Femcit › Gendered Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: The Impact of Contemporary Women's Movements

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FEMCIT:
Gendered Citizenship in Mulitcultural Europe: the Impact of Contemporary Women's Movements
Final Report

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FEMCIT:
Gendered Citizenship in Multicultural Europe:
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FINAL REPORT

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WP7 Integrative analysis: gender-fair citizenship in a multicultural Europe

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Section I: Introduction[1]

Gendered Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: the Impact of Contemporary Women's Movements

The FEMCIT project explored the relationship between the changing practices of gendered citizenship in a multicultural Europe and the demands which have emerged from contemporary women's movements. FEMCIT has been concerned with gendered citizenship at the level of everyday life and lived experience as well as social and political structures and public policies. The overall objectives of FEMCIT have been to:

- undertake a compilation of national case studies, cross-national and comparative studies of major feminist issues within six citizenship dimensions: political, social, economic, multicultural, bodily and intimate citizenship;

- produce deepened understandings of gendered citizenship in a multicultural Europe based on empirical analysis of the six citizenship dimensions;

- investigate how different notions and practices of citizenship have been articulated by analysing the multiple forms of contemporary women's movements activism in various contexts;

- explore the implications of changing notions of citizenship for European policies, contributing to an overall assessment of the current state of women's citizenship and developing policy recommendations to promote gender-fair citizenship across Europe.

FEMCIT claims that fuller citizenship for women in a multicultural European context should be advanced along six axes or dimensions: political, social, economic, multicultural, bodily, and intimate citizenship.

The following figure illustrates the overall structure of FEMCIT:
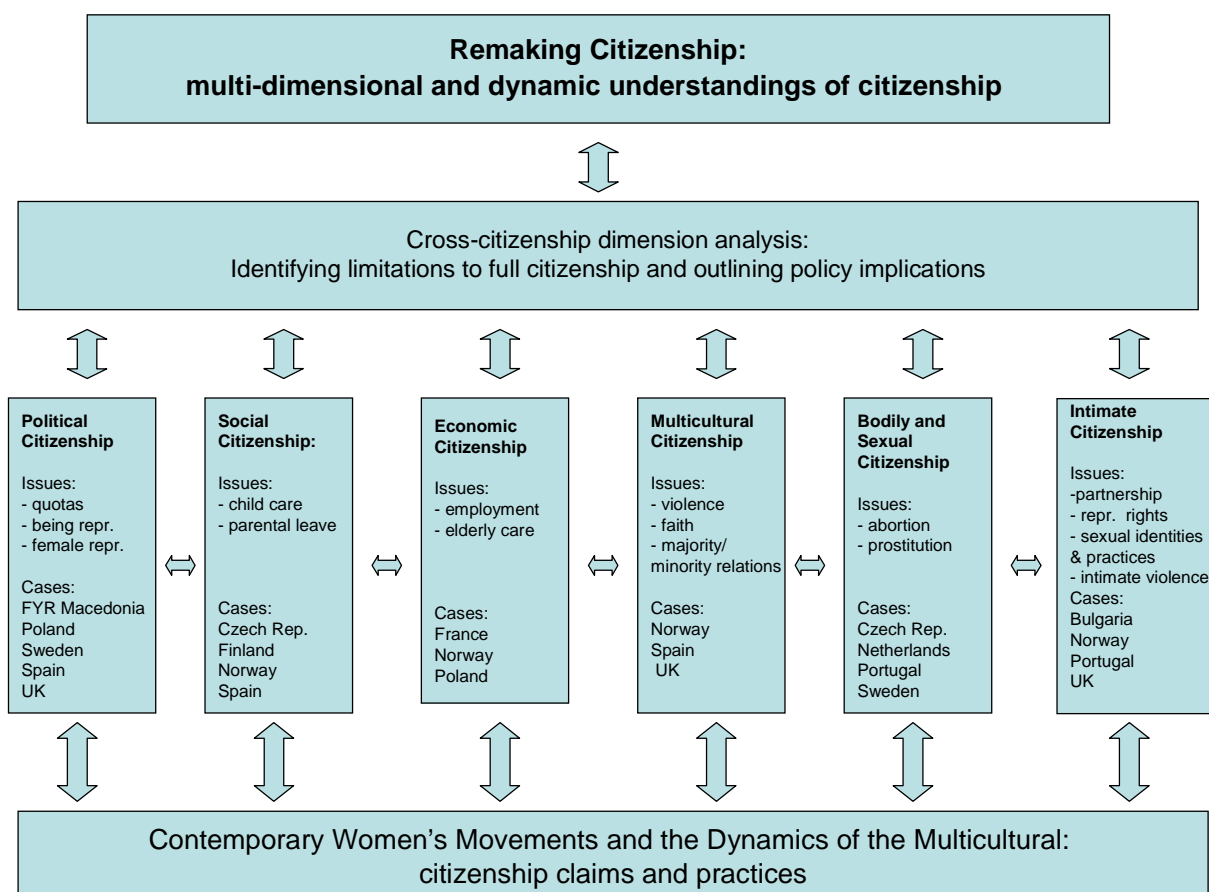
FEMCIT investigated the changing forms and practices of gendered citizenship through a focus on six interrelated dimensions of citizenship. Empirical studies of significant issues related to the six dimensions of citizenship have been carried out in seven Work Packages (WPs):

WP1 - Political citizenship: towards fuller political citizenship: making elective assemblies more representative of gender and ethnic differences

WP2 - Social citizenship: gender-based organising and claim making on child care and parental-leave policies

WP3 - Economic citizenship: gendered transformations of the work-life interface

WP4 - Multicultural citizenship: intersections between feminism, ethnic identity and religion

WP5 - Sexual and bodily citizenship: citizenship and feminist body politics

WP6 - Intimate citizenship: women's movements, cultural diversity, personal lives and policy

WP7 - Gender-fair citizenship in a multicultural Europe: integrative analysis of WP1-6 findings and two sub-projects: 'Gender mainstreaming' and 'Framing the Multicultural.' WP7 had an overarching status and has coordinated cross-WP dialogue and integrative analysis.

Key concepts in FEMCIT

The overall problem addressed in FEMCIT concerns the lack of full gender-fair citizenship for women in Europe. FEMCIT has worked with a wider conceptualisation of citizenship than most of the existing literature in the field. We understand citizenship both as public rights and duties that are claimed and/or attributed to citizens and residents as a sign of recognition, *and* as practices and identities chosen, constructed and performed by citizens and residents in their daily lives (which may entail neither claims-making nor public recognition). Citizenship is about rights and status, but it is also about participation, identity and belonging. It comprises feelings and experiences of being included or excluded. Inspired by a (Nordic) social democratic tradition of incorporating social movements and organisations in politics, and the feminist approach to the public and personal as fundamentally entangled, FEMCIT addresses the bonds between and within groups of citizens, and between citizens, civil society and the public arena (Halsaa 2008).

FEMCIT operates with a wide definition of women's movements in order to include women's mobilisation and organisation within different political regimes and across ethnic and national majority and minority populations (See WP7 report for a detailed account of how we apply these concepts). FEMCIT's empirical research comprises a variety of organisations: women only, gender-mixed, autonomous and semi-autonomous women's groups, and sometimes gay and lesbian movements and other gender-related movements. The term 'contemporary women's movement' embraces the wide range of women's collective organising since the 1960s, including but not only that by those who have self-defined as feminists (Halsaa 2009).

We use the term 'impact' to denote women's movements' formative role in, and contributions to, social, political and cultural transformations in Europe that have meant that issues of gender equality and difference in public, as well as intimate and personal life, have increasingly been regarded as important. FEMCIT contains an embedded and a systematic historical-institutional approach to impact, and does not aim to assess women's movements' impact through a positivist approach to casuality (Halsaa 2009). For further discussion of FEMCIT's key concepts, see *Gender-Fair Citizenship in Multicultural Europe - WP7*.

Overview of the FEMCIT research design

FEMCIT's six thematic dimensions of citizenship aim to show the empirical breadth, depth and complexity of citizenship as it relates to women's lives. This involves developing analytical frameworks that:
- incorporate the under-researched dimensions of multicultural, religious, bodily and intimate citizenship into the more established political, social and economic dimensions, and
- identify and explore un-recognized or under-developed elements of the more established dimensions of citizenship.

This does not mean just "adding women", or adding more dimensions, to the notion of citizenship, but requires the reworking of the concept of citizenship, through empirical, analytical and political assessments of core issues in relation to gendered citizenship.

The six FEMCIT dimensions cover a wide range of aspects of citizenship. Each dimension is explored empirically via carefully selected citizenship issues: political representation and quotas; discourses on child-care and parental leave; the interface of class/ethnicity/gender in work-life arrangements; the family abortion and reproductive rights, partnership, sexuality, prostitution and violence against women; religious faith and feminist intra movement relations. The issues are

obviously not all-inclusive of women's movements' ambitions for change, but they do cover a variety of basic problems and constitute a triple focus on:

- issues which have been foundational for feminist and women's movements,
- the emerging voices and claim-making of organized minoritized women, and
- 'blind spots' (claims and issues which have not been sufficiently researched) and/or failures which are crucial for the construction of gender-fair citizenship.

The complexity of the FEMCIT project can be synthesized in two research questions:
1) What difference have women's movements demands made with respect to notions and practices of citizenship in multicultural Europe?
2) In what ways might citizenship be re-made in order to be more full and gender-fair?

The countries studied in FEMCIT are: Bulgaria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Finland, France, FYR Macedonia, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the UK. The work packages (WPs) selected different sub-groups of these countries, based on their specific theoretical and practical considerations. In most cases, countries were chosen according to a "most different" comparative methodology, as examples of different welfare and gender regimes (see WP reports).

FEMCIT's research draws on a variety of methods, including biographical-narrative interviews, expert interviews, focus groups, questionnaires, participant observation, mapping analysis, primary analysis of policy and movement texts, secondary analysis of statistical material and academic literature etc.

Overview of FEMCIT's research achievements

The project has compiled a vast amount of new research material: around 520 face-to-face individual interviews; 20 focus group interviews with 160 participants and two small scale surveys carried out in the 27 EU and 3 EEA countries.

Our empirical and theoretical work resulted in the submission of 107 Deliverables. Twenty-five of these are published online as FEMCIT Working Papers. Throughout the course of the project, FEMCIT researchers published over 90 Journal articles and/or book chapters and presented more than 260 conference papers (See Annex II for a complete dissemination list).

The wide-ranging empirical work that has been carried out in the context of the thematic work packages (WP1-6), and in the projects affiliated with WP7, has resulted in a significant body of new knowledge. The empirical analyses are structured around women's movements' claims and practices and are based on innovative and critical approaches to citizenship. Women's movements' resonance with public policy-making related to each dimension of citizenship has been narrowed down to the carefully selected issues mentioned above. The investigation of movement impact is not limited to public policy; FEMCIT has also explored the role of contemporary women's movements in relation to everyday life in civil society. Thus FEMCIT has produced substantial new knowledge about successful as well as less of unsuccessful claim-making within shifting political and cultural contexts. FEMCIT has deepened understandings of unifying and contested issues within women's movements. Processes and structures of 'minoritization' within movements, policies and civil societies have been common themes across the citizenship dimensions and the selected issues.

In Section II, we present the main findings of the six thematic Work Packages, together with a section presenting the results from the integrative Work Package (WP7), which had the overall aim of monitoring progress in the thematic Work Packages, and contributing to the development of a n*ew architecture of gender-fair citizenship in a multicultural Europe.*

A summary discussion of FEMCIT's overall findings regarding the impact of the women's movements on gendered citizenship and FEMCIT's theoretical groundwork for a sustainable architecture for gender-fair citizenship (that has been accomplished within the framework of WP7) are presented in Section III.

Section II: Multi-dimensional Citizenship and Women's Movements

POLITICAL CITIZENSHIP: MAKING ELECTIVE ASSEMBLIES MORE INCLUSIVE WITH REGARD TO GENDER AND ETHNICITY (WP1)

WP1 leader: Monica Threlfall, London Metropolitan University.

WP1 Researchers: Drude Dahlerup, Malgorzata Fuszara, Lenita Freidenvall

Women's movements have problematised the issue of women's representation in liberal democracies by claiming that the presence of women in elective and appointed office is far too reduced. They have posed the urgency of both reconsidering the concept of political representation from a gender perspective and of adopting measures to augment the presence of women. Established political theorists, such as Virginia Shapiro, Carole Pateman and Anne Phillips, have argued the need for a 'politics of presence', while political scientists have addressed issues of recruitment, agency, quotas and parity, most notably Pippa Norris, Joni Lovenduski and Drude Dahlerup, amongst others.

Women's movements and gender policy advocates, both independently and inside political parties and international fora, have advocated equitable remedies for parties and electoral systems to implement, and shaped a new consensus around gender balance and parity in public representation. Parties in member-states now field far more female candidates for elections and elect increasing numbers of women to posts of political power, leading to widespread, albeit slow, improvement in women's political presence.

But despite this recent recognition of, and practical gains for, the claim that elective assemblies should reflect the gendered make-up of society by being composed of a balanced proportion of women and men, full political citizenship for women remains incomplete – that was the starting point for the conceptualisation of WP1. The different citizenship experiences and practices of old and new member states of the EU had re-opened discussion on the effectiveness of democracies for offering adequate political representation to women, and sufficient political channels for a woman to gain, as well as hold on to, the role of representative. Even in very long-standing democracies, aspects of political citizenship, particularly if one considers the representational needs of ethnic minority women and men, or Muslims as opposed to Christians, are still lacking. Thus the representation system is challenged by the advent of multicultural societies and the increased diversity among citizens, but also by the manifest difference between women and men, among women (in this study along the axes of ethnicity and religion) and among men, and even between minority women and minority men. As non-gendered research into ethnicity has already concerned itself with many aspects of multi-ethnicity and the multicultural, this research focuses only on the cross-cutting aspects of gender and ethnicity (and to a minor extent religion) among women.

Research Objectives

As formulated during the development of the research (see WP1 Periodic Activity Report 4), our starting premises regarding the missing elements of citizenship were, succinctly: the 'ethnic representation gap' of organisations (Strand 1), the 'satisfaction gap' of citizens (Strand 2) and the 'agency gap' of parliamentarians (Strand 3). In other words we defined three areas in which it could be said that political citizenship for some categories of women was lacking altogether or was severely underdeveloped, and in which the perspectives of ethnicity had not been adequately attended to. Firstly, the grass-roots perspectives of citizens themselves had not been interrogated in depth, as most work had been limited to surveys. The subjective view was missing, since nationals and even residents have a citizenship right to be part of representational structures, yet their actual experience of this right was under-researched. How do they want to be represented politically? What are the features of the representation system and the representative him/herself that help to generate a feeling of being adequately represented? Secondly, the perspective of ethnic minority women – in this case, organised women with roles in non-governmental organisations. How do they want to be represented, taking into account their gender and ethnicity? In addition, what do political parties offer ethnic minorities in terms of representation? Thirdly, from the perspective of women parliamentarians, we proposed that they would feel constrained by further types of barriers beyond the hurdles they already had to jump over in order to become elected in the first place, and therefore lacked the citizenship right to take office and stay in office once elected. How far was this the case, especially in the newer democracies? Investigating these issues became our aim, geared towards helping to shape more inclusive forms of political citizenship practices suitable for the multicultural contexts that are increasingly prevalent in Europe.

In Strand 1 the research objectives were to investigate how constitutional rules, political parties and ethnic women's organisations deal with the 'ethnic representation gap', the question of the representation of ethnic minority citizens and residents; and to consider whether it is possible to trace an 'ethnic track' alongside the new well-identified 'gender track' to finding a voice and presence in elective assemblies. In Strand 2, given the 'citizen satisfaction gap', the objective was to discover what kind of parliamentarians, and interactions with them, make majority and minority women and men feel politically represented in a more satisfactory way. The premise was that elected politicians themselves, their personal profile, party affiliation, background, gender, ethnicity, or religion could generate feelings of being politically represented among their constituents; and that certain types of interaction between parliamentarians and their district residents could produce feelings of political inclusion. In Strand 3 the objective was to investigate 'the agency gap' regarding how women representatives deal with the obstacles they encounter in parliamentary life and in the task of representing women, women's organisations and ethnic minorities. The premises were firstly, that elected women, whatever the route that brought them to parliament, were constrained in performing as representatives by the obstacles strewn along their path by the parliamentary and party systems; and secondly that such obstacles could end up preventing them from representing both majority and minority women in the way they saw fit to do - particularly in the context of current strong claims from advocacy organisations and public debates about governmental gender policies. Strand 3 was therefore devoted to challenges faced by female representatives, seeking to establish whether men and women exercise the right to be a representative to the same extent, as well as to identify the obstacles that hinder women in exercising this right and the ways to overcome them.

Theoretical approaches

WP1, being composed of three independent research projects, interrogated three separate theoretical approaches and literatures. Strand 1, in line with many feminist scholars and activists, was critical of the notion of the universal citizen, because of the hidden male bias often implied. Different groups, such as women minorities, have different needs, so that the idea of the universal citizen hides inequalities, and veils dominant (male, white) norms. In line with feminist theorists, Strand 1 holds (following Lister 1998, Yuval Davis 1997, amongst others) that more pluralistic and differentiated citizenship that ensures that not only women, but all groups being excluded from an active citizenship can influence their own situation and gain access to power. Also, following Siim, it argues that citizenship is not just about the formal entitlements and obligations endowed to members of a community, but also about how citizenship is practiced and lived. Citizenship also has a subjective side: it is about feelings of belonging to a community (Siim 2000, Yuval Davies 1997). Notions of citizenship should be sensitive to the diversity of lived experiences. Nevertheless, Strand 1 departed from established theories on political citizenship in its focus on minority women as a separate category from minority men. Consequently, we have analyzed the perceptions of citizenship among minority women's organizations, whose voices are not so often heard in the public debate.

Strand 2's approach was to stage the new fieldwork on the relations of representation in the context of the literature on the roles and relations of parliamentarians with their constituents or district residents. This literature is fundamentally empirical. Strand 2 argues that this literature pays too little attention to the views of grass-roots citizens/residents, and is focused towards the needs of parliamentarians i.e. their roles, how to deal with their workload, and so on. Subjective views of constituents are hardly investigated. For this reason, the literature offers virtually no information on citizen preferences differentiated by gender and ethnicity. Furthermore, the literature offers little scope for constituents to visualise their ideals, nor configure the components of the representation process that would help them feel represented – such as by likeness to, or difference from, the representatives in terms of their social background, gender, ethnicity, and religion; or by the presence or absence of certain features in representatives, such as their attachment to party, the geographical level at which they operate, their availability etc. Thus Strand 2 claims to contribute substantially to the literature on the 'relations of representation', particularly to the emerging literature on these relations in late 20th century post-authoritarian democracies.

Strand 3's theoretical approach is grounded in the feminist literature that emphasises the fact that domination by men makes it necessary not only to eradicate discrimination, but also to equip women with power (MacKinnon 1987, 2006). The key factor is women's access to roles and positions that would allow them to shape and redefine these roles and the relevant norms. In this case, Strand 3 argues, such shaping and defining can be labelled as women's exercise of their 'right to represent'. Political representation is the crucial notion here. In the literature, Pitkin (1972) Stevens (2007) Kurczewski (1999) distinguish between various types of representation, but Strand 3 focuses primarily on descriptive and substantive representation. According to Pitkin, descriptive representation signifies "standing for" women, while substantive representation is connected to "acting for" women. Other models of representation, such as the trust-based model, delegate model and the mandate model (Stevens 2007), and representation according to interest, opinion and perspective (I. M. Young 2000) were taken into consideration as well.

Methodology

As set out above, citizenship was operationalised in terms of identifying three important areas of representational politics where a 'citizenship gap' had been identified, approaching the concept of 'citizenship' as a freedom to enjoy political and civil rights in practice. Given the independence of the fieldwork required for each of the three Strands within the common framework of contributing three new sets of insights into key citizenship gaps *for women*, a variety of methods were used, all of them were of the documentary and qualitative type. The most innovative methodological approach was that each Strand applied the intersectionality perspective, in the sense that particular attention was paid to the intersections of gender, ethnicity and religion. Its application as a method meant involving a variety of respondents, with an over-representation throughout (in relation to their presence in society in the countries studied) of ethnic minority respondents. Additionally in Strand 2, discussion groups were held with ethnic minorities separately from majority groups, with women separately from men, and with Muslim women separately from (practising or non-practising) Christian women.

The rationale for the selection of countries for the WP was as follows: geographical dispersion: one from the Nordic, western, southern, and eastern parts of the European Union, selected because each corresponded to the native language of at least one member of the research team, plus one non-EU state, chosen for its multi-ethnic party system. In addition, these countries included states with single-member and multi-member electoral systems; with high and low levels of female representation and with varying or no rules on gender quotas for candidates in elections.

Strand 1 fieldwork was based on interviews with ethnic minority women's organizations (EMWO) in five countries: F.Y.R. Macedonia[2], Poland, Spain, Sweden and the UK. The focus was not on country comparisons, but on context-sensitive, in-depth analysis of the respondents' perceptions of political citizenship. With a special focus on minority women's organisations, the questions asked included: To what extent do leaders of EMWOs feel represented? By whom do they prefer to be represented? Are quotas a preferred strategy to achieve a more fuller and gender fair citizenship? In addition, this research included a questionnaire to political parties (PP) in 47 countries in Europe regarding their perceptions of political citizenship.

