with the marker field values), while in some cases, the presence of the frame was identified even though it was not traceable in the marker fields. In the latter cases, researchers were asked to provide a detailed reasoning of why they think the document matches that frame. They coded whether the frame is present only in the diagnosis, or only in the prognosis of the document. They were also asked to assign 'strength' to the frame. As discussed before, policy documents are very often assemblages; coding the relative importance of a frame within a document is thus very important.

### **2.2.8 Constructing Metaframes**

Parallel to the mapping of frames to documents, we constructed metaframes in order to arrive at more abstract, non-issue specific frames found in documents. Frames from different sub-issues were grouped together according to their relationship towards gender equality into inclusive, transformative, rejective and ambiguous frames. Frames that have nothing to say about gender equality were grouped as unconcerned, and further subdivided into meaningful categories. For a detailed description of these categories, see Chapter 3.

### **2.2.9 Country Comparison**

The data gathered through the steps above enable a series of comparative endeavours ranging from large-scale, Europe-wide comparisons, to in-depth comparisons of one or more sub-issues in a small number of countries, to answering more specific questions concerning the role of certain actors or the construction of social problems or policy solutions. During the last phase of the project, several researchers were involved in generating a series of such

comparative products as part of the WHY pillar of the project. For this final report, we compiled an overview of the main findings in the LARG pillar by comparing all issues in all the countries based on the metaframes.

For such a comprehensive comparison, we translated qualitative data into quantitative data: countries were compared based on the number of occurrences of certain metaframes (inclusive, transformative and rejective frames) in the texts that were analysed. In this translation process, we converted categorical frame strength (marginal, minor, significant, major, sole) into a scale of 1-5. We weighed documents based on their authority: laws were given a weight of 3, policy plans a weight of 2, while all other types of documents a weight of 1. If a frame was present in only the prognosis/diagnosis of a document, we halved its strength value. If a document had multiple frames belonging to the same metaframe, we calculated the strength of the metaframe based on the highest strength of all the frames belonging to that metaframe category. Some frames express ambiguous relationship to gender equality: they can be mobilised both for and against gender equality. Since only a low number of texts had only ambiguous (and unconcerned) frames attached to them (4.6 % in intimate citizenship, 3.7 % in general gender equality, 3 % in non-employment and none in gender-based violence), these documents were excluded from the analysis. A small number of documents had contradicting frames attached to them (e.g. both rejective and transformative, etc.). The coding for these documents has been double-checked to find out what is behind this contradiction. In a few cases, contradictions resulted from incorrect coding, which was subsequently corrected. However, in the majority of cases these were documents that used inconsistent framing. In these cases, all of the contradicting metaframes were taken into consideration. To account for the differences in the number of documents analysed in each country (ranging from 48 to 128), we weighed documents based on the number of documents of each type in each issue in each country. So, if six parliamentary voices in a country were coded in a debate, each voice had a 1/6 weight; if only two were coded, they had a 1/2 weight. Finally, when constructing the overall index we considered transformative framing to contribute more to gender equality than inclusive framing, and the presence of rejective framing to be of similar importance, so that these frames were taken with a double weight (transformative frames with a positive, and rejective frames with a negative value). Results of this comparative analysis can be found in Chapter 4 of this report.

To answer the question concerning standing and voice of in policy documents, the actor fields in reference, policy action story grammars, and the summary codes were used to assess whether civil society actors – in particular, women’s NGOs, trade unions, transnational advocacy groups, and international organisation such as the European Union or the United Nation – were given roles to play.

**Key innovations:**

- **combination of policy process mapping, frame and voice analysis methodologies;**
- **rigorous methodology based on syntactic coding for qualitative processing of massive amount of data;**
- **hierarchy based code standardisation enabling comparative analysis on several levels of generality;**
- **pioneering online software for collaborative data recording and reporting.**

## Chapter 3

### Typology of Policy Frames in Gender+ Equality Debates in Europe

Following the rigorous coding of the policy texts, several frames have been identified in the four policy issues of QUING (general gender equality, non-employment, intimate citizenship and gender-based violence). In this chapter, we analyse the frames across the four issues according to their relationship to gender equality.

In order to have a comprehensive view of how gender equality is framed across Europe, this chapter proposes a cross-issue analysis of policy framing. The main aim is to find metaframes, frames that are at a more abstract, non-issue specific level, cutting across the analysed policy issues. Frames from different policy issues were grouped together according to their relationship towards gender equality.

One of the premises of the QUING project is that gender equality can be seen as an empty signifier, the content of which varies across countries and contexts (Lombardo and Verloo 2007). The three main gender equality visions that have emerged in previous research about the meaning of gender equality are those of *sameness*, *difference* and *transformation* (see Lombardo, Meier and Verloo 2009, Rees 1998, Squires 1999). According to the *sameness* vision, the statuses of men and women can be made equal by including women in existing social structures through similar treatment, using the policy tool of equal treatment. In the *difference* vision, special programmes are proposed as policy tools in order to compensate for differences between women and men. The main commonality of these two approaches is that they both maintain the social status quo. It is this commonality that the third vision challenges. The *transformative* vision to gender equality challenges the structural causes of gender inequality and aims to transform the gendered power relations.

Research in LARG has identified a large number of frames that are typical to each issue. Their cross-issue reading geared towards their relationship to gender equality has shown that in current European debates on gender equality, policy frames can be grouped into three main clusters. These are: *transformative* approaches to gender equality, *inclusive* understanding of gender equality, and approaches that *reject* or at least *contest* main tenets of gender equality. Besides these frames, which explicitly express their standing for or against gender equality, a large number of frames remain gender-neutral but resonate with one of the three main approaches. In such '*resonant*' frames, gender equality is not directly addressed; however, the analysis has been able to identify implicit gender sensitivity or to draw analogies that imply views that are resonant with the explicit gender equality approaches. Resonant frames were identified along all three approaches. They were least frequent in the case of transformative approaches. For the inclusive and rejective frames, there is a wide spectrum of frames that resonate with either of the two. Resonant frames were of special importance in the case of frames rejecting gender equality. As explicit rejection of gender equality is by now very rare in European debates, more indirect and less explicit resonant rejective approaches stand to indicate a contemporary form of contesting gender equality. As such, they form an important finding of the LARG framing typology and the LARG analysis.

An additional fourth type of frame is identified by the cross policy issue reading: frames that are unconcerned with gender equality.

The focus of this chapter is on *frames in relation to gender equality*. It first presents transformative frames, followed by inclusive frames, and finally rejective frames, including in each the description of variation along the four analysed policy issues.

In the last decade or so there has been a clear move in feminist academic discourse from addressing gender inequality towards addressing multiple inequalities, followed by a second move towards conceptualising multiple inequalities as *intersecting*. QUING, and LARG within it, proposed that in the current European context gender inequality needs to be discussed in reference to other inequalities. Therefore, within its categorisation, this chapter pays specific attention to frames that consider multiple inequalities and their intersection in one way or another. This may include 'real' intersectional frames where gender and other forms of inequality are seen as intersecting or additive, or frames that propose transformation along axes of inequality other than gender, ending with negative frames about intersectionality, which are exclusive of the gender equality perspective. Intersectional frames are highlighted specifically in all categories, if present. In the last part, the chapter also presents frames unconcerned with gender.

### **3.1 Transformative - Explicit**

In this group of frames, gender inequality is seen as the result of unequal power relations between men and women, which is a social problem in itself. Policy actions are proposed with the aim of transforming society into a more gender equal one. The focus is on the equality of outcomes – that is, on 'real' gender equality. These frames focus on social groups, rather than on individual citizens, families or couples, and equality, gender equality are among the main underlying norms. Explicitly transformative frames have been identified in all four QUING policy issues.

#### ***General Gender Equality***

The *Structural gender inequality* framing puts forward a solidarity-minded, collectivist model of gender equality. The frame is rather abstract or maybe even rhetorical: the diagnostic part often lacks concrete problem formulations and the exact proposed policies also tend to be absent. The frame has two versions. One proposes a broad mix of policies and names NGOs as important actors in the policy process. The other version sees the policy goal as mainstreaming gender equality into all aspects and practices of society. The frame also has an intersectional version, named *Structural intersectionality*. It focuses on differences within the category of 'women' and is concerned with problems of double or multiple oppression or even intersectionality. Multiple/intersecting inequalities, one of which is gender (in)equality, are all seen as structural social problems that necessitate a transformative approach.

#### ***Non-employment***

In the frame *Transform the division of labour: strong gender equality*, the importance of social structures are emphasised and social transformation is the aim, more concrete and specific means are given than in the previous frames. These policies include changing the division of labour and the promotion of active fatherhood – that is, men are an important target group. The frame also has an intersectional version, *Transform the division of labour/strong gender + equality*, where different groups of women are mentioned specifically. The different inequalities are usually seen as additive, and the most oft-named group is that of migrant women, who suffer from double or multiple inequalities along the axes of gender and ethnicity/migrant status.

#### ***Intimate Citizenship***

The *Gender and power in partnership* frame identifies women as a social group, which suffers from structural inequality and the aim of the proposed policies is social transformation. The core problem identified is economic dependence of women on men which is supported by strong normative gender roles; the solutions proposed are greater economic independence of women and partnership policies that take into account this vulnerable position of women. The related intersectional frame, *Gender and power in*

*partnership, migrant couple version* centres on the claim that in migrant couples, the power disparity between spouses is greater than in majority couples, which is explained by migrant women's greater economic dependence on their partners. The proposed policy aims to empower all, but especially migrant women through paid work.

In *Transformation of parenthood*, the rigid, socially prescribed roles for men and women are identified as the problem causing gender inequalities: such roles make it possible for men to leave the responsibilities of childcare and family planning to women. The social transformation is proposed through policies that would encourage men's greater participation in childcare and family planning.

### **Gender-based Violence (GBV)**

*GBV as a problem of structural gender equality*, gender-based violence is understood as a cause and, at the same time, an outcome of structural inequality between men and women. Unequal power relations are seen as key factors both at the level of the couple/family and also at that of society. There are a number of varieties of this frame that all express a transformative understanding of gender equality. The positions and solutions range from mere recognition (naming) of forms of violence (such as domestic violence against women, marital rape and femicide) as forms of gender inequality on one end of the continuum, to proposing policies that would address gender-based violence in the context of a gender equal society at the other end.

The intersectional frame, *Gender-based violence as a manifestation of intersectional inequality*, shows a complex understanding of how violence affects different groups of women, while maintaining the claim that GBV is a universal phenomenon. The framing may explicitly argue against the culturalisation/relativisation of violence (discussed below in the section on rejective frames) and include a focus on voice: a call for minority organisations' involvement in policymaking.

## **3.2 Transformative - Resonant**

Although these frames do not express a vision of gender equality directly, through close analysis we have been able to find analogies with explicitly transformative gender equality frames, because they include a focus on power or on structures. Frames that belong to this category have been identified in the issues of *General Gender Equality* and *Intimate Citizenship*.

### **General Gender Equality**

*Structural inequality* (a version of the frame *Structural gender inequality*, discussed above) is centred on the problem of racism or heteronormativity and the social groups of homosexuals or migrants. Although there is no explicit reference to gender inequality, as structural inequalities are at the heart of the problem formulation, the frame is resonant with the transformative vision of gender equality.

### **Intimate Citizenship**

We argue that the following frames are resonant with the transformative vision of gender equality because their problem formulations focus on power relations and their policy proposals aim for social transformations are analogous with the transformative vision of gender equality.

The frame *Transformative equality of LGBT people* identifies a wide range of societal problems that LGBT people face and envisages a society that respects diversity and is free of prejudice. The most important proposed policy actions are the full recognition of LGBT people and the introduction of same-sex marriage, where the latter is seen as an important

means to shape societal attitudes towards homosexuality. The *Power in partnership* frame is centred on the claim that power permeates intimate relations; protective policies are proposed in the interest of the weaker partner, especially during divorce cases. The third frame, *New families are good for children* (a version of the frame *Wellbeing of children*), is focused on the statement that non-traditional forms of parenthood, such as same-sex or non-biological parenting, can also guarantee the wellbeing of children, thus breaking with traditional parental roles, which brings these frames close to the *Transformation of parenthood* frame.

### **3.3 Inclusive - Explicit**

Policy frames in this group are characterised by an understanding of gender equality that envisages women's inclusion in existing social structures without radical transformations of society in general or gender relations in particular. According to the 'sameness' vision, women and men are fundamentally the same. In this vision, gender equality can be achieved by applying the policy tool of equal treatment. The vision of difference, meanwhile, is based on the view that women are fundamentally different from men, mainly because of women's larger share both in the biological and in the socially constructed aspects of reproduction. To compensate for these differences, special programmes are proposed as a policy tool. We have found that frames expressing the vision of equal valuation of different contributions are less prominent in the analysed European debates.

#### ***General Gender Equality***

In the different varieties of the *Discrimination* frame gender is seen as one axis of discrimination (*Discrimination of women*), mentioned along a few or several other ones (*General antidiscrimination*). In the intersectional version of the frame (*Double discrimination*), a few groups of women are mentioned as suffering discrimination along two or multiple axes of inequality, such as ethnic minority women, poor women or sexual minority women. The proposed policy solution to the problem of discrimination is legal regulation: protective legislation or strict equal treatment (*Strict equal treatment-Individual rights*).

The frame (*Un*)*equal representation and (un)equal opportunities* sees the lack or the low rate of representation of either women or men as a problem and argues for the promotion of equality in areas of life such as politics, the labour market, education, and health care. Within this frame, the under-representation of women and men are seen as equally problematic. The proposed policy action is the promotion of equality through positive actions in order to achieve 'gender balance'. Thus, the understanding of gender equality is less individualistic than in the *Discrimination* frames discussed previously in this report.

#### ***Non-employment***

Although inclusive frames are not centred on gender transformation, gender equality along with the norm of economic development is an important element of both the problem formulations and the proposed policies. In the *Women's inclusion (in the labour market)* frame, the problem is identified as women's low labour market participation, and the solution is seen in increasing it. The intersectional form of this frame, *Include poor and migrant women*, focuses on groups of women described along the axes of gender + race/ethnicity or class. The framing argues for migrant/poor/uneducated women's inclusion in the labour market, or for the need to pay special attention to the labour market position of intersectional groups. The frame *Independence and flexibility for women* is centred on the claim that women's low level of participation in the sphere of paid work makes them financially dependent on their partners; the policy solution is seen as their inclusion in the paid workforce.

In contrast, the frame *Social justice for women* is based on the values of social citizenship, rather than the values of economic development. Women are mentioned as a group whose access to the social rights of citizenship raises special problems and requires particular policy solutions.

### ***Intimate Citizenship***

The frame *Formal equality of spouses* identifies existing marriage legislation as a source of women's lower social status compared to that of men. In the prognostic part, the proposed policy is gender-neutral legislation – that is, the necessary policy tool is seen as equal treatment of men and women. This clearly expresses an inclusive vision of gender equality. A variation of the frame broadens the narrow legal focus by adding that codifying a more equality-based form of intimate relations also sends the message of equality to the whole society, shifting the vision of inclusion towards that of transformation.

### ***Gender-based Violence***

The frame *Women-centred approach to gender-based violence* understands gender-based violence as a universal problem, which is also a public matter, and recognises that women are a major victim group. However, the framing explains violence at a more individual level than the transformative gender-based violence frames discussed previously. Thus, the focus of the problem formulation treats gender as statistical data, not as a source of structural inequality; the policy solution focuses on women 'using' the existing legal framework to solve their special problems, which supports our categorisation of these frames expressing an 'inclusive' vision of gender equality. The frame *Women are responsible* centres on women's individual responsibility in reducing gender-based violence: it is women who should 'implement' existing legislation by coming forward with their complaints about violence and initiating action against perpetrators.

## **3.4 Inclusive - Resonant**

The frames discussed below are not related directly to gender equality, but their analysis has revealed analogies with inclusive gender equality frames, such as a frame that expresses an inclusive understanding of the equality of sexual minorities. In other cases, frames have been interpreted: the close reading of the problem formulation and/or the proposed policies has revealed an inclusive understanding of gender equality. Details of this are given in the discussion of the relevant frames.

### ***General Gender Equality***

The frame *Growth/Demography* is centred on the claim that there is a problem with the country's demographic situation. In the formulation of proposed policies, gender equality is seen as contributing to the solution of this demographic problem and thus, to the growth and increasing wealth of the nation. The frame is resonant with the notion of gender equality as it seen only as an instrument to achieve the other, 'more important' goal of economic growth.

The *Mono discrimination* version of the *Discrimination* frame is centred on one social group that faces discriminated, and the policy goal is to achieve equal treatment for this group. The focus on legal solutions and equal treatment makes it an inclusive frame. Although the framing may focus on women, more often an ethnic minority or a migrant group is in the centre, making it a resonant frame. In the intersectional frame variation *Increase ethnic integration* (frame: *Culturalisation/Externalising the problem*) policy actions are proposed to help the social inclusion of immigrant or ethnic minority groups. The frame is resonant with the notion of gender equality, because these groups are seen as more oppressive towards young women than the majority group, and the vision of reducing social inequalities is 'sameness' or 'difference'.

### ***Non-employment***

*Social justice* is a classic citizenship frame that formulates the problem as the lack of solidarity and (economic) justice. In the prognosis, the policy goal is to increase social solidarity, and the most common proposed policy action is the provision of resources to the needy. The *Family and justice* version of the *Family wellbeing* frame is focused on the wellbeing of families, and often children's quality of life. The *Care crisis/deficit* framing argues that dependent people suffer due to the lack of carers, and the state is seen responsible for solving the problem. In the *Workers' protection* frame, the main underlying norms are the safety and wellbeing of workers.

### ***Intimate Citizenship***

We have characterised the following frames as inclusive because they are centred on the problem of discrimination and propose to end it by legal means, such as the removal of discriminatory laws (equal treatment) and/or creating new institutions (special programmes) – for example, same-sex marriage. Thus, formerly excluded social groups would be included in existing social structures. Although their focus on gender equality is not explicit, clear analogies can be established between women and groups such as sexual minorities or migrants.

The frames *Reproductive and sexual health* and *Alternatives to abortion* focus on questions related to reproduction as a problem of public health (diseases, unsafe abortion and access to good quality health care services), rather than gender equality. The frame *Informed choice* is centred on the argument that individuals need *real* knowledge about reproductive options to benefit from the freedom of choice. It is the responsibility of the state to create conditions that enable free and informed choice. These frames have been interpreted as expressing an 'inclusive' meaning of gender equality, as better reproductive health services would increase gender equality by limiting the extent to which women's lives are determined by their reproductive abilities.

In the frame *Autonomy of intimate relations*, citizens are seen as responsible adults who can make decisions about their lives. Proposed policies include ending the criminalisation of abortion and homosexuality and the removal of discriminatory provisions, such as the age of consent or the age limit in voluntary sterilisation. *Non-discrimination of LGBT individuals* is centred on sexual orientation as the ground of discrimination, and the extension of existing anti-discrimination legislation to sexual orientation is proposed. The frame *Equal rights for same-sex couples* is focused on one aspect of discrimination against LGBT people: the material disadvantages same-sex couples suffer and the recognition of same-sex partnerships are proposed. The *Children for all* frame also claims that current legislation discriminates against same-sex couples, along with single mothers, disabled, elderly and poor people on the basis that they do not have 'access' to children through adoption or assisted reproduction..

There are two intersectional frames in this category. In *Protect equality and freedom*, it is claimed that certain groups, such as religious communities, conservative political parties and migrants, do not share the universal norms of freedom, equality and individual rights. This framing calls for protecting the rights of women and non-heterosexual people against these groups, which implies that the norms of gender equality and equality of sexual minorities are at the basis of this frame. *Non-discrimination of migrants* opposes prejudice against migrants in general, and policy measures aiming to restrict family reunions or the freedom of migrants to choose their spouses in particular. Thus, these frames imagine the inclusion of discriminated groups by removing discrimination and proposing equal treatment of individuals belonging to all social groups.

### **Gender-based Violence**

In this issue, there are several approaches to women's inclusion without an explicit focus on gender equality, or occasionally without even mentioning women as a victim group. In each of these frames, only one or a few aspects of gender-based violence (such as safety, health and economic consequences) are highlighted as a problem, reducing the complexity of the violence phenomenon. These problems are conceptualised as 'deficits' in women's full integration into society, thus the goal of policy is seen as giving compensation for these deficits.

In the *De-gendered individual human rights* frame, women are not mentioned as a specific victim group. The framing refers to human rights norms, rather than gender equality and has a more individualized understanding of violence than the equality framing. Although the framing may show a complex understanding of violence, the focus is on antidiscrimination, and not on social transformation. The *Citizenship* frame conceptualises democracy as full citizenship, and violence is seen as problematic because it prevents victims from fully enjoying their citizenship status. The aim of policy is to remedy the democratic deficit. In the *Public health* frame, violence is seen as a public health problem that affects not only the victims, but society as a whole<sup>1</sup>. *Market and competition* is built around the argument that gender-based violence reduces the labour capacity of victimised women and thus limits economic productivity and growth. The solution is seen in workplace programmes aimed at eliminating this form of violence. Here, violence is seen as a form of discrimination against women that needs to end, but no attention is paid to the causes of violence.

The *Social solidarity* frame conceptualises gender-based violence as connected to poverty and the lack of social protection for vulnerable groups. The *Crime and justice* frame is focused on the threat to both the safety of victims, but especially to that of the public, while the roots and causes of violence are not addressed. Rather, the framing is concerned with the perpetrators and their 'fair' punishment. Similar to the de-gendered human rights frame, this frame is completely de-gendered. This frame is resonant with inclusive gender equality approaches both in terms of focus on the safety of victims and in terms clearly placing responsibility for a crime within the private sphere.

An additional resonant inclusive frame that occurs in all four policy issues is the *Lack of knowledge (about gender)* frame. The problem is formulated as the lack of education about and unawareness of gender issues. The policy solution is seen in education and the dissemination of information. Knowledge frames may be connected to efficiency and good governance frames when institutional groups, such as civil servants, are argued to lack knowledge about gender issues, or when research and training courses are proposed for professionals.