Strand 2 fieldwork consisted of 20 group discussions - 5 each in F.Y.R. Macedonia, Poland, Spain and the UK - with ethnic majority men, ethnic majority women, Muslim women, mixed gender ethnic minorities, and European residents. 160 participants recruited by established social research companies. A discussion guide was used to steer the conversation covering topics falling into two main themes: a) The amount and type of desirable contacts and interaction that participants would prefer to have with their representatives; and b) The types of persons and their styles of political representation that would help participants feel politically represented. This included discussion of classic terms such as *delegate, trustee and mandating* from the representation literature but also essayed new typologies around 'interaction' and 'dialogue' and 'one-way' and 'two-way' communication. More innovatively, it covered participants' preferences for personal, gender, party-political, and social characteristics of ideal representatives. At the end a written exercise was administered, offering each participant the chance to rank their preferences along 4 options within 8 fields (i.e. 32 choices) relating to the features of their ideal representatives discussed earlier. These sessions were moderated by the Principal Investigator in the UK and Spain, and by a professional in Poland and F.Y.R. Macedonia with simultaneous interpretation by a native speaker relayed to the PI who was observing through a two-way mirror.

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[2] "F.Y.R. Macedonia" is used here since this is the name under which the country functions internationally. However, many countries have acknowledged the country's constitutional name, the Republic of Macedonia, and inhabitants of the country, including our respondents, perceive themselves as citizens of Macedonia.

In addition to the taped and videoed material, a short written exercise was conducted at the end of each session in which participants ranked a series of options (arising out of the discussion) attributing numerical values to their preferences. These were then aggregated in order to firm up or contrast with the opinions expressed orally.

Strand 3 fieldwork consisted of over 90 interviews with MPs, women and men, from five countries: United Kingdom (the national parliament at Westminster and the Scottish Parliament), F.Y.R. Macedonia, Poland, Spain and Sweden. In each country, the same interview questionnaire was utilised, with necessary country-specific modifications. An interview lasted between 45 minutes and 2 hours. The assumption was that fair political citizenship requires both fair participation of men and women in the exercise of power, i.e. descriptive representation, and the opportunity to effectively represent women's interest in the parliament (substantive representation of women). Therefore, the questions were intended to examine the following issues: obstacles to women running for parliamentary seats; stumbling blocks to representation of women's interests in the parliament; manners in which the elected understand 'being a representative' of women and their interests; levels of acceptance of the mechanisms of equalising opportunities for both genders (including quota systems); mutual relations between men and women MPs and women's NGOs. Further questions were structured along similar lines though more limited in scope, around the issues of representation of national and ethnic minorities and migrants.

Main empirical findings

The very extensive fieldwork carried out in WP1 produced large data sets that offer rich findings that are still provoking new reflections – and therefore led to the drafting of a book proposal in order that they may be further analysed. The preliminary findings of each Strand are presented below:

Strand 1 (Perspectives from organisations) focuses primarily on contemporary majority and minority women's organizations' views on political representation but also on the role of parties in the debate about the representation of minorities. It investigated the contacts between majority and minority organisations, as well as contacts between organisations and state authorities and contacts between MPs and women's NGOs.

It was found that, while many of the selected ethnic minority women's organisations (EMWOs) do not generally work on issues concerning political inclusion, they nonetheless support stronger measures for an increased representation of women and minorities in politics. The respondents from EMWOs in the selected countries are positive to gender quotas, but vary in their appraisals. Some support legal quotas, while others prefer voluntary party quotas. The EMWOs are less positive about quotas for minorities, but vary in their positions. Some support the policy of introducing reserved seats in elected bodies for minorities, and a few even argue that some of these seats should be reserved for minority *women*. Others do not see quotas or other legal measures as the right way to combat the lack of influence and the under-representation of minorities. One reason for this is the problem of categorization. Which groups should be eligible for representation? What about the second and third generation of settled minorities?

When asked to choose between a male candidate from their own community and a woman candidate from any ethnic community, a large proportion of EMWOs prefer to be represented by the woman, provided that she has a minority background. Many EMWOs argue that their group is severely under-represented in politics. But, while advocating a better representation of their own ethnic group and of women, not just any woman will do for the individual. What is

preferred, is a candidate who shares some of the socio-economic disadvantages, language difficulties and other integration-related problems.

Some of the interviewed EMWOs display a feminist position, arguing that they would support any woman candidate, regardless of majority or minority community. Gender comes first in their view or, rather, the preference is for a feminist woman. The fact that many EMWOs want to be represented by any minority woman seems to be more widespread in countries in which umbrella networks for minority women are formed. It indicates the general mobilization on gender issues that has taken place in many European societies in recent decades, intertwined, however, with a consideration for the discrimination that minorities in general, and minority women in particular, experience.

Political parties vary in their positions on gender quotas. While the left parties are divided between seeing gender quotas as a necessary evil (40%) and a good and fair method (58%), the other parties manifest more disparate positions. The overwhelming majority of the right parties, however, see gender quotas as unacceptable (86%), and none sees quotas as a good method. Quotas for minorities have much less support than gender quotas. Several interpretations are possible here. One possibility is that within political parties, quotas for minorities are simply not seen as an option, while the question of gender quotas is a hot issue in parties currently. An alternative interpretation could be that the question of quota for minorities has not yet reached the party agenda, but will eventually become a hot issue.

The integrative aspects have been explicitly addressed in our contribution to the joint FEMCIT anthology, which draws on various notions on citizenship. Multicultural aspects have been addressed too, in particular since there is an explicit focus on EMWOs views on political representation.

Strand 2 (Perspectives from citizens)**:** One surprising finding deriving from the fieldwork (discussion groups) was evidence that Europeans today have what one could call *two simultaneous political voices.* There is a first homogeneously critical voice claiming they do not feel politically represented because all parties are the same and all politicians are motivated only by personal ambition, and are mostly corrupt or corruptible. This emerged at the start of the sessions in the un-guided conversation in which participants were free to say anything they wanted around the idea of being or feeling politically represented. This critical voice broadly echoed evidence arising out of existing surveys, but was not analysed as the purpose of Strand 1 was to get beyond off-the-cuff answers to surveys and to stimulate the imagination around ideals instead of perceived realities. In addition, a second thoughtful, judicious voice arose in most participants during the structured discussion (though a handful did not find this voice).

As to the contents of the conversations, most were of the view that contact with their existing parliamentarians would make them feel more satisfied/less dissatisfied with the political system. Such contact would involve representatives publicising their existence and functions in their electoral district, reporting periodically on their activity by email to those who wish to receive such information, maintaining an accessible website, and showing their willingness to enter into an individual dialogue over such public issues as a citizen or resident might feel strongly about. Representatives should be seen in the district more often, or in a different way, than just during elections. This finding suggests the need to develop or strengthen the political culture of MPs accountability to those they represent that is alleged to be weak or non-existent in three of the four countries researched. Yet a further insight was that the performance of 'constituency service' by deputies of the type identified by research into single-member plurality/majority electoral systems as prevalent in Britain and France) was not what group participants visualised as helping

them to feel represented. Participants keen on interactive dialogue with representatives tended to think that attention to people's individual practical problems was appropriate only at the local government level, while at regional and national level such attention should be issue- or policy-based.

In terms of the ideal representatives or features of the representation system that would help citizens feel politically represented or included, participants were preponderantly convinced that representatives should ideally be very knowledgeable, experienced and well-trained, whatever their sex (particularly in Poland, Spain, and F.Y.R. Macedonia) and were not at all attracted to the classic 'charismatic' figure of a person who is appealing and communicates well even if they have little experience. Participants were primarily concerned with a politician's technocratic and political effectiveness, in contexts where they had witnessed uncommitted politicians who were unable to make much-needed institutional reforms nor local improvements.

As to descriptive representation, participants on the whole felt more represented by people with technocratic rationalist competencies than by people like themselves. But different kinds of representatives who can speak to a variety of ethnic, religious, gendered and local identities over and above their party politics were also visualised as ideal by ethnic minority men and women and Muslim women in particular. For instance, the latter could only feel represented by a Muslim, who should mostly – though not exclusively - be a man. Indeed, feeling represented can be dependent on 'likeness', a fact that suggests a need for some appropriate proportion of parliamentarians to fulfil the 'descriptive representation' function. A resemblance to the representatives' physical characteristics or life experience can make people feel closer to them and therefore more politically represented by them. But for the most part, this was not the great wish of majority women, nor of majority men.

In fact, given the internal diversity and variance among the minority groups studied, more research is required to reach firmer conclusions regarding the political satisfaction that descriptive representation engenders. As to the first historic example of descriptive representation – labour party electoral politics, where working class men wanted to be represented by one of their own kind or at least by one who understood the lives of people like them and were part of the labour movement, there was little evidence that this remained a preference. Instead, the men's groups mostly opted for the rational-technocratic preference for being represented by knowledgeable, experienced and well trained people, even accepting this person could be a woman as long as she appeared to be of comparable calibre.

The qualitative, 'user-centred' perspective adopted in this study in order to reveal citizens' preferences produced another clear finding: currently, parliamentarians both local, regional and national are perceived as not playing their role as representatives, only as legislators or party agents, and as being nameless and invisible. Citizens would like them to perform as *representatives* as well as *legislators* in more inclusive ways: not to service individual constituents' needs, but to offer to engage in political conversations or report back on their activities in more 'visible' (mainly electronic) ways so as to generate the feeling that they are doing work that justifies their elected and salaried positions.

Finally, **Strand 3** (Perspectives from Parliamentarians) found that, despite the differences in descriptive representation, in each country the representatives interviewed (mostly women, but men as well) claimed that it is more difficult for women to hold high positions in the public sphere, and that they encounter particular barriers and obstacles to their functioning on the political scene. In each country we encountered the phrase "a woman must be twice or three times better than a man to get an equal position to a man". Among the barriers that women

encounter, as listed by the MPs, most notable were "the cultural barriers", rooted in the traditional division into the public and the private, and the gender assignment to these two spheres. Others are the institutional barriers (place in candidate list, keeping women away from positions of parliamentary responsibility, excluding women from unofficial meetings where decisions are made, and so on). Respondents reiterated how these barriers hinder women both in starting a political career and in working effectively once in parliament.

With regard to draft laws, these were often strongly criticized when they dealt with a policy issue perceived as important for women, but which male politicians did not know much about. The following were mentioned: regulations on abortion, gender equality bills, the law against gender-based violence, quota regulations, and laws regarding trafficking of women. Some of these, important as they are for women, were occasionally described as 'taboo' in parliamentary politics. Furthermore, even when there is a general agreement that women are discriminated against in politics, this fails to translate into an acceptance of gender quotas as a remedy. In fact, quotas are more widely accepted by deputies in the countries in which they have already been introduced (Spain, and especially F.Y.R. Macedonia).

The parliamentarians of both genders who were interviewed stressed that they wished everybody, regardless of their gender, to be represented by both women and men. At the same time, many deputies claimed that in actual practice, women more often represent women. Being representative of women is formulated in differentiated ways: (a) some women deputies described themselves only as a representative of women; (b) others knew that women considered them as their representatives and felt they could not betray their trust; (c) other still emphasized the fact that they are advocates for women's rights. The last approach to representing women was employed not only by women, but also by men.

The main positive changes connected to the increase in women's participation in political representation may be divided into five categories: a change in atmosphere in the parliament (a different language, less confrontational attitudes); breaking gender stereotypes; a change in the political agenda; day-to-day parliamentary business; parliament as a more inclusive and just institution. In F.Y.R. Macedonia in particular, those interviewed emphasised the importance of the presence of women from national minority groups in the parliament, since such a presence went strongly against the traditional relegation of women to the private sphere. Thus, the firm belief that women belong in the private sphere had been undermined, and a shift in the relations between genders had begun.

Most parliamentarians, both men and women, preferred to see women as a rather homogenous group that shares common interests regardless of their social status or ethnic origin. However, the interviews reveal three aspects of differentiation of women's situations and interests, important in the perspective of political representation. These aspects are: age, class and ethnic and national differentiation.

Overall discussion

Rather than start with a definition of 'political citizenship', WP1 started with the feminist critiques of the inadequacies of the commonplace meanings attached to citizenship by political authorities, which allowed heavy gender imbalances in the composition of elective assemblies to continue despite the granting of political rights to women. Feminist critiques of democracy, together with key points of the critical literature on citizenship that emphasise practice as much as rights, allowed us to conclude that the term *political citizenship* should be used as an encompassing concept that signifies: the set of political rights, freedoms, public resources, and practices in

political society - which citizens can have access to, enjoy and perform both individually and collectively - so as to feel enabled to negotiate, sustain, or renegotiate their status and power relations in the public realm with other citizens, civil society organizations, institutions and political authorities.

And although feminist critiques have also constructed models of political citizenship related to the likelihood of bringing more women into political office (e.g. Krook, Lovenduski and Squires 2009), WP1 chose principally to look at what we perceived to be remaining areas of 'non-citizenship'. Taking the feminist critique a step further, we recognised a) the absence of an intersectional perspective on representation, particularly the question of the representation of gendered ethnic minorities; b) the under-development of the notion that the original right to stand for election and to be elected - the bedrock of democratic political citizenship - might have consequences for practices inside parliaments, well beyond the moments of becoming selected and elected; c) and the lack of knowledge around gendered subjective views and feelings that make up the relations of representation between the 'representee' and 'representor'. Thus three aspects of political representation system were identified as benefiting from innovative further research, involving parliamentarians, civil and political society organizations, and ordinary citizens, respectively. However we stopped short of adopting the notion of 'belonging' developed by Bellamy (2004) for the citizens' perspective, given the study's focus on relations between two sets of people. Nevertheless the findings do raise the issue of how far the degree to which individuals can feel satisfaction with their political representatives also contributes to overall feelings of belonging to a specific political society or a nation.

The political citizenship framework adopted proved coherent for the three studies' purposes and fieldwork possibilities. No changes were needed to the framework and the fieldwork proved possible to carry out in practice – as the extensive lists of interviews with activists and political representatives, and the consultations with ordinary citizens show. These now constitute an important sound archive. The Deliverable and Milestone targets were met. A very extensive amount of dissemination to the academic community was carried out. In the case of Poland, dissemination of some key concepts regarding the representation of women to high-level authorities became feasible due to the project's coincidence with a campaign to introduce gender quotas on electoral lists in general elections, which led to numerous public interventions on the subject, initiated by the women's movement. As a part of the campaign, FEMCIT research results were presented at parliamentary meetings, as well as meetings with various authorities (President, Prime Minister, ministers, deputies) and the media. If anything, the material gathered needs further analysis, hence WP1's book proposal. It is therefore expected that a number of further publications will ensue, acknowledging their parentage in the FEMCIT project.

As to the fruitfulness of our methods used, intersectionality has been a key concept in this research, since the intersections of gender and ethnicity and how they play out in discourse and practice on political representation were studied. The *intersectional lens* helped in the analysis of the ways in which structural patterns of inclusion and exclusion are shaped and affected by more than one factor and how these factors interact and often produce new effects. By not paying attention to intersections and the different, new, and often mutated outcomes of several intersecting axes of power, the experiences of a multitude of women who are positioned at the bottom of the gender hierarchy and the racial/ethnic/religious hierarchies risk being overlooked. As seen particularly in Strand 1 and 2, without an intersectional perspective, gender-fair representation risks being an issue for majority women only.

In terms of WP1's contribution to public understanding of the legacy of women's movements, the key points to stress are that it was the women's movements in various countries, rather than scholars or theorists, who pointed the finger at male-dominated parliaments in the latter part of

the 20th century and claimed they were unrepresentative even though each parliamentarian had been elected according to the rules. It was feminist advocates, particularly those active inside parties, who persuaded their parties to adopt measures that would ensure a greater proportion of their female electoral candidates would become parliamentarians. And the critiques of the dominance of majority (white) women in feminism, and in the articulation of public policy for women, were expressed by ethnic minority women activists also, not just by ethnic minority scholars. Thus the main problematique of WP1 was and continues to be a major concern of women's movements.

As to WP1's contributions to the state of the art, it can claim that it has pushed out the boundaries of the field of political representation in all three strands, by addressing the 'ethnic representation gap' of organisations (Strand 1), the 'satisfaction gap' of citizens (Strand 2) and the 'agency gap' of parliamentarians (Strand 3). Overall, WP1 is an innovative three-part critique of current political representation systems that also serves to 'intersectionalize' representation. It has interrogated the political science sub-discipline of Gender and Politics, by contributing conceptual proposals profiling the gender track, the ethnic track and the gendered ethnic track to political representation, and by recasting established notions around descriptive, substantive and symbolic representation. In the context of multicultural theory, which has not usually focused on women in its normative and empirical discussions on group rights for minorities, we can claim that the concepts of 'gendered minority access' to political representation, and 'gendered minority preferences' add to the field. In addition, the qualitative evidence of ethnic minority preferences for being represented in a different way is enriching for classic theories of representation.

WP1 has also interrogated the conventionally-framed literature on parliamentarians and their electoral districts, centred on their roles in parliament, relations with their parties or personal tactics for gaining re-election, a literature that reflects the major body of research on representation aside of voting studies. In fact, WP1 has contributed one of the first fully citizen-centred studies to the field. Secondly, our discussions about politics with ethnic minority men and women and with Muslim women in four countries, constitute a challenge to representation studies generally, as such social groups have rarely been given a voice, particularly not over expressing their ideals for their own political representation. Thirdly, WP1 findings also pose a challenge to the older literature on the performance of women parliamentarians because it tended to see them as individuals performing successfully or otherwise on conventional male terms; or judge them on the degree to which they were gender equality advocates. Instead, we adopted a critical perspective regarding the environment in which women parliamentarians operate, and investigating the obstacles to their agency as representatives.

With regard to citizen behaviour in the political sphere, we are also able to add to the body of empirically-grounded political theory about the decline of party membership, identification and alignment, and about the spread of disaffection with politics, which tend to posit a need to look outside representative democracy and find new structures of participation. WP1 findings point to the need to improve existing channels and opportunities for citizen agency, and show up the demands - expressed in latent and overt form by grass-roots citizens, leaders of ethnic minority women's organisations and women parliamentarians - for authorities to facilitate channels of dialogue to encourage policy engagement *using the already existing representation structures – given their extensive, multi-level presence in all democracies.*

As to the place of this body of research in the overall frame of FEMCIT project, WP1 on Political Citizenship fits into FEMCIT's 6 dimensions of citizenship by showing that formal political citizenship – publicly presented by authorities as a set of rights fully enshrined for all nationals of a country - nonetheless remains an 'unfinished business' and a project which is just as much under construction as those of the remaining dimensions of citizenship that FEMCIT has studied. Furthermore, the research in WP1 was inspired by the insights of women's movement thinking and campaigning around the need for gender parity presence (a political even more than

an academic project to this day). It remains close to women's movements concerns about the difficulties that ordinary citizens experience vis-à-vis the political system and the frustrations, originally expressed by black feminism, about the particularity of the ethnic minority experience and its exclusion from the political agenda, both in terms of policy and personnel. This is being taken forward today by an array of NGOs, charities and support groups devoted to enhancing minority women's wellbeing and strengthening their rights. The proposals arising out of the research fits into FEMCIT's identification and understanding of the nature of feminist claims-making over time. Attention to multicultural issues in Europe is evident in all Strands and WP1 has applied the theory and method of 'intersectionality', looking at all its work through a gendered and ethnicised lens, in keeping with FEMCIT's overall approach.

SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP: WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS' AGENCY IN CHILDCARE POLITICS AND POLICIES (WP2)

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Research objectives and theoretical approaches

Historically, in Western societies, the overwhelming majority of pre-school children have been cared for at home, mainly by mothers on an unpaid basis. The development of the welfare state, which has seen considerable paradigmatic changes in the Nordic countries, introduced a new model of organising childcare by means of publicly supported day-care services. As a result of the weakening of the traditional male breadwinner/female homemaker-model (cf. WP3), demands were raised across Europe to improve maternity, paternity and parental leave, and to organise good quality day-care services (Bergqvist 1999; Bertone 2003; Bleijenbergh and Roggeband 2007). Women's movements have played an important role in framing public discourses on childcare and equal sharing of care and family responsibilities. Already in the 1960s and 1970s, they placed institutional childcare and parental leave on the political agenda in many parts of Western Europe. Large parts of the movements have defined childcare as a cornerstone for women's economic autonomy, well-being and equality. The unequal distribution of responsibility for childcare and the general misrecognition of care in society have resulted in a manifold of actions, claims and lobbying by grassroots women's movements, party-political women's associations, other gender-related organisations and NGOs, calling upon the national or local state to improve parental leave entitlements and childcare options.

In this context, it is important to note that women's movements are made up of a large variety of groups and associations with multiple aims, thematic issues and strategies. Not all movements or all activists have an identical approach to childcare and parental issues. Thus, the relationship of the women's movements to the politics of motherhood and care has been a complex and tension-filled issue.

The concept of *social citizenship* has seldom been used by women's movements themselves in their claims making on childcare. Neither have mainstream scholars in the field traditionally regarded childcare as a citizenship issue – social insurance-related issues have been more at the centre of their attention. More recently, as an integral part of the development towards a welfare state and thanks to feminist scholarship, social services and care have been increasingly recognised as relevant to social citizenship (Anttonen and Sipilä 1996; Sevenhuijsen 1998; Hobson ed. 2000; Leira and Saraceno 2002; Lister 2003; Lister et al. 2007). To some extent in many European

countries, childcare is no longer exclusively regarded as a responsibility of the family but also as a social *right* of parents and children. In feminist debates, childcare and shared parenting have been put forward as a key demand, often even as *the* solution to women's inequality (Mahon and Michel 2002).

The analytical framework adopted in our research treats *social citizenship as a claims making process*, i.e. we not only understand citizenship as rights and obligations but also as an *active practice*. We are interested in the impact of claims-makers on the content of social citizenship, in the context of the particular national care and gender/family regimes within which this agency is enacted. Women's movements' claims making is always affected by the institutional terrain upon which the movements find themselves in different countries. We approach childcare politics as a field of *gender mobilisation*, with a focus on the role of women's movements in mobilising political demands and directing them towards the public and political domains (cf. Bertone 2003; Bergman 2004). While the state has been an important site for women's collective strategies, negotiations and coalition-building in childcare policies in many countries, institutions in civil society have had a more significant role in others.