### **3.5 Rejective - Explicitly Reject Gender Equality**

The following frames question the main tenets of gender equality frames and the goal of proposed policies is to maintain the current, gender unequal status quo or even stop policy actions aiming at gender equality. It is a major finding that the analysis showed the presence of such frames in texts that are 'about' gender equality policies.

#### **General Gender Equality**

The *Anti-equality* framing argues that gender equality is the problem, caused by ideologies such as socialism or feminism. According to the *conservative* version of the frame, the promotion of gender equality undermines the traditional, patriarchal family. In the *libertarian*

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<sup>1</sup> The source of this frame is the World Health Organisation, and it has been used in EU texts to compensate for the European Union's lack of competence in matters of gender-based violence.

version of the frame, gender inequalities, such as the pay gap, are seen as objectively justifiable, and it is state intervention against inequalities that is seen as problematic. The *Abolish existing equality initiatives* version of the frame takes a rather extreme rejective position when it proposes an end to existing equality initiatives and legislation.

### ***Non-employment***

The aforementioned conservative-libertarian dichotomy can also be observed in this issue. *Against gender equality* opposes gender equality and favours the 'traditional' gender division of paid and unpaid work. The more libertarian variant sees women's lack of choice as the problem, especially the lack of choice for the traditional roles of women, and it is argued that equality is 'forced' onto people. Proposed policies aim at keeping women at home, or relieving men from compulsory parental leaves.

### ***Intimate Citizenship***

The *Discrimination of fathers* frame calls for an end to discrimination against (divorced) fathers by mothers and judges in divorce and visitation cases. This is rather ironic, as the frame rejects the notion of gender equality, although the frame itself is based on the norm of equality. The frame *Protect the foetus* is also explicitly against gender equality: it calls for the prohibition of abortion and the penalisation of pregnant women and doctors who are involved in terminations of pregnancies.

### ***Gender-based Violence***

The frame *Men as victims* emphasizes the ways in which men, including the perpetrators of gender-based violence are ultimately the victims of violence. The frame's problem formulation may pit the rights of victims and of perpetrators against each other. For example, men's property rights or their freedom of movement are seen to be violated by restraining measures, designed to protect victims of violence, and typically women.

## **3.6 Resonant Rejective Frames**

Several frames in this category contest different tenets of the gender equality framework without openly questioning the norm of gender equality. Alternatively, these frames may propose the introduction of policies that can be seen to implicitly endorse the rejection of gender equality.

### ***General Gender Equality***

The intersectional frame *Culturalisation/externalising the problem* implicitly rejects gender equality through questioning the universality of the gender inequality problem. The frame links gender inequality to immigrant communities or ethnic minorities and constructs them as more patriarchal and 'less equal' than, or not equal to, the majority group. A version of this frame, named *Restrain migration*, proposes to 'send back' these groups to their countries of origin, and/or to restrain migration. A version of the *Anti-equality* frame, named *Keep status quo*, aims at maintaining the 'gender status quo'. It may oppose the institutionalisation of gender equality or argue that inequality is not a real problem; therefore policy initiatives planned to eliminate/limit inequalities are unnecessary.

### ***Intimate Citizenship***

The frames discussed below are rejective to the equality of LGBT people and/or propose policies that 'protect' the institution of the heteronormative family – both features explain why we have interpreted them as implicitly rejecting gender equality.

The frame *Children need classic parents* is centred on the claim that the wellbeing of children can only be guaranteed if they are brought up by both of their biological parents. Thus, the

framing opposes not only the right of same-sex couples to raise children, but also the practices of assisted reproduction and adoption. The diagnostic frame *Demographic crisis* claims that the most serious societal problem of our times is the decline of birth rates and the ageing of the population. The frame links the demographic crisis to debates over homosexuality and the reform of marriage law, arguing that there is a causal relationship between declining birth rates and the transformation of intimate relationships – that is, the decline of births is due to partnership changes. *Prohibition for procreation* also represents a repressive attitude toward reproductive rights: it proposes the prohibition of abortion and voluntary sterilisation or calls for compulsory counselling in order to persuade women not to have abortions, thereby seeming to suggest that there would be more births if reproductive rights were fewer. This reasoning is based on the perception of a 'need' for higher birth rates. The *Conflict of rights* frame is concerned with the clash between equality and the right to religious freedom. Although access to divorce, abortion and voluntary sterilisation are seen as rights that warrant respect, the framing acknowledges that these services contradict foundational tenets of religious teaching, and religious freedom is prioritised.

The *Classic marriage is best* frame is centred on the claim that heterosexual, stable and monogamous marriage is an important and unique institution, which is threatened by legislative proposals, such as recognising cohabitation and extending it to same-sex couples. Policies are proposed that would refuse marriage reforms, codify the 'classic' definition of marriage, and give preference to married couples in government policies. The frame *Homosexuality as deviance* either medicalises homosexuality as a form of sickness or frames it as a sin. The proposed policy action typically is the refusal of legislative initiatives aimed at the equality of LGBT people.

### **Gender-based Violence**

These frames are discussed in two groups. Frames in the first group externalise the problem of gender-based violence in different ways, while those in the second group contrast gender equality with 'family values'.

The frame *Externalising the problem* argues that gender-based violence is not a universal phenomenon, but one that is characteristic of 'other' groups. The frame has a number of variants. One variant form of this frame, *Culturalisation of the problem*, occurs in the context of female genital mutilation, forced marriage and honour violence. It posits that the 'other groups' are ethnic minorities or ethnic migrant families. Policies are proposed that aim specifically at minority groups, and majority women are seen as the representatives of the universal norm. In another variant, *Violence as deviance*, violence is linked (solely) to alcoholism, asocial behaviour or psychological disorders. Another variant, *Problem from abroad*, sees violence as imported by tourists, immigrants or traffickers, and policies are proposed to keep the problem outside the country. These include more restrictive immigration policies, better border protection, aid to potential migrants or their governments, and government lobbying at the EU-level as means to limit migration.

The frame *Privacy and family protection* focuses on the family unit. According to the first variant of this frame, the family, not the individual victim, suffers from violence, and violence is seen as both the cause and the consequence of deteriorating family norms. The solution is seen as protecting the integrity of the family unit at all costs: proposed policies include support to the family, such as mediation between the victim and the perpetrator and promoting traditional family norms. The second variant of the frame is focused on the privacy of the family and sees gender-based violence in the family as less problematic than violence in the 'public sphere'. Alternatively, the framing may argue that even if violence in the family is recognised, the procedure of proving it would be prone to abuse and difficult or even impossible to carry out. Thus, intervention into the private realm is refused, or limited in this framing, and there may be an emphasis on protecting the liberties of perpetrators who are affected by restraining orders.

**Table 1. Policy frames in gender equality debates in Europe**

	<b>GGE</b>	<b>NE</b>	<b>IC</b>	<b>GBV</b>
<b>Transformative -explicit</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Structural gender inequality</li> <li>- Structural intersectionality</li> <li>- Complex intervention</li> </ul> Mainstreaming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Transform the division of labour: strong gender equality</li> <li>- Transform the division of labour: strong gender + equality</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Transformation of parenthood</li> <li>- Gender and power in partnership</li> <li>- Gender and power in partnership, migrant couple version</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- D-GBV as structural gender inequality</li> <li>- D-GBV as intersectional inequality</li> <li>- P-Gender equality</li> </ul>
<b>Transformative -resonant</b>	Structural inequality	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- New families are good for children</li> <li>- Power in partnership</li> <li>- Transformative equality of LGBT people</li> </ul>	-
<b>Inclusive- explicit</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- D-Discrimination of women</li> <li>- D-Double discrimination</li> <li>- D-General anti-disc.</li> <li>- P-Strict equal treatment (individual rights)</li> <li>- (Un)equal representation and (un)equal opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Full employment for women</li> <li>-Women's inclusion: workers and mothers</li> <li>- Include poor and migrant w.</li> <li>- independence, flexibility for women</li> <li>- Social justice for women</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Formal equality of spouses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- D-Women centred approach to gender-based violence</li> <li>- P-Women are responsible-</li> </ul>
<b>Inclusive- resonant</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Growth/Demography</li> <li>- Mono discrimination</li> <li>- Increase ethnic integration</li> <li>- Lack of knowledge</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social justice</li> <li>- Family and Family wellbeing</li> <li>- Care crisis/deficit</li> <li>- Workers' protection</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reproductive and sexual health</li> <li>- Alternatives to abortion</li> <li>- Informed choice</li> <li>- Equal rights for same-sex couples</li> <li>- Children for all</li> <li>- Autonomy of intimate relations</li> <li>- Non-discrimination of LGBT individuals</li> <li>- Protect equality and freedom</li> <li>- Non-discrimination of migrants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- De-gendered individual human rights</li> <li>- Crime and justice</li> <li>- Citizenship</li> <li>- Public health</li> <li>- Social solidarity</li> <li>- D, P-Market and competition</li> <li>- Lack of knowledge</li> </ul>

<b>Rejective-explicit</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conservative anti-equality</li> <li>- Libertarian anti-equality</li> <li>- Abolish existing equality initiatives</li> </ul>	Against gender equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Discrimination of fathers</li> <li>- Protect the foetus</li> </ul>	Men as victims
<b>Rejective resonant</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Culturalisation/externalising the problem</li> <li>- Keep status quo</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Children need classic parents</li> <li>- Demographic crisis</li> <li>- Prohibition for procreation</li> <li>- Conflict of rights</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- D-Externalising the problem</li> <li>- D-Culturalise of the problem</li> <li>- D-Violence as deviance</li> <li>- D-Problem from abroad</li> <li>- P-Relative gender equality</li> <li>- P-Keep the problem away from us</li> <li>- D-Privacy and family protection</li> <li>- P-Support for family unity</li> <li>- P-Refusal of/reluctance to state intervention</li> </ul>

### **3.7 Frames Unconcerned with Gender Equality**

The frames discussed in this section are not concerned with gender equality. The majority articulate procedural problem definitions and occur in conjunction with other, more substantive frames in policy texts. Some in the issue of Non-employment are substantive frames; however, they are not concerned with gender equality.

We first discuss frames found across policy issues, then turn to issue-specific ones.

#### ***State Efficiency – Good Governance/Quality of Legislation/Follow Social Reality***

In these frames, the problem is defined as the inefficiency of the government, the parliament, other official bodies or the poor quality of current legislation. The existing policy framework may be criticised for not matching social reality. In the prognosis, the framing calls on the state to modernise legislation, make the implementation of laws more effective, or provide more resources.

#### ***International Obligations/Europeanisation***

These frames identify the problem as the lack of conformity with international – EU or UN – laws and policies and propose a compliance with these legal instruments. They can also be linked to the notions of state efficiency and good governance as the framing implies the state's failure to adopt and/or implement international standards. Additionally, references can be made to trends in other European countries and international co-operation. The legal instruments or policies that are in the focus of these frames may be related to gender equality; the frames themselves are only concerned with procedural, technical issues of policymaking.

#### ***Social Debate/Active Citizenship and Dialogue***

These frames occur in the issues of General gender equality and Non-employment and are unconcerned with gender equality. It is argued in the frames that the policy process is undemocratic, because there has been insufficient consultation with relevant groups of stakeholders. This should be remedied, for instance, by listening to the opinion of the public or including NGOs in the policy process.

#### ***Issue Specific Frames in Non-employment***

The frames *Efficient capitalism* and *Fragile capitalism* are centred on the claim that there is a problem with the functioning of the economy, shown by the declining growth of high economic costs. The policy solution is the increase of employment, and the government is seen as responsible for these steps.

#### ***Issue Specific Frames in Intimate Citizenship***

At the core of the *Economic development and adversary budget effects* frame is the argument that policies on intimate relations have (macro)economic consequences: current or proposed legislation causes significant burdens for the budget, costs are disproportionate to the goals to achieve, the same amount of money could be used/is needed elsewhere, or that the policies hinder economic development in general.

#### ***Issue Specific Frames in Gender-based Violence***

The frame *Delegation of state responsibility* is centred on the claim that various actors should have a major role in dealing with the problem of violence; dealing with violence is not only the responsibility of the state. The proposed solution is to delegate responsibility away from the state.

## Chapter 4

### Framing Gender+ Equality in Europe

As shown in the previous chapter, the investigation of policy debates on gender-related issues found that there are different ways in which policy voices may engage with gender equality. The QUING analysis has grouped the list of policy frames, found in debates along the four researched policy issues, according to their relationship to gender and to the vision of gender equality they imply. It differentiated between frames that express a transformative vision on gender equality, frames that have an inclusionary vision on gender equality, and frames that reject the idea of gender equality. It was argued that all these visions may either be expressed explicitly or be captured by frames that implicitly relate to gender equality. Besides frames that had some relationship to gender equality the analysis has found frames in all four policy issues that remained unconcerned with this question.

Along the lines set in the previous chapter, this chapter aims to focus on analysing the variation of framings of gender equality across countries and issues. It looks at how the types of frames, categorised in Chapter 3, are present across different countries, across different texts, coming from governmental or NGO voices, and across the four analysed issues. The report does this in order to: compare the strength of transformative and inclusive visions of gender equality emerging in European debates; understand the prevalence of framing that rejects gender equality, in one way or another, across Europe; and assess the presence of gender in different ways of talking about issues of high relevance to gender equality.

In order to work with framing in the number of policy texts and the number of countries analysed by QUING in a comparative way, this chapter goes beyond the qualitative method of frame analysis. It attempts to operationalise the distribution of frames and convert them into numerical data. A series of decisions were made in order to standardise the framing of the analysed texts. Based on these decisions, texts were allocated numerical indicators. Ultimately data was computed into indicators on transformative, inclusive and rejective framing (explicit and resonant alike) per issues, per countries and per text types. These indicators were fused together to give an overall indicator for the gender equality quality of policy debates in each country. The indicator was computed to be sensitive to the strength of each frame (as coded by researchers), to the overt or covert expression of its relation to gender equality, and to the type of text in which it occurs, giving most weight to laws and law explanations, less to policy plans, and least to parliamentary speeches and civil society texts. Finally, frames were also weighted to balance sampling dissimilarities, so that larger numbers of analysed texts do not result in increased values of the indicators. For more on methodological decisions, see Chapter 2.

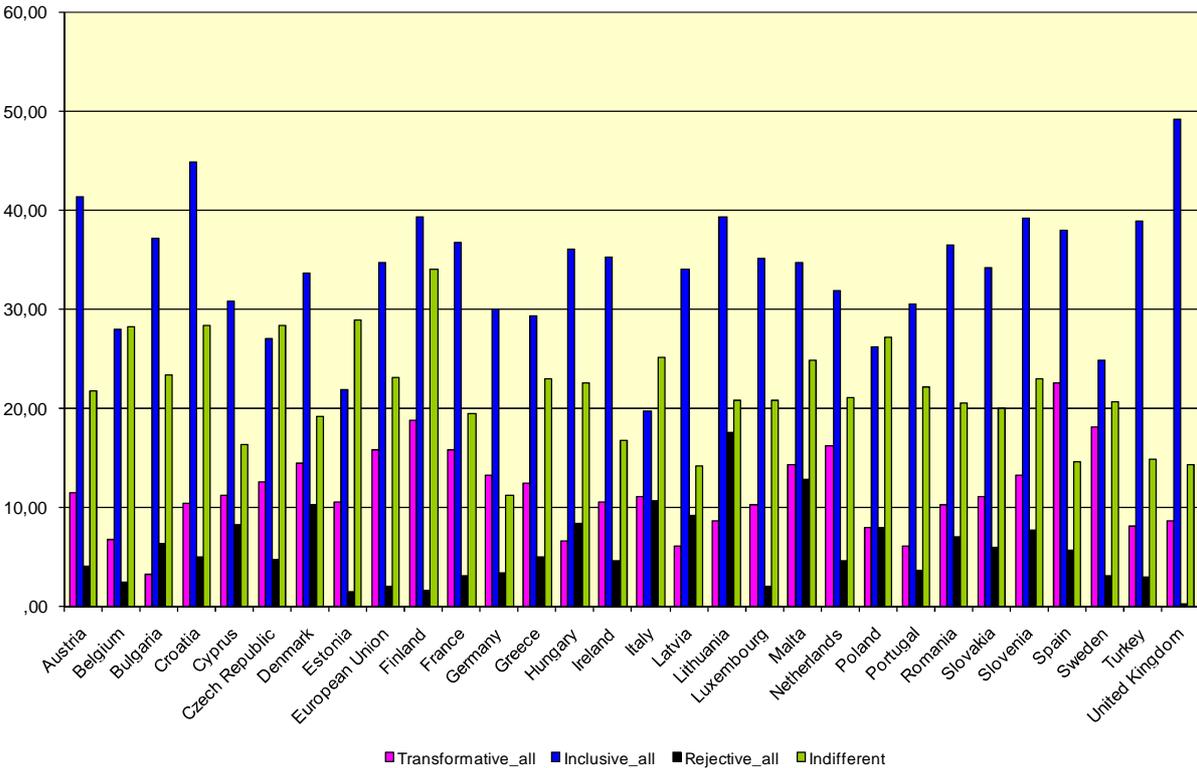
Therefore, in order to understand better the variation between countries, for purposes of this chapter, resonant and explicit frames are treated separately for transformative and inclusive frames on gender equality. QUING data shows that frames that reject gender equality explicitly are extremely rare in Europe. Meanwhile, more sophisticated forms of contestation to gender equality are replacing them, expressing major arguments against some of the basic tenets of gender equality, without questioning openly the legitimacy of gender equality approaches. In order to capture better the rejection of gender equality in Europe, the analysis in this chapter consistently groups together frames that explicitly reject gender equality and frames that are resonant with rejecting it.

In this chapter, the analysis focuses on framing gender equality. Therefore, the chapter will only look at frames that have an explicit or at least an implicit link (being resonant) to gender equality. Other, unconcerned frames will not be part of the analysis below. *Chart 1* shows the proportion of framing that is not concerned with gender equality in comparison with frames that explicitly or implicitly express transformative visions, inclusive visions or are rejective of gender equality. The chart shows the rates of unconcerned, transformative, inclusive or

rejective frames (explicit and resonant included) by country, looking at all the documents analysed in QUING (including laws, policy plans, parliamentary debates and civil society texts).

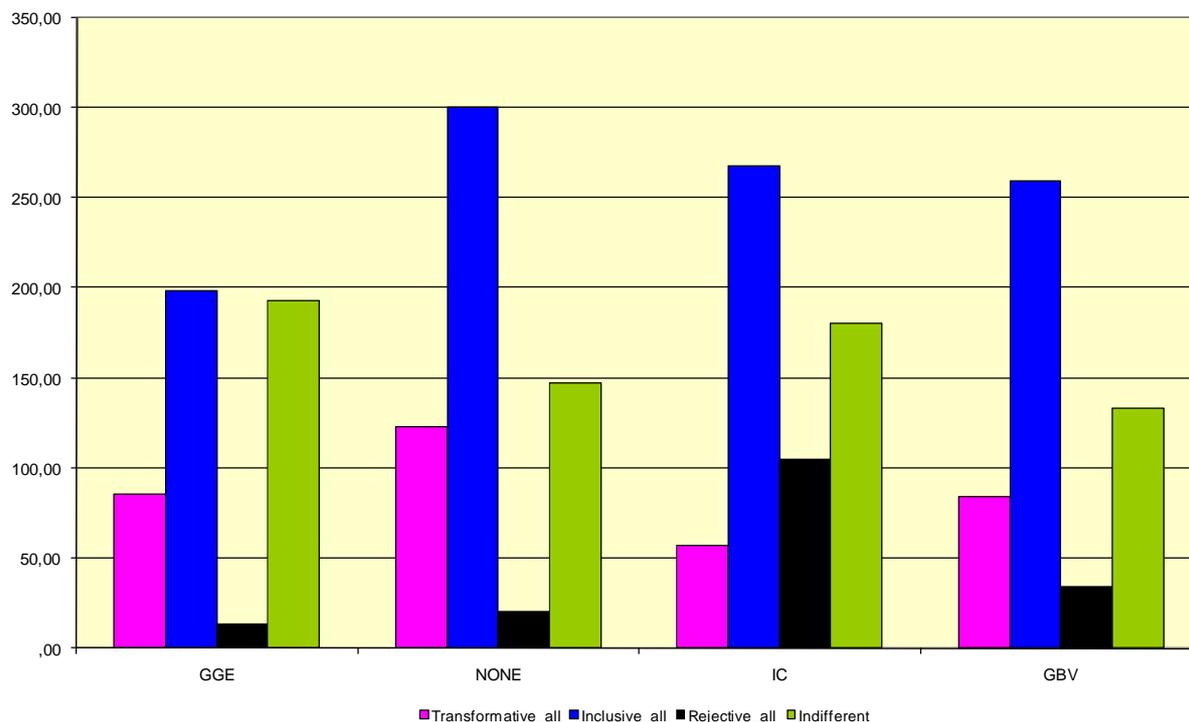
Chart 1 indicates that in all countries of Europe, content that is entirely unconcerned with gender equality has major weight in debates on the four gender equality issues. This weight is more moderate in Cyprus, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Latvia, Spain, Turkey and the UK. However, it is almost as high as the weight of all-inclusive frames (explicit and resonant included) in Belgium, Czech Republic, Finland, Poland and Sweden.

**Chart 1. Distribution of indifferent, transformative, inclusive and rejective frames (explicit and resonant) across countries**



When looking at how content that is unconcerned with gender equality varies across the four issues, it is clear that the rate of gender-neutral frames is highest in the issue of general gender equality, followed by intimate citizenship and non-employment, with gender-based violence coming last (*Chart.*). This may be explained by international influence frames (the presence of EU influence especially in General Gender Equality), or functionalist frames concerning the inefficiency of institutions, which are among the main components of the ‘unconcerned’ frame category. Framing that is unconcerned with gender equality may occur because the policy debate narrows the wider policy issue (which has a high relevance to gender equality) to side issues that are unrelated to and unconcerned with gender or gender equality (like in case of Intimate Citizenship). This could also be the result of strategic decisions to avoid gender-related discussion and framing.

**Chart 2. Distribution of indifferent, transformative, inclusive and rejective frames (explicit and resonant) across policy issues**



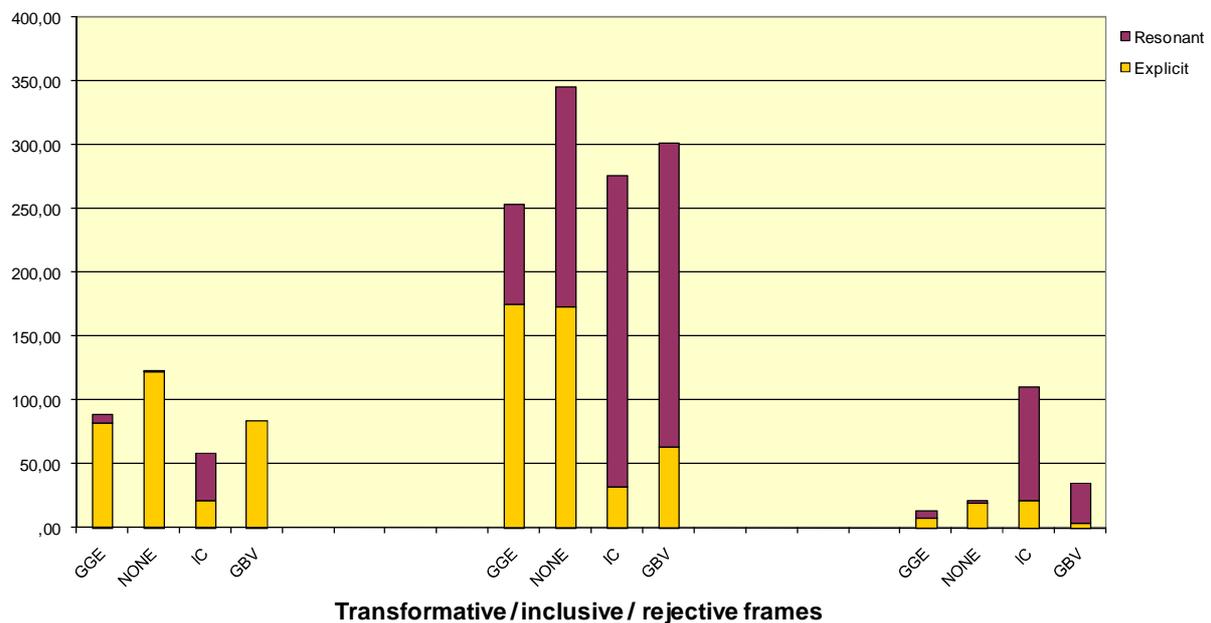
While rates show that unconcerned framing is extremely significant across Europe, this chapter focuses on understanding framing that relates to gender equality and puts aside unconcerned frames for purposes of this analysis.

Both Chart 1 and 2, which groups together explicit and resonant gender equality frames, also shows the outstanding predominance of inclusive approaches to gender equality. The relatively low levels of both transformative and rejective frames are also worth noting. The picture seems relatively uniform across both countries and issues.

#### 4.1 Similarities and Differences between Policy Issues

How does framing of gender equality vary across the four policy issues examined? In order to analyse this, we looked at the weight of transformative, inclusive and rejective gender equality frames among documents, taking into account explicit and resonant frames separately within the four issues. Variations in Chart 3 shows a number of common patterns, as well as some differences between the four issues.

**Chart 3. Rate of explicitly and implicitly transformative, inclusive and rejective frames within an issue**



First, looking at frames with an explicit relation to gender equality in General Gender Equality and Non-employment – the two topics where the EU has the most prominent stranding – there are some similarities. Explicitly inclusive frames are dominant, with transformative frames lagging behind at around or somewhat less than half of those. Non-employment texts include the strongest transformative content, and seemingly once it comes through it occurs explicitly. Although explicit rejection in the analysed texts, in general, is hardly present, it is there in Non-employment, as well as in Intimate Citizenship. In the latter, the rate of explicitly rejective frames is relatively higher as compared to the other three issues. Intimate citizenship stands out in having the least explicitly transformative and inclusive content on gender equality, meaning it is the least articulated issue in terms of gender equality. If only explicit gender equality content is scrutinized, interestingly in Gender-based Violence transformative frames come to dominate. This means that once Gender-based Violence texts speak about the issue in gendered ways it would probably be a transformative framing. Explicit rejection is virtually absent in Gender-based Violence.

When looking at explicit and resonant frames jointly, some of the main imbalances between issues change. With resonant frames included, inclusive framing becomes dominant also in GBV. IC does better in transformative content: it comes through frames that are resonant with, but not explicit on, gender equality. Indeed, by the definition of this issue several of the frames relates to LGBT rights, which we did not take as frames driven explicitly by gender equality; however, it is through this focus where transformative content appears. Including resonant frames raises also inclusive and rejective content significantly in IC. By accounting for frames that resonate with gender equality, the inclusive content becomes even stronger in IC than in GGE. The remarkably high rate of rejective frames in IC conveys the strength of frames that are concerned mainly about the decline of birth rates and propose the rejection of reforming the institution of classical marriage. Finally, rejective content seems to come mainly through resonant frames also in GBV. Frames such as family *protection*, *culturalisation of the problem* fill up this content.

If frames are disaggregated according to type of documents, and governmental texts, including laws and policy plans, are compared to civil society texts, it becomes clear that the

rates of explicitly pro-gender frames are significantly higher among civil society documents than the weights of rejective frames (see Charts 4, 5, 6, 7).

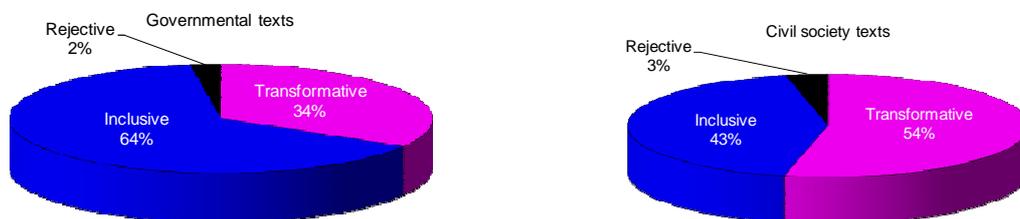
If only pro-gender frames are accounted, the issue-based analysis below presents that in both GGE and NONE inclusive frames dominate over transformative frames in governmental texts. The strength of those is more balanced in civil society documents, though, in GGE inclusive frames remain more prevalent among them. As stated above in GBV the rate of transformative frames, compared to other issues, is higher in general. Chart 7 shows that not only civil society texts but also laws and policy plans represent some transformative content related to gender equality. From a more in-depth analysis, it also turns out that while transformative frames adopted by civil documents vary in their focus, transformative frames in governmental texts primarily focus on *gender-based violence as a manifestation of intersectional inequality* and the need for *complex intervention* to achieve gender equality. Although in IC the weight of transformative frames is greater in civil society than in governmental texts, the rate of those remains less than either rejective or explicitly inclusive frames among them.

The strong presence of rejective frames among both governmental and civil society documents in IC resonates well with the generally high number of documents framing rejection against gender equality related to IC, presented above by Chart 3. Even in civil society texts, the rate of explicitly and implicitly rejective frames exceeds one-third of the analysed frames. This can be explained by the dominance of such frames as *classic marriage*, or *children to have classic parents*. Characteristically, rejective content in civil society texts is weaker than in either laws or policy plans, yet in NONE some civil texts bring a frame *against gender equality*, which typically advocates for home care and a classical division of labour, and this leads to a higher rate of rejective frames among civil society texts compared to those among governmental documents.

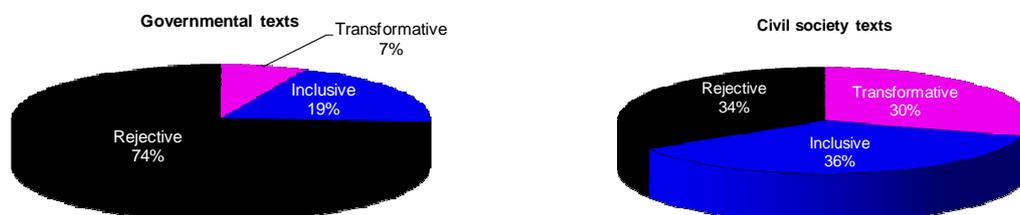
**Chart 4. Rate of explicitly transformative and inclusive, and both explicit and resonant rejective frames within the General Gender Equality issue by document type**



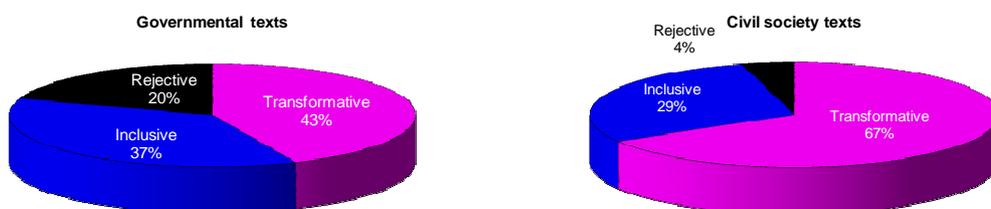
**Chart 5. Rate of explicitly transformative and inclusive, and both explicit and resonant rejective frames within the Non-employment issue by document type**



**Chart 6. Rate of explicitly transformative and inclusive, and both explicit and resonant rejective frames within the Intimate Citizenship issue by document type**



**Chart 7. Rate of explicitly transformative and inclusive, and both explicit and resonant rejective frames within the Gender-based Violence issue by document type**



## 4.2 Similarities and Differences in Framing Gender Equality between Countries of Europe

In order to understand how framing of gender equality varies in the analysed texts from different countries of Europe, this chapter proceeds in three steps. This section looks at variation by looking at the three approaches to gender equality, namely to transformative, inclusive and rejective frames in each country, and proposes a typology of countries. The next section (4.3) will look at relational aspects between transformative and inclusive approaches, the total weight of explicit pro-gender equality framing (including transformative and inclusive approaches), and the weight of rejective framings against pro-gender equality. The third section (4.4) will introduce a composite indicator, as mentioned above, on the quality of gender equality debates, and will present how countries can be ranked based on that.

**Chart 8. Explicitly transformative and inclusive, and both explicitly and implicitly rejective frames in terms of gender equality (weighted by frame strengths)**

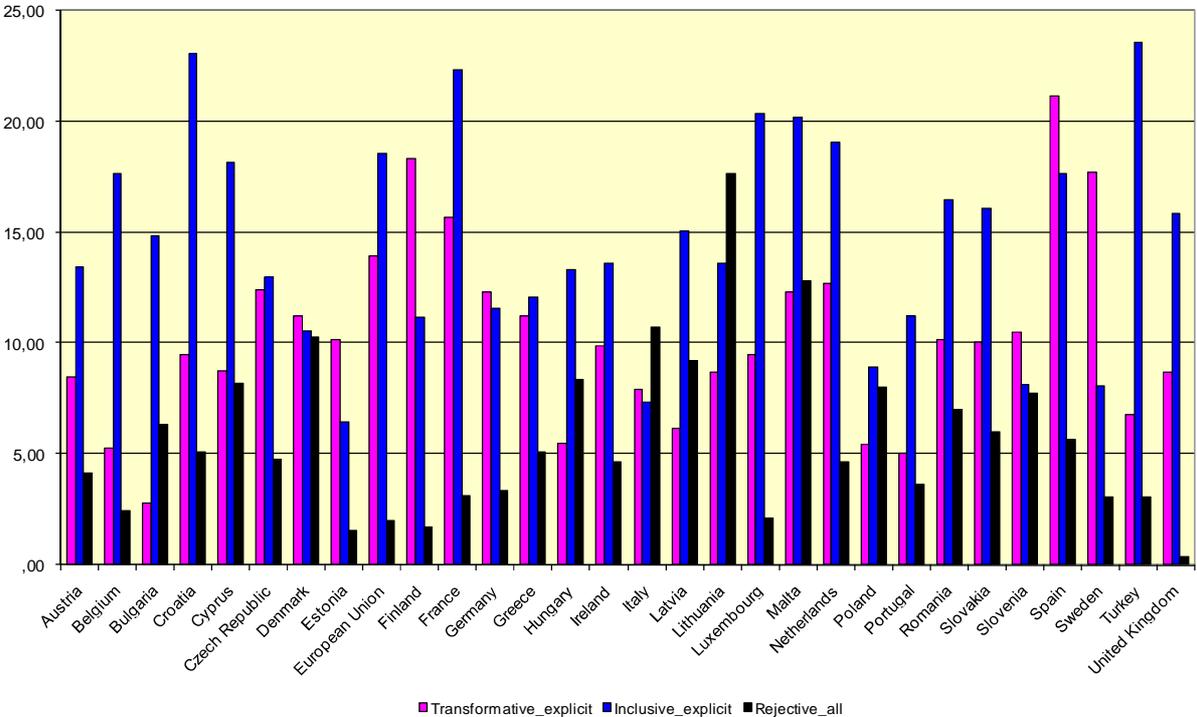


Chart 8 presents the weight of explicit gender equality content, along with the both explicitly and implicitly rejective frames across countries. The chart shows that in the overwhelming majority of countries, as well as in the EU, inclusive framing dominates strongly over transformative framing. Only in few cases do transformative approaches come close to or dominate inclusive ones. These are the Scandinavian states (Denmark, Finland, Sweden), Germany, Spain and, interestingly, two of the new EU member states: Estonia and Slovenia. Among these, Finland, Spain and Sweden stand out as having an overwhelmingly strong presence of transformative frames. While in the case of Finland and Sweden, the issues of NONE brings the transformative content, most of Spain’s transformative frames relate to GBV.

Framing that is rejective of gender equality seems to be relatively weak in the majority of countries. Nevertheless, a number of countries come across as having a particularly strong presence of rejective speech in policy debates. These are: Denmark, Italy, Lithuania, and Malta. Yet, Cyprus, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, and Slovenia also rank above the mean.

Interestingly, among old member states, Denmark and Italy stand out. In the case of Denmark, strong rejective frames come by the representation of traditional gender division between paid and unpaid labour in NONE, and the externalisation by the *culturalisation of the problem* in GBV. The latter is a present framing among GBV texts in Italy, as well. There, such IC frames (like *classic marriage* and *children need classic parents*) strengthen the voices that reject gender equality. These countries, along with Poland and Slovenia from the new member states, seem to have polarised debates, as transformative, inclusive and rejective approaches have close to similar values.

Countries that have particularly strong values with regard to the presence of both transformative and inclusive approaches, as well as relatively a weak rejection of gender equality include, besides the EU, Finland, France, the Netherlands and Spain. If the two pro-gender equality approaches are taken together, the analysis shows that in our sample – as expected – in none of the countries of Europe do contesting approaches compare or even rank close to them.

When looking at the same data broken down to governmental texts (laws, law explanations, policy plans) versus civil society texts, some clear patterns appear. Chart 9 shows that transformative approaches have a lower presence in many countries, yet not in the EU, or in Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Lithuania, Slovenia, Spain and Sweden. In Bulgaria, transformative approaches have no presence at all in governmental texts. Meanwhile (and this is a particularly interesting finding of our analysis), in Spain, the state seems to transform from above, that is, the government approach is even more transformative than the approach of the overall debate taken together with civil society. Similarly, the weight of rejective approaches also decreases if one only looks at framing by the governments. In some countries, framing that is explicitly rejective or contests gender equality in some resonant ways is entirely absent from governmental texts. This happens in the EU, Finland, Estonia, Portugal, Sweden and the UK.

**Chart 9. Explicitly transformative and inclusive, and both explicitly and implicitly rejective frames of governmental texts (weighted by frame strengths)**

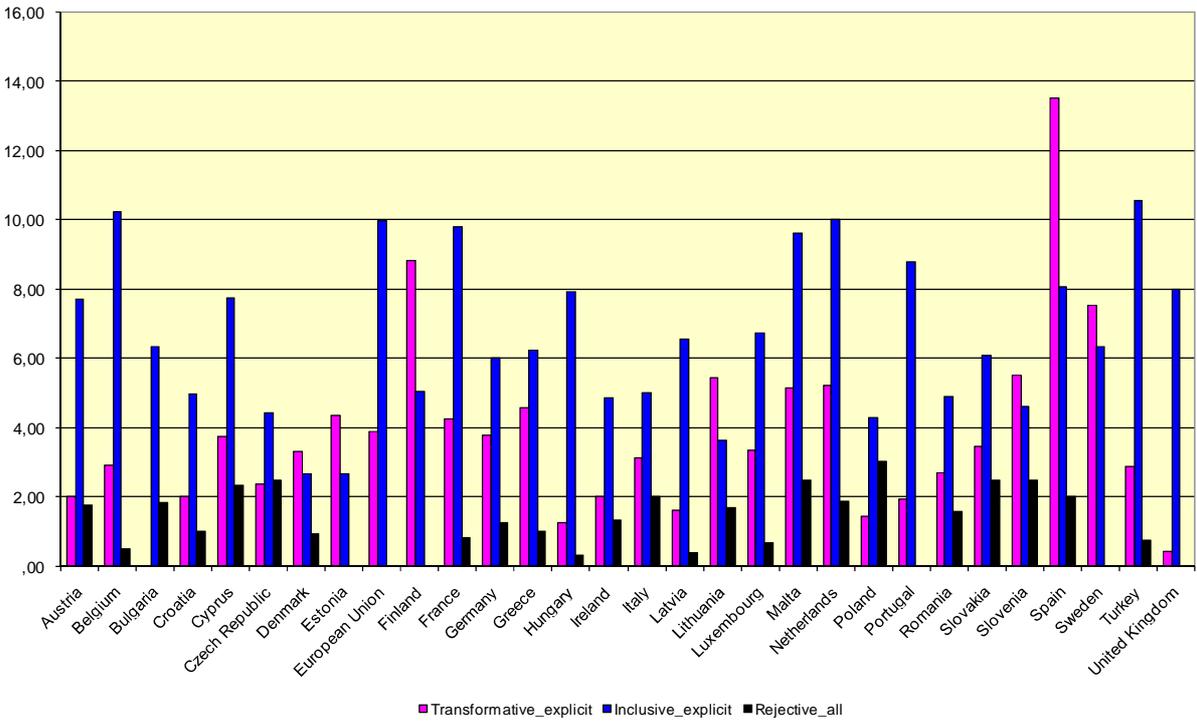
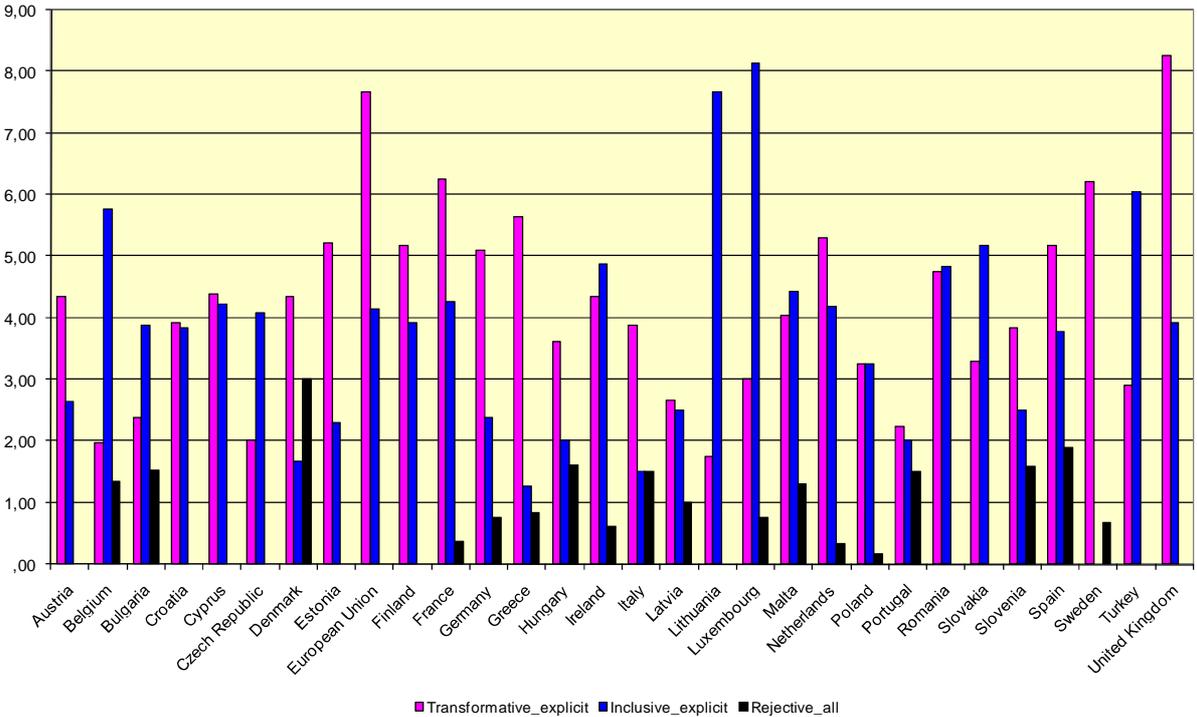


Chart 10 presents the same data in civil society voices. It unsurprisingly shows the massive increase in the weight of transformative frames and the massive drop, or even disappearance of rejective frames. Relevant presence of rejective frames can be explained by sampling decisions to include openly rejective civil society voices (such as the Catholic Church) in countries where these were particularly relevant.