Our focus lies in the arguments or frames that women's movements use to justify their claims on childcare. The concept of *frame* refers to collective interpretation processes and strategic efforts used for identifying and explaining social problems, proposing solutions to them as well as mobilising people for collective action (Benford and Snow 2000). Conflicting views about specific social and political issues – e.g., childcare – are expressed through various discursive frames. We find framing to be a useful method for exploring women's movement discourses and claims making. Here our point of reference is Carol Bacchi's (1999: 2) definition of discourse as "the language, concepts and categories employed to frame an issue".

The overall purpose of our research was twofold. On the *theoretical level*, we wanted to contribute to the conceptualisation and theorising of social citizenship by accommodating social care of children in this tradition of thought. In particular, our focus was on citizenship as claims-making and active practice, based on the collective agency by women's movements. On the *empirical and comparative level*, we wished to explore how recent and contemporary women's movements in different parts of Europe have helped to shape and construct discourses, practices and policies related to childcare and shared parenting. We approached this aim through three research questions: 1) What claims have been articulated by women's movements in relation to childcare? 2) How have childcare claims been framed by different actors in the broad women's movement and across time and place? 3) How do different economic, social and political opportunity structures affect the visibility and impact of women's movements' childcare claims?

Methodology

We researched women's movements' claims-making on childcare in four European countries: the Czech Republic, Finland, Norway and Spain. These countries are examples of different welfare state models, political contexts and historical trajectories, and represent different care regimes or cultures in Europe (cf. Lister et al. 2007, 114-116). We wanted to examine how such differences affect the movements' discourses and claims-making in childcare politics and their framing of the issues. We selected the Czech Republic as an example of the post-communist Central European countries and Spain as an example of a Southern European country that experienced a right-wing authoritarian regime until the mid-1970s. Women's organising in these two countries has been influenced by the authoritarian political regimes that obstructed and delayed the formation of autonomous women's movements. In contrast, in the Nordic countries women's movements – not least in the form of "state feminism" – have stationed a strong and influential position. Two

Nordic states are included because of the different character of their welfare state development and of the political landscape shaping women's collective agency in these two countries.

We examined the women's movements through a broad approach covering grassroots women's groups and organisations, various forms of party feminism and NGO-activism. Both majority and minority women's organisations, including Roma women's groups, were included. We carried out a secondary analysis of existing research literature and a primary analysis of documents (policy and movement texts and organisations' own archival material) as well as of interviews with key informants (activists, politicians, policy-makers). Rather than carrying out systematic comparisons of the claims-making of women's movements in respect of childcare issues in the four countries, we treated the case studies as contextual and contrasting frames of reference.

We decided to focus on three areas of childcare claims: day-care services versus home-care allowances; fathers' role in parental leave schemes and minoritized care-claiming. In the next section, we will present some highlights from our empirical work and research findings.

Main empirical findings

Claims-making on day-care versus home-care of children
Demands for publicly funded, affordable and quality day-care services have been an inextricable part of feminists' care claiming across Europe. However, the strength, timing and impact of these claims vary. Day-care is a core area of the Nordic welfare model and is often regarded as the embodiment of the "women-friendliness" of the state, which has taken the dual-earner family as the primary model of policy-making (cf. Hernes 1987). Feminists had an active role in developing this model, and women's "labour market citizenship" has had path dependency effects on how childcare is approached in policy-making in the Nordic countries.

Institutional childcare has been a core demand for second-wave women's movements in most other democratic European countries since the 1960s as well, while the authoritarian regimes in Czechoslovakia (before 1989) and Spain (before 1975) effectively blocked women's mobilisation. The Czech communist governments developed day-care services in order to capitalise on women's labour force participation while defining women's employment as a way towards their emancipation. After 1989, the turn to a market-driven economy in the Czech Republic resulted in a significant downscaling of day-care services, particularly for children under the age of three (Hašková, Mariková and Uhde 2009). In Spain, the Franco regime defined motherhood as women's main duty and hindered women's employment. Only after the fall of this regime in 1975 did women's employment start to grow. Since all Spanish post-authoritarian governments feared to promote legislation that would resemble Franco's ideology of defining women as mothers only and since feminist groups formed close connections to powerful left-wing parties, women's activists were rather successful in their demands for day-care services, particularly for children older than three years of age (Valiente 2009).

European women's movements have used different arguments and frames for articulating day-care claims, the major ones being the gender equality frame and the employment-centred frame. The gender equality frame contains arguments favouring women's economic independence and emancipation by means of paid labour while the employment-centred frame ties mothers' paid work to an instrumental way of developing human capital and supporting economic growth. In Finland and Norway, municipalities are today obliged to provide day-care services after the parental leave period to all resident families with a pre-school child. In other words, institutional day-care has developed into a universal social right and is today framed as an integral part of citizenship.

In many European countries, care-claiming has been strongly affected by the opposing arguments and frames of feminist organisations and gender-conservative women's organisations. Whereas the former demand day-care services and shared parenting, the latter prefer recognition and remuneration of care performed in the home, mainly by mothers. Later, such demands for "mothers' wages" were reframed as homecare allowances or cash-for-care payments. Demands for subsidised homecare were already influential in both Finland and Norway during the 1970s and 1980s.

Demands to remunerate women's unpaid care work emerged not only within Western women's movements but also in the state socialist countries. In Czechoslovakia, when the need for women's labour force participation decreased in the 1960s, the critique of women's double burden and overcrowded nurseries became more pronounced. As a consequence, day-care came to be framed as detrimental to children's wellbeing and the introduction of a home-care allowance was supported by the semi-state mass women's organisation. After 1989, the allowance was increased to cover a period of up to four years while support to day-care services was reduced on the grounds that it imposed "unnatural collectivism" on young children and burdened mothers with "over-employment". Today, homecare for children has strong support in the Czech Republic and feminist counter-arguments have remained weak.

In Finland, a homecare allowance was introduced in 1990 and in Norway in 1999. Since part-time employment was rare in Finland, many mothers chose the allowance instead of full-time employment. In Norway, the lack of day-care places forced many women to look for other childcare alternatives. Consequently, homecare gained in popularity in both countries, and was promoted through the children's wellbeing frame and, particularly, the parental choice frame. While in Finland, broad consensus – also within the women's movement – has been reached by giving families the choice between nurseries and homecare resulting in wide popularity of homecare of children, the conflict has been much harsher in Norway and has divided both the women's movement and political circles. Today, nursery care – also for toddlers – is clearly the preferred option amongst parents, state authorities and the women's movement in Norway. The popularity of homecare has decreased in pace with the development of day-care services and the low unemployment rates in the country. Despite the option of a homecare allowance, the percentage of children in day-care and the employment rate of mothers have continued to grow.

Thus, homecare allowances have considerably less political support and popularity in Norway compared to Finland and particularly the Czech Republic. Today, less than a quarter of two year old children in the Czech Republic and a half of two year old children in Finland attend day-care compared to almost 86 per cent in this age group in Norway (Nordic Statistical Yearbook 2010: 66; Kuchařová and Svobodová 2006). The popularity of the relatively long homecare leave in Finland can explain why the criticism towards the scheme from the women's movement – that was still was quite harsh during the 1980s - has become so weak. This observation draws attention to the differences in gender politics *within* the Nordic regimes too.

In Spain, payments for homecare and public discourses on the topic have been almost non-existent. This absence of debate is probably a legacy of the political past. After decades of being literally bombarded with the idea of mothering and caring as the most important task in women's lives during the Franco regime, the last thing Spanish feminists wanted was mothers to be paid by the state to take care of their children at home.

Proponents of homecare allowances use arguments based on parental choice and children's well-being. Such support is said to allow families to choose the most suitable type of care, rather than

forcing all parents to put children in day-care. Homecare is considered necessary for the well-being of children while full time day-care is said to jeopardise children's upbringing by impeding the development of individuality. In contrast, advocates of day-care argue that children's well-being and socialisation is better promoted in high-quality nurseries, where emphasis is put on the pedagogic skills of the staff. Thus, both opponents and defenders use children's well-being as an argument to support their preferred policy option.

Furthermore, the critics of homecare allowances argue that since the overwhelming majority of recipients are women, the scheme reinforces the traditional gender-based division of labour in the home, the labour market and society at large. In particular, it is claimed that the economic independence of working-class and migrant women is jeopardised since they are particularly attracted to the option of staying at home.

Choice is never free of cultural and structural conditions, which are not only gendered but also based on class, ethnicity/race etc. For example, day-care services are seen to be more attractive to educated middle-class women since they support women's economic self-sufficiency and career development, while homecare allowances look more attractive to low-income women, especially those in precarious jobs.

The neo-liberal turn to "freedom of choice" is also reflected in the extension of the right to homecare allowance to employed parents who prefer market-based care arrangements, such as hiring domestic help or purchasing the services of private child minders. This tendency towards privatisation of childcare intersects both with the parental choice frame and the frame of children's wellbeing since private care arrangements are often defined as being particularly suited to accommodating the different needs of families.

Public debates on childcare policies contain few references to minority women or families. Yet in Norway, where employment is the main route for both majority and minority women's inclusion in society, recent debates have focused on the negative impact of homecare benefits for migrant women and children. For example, the MiRA centre, which is often seen as the "voice of" migrant women resident in Norway, has argued that cash benefits are detrimental for the integration of migrant women, who disproportionally opt for cash benefits rather than day-care. In Norway, an integration frame has gained power, with the result that the provision of day-care is presented as stimulating for all children's development, as well as contributing to a reduction in socio-economic and cultural inequalities. Day-care services are defined not only as a social right of children and parents but also as a means to social inclusion. Since the migrant population is much smaller in Finland, these arguments are yet to be heard in public debates or in a policy-making context.

In the Czech Republic and Spain the access of migrant and minority children to day-care is heavily restricted on a discriminatory and structural basis. Neither the Czech nor the Spanish feminist movement has raised this issue despite discrimination against the Roma in access to pre-schools in the Czech Republic and despite migrant women performing care tasks in middle-class households in Spain while their own children's access to care services is restricted. The high presence of (upper) middle-class women among feminists within a culture where maids and domestic workers is part of the lifestyle of this class partly explains the low attention afforded by the Spanish feminist movement to day-care in relation to migrants.

Claims on fathers' role in childcare
Although parental leave policies are understood to advance first and foremost the position of women, a focus on men's role in childcare has entered policy agendas in Europe. Some countries

have introduced extended paternal rights in the parental leave schemes. The father's quota in Norway (since 2010 ten weeks) and the so-called bonus leave for fathers in Finland (currently six weeks) aim at improving women's labour market participation and career opportunities, but these measures also articulate men's care-related rights. The quota refers to an arrangement that reserves one part of the parental leave to the fathers. The rationale follows a "use it or loose it" logic – i.e. if the father does not take the leave it will be lost. A pivotal consequence of the quota is that it has become broadly unacceptable and "politically incorrect" in both Nordic countries, particularly in Norway, to discuss childcare and parenting in the context of women's lives only.

Women's movements in Norway and Finland argued, as early as the 1960s, that changing women's position in the public sphere requires a change of men's role in the families. This way of thinking has become a core element in Nordic gender equality policies and explains why a more deliberate emphasis on men's role in childcare has emerged in Norway and Finland than in the Czech Republic and Spain. In the Czech Republic, the primary focus has been on facilitating long childcare leaves without questioning their gender-bias. Contrary to the discourse of "active fatherhood" in the Nordic countries, a discourse of "active motherhood" has emerged in the Czech Republic, contributing to a feminisation of childcare. Again, in Spain the politics of childcare is in an interesting phase of change. A transition to a dual-earner family is taking place, and in 2007, for the first time, fathers gained the right to an individual and non-transferable two-week paid leave.

Although Czech feminist organisations argue that fathers should care for children on equal terms with mothers, they have not been actively lobbying for quotas. Such a suggestion is considered too radical in a society where the emphasis is on long childcare leaves and where this arrangement receives strong popular support. In the early years of the Czech Republic many women's organisations argued for women's right to become housewives. Only after EU membership has the government started to pay more attention to men's care role. Yet, there is very marginal space for radical change. This is illustrated by the rejection of a feminist suggestion for 18 months parental leave (instead of four years) and reserving one third of that for fathers.

Despite the variation in intensity of claims for men's care role, some broad lines are similar in the four countries. The *cost of care*-frame is identifiable in all. Due to long care leaves, mothers carry the costs of childcare in working life. In the Nordic context, particularly in Norway, this has been a legitimate reason for the state to "push" men to take the father's quota. In this frame care becomes an issue of gender equality in the context of women's position in the labour market. This frame takes different discursive forms in the four countries, and is clearly emphasised less in the Czech Republic and Spain than in Finland or Norway. Yet, for the transformation oriented women's movements the core rationale of the frame is the same everywhere – a change in women's lives requires a change in men's lives too.

Other arguments focus on men's role as parents and children's right to paternal care. The framing of care as an issue of active fatherhood has been strategically used by women's movements. It is represented as a *win-win* strategy – benefitting women and children, as well as men. This way of framing opens up a discourse on care as a social right for men. Yet, arguments favouring long maternity leave as a right for women and/or that emphasise parental choice are also heard in Finland and Norway. Criticism of state intervention in families' choices has been voiced by conservative women's organisations and political parties. Also, the strong breastfeeding movement and some women's rights-organisations in Norway have been critical of further extensions of fathers' leave rights, if it is done at the expense of mothers' rights.

While in Finland and Norway the claim to support men's participation in care is strong and shared by organisations across the whole spectrum of the women's movement as well as by state authorities and most political parties, in the Czech Republic and in Spain these claims have been

only tentatively articulated by feminist organisations. In Spain the low support for these claims is legitimised by the institution of hired domestic workers, often migrants, upon which white middle-class women rely in order to combine paid work and care obligations. This arrangement makes it possible for men not to engage in care and housework and for the state to define care as a private non-political issue.

Men's take up rates of parental leave is one way of evaluating whether the policy has been successful. In the Czech Republic, where the focus has not been on encouraging men to active fatherhood, only 1-2 per cent of all parental-benefit receivers are men (Haškova, Maříkova and Uhde 2009). In Spain, the overwhelming majority of fathers take only the leave designated for them. In Finland and Norway, the number of men on parental leave has increased considerably after the policy reforms. Despite public campaigns and political pressure the parental leave system has – even in the Nordic countries – only managed to alter the gendered pattern of care to a limited extent. In Finland, men took 6.7 per cent of all parental leave days, whereas in Norway the share was 11.6 per cent (Norden 2010, 62). Also here, men tend to take only the leave that is designated to them, which has motivated policy-makers to use the quota system more offensively.

In all four countries, there are few signs of men's activism around parental leave issues. Yet, examples from the Nordic countries, Norway in particular, suggest that men's claims-making is not irrelevant. Representatives of men's groups have participated in state committees preceding the introduction of fathers' quotas, which has had a positive impact on the political acceptance of the new leave policy. On the whole, however, suggestions for increased fathers' leave appear more often to have originated in women's organisations or gender equality bodies than in a men's movement.

Minoritized care-claiming
Discriminatory and racist practices can restrict migrants' and ethnic minorities' access to care services. Likewise, cultural preferences may affect the choice between nursery provision and home-based care. As a consequence, minority groups may be forced – or may prefer – to provide for their own welfare and care needs through (extended) family, social networks in the community and voluntary organisations. It is, however, important to remember that there is considerable variation between different migrant and minority groups, and also inter-generational differences.

Claims on childcare are taken up and framed by both majority and minority women's organisations. Yet, as our research shows, there is very limited cooperation between them. For example, Roma women's groups formulate their claims on a more existential level than (most) majority women's organisations, which reflects their constrained social and economic position. The problems of migrant and Roma women with regard to childcare are seldom on the agenda of the majority organisations that predominantly interpret work-life balance dilemmas from the perspective of white middle-class women. In contrast, migrants' and Roma organisations perceive discrimination and racism as the main problem. Childcare is not defined as the most relevant issue, but other problems are felt to be more pressing. This does not mean that care issues and their gendered aspects are overlooked. In one form or another, problems related to the combination of work and family life and the economically driven dependencies of carers are everyday issues in the lives of Roma and many migrant women.

The situation of minority women challenges some of the classic arguments of women's movements. Firstly, the situation, for example, of Roma women challenges the emphasis that feminist organisations place on employment-oriented childcare frames – leaving the problems

that minority women meet on the labour market unrecognised. Secondly, their situation questions the idea of "parental choice"; as such choice is never free of structural dependency and the exclusionary boundaries of citizenship, as experienced by migrants.

Roma women's primary claims include access to education, health care and self-determination of the community that would simultaneously recognise their community habits and cultural traditions. In Finland, a country with universal welfare state provisions, the claims put forward by Roma women's associations, concern institutional and cultural recognition of their community and family life. They emphasise the importance of Roma women's economic activity providing for their community and for women's self-realisation. Roma women's groups claim access to the labour market for women, though in the separate gendered spheres. This discursively resonates with the majority focus on employment as a source of self-realisation in Nordic countries; such congruence is not present in the Czech Republic.

Overall discussion

In our research, we explore social care of children as a field of *gender mobilisation* and *women's agency*. Our analytical focus on treating social citizenship as collective claims-making contributes to an understanding of citizenship not only as rights and obligations but also as an *active practice*. We have focussed on the multiple ways in which women's movements in the Czech Republic, Finland, Norway and Spain have sought to influence the development and discursive framing of childcare politics and policies in recent decades. A variety of women's and other gender-related movements, organisations and groups have been involved in the process of articulating and (re)framing their social citizenship rights through presenting and promoting care claims in civil society and the public sphere. Women have not only exerted collective agency "from below" (grassroots groups, voluntary associations) but in recent decades increasingly also "from above" (the formal political or policy-making arena).

Women's movements have successfully defined childcare as a *social problem* requiring public concern and intervention. As a consequence, childcare has become a politicised issue relating both to the relationship between the state and labour markets as well as between the state and the family. Here we can see clear links to other dimensions of citizenship explored in FEMCIT, in particular to work carried out in the work package on economic citizenship focusing on elderly care. Our work on social citizenship relates also to the dimension of political citizenship: women's political mobilisation both in civil society and formal decision-making arenas has made it possible for them to influence the development of childcare politics and policies.

Social care is both a private and public activity. It is either paid or unpaid, and is provided formally or informally. Care and caring transcend the public/private divide that is inherent in much of traditional citizenship theorising. Our research demonstrates that childcare – as well as other forms of care and social services – are key issues in studying social citizenship and need to be fully integrated in comparative research on the welfare state, citizenship and social rights.

The framing of childcare claims reflects political and socio-economic conditions and opportunity structures as well as ideological-discursive changes and has shifted in our case countries over time. Although women's movements have formulated their demands using largely similar frames, the strength, timing and impact of the frames have differed. For example, living in a democratic regime is the condition facilitating the development of women's movements, and having progressive coalition partners in the formal political arena has a positive effect on fulfilling demands for institutional childcare.

Our research shows that we need to be sensitive to the variety of claims not only between but also *within* countries. Diversity and contextualised variation is easily obscured in cross-country comparisons. Moreover, women's movements attach different meanings or frames to their demands for the same or largely similar measures or policies. These sometimes contrasting goals reflect multiple discursive, cultural and political interpretations of "good childcare", "good motherhood", "good fatherhood" and different ways of conceptualising gender equality and feminism. Not all women's groups and organisations share the same visions of these concepts.

Yet, in all its diversity, the women's movement has framed childcare as an explicitly *gendered issue.* A part of the movement has regarded institutional childcare as a universal social right that can improve women's social status and living conditions, as well as those of children and families. Other sections of the movement have employed a maternal frame (today presented in gender-neutral terms), claiming that homecare of the youngest children should be recognised as a basis of social entitlements. More recently, the *degendering of childcare* has become a topical issue and subject for policy-making in large parts of Europe, with demands for shared responsibilities for care between mothers and fathers.

Despite the substantial variation in childcare claims and frames, they all incorporate demands for *gendered social justice* or *gender-fair* and *full citizenship* encompassing frames and discourses related to *equality, social rights,* and the *recognition of care needs* and *redistribution of care responsibilities.* Large parts of women's movements view institutional childcare as a social *citizenship right* for children and their parents. Social justice for parents requires universal access to public or publicly subsidised, affordable and high-quality day-care as well as good parental leave arrangements. Unpaid care at home is in practice often in conflict with participation in paid employment that is still constructed as one of the most important citizenship obligations in Europe. While this "paid work paradigm" – central to economic citizenship – has been supported and cherished by large parts of the women's movement, others have criticised discourses where paid work is seen as a citizenship *obligation.*

Finally, our research indicates that we need to recognise that gender does not stand alone in shaping social citizenship related to care services, but *intersects* with other sources of social division and inequality (class, race/ethnicity, sexuality etc.). Institutional childcare as a social right is not a sufficient element in a feminist (re)conceptualisation of social citizenship. The *redistribution* principle needs to be complemented by *recognition* of different groups and their claims and practices based on social and cultural differences. For example, not only does universal access to good quality nursery care need to be promoted, but we also have to recognise the broad variety of wishes and demands concerning the organising of care, including respect for cultural and linguistic diversity. Here our work relates to research carried out in FEMCIT on multicultural citizenship and intimate citizenship.

Childcare is today increasingly treated as a gendered issue. However, its intersection with other forms of social division and inequalities has yet to be fully acknowledged. In order to speak of gender-fair or full social citizenship in a multicultural and diverse Europe, it is important to address childcare needs and provide policy reforms for all types of families, including minority and migrant families, single-parent families and families with same-sex parents.