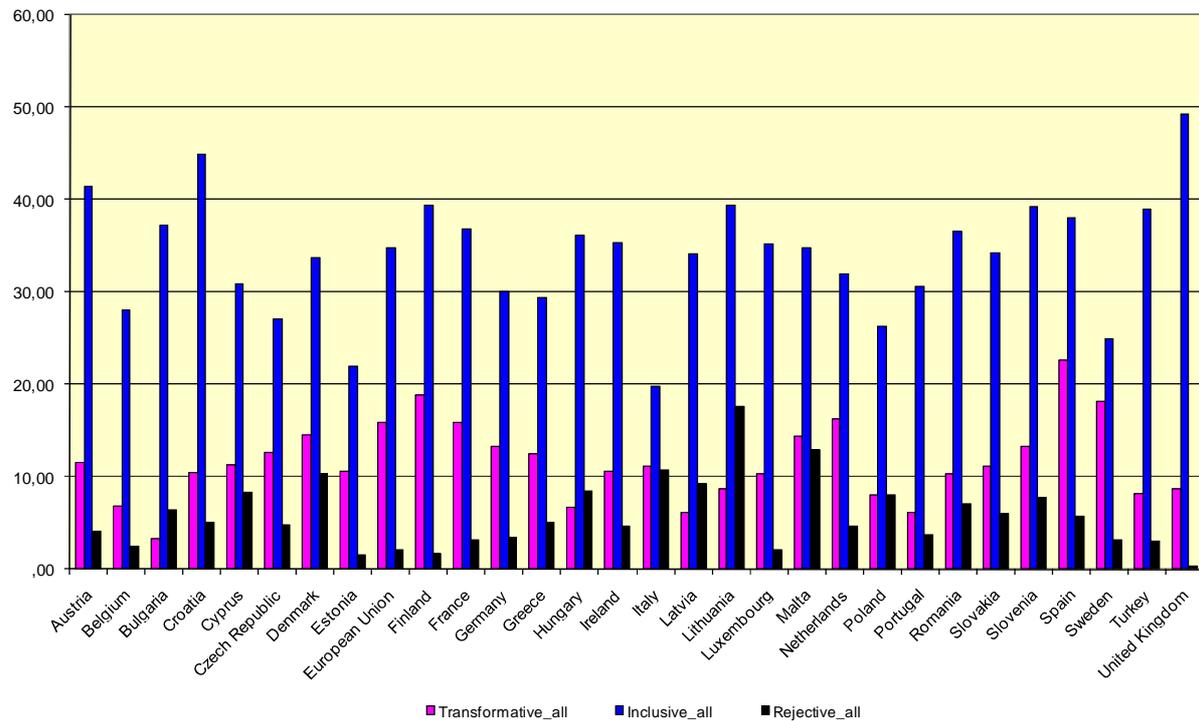
An interesting finding in the NGO realm is the parallel presence of both inclusive and transformative frames, indicating variation in understanding gender equality across even the NGO sector. Similar presence of transformative and inclusive content can be found in Croatia, Cyprus, Ireland, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Portugal and Romania, that is mainly latecomers to the EU. Inclusive content is dominant even in the civil society realm in Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Slovakia, and Turkey. The rest of the countries have dominantly transformative content in the civil society texts. Interestingly, these countries again include Estonia, Hungary and Slovenia from among the new member states along with such strongholds of gender equality thinking as Sweden, Spain, EU, Finland and others (Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands and the UK).

**Chart 10. Explicitly transformative and inclusive, and both explicitly and implicitly rejective frames of NGO texts (weighted by frame strengths)**



If resonant pro-gender equality frames are also taken into consideration in the data (see Chart 11), the variation between countries remains somewhat the same as when looking at explicitly transformative or inclusive content alone (see Chart 8). However, some countries, including Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Lithuania, Slovenia, and the UK, improve their position considerably in terms of the weight of pro-gender framings. This indicates that in these countries there is a tendency to use de-gendered yet gender equality-sensitive framing in the course of gender equality-relevant policy debates.

**Chart 11. Explicitly and implicitly transformative, inclusive and rejective frames in terms of gender equality (weighted by frame strengths)**

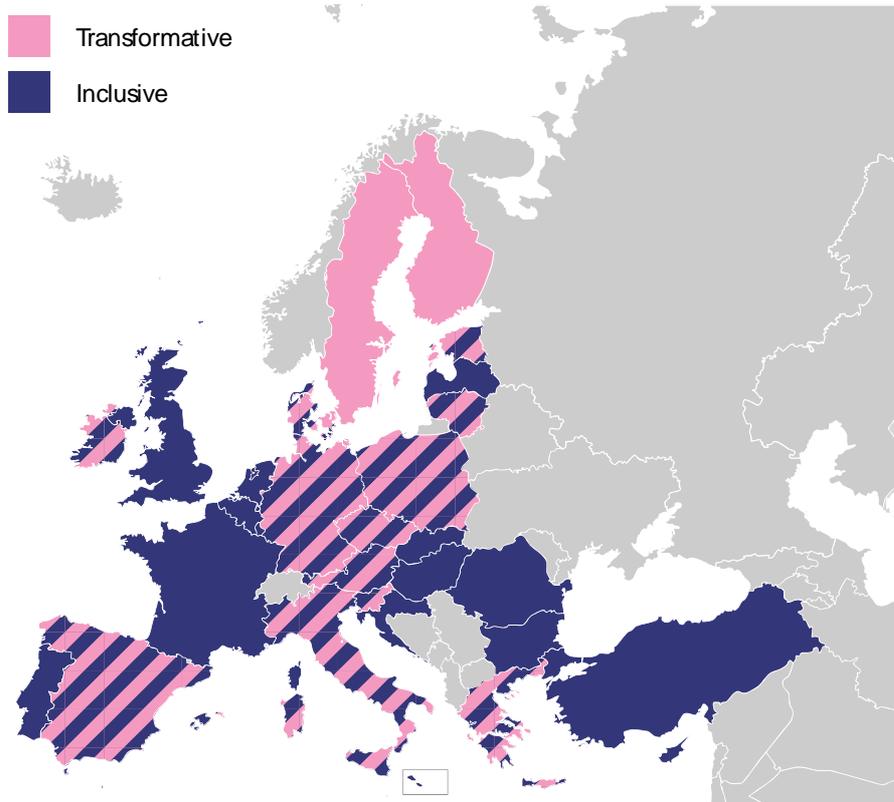


### 4.3 Three Dimensions of Framing Gender Equality

The data presented in the previous sections provides information about the gender equality content of gender-relevant policy debates in three important ways. First, by measuring the relationship between the weight of transformative and inclusive approaches to gender equality, second by assessing the overall weight of explicit pro-gender equality framing, and third by assessing the strength of either explicitly or implicitly rejective framing across countries. All three aspects together give important information on how countries of Europe differ in framing gender equality.

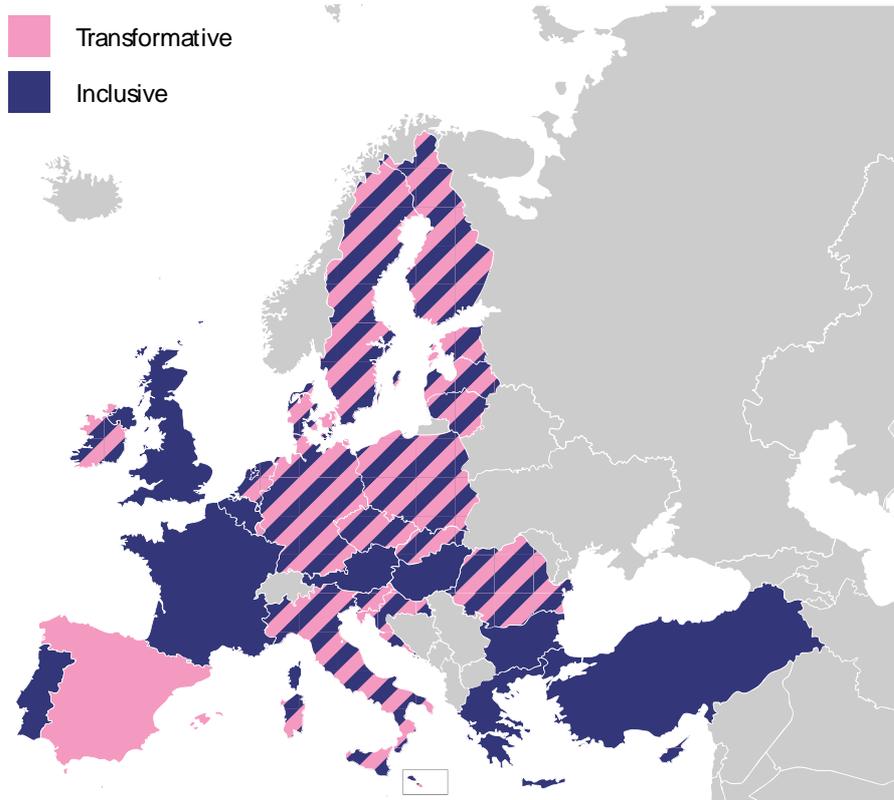
The presence of inclusive and transformative visions of gender equality and the relationship between them is a core question of feminist policy debates on what is good quality of gender equality policy. While previous work has pointed out the necessity for transformative approaches to address structural gender inequality problems in their depth (Rees 1998, Squires 1999, Walby 2005), there is no evidently accepted, optimal way in which transformative and inclusive approaches can combine and work together in the ‘three-legged stool’ model (Booth & Bennett 2002). Across Europe, there is an increasing presence of transformative framing but inclusive approaches are still dominant in many countries and across the four policy issues if looked upon in general (see above). Map 1 and 2 show the variation between countries of Europe in terms of whether transformative or inclusive approaches prevail in policy texts concerning gender equality issues.

**Map 1. Relationship between transformative and inclusive gender equality framing in debates across Europe**



Map 1 looks at the overall debates and, to a certain degree, disconfirms regional homogeneity in gender equality framing. It shows that inclusive approaches are the dominant in the overwhelming majority of countries. Transformative approaches stand out only in Scandinavia, in Sweden and Finland, but not in Denmark. Inclusive approaches dominate in: Portugal, France, the UK, the Benelux states, Latvia, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Malta, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Cyprus. Transformative approaches and inclusive ones are balanced in several countries including Spain, Ireland, Italy, Greece, Denmark, Germany, Poland, Czech Republic, Austria, Slovenia, Estonia, and Lithuania.

**Map 2. Relationship between transformative and inclusive gender equality framing in governmental texts**



If only governmental texts are examined, the general pattern is less transformation, which results either in more co-occurrences of inclusion and transformation (Sweden and Finland), or in more inclusion (Austria). Exceptions to this are Spain, Latvia, Slovakia, Romania, Croatia, and Malta where governmental texts seem to be more transformative than the overall sample of texts.

A second important dimension of gender equality framing is the weight of pro-gender equality frames that include both transformative and inclusive approaches to equality.

**Chart 12. Weight of explicitly pro-gender equality framing**

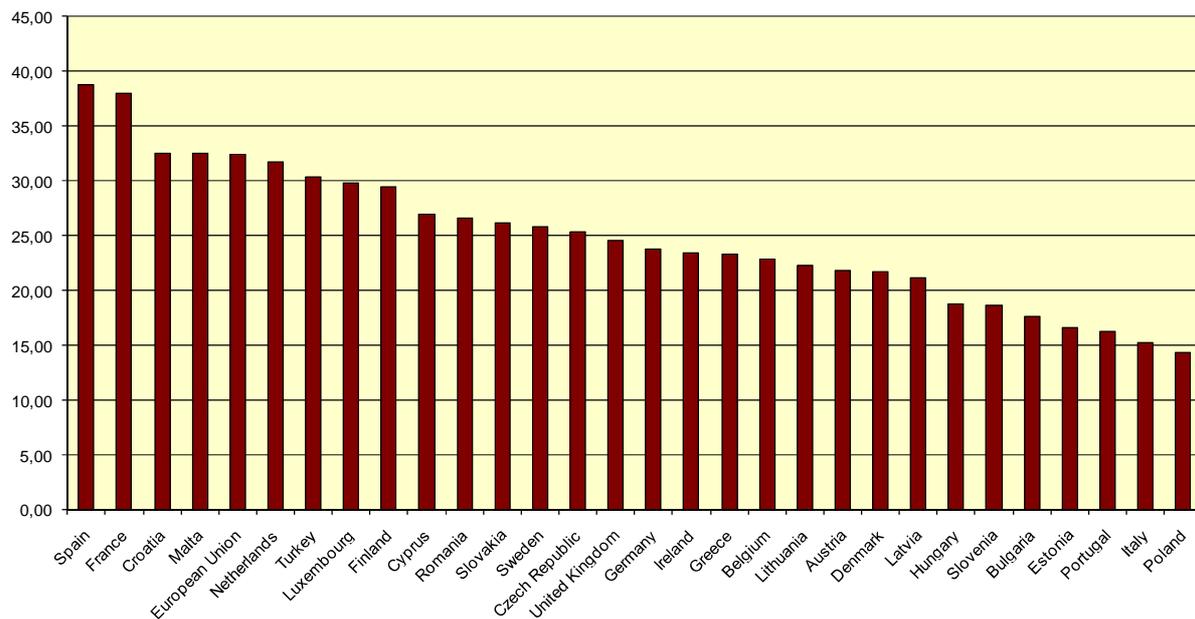
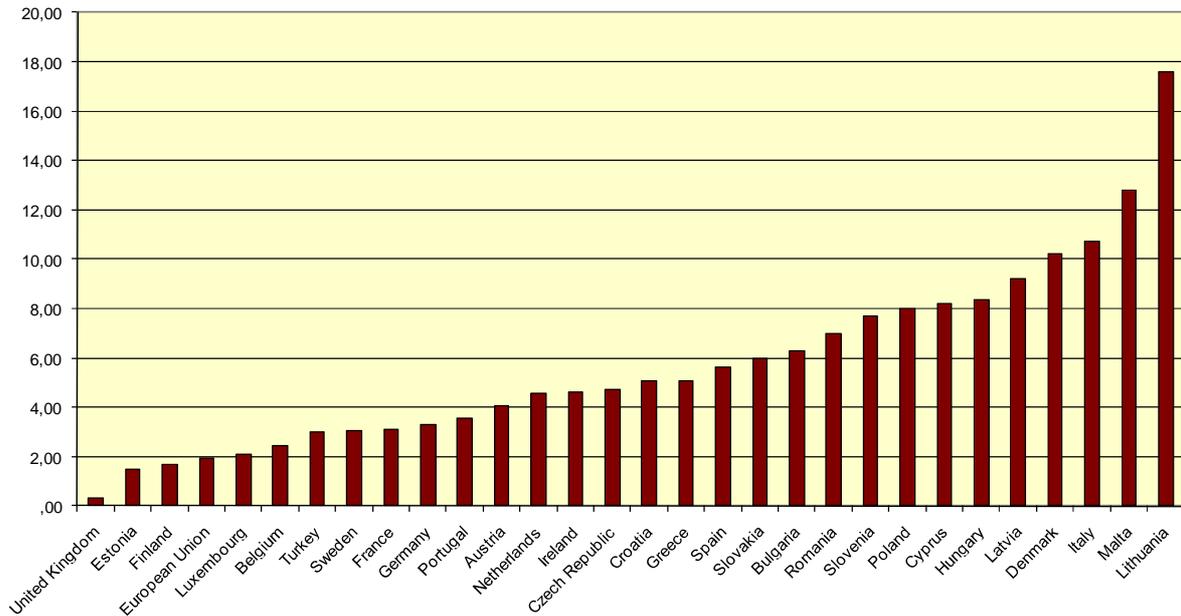


Chart 12 shows the ranking of countries by this weight in overall debates. While Spain and France stay in front of the list, this combined indicator shows a number of other countries coming to the top, besides the EU, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, including new member states like Croatia, Malta, but also Turkey. These countries do better than Finland and Sweden, which come up in the top only if transformative framing was taken to be the norm for gender equality framing quality. It is important to note though that this combined look at pro-gender equality content does not look at the weight of rejective speech, and also does not rate the transformative approaches as more important than inclusive ones. Hence these provide the reasons why Croatia, Malta and Turkey, both having extremely strong inclusive but little transformative content in their debates, additionally strong rejective content in Malta, can come before Finland and Sweden in this measure.

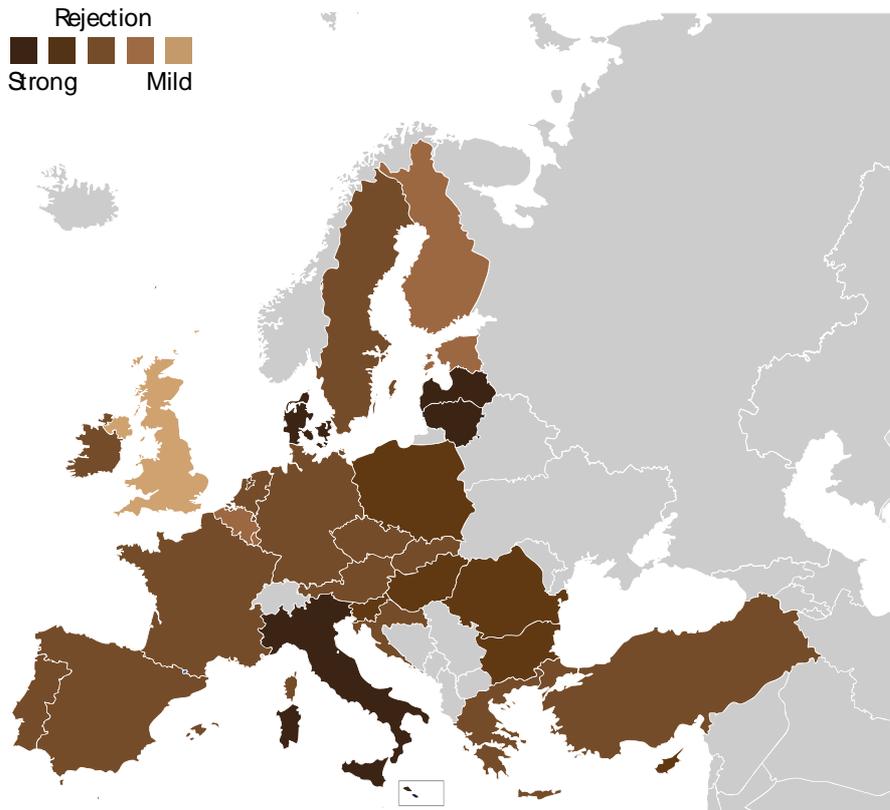
Besides showing that different concepts about the quality of gender equality framing may lead to different rankings across Europe, our analysis also refutes the regional pattern for new member states of East and Central Europe. The bottom twelve countries in this ranking, in ascending order, are Poland, Italy, Portugal, Estonia, Bulgaria, Slovenia, Hungary, Latvia, Denmark, Austria, Lithuania, and Belgium. This ranking weakens the argument that the shared legacy of state socialism would simply explain the ways of framing gender equality in contemporary relevant policy debates.

A third important aspect of assessing the quality of gender equality framing is the weight of rejection in gender equality relevant debates. Chart 13 and Map 3 modelling overall debates show that rejective frames are more present in the Eastern and Southern part of Europe. New members states are mostly in the darker realm: Lithuania, Malta, Latvia, Hungary, Cyprus, and Slovenia are at a more extreme, while Poland, Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Slovakia have rejective frames with somewhat less weight. Additionally, Italy and Denmark are among the strongest in rejective framing. Least rejection is in the UK, interestingly in Estonia from among the new member states, in Finland, Luxembourg, and Belgium.

**Chart 13. Weight of all framing rejection gender equality per country**



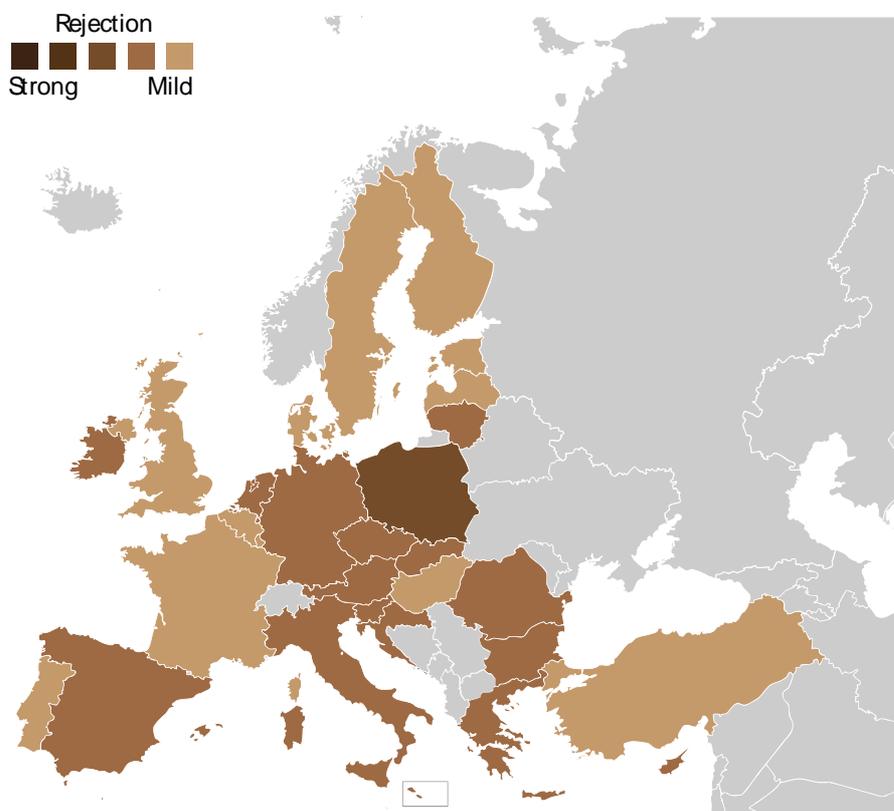
**Map 3. Weight of rejective framing in European debates**



If only government voices are considered the decrease in rejective framing is notable almost everywhere in Europe indicating that while governments are generally less transformative in speaking about gender equality, most of the time, they also avoid engaging strongly in the rejection of gender equality. In few countries, including Lithuania and Poland, the rejective

content seems to remain relatively strong in governmental texts, as well. Still, the rejective hubs change with to the mapping done for the overall debates: in a few old member states, with specific regard to Denmark, and in some new member states, with specific regard to Hungary and Latvia. In Turkey, too, rejective framing becomes relatively weaker only if governmental texts are scrutinised.