Economic citizenship: Gendered transformations of the work-life interface (WP3)

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Objectives

The aim of the research carried out under the third work-package (WP3) of FEMCIT was to critically examine the influence of the second wave women's movement on normative assumptions, policies and practices relating to women's work and employment in an increasingly diverse European context. Building on the existing literature on gender, work, care and welfare state regimes, we also wanted to achieve a better understanding of the effects of the intersection of different power relations (age, class, gender, race and ethnicity) on the concrete economic citizenship experiences of women (and men) from majority and minoritized groups in a particular labour market segment. We chose the elderly care sector as the focus of our empirical study.

Our aim was to develop a new theoretical basis for analysing the economic citizenship issues arising from on-going transformations to European labour markets and care regimes. The overall objectives of the project were summarized in three successive Strands, corresponding to the following research questions:

- **Strand 1**: What are the dominant discourses or claim frames found – in women's movement publications and in academic Women's studies journals since the 1970s to the current day – on women's work in a multicultural Europe? Do they vary be country? Are they changing over time?

- **Strand 2**: To what extent have public policies been adopted to promote gender equality and to fight against other forms of discrimination, at EU and national levels, and what influence have these policy initiatives had on recruitment and employment practices in the elderly care sector?

- **Strand 3**: How do the categories of ethnicity, age, class and gender intersect in the work-life contexts of (male and female) elderly care workers and what are the consequences of this intersection for their economic citizenship experiences in different segments of the elderly care labour market?

Countries studied: France, Norway, Poland (+ Finland and the UK for Strand 1). Our selection of countries was based on a "most contrasting" comparative framework, one country representing the corporatist welfare regime, one from the Nordic regime and one from the post-communist regime.

Theoretical Framework

The notion of "economic citizenship" is not widely used in the existing literature on women's work and employment[3], since access to economic resources has usually been subsumed under the notion of "social citizenship", as defined by T.H. Marshall in the 1950s. According to Marshall, the right to work represented the basic civil right, defined as: "the right to follow the occupation

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[3] The term is increasingly used to refer to the partial citizenship rights bestowed on foreign investors in a number of global tax havens, particularly in the Caribbean islands.

of one's choice in the place of one's choice" (Marshall, 1950: 10, cited in Kessler-Harris, 2003). However, a great deal of feminist research has highlighted the fact that, contrary to the vast majority of their male counterparts, some categories of women have historically gained access to a range of social rights and benefits (welfare payments, health care, pensions, etc.) through marriage and/or motherhood rather than employment. The first contribution of WP3 to the overall aims of the FEMCIT project has thus been to confirm the need to distinguish more clearly between "social citizenship" issues, which refer to rights to various social benefits (including maternity leave, child-care facilities and parental leave, as studied under WP2) and women's direct access to the rights, resources and recognition (Lister 1995, 1997) more directly associated with their own participation in paid labour (and, of course, in unpaid household maintenance and care activities too).

In defining the notion of economic citizenship, we have drawn on the work of the American political scientist Alice Kessler-Harris, who is one of the rare feminist scholars to have developed this notion in any detail (Kessler-Harris 2001; Kessler-Harris 2003). She proposes to add an additional category – economic citizenship – to T.H. Marshall's initial dimensions of citizenship, suggesting that some of the rights that he placed elsewhere should be included in this new category. According to her, the notion of "economic citizenship" encompasses: "the right to work at the occupation of one's choice (where work includes child-rearing and household maintenance); to earn wages adequate to the support of self and family; to a non-discriminatory job market; to the education and training that facilitate access to it; to the social benefits necessary to support labour force participation[4]; and to the social environment required for effective choice, including adequate housing, safe streets, accessible public transport, and universal health care" (Kessler-Harris 2003: 156).

For Kessler-Harris, Marshalls' definition of social citizenship remains unsatisfactory from a gender perspective, since it fails to encompass what she calls the "three-way tug among care-giving, family life and wage labour [posing] severe challenges to achieving gender equity and full citizenship" (ibid: 158). She further suggests that: "we have not been able to imagine a workable solution to this problem because we are constrained by ideas of citizenship whose gender dimensions turn them into oppositional categories" (ibid: 158). In short, Kessler-Harris argues that the perceived tensions between paid work and un-paid care work that infuse many policy measures (including equal opportunity policies) are largely due to the legacy of the (historically situated) "normative assumption that women would spend most of their lives in household production and maintenance and in biological and social reproduction" (p.161). This somewhat stunted "gendered imagination" (Kessler-Harris 2001) has led to a historical difference in the provision of civil and social rights according to an individuals' sex and marital status: "policy makers and advocates of women chose to protect the social rights of women through families, rather than insisting on civil rights to work […] By assigning some social benefits through wage work, and others through state indulgence, a divided labour force limited possibilities for either sex to create balanced lives, inhibiting political participation for women and family participation for men […] The result is a deeply class- and racially divided system, for it leaves those without work (often women, African Americans, recent immigrants, and the poorly educated) with a problematic form of social citizenship and a questionable 'right to work' that smacks more of obligation than of benefit." (Kessler-Harris, 2003: 163-164).

Although Kessler-Harris has been criticised for her excessive focus on the North American gender contract and for her perceived advocacy of the widespread "commodification" of all care activities (Lewis 2003; Ungerson 2003), her line of reasoning is, in fact, far more subtle. She shows quite clearly that if those jobs primarily labelled as "women's work" generally fail to met the criteria for full economic citizenship, it is precisely because many categories of women

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[4] Here, one could obviously include the childcare benefits and services studied under WP2 of FEMCIT.

continue to benefit from three distinct sources of social protection; one that is related to their own direct labour-market participation and two which are not; those benefits offered to them as the spouse (or daughter) of an employed male partner (or father) and those offered to them by the state, on the basis of their caring and household maintenance roles in the family (paid carers' leave, single mothers' allowances, for example). One of the results of this "gendered imagination" has been to reduce the weight and effect of claims for "civil citizenship" rights for women directly through employment, particularly those relating to the right for all individuals, irrespective of their sex or living arrangements, to earn a living wage and the aspiration to achieve an acceptable "balance" between waged work, unpaid caring activities and the construction of meaningful intimate relationships (cf. WP6).

This *renewed definition of economic citizenship* allows us to consider not only the conditions under which women have been integrated into the labour market in increasing numbers over the past 40 years, but also to analyze the degree to which their employment experiences meet the criteria for full "economic citizenship", as defined above.

Methodology

A variety of methods were mobilised to meet our research objectives. Under Strand 1, we used two different content analysis methods. For **Strand 1A** we carried out a mapping analysis of a selection of women's movement grass-root publications and Women's Studies journals since the early 1970s to the present day, in order to identify the claims framed in relation to women's work and employment. We also mapped the degree to which these publications addressed the intersection of gender and race/ethnicity in relation to women's economic citizenship rights and practices. For **Strand 1B**, we carried out a secondary analysis of the statistical data and academic literature available at national or EU level, in order to identify the effects of the intersection of gender, class, nationality / ethnicity on the labour market position and experiences of men and women in different national contexts. The results of this work were published in two FEMCIT working papers (Le Feuvre *et al* 2009; Metso *et al* 2009).

Under Strand 2, we also carried out a desk-based literature search, followed up by an empirical case study. For **Strand 2A**, we analysed the policy orientations, apparatus and measures adopted to promote gender equality and/or diversity in each national context, with an aim to identifying the coherence, congruence or conflict between these two sets of policy initiatives. In order to gauge the actual influence of gender equality and diversity policies on the daily practices of employers, **Strand 2B** involved a case study of the awareness about and application of such measures in a specific employment context in the elderly care sector in each national context. This involved carrying out expert interviews with employers and trade union representatives and elderly care workers.

Finally, for **Strand 3** we carried out a series of over 75 biographical life-history interviews with male and female, majority and "minoritized" elderly care workers in a range of employment niches (about 25 in each national context). The main aim of these interviews was to analyse the complex effects of the intersection of gender, age, class, nationality / ethnic origin on their access to full economic citizenship (*rights, resources, recognition*) in a rapidly expanding and increasingly segmented elderly care labour market.

Main empirical findings

Each of the Strands has given rise to a wealth of empirical findings, only some of which can be summarized here.

Our research has shown that the women's movement and academic Women's Studies publications since the early 1970s have initiated a radical transformation of the normative expectations relating to women's access to autonomous economic resources. The importance that feminists have placed on women's rights to continuous employment over the life-course and to their access to the most prestigious sectors of the labour market have generally been positively echoed in the public policies initiated at national and European levels, culminating in the EU objective of increasing women's labour market participation rates, within the context of a new "social investment" philosophy of social protection (Esping-Andersen *et al* 2002; Jenson 2008, 2009; Lister 2004; Lewis & Surender 2004; Orloff & Palier 2009; Taylor-Gooby 2008). However, the labour market to which the women's movement activists claimed that women should have access in the 1970s bears relatively little resemblance to the one they have effectively entered since that date. To a certain extent, feminist claims to women's full economic citizenship have been partly "lost in translation" (Jenson, 2009) under the combined influence of the globalization process, demographic change and the social protection reforms that have been introduced since the demise of the Fordist period of so-called "full employment" (in fact, male full employment).

The dominant model for women's emancipation from economic dependency on a breadwinning male partner that emerges from the grass-roots and academic publications we have analysed closely mirrors the "adult worker family" ideal-type model of gender relations that has been theorized by several academic feminists (e.g. Lewis & Giullari 2005; Lewis, Knijn *et al* 2008); with women's increased labour market participation being off-set by a equivalent shift of men's time from the labour market to the home. We can note in passing that, in all but a few cases (e.g. Orloff, 2002) this model for a more egalitarian society remains strongly imbued with "heteronormative frameworks" (Roseneil & Budgeon, 2004: 135) and fails to reflect sufficiently the progressive increase in more varied forms of life-style options, including single living (cf. WP6). The translation of these claims into policy orientations and legislative measures is evident across the EU, with the partial exception of the New Member States, where women's continuous labour market participation was historically framed as the norm, at least until 1989. However, rather than initiating measures to encourage or facilitate the participation of men in un-paid domestic care activities, policy makers across the European Union member states have rather chosen to promote the externalization and "commodification" of (women's) care activities (Ungerson 1997, 1998, 2003), under the dual objective of job creation (at a time of rising structural unemployment and the delocalisation of many manufacturing jobs) and, more specifically, the labour market "activation" of those groups who had remained furthest from the new "adult citizen worker" model of social integration (Fraser, 1994). As Jane Lewis (2002) rightly points out, these policy initiatives fail to recognise that it is materially impossible - and probably morally undesirable - for all care activities to be externalized and commodified in this way.

A closer analysis of the economic citizenship issues facing workers in the elderly care sector in three contrasting national contexts (France, Norway and Poland) has enabled us to explore some of the unintended consequences of the "adult citizen worker" model of gender equality in more detail and to consider the possibilities for "remaking" economic citizenship in the light of these findings. The elderly care sector was selected as our common research object for a number of reasons. First, similar demographic trends are affecting all EU member states and suggest that the dual phenomena of women's increasing economic activity rates over the life-course (reducing their "availability" for un-paid domestic caring activities for their elderly relatives or neighbours) and the ageing of the population will result in a significant increase in employment opportunities in this field in the near future (Lewis, 2007). This enabled us to analyse the different gender and ethnic configurations of employment patterns in a relatively favourable labour market context. Secondly, there is a marked tendency for migrant and "minoritized" groups to be over-

represented in employment in the "personal services" sector (Le Feuvre *et al* 2009). Thirdly, there is now a rich corpus of activist and academic writing on the intersection of class, gender and race with particular reference to women's employment in care activities (Bettio, et alii, 2006; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002; Falquet, *et alii*, 2010; Lyon, 2010; Sassen 1984; Simonazzi, 2007). Fourthly, preliminary background research has shown that the elderly-care sector is characterized by a huge variety of employment practices, ranging from "standard" employment contracts in public-sector and private-for-profit elderly care institutions to undeclared direct employment by the households of the care beneficiaries (Ervik 2010; Le Feuvre *et al* 2010; Krajewska 2009, 2010). This internal stratification makes the sector particularly interesting to examine from an economic citizenship perspective. We have notably been able to hypothesize that elderly care work may take very different forms in different national contexts, depending both on gendered expectations about the availability of women (as daughters, wives, etc.) to provide un-paid domestic support for the dependant elderly and on the public policies adopted (or not) to formalize and "professionalize" jobs in the elderly care sector.

Overall discussion

The results of our research have enabled us to develop a theoretically-inspired analysis of the various models of economic citizenship that were at the heart of the claims for change made by the early second wave women's movement and women's studies academics in most Western contexts. It is important to note that, contrary to popular belief, the so-called "male breadwinner / female carer" normative framework has not had the same historical impact on women's employment experiences in all national contexts and its' influence has also varied over time in all countries (Daly & Rake 2003; Lewis, 1997, 1998, 2001; Pfau-Effinger 2004; Pfau-Effinger & Geissler 2005; Sümer 2009). For example, in the ex-Soviet block countries, women's continuous and full-time labour market participation was largely the norm before 1989. However, the failure to collectivize care activities and the low levels of men's participation in family life led to a situation where women were still expected to meet most of the care needs of their family members, despite their parallel commitment to paid work. This was achieved at the cost of a particularly heavy "double burden" for most women (Einhorn 1993) and through the informal flexibilisation of working time (Portet, 2004a, 2004b), a widespread practice that has become increasingly problematic with the transition to a market economy.

We have noted that the "adult citizen worker" has since become a consensual basis for many of the recent EU and national policy measures, including the objectives to increase female activity rates defined in the Amsterdam and Lisbon Treaties. However, as many of the social movement studies have shown in the past (Halsaa 2008, 2009), there have been some unexpected consequences from this apparent translation of women's movement claims into concrete policy measures. Perhaps the most decisive of these has been the transition from a "welfare" to a "workfare" ideology over the past 15 years. Contrary to the situation in most Western democracies in the mid-20th century, adult women are now expected to enter the labour market and to remain in employment – sometimes on a part-time basis - throughout the whole of their adult lives, irrespective of their marital or parental status. To a certain extent, one could argue that – in a curious twist of events - Western democracies have aligned themselves to the normative models of women's economic citizenship that were prevalent in many of the Eastern-block countries prior to 1989. In comparison, the transition to capitalism in many of the ex-USSR member states, such as Poland, has resulted in a weakening of women's position on the labour market and the emergence of new tensions around normative gender roles in relation to economic citizenship and caring roles.

These partially contradictory evolutions across the European East-West divide are particularly important when it comes to analysing economic citizenship issues from a multicultural perspective. In the West (France and Norway), the social integration of men and women from migrant and "minoritized" groups is now clearly predicated on their access to the labour market and to the economic resources offered through employment rather than welfare benefits (i.e. on the basis of "workfare"). In the East (Poland), the life-long paid work paradigm that dominated prior to 1989 has been implicitly revised, largely due to the disintegration of the public services and the flexible working time practices that made women's continuous employment possible – at least in principle - under the Soviet regime. The emigration of large numbers of Poles to other EU members states, where they can expect to find better paid jobs has created a series of labour shortages on the home market that have attracted male and female workers from the East (Ukraine, Byelorussia, etc.). At the same time, the general deregulation of the labour market and the absence of any systematic immigration policies have limited the access of these migrants to the full range of citizenship rights that are generally associated with labour market participation elsewhere in the EU (Krajewska & Orlowska, 2009).

At the same time, in all of the countries studied here, migrant and "minoritized" social groups face a series of obstacles in gaining access to economic citizenship rights on the same basis as majority groups (Le Feuvre *et al* 2009). In many of the countries from which migrants originate, women are still socialised essentially as future wives and mothers, rather than workers. Female migrants not only face similar problems to those of their male counterparts, notably in terms of language skills and recognition of their existing qualifications, they also have to face the objective and subjective tensions created by the gap between the normative gender expectations of their home culture and those of their host country. These tensions are exacerbated by the discrimination that migrants and "minoritized" groups face in employment and which leads to their limited access only to the least desirable and poorly paid segments of the labour market (Meurs & Pailhé 2008, 2010; Safi 2008; Silberman & Fournier 2008). By increasing the importance of economic activity for the access of male and female migrants and "minoritized" groups to a whole series of citizenship rights, these recent evolutions have doubtless contributed to the emergence of new forms of inequality between women, whilst also reducing, to a certain extent, their collective dependency on a "male breadwinner" (one of the demands of the second wave women's movement). In those national contexts where citizens and politicians alike now claim to have been "enlightened" by the claims made by the second wave women's movement and to have entered a "post-feminist" era (McRobbie, 2009), women's claims to citizenship must now clearly be framed in relation to their ability to adapt to the model of the "adult citizen worker" and to the current trend towards what some authors have termed "earned citizenship" (van Houdt, Suvarieol et al. 2011), and this poses considerable problems for the carrying out of un-paid care duties.

The increased availability of externalised care services also has an effect on the conditions under which women compete with men for access to the most desirable positions in the employment hierarchy. Contrary to the claims for a fairer sharing of domestic labour and care activities between men and women that were at the heart of the claims of the second wave women's movement, we are seeing a gradual polarization of the experiences of women in relation to employment and care activities. On the one hand, well-qualified women (usually from majority groups) are being encouraged to adopt the unlimited availability for full-time, continuous paid-work that was characteristic of the masculine norm of the mid-20th century (at least in the West). In order to do this, they are being encouraged to "out-source" part of what are still largely seen as "their" unpaid domestic care duties. In return, less well-qualified women (and some men), particularly those from migrant or "minoritized" groups are being encouraged to take up jobs in the care services sector, despite the fact that these are usually provide them with a limited range

of economic citizenship rights (including a living wage and protection from discrimination). As certain categories of women succeed in gaining access to the labour market, but still on "men's terms" (see Le Feuvre & Lapeyre 2005; Lyon & Woodward 2004), other groups of women are loosing all the possible alternative routes to social integration outside of the labour market and are being forced to take up employment in jobs where the actual content of their work largely mirrors the tasks they are also expected to continue to perform, unpaid, for their own families. Thus, although many of the claims made by the second wave women's movement have effectively been met by the (at least partial) demise of the "male breadwinner / female carer" model of gender relations (Crompton, 1999, 2006; Crompton, Lewis *et al* 2007), this relative "success" has a darker side, which reflects the class and race divisions between women that were largely ignored or underestimated during the early years of the women's movement (Metso *et al* 2009).

However, in line with the hypothesis elaborated by the Italian economist Annamaria Simonazzi, we have found that there is no universal pattern of "minoritized" workers being pushed into the elderly care sector in all national contexts (Lyon 2010; Simonazzi 2007, 2008; Saraceno & Keck 2010). There are, nevertheless, clear signs that the elderly care sector is gendered and racialized in complex ways in France, Norway and Poland. As Simonazzi has suggested, the degree to which elderly care is seen as a particularly suitable employment area for migrant and "minoritized" workers (generally women) depends to a large extent on the degree to which these jobs are regulated and aligned to the "standard employment contract" or on the degree to which they are left unregulated and seen as a field of "grey" or undeclared work. The regulation of elderly care work varies significantly; both between the three countries studied here and between different employment niches in each country. By adopting a comparative analysis of the economic citizenship experiences of women from "minoritized" and majority ethnic groups working in elderly care in three contrasting national contexts and by adopting a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, we are in a position to provide a detailed analysis of what the objective of "gender-fair" citizenship could imply from an economic perspective.

In Norway, almost all elderly care jobs thus fall into the declared, formal labour market. However, recent decisions to enable municipalities to put the provision of their elderly care services out to private tender has modified the employment conditions of a number of elderly care workers and has reduced the possibilities for migrants to enter the labour market directly through jobs in the elderly care services sector. The introduction of New Public Management criteria for the provision of elderly care services has increased pressures towards the rationalization of services and has decreased the possibility previously offered to new migrants to work in tandem with more experienced (usually majority) colleagues. However, the immigration policies adopted in Norway place great importance on access to training and qualifications and this also holds to a certain extent for the elderly care sector, which does enable female workers to ensure their own economic survival, without the support of a "male breadwinner" or dependency on social transfers. Thus, those migrants who do manage to enter the elderly care sector generally benefit from the same opportunities for professional advancement and financial autonomy as their majority counterparts, largely due to the weight of the "adult citizen worker" for both sexes in the Norwegian value system (Ervik 2010). In this case, the elderly care sector can be said to provide many of the conditions for "full economic citizenship", but not necessarily to all categories of women.

In Poland, the elderly care labour market is clearly divided along ethnic lines. Institutionalized care services are almost exclusively provided by majority female workers who rarely earn enough to satisfy their basic economic needs and who, therefore, need to be married to a male breadwinner to survive. However, formal jobs in elderly care institutions are also associated with high levels of symbolic recognition. In contrast, rapidly expanding home-based elderly care

services are provided almost exclusively by undeclared migrants from countries beyond Poland's eastern borders (Ukraine and Byelorussia). In this sector, there are almost no formal employment contracts, working conditions are highly precarious, but wages are generally higher than in the institutionalized care homes. Thus, those migrant women who move to Poland in order to provide such undeclared elderly care services generally assume a "main breadwinner" role for their families in their home country, often protecting them from extreme poverty. However, they can no longer be physically present to deliver family-based care to their loved ones (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2002). Unlike the Norwegian case, there are few opportunities for training and care workers are expected to mobilize the competencies acquired in the course of their gender socialization in order to identify and satisfy the needs of the care recipients. The migrant women who occupy these jobs are rarely in a position to achieve full economic citizenship within the Polish context.

The French case lies somewhere between the two previous models. Here, there has been a succession of policy measures aimed at promoting home-based formal and declared care services to the dependant elderly. These policies have led to a fragmentation of the elderly care labour market. The total number of formal elderly care jobs has increased spectacularly over the past 20 years, but growth has been fastest in those sectors of the elderly care market that are furthest from the "standard employment contract". Jobs are overwhelmingly part-time and badly paid and only a very small minority of workers is in a position to live independently on the income derived from their elderly care jobs. Direct employment of elderly care workers by the care recipients (or their families) reduces the opportunities for care workers to access training programmes and qualifications; it also provides little protection against discrimination on the grounds of ethnic or cultural origin (Metso & Le Feuvre 2009; Le Feuvre *et al* 2010). However, the drive to "professionalize" home-based elderly care services has undeniably increased the opportunities for many poorly qualified women to access the formal labour market and to progress onto better paid jobs (such as nursing assistants) through experience-based training schemes. Although migrant and "minoritized" women generally benefit from a symbolic recognition of their outstanding caring capacities, this recognition rarely enables them to access those sectors of the elderly care labour market that provide the best guarantees of "full economic citizenship", they thus suffer considerable discrimination. The degree to which "minoritized" women are relegated to the least regulated sectors of the elderly care sector depends to a great extent on the opportunities for employment offered to majority women on the local labour market. In those areas (mostly rural) where job opportunities for unqualified women are scarce and where demand for home-based elderly care services is growing, jobs in elderly care institutions and with registered home-care service providers tend to be reserved for majority women. In those areas (mostly urban) where the registered care service providers find it difficult to satisfy the demand for care services (due to more attractive, better-paid employment opportunities for poorly qualified women in other sectors), there are some signs of a progressive "racialisation" of the elderly care workforce.

In line with the reflexions developed by Kessler-Harris (1997, 2001, 2003), we have thus been able to demonstrate quite clearly that "economic citizenship" covers many more issues than the simple: "right to follow the occupation of one's choice in the place of one's choice" (Marshall, 1950: 10). Many of the financial disincentives and normative barriers to women's labour market participation have now been lifted, to the point that their "right to work" has been transformed into a moral and material obligation to become an "adult citizen worker". Many women are nevertheless far from achieving full economic citizenship: Firstly, the jobs they are required to perform rarely offer "wages adequate to the support of self and family" (Kessler-Harris 2003: 156); Secondly, on entering the labour market, they often forfeit the social benefits they (or previous generations of women) received in support of their domestic care and home

maintenance activities; Thirdly, the remaining gender stereotypes imply that "women's work" requires no particular training or qualification, since the qualities required to perform elderly care work are supposed to be acquired in the course of the gender socialisation process; Fourthly, the job market remains highly discriminatory, particularly for "minoritized" women, who tend to be concentrated in those jobs furthest from the "standard" (male) employment contract (including health and security protection); Fifthly, the fragmented and/or extended spatial and temporal aspects of elderly care make these jobs particularly difficult to "balance" with personal care commitments to the worker's own family members; Finally, many elderly care jobs are still designed with the idea that women are in a position to access a range of social benefits (health insurance, pension rights, etc.) through marriage rather than employment; women's newly acquired "right (obligation) to work" has not been accompanied by a significant shift in their obligation to marry, and, therefore, in their obligation to provide un-paid household maintenance services to adult men, children and other dependant family members (Kessler-Harris 2003: 156).

Unless they recognise the remaining care duties that any "adult citizen worker" must provide to his or her friends and family, policy initiatives aimed solely at increasing women's economic activity rates will, thus, make only a minor contribution to promoting the full economic citizenship of women in general and of "minoritized" women in particular.

In line with the overall project objectives, we have also been able to identify some of the ways in which economic citizenship issues intersect with the other dimensions of citizenship covered by FEMCIT research.

Firstly, the shift from a philosophy of "welfare" to one of "workfare" has considerably transformed the conditions under which migrants can access political or civic citizenship: "A wide variety of political theorists have affirmed that the idea that without economic independence, vested for most people in claims to jobs and acknowledged as the social right to work if not as a claim to a particular job, political participation remains a chimera […] In the words of political scientist Judith Shklar: "We are citizens only if we 'earn'" (Shklar 1991: 98-99, cited in Kessler-Harris, 2003: 166).

Secondly, we have identified the potential conflicts between social citizenship, as defined by Marshall (1950) and the different dimensions of economic citizenship, as defined by Kessler-Harris (2001). In some circumstances, the satisfaction of claims relating to parental (particularly maternal) rights to time out of the labour market devoted to un-paid child-care activities can run counter to the rights of all workers to forms of paid employment that enable them to balance their quest for financial autonomy and the ability to build satisfying personal relationships with their dependants and loved ones.

In relation to multicultural citizenship, we have shown that anti-discrimination policies founded on a "republican universalist" model of social integration (as is the case in France – see Metso & Le Feuvre, 2009) may make it difficult for certain "minoritized" groups of women to access the labour market altogether or lead to their exclusion from those segments of the labour market that provide the highest levels of economic citizenship (for example, by making it illegal for Muslim women who wear headscarves to enter certain professions, such as teaching or medicine).

Finally, we have shown the extent to which economic citizenship is related to bodily and intimate citizenship. Not only are the rights to abortion and protection from sexual exploitation increasingly limited to those women who enjoy the full political citizenship of a given nation state, the "gendered imagination" of most welfare states has also produced a (usually heterosexual) "couple norm", which continues to infuse the conditions under which many categories of women access the labour market and the employment and working conditions that

they are offered: "Relying on gendered norms and gendered expectations, social and civil citizenship continue to constrain the legislative imagination within the boarders of a sometimes problematic traditional family" (Kessler-Harris 2003). The normative assumption that women's employment does not necessarily need to provide them with the resources for self-determination, precisely because they are supposed to be able to count on the support of a breadwinning spouse or on state support during their child-rearing years not only serves their ability to adopt sustainable, alternative living arrangements, it also reduces they ability to successfully defend their economic citizenship rights to the same extent as men.

In relation to the integrative aspects of FEMCIT, we have shown that, contrary to popular belief, the claims made by the second wave women's movement have had a fairly limited impact on the equal opportunity measures adopted within the European context in relation to women's employment. The most radical elements of the feminist claims for economic equality have been curiously "lost in translation" (Jenson 2009). Thus, although women are today generally expected to "earn" their citizenship rights on much the same basis as men, by participating actively in the labour market (van Houdt *et al* 2011), they are also required to continue providing much of the un-paid care that previously offered them an alternative (albeit limited and secondary) route to a whole range of citizenship rights and benefits. The current state of affairs can hardly be described as "gender fair", since it continues to place many women, particularly migrants and members of minoritized groups, in a less favourable position to most men, both on the labour market and in relation to domestic and care work. The elderly care sector provides a particularly clear example of the detrimental effects of this selective and partial translation of women's movement claims into policies and practices. Despite being particularly physically and emotionally demanding, elderly care jobs rarely provide their incumbents with the opportunity to earn a living wage or to accumulate satisfactory pension rights. The renewed pressures on the least well-qualified sections of the female population to enter employment have thus done little to improve their ability to become economically self-sufficient, whilst seriously compromising their capacity to provide the host of un-paid care services needed to ensure social stability and cohesion. In parallel, little has been done to ensure that the jobs located at the higher end of the occupational hierarchy provide their (male or female) incumbents with the opportunity to achieve a balance between financial autonomy and time to care. Such considerations would translate more faithfully the claims of the 20th century women's movement and could also provide a satisfactory blueprint for "gender-fair" economic citizenship in the future.

MULTICULTURAL CITIZENSHIP: INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN FEMINISM, ETHNIC IDENTITY AND RELIGION (WP4)

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Research objectives

Women's movements have argued strongly and continuously for the increased inclusion, participation and equality of women on a par with men. However, women's movement themselves, including practices within them and the claims-making they have forwarded, were heavily critiqued in the 1980s for privileging ethnic majority women's views and interests, and for ignoring, or even rejecting, black and ethnic minority women's needs (hooks 1982; Carby 1982; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1983; Bhavnani and Coulson 1985; Mohanty 1988; Crenshaw 1989;

Collins 1991). Against this background, we wanted to research the extent to which practices and claims-making within contemporary women's movements in Europe had been affected by such critiques, including whether dialogue and common political platforms have emerged between majoritized and minoritized organisations within women's movements. Inspired by Gunaratnam (2003), we use the concepts of majoritized and minoritized to signal that particular organisations or individuals are actively being constructed as representing or belonging to a majority group due to specific attributes related to ethnicity and/or religion, while others are constructed as representing or belonging to minority ethnic and religious groups. We thus approached women's movements themselves as important arenas for multicultural citizenship practices.

Religious groups, organisations and communities also provide important spaces where women and men practice and negotiate both gendered and multicultural forms of citizenship (Nyhagen Predelli 2008). At times, religious arenas produce barriers to or actively limit the practicing of equal citizenship for women and men, while at other times they offer formal and/or informal opportunities for more gender equal practices. Gendered practices within religious contexts pose a particular dilemma for a notion of equal citizenship, as patriarchal religious laws, norms and practices are often at variance with state-implemented laws on gender equality and international conventions on human rights such as the Convention for the Elimination of All Discrimination Against Women (Mayer 1991, Moghadam 2002; Skjeie 2006; Børresen 2006; Loenen and Goldsmith 2007). Moreover, multicultural societies in Europe experience tensions between majoritized religions, which are often privileged by society and by the state, and minoritized religions, which may be marginalized and/or discriminated within various social contexts. From these starting points, we wanted to research the extent to which women's individual religious identities and practices within both privileged (Christianity) and marginalized (Islam) organized religious contexts may provide both resources and barriers to citizenship. We also sought to explore whether the academic term 'religious citizenship' (Hudson 2003; Yip 2003; Yip and Keenan 2004; Levitt 2004; Permoser and Rosenberger 2009) found any resonance among religious women, as well as how religious women view the impact of women's movements and feminism in their own lives and in their religious organisations and communities.

Finally, approaching the notion of citizenship from the standpoint of feminist scholarship, where citizenship is viewed not only in terms of status, rights and duties, but also in relation to issues of identity, participation and belonging (Lister 1997; Siim 2000; Kaber 2005; Tastsoglou and Dobrowolsky 2006; Lister et al. 2007; Siim and Squires 2007; Yuval-Davis 2008), we wanted to explore how women who are activists in women's movements, as well as women who are active in organized religious contexts, view the concept of citizenship, and how they practice citizenship in their everyday lives. On this basis, the following research questions were formulated for three different strands of research:

Strand 1:
- What are the relations between majoritized and minoritized organisations in contemporary women's movements in Norway, Spain and the United Kingdom (UK)? Is there any evidence of co-operation and alliance?
- How do women's organisations attempt to influence gender equality and anti-racist policies (with an emphasis on policies to combat violence against women)? To what extent is the state perceived to engage in dialogue with and include majoritized and minoritized women's organisations in policy-making processes?

Strand 2:
- How do Christian and Muslim women in Norway, Spain and the UK define, construct and practice citizenship in their everyday life? What do they think about 'religious

citizenship'? Can religious beliefs and practices provide both resources and barriers to gendered and multicultural forms of citizenship? How do religious women view gender relations, as well as the impact of women's movements and feminism?

Strand 3:
- What does citizenship mean for women in different communities – for women's movement activists and for women active in religious organisations?

Theoretical approaches

The theoretical approaches employed in our research include discourse analysis of how issues are talked about and framed by social movement actors (Bacchi 1999 and 2005; Ferree 2003; Verloo 2007), as well as theories and concepts relating to women's movements and feminist movements (McBride and Mazur 2008), state feminism (Outshoorn and Kantola 2007; Mazur and MCBride 2008), multiculturalism (Kymlicka 2010; Phillips 2007), intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989, Weldon 2008), citizenship (Lister 1997), recognition (Fraser 2000), and religion (Woodhead 2007).

Multicultural citizenship is concerned with the status, rights and duties, identity, belonging and participation of ethno-cultural groups, national minorities, immigrant communities, and indigenous peoples. Importantly, studies of multicultural citizenship must include *majority groups* as well as minority groups, as privileged and dominant groups are also part and parcel of multicultural societies. Analyses of multicultural citizenship are thus concerned with *relations* between minoritized and majoritized groups along its various dimensions (status, rights and duties, identity, belonging and participation), as well as relations between different minority groups.

Multicultural citizenship describes both the *de facto* ethno-cultural pluralism or diversity among citizens in Western democracies and the citizenship claims for recognition and justice that have arisen from a diverse range of indigenous peoples and from sub-national and immigrant groups (Kymlicka 2010: 36-37) Multicultural citizenship is linked to demands for justice and a new set of anti-racist and anti-discrimination policies that have developed at different points in time in Norway, Spain and the UK. Such policies include individual and/or collective protection and freedom from racism and discrimination, and also freedom from religious hatred, and protection of national minorities and indigenous people's rights. Women's movement organisations have a long history of mobilization in support of demands for justice on issues linked to gendered experiences of marginalization and discrimination. Our focus is on how both majoritized and minoritized women's movement organisations have mobilised, both together and apart, to shape demands for justice that link gender issues with issues of anti-racism and anti-discrimination. We suggest that the term *strategic sisterhood* is useful to describe instances of dialogue and co-operation within women's movements, and that it signals a fruitful way forward for women's movement actors wishing to move away from a notion of universal sisterhood.

Through our research, we have been able to contribute to existing scholarly debates in various ways. In **Strand 1** we have made an original contribution to conceptual discussions of 'women's movements' and 'feminist movements', demonstrating that currently used definitions of these movements within feminist scholarship tend to function in exclusionary ways through overlooking mobilization and activism by ethnic minority women that often happen outside 'normal' spaces for activism within women's movements. For example, such activism may take place within the context of gender-mixed organisations that are perceived by scholars, as well as by majoritized women's movement actors and institutional actors, as belonging to the anti-racist

movement and/or to the landscape of immigrant organisations, rather than to women's movements. We suggest the usage of more inclusionary definitions and perspectives, which take into account the different and alternative forms of mobilisation expressed by ethnic minority women. More inclusionary views are important not only for feminist scholarship of women's mobilisation, but also for the ways in which women's movement organisations themselves perceive and evaluate the potential for successful dialogue and alliance. Furthermore, our research demonstrates new linkages between feminist theories of citizenship, recognition, and state feminism, and suggests ways in which both *majority privilege* and *minority disadvantage* can be theorised further and taken into account in various concepts and perspectives. For example, we suggest that minoritized women in particular engage in what we call *'recognition work'*; a continuous effort to be recognized as equal, reasonable and rational citizens. Recognition is thus not only an expression of the acceptance and respect that are being granted onto others, but also a matter of continuous engagement and 'doing', and as such it is a continuous and reflexive activity.

In **Strand 2**, we make a significant contribution to current theoretical perspectives on 'religious citizenship'. Scholars are increasingly using the term 'religious citizenship', but few offer a precise definition of what religious citizenship entails. Our contribution to the development of this concept is four-fold: 1) Religious citizenship must be understood more broadly to include not only status, rights and practice, but also issues of participation, identity and belonging; 2) Religious citizenship, within the broad understanding outlined above, must be understood and analysed as fundamentally *gendered* at all levels and in all of its aspects; 3) Religious citizenship as status, rights, duties, identity, participation and belonging must be analysed along a *majority-minority* dimension (including religious and ethnic majority and minority communities and individuals) and in terms of dominance/privilege and marginalization/subordination; and, finally, 4) Any conception of religious citizenship must encompass the status, participation, identity and belonging of both believers and non-believers, or both persons and groups who hold religious faith and belief and those who hold non-religious belief. If religious and secular beliefs are viewed simultaneously as expressions of socio-cultural and individualized meaning-systems, it would make sense to subsume the notion of religious citizenship under the broader term 'multicultural citizenship'. Such a move signals a more inclusive approach to the issue of faith and belief which neither privileges nor marginalizes either religious or secular meaning-systems. Moreover, scholars must pay more attention to tensions between religious and secular citizenship as lived practises, and to their implications for the realization of full citizenship potentials for both religious and secular women and men.

In **Strand 3**, we make an important contribution to existing feminist scholarship. Based on our analysis of how women's movement activists in Norway, Spain and the UK talk about and understand the term 'citizenship', we have identified a clear gap between the feminist scholarly perspective on an *inclusionary* notion of citizenship as *lived practice* – as social relations and participatory practices within all spheres of life, be they political, economic, social, cultural, religious, bodily, domestic or intimate – and the ways in which women's movement activists understand and use the notion of citizenship. Although interviewed women's movement activists associate citizenship with a range of issues, including status, rights, duties, identity, participation and belonging, they ultimately see the term as an *exclusionary* one. Moreover, they do not use it in their political claims making, and prefer instead to frame their own struggles for social justice in terms of social justice, equality, human rights and women's rights. It could, however, be argued that feminist perspectives on citizenship have the potential to become increasingly useful for women's movement activism, as they may bridge the existing gap between grassroots activism and current institutional political agendas at both national and international levels that favour 'citizenship' as a useful term to promote social cohesion and integration in multicultural societies.

Research methods

All of our research questions were studied in three European contexts: Norway, Spain and the UK, as these offered distinct examples of different gender, citizenship and religious regimes (Lister et al. 2007). Because our study is largely exploratory in nature, as little or no research has previously been done on contemporary relations between majoritized and minoritized actors within European women's movements, we decided that a qualitative research method would provide the necessary room for research participants to reflect and elaborate in-depth on their viewpoints and experiences. Semi-structured interviews, where a topic guide is used to structure flexible interviews, was chosen as the method that would most likely provide in-depth, meaningful and comparable data across the three countries. In total, more than 160 in-depth interviews were conducted in Norway, Spain and the UK (more than 70 in Strand 1; 60 in Strand 2; and 30 in Strand 3). In Strand 1, interviews were conducted with representatives of contemporary women's movement organisations, as well as with national-level civil servants and politicians. In Strand 2, interviews were conducted with Christian and Muslim women active in religious communities. In Strand 3, interviews were conducted with current women's movement activists, focusing on their personal political views, their activism, and their understanding and practising of citizenship. For Strand 3, we also draw on evidence from interviews conducted in Strand 2.

Additional evidence, especially for Strand 1, was collected through documentary analysis of documents produced by women's movement organisations as well as by governments. Intended to complement our findings from interviews, a selective mapping of documents was undertaken with the aim to investigate the resonance (or lack thereof) between contemporary claims by women's movement organisations in Norway, Spain and the UK and the claims and policy proposals that have been forwarded in state policy documents and in state reports to CEDAW (the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women) and CERD (the UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination). Our document mapping focused on issues of violence against women (broadly conceived), and on racism and ethnic discrimination in relation to violence against women.

As a way of practicing the feminist epistemology of situated knowledge, and articulating the locations we speak from, we have engaged in memory work as a tool to enhance reflection on our own underlying notions and understandings of race, feminism, and gender equality. We have written down our own individual memories of events in which we have felt privileged or marginalized due to our racial and ethnic backgrounds, and these memories have subsequently been analysed at a collective level.

Main empirical findings

Strand 1

In our study, we found that ethnic minority women's organisations are keen to engage in dialogue and cooperation with ethnic majority women's organisations, but they often talk about how their interests have yet to be recognized as equally important to majority women's interests by majority women's organisations. Moreover, when they do engage in dialogue and cooperation, ethnic minority women's organisations may experience that they are not treated as equal partners. In some instances, ethnic minority women's organisations experience being either sidelined or completely overlooked by majority women's organisations. From the viewpoint of majority women's organisations, however, it is largely accepted that ethnic minority women have legitimate political interests. However, their interests are often portrayed as 'different' from

majority women's interests, and as such they are easily constructed as irrelevant to majority women's claims-making. Ethnic minority women are often regarded by ethnic majority women as held back or oppressed by patriarchal 'cultures' in ethnic minority communities, rather than by larger societal structures that produce gender inequalities. Moreover, ethnic minority women and their organisations are not necessarily viewed as part of the women's movement, and are not regularly included as equal partners in movement dialogue, co-operation and claims-making. Issues of racism and discrimination related to racial and ethnic backgrounds are yet to gain a more central position on the agenda of ethnic majority women's organisations. Intersectional perspectives on women's inequality and subordination, which simultaneously address different forms of inequalities rooted in gender as well as in race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality, have yet to be addressed by many ethnic majority-led women's organisations. Some advances are however being made in this area, with the UK's Fawcett Society constituting a leading, good practice example. Our findings also show that ethnic majority women activists have started to reflect on their own privilege compared with ethnic minority women's experiences of racism and discrimination, and majority women's movement organisations have begun to reflect on the need to change their agendas and claims in order to accommodate and reflect minority women's interests.

The extent of ethnic minority-majority co-operation among women's organisations varies, but co-operation and alliance are especially found around violence against women (VAW) issues. In our research, we specifically asked women's organisations about their work within the area of VAW, because we knew that both minoritized and majoritized women have a history of mobilization and claims-making in relation to such issues. However, our research also openly explored the kinds of issues each interviewed organisation had worked on in cooperation with other organisations, be they dominated by ethnic majority or minority women. The results were, however, that few, if any, organisations were able to mention any concrete examples of dialogue and co-operation beyond the issue of VAW. When we did find instances of issue-based, joint mobilization of ethnic majority and minority women's organisations aiming to influence a specific policy area such as VAW, we used the term *strategic sisterhood* to describe such instances as well as to suggest, on a normative level, that women's movement actors ought to engage actively in developing co-operation and creating alliance across majoritized and minoritized positions and locations. The term *strategic sisterhood* signals a limited but sustainable form of sisterhood, as collective mobilization and solidarity centered on particular issues or policy areas. Strategic sisterhood is a useful way forward to achieve a more balanced participatory democracy and citizenship practices within women's movements themselves, as well as more effective political claims-making in multicultural societies.