**Map 4. Weight of rejective framing in governmental texts**



#### 4.4 Typology of Framing Gender Equality

The three aspects of gender equality framing discussed above provide the elements for a typology of countries for framing gender equality. The combination of them implies the following typology including five categories.

- *Dominant transformative* are countries where transformative approaches to gender equality have the strongest weight in the overall debates. The countries that fit into this category are:
  - Estonia, Finland, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden.
- *Inclusive-transformative* are countries for which the weight of both transformative and inclusive frames is high, their total weight is very high and the presence of rejective frames is relatively low. Countries included are:
  - Czech Republic, the EU, France, the Netherlands, and Germany,
- *Dominant inclusive* countries are the ones which have a very high presence of inclusive frames, with transformative frames lagging behind. This includes most of the countries in the middle range:
  - Austria, Belgium, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Turkey, and the UK.

- *Polarised* countries have high or moderate inclusive or transformative content along with high rejective rate. In our sample:
  - Denmark and Malta would qualify here because its very high pro-gender equality framing goes along with strong rejective content.
- *Strong rejective* are the countries which have high rejective rate and relatively low rates on both transformative and inclusive approaches. These include:
  - Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland.

#### 4.5 Gender Equality Content Indicator

In the final part of this section, the framing of gender equality is operationalised into one indicator based on the three dimensions described above. First, this indicator is more sensitive to transformative than to inclusive content, meaning that a country that has an extremely high inclusive content in its debates, and one with similarly high transformative component will not be weighted equally. Transformative content will be counted with more weight. Second, the indicator rescales those countries that have quite strong pro-gender equality content yet also have strong rejective framing. These countries will be brought to lower end of the ranking. Third, even though a country has a dominantly transformative debate and important inclusive content, along with very weak rejective content, if the overall presence of pro-gender equality framing is not very strong, that country does worse than the one which has more weighty pro-gender equality component in its overall policy debates. For further details how the indicator was constructed see Chapter 2 on methodology.

Furthermore, two caveats should be stated here. On the one hand, it is important to note that the indicator does measure the gender equality quality of formal policy debates only narrowly as conceptualized in QUING. The indicator does not include the whole debate – not all NGO opinions, not all political party opinions, and clearly not public or media opinion. As such, it conveys a limited message. On the other hand, the indicator does not measure to any extent implementation and policy practice, but only policy speech – not social reality. These two caveats may also explain some of the unexpected findings below.

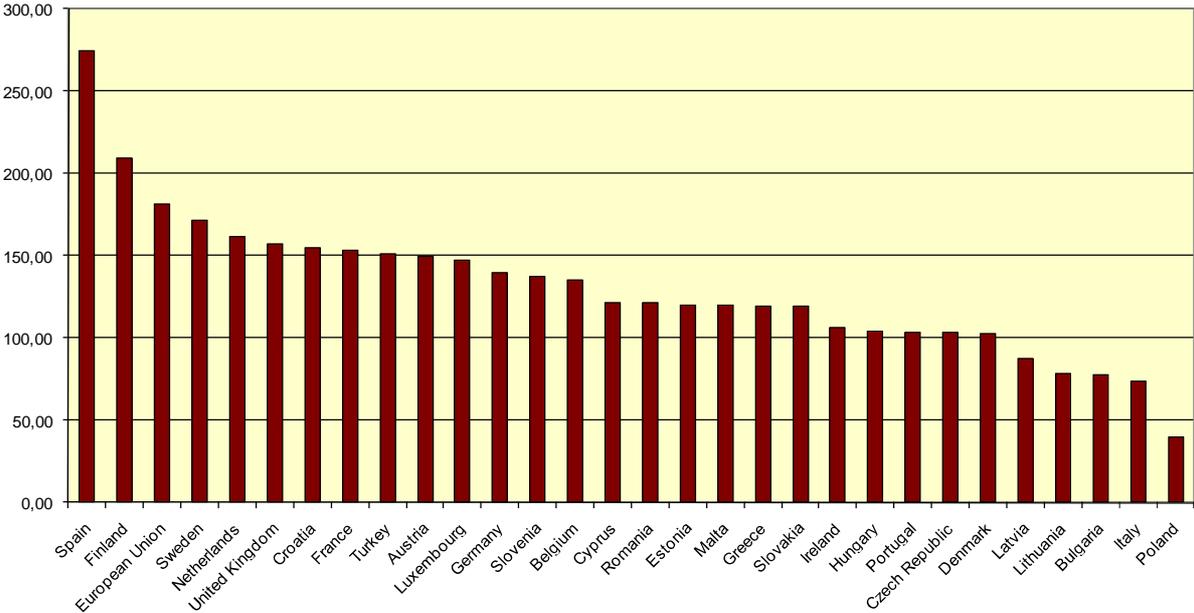
The ranking of countries by index on gender equality framing (Chart 14) indicates beyond two outstanding countries – Spain in the positive end and Poland in the negative end – that the others are quite evenly distributed along the scale. Spain stands out as having extremely strong presence of transformative content and almost similarly strong inclusive framing along with a relatively weak but existent rejection against gender equality (coming particularly from the Catholic Church). Poland stands out with the most frequent rate of rejective framing along with very low transformative and minor inclusive content.

Countries with regimes of relatively strong gender equality framing follow Spain from some distance and include Finland, the EU, Sweden, the Netherlands, the UK, France, Austria, Luxembourg, and, remarkably, Croatia and Turkey as well. In general, these countries, can be characterised by outstandingly strong pro-gender equality framing, and quite weak rejective content in analysed texts. Croatia may be clustered with this group because of the extremely strong presence of inclusive framing, while in case of Turkey, which has relatively weak record of gender equality, the explanation may go along the two caveats mentioned above – that is, there is a major discrepancy between formal policy debates, and implementation and social reality.

At the other end of the spectrum are countries with regimes of weak gender equality framing. This group includes Italy, Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Latvia. That is, a remarkable presence of new EU members, along with Italy. Finally, the chart shows a middle range group, which is

characterized by the dominance of inclusive framing and the moderate presence of transformative content, and either a relatively low, or a balancing weight of rejective content. Notable exceptions to this pattern are countries that were clustered as dominant transformative above (Estonia, Slovenia), but have relatively low rates of both transformative and inclusive frames compared to group of countries put in the strong gender equality regime category. The middle range group includes Germany, Slovenia, Belgium, Cyprus, Romania, Estonia, Malta, Greece, Slovakia, Ireland, Hungary, Portugal, Czech Republic, and Denmark.

**Chart 14. Ranking countries by gender equality framing index**



**4.6 A Way Forward for Explaining Variation**

This chapter can be seen as an attempt to turn in-depth qualitative research data into quantitative indicators in order to describe and analyse policy debate content in a large-scale comparative setting. The operationalisation and descriptions provided above gives an overall picture of the QUING project targets in 29 countries, in the EU, and in four large gender equality relevant policy issues. Its strength is that it provides comprehensive, hard data to examine the quality of gender+ equality policy debates across Europe. The chapter shows an important strength of the method applied in LARG, namely it’s potential to allow for different levels of analysis from in-depth country study analysis (not used in this report), to large-scale comparative analysis, from single issue narrow focus in depth research to regime type analysis. While several of the earlier QUING products and papers (D47/49 WHY Papers) focused on the lower-level single issue analysis, and this has shown the richness of information and diversity of potential uses of the data, this chapter has attempted to work with LARG data in a large comparative setting. Much aware of the weaknesses of the method, namely loosing depth, complexity and context as compared to smaller scale analysis, the chapter has made a first step with developing and analysing the main dependent variable in focus: a typology of gender equality framing, or regimes and the variation of those across Europe. The further development and explanation of causes in variation – including what research choices might cause them – is to be a next step to be made in a post-LARG research.

It is hoped, though, that this analysis can provide food for thought and that it will lead to fruitful debates on the quality of gender equality policies across Europe.

### **Key findings**

- Inclusive approaches to gender equality are dominant across Europe over transformative approaches.
- Little explicit rejection of gender equality occurs in debates across Europe; rejection occurs most often in resonant frames.
- Even if not dominant, there is important transformative content in debates across Europe and not just in civil society texts. A few countries have transformative approaches as dominant in their debates.
- Overall expectations on regional consistency in terms of framing gender equality is somewhat disconfirmed. New member states, Nordic states, and states in southern Europe do cluster together to some extent, but there are several rule breakers. There seems to be some path dependency, but all regions have their forerunners and their laggards. The ranking places a southern country on the top, and New EU member states in the top one third, but also places a Northern country to the bottom third. Candidate countries are in no way exceptional.
- Findings show a discrepancy between a ranking of countries according to the quality of formal gender equality relevant policy debates and the ranking of countries according to hard data on women's social equality.

## Chapter 5

# Standing and Voice of Civil Society in Gender+ Equality Policies in Europe

This chapter looks at the standing and voice of civil society across the four researched policy issues. Standing and voice is understood along the lines of the definition used by Ferree et al. (2002) to mean: having a voice in the policy debate. Along with the authors, we see 'standing and voice' as implying more than 'being mentioned' in documents. It also means being quoted (that is, given a voice) and being attributed a role in the policies that are proposed.

The LARG data provide information on standing and voice in several ways. This chapter is a first analysis of these data. It attempts to channel the most obvious sources of LARG information into some measurement of standing and voice for civil society. For our purposes, standing and voice is conceptualised and measured here along two lines.

*First*, the report looks at who has been an active participant in the policy debate as judged by researchers in the process of mapping issue histories – that is, who has contributed to the debate by actively intervening, criticising or articulating a particular position. The report calls this *standing*. In order to analyse standing, the report uses the chapters of the issue history reports where all major actors that participated in or contributed to the policy debates are listed. The main actors that are distinguished here are women's NGOs, women's platforms of political party's, trade unions, the UN and the European Union (as international organisations might be driving forces for national civil society organisations).

*Second*, the report looks at *voice* by analysing the references that are made to civil society actors in the analysed policy documents, references to consultations with civil society, and the empowerment of civil society actors through the attribution of active roles in policy actions.

Our first analysis shows that different ways of approaching our general question regarding the voice and standing given to civil society resulted in different answers. Different approaches included:

- Counting texts which had references to civil society actors;
- Counting documents that refer to processes of policy development that involve consultation processes with civil society?, and counting how many reply affirmatively to the question 'are these consultations inclusive of women's organisations?'
- Counting documents, which included policy actions having civil society actors as active actors.

The above are slightly different ways of approaching a similar question, and a full analysis would mean to combine these different perspectives. For now, the first analysis presents only the separate elements.

This chapter analyses the four issues that were studied in the QUING research separately and draws some cross-issue comparisons in the conclusions.

## 5.1 Standing and Voice of Civil Society in General Gender Equality

In the *General gender equality* issue, women's NGOs seem to be very important in almost all countries, without significant differences as to old or new<sup>2</sup> EU Member States or membership candidacy. Table 2 shows that the standing of NGOs is not marked as relevant in Cyprus, Denmark, France and Spain; Cyprus being the only new member country among them.

Women's platforms of political parties have less importance, since they have some standing in only one-third of the countries. There seems to be equal presence (or absence) of women's platforms in both old and new member states. Trade unions are important stakeholders in many countries. However, their absence is characteristic for mostly new members such as the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, and Lithuania – former state socialist countries with low trust in and relatively weak trade unions. Among older members, women's platforms are not present in Netherlands and Portugal. The European Union has very important standing in all countries, old and new alike: it is an important driving force in debates on general gender equality in all countries. Besides the EU, the United Nations also has standing and importance in general gender equality issues. It is important in almost all new member states and candidates except Croatia and Latvia. Among old members, the UN has no standing in Austria, and in the Mediterranean countries: Greece, Portugal and Spain.

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<sup>2</sup> 'Old' and 'new' member countries are categorised according to membership or accession date to EU. 'New' member states are those states, which accessed to the EU in the fifth enlargement in 2004 and later; while 'old' member states are all those countries which were already members of EU before the year 2004.

**Table 2. Standing of policy stakeholders in texts on general gender equality**

Countries	Women's NGOs	Political party women's platforms	Trade unions	EU	UN
Austria	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Belgium	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bulgaria	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Croatia	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Cyprus	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Czech Republic	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Denmark	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Estonia	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
EU	Y	N	Y		N
Finland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
France	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Germany	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Greece	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Hungary	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Ireland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Italy	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Latvia	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Lithuania	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Luxembourg	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Malta	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Netherlands	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Poland	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Portugal	Y	N	N	Y	N
Romania	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Slovakia	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Slovenia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Spain	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Sweden	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Turkey	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
UK	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

As Table 3 shows, references to civil society have no specific pattern according to new or old member states. More than half of the documents of some countries refer to civil society, and among them we can find new and old member states like: Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Malta, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the candidate Turkey. However, it is interesting that among the documents that do refer to civil society, only a small number are 'civil society documents'. One exception is Ireland, where two-thirds of the documents that refer to civil society are civil society documents. However, Ireland is among the countries where more than half of the documents do *not* refer to civil society. In Spain, 9 out of 11 documents refer to civil society, but none are civil society documents. Remarkably, it seems that in general, more reference to civil society is made in other types of documents – such as parliamentary debates, laws and policy plans – and not from civil society. This might indicate that national governmental actors actively want to mobilise civil society actors for policymaking and/or policy implementation.

**Table 3. Voice civil society in texts on general gender equality policies**

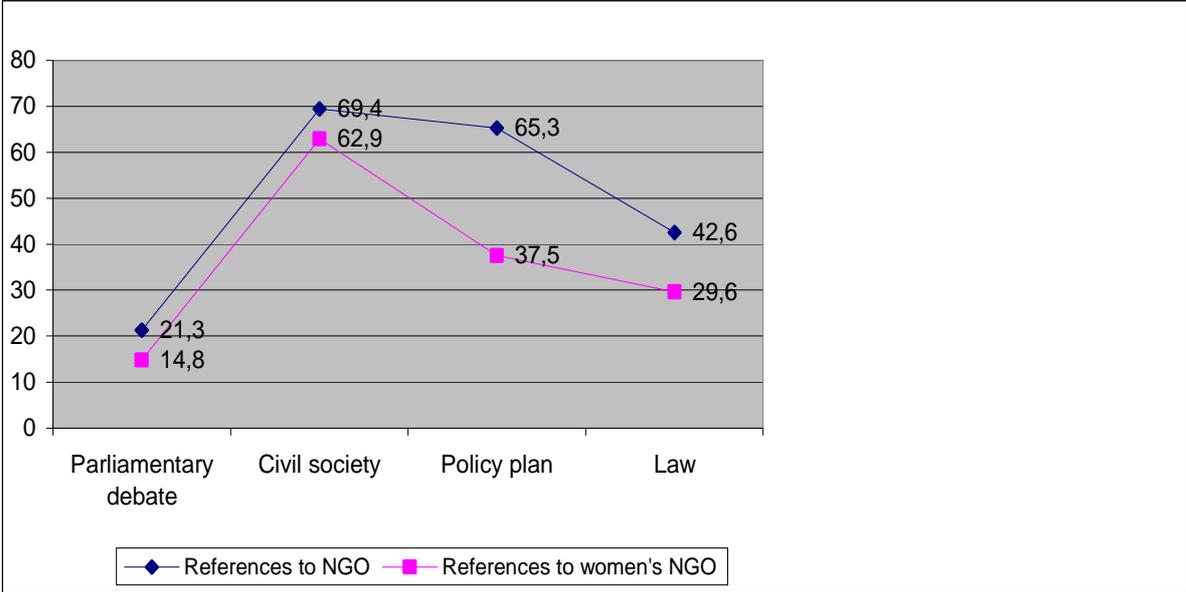
<i>Countries</i>	<i>No. of general gender equality texts analysed</i>	<i>Documents referencing civil society / of which civ.soc.</i>	<i>Reference to consultation</i>	<i>Consultation with women's orgs specifically</i>	<i>Civil society named in action proposed</i>
Austria	15	5/0	2	0	0
Belgium	19	8/2	11	7	2
Bulgaria	13	5/1	6	4	4
Croatia	14	12/2	6	5	0
Cyprus	14	5/2	7	9	4
Czech Republic	14	5/2	3	3	0
Denmark	10	8/2	1	0	1
Estonia	10	8/3	3	3	1
EU	15	11/2	5	3	2
Finland	10	9/2	5	2	0
France	10	9/2	9	3	0
Germany	13	6/0	6	5	1
Greece	7	2/0	3	2	0
Hungary	16	10/2	11	9	8
Ireland	11	4/3	4	2	0
Italy	11	7/2	5	4	1
Latvia	7	3/1	1	1	2
Lithuania	10	8/2	2	2	1
Luxembourg	11	6/2	3	5	1
Malta	13	8/4	5	4	0
Netherlands	16	6/2	5	3	6
Poland	25	8/2	9	8	5
Portugal	8	7/2	7	2	3
Romania	24	6/2	2	1	4
Slovakia	12	5/2	5	4	2
Slovenia	10	10/2	6	4	5
Spain	11	9/0	4	3	2
Sweden	11	7/2	4	3	0
Turkey	13	9/1	2	2	2
UK	8	1/1	6	4	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>381</b>	<b>207/52</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>57</b>

Fewer documents pay attention to consultations with civil society. Among the countries that refer to civil society, only Finland, France, Hungary, Portugal, and Slovenia pay attention to consultation, too. Consultation seems to be important in Belgium, as well, and to a lesser extent in Cyprus. What is interesting in the Cyprus case is that we have only seven occurrences of consultation with civil society, but nine occurrences to consultation with women's civil society organisations. This discrepancy suggests that there was an understanding of consultation that separated civil society in general and women's civil society in particular. This might be a consequence of the coding process. A similar occurrence is valid also for Luxembourg, where we have three consultations with civil society organisations, but five with women's civil society organisations.

The data show that the role and responsibility attached to civil society has some stance in Hungary and Slovenia only. These countries seem to be the most coherent with regard to reference and consultation on the one hand, and the responsibility assigned to civil society organisations on the other hand. Meanwhile, in other countries these are almost absent. Ten countries do not propose any action to be taken by civil society organisations. This means

that referencing and consultations with civil society organisations will not necessarily lead to more responsibility or to an active role assigned to civil society organisations.

**Graph 1. References to (women’s) non-governmental organisations in general gender equality policies**



As expected, civil society texts are most coherent in referring to civil society. Nearly 70% of them refer to consultations with civil society and 63% refer to the inclusion of women’s NGOs. Also, nearly two-thirds of governmental policy plans refer to consultations with civil society; however, only 38% of them refer to the inclusion of women’s NGOs. Laws rather seldom refer to consultations with civil society, while parliamentary debates refer to civil society least: only one-fifth of parliamentary debates on gender+ equality legislation and machinery refer to consultations with civil society, and less than 15% of them refer to women’s NGOs.

**5.2 Standing and Voice of Civil Society in Non-employment**

Table 4 distinguishes between the following stakeholders in non-employment policy: women’s NGOs, intersectional NGOs, transnational advocacy groups, women’s platforms in political parties, trade unions, the European Union and the UN.

The table shows that, across all countries, women’s NGOs had a standing in policy debates on non-employment. The main issue in which they were involved was the gender pay gap, but their involvement also occurred in issues of reconciliation of work and family. Intersectional civil society groups (groups that are organised along two axes of inequality) are also present in quite a number of countries, for instance in the sub-issue on equal treatment and equal pay (migrants’ NGOs, disabled people) and on the issue of care work (care chains).

In most countries, trade unions are very important actors in the field of non-employment. While trade unions are part of civil society in many countries, in more neo-corporatist countries, they are almost part of the polity. In the analysis presented here, however, no distinction among countries has been made along these lines.

Gender equality machineries (often an important link between civil society and government) are important also in the policy process on non-employment, again mainly on the issue of the gender pay gap.

The presence and importance of transnational advocacy groups is particularly strong in most countries that were late-comers to the EU – mostly, countries of Eastern and Central Europe. This might be due to the fact that transnational organisations in the issue of labour can sometimes substitute weak trade unions. References to women's platforms within political parties are not so common, and described only for five countries.

The EU was described as an important actor in the EU accession processes of the new member states, as were EU programmes in the field of labour (EQUAL). Also, CEDAW was mentioned as an important international actor.

**Table 4. Standing of policy stakeholders in texts on non-employment**

Countries	Women's NGOs	Inter-sectional NGOs	Trans-national advocacy groups	Political party women's platforms	Trade unions	Gender equality machinery	EU	UN
Austria	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y		
Belgium	Y			Y	Y	Y	Y	
Bulgaria	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y	
Croatia			Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cyprus	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y	Y
Czech Republic	Y							
Denmark	Y				Y	Y		
Estonia	Y		Y		Y		Y	
EU	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	
Finland						Y		
France	Y	Y?*			Y	Y	Y	
Germany	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y		
Greece		Y			Y	Y	Y	Y
Hungary			Y		Y	Y	Y	Y
Ireland	Y	Y			Y	Y	Y	Y
Italy	Y		Y		Y	N		
Latvia	Y	Y			Y	Y	Y	Y
Lithuania	Y	N	Y		N	Y	Y	
Luxembourg	Y				Y	Y	Y	
Malta	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y
Netherlands	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y
Poland						Y	Y	Y
Portugal	Y				Y	Y		
Romania	Y	Y			Y		Y	
Slovakia	Y	Y			Y	Y	Y	
Slovenia	?	Y?			Y	Y		
Spain	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y		
Sweden	Y	Y		Y	Y	Y		
Turkey	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y	Y
UK	Y	Y			Y	Y	Y	

\* Unclear data

Taking a closer look at voice and at the specific references to civil society actors in the texts that were analysed for the issue of non-employment, Table 5 shows that only a very small number of texts are coded as having references to civil society. Twelve countries do not have specific references to civil society actors.

Table 5 also shows the answers to the overall question 'whether the document refers to processes of policy development that involve consultation processes with civil society'. There are some inconsistencies here in the coding, as this question results in a relatively large number of positive answers in general: 143 or some 20% of the texts refer to processes of policy development that involve consultation with civil society. It is not clear what causes these inconsistencies. One reason could be that civil society actors are not coded as having been referred to when they are just mentioned in general, within the naming of specific organisations; another reason might be that trade unions were not coded as civil society organisations. Further analysis is necessary. Across all countries however, the number of texts that call for consultation of women's organisations is very low (less than 10%).