Women's and gender equality policy agencies, which women's movement organisations interact with in various ways, have recently been reconfigured in Norway, Spain and the UK. For example, Norway and the UK have established government bodies that seek to apply intersectional approaches to inequality by focusing on gender, sexual orientation, ethnic origin, religion and faith, age, and disability (The *Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud* in Norway and the *Equality and Human Rights Commission* in the UK). In 2010, the UK also passed the new *Equality Act* which consolidates previous laws pertaining to various forms of discrimination into a single act. Spain, however, has only recently begun to 'tak[e] its very first steps in institutionalizing intersectionality in policy-making and equality bodies' (Bustelo 2009). We found women's organisations in Norway and the UK to be concerned that intersectional approaches to inequality will lessen government focus on gender inequality.

The policy field of VAW appears fragmented in all three countries, as various government departments are dealing with different aspects of the VAW agenda. One department may deal

with domestic abuse, while another deals with forced marriage, and a third with female genital mutilation. We found that some high-profile women's movement organisations, particularly in the UK, are calling for an integrated strategy to VAW, which builds on the notion that all forms of VAW are women's rights and human rights issues.

In all three countries, the state provides unequal access and influence to ethnic majority and minority women's organisations. On the whole, ethnic minority women's organisations have fewer opportunities to participate in policy-making processes than ethnic majority women's organisations. Moreover, majority women's organisations are consulted on a much broader range of issues, including education, the labour market, and social and economic issues such as pensions. Minority women are primarily consulted on issues perceived as specific to minority 'cultures', such as forced marriage, female genital mutilation (FGM), honour-based violence, and community responses to terrorist activities (see also Nyhagen Predelli 2003 and 2011; Dustin 2006). A 'dual-track' approach, in which gender discrimination tends to be treated separately from issues of racism and ethnic discrimination, is thus evidenced in governmental consultation practices (Skjeie and Teigen 2007). Our document mapping revealed some resonance between women's movement claims and state documents. Importantly, however, many interviewed women's organisations noted that limited organisational resources make it difficult for them to participate in consultative processes relating to CEDAW and CERD.

Strand 2
The main objective of our Strand 2 research was to identify and assess how women's individual religious identities and practices may provide both resources and/or barriers to citizenship viewed in a broad sense as combining elements regarding status, rights duties, participation, identity and belonging. Key findings were that religious identity and belonging to a religious community is of crucial importance to the interviewed women, who attach a deep meaning of personal faith to all aspects of their lives, including their own relationship with God and with religious teachings, as well as with interpersonal relationships, belonging, and community participation both within religious contexts and beyond. A uniting characteristic among the interviewed women, be they Christian or Muslim, is their emphasis on religion as 'a way of life'. Participants' faith, be it Christianity or Islam, structures and guides their everyday life.

Differences were noted between ethnic majority and minority women, including ethnic minority women feeling excluded and marginalised by the majority society, and ethnic majority women feeling sidelined by secular elements in society. Muslim women were generally concerned with and critical of stereotypical images of 'the oppressed Muslim woman'. As such, our findings underscore important challenges to the notion of multicultural citizenship in Europe when women of ethnic and cultural minority backgrounds experience racism and discrimination.

Both Christian and Muslim women emphasized that all human beings are equal before God. They talked about citizenship as related to ethical and moral behaviour prescribed by their religious faith, and as related to active participation in different contexts such as neighbourhoods, churches and mosques, politics, and national/international communities. Our study confirms the important role of religion as 'social glue' and as a site of inclusion, participation and community cohesion in multicultural societies.

Although the concept of 'religious citizenship' was new to most of the participants, many of them found it made sense to talk about religion in relation to citizenship as *participation and belonging*, exemplified through their faith-based community activities. To be a good citizen and 'a good Christian' and 'a good Muslim' was viewed in similar ways by all of our interviewees, and included values and practices such as showing love and care, respect and tolerance, and being

active in the community. Tensions embedded in the notion of religious citizenship were observed, as different religions are treated differently by states and governments; women and men are treated differently within various religious texts, traditions and communities; and, finally, religious belief is juxtaposed to non-belief or secular belief in society.

An important dimension of 'religious citizenship' concerns the treatment and participation of women within faith traditions. Within many religious contexts, women do not (yet) have the same status as men, and cannot perform the same roles as men. External pressure through changing societal attitudes and government legislation, and internal mobilisation from within religious communities themselves, can both work positively towards greater gender equality in religious organisations.

We found that Muslim women's participation and leadership in the religious arena is generally focused within women-only spaces. An important issue for Muslim women is, therefore, the allocation of a designated space for women in mosques which allows them to attend collective worship and engage in communal religious activities. Christian women in our study were involved in both gender-mixed and gender-segregated activities, including worship and teaching, but in some Churches they do not have the same opportunities as men to inhabit positions of religious authority.

Research participants viewed women's movements as having had a positive impact on women's rights, equal opportunities, labour market participation, equal pay, and women's empowerment, including women's increased role in churches. However, many interviewees thought women's movements and feminists have 'gone too far' and are 'too extreme', which was linked to their belief that feminism was more about promoting matriarchy and women's domination rather than gender equality. Furthermore, research participants understood the term 'gender equality' to signify complementary gender roles and the equal value of women and men, rather than equality of outcome. These observations suggest that increased dialogue between women's movements and women of religious faith could be useful, and that links between religion and feminism should be further explored.

Strand 3

This part of our research examined how women's movement activists in Spain, Norway and the UK understand the concept of citizenship and whether they use the term in their political claims-making. The analysis focused on how activists in majoritized and minoritized women's organisations define, construct and practice citizenship. We found that the interviewed women's movement activists in Norway, Spain and the UK do not use the concept of 'citizenship' to frame their own understanding of policy issues or in their own political claims-making. Moreover, 'citizenship' has different connotations among women's movement activists in different countries in Europe due to the different contexts in which they are located, and the usefulness of the concept at a pan-European level is also, therefore, debatable. Frames other than the citizenship frame, in particular the human rights/women's rights frame, and also the (gender) equality frame and the social justice frame, are preferred by activists addressing inequalities and discriminatory practices across the national and political contexts we studied. We have, therefore, suggested a gap between grassroots women's movement activists and feminist theory. However, feminist citizenship scholarship may be useful in bridging the current gap between grassroots activism and formal institutional politics at national and European levels which employ a citizenship discourse to promote social and community cohesion.

Overall discussion

We have reached the research objectives that were set at the beginning of our project, and we have produced new theoretical and empirical scholarship, which moves state-of-the-art forward in several areas. Our forthcoming monograph (Nyhagen Predelli and Halsaa, forthcoming), on relations between ethnic majority and ethnic minority women in women's movements, provides new and important knowledge in that it assesses the extent to which women's movements in Europe have addressed the critiques that were raised by black and ethnic minority activists in the 1980s. While relations between majoritized and minoritized actors in women's movements have previously been discussed and written about in work originating from women's movement participants, especially in the UK context, in the European context ours is the first major, formally funded scholarly research that seriously discusses the current engagement (or lack thereof) of ethnic majority women's movement actors with ethnic minority women's experiences and interests.

Our comparative work on religion, gender and citizenship fills another gap in scholarly literature, as it takes seriously the notion of 'religious citizenship' both at the theoretical and empirical level. This part of our work, which we plan to publish in a second monograph, demonstrates that religious arenas provide important spaces for women's lived citizenship, while at the same time highlighting constraints that religious women face in terms of equal citizenship opportunities with men in religious contexts, as well as discrimination experienced by women from minoritized religious communities. However, we also found that a majority of the religious women in our study viewed gender equality and women's and men's roles as a question of difference, complementarity and equal value. Therefore, it is not obvious that religious women will necessarily support a feminist agenda that promotes gender equality as *sameness*. Nevertheless, we also found that many of the interviewed religious women support major issues on the women's movement agenda, such as equal rights and opportunities in work and education. Most of them do not, however, identify with the concept of 'feminism', and many view the women's movement as too radical. Despite such sentiments, our findings suggest that there might be an untapped potential for dialogue and alliance between religious and secular women in the struggle for equal rights and opportunities, thus supporting Nussbaum's (1999) view that religion can 'contribute to the struggle for justice', including the struggle for gender equality.

Findings from our third strand of research, which focused on women's movement activists and citizenship, will be published in the forthcoming FEMCIT anthology. This part of our research is also presents new insights, in that it identifies a clear gap between feminist scholarly perspectives on citizenship as inclusionary forms of lived practice, and interviewed women's movement activists' views of citizenship as fundamentally an exclusionary term as well as connected to marginalizing and discriminatory practices. Our research also (albeit more indirectly) identifies a gap between contemporary governmental usages of 'citizenship' as a frame in public policies aiming to promote integration and community cohesion, and the ways in which interviewed women's movement activists talk about citizenship in terms of marginalization and even disintegration. Moreover, our research shows that while women's movement activists continue to struggle for more inclusive and participatory forms of citizenship practices and policies, they prefer to name their struggles in terms of women's rights, human rights, and social justice. At a time when national governmental policies, as well as supra-national policies such as those originating within the European Community, continue to frame issues of multiculturalism, integration and social cohesion in terms of citizenship, feminist scholarship has the potential to bridge the gap between formal institutional politics and grass-roots feminism and women's movement activism if it succeeds in producing knowledge of lived citizenship that translates to both movement politics and institutional politics.

WP4s main contributions to FEMCIT's aim of developing the architecture for *gender-fair citizenship* are concerned with the intersection of gender, ethnicity and religion within women's movements, as well as within women's activism and everyday life. Specifically, the three strands of WP4 research contribute new theoretical and empirical knowledge relating to Norway, Spain and the UK concerning 1) how gender, ethnicity and religion intersect in women's movement practices and activism within women's movements; 2) how gender, ethnicity and religion intersect in the everyday lived citizenship practices of Christian and Muslim women; and 3) how gender, ethnicity, class and sexuality intersect in the everyday lives and claims-making of women's movement activists. Through our focus on women's activism and participation within women's movement organisations and within religious organisations, we have made significant contributions to the understanding of lived or practiced citizenship as connected to not only status, rights, duties, but also to active participation and feelings of identity and belonging in society.

Our research is in many ways related to other citizenship dimensions within FEMCIT. Our research on relations between majoritized and minoritized women's movement actors, on the claims-making of women's movements, and on the participation of women's movement actors in dialogue and consultations with government institutions, reflects with both formal and more informal ways of practising political citizenship. Our research also relates to the social dimensions of citizenship through the finding that both ethnic majority and minority women highlight the difficulties they are currently experiencing in combining work and family responsibilities, and their need for affordable, quality child care. Furthermore, our research relates to economic citizenship through our finding that women's movement actors identify a range of barriers to economic citizenship. These barriers are, again, related to general experiences of difficulties and challenges regarding the work-family balance, as well as to specific experiences among ethnic minority women who emphasize the constraints they face in relation to language skills, work-based networks, work experience, and the recognition of educational qualifications from abroad.

Our research on women's movement claims-making regarding violence against women issues relate directly to the sexual/bodily dimensions of citizenship, as women's right to a life free of different forms of bodily violence (including domestic violence, forced marriage, female genital mutilation, and honour-based violence) is inextricably linked to women's right to exercise control over their own bodies. Finally, our research on women's movement activism and citizenship relates to intimate and sexual dimensions of citizenship by highlighting how interviewed non-heterosexual women of ethnic minority backgrounds experience multiple forms of inequality that exacerbate and further their marginalization and oppression within various contexts.

SEXUAL AND BODILY CITIZENSHIP: CITIZENSHIP AND FEMINIST BODY POLITICS (WP5)

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WP5 Researchers: Teresa Kulawik, Karin Lindelöf, Radka Dudova, Susanne Dodillet, Ana Prata

Research objectives

Since the rise of the new wave of feminism in the 1960s, issues concerning the body have been at the heart of the challenge by women's movements. The female body was always a contested site, subject to state policies regulating its procreative and sexual capacities, as well its (in)violability. . Violence against women was often condoned by law makers as affairs of the family and the

disposal over women was generally relegated to men's personal patriarchal authority. Women's bodies have been part of a broader imaginary about national vitality and served as markers of national belonging. Women's bodies figurate as a "materializition" of the imagined community of the nation and its borders (Yuval-Davis 1998). Classifications of women's and men's bodies, often based on medical knowledge, were the corner stone of the "naturalness" of women's otherness and exclusion from citizen rights hence male gender power. It is, therefore, not surprising that women's movements across Europe (and elsewhere) had bodily integrity at the top of their agenda, leading to concrete demands on a whole range of body issues. Underlying the demands was the premise that the right to bodily integrity is a necessary condition for women's autonomy and self-determination. It is, therefore, integral to full citizenship. However, the classic formulation of citizenship rights has not included bodily or sexual rights; even in feminist scholarship on citizenship the concept of bodily citizenship is underdeveloped (e.g. in Siim and Squires (2008). Our research could, therefore, not depart from a fully developed theoretical framework, but there was some previous work from which could proceed. Lister (1997) made the case for including bodily integrity in citizenship as a precondition for the other citizenship rights. Shaver (1994) showed the importance of distinguishing between formal recognition of body rights in law and 'medically-mediated abortion' which retains medical control but allows a liberal abortion practice. Bacchi and Beasley (2002) make the distinction between those who are assumed to have control over their bodies – the full citizen- and those who are regarded as being controlled by their bodies and who can thus be deprived of their citizens' rights, an obviously gendered distinction. The conceptual lack is surprising, given that bodies are central to feminist concerns and have been targeted by a broad range of measures, such as pro- and anti-natalist policies, which become highly relevant with the re-emergence of bio-politics through biomedicine and reproductive genetics in the last two decades.

Our research objectives were twofold. Firstly, we set out to explore how women's movements contested the existing regulatory frameworks and the dominant political discourses about the female body and changed problem definition and policies impeding the self-determination over their bodies and sexualities in different political systems. Secondly, we aimed to show how the process of Europeanization and the growth of multicultural societies are impinging on the political debates on the body and possibly affecting the opportunities to improve women's right to bodily integrity.

Our theoretical point of departure has been a historical and discursive institutionalist approach, which stresses the importance of institutions and past policy legacies in shaping current policies, as well as the central role of discourses in changing policies (Kulawik 2009; Schmidt, 2010). This approach draws attention to the importance of timing and sequencing. Using it in a comparative framework, it is particularly fitted to identify key points of change, and to identifying competing explanations for change. For analyzing women' movements, the research draws on social movement theory, more specifically the political process approach with its key concepts of political opportunities, framing and mobilizing structures. Examining the discourses of women's movement and their possible incorporation into dominant discourses, laws and policy enables us to show how women's movements have constructed their claims about the body and were able to affect policy.

Methodology

For the research design, we took two steps. Firstly, following our institutionalist approach, we set up a comparative design with four country cases. Four European states were selected: the Czech Republic, the Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden. This selection is a mix of secular and religious countries, which are likely to take very different positions with regards to bodily and sexual

politics. While the Czech Republic and Sweden are mainly secular, religious influence remains considerable in the Netherlands, and Portugal is still a solidly Catholic country. Our selection also has a mix of old democracies (the Netherlands and Sweden) and young democracies with a recent transition to democracy (Portugal 1974-6; Czech Republic 1989). In these countries women's movements emerged in different decades, providing variation in the life cycle of women's movements and the (non)existence of feminist groups. Moreover, two of the four countries, the Netherlands and Portugal, have a colonial history, with a long tradition of migration from overseas to Europe, while Sweden and the Czech Republic have long-standing indigenous minorities, the Sami and Roma.

Secondly, from the broad range of issues relating to the body and sexuality, we selected two for our analysis, abortion and prostitution. Legalization of abortion has been one of the top priorities of women's movements in general and it has been a pivotal issue distinguishing feminist movements from women's movements in general. Prostitution has not been a high priority of women's movements, except in Sweden, but is an issue which raises contentious questions about sexuality, sexual self-determination and the role of the state. In contrast to abortion, feminists are deeply divided about prostitution and its relation to the 'trafficking of women'. Interestingly, both of our issues are within the jurisdiction of the national state, and not of the EU. These make them particularly suitable for analysing processes of Europeanization, which are not directly related to EU regulation.

The empirical work involved the process of tracing the life cycle of the issues over the last decades, and the determination of the various public discourses and the major policy changes. We then identified which women's organisations had been active on the issues, including those of minority women, how they framed their demands and to what extent their framings were adopted by the government and incorporated in the policy outcomes. We also looked across state boundaries to see if EU discourses influence national policies and whether the rise of a supra-national arena provides new opportunities for women's movements to achieve their demands. Finally, we analysed how the discourses on our issues were affected by the ongoing debates on migration and the rise of multicultural societies. The data we collected came from documents produced by the different groups in the debates, such as parliamentary records, party programmes, texts from the women's movements, and reports from experts and interest groups. To improve our understanding, we also conducted interviews with important people in the debates, ranging from leaders of women's movement organisation to politicians and experts.

Major empirical findings

Abortion
One of the most important findings is that women's movements, including feminist movements, did not employ the language of citizenship in claiming abortion rights or in dealing with the issue of prostitution. On the issue of abortion, movements took the specificity of the female body, its possibility to procreate, as their point of departure. Their discourse was predominantly in terms of autonomy, self-determination and the right to have an abortion, premised on the understanding that to capability to decide over one's body is the precondition to full citizenship. Movements employed strategic framing, as for instance in Portugal, where women argued their case in terms of social justice and public health at a time when public debate fore-fronted class issues and illegal abortion. In the Netherlands, feminists argued in terms of autonomy and control against state intervention in private affairs, the major oppositional discourse on moral issues in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Another important finding is that women's movements have made a crucial difference to abortion debates: when there was no women's movement, either due to timing or to the lack of democracy, limited reform was enacted, with control over access and availability remaining in the hands of the professionals, mainly medical doctors. This was the case with the early reform in Sweden in the 1960s, when there was not yet a feminist movement taking on body issues, and in the Czech Republic where the Communist regime precluded the rise of an independent women's movement. Where women's movements did mobilize and develop a feminist discourse, as in the Netherlands, Portugal and in Sweden after 1970, laws do incorporate, to varying degrees, a woman's right to decide. There are still barriers to abortion on demand, such as abortions after 10 or 12 weeks of pregnancy, and upper limits, usually viability of the foetus outside of the woman's body. This limit is being lowered by medical technological advance, leaving women less time to decide about abortion after prenatal testing, which presently can only be done around 20 weeks of pregnancy. Non-resident women were not been able to have abortions in Sweden until 2009, in contrast to the Netherlands, to where women from countries where it was still banned, had been coming in their thousands. In the Czech Republic, non-resident women are still not able to have an abortion. Generally, there has been a shift from the very restrictive abortion regimes dating back to the late 19th century towards more liberal regimes, either with a term model usually allowing for abortion on demand up to a certain period or with an indication model in which the grounds for an abortion are specified (Outshoorn, 1996). In the reform era since the 1960s, the Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden all first moved to an indication regime, but later moved to a regime based on the term model. The Netherlands already allowed abortion on demand before formal reform took place; its law is neither a term nor indication model.

Following our approach, we were able to show how past legacies remain in evidence; in countries with a eugenicist tradition, such as Sweden and the Czech Republic, medical knowledge played an important role in counselling, categorization and debates about sterilization and selective abortion. However, breaks with the past do occur: women in Portugal with their allies, using the framing of social justice and public health, were able to achieve elective abortion despite the moral framings of Catholicism. In the Netherlands, the discourse about self-determination and control over one's body unified a broad coalition, which successfully sidelined religious and medical discourses and found its way into the abortion law and practice.

While abortion falls under the legislation of the national state, which precluded dissatisfied organisations (both women's and anti-abortion groups) taking their case to the supranational level, the EU did indirectly play a role in abortion debates. This can be witnessed in the residence debates in the Czech Republic and Sweden. The Czech Republic did not allow non-residents to have abortions, but this was questioned when the government had to adapt its health care laws to EU regulation. It regarded allowing non-residents to have an abortion as 'inevitable' against anti-abortion groups who wanted to retain the ban to stop 'abortion tourism'. As the health-care reform failed; prohibition is still on the cards. In Sweden, the residence limit was dropped with reference to open borders as well as Sweden's position in the EU as a proponent and example of a gender equality model of society. Europeanization also led to the 'comparison game': in the Portuguese debate the women's movement used comparative EU figures to press for legalisation, and pro-choice activists in the Netherlands used the very low Dutch abortion rate since the 1980s to defend the legalization.

In our four countries, minority women generally were not visible in the abortion debates, they also did not organize on the issue. The major exception to visibility was the state policy to encourage of abortion for Roma women and their sterilization in the Czech Republic, an issue raised by Roma organisations and human rights lawyers after 1989. The Czech State to date has not acknowledged their claims.

The lack of mobilization by minority women can be ascribed partly to the fact that majority women's movements framed their demands in universal terms: all women should have the right to an abortion. Minority women's groups were relatively late in forming their own organisations, and by that time found abortion more or less available. Their list of priorities was also different: work, education and immigration control. Moreover, in none of the four countries are specific groups singled out for special treatment in the enacted legislation, therefore, not inviting opposition on this point.

Prostitution
All four countries have a history of regulating prostitution in the 19th century, but in a first change of prostitution regimes in the first decades of the 20th century, all moved towards an abolitionist position. This usually entailed criminalizing all who profit from the earnings of prostitution (not always the prostitute herself) and outlawing brothels. In the Czech Republic under communism, prostitution officially did not exist, but prostitutes were seen as social parasites who avoided 'decent' work. In Sweden prostitution was seen as anti-social behaviour and prostitutes became objects under surveillance of the state. In the Netherlands abolitionism was undermined by a pragmatic policy condoning prostitution unless it threatened public order. Prostitutes were accepted in the traditional red light districts and they were not criminalized under law. In Portugal prostitution was repressed as a hazard to public health, but despite the fact that prostitutes were criminalized, there was popular acceptance of the prostitutes themselves.

The second major shift in prostitution regimes occurred in the 1990s. Portugal already removed the criminalization of sex workers in 1983 when it revised the dictatorship's criminal law. The Czech Republic repealed the communist law in 1990, so that engaging in prostitution is also no longer criminal. The Netherlands decriminalized prostitution in 2000 by lifting the ban on brothels. Only Sweden travelled in another direction by criminalizing prostitution and its clients in 1998, but not the sex workers who were to be reintegrated in 'normal' life. This different path can be accounted for by legacies of a specific moral logic of the Swedish welfare state, the framing of prostitution as an issue of gender equality, and Sweden's determination to set itself up as a model of gender equality in the period of EU accession. Prostitution has been a major issue in the remobilization of the Swedish women's movement, which framed the issue in terms of sex-power, and prostitutes as the ultimate victims of male sexual oppression. This discourse became dominant in public debate and lies at the heart of the current prostitution regime in Sweden.

Prostitution was not a priority issue for women's movements in the other three countries, but there always were women's organisations active on the issue. As in the abortion debates, none of these framed their demands in terms of citizenship. In the Netherlands, the framing of the women's movement defined prostitution as sex work and sex workers as capable and knowledgeable actors who have the right to sexual self-determination. Both movement and public discourse rested on the distinction between voluntary (legal) and forced prostitution (illegal). It underpins the decriminalization, which is depicted as 'realistic' and 'pragmatic' by the government. In the Czech Republic, feminist organisations also made a strict division between prostitution with or without consent, and framed sex workers as rational actors deserving equal treatment. Their discourse counteracted the dominant 1990s Czech debate on prostitution as a major social problem, or pathology in need of regulation, including the registration of prostitutes. Attempts to control prostitution have failed as consecutive governments have held regulation to be in conflict with the 1949 UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women, to which the Republic was a signatory. In Portugal, most women's organisations are opposed to legalising prostitution; there are strong Catholic-oriented organisations who frame prostitution as

a social evil and sex workers as victims. Some feminists only started criticise this dominant framing and to open the debate about sex work since the 2000s.

In contrast to the abortion issue, migration has been an intrinsic part of the prostitution debates in all countries. Historically prostitution and trafficking have been discursively linked, with the victim of trafficking as the primary figure of attention. The 1990s shift in prostitution regimes was prompted by the international revival of trafficking discourses, which can be linked to the concern about the mobility of women on a global scale. All four countries have encountered significant changes in the supply side of the sex market, where migrant sex workers, if not in numbers, catch the eye as 'different'. In the discourse, the innocent and young victim of trafficking competes with the illegal female migrant profiting from the welfare state; and gangs of 'foreigners' run the international sex trade.

These shifts produce their own national discourses in each of our four countries. Public discourse in the Czech Republic in the communist period externalized prostitution as something 'Western'; after transition, it tended to depict sex workers as foreign (if not, they were Roma) and clients were Western European men. This discourse polarized the issue along the lines of the decent tax-paying citizen - 'us' - and the 'foreigners' – 'them' - who abuse the health care and social insurance system, showing the legacy of the prostitute as a social parasite. In the Netherlands the concern about victims of trafficking became intertwined with the fear of illegal migration, as evidenced in the discourse about 'floods' of illegal prostitutes. By withholding non-EU sex workers working permits – to prevent trafficking - policy itself now constructs a distinction between legal sex workers from the EU and illegal sex workers from non-EU countries, making the latter liable to blackmail and coercion. Policy itself thus creates the bad working conditions of the latter. In Sweden, the prostitute from the 'East' plays a central role in public discourse on trafficking and prostitution. While on the one hand they are portrayed as vulnerable and weak and should be helped, at the same time they are seen as threatening gender equality and should not be allowed into the country. In Portugal, migrant sex workers are generally seen as more vulnerable to exploitation, while at the same time Brazilian and Eastern European women are often stereotyped as 'prostitutes'.

Prostitution policy is the prerogative of the national state, but trafficking is international, and subject to EU regulation and various UN Conventions. All countries have incorporated the European Council on Human Trafficking (2001) and signed the UN Protocol on Trafficking (2000). Women's NGOs have been able to access the EU funding for anti-trafficking initiatives, though not without debate on whether these projects should just aid victims of trafficking or also 'help' women to exit sex work. Furthermore, the EU arena has provided women's movement actors with strategic opportunities to export their demands. In a process reversing the usual top-down approach, Dutch feminists set human trafficking on the agenda of the European Parliament and the Council of Europe in the mid 1980s, in a framing which de-linked it from prostitution by making the distinction between voluntary and forced prostitution. Various EU institutions generally adopted this de-linking in the subsequent decades. In the mid 1990s Swedish feminists and their EU commissioner used the EU arena to export the Swedish model to the supranational level, but ran into the barrier of jurisdiction defining prostitution falling within national sovereignty.

Our research shows that sex workers in all four of our countries lack citizenship rights, albeit in varying degree. In Portugal, the Czech Republic and Sweden they lack social and economic rights, in the Netherlands their civil rights are in danger with pending compulsory registration. From an abolitionist point of view one might argue that, save for Sweden, the State does not protect women's rights given that it allows prostitution. On the basis of our research, we can state that

when States seek to protect women from prostitution, this generally leads to the curtailing of women's rights.

Overall discussion

In an earlier work, Shaver (1994) compared four liberal welfare states on abortion rights, making for a distinction between abortion as a medical entitlement (Britain and Australia) and a body right (the US and Canada) She came to the paradoxical conclusion that in the latter abortion rights were less secure by limitation of public funding and more political opposition, while in the other two 'medically mediated' abortion led to less contestation of abortion rights and more adequate public funding, making it a social right. While all four of our countries fall outside the category of liberal welfare state regimes and have different welfare state regimes, they all allow for public funding. Moreover, our cases do not allow for the neat distinction between body right and medically mediated abortion. Usually they mix the two: by viability limits (above which exceptions can only be made by medical professionals) and allowing abortion on demand up to a certain number weeks of pregnancy, after which medical consultation is called for (Portugal after 10 weeks, the Czech Republic and Sweden after 12 weeks). In the Netherlands, there is no such term limit, and the framing of the law is ambiguous: the woman and the doctor *together* assess if there is an emergency situation justifying abortion – but if the doctor refuses he/she is obliged to refer the woman to another doctor. Recent developments such as medicated abortion and internet commerce call the demarcation between legal and 'illegal' abortion into question as well as further undoing Shaver's distinction.

Our findings on abortion confirm the findings on successful women's movements in abortion politics of Stetson (2001). Women's movements have been more effective in having their frames entering policy when they prioritised abortion, were more or less unified on the issue, were close to the left both organisationally and ideologically, and found allies within the state bureaucracy. The exception here is the Czech Republic, where there was no independent women's movement prior to 1989, and very little feminist organisation after that period. The reform allowing abortion on demand of 1987 was driven by new techniques of early abortion and psychological research on the damage of being an unwanted child. Our research also examines the Czech Republic, Portugal and Sweden on the impact of women's movements, and by taking a longer time frame, was able to locate abortion politics in the context of population policies.

Studies of comparative prostitution policies share two common concerns. The first is the issue matter of regime typology, usually a four-fold classification based on the criminalization of prostitution, the prostitute and others earning money in the business (for a discussion, Outshoorn, 2010) and their policy effects. Our findings cast doubt on the usefulness of regime typologies to explain policy processes. Historically major shifts in policy design do coincide in timing and general drift, but regimes tend to remain strongly path dependent on their national and cultural particularities. The new phenomena as client criminalization and new forms of prostitution and regulation we encountered go beyond the common categories of current typologies. Secondly, there is the unceasing debate about the relationship between prostitution and trafficking. Some hold that prostitution leads to trafficking, therefore, the best way to end trafficking is to eliminate prostitution (Raymond, 2002). Others separate the two, arguing that prostitution is sex work and trafficking is a specific historical construction in periods of increasing migration and mobility (Doezema, 2010). Our findings show prostitution debates have always intermingled with debates about migration and the purity of the nation, and that policy is about boundary control, literally and symbolically, demarcating the national from the foreign, the victims from the whores and decent citizens from footloose migrants. Our findings show that sex workers are not accorded full citizens' rights and that state protection of women leads to more

policing and exertion of 'soft' power by social work professionals over sex workers. Migrant women are more vulnerable to exploitation and state control.

Implications for citizenship

From the outset of the research there has been awareness of the close relationship between the theme of bodily and sexual citizenship and the theme of intimate citizenship. This relationship has raised the question of how far bodily and sexual citizenship can be encompassed by the concept of intimate citizenship, as elaborated in the FEMCIT project. The latter is the freedom and ability to construct and live selfhood and close relationship according to personal choice, with recognition and support from state and society (Roseneil, 2010). As an analytical concept it is concerned with how states and politics shape intimate life through law and policy.

We do think that sexuality can be encompassed into intimate citizenship, but not the broader dynamics of body politics, in which bodily capacities are linked to the very definition of a sovereign subject and the construction of a nation and the democratic people as such. In liberal democracies citizens have the right to decide about the fate of their bodies, but as Bacchi and Beasley (2002) have argued, underlying this discourse, is a division between those who are regarded as the autonomous citizens who are in control, and those who are controlled by their bodies, traditionally a gendered dichotomy. This legitimises interference from the State –usually in the 'public interest' - with the integrity of the body of those who are classified as lacking control. This was the fundamental issue for women's movements when demanding abortion rights. We think that the concept of intimate citizenship does not challenge this basic assumption of States' interests in the procreative body. Intimate citizenship has broadened the space of the private versus the public sphere, but does not challenge the basic premise underlying the demarcation of those in control/not in control of their bodies. The premise of State interest makes it a separate area of contention and opens up the need for a distinctly bodily citizenship.

The need of distinguishing this area of contention is highlighted by a long tradition of the State interest in regulating bodies, notably the procreative body, as witnessed in population policies and bio-politics. The rise of the new bio-politics, which is remaking the understanding of the anatomical body and gives rise to new subjectivities, has led Rose (2007) to formulate the idea of a biological citizenship to challenge the power of knowledge to demarcate healthy and unhealthy bodies that challenges the demarcations between full and lesser citizens. This concept goes beyond the classic notion of the public and the private, on which intimate citizenship remains premised.

The way we are conceptualizing bodily citizenship questions whether prostitution should be part of it. Many feminists have argued that prostitution is violence against women and that states should protect (female) bodies against violence. Bodily citizenship rests on the notion of the inviolability of the body, both female and male. However, one can also argue that prostitution involves sexuality and can be encompassed by the concept of intimate citizenship. This reasoning is compatible with the position of the right to sexual self-determination, and intimate citizenship allows for choice and State recognition and support of sex workers. However, prostitution as sex work makes it an issue of economic citizenship, of not hindering access to or practicing it, and allows for labour legislation and regulation. Social rights also follow from defining prostitution as work, with rights to welfare state benefits and access to social insurance. Health care is also essential for sex workers' safety. Too often sex workers have had to undergo STD checks against their will under strict regulatory prostitution regimes. Full citizenship of sex worker requires access to medical care on a voluntary basis, alongside access to contraception and information about working safely. Prostitution is probably one of the best cases of the interrelatedness of the

dimensions of citizenship and for seeing them holistically. It is an open question whether allowing a woman to use her body for sexual services will allay the fear about wayward women, dangerous sexualities and chaos and social disorder engrained in the public discourses about prostitution as shown by our research.

Our findings also have implications for social citizenship. The availability of contraception, abortion facilities, and access to new reproductive technologies, as well their funding under a national health care system, are part of social citizenship. Without these, reproductive rights remain formal rights. The right to abortion by non-residents point to the need to relate it to multicultural citizenship, so that boundaries do not prescribe women's reproductive rights. Moreover, multicultural citizenship should also take the existence of undocumented sex workers into account, who run the risk of blackmail and exploitation.

INTIMATE CITIZENSHIP: WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS, CULTURAL DIVERSITY, PERSONAL LIVES AND POLICY (WP6)

WP6 leader: Sasha Roseneil, Birkbeck, University of London
WP6 researchers: Isabel Crowhurst, Tone Hellesund, Ana Cristina Santos, Mariya Stoilova, Jenny Bredull

Research Objectives

The aim of the research carried out within Work Package 6 of FEMCIT was to explore the influence of women's and other movements for gender and sexual equality and change on intimate citizenship, in the context of an increasingly diverse and multicultural Europe in which recent years have seen radical changes in personal and family life. Building on existing social scientific work on the transformation of intimacy and on the legal and policy regulation of intimate life across a range of welfare and gender regimes, we set out to develop the concept of intimate citizenship, both theoretically and through the production of new empirical understandings across four contrasting European nation-states.

The research was organized through three strands of empirical investigation.

Strand 1 focused on the changing cultural discourses about intimate life and intimate citizenship produced by movements for gender and sexual equality and change. It asked:
What have been the demands and actions of movements for gender and sexual equality and change in relation to intimate life? How have these demands and actions contributed to changing cultural discourses about intimate life?

Strand 2 focused on the legal and policy dimensions of intimate citizenship. It asked:
How are national social policies being reframed (or not) in relation to transformation in intimate life? How might social policy be transformed in relation to the findings of Strand 3?

Strand 3 focused on the study of lived experiences of intimate citizenship. It asked:
What are the experiences of transformation in intimate life of those most distanced from the male breadwinner model – i.e. those living outside conventional families? What is the relationship between the transformation of intimate life and the demands and actions of movements for gender and sexual equality and change? How does cultural diversity influence the transformation of intimate life, with reference to religion, "race"/ ethnicity, lifestyle, sexuality, nation and region?

Theoretical Framework

Intimate citizenship

Intimate citizenship is a relatively new concept that has not as yet been widely taken up either by policy makers, or by scholars of citizenship, beyond those who specialise in issues of gender and sexuality. A feminist concept in its explicit connection of intimate life and citizenship, it rests on the second wave feminist claim that "the personal is political", and asserts that "public" and "private" are always mutually entangled, and that there is no clear, real or ultimate distinction to be drawn between them. Our use of the term draws, in particular, on the work of British sociologist, Ken Plummer (1995, 2001, 2003), who suggests that the "intimate citizenship project" looks at "the decisions people have to make over the control (or not) over one's body, feelings, relationships; access (or not) to representations, relationships, public spaces, etc; and socially grounded choices (or not) about identities, gender experience; erotic experiences" (1995:151). It refers to the fact that, in the wake of the movements for gender and sexual equality and change, "our intimacies are now thoroughly contested" (2003:13). This means both that the realm of personal life and close relationships is an arena of public, politicized struggle to change law, policy, and culture, and that, as individuals, we face a "growing array of 'choices' in our personal life [...] concerning families, gender, bodies, identities and sexualities" (2003:4). This is a highly significant new way of thinking about citizenship that recognizes the importance of political, social and cultural transformations of recent decades.

As an analytical concept in our research, intimate citizenship is concerned both with the processes, practices and discourses through which states and polities regulate and shape intimate life through law and policy, and with the social relations between individuals and groups within civil society which regulate and shape intimate life.

Our approach to the study of intimate citizenship is transdisciplinary, drawing on sociological, political science, social policy, socio-legal and psychosocial studies literatures and ways of thinking. It has sought to take seriously time and place, histories and geographies, law and culture, policy and politics, subjectivities and the vicissitudes of psychic and relational life.

Intimate life, social change and women's movements

Our focus has been on *transformations in intimate citizenship* across Europe in the context of increasing cultural diversity. Social theorists have argued that we are living through a period of intense and profound social change in the sphere of intimacy, and identify the post 1960s women's movement as a key driver of this change (Castells, 1997; Giddens, 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995, Weeks, 2007). Processes of individualization and de-traditionalization, and increased self-reflexivity, fundamentally linked to feminist and sexual liberationist political projects, are seen as opening up new possibilities and expectations in personal relationships, and as radically transforming gender relations and family life.

Our starting point was the recognition that over the past forty years, across European populations as a whole, more and more people are spending longer periods of their lives outside the heterosexual, co-resident nuclear family unit (which became the dominant model during the twentieth century), as a result of the dramatic rise in divorce rates, the increase in the number of births outside marriage, the rise in the proportion of children being brought up by a lone parent, the growing proportion of households that are composed of one person, and the climbing proportion of women who are not having children (Roseneil and Budgeon, 2004). The change in the pace of migrations in Europe, which is producing increasing cultural diversity, has also

challenged the hegemony of the modern western European nuclear family, as different models of intimate and family life prevail in different ethnic groups (e.g. Mand, 2006a and b). And recent decades have seen more and more people living openly in same-sex relationships in many European countries. As a result of all of these changes, the heterosexual couple, and particularly the married, co-resident heterosexual couple with children, no longer occupies the centre-ground of European society, and cannot be taken for granted as its basic unit (Roseneil, 2000). The male-breadwinner/ female-homemaker model on which post second war citizenship in much of western Europe was based is, therefore, no longer applicable (Roseneil and Budgeon, 2004; Roseneil, 2006), and new conceptualizations of intimate citizenship and new welfare settlements are being constructed to respond to the increasing diversity and non-conventionality of the intimate lives of European citizens.

Whilst social theorists have linked the transformation of intimate life to the impact of women's movements, there had been very little empirical research which systematically examines the lived experience of intimacy in the wake of second wave feminism and the emergence of lesbian and gay movements. In particular, there was no comparative research on differences and similarities between European nation-states in this regard, and little research that explores the experiences of those from minoritized/ racialized groups. Moreover, the significant historical agency and impact granted to women's movements and feminists by Giddens (1992), Castells (1997), and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995) had been asserted from north-western European and North American assumptions, and had not been explicitly investigated either in these regions or beyond.

Methodology

The countries studied in WP6 were selected according to a "most different" comparative methodology to give a range of welfare regimes and both long standing and newer democracies with different histories of civil society/ state relations: Bulgaria – a "post-Communist" state; Norway – a "social democratic" Nordic "woman-friendly" (Hernes, 1987) welfare state; Portugal – a "southern European", Catholic, post-dictatorship state; and the UK – a north-western European "(neo-)liberal"/ "social investment" welfare state.[5]

We approached our empirical analysis through a focus on three spheres of intimate citizenship: the sphere of civil society action, the sphere of state activity, and the sphere of everyday life. For each sphere of intimate citizenship, we employed different research methods.

Strand 1

Our study of the sphere of civil society action around intimate citizenship involved an historical study of the claims and demands of women's movements and other movements for gender and sexual equality and change, in relation to intimate life and intimate citizenship. We defined the primary period under study as from 1968 to 2008, in accordance with FEMCIT's focus on "contemporary women's movements". However, we decided to extend this framework by providing an overview of intimate citizenship claims and demands in each country prior to the late 1960s, as contextual background. The research drew on a wide range of source materials, including scholarly texts by sociologists and historians, and where there was a lack of secondary literature, primary archival sources, including women's movement publications (magazines, newsletters), websites and online resources.

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[5] Due to resource limitations, it was not possible to include a fifth "conservative/ corporatist" welfare regime.

Strand 2

Our study of the sphere of state action around intimate citizenship involved a critical analysis of law and policy around intimate life in each of the four countries and at EU level. We drew on national government documents, legislation and legal codes, policy documents, reports and parliamentary debates, NGO reports and documents, media reports and debates, as well as scholarly publications, primarily in the fields of social policy, law, history, politics and sociology. We traced the main changes in intimate citizenship law and policy over the past forty years, and in some cases, over a longer timeframe, identifying a number of "lynchpin" debates and contestations in each country. A set of sensitizing questions was used to explore national specificities.[6]

Strand 3

Our socio-biographical research on the sphere of everyday practices of intimate citizenship focused on people who are living outside conventional western European couples and nuclear families. The decision was made to concentrate on the experiences of those who might be seen to be living at the cutting edge of processes of individualization and detraditionalization in intimate life, because some social theorists have understood these processes to be linked to the impact of movements for gender and sexual equality and change. We interviewed people who were aged between their late 20s and their mid50s (the age at which people are most expected to be settled in families and couples) who were one or more of the following: unpartnered; in a non-cohabiting (LAT) relationship; lesbian or gay, or in a same-sex relationship; living in shared housing. In each country we interviewed both members of the national majority population and from two different minoritized/ racialized groups.[7] We selected the minoritized/ racialized groups for each country with reference to the relative size and salience of the groups concerned in recent debates about intimate citizenship (Pakistani in Norway and the UK), with reference to the colonial histories of Portugal and the UK (Cape Verdeans; Pakistani), to include important national minority groups in Bulgaria and Norway (Turkish; Sami), and with a view to including minoritized groups that exist across two or more of our countries (Roma; Pakistani; Turkish).

In total, we interviewed 67 people, 41 women and 26 men (16 in Bulgaria and Portugal, 17 in Norway and 18 in the UK), in the capital cities of the four countries.[8] 40 people were unpartnered, 20 were lesbian/ gay/ bisexual, 21 were in a non-cohabiting relationship and 21 were living in shared housing. We interviewed 26 national/ ethnic majority people, and 41 members of minoritized/ racialized groups, weighting our sample away from the national/ ethnic majority.

We used the biographical-narrative interpretive method (Wengraf, 2007), which focuses on life histories, lived situations and narrative through the exploration of the relationship between the individual and her singular biographical experience and complex psychic life, and wider socio-cultural processes and contexts. We were interested in the relationship between the individual's biography and narrative of intimate life and intimate citizenship, and the claims and demands of, and transformations enacted by, movements for gender and sexual equality and change. We asked a single question which was designed to elicit narratives from our interviewees: "Can you tell me the story of your life and personal relationships, all the events and experiences that have been important to you...?". After the interviewee had exhausted what they had to say in response to

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[6] For the full list see Roseneil et al, 2008:14.