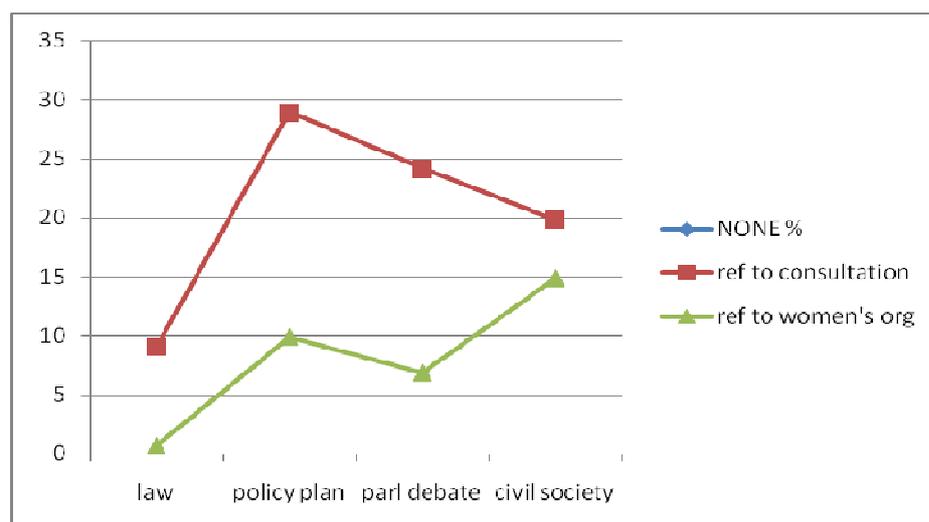
Graph 2 in this chapter shows that the references to consultation with civil society occur most in policy plans, often in parliamentary debates, to a lesser extent in texts of civil society, and least of all in laws. These findings indicate that the references do not often give a strong position to civil society.

Overall, the same pattern of low voice of civil society also becomes clear from the analysis of the actors that are named as the 'responsible actor' in the policy actions that are proposed. From this, the most striking feature is that the social partners account for half of the cases. There is a relatively high level of reference to the social partners in the EU, Finland, Ireland, Netherlands, Spain. There is a low level of reference to the social partners (as compared to reference to other civil society partners) in Bulgaria, Cyprus, Germany, Luxembourg, Malta and Slovakia. Many countries do not name social partners at all in the policy actions that are proposed: Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, and Turkey. For Malta, the Catholic Church accounts for four of the references to civil society. This is a clear example why further analysis is necessary, as this particular actor is not a 'progressive' factor in gender equality policies and can be seen as entangled with the government through religious parties.

**Table 5. Voice in non-employment**

Countries	No. of non-employment texts analysed	Texts referencing civil society/ of which civil society texts	Reference to consultation	Consultation with women's orgs specifically	Civil society named in proposed action/ of which social partners
Austria	34	3	1	0	2/2
Belgium	23	3/1	11	6	3/2
Bulgaria	18	0	8	1	3/1
Croatia	19	0	0	1	3/0
Cyprus	17	0	9	6	3/1
Czech Republic	15	0	1	1	1/1
Denmark	22	0	8	2	0/0
Estonia	22	2	3	0	0/0
EU	26	0	7	1	6/4
Finland	20	1	1	1	6/6
France	22	2	5	0	3/2
Germany	27	2	2	2	3/1
Greece	12	1/1	2	1	2/1
Hungary	42	1	11	2	2/0
Ireland	21	2	8	5	3/3
Italy	21	0	7	2	3/0
Latvia	26	0	4	4	3/2
Lithuania	20	1/1	3	3	2/0
Luxembourg	23	2/1	3	2	3/1
Malta	22	4	6	2	5/1
Netherlands	24	5/2	5	2	5/3
Poland	25	0	4	1	2/0
Portugal	19	1/1	4	2	1/1
Romania	21	1/1	2	0	2/1
Slovakia	24	1	7	3	5/2
Slovenia	19	0	0	0	2/1
Spain	17	1	5	1	6/4
Sweden	21	0	3	0	1/1
Turkey	29	0	6	5	3/0
UK	19	2	7	1	1/1
<b>Total</b>	<b>670</b>	<b>35/10</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>84/42</b>

**Graph 2. References to (women's) non-governmental organisations in non-employment**



### 5.3 Standing and Voice of Civil Society in Intimate citizenship

**Table 6. Standing of policy stakeholders in debates on intimate citizenship**

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Women's NGOs</i>	<i>Inter-sectional NGOs</i>	<i>Transnational advocacy groups</i>	<i>Political party women's platforms</i>	<i>Trade unions</i>	<i>Gender equality machinery</i>	<i>EU</i>	<i>UN</i>
Austria	X	X	X	X				X
Belgium	X	X	X					
Bulgaria	X					X		X
Croatia	X				X			
Cyprus		X						
Czech Republic		X						
Denmark	X	X						
Estonia	X			X				
EU	X				X		X	X
Finland						X		
France	X	X	X		X		X	
Germany	X	X						
Greece								
Hungary	X	X						
Ireland	X	X			X			
Italy	X					X		
Latvia	X							
Lithuania	X							
Luxembourg	X							
Malta	X							
Netherlands	X	X	X					
Poland	X			X			X	
Portugal	X	X		X				
Romania	X	X	X					X
Slovakia	X							
Slovenia	X							
Spain	X			X	X			
Sweden	X							
Turkey	X							
UK	X				X			

The most noticeable and common feature of standing among civil society stakeholders in debates on intimate citizenship is the pre-eminence of women's NGOs. With the exception of only a few countries, women's NGOs have an established standing in all countries, regardless whether they are old or new EU members or prospective candidates.

Intersectional NGOs, on the contrary, are more characteristic to old members of European Union like Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands and Portugal. Only in the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Hungary and Romania do intersectional NGOs have a standing as civil society policy stakeholders.

Transnational advocacy groups, similarly, have more standing in Western Europe – Austria, Belgium, France and Netherlands – while Eastern and Central Europe does not have that record, with the exception of EU-latecomer Romania. However, transnational advocacy groups are generally absent in intimate citizenship topic.

The same holds true for women's platforms of political parties: only 5 countries out of 29 have this listed. These are geographically diverse countries, including both old and new Europe.

Trade unions are important stakeholders in France, Ireland, United Kingdom, Spain, EU and Croatia, which shows again the imbalance between the long-standing EU member states and latecomers from former state socialist countries, where position of trade unions is obviously not so strong.

Gender equality machinery has barely a noticeable standing in intimate citizenship issues across Europe – it has made an impact only in Bulgaria, Finland and Italy.

Standing of European Union and United Nations is not significant in most of the surveyed countries. Only in Austria, Bulgaria, France, Poland and Romania and EU is it recorded, which does not render any obvious conclusions.

**Table 7. Voice civil society**

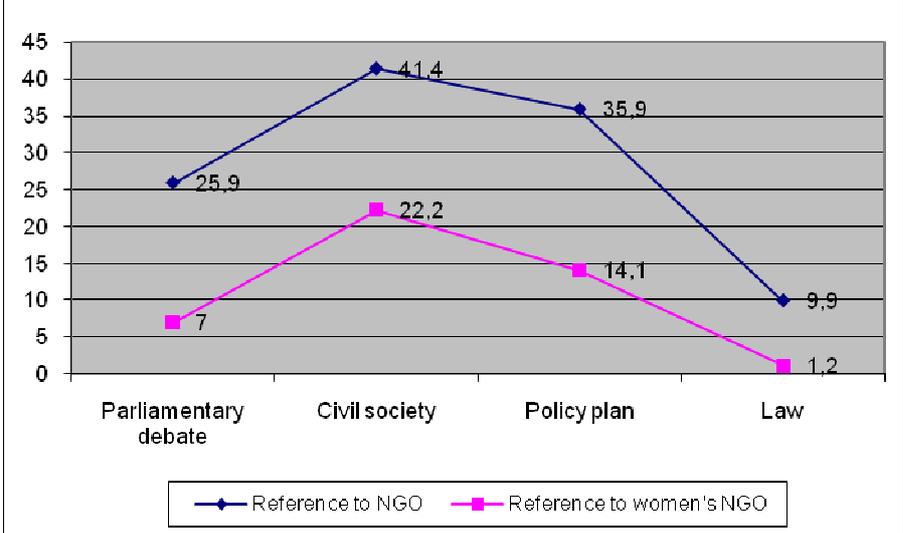
<i>Countries</i>	<i>No. of gender-based violence texts analysed</i>	<i>Documents referencing civil society / of which civil society texts</i>	<i>Reference to consultation</i>	<i>Consultation with women's organisations specifically</i>	<i>Civil society named in action proposed</i>
Austria	22	6/2	2	0	0
Belgium	21	4/2	6	4	0
Bulgaria	12	2/0	4	0	0
Croatia	20	6/2	5	2	1
Cyprus	11	1/0	3	0	0
Czech Republic	12	7/3	2	1	0
Denmark	15	5/2	4	0	0
Estonia	15	8/3	4	2	1
EU	17	13/2	1	0	2
Finland	14	4/3	2	0	0
France	17	12/4	6	3	1
Germany	26	12/2	13	2	1
Greece	10	2/1	0	0	0
Hungary	40	13/4	7	3	2
Ireland	17	8/3	11	8	2
Italy	16	3/3	3	2	0
Latvia	18	7/3	3	1	0
Lithuania	19	6/3	2	1	0
Luxembourg	11	1/0	3	2	0
Malta	11	3/3	1	0	2
Netherlands	17	7/3	7	2	1
Poland	23	12/3	7	2	1
Portugal	14	7/3	3	1	1
Romania	17	2/2	1	0	1
Slovakia	18	11/1	9	3	0
Slovenia	17	11/3	5	2	0
Spain	27	16/3	8	3	2
Sweden	13	2/1	9	1	0
Turkey	17	7/3	4	2	2
UK	14	6/2	6	2	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>521</b>	<b>203/69</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>20</b>

The weight of the references made to civil society actors in the documents of intimate citizenship is spread unevenly among the countries. By and large, however, one can state that the presence of the references is notable, and in numerous cases more than half of a given country's documents make such a reference – for example in Czech Republic, Estonia, EU, France, Ireland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain. It is remarkable that of all the references to civil society actors, only a minor fraction occurs in civil society documents. Only in Malta, Italy and Finland do documents with references to civil society appear with relatively high degree of regularity. In the rest of the countries, this is clearly not the case.

In few countries, consultations with civil society receive attention; in the majority of countries, they do not. Among the few are Germany, Ireland, Slovakia, Sweden, as well as the Netherlands and UK. Consultations with women's organisations are more rare than consultations with civil society in general. In nine countries, consultations with women's organisation are not mentioned at all: in Austria, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Denmark, EU, Finland, Greece, Malta and Romania. Of the few that have a relatively higher record of such consultations, Belgium, Estonia, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg and Turkey stand out.

Results related to the role and responsibility attributed to civil society actors in the issue of intimate citizenship are rather bleak. More than half of the countries (16) do not propose any actions in their documents to civil society. A little bit more is expected of civil society in the EU in general, Hungary, Ireland, Malta, Spain and Turkey, and to a lesser degree in Croatia, Estonia, France, Germany, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal and Romania. Nevertheless, more frequent indication of consultations with the civil society at the general level does not necessarily imply proposing specific actions with the participation civil society actors.

**Graph 3. References to (women's) non-governmental organisations in intimate citizenship**



As is often the case, civil society voices refer to non-governmental organisations in their texts more often than do other actors (see Graph 4). However, about 60% of texts produced by civil society actors *do not* have references to non-governmental organisations. References occur policy plans to a slightly lesser degree. Parliamentary debates and especially laws have very few references to non-governmental organisations.

## 5.4 Standing and Voice of civil society in gender-based violence

**Table 8. Standing of policy stakeholders in debates on gender-based violence**

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Women's NGOs</i>	<i>Intersectional NGOs</i>	<i>Transnational advocacy groups</i>	<i>Political party women's platforms</i>	<i>Trade unions</i>	<i>Gender equality machinery</i>	<i>EU</i>	<i>UN</i>
Austria	Y	Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	
Belgium	Y		Y	Y		Y	Y	
Bulgaria	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N		
Croatia	Y	N		Y		Y	N	Y
Cyprus	Y	N					Y	Y
Czech Republic	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Denmark	Y	Y				Y		Y
Estonia	Y	N					Y	Y
EU	Y		Y		Y	Y		
Finland	Y	Y				Y		Y
France	Y	Y			Y	Y	Y	Y
Germany	Y	Y		Y		Y		
Greece	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Hungary	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Ireland	Y	Y	Y-UK	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Italy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Latvia	Y	N		N	N	N		Y
Lithuania	Y	N	Y	N		Y		Y
Luxembourg	Y	N			Y	Y		
Malta	Y				Y	Y	Y	Y
Netherlands	Y	Y	Y			Y		
Poland	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Portugal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Romania	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Slovakia	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Slovenia	Y	N	N			Y		
Spain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		N
Sweden	Y	Y				Y		
Turkey	Y					Y		Y
UK	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N

Table 8 shows that women's NGOs had prominent standing in policy debates on gender-based violence across Europe. This involvement was particularly strong in domestic violence, trafficking, prostitution and FGM and forced marriage sub-issues. Women's NGO participation appears to be less in sexual harassment and sexual assault issues, with notable exceptions such as for example Italy. Women's NGOs involved in gender-based violence are often organisations that, beyond involvement in the policy process, are also providing services for victims such as shelters, crises centres or help lines.

Intersectional civil society groups are particularly present in the sub-issues of trafficking and FGM, as well as harassment. They are almost entirely absent from CEE countries and other latecomers to the EU.

The presence and importance of transnational advocacy groups is particularly strong in most countries that were latecomers to the EU – most countries of East and Central Europe, as

well as Greece and Portugal. This presence sometimes occurs in the form of wider transnational coalitions, but often it may take the form of bilateral cooperation between movements in two countries (like Ireland and UK).

The importance of trade unions is especially notable for the sexual harassment sub-issue, though this is not true for Central and Eastern Europe, where trade unions are far less important and rarely take up gender equality issues.

Gender equality machineries at the interface between state and civil society also play a prominent role in policy processes related to gender-based violence. Exceptions to this rule are countries of CEE, which have no strong machineries in place when developing policies.

**Table 9. Voice in gender-based violence**

<i>Countries</i>	<i>No of gender-based violence texts analysed</i>	<i>Documents referencing civil society / of which civil society texts</i>	<i>Reference to consultation</i>	<i>Consultation with women's organisations specifically</i>	<i>Civil society named in action proposed</i>
Austria	24	2/1	1	1	1
Belgium	28	3/2	10	4	6
Bulgaria	16	2/1	10	4	3
Croatia	11	1/1	5	3	5
Cyprus	21	1/1	5	5	2
Czech Republic	17	0	7	3	5
Denmark	15	5/1	1	2	0
Estonia	14	6/3	5	2	5
EU	23	6/2	2	1	12
Finland	15	2/2	1	2	4
France	17	8/1	8	3	7
Germany	24	3/1	9	7	7
Greece	19	6/1	5	4	1
Hungary	30	5/1	6	2	1
Ireland	13	3/2	6	6	7
Italy	17	4/0	5	5	3
Latvia	14	5/1	9	9	3
Lithuania	19	3/1	6	3	5
Luxembourg	16	5/0	12	5	3
Malta	11	0	2	2	3
Netherlands	16	3/1	3	2	6
Poland	22	1/0	8	3	3
Portugal	15	0	5	5	6
Romania	18	4/2	3	2	1
Slovakia	14	1/0	6	5	3
Slovenia	14	0	6	1	5
Spain	14	7/2	2	1	8
Sweden	13	0	8	4	4
Turkey	21	4/2	1	3	5
UK	12	5/2	8	6	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>523</b>	<b>96/31</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>131</b>

We first looked at references made in the documents to civil society actors and civil society documents. Compared to the prominent standing and involvement of civil society actors in gender-based violence debates, the absence of *references* to civil society texts and groups is remarkable. Relatively more references to civil society can be noted in debates in Estonia, Spain, France, Latvia, Luxembourg and the UK. It is also notable that a good part (one-third) of even those few references is made by civil society texts.

Consultation processes with civil society are mentioned in several documents. Some countries stand out as giving particularly high importance to consultations in several of the documents analysed. These are Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Latvia, Sweden and the UK. Within this group, consultations involving women's organisations are mentioned specifically far less than is civil society in general. Almost no importance is attributed to consultations with civil society in Austria, Denmark, Finland, Malta, the Netherlands, Romania, Spain, Turkey and interestingly enough, the EU.

We also looked at the role and responsibility that is attributed by the debates to civil society actors. It seems that while consultation is *not* seen as crucial in many of the countries, the responsibility of civil society to act is rather common in the texts. This apparent discrepancy – between little attention paid to consultation and the attribution of responsibility to civil society actors – is particularly remarkable in the EU, Finland, the Netherlands, Spain and Turkey. Meanwhile, some countries that give heightened importance to consultations with civil society deny them an action-taking role. This is especially true of countries such as Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Luxembourg, Poland and Sweden

## **5.5 References to non-governmental organisations by type of document**

How do references to civil society in gender-based violence texts vary along the types of documents analysed?

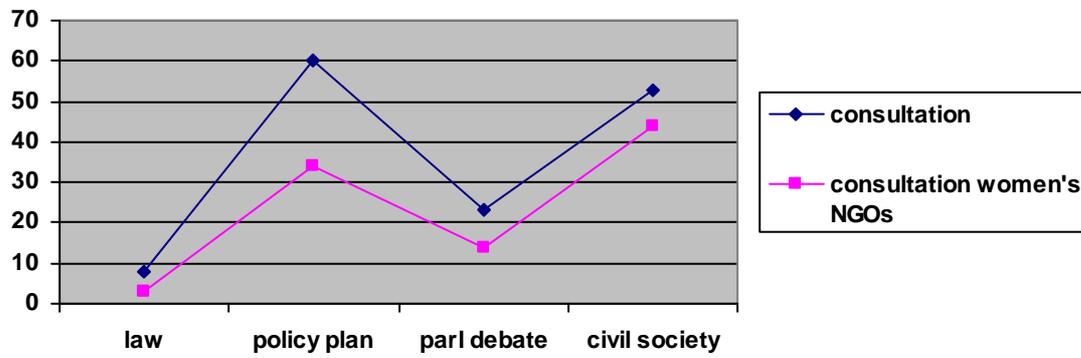
More than 31% of all documents in the gender-based violence field refer to NGOs in general and to consultations with them. However, this number is somewhat lower if references to women's NGOs are taken into consideration. Only 19.9% of all texts in this field refer to women's NGOs.

References to consultations with NGOs are most remarkable in policy plans. Sixty percent of the analysed gender-based violence-related policy plans make reference to NGOs in general. 34% explicitly specify women's NGOs for in their references to consultation. The presence of references to NGOs in general in policy plans is even higher than in civil society documents. Only 52% of civil society documents refer to NGO consultations in general. Meanwhile, civil society texts seem to be somewhat more explicit regarding the 'type' of NGOs: 34% of them mention women's NGOs specifically.

References in parliamentary debates are somewhat less frequent, with only 23% referring to NGOs in general and a bit more than 13% to women's NGOs. Laws rarely refer to NGO consultations, almost 8% mention NGO consultation in general, and only three laws across all Europe (3% of our sample of GBV laws) refer to women's NGOs.

**Graph 4. References to (women's) non-governmental organisations in gender-based violence**

*(based on summary code reference to consultation with civil society or women's NGOs)*



## **5.6 Conclusion**

### **5.6.1 Standing**

When comparing standing across the four policy issues, a few conclusions transpire. Women's NGOs have quite important standing across all four issues, with very few exceptions (mostly in the field of non-employment). Meanwhile, countries such as Cyprus and Greece come across as having generally less standing for NGOs across all issues.

NGOs representing the interest of intersectional groups were looked at in nonemployment, intimate citizenship and gender-based violence and not in general gender equality. They have little standing across debates, which is especially surprising in intimate citizenship debates. Their presence in NONE and GBV is typical predominantly for old member states. The issue of intimate citizenship shows some variation in the few cases where it is relevant (in only 12 countries): here, we see intersectional groups, primarily LGBT organisations, in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Romania.

Transnational advocacy groups, which were not included for general gender equality, typically have important standing in member states that joined in different later waves, candidate countries, and only few older member states. These include Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Spain. They seem to be more present in GBV than in NONE and IC.

The standing of women's platforms in political parties is not very widespread. Most frequently, they are present in general gender equality (in 11 countries), and in gender-based violence (10 countries). They have standing in very few cases in non-employment and intimate citizenship.

The standing of trade union,, as expected, is most prominent and widespread in non-employment and in general gender equality. They also have standing in a few countries in GBV, mostly in connection to sexual harassment.

The standing of gender equality machineries is unequivocally strong in NONE and also in GBV. Only exceptionally are machineries explicitly involved in intimate citizenship Issues.

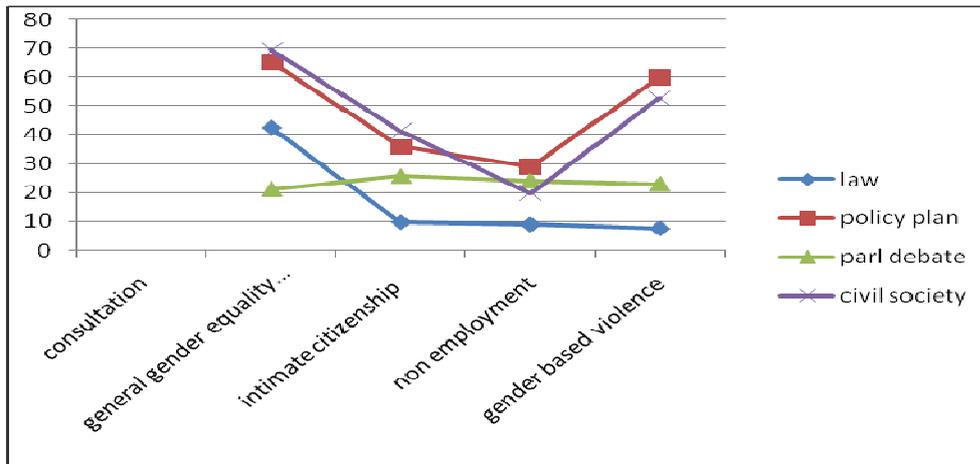
The standing of the EU follows the lines set by EU competences in the different issues: it has generally important standing in GGE and non-employment issues, some standing in GBV, and almost none in IC. UN standing is widespread in GGE across all countries, and quite frequent in GBV. For NONE, it is most typical for countries joining the EU in later stages, while for IC it rarely has standing.

### **5.6.2 Voice**

Comparing references to processes of policy development that involve consultations with civil society across types of texts and across issues, there are clear differences. The highest number of references to consultations is found in civil society texts, except for NONE. Policy plans as a type of text have a relatively high number of references compared to laws and parliamentary debates. Law texts have the lowest number of references to consultations, except for general gender equality policies. This might be because of the choice of texts on gender equality machinery.

Across issues, the references to involving civil society in consultation processes are lowest in non-employment, then intimate citizenship and gender-based violence. These differences are also visible if looking at text types.

**Graph 5. Percentages of texts that have a reference to consultation**

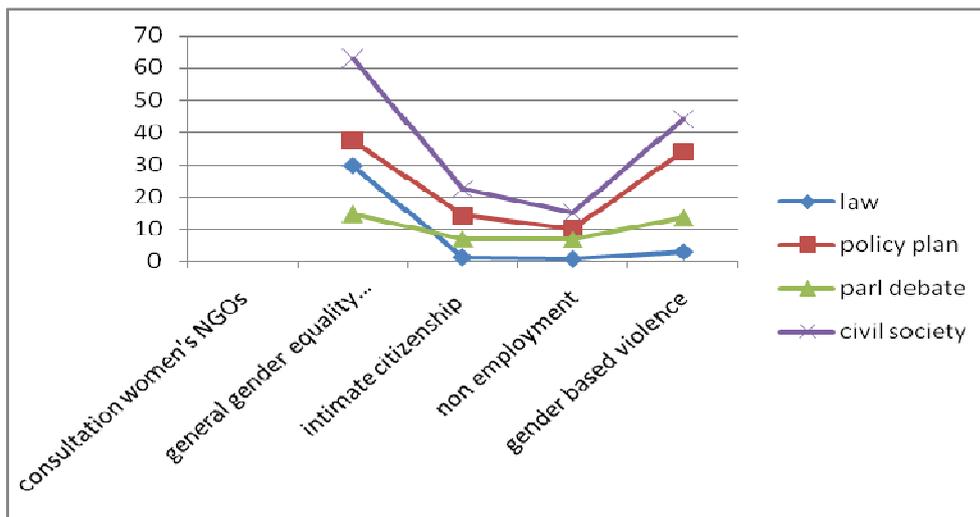


Overall, as Graph 5 shows, references to consultation with women’s NGOs are always highest in civil society texts. Policy plans have fewer references of this kind than do laws or parliamentary debate texts. Overall, texts in the issue of non-employment have the lowest number, followed by intimate citizenship texts.

Law texts have the lowest number of references to consultation with women’s NGOs, except for general gender equality policies (see also above).

The patterns of both graphs are parallel: lower numbers of reference to consultation result in lower numbers of reference to consultation with women’s NGOs.

**Graph 6. Percentages of texts that have a reference to consultation with women’s NGOs**



## Chapter 6

# Differences, Similarities and Inconsistencies in Gender+ Equality Policies between the EU and its Member States

by Jasminka Dedić, Martin Jaigma

One of the main aims of the LARG component of QUING was to research differences and similarities between the EU gender equality policies and its member or accession states (Croatia and Turkey). The differences and similarities between each country and the EU were presented in detail in the set of Comparative studies in LARG (D36). A comparison of policy frames in policy debates in the four issues was carried out (general gender equality, non-employment, intimate citizenship, and gender-based violence), and frames articulated across the issues in the respective country were compared to those articulated at the EU level (D22:2). The comparison across the issues attempted to answer not only what the similarities and differences between the framing on the country-level and the EU-level are, but also how they vary, depending on the competence of the EU in the respective issue or on other international obligations (or if specific attention was paid by the EU to the respective issue in a certain country (D22:5)).

The summaries of findings on differences and similarities across the issues were presented in the concluding sections of the LARG comparative reports of 27 member states and two candidate countries (hereinafter: countries). Here, we draw upon these final sections of findings, and also use the empirical data on frames gathered in the QUING software database. The findings described and summarised here thus reflect both the set of conclusions written by the QUING country researchers and the direct use of data collected in the database. We therefore balance the possible subjective researchers' limitations in terms of non-quantitative judgements on the presence of frames and the highlighting of similarities and differences.

The summary of findings on differences and similarities between EU and countries for the LARG final report are elaborated on the basis of the following key dimensions of gender+ equality policy framing:

- the presence and types of frames about gender equality in policies/the level of genderedness;
- references to other inequalities i.e. intersectionality;
- references to international/EU influence.

### 6.1 The Presence and Types of Frames about Gender Equality/Genderedness

Comparison between each country and the EU in LARG comparative country studies was linked to five overall questions about the framing of gender equality policies, and one of the crucial ones was the question “what do the frames express about gender equality?” (D22: 2). Our main interest in this regard was to uncover which frames on gender equality appear in the EU and country documents (transformative, inclusive – see Chapter 3), how much are they present (how strong are they) and what are their variations. Comparative country reports show that similarities and differences between the EU and individual countries concerning gender equality framing are rather evenly represented, which means that gender equality framing in individual countries demonstrates as many similarities as differences with the EU. Nevertheless, as country reports demonstrate more convergence when expressing the similarities between the EU and the countries than differences, EU-country differences seem to be more country-specific than do the similarities. As a result, similarities entail more general trends, enabling us to draw certain generalisations in gender equality policies, while

the differences between individual countries and the EU are rather incidental, and consequently, the differences demonstrate fewer trends and patterns emerging across the European Union than the similarities do.

### **Similarities**

The most salient feature both at national and EU level is that *civil society texts are in general more prone to generate structural understanding of gender (in)equality* than state / EU documents (laws, policy plans etc.) and parliamentarians – which means that they rather tend to understand gender equality in transformative ways. This feature is noted explicitly in the Austrian, Croatian, Hungarian and the UK cases. Another frequent similarity is that the *framing of gender equality as ‘sameness’ and ‘equal treatment’ is stronger than its framing as ‘transformation’ both in the EU and on national level*, for example in Croatia, France and Turkey. Also, as French, Hungarian and Luxembourg reports observe, the country’s *gender equality visions are mainly focused on women, and only rarely on men*, just as the EU gender equality frames.

As concerns the similarities between the EU and the countries in gender equality framing by issue, the comparative country reports mainly show that the *gendering of policies significantly varies from one issue to another*. Furthermore, in Belgian and German reports, *gender equality frames are the most dominant in non-employment and gender-based violence*, both on the national level as in the EU, while the Slovenian report notes the same only with respect to non-employment. This is rather an interesting result in itself, as the EU has relatively limited legislating competences in the field of gender-based violence and it probably gives evidence for various paths of ‘Europeanisation’ of policies across the EU. That said, a main similarity in relation to *intimate citizenship* is that both in the EU as in the national documents analysed in QUING, *gender equality framing is of minor importance or absent*. This feature was noted by Maltese, Dutch and Romanian reports. As Hungarian, Luxembourg and Dutch reports show, it is also noteworthy that *anti- (gender) equality framing occurs rarely in the EU and in national policy debates, except with respect to intimate citizenship*. Or, it is present only in parliamentary debates. The analysed policy debates in the *general gender equality and non-employment issues generate more structural understandings of gender (in)equality* both in the EU, France and Sweden. However, the Swedish report emphasises that a *structural understanding of gender equality is strong also in other issues in that country*. Other relevant similarities between the EU and the countries are observed with respect to specific gender equality frames, such as that women’s inclusion (*full employment for women* frame) is the dominant framing in non-employment both in the EU as in some national contexts, for example Portugal and Turkey. Finally, as the Austrian and Portuguese reports note, framing that would challenge (male) privileges is rather rare both in the EU as in national policy debates on gender equality.

### **Differences**

The most salient difference between the EU and the countries that crystallised in many comparative country reports (Austria, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Turkey, and UK) is that *country frames are less gendered and/or show a lack of (or even an absence) of structural understanding of gender (in)equality than the EU level*. Particularly, Bulgarian, Estonian, French and Greek reports all observe that *national documents in gender-based violence and/or intimate citizenship generate weakly gendered or even de-gendered framing as compared to the EU documents*. Therefore, we may conclude that EU documents pay more attention to gender equality and that gender equality framing is stronger at the EU level than in many national documents analysed in QUING.

Nevertheless, there are also cases of countries where the structural understanding of gender (in)equality generally generates more transformative frames than does the EU. Such cases are Luxembourg in non-employment, and Spain in intimate citizenship and gender-based violence issues.

Another difference mentioned by a significant number of comparative country reports (Croatia, Finland, Lithuania, Netherlands, Portugal, Slovenia and Sweden) concerns the issue of gender-based violence. According to the mentioned country reports, the frames of *structural gender inequality* and *women-centred approach* are dominant in EU policy debates, while frames such as *de-gendered individual human rights, crime & justice*, and *family protection* frames are dominant in national policy debates in gender-based violence.

In non-employment, the main difference between the EU and the individual countries is that the dominant EU frames (*full employment for women, transform division of labour*) are only marginal in country contexts. This difference is noted in Romanian and Spanish reports.

Another difference that is worth mentioning is that – as far as some countries are concerned - *strong or significant anti- (gender) equality frames can be found on the national level, while in the EU, this framing is of minor importance*. Malta and Lithuania are a case in point. The Hungarian report notes the same for intimate citizenship, i.e. a high frequency of anti-equality frames in this issue on the national level as compared to the EU. That said, the Greek report notes a tendency to de-gendering intimate citizenship and that more focus is given to family and children (demographic crisis) than in the EU documents in intimate citizenship.

## 6.2 References to Intersectionality

The second question relevant for the understanding and comparison of gender+ equality policies between each country and the EU was “What do the frames express about intersectionality?”(D22:2) The analysis of the comparative country reports concerning intersectional framing shows that similarities and differences between the EU and individual countries converge more in terms of similarities than differences. Therefore, similarly as it was said for gender equality framing, some generalisations on the similarities between the countries and the EU can be extrapolated from the country comparative reports, while the differences are rather incidental.

Particularly relevant for this section are the ‘intersectional frames’, because they show how intersectionality is being explicitly addressed and framed in gender+ equality policies. However, as empirical data in QUING database illustrate, intersectional versions of frames are occurring along the range of different frames. The most frequent intersectional frame is *gender-based violence as manifestation of intersectional inequality* frame, which “adds a complex understanding of the structural intersectionality problems and experiences of GBV within the victim group of women” (Krizsan & Popa 2008). This frame could be also defined as a “hierarchical intersectionality” type, because it is anchored in a gendered dimension, to which other inequality dimensions, such as ethnicity, disability, age etc., are added (Krizsan, Popa, Zentai 2009: 25). On the other hand, the *double discrimination* and *structural intersectionality* frames, which also emerge relatively frequently, are a manifestation of “intersectional discrimination.” Intersectional discrimination stems from specific structural issues faced by groups at points of intersection of two or more inequality dimensions – e.g. of gender, ethnicity, age, sexuality, disability etc. – that are mutually constitutive (Krizsan, Popa, Zentai 2009).

The countries with the largest number of the mentioned intersectional frames in the selected documents are Germany (12), Austria (11) and the Netherlands (11). In the European Union documents, only the *double discrimination* frame is generated among the intersectional

frames (5 documents altogether). A similar level of intersectionality framing is demonstrated by some Spanish (5), Romanian (6) and Swedish (7) documents. No intersectionality frames are found in Cypriot, Estonian, Greek, Irish and Latvian analysed documents.

### **Similarities**

Regarding intersectionality frames, the majority of countries resemble the EU in the sense that few intersectionality frames are present; indeed, intersectionality is rare or non-existent across all issues. According to the country reports, it is rare in Slovenia, Slovakia, UK, Turkey, Romania, Malta, Luxembourg, Lithuania, Latvia, Ireland, Hungary, Croatia and Austria.

As concerns the intersectionality frames in the EU, only the *double discrimination* frame is coded, and in this frame “two or maybe three groups are explicitly mentioned as facing double discrimination” (Carbin & Harjunen 2008). This specific frame is also found in almost half of countries analysed. The largest number of documents generating this specific frame are Dutch (7), followed by Austrian (4), Hungarian (4), German (3), Romanian (3), Spanish (2), French (2), Czech (1), Croatian (1), Lithuanian (1), Portuguese (1), Slovakian (1), Turkish (1) and the UK (1) documents.

### **Differences**

Differences are very much country-specific and there is no possibility for general comparison of characteristics in intersectionality framing between national and EU levels. Nevertheless, the most general conclusion on difference that can be made on the basis of the empirical data in the QUING database is that the EU documents generate at most a ‘weak’ intersectionality frame, i.e. that of *double discrimination*, while country documents at times generate a more structural understanding of intersectionality inequality with *gender-based violence as manifestation of intersectional inequality* and *structural intersectionality* frames as well.

On the basis of the comparative country reports, Sweden and Spain do express more intersectional frames than the EU case. In Sweden, left parties pay more attention to intersectionality of class and gender. In the Slovenian case, the country report observes that the understanding of gender-based violence is presented as a manifestation of intersectional (structural) inequality, which is absent at the EU level. According to the Greek country report, in Greece intersectionality is addressed only in relation to marital/family status. The German country report observes that at national level there is more inequality axes/intersectionality applied than at EU level. The Croatian country report, on the other hand, concludes that there is also a presence of anti-intersectional frames that is articulated on the Croatian national level, where Croatian conservative members of parliament and (mostly conservative) civil society voices even challenge intersectional privileges. A similar attitude appears in Austria, Belgium and Romania where intersections produce stigmatization and exclusion while at the EU level intersectionality is more inclusionary. The Austrian country report observes that in intimate citizenship morals prevail over economic and other concerns.

## **6.3 References to International/EU Influence**

The third question for the comparison between each country and the EU was “What do the frames express about international obligations, especially EU obligations?” (D22: 2). This question should give some answers regarding the paths of Europeanisation across the EU countries. We first present a brief summary of the general findings from the reports in a

similarities and differences section. Then, we locate the topics/issues that connect international/EU influence frames with groups of countries with the help of the database.

### **Similarities**

Regarding the International/EU influence frame, there are no big clusters of countries that display common similarities. In turn, most of the examples are country specific. Surprisingly, there are also instances of seeming contradictions. For example, mentioned as a similarity, there is no Europeanisation frame in intimate citizenship issue in Belgian report, while it is actually dominant in EU documents. Likewise, the Lithuanian report points to references to international obligations in the equal payment sub-issue. In fact, there is no mentioning of international obligations in the EU documents in this sub-issue.

In some countries, the international/EU influence frame runs through all issues and is consequently marked in general terms: 'EU influence in non-discrimination policies': – Finland, 'International and EU references' – Spain, 'Europeanisation frame significant' – Turkey). In others, it affects only certain issues (general gender equality, non-employment and gender-based violence issues in Belgium, equal payment sub-issue in Lithuania, gender-based violence in Slovakia, and sexual orientation discrimination in Romania).

### **Differences**

The largest groups of countries are united in their differences with EU by how they define international or EU influence on the national level. On the one hand, the reports of Czech Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom state less or minor international influence framing on national level. On the other hand, Malta, Romania and Slovakia report the exact opposite – international obligations frame is stronger on national level. There are also countries who list the degree or presence of international influence more in a specific way, according to the issues or the type of texts in which it is found: in the General Gender Equality issue in the Estonian report and in civil society voices in the Lithuanian report.

It has to be noted that there is an inconsistency between the results obtained from the reports and what can be acquired from frames in software search. While the reports yield the information that only less than half of countries involved in the project have anything significant to report on international or EU influences, then the frames indicate that more than half of the countries across every QUING issue have to do with these influences.

Consequently, the following section, differently from the more general section above, takes a more detailed look into concrete issues and topics, which relate to numerous frames that have to do with international or European influences. The information is partly obtained from the QUING database.

In the General Gender Equality issue the *International obligation/norm* frame shows up in 69 occasions. One of the most common features among the countries where international obligations are mentioned is that it occurs in relation to legislation on gender equality – in Denmark, Estonia, Greece, Croatia, Hungary, Ireland, Luxembourg, Poland, Romania and Turkey. There is another significant cluster of countries – Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, and Turkey – which have international influence in issues connected directly to women's situation and emancipation. Marriage and divorce are the themes in Portugal and Romania which draw examples from international norms. General notions of equal treatment of men and women and equal opportunities are present in Austrian, Bulgarian, Czech Republic's and Slovakian documents. There are also three countries which stand alone in their references to international obligations and norms –

Austria in relation to the men's policy unit, Belgium in relation to racism and xenophobia and Cyprus in relation to employment issues.

In the Non-employment issue the *International obligations* frame comes up in 95 occasions. One noticeable area where references to international obligations are made is women's employment or female labour – in Spain, Croatia, Hungary, Luxembourg, Poland and Turkey. Belgium, Cyprus, Estonia, Spain, Luxembourg and Romania have it in relation to tax-benefit sub-issue. International influences in connection to reconciliation of work and family life are present in Austrian, Cyprian, Estonian, Luxembourgish, Maltese, Dutch, Polish, Romanian documents. The relation to the care/child care sub-issue can be found in Austrian, Spanish, Maltese, Dutch, Polish and Romanian texts. International impact on gender pay-gap sub-issue is present in Austrian, Estonian, Maltese and Romanian documents. General notions on labour policies and employment with references to international obligations connect Greece, Croatia, Hungary, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia and Turkey. Latvia stands alone tying the reference with general gender equality.

In intimate citizenship, the frame 'Europeanization' emerges in 73 occasions. European values and norms are mentioned in the context of bills or laws on family in Croatia, Luxembourg, Slovenia, Slovakia and Turkey. Finland, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia mention it also in the registered partnership topic. Assisted reproduction and artificial insemination in connection with the Europeanization frame comes up in Estonian, Greek, Hungarian, Luxembourgish and Romanian texts. The reference to the frame in the abortion topic is present in Spanish, Polish and Romanian documents. Estonia, Croatia, Netherlands relate to Europeanization in their legislation on same-sex unions and marriages. Anti-discrimination, homophobia and rights of homosexuals turn up as related to Europeanization in texts of Bulgaria, EU, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia. The EU and Netherlands are two entities which refer to Europeanization in the context of free movement of families, family reunions and marriage-migration. There are also stand-alone topics like women's sexual rights in the EU, custody issues in Slovenia, employment and divorce in Malta, and de-criminalisation of homosexuality in Cyprus.

There are two frames that can be connected to international influences in Gender-based Violence issue. The first frame is "International obligations" (74 occasions). The biggest group of countries – Austria, Estonia, Spain, EU, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Luxembourg, Latvia, Portugal, Slovakia and Turkey – mention international obligations in the trafficking in human beings sub-issue. References to this frame in the domestic violence sub-issue connect Belgium, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland and Portugal. Belgium, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia point to the frame in the sexual harassment sub-issue. Country specific cases come from Italy – FGM, Portugal – prostitution and Turkey – honour killings. The second frame is "Implement international/EU norms" (58 occasions). The biggest common sub-issue in that reference is again trafficking in human beings – in Austria, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Croatia, Hungary, Luxembourg, Poland, Romania and Slovakia. Also domestic violence is quite frequent – in documents of Belgium, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Luxembourg, Malta and Romania. International influence in the sexual harassment topic is present in Bulgarian, French, Greek Hungarian, Luxembourgish, Maltese, Dutch and Polish texts. Smaller group of countries consist of Bulgaria, Finland, Italy and Slovakia who connect the frame with violence against women.

## 6.4 Conclusions

The conclusions of country reports show that there is more convergence in the ways countries are similar to the EU than differences. The differences between the European Union and the Member and candidate states seem to be more country-specific than the similarities are.

Regarding the question what do the frames express about gender equality, this chapter has shown that the most salient feature both at national and EU level is that civil society texts are in general more prone to stand for a structural, transformative understanding of gender (in)equality than state or EU documents (laws and policy plans) and parliamentarians. Another similarity already pointed out in Chapter 4 is that the framing of gender equality as “sameness” and “equal treatment” is more dominant than its framing as “transformation” both in the EU and on the national level.

Looking at the Comparative Reports along the different issues, there is a discrepancy in which policy issues are seen to be more convergent with the EU, and in which issues are seen to be more gendered. Non-employment is seen as such by several reports. Reports are divergent in including gender-based violence, an issue in which EU has little competence. A main similarity in *intimate citizenship* is that both in the EU as in national documents analysed in QUING, *gender equality framing is of minor importance or absent*.

Overall it can be concluded that EU documents pay more attention to gender equality and that the EU gender equality framing is stronger than in the national documents that have been analysed in QUING. Nevertheless, there are also cases of countries where the structural understanding of gender (in)equality generates more transformative frames than in the EU. Such cases are Luxembourg in non-employment, and Spain in intimate citizenship and gender-based violence issues. Few countries use strong or significant anti (gender) equality frames on national level, while in the EU this framing is of minor importance.

Concerning the intersectionality component of debates the chapter shows that a major similarity between the countries and the EU is that overall few intersectionality frames are present; indeed one can argue that intersectionality framing is rare or non-existent throughout debates on examined issues. On difference between the countries and the EU, the most general conclusion is that EU documents tend to generate “weak” intersectionality framing, mainly along the lines of a *double discrimination* frame, while in comparison the country documents generate more structural understandings of intersectional inequality, sometimes articulating frames such as *gender-based violence as manifestation of intersectional inequality or structural intersectionality*.

On international obligations framing the chapter showed that this framing most commonly features in relation to legislation on gender equality, respectively in issues connected directly to women’s situation and emancipation. Looking at the examined policy issues, specifically in Non-employment references to international obligations are made in women's employment or female labour in several countries. In others it is connected to reconciliation of work and family. In Intimate citizenship, European values and norms are mentioned in the context of bills or laws on family, in registered partnership documents and in assisted reproduction and artificial insemination documents. In the Gender-based Violence issue, the international obligations related frame occurs in connection to trafficking in human beings. References are also made to international obligations in a few countries in domestic violence debates, and in sexual harassment debates. In a few delimited instances they also are used in policy texts about FGM, prostitution and honour killings.

## Chapter 7

### Further Research

The data collection and analysis done in LARG provides resources and opportunities for going well beyond the three research questions defined for the purposes of this project. It opens up opportunities for future research in understanding European policies and policy debates on gender+ equality in all EU member states and beyond.

LARG has produced a large and unprecedented amount of qualitative research data on gender+ equality policy processes across most of Europe including some of the notoriously under-researched countries and regions. The data are presented and described here through the critical lenses on the innovative methodology of frame and voice analysis. These data, especially if taken together with outputs of the WHY and the STRIQ activities of the QUING project, provide opportunities for the future for formulating new research questions, aiming at numerous new comparative analysis exercises on a quite extensive list of policy issues closely related to gender+ equality. The mainly descriptive research data provided in LARG also begs for more explanatory work. While some initial steps have been made to start explaining findings, mainly in smaller scope papers presented as WHY deliverables, the bulk of explanation both on large European-wide scale comparison and in in-depth, small-scale comparison is still to come.

Some of the most important questions that need to be answered based on the available data are:

- What explains the presented typology of countries in framing gender equality?
- What explains variation of gender equality framing across the four examined policy issues?
- How can the standing and voice of civil society be better operationalised and measured in the QUING dataset starting from initial thinking done in this report?
- How can the standing and voice of civil society explain the typology of countries in framing gender equality?

Besides the thick descriptive data that it delivered, LARG also made an important contribution to future research by the innovative methodology it developed including the QUING software. The methodology provides an important tool for conducting large-scale comparative, qualitative research that is aimed at improving the understanding of policy framing processes, contestation, and policy outcomes in Europe and beyond.

The strength of the methodology and the data collected with it allow for different levels of analysis, access to policy documents in English language qualitative codes, and for structured searches that may answer complex/specific questions, and opens up a wide variety of potential uses for the LARG output, which should be exploited in the years ahead until the end of the QUING project.

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# Annex I: Supertext template

## 0. META

**Document code:**

**Country:**

**Full title in original language:**

**Full title in English:**

**Audience:**

**Event / occasion of appearance:**

**Issue:**

**Date:**

**Type/status of document:**

**Parts of text eliminated:**

## 1. VOICE

**Summary**

**Voice(s) speaking**

**VOICE {**

**NAME:**

**POSITON:**

**AFFILIATION:**

**LEVEL:**

**PERSONALCHARACTERISTIC:**

**IDENTITY:**

**GROUPREPRESENTED:}**

**References**

**REFERENCE {**

**NAME:**

**TYPE:**

**SUBTYPE:**

**DEPTH:**

**MODALITY:**

**SOURCE:**

**LEVEL:**

**PERSONALCHARACTERISTIC:**

**IDENTITY:**

**GROUPREPRESENTED:}**

## 2. DIAGNOSIS

**Summary**

**Problem statement**

**PROBLEM {**

**ACTIVEACTOR:**

**PROBLEM:**

**PASSIVEACTOR:**

**QUALIFIER:**

**WHY:**

**NORMGROUP:**

**UNDERLYING NORM:**

**LOCATION:}**

**Past policy action**

**PASTACTION {**

**WHO:**

**ACTIVITY:**

**TARGETGROUP:**

**EVALUATION:}**

**Causality**

**CAUSALITY {**

**IN\_ACTOR:**

**IN\_ACTIVITY:**

**OUT\_ACTOR:**

**OUT\_ACTIVITY:**

**IMPLICIT:**

**dimension:}**

**Dimensions**

**DIAGDIMENSIONS {**

**DIAGSTATEMENT:**

**INEQUALITYAXIS:**

**INTERSECTIONALITY:**

**PRIVILEGEDAXIS:**

**RELATION:**

**ASPECT:}**

## 3. PROGNOSIS

**Summary**

**Objective**

**OBJECTIVE {**

**TARGETGROUP:**

**GOAL:**

**QUALIFIER:**

**WHY:**

**UNDERLYING NORM:**

**NORMGROUP:**

**LOCATION:}**

**Policy action**

**POLICYACTION {**

**RESPONSIBLE:**

**ACTIVITY:**

**TARGETGROUP:**

**QUALIFIER:**

**MOTIVATION:**

**BUDGET:}**

**Mechanism**

**MECHANISM {**

**IN\_ACTOR:**

**IN\_ACTIVITY:**

**OUT\_ACTOR:**

**OUT\_ACTIVITY:**

**IMPLICIT:**

**DIMENSION:}**

**Dimensions**

**PROGDIMENSIONS {**

**PROGSTATEMENT:**

**INEQUALITYAXIS:**

**INTERSECTIONALITY:**

**PRIVILEGEDAXIS:**

**RELATION:**

**ASPECT:}**

## 4. MAIN MESSAGES OF THE DOCUMENT

**Normativity**

**Balance**

**Interpretation**

## 5.

**GENERAL**

**COMMENT**

## Annex II: Summarising questions

### GENDERING OF THE POLICY

- 5. INVOKE GENDER?:
  
- 6. USE OF GENDER
  - A. MEN/WOMEN: BIOLOGICAL :
  - B. GENDER AS SOCIAL:
  - C. NOT POSSIBLE TO SAY IF BIOLOGICAL OR SOCIAL:
  - D. DE-GENDERED:

### GENDER EQUALITY FRAMING

- 7. USE OF GENDER EQUALITY RELEVANT?
  
- 8. WHY WANTED
  - A. MEANS TO POLICY GOAL:
  - B. AN END IN ITSELF:
  
- 9. VISION OR STRATEGY
  - A. AS VISION :
  - B. AS STRATEGY :
  
- 10. VISION
  - A. EQUALITY=SAMENESS:
  - B. EQUALITY=DIFFERENCE:
  - C. EQUALITY=TRANSFORMATION:
  
- 11. STRATEGY
  - A. EQUAL TREATMENT:
  - B. SPECIAL PROGRAMMES:
  - C. TRANSFORMATION:

### INTERSECTIONALITY

- 12. INTERSECTIONALITY
  - A. ETHNICITY:
  - B. RELIGION:
  - C. CLASS:
  - D. SEXUAL ORIENTATION:
  - E. AGE:
  - F. DISABILITY:
  - G. MARITAL/FAMILY STATUS:
  - H. NATIONALITY/MIGRANT STATUS:
  - I. OTHER INEQUALITIES:

### BROAD FRAMING OF THE POLICY

- 13. FRAMING
  - A. EQUALITY:
  - B. HUMAN RIGHTS:
  - C. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:
  - D. CAPABILITIES/WELL-BEING:
  - E. CRIME AND JUSTICE:
  - F. HEALTH:
  - G. OTHER:

### PRESSURE FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT

- 14. CALL FOR ACTION
  - A. INTERNATIONAL LEVEL:
  - B. EU LEVEL:
  - C. NATIONAL LEVEL:

### CIVIL SOCIETY/STATE INTERFACE

- 15. REFERENCE TO CONSULTATIONS?
  
- 16. INCLUDING WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS?

### POLICY INSTRUMENTS

- 17. UTILISATION OF INDICATORS:
  
- 18. UTILISATION OF STATISTICS:
  
- 19. PROPOSED ACTION
  - A. LEGAL CHANGE:
  - B. NEW INSTITUTION:
  - C. INCREASED BUDGET:
  - D. NEW POLICY:
  - E. IMPROVE IMPLEMENTATION:
  - F. CAMPAIGNS:
  - G. STATISTICS/INFORMATION:
  - H. SPECIFIC ORGANISATION NAMED:
    - I. STATE:
    - II. CIVIL SOCIETY:
    - III. SEMI-STATE/CIVIL SOC:

### Annex III: Debate topics sampled for frame analysis per country and per policy issue

COUNTRY	General gender equality		Non-employment				Intimate citizenship			Gender-based violence		
	Legislation	machinery	tax benefit and	care work	reconciliation	equal pay	divorce, marriage	sexual orientation	reproductive rights	domestic violence	sexual assault	sexual exploitation
<b>Austria</b>	equal treatment law in the public and private sector	men's policy unit; establishment of equal treatment lawyer and equal treatment commission	childcare benefits based on citizenship	amnesty for illegal carers at home	part-time employment during parental leave (CEDAW report - partly)	gender pay gap; equal treatment in the private sector (CEDAW Shadow report - partly)	shared custody after divorce (CEDAW report - partly)	recognising same-sex partnership (pending)	funding of IVF	violence in a relationship recognised as equal to violence out of relationship (CEDAW report - partly)	anti-stalking law	broadening the definition of trafficking (CEDAW Shadow report - partly)
<b>Belgium</b>	anti-discrimination law based on various inequalities	gender equality institute	equalizing pension age	self-employed women with children (service vouchers)	parental leave in the public sector	equal pay; gender pay gap	divorce reformation	adoption rights of same-sex couples	abortion; surrogate motherhood	family home assigned to the victim	sexual harassment	FGM
<b>Bulgaria</b>	gender equality act	gender equality council	maternity leave, child protection rights	care for disabled people at home	recognition of part-time work	N/A	foreign citizens adopting Bulgarian children, recognition of non-marital relationships	protection against discrimination; rights of homosexuals	assisted reproduction	domestic violence	sexual assault against women	trafficking (transposition of EU directive)
<b>Croatia</b>	gender equality act (CEDAW Shadow Report)	gender equality ombudsperson	retirement age of men and women; parental allowances; unemployment benefits	children with disabilities; mother-nurturer status	parental leave; position of women on the labour market	labour act amendment; gender discrimination in the labour market	family legislation; non-marital unions (CEDAW report - partly)	same-sex union acts	medically assisted insemination; abortion rights	domestic violence	sexual harassment in the labour market; (Beijing+5)	trafficking (transposition of EU directive)

<b>Cyprus</b>	equal treatment (CEDAW report, CEDAW Shadow report)	equality authority; institute for gender studies	social assistance for vulnerable groups	female migrant domestic workers; child subsidy	maternity leave; parental leave	equal pay; equality in the labour market sp. attention to single parent families)	marriage law and migrants; mixed marriages; church and civil marriages	decriminalising male homosexuality	adoption law; mandatory haematological tests before religious marriages	protection of victims of violence within the family	rape	trafficking (migrants and nationalism)
<b>Czech Republic</b>	antidiscrimination law; equal opp. year	council for equal opp.	equalizing pension age; childcare benefits for foreigners	home-based female workers and carers	parental benefits	gender pay gap (transposition of EU directives, CEDAW Shadow Report)	child custody; family relations (CEDAW Shadow report - partly)	registered partnership	abortion (CEDAW report - partly)	domestic violence; combat perpetrators (CEDAW Shadow report - partly)	sexual harassment (CEDAW report - partly)	trafficking (transposition of EU directive) (+speech at the CEDAW hearing)
<b>Denmark</b>	gender equality act	common board of equal treatment; close-down of the information centre on gender equality	childcare benefits	subsidizing domestic services	paternal leave	part-time work; equal pay (compulsory gender-based statistics)	marriage of homosexuals instead of registered partnership; marriage of homosexuals in church	interstate adoption (rejected); adoption for homosexuals;	assisted insemination for single women and lesbians	separation of the male abuser from female victims	rape	restricting family reunification as against forced marriage
<b>Estonia</b>	gender equality act (CEDAW Shadow report)	gender equality commissioner	parental benefit	childcare benefits	holidays population policy act;	employment act; act on wages (CEDAW Shadow report - partly again)	family law and women's security	same-sex marriage (rejected, but is currently pending); employment contracts act	artificial insemination; reproductive health and abortion	restraining order (CEDAW Shadow report - partly again)	sexual harassment	trafficking (transposition of EU directive)
<b>EU</b>	gender roadmap	European institute for gender equality	equal treatment and equal opp. in matters of employment; social protection; Lisbon strategy from a gender perspective	domestic help in the informal sector; protection of families and children	parental leave; reconciliation of work, private and family life;	pay gap; female unemployment; gender labour segregation;	family reunification; single mothers; single-parent families	free movement and same-sex partners; homophobia	sexual and reproductive health and rights; gender discrimination in health system	combat and prevent domestic violence against women	sexual harassment	combating trafficking in women

<b>Finland</b>	act on equality between men and women	council as well as ombudsman for gender equality	costs of paternity and parental leave	family member home care allowance	temporary work contracts	wage gap (gender equality and contract legislation)	registered partnership	adoption for homosexuals (pending - since then accepted)	assisted insemination of single women and lesbians	restraining orders	rape (marital rape)	trafficking and prostitution
<b>France</b>	general anti-discrimination law (CEDAW report, CEDAW Shadow report)	authority against general discrimination	pension reform concerning unpaid care work of women	paid care work	more flexible parental leave	equal pay act	child custody and shared parental responsibilities	civil partnership (PACS)	abortion	prevention and repression of domestic violence	mobbing and sexual harassment in higher education	forced marriage; FGM
<b>Germany</b>	general equal treatment act (CEDAW report - partly)	anti-discrimination office	reform of the spouse-splitting taxation model	care time act concerning insurance	parental benefits	public sector equality act; lack of hard act on equality in the private sphere	family reunion (immigration act)	life partnership (revision) act	paternity acknowledgement	violence protection	marital rape	forced marriages
<b>Greece</b>	equal treatment act (transposition of EU directives)	committee of gender equality	recognition of unpaid care work of women by contribution to pensions	childcare facilities	part-time employment	equal access to the labour market; equal pay (CEDAW Shadow report - partly)	N/A	same-sex partnership (rejected)	medically assisted reproduction	marital rape; domestic violence; also against minors	sexual harassment	Trafficking
<b>Hungary</b>	equal treatment (CEDAW report, CEDAW Shadow report)	council for equality between men and women	family support system	caring at home as full-time employment	paternal leave; childcare allowance for grandparents beside pension (CEDAW Shadow report - partly)	reintegration to the labour market after caring; Roma women's employment; equal pay (transposition of EU directive)	family law on married names; (re)definition of family	registered partnership (pending)	artificial insemination of single women; voluntary sterilisation	restraining order	marital rape; sexual harassment	trafficking (transposition of EU directive)
<b>Ireland</b>	equality act; national women's strategy	single equality authority	single parents	childcare benefits and facilities	parental leave	gender pay gap; employment equality	definition of family	civil unions/domestic partnership (rejected)	abortion	domestic violence; national domestic violence intervention agency	sex offenders act	trafficking

<b>Italy</b>	national directive to empower women	commission on the status of women; national office against racial discrimination	different retirement age of men and women; pension reforms	female carers in the family; migration and domestic workers	parental leave	atypical employment; flexibility in the labour market	shared custody	civil partnership; civil unions (pending)	medically assisted reproduction	gender and domestic violence	rape; other sexual violence on women	FGM (migrant women)
<b>Latvia</b>	labour code amendment; programme for implementation of gender equality (CEDAW report, CEDAW Shadow report)	gender equality unit	pension reform	childcare provisions	flexible labour hours; childcare facilities	labour code; prohibition of discrimination	children born out of wedlock	initiative to respect the human rights of gays and lesbians	reproductive health law	informative report on domestic violence problems; (+speech at the CEDAW hearing)	sexual harassment; prostitution	Trafficking
<b>Lithuania</b>	equal opp. for women and men	ombudsperson of equal opp. for women and men	paternal leave; family allowance	maternity leave and prolonged care work	sharing care work between men and women	equal treatment of employees	single definition of family	sexual orientation discrimination	artificial insemination	criminal code incl. restraining order	sexual rape and assault as crimes; definition of marital rape	trafficking (transposition of EU directive) (CEDAW Shadow report - partly)
<b>Luxembourg</b>	constitutional modification concerning gender equality	gender competent units of all ministries	individualisation of pension rights/splitting (4th CEDAW report - partly)	pregnant workers' protection (4th CEDAW report partly)	parental leave	equal treatment in employment (transposition of EU directives)	reform of divorce (5th CEDAW report - partly)	registered partnership (5th CEDAW report partly)	medically assisted reproduction	eviction of perpetrator	sexual harassment (4th CEDAW report - partly)	trafficking as violence against women
<b>Malta</b>	gender equality act (CEDAW Shadow report does not exist)	commission on advancement of women; national commission for promotion of equality between men and women (Beijing+10)	new pension scheme; national insurance credits during childcare	childcare centres; urgent family leave	part-time work	equal treatment in the labour market and equal pay (transposition of EU directive)	lack of the possibility to divorce (annulment of marriage); family court	antidiscrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (as well)	women's reproductive health; artificial insemination (CEDAW report - partly)	domestic violence act (degendered)	sexual harassment	trafficking (transposition of EU directive)

<b>Netherlands</b>	equal treatment act (gender eq. law exists but came into force before the QUING period) (CEDAW Shadow report - partly)	department for the coordination of emancipation policy	social assistance; lone parents with special attention to women; occupational disability pension	volunteer care work; employers' obligatory contribution to childcare	part-time work; labour and care act	equal pay; labour market participation of ethnic minority women	matrimonial property law; family reunion	same-sex marriage; LGBT emancipation policy	abortion; IVF	temporary eviction of the perpetrator	sexual harassment	honour crimes, FGM
<b>Poland</b>	equal treatment (CEDAW report)	plenipotentiary for the equal status of men and women (CEDAW Shadow report)	family allowance; pension system	surrogate care	family policy; labour code	labour code (transposition of the EU directive)	alimony fund	same-sex couples (pending since 2004)	abortion	violence in family	sexual harassment; rape	trafficking (CEDAW Shadow report - partly again)
<b>Portugal</b>	national plans for gender equality	commission for the equality and rights of women	minimum guaranteed income	minimum salary for domestic workers; unpaid domestic work	paternity leave	equal remuneration (within the general regime of labour offences); equality in employment	divorce by mutual consent	cohabitation of couples, irrespective of sexes	partial decriminalisation of abortion	physical abuse between partners	sexual harassment at workplace	trafficking in human beings for sexual exploitation
<b>Romania</b>	equal opportunities between men and women (CEDAW report, CEDAW Shadow report)	national agency for equal opp. between men and women	parental leave (financial support parents)	social protection of housewives; professional maternal assistant; social protection of children	part-time work; work from home	gender gap in pension; occupational segregation	definition of family; protection of marriage and family	N/A (decriminalisation of homosexuality)	constraints of abortion; eligibility of assisted reproduction	combating violence in the family	sexual harassment	trafficking (CEDAW report - partly)
<b>Slovakia</b>	antidiscrimination act (CEDAW report - partly)	human rights centre; gender equality ministerial department (CEDAW report - partly)	social security policy; tax relief after a child (CEDAW report - partly)	parental allowance (CEDAW report - partly)	labour code; family policy	anti-discrimination act (equal treatment) (CEDAW report - partly)	divorce and child custody	same-sex partnership (disapproved); human rights of LGBT people	abortion; hospital staff's right to exercise objection of conscience	domestic violence (CEDAW report - partly)	sexual abuse, rape, sexual violence (CEDAW report - partly)	trafficking (CEDAW report - partly)

<b>Slovenia</b>	equal opp. for women and men (CEDAW Shadow report)	office for equal opp.	pension and invalidity insurance	health care and health insurance; social security	parental protection and family benefits	equal access to the labour market	fathers' rights after divorce; child custody	same-sex registered partnership	infertility treatment and assisted procreation	domestic violence (against women)	sexual harassment at work	trafficking and gender-based violence
<b>Spain</b>	gender equality law	general secretariat of equality policies	tax deduction in case of childbirth or adoption; special regime of domestic workers	care as a state provision and as a family matter	paternity leave; immigrant women's inclusion	equal treatment; women's situation in the labour market	reformation of divorce and separation	same-sex marriage	assisted human reproduction techniques	protection against gender violence	sexual harassment	trafficking and prostitution; FGM
<b>Sweden</b>	equal opportunities act (amendment of gender equality act)	having a single Ombudsman instead of Ombudsmen (pending)	tax-deductible domestic services (housemaid debate)	childcare allowance	paternal leave (parental leave insurance; gender equality bonus)	equal rights for part-time workers; mapping gender pay gap	marriage of homosexuals, instead of registered partnership	adoption for homosexuals	assisted insemination of single women and lesbians	men's violence against women in intimate relationships	sexual abuse	honour crimes
<b>Turkey</b>	constitutional amendment for the advancement of women's status (6th CEDAW report - partly, 4th and 5th CEDAW Shadow report - partly)	general directorate for women's status	survivors' benefit (low rate of female employment) (6th CEDAW report - partly)	childcare provisions of employers for female employees (childcare facilities)	maternity leave; parental leave	gender equality principle during recruitment (4th and 5th CEDAW Shadow report - partly)	matrimonial property regime	legal protection for homosexuals (rejected)	improving sexual and reproductive health status; family planning; abortion (attempt to restrict it)	domestic violence (4th and 5th CEDAW Shadow report - partly)	rape, marital rape; sexual harassment at workplace; sexual assault by security forces	trafficking in human beings; honour killings
<b>United Kingdom</b>	anti-discrimination against all inequalities (CEDAW report, CEDAW Shadow report)	single equality authority	in-work benefits; tax credit system	childcare benefits and facilities	flexibility of work	equal pay act amendments	individual payments, fathers' rights and state support in terms of marriage	recognition of same-sex partnership	abortion	domestic violence, crimes and victim act	sexual offences act	forced marriage

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