[7] Bulgaria: majority group + Roma + Turkish; Portugal: majority group + Cape Verdeans + Roma; Norway: majority group + Sami + Pakistanis; UK: majority group + Pakistanis + Turkish.

[8] For an extensive discussion of the methodology for Strand 3 see Roseneil et al (2010).

this question, we followed this up by asking for more detail about the intimate life events and experiences they had recounted.

The first stage of analysis of the data thus gathered involved a "twin track" process focusing first on the "lived life" (the biographical "facts" recounted in the interview), and then on the "told story" of intimate life (the narrative), and finally the relationship between the two. We chose 20 interviewees as "gold star" cases, to explore in more detail, and each of these had three data analysis workshops dedicated to them, involving the research team and a number of external invited researchers. The remaining 47 cases were subject to a less intensive, but similar, process of analysis, and case studies were written up of all 67 interviews.

The second stage of analysis involved working inductively across the whole set of individual case studies, immersed in the detail of the cases, and looking for patterns and themes, in order first, to analyse the narratives of intimate citizenship offered by each interviewee, and second, to analyse the overall impact of the movements on the experiences of intimate citizenship of each interviewee.

The third stage of analysis focused on specific sub-groups within the sample, and involved comparative analysis of the intimate citizenship experiences of the lesbian and gay interviewees, the people in non-cohabiting relationships, the unpartnered people, and experiences of confronting tradition across the whole sample. Papers are forthcoming on these topics.

Main Empirical Findings

Mapping the territory of movement claims around intimate citizenship

Our research has identified four interrelated areas of claim-making and intervention in the domain of intimate citizenship: partnership; reproductive rights and parenting; sexual identities and practices; gender and sexual violence. This chart shows the main issues encompassed within these four "areas" of intimate citizenship for which we investigated the claims and demands of movements for gender and sexual equality and change in each of our four countries.

Areas and Issues of Intimate Citizenship Claim-Making and Intervention
Partnership
Marriage
Divorce
Non-marital heterosexual relationships - cohabitation
Same-sex partnership recognition
Selfhood, financial autonomy, independence within relationships
Immigration and partnership, family reunion etc
Non-monogamy/ polyamory
Single people and solo living
'Care' and partnership
Reproductive Rights and Parenting
Contraception
Abortion
Assisted conception/ reproductive technologies
Motherhood, fatherhood, parenting
Adoption rights
Lesbians and reproduction and parenting
'Care' and parenting
Sexual Identities and Practices
Women's sexual pleasure
The regulation of sexual practice

Lesbianism, lesbian rights and recognition
Homosexuality and anti-discrimination
Pornography[9]
Prostitution
Sado-masochism
Sex education
Gender and Sexual Violence
Domestic/ intimate partner violence
Rape and sexual assault
Prostitution
Pornography
Trafficking
Homophobic and trans-phobic violence

Our research found significant historical differences between the four countries in terms of civil society activism around intimate citizenship. In Norway and the UK, on the one hand, there were significant "first wave" feminist demands around intimate citizenship issues (e.g. around divorce and marriage laws, child custody, male violence, prostitution, contraception, abortion, sex education and the social conditions faced by single women), but little comparable mobilization in Bulgaria and Portugal. In Norway and the UK, grassroots women's liberation movements made vigorous and wide-ranging demands in each of the four areas we have identified from the early 1970s onwards. In contrast to the more dynamic civil societies of Norway and the UK, the right and left wing authoritarian regimes in Portugal and Bulgaria meant that there was little social movement activism, and a relatively small urban middle class of the type that was the backbone of the new social movements in the 1970s and 80s in western Europe. In Bulgaria, there was little autonomous feminism in the 1970s and 1980s, and mostly only NGO-activism since the 1990s with a limited focus, largely on gender and sexual violence. In Portugal, there has been a weaker and later women's movement than Norway and the UK, due to the existence of the dictatorship, and this focused particularly on issues of reproductive rights, rather than the broad sweep of intimate citizenship issues.

In terms of lesbian and gay movements, in both Norway and the UK active campaigning for the rights of homosexuals (UK)/ homophiles (Norway) began in the 1950s, with the emergence of a more radical gay liberationist movement in the early 1970s, in the context of the New Left and the development of feminism. In both countries more open lesbian and gay sub-cultures developed during the 1970s, although lively urban "gay scenes" have been much stronger in the UK than in less urbanized Norway. The most significant difference between the two countries during the 1980s and 1990s was that the lesbian and gay movement, like the women's movement, was much closer to the state bureaucracy and to political power in Norway than in the UK, where the Thatcher government engaged in openly homophobic politics. In Portugal, lesbian and gay politics emerged in the early 1990s, and was highly effective in securing publicity, engagement with the political parties, and legal change. In Bulgaria, there has been a weaker, and only recent NGO-based lesbian and gay "movement", which has achieved much less visibility and political traction, and, as yet, little success.

Developing out of different historical contexts and political regimes, facing different political opportunity structures and gender and welfare regimes, movements have constructed agendas around intimate citizenship with differing emphases, and subject to different internal debates and conflicts. Our research notes that the salience of intimate citizenship claims has waxed and waned at different points in the course of the past forty years, and also that some of the issues (e.g. lesbianism, pornography, prostitution) have been keenly contested within national movements (on prostitution, see WP5), and within and between movements. At their most expansive and

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[9] Where an issue appears under more than one heading, it has been framed in alternative, and contested, ways within women's movements.

imaginative, particularly in Norway and the UK, the intimate citizenship interventions of movements have been about changing subjectivities and ways of thinking, as well as transforming everyday life practices and cultures, and the policies and laws that govern them. In constructing sets of claims and demands around intimate citizenship, *women's movements* have addressed, at different times, and in different ways, the state and civil society, individual men and men as a social group, as well as women's own deeply engrained patterns of thought and behaviour, their intimate selves and subjectivities. They have made the case that ways of living gender and sexuality in intimate life need to change in fundamental ways in order for full intimate citizenship to be achieved. Sharing a determination to combat the systematic privileging of men's interests and needs in both everyday intimate life and in the laws and policies that regulate intimate life, they have asserted the interests and needs of women as a diverse social group. They have struggled for equality, justice and self-determination for women in intimate life, whilst arguing that bodily sexual difference must be recognized and that autonomy is always relational.

In attempting to articulate the collective needs and experiences of women and sexual minorities as intimate subjects that hitherto had been understood as individual and private, women's and other social movements have foregrounded the ways in which relations and practices of gender and sexuality in personal life are central to human well-being, social justice and belonging: in other words, to citizenship.

Highlighting the inequalities and oppressions of intimate citizenship identified by movements

Our research suggests that, since the late 1960s, movements for gender and sexual equality and change have constructed an agenda around intimate citizenship which has problematized and politicized the gender inequalities and oppressions that impact upon the lives of women and those who live non-normative genders, sexualities and forms of intimacy. They have tried to end gender and sexual inequality, discrimination and oppression, and also, sometimes simultaneously, sometimes alternatively, they have sought to revalue and recognize difference and diversity in intimate life.

Our research highlights, for instance, how women's movements have made into political issues the interpersonal power relations, violence and negotiations that exist between intimate partners, and the laws and policies that regulate marriage, partnership and cohabitation, all of which have systematically favoured men's interests over women's. The radical wing of these movements have challenged the hegemony of marriage and the nuclear family, and have critiqued monogamy, as institutions which serve to control the expression and exploration of love and sexuality. Prominent elements in the lesbian and gay movement have demanded access to the institution of marriage for same-sex partners. Women's movements have claimed the most basic liberal right of bodily integrity, and have demanded that women should be able to exercise control over reproduction, to choose when and how to have children, and not to have to deal with childcare alone. They have argued that women should have access to sexual pleasure, that sex should not just be on men's terms, and they have struggled to liberate women from sexual shame, to enable the freer exploration of sexual desire. They have drawn attention to the pervasiveness of gender and sexual violence, to the ways it shapes, constrains, and sometimes destroys, the lives of women and children, and they have tried to reduce its prevalence and ameliorate its impacts. And in all of this, (in some places, at some times, more than others) they have challenged the ways in which socio-economic conditions and inequalities, heteronormativity, homophobia and anti-lesbianism, racism and processes of minoritization impact upon intimate lives.

Critically analyzing the legal and policy landscape in relation to intimate citizenship

Our analysis of state action regarding intimate citizenship identified and discussed 12 major areas of law and policy across the four countries: marriage; divorce; non-marital heterosexual relationships; the regulation of sexual practice; same-sex partnerships; parenting and reproduction; homosexuality and anti-discrimination legislation; immigration and intimate relationships; single people and solo living; (trans)gender recognition; care; tissue and organ donation.

Our comparative analysis suggests that law and social policy in all four countries have historically operated with highly constrained, heteronormative and gendered assumptions about the form and nature of legitimate intimate relationships, and that states have intervened in a wide range of ways to define the parameters of their citizens' intimate lives, and to promote procreation within married heterosexual couples, with women increasingly treated as individuals and policy defamilialized. It suggests that legal and policy support for gender inequalities in intimate life, and the legal and policy privileging of marriage as the "gold standard" intimate relationship, have declined in recent years, and that recognition of diversity in intimate life has increased.

Perhaps the most striking finding of our policy analysis is that there has been a radical shift in law and policy in relation to same-sex sexuality and relationships over the past four decades, with a dramatic intensification of change in the past 10 years. Whilst national differences remain important, there is a significant and increasing degree of convergence in law and policy around same-sex sexualities, which together constitutes a seismic shift in the landscape of heteronormativity in Europe. Between 1967 and 2007, male same-sex sexual practice has moved from being criminalized to being equal under the law in all four countries. In Norway this was a one-off process of equalization, whereas in the UK it was a long, much struggled for process, the subject of extensive grassroots campaigning and political lobbying to finally achieve an equal age of consent. In Bulgaria and Portugal, the influence of the EU was determining. We have also identified a strong emerging norm in Europe that lesbian, gay and bisexual people should be protected from discrimination. Norway rode ahead on this, and the other three countries were pressed into action by civil society lobbying and campaigning, but above all by EU directives, which have been internalized by states, so that they are all now, in slightly different ways, ahead of EU requirements. (Protection from homophobic violence and speech is less consistently normative across the four countries, although pressure is growing to strengthen criminal law in this area. Norway was, again, the first country to address homophobic utterances. The UK introduced legislation much later, but has by far the strongest protection and the most extensive monitoring by the police and courts. Portugal introduced legislation in 2007, and Bulgaria has no specific criminal law protection or policy initiatives in this area.) When it comes to the recognition of same-sex intimate relationships, Norway has now moved to full legal equality. The UK is close to this, but retains a distinctive legal identity for LG unions, which can be understood as the particular political compromise enacted in a country with a weaker commitment to equality, a more recent contested history around same-sex sexuality, and a stronger and more recent politics of "family values" than Norway. Portugal responded to the claims of its increasingly vocal LGBT movement by granting first (limited) equality for same-sex couples outside marriage, enacting thereby a compromise between progressive forces and the traditions of the Catholic church, and establishing a legal form (shared economy) which might be seen to be more radically queer in its potential to recognize non-dyadic, non-conjugal relationship of interdependence, care and support. But in 2010, same-sex marriage was agreed by Parliament. Bulgaria is now facing increasing demands for same-sex union recognition, but in the absence of EU directives it seems that such moves are some way off.

Despite the significant changes in law and policy that our analysis has highlighted, cohabiting, procreative coupledom remains the privileged and normative form of intimate life: the good intimate citizen is no longer necessarily married or heterosexual, but s/he *is* living in a long-term

stable, sexually exclusive, co-residential partnership, preferably with children. The needs and lives of those who are uncoupled, in non-cohabiting relationships, in non-monogamous relationships, and who live with people to whom they are not legally or biologically related are marginalized, if not totally ignored, by law and policy.

Analyzing cultures of intimate citizenship

The analysis of our in-depth biographical narrative interviews with people who are living outside conventional families and couples found that across all four countries interviewees were living their intimate lives in a wide-range of ways that are largely unrecognized by policy-makers. For instance, many are living in non-cohabiting relationships which are profoundly meaningful to them, and/ or sharing homes and lives with people to whom they are not biologically or sexually related. In so doing, interviewees were striving for both autonomy and the capacity for self-determination in their lives, *and* for intimate and social connection; they were seeking both stability *and* the possibility of change and dynamic movement in their intimate lives.

We also found that people are grappling with a set of powerful intersecting *norms* – or cultural rules – that construct and regulate intimate life, and that it can be risky to challenge. These four main norms about intimate life that our analysis has identified are: (i) the heterosexual norm – that a respectable/ responsible adult citizen should be heterosexual; (ii) the procreative norm – that a respectable/ responsible adult citizen should reproduce; (iii) the norm of gender differentiation and hierarchy (in many places, and historically, the patriarchal norm) – that a respectable/ responsible adult citizen should act in a distinctively male or female way, according to his/ her biological sex, respecting the cultural codes and valuations that attach to the two genders; and (iv) the couple norm – that a respectable/ responsible adult citizen should be coupled.

To take the last of these as an example, our data shows that living outside the conventions associated with coupledom can lead to a range of risks and sanctions, which are themselves related to a number of factors, including an individual's age, class, education, economic resources, family background, health and physical ability, and communal group membership.
The couple norm has changed in its exact formulation over time, and varies in strength and salience in different places, and amongst different social groups, but it can be seen as composed of a number of subsidiary expectations and injunctions, which include that: (the couple should be married (or plan to...); the couple should be sexually intimate; the couple should be based (at least initially) on romantic love; the couple should be emotionally intimate; the couple should cohabit (or plan to); the couple should be monogamous and sex should only be within the couple; the couple should be homogamous – (alike in age, class, race/ ethnicity, religion etc.)

Intimate citizenship norms, and their constituent expectations and injunctions, vary across time and place, and between social groups. Some interviewees were challenging these norms deliberately, explicitly, consciously and happily; others were doing so implicitly, accidently, not through their own choice, with regret and pain. Some found great pleasure and satisfaction in crafting new ways of living intimate life, embedding themselves in networks of friends, sharing homes with those they were not biologically or sexually related to, enjoying love and sexual relationships with partners with whom they were not "settled down", or who were different from themselves in ethnic background, religion or class, or were of the same-sex.
But others had faced a range of problems and sanctions, including exclusion from financial benefits and inheritance rights (e.g. for being unmarried), leading to poverty and social isolation, rejection by their families and communities (e.g. for failing to be coupled, or for their couple relationship ending, or for forming a couple relationship with someone from a different ethnic/

religious background), and sometimes leading to mental distress, consequent on feelings of shame or failure about not leading an acceptable intimate life.

Across the sample, there were numerous accounts of people experiencing a lack of respect and recognition of their intimate life choices and relationships. There were stories of violations of self-determination, personhood and autonomy, including being "stolen", being forced, coerced or unwillingly channelled into marriage, and of close escapes from being "trafficked". Numerous interviewees across all four countries, particularly but not exclusively women, talked about experiences of disruptions to their bodily integrity, about partner violence, and about rape and sexual assault, and about violence and abuse from parents and carers during their childhoods. Many people talked about disruptions to their psychological integrity and well-being, about depression and mental health problems which were experienced as a form of intimate pain and destabilized self. These experiences might be understood as constituting, or consequent upon, failures of intimate relating between two or more people, and/ or within communities and social groups in civil society, and were often exacerbated, or even supported, by the state. However, the very ability of our interviewees to speak of these experiences in interviewees where they were not explicitly asked about such experiences, might, in part at least, be attributable to the cultural transformation enacted by movements for gender and sexual equality and change which have begun to make these issues publicly speakable.

Overall Discussion

WP6 has contributed significantly to the overall objectives of FEMCIT by producing new understandings of how women's and other movements have articulated different and changing notions and practices of intimate citizenship, and offering assessments of the influence and impact of these movements on both particular areas of intimate citizenship law and policy, and on lived experiences of intimate citizenship. We have also contributed to developing and specifying the relatively new concept of intimate citizenship, empirically, as discussed above, theoretically and normatively.

Developing the analytic concept of "intimate citizenship regime"

On the basis of the comparative policy analysis and the comparative biographical analysis of WP 6, Roseneil (2010a) has proposed the new concept of *intimate citizenship regime* to refer to the empirical conditions of intimate citizenship that prevail in any particular nation state, at any particular time, to facilitate the theorization of intimate citizenship historically and comparatively. Intimate citizenship regimes develop historically, in relation to already existing law and policy (both national and increasingly transnational), in path dependent ways, and comprise the laws, policies and cultures that regulate and construct everyday lived practices of intimate life. Intimate citizenship regimes can be more or less familial or individualized; more or less patriarchal or gender equal; more or less heteronormative or sexuality equal; more or less racist/ ethnic majoritarian. They are constituted through an ever evolving cluster of norms (see above) that regulate intimacy and personal life. These norms operate through law and policy, and also culturally, in everyday life and social relationships, and they are woven into our "normative unconscious" (Layton, 2008). The strength and salience of these norms varies cross-culturally, and has changed historically, and intimate citizenship regimes are not absolutely hegemonic. There are always challenges to dominant norms, explicit and reflexive challenges by individuals and by social movements and other collective actors, and indeed states are never unified and entirely consistent in how they operationalize these norms. Individuals and groups also produce

implicit, non-reflexively self-aware challenges to these norms, often establishing, within particular national and local contexts, their own injunctions and expectations.

A comparative analysis of intimate citizenship regimes should trace the emergence and institutionalization of the dominant norms of intimate life in particular national contexts, and should investigate the challenges posed by social movements, and in everyday intimate practices, subjective experience and psychic life. Such a project has been started within FEMCIT.

Developing a normative conceptualization of full intimate citizenship

Roseneil (2010b) has developed a normative conceptualization of *full* intimate citizenship that is informed both by the claims and demands of women's and other movements for gender and sexual equality and change (as researched in WP6), and by developments in feminist and queer theory, which have challenged some of the identitarian certainties of movement politics. This notion seeks also to take into account the transformations in intimate life of recent decades that we have studied, and to address prevalent discourses and debates about intimate citizenship that are taking place in national and transnational civil society and politics. The aim in this is to think about intimate citizenship as a goal, an ideal, and an open-ended political, social and cultural project that might engage activists, researchers, theorists and policy-makers. Whilst intimate citizenship, like the notion of citizenship in general, has not been a concept indigenous to the movements studied, it has been developed through a deep engagement with the claims and demands of the movements, and as such might be of use in future civil society claims-making.

At the end of the FEMCIT project, Roseneil's provisional normative concept of *full intimate citizenship* is as follows:

> *Intimate citizenship refers to the (as yet unachieved) freedom and ability to construct and live selfhood (understood as encompassing psychic and embodied experience) and a wide range of close relationships – sexual/ love relationships, friendships, parental and kin relations, and household companionship and community – safely, securely and according to personal choice, in their dynamic, changing forms, with respect, recognition and support from state and civil society.*

This normative concept of full intimate citizenship challenges normative assumptions that privilege sexual/ love relationships and the couple form, and heterosexual relationships, over other forms of intimate attachments, as well as encompassing the multitude of demands for relational *freedom from* and *freedom to* that have been articulated by movements for gender and sexual equality and change. It is based on a recognition that (modern liberal) citizenship is always only granted to the individual, but has in various ways and to differing degrees, been constructed in and through intimate relationships (of marriage, consanguinity, cohabitation, for example) (Stevens, 1999). This normative notion of intimate citizenship is grounded in an explicit recognition that individual citizens are always in *intimate relation*; the autonomy and self-determination that should be central to intimate citizenship is always a relational-autonomy (MacKenzie and Stoljar, 2000), and selves are always relational (Roseneil, 2009). It is also rooted in a demand that the rights and responsibilities of intimate citizenship are non-discriminatory on the grounds of gender, sexuality and intimate relationship practice.

The interconnectedness of intimate citizenship and other dimensions of citizenship

The research carried out in WP6 highlights the fundamental interconnectedness of the dimensions of citizenship studied within FEMCIT.

Claims and demands of women's movements in the sphere of intimate citizenship first emerged alongside the struggle for *political citizenship* during first wave feminism, and the extent to which law and policy regarding intimate citizenship have been transformed to render explicit gender inequalities in intimate life increasingly illegal and normatively unacceptable rests first and foremost on women's enfranchisement and representation within democratic political systems. The fact that Norway has historically been in the forefront of processes of equalization and individualization/ defamilialization in relation to intimate citizenship is related to the relative strength of women's voice within the political system, and particularly in left-wing political parties. The fascist suppression of civil society in Portugal and the channelling of activism into the various organs of the Communist Party in Bulgaria are vital factors in explaining the late emergence and impact of intimate citizenship claims and demands in these two countries.

The relationship between *social citizenship* and intimate citizenship became clear in our policy analysis (Strand 2), in our study of movements claims and demands (Strand 1), and in our interview based analysis (Strand3) because many issues of intimate citizenship concern the provision of welfare benefits, the expansion of which to women as individuals has historically been related to the transformation of welfare states, particularly in relation to the move to individualize and defamilialize welfare provision (Lewis and Bennett, 2004). Individualized welfare benefits and social housing have been vital to many of our interviewees, as women who are living in households without access to a male partner's wage. Without an adequate welfare state safety net, the possibility of leaving violent, abusive or just emotionally unsatisfactory relationships is greatly impeded.

Economic citizenship is also intricately and inextricably linked to the possibility of full intimate citizenship. We found that without the ability to earn an independent, self-supporting wage, sufficient to meet an individual's needs, and those of children or other dependents, real personal choice in intimate life is impossible. At the level of individual "human capital", for those, particularly women, whose class and/ or cultural background do not enable them or have not prepared them to enter or operate in the labour market as well-qualified individual actors, or who are not able to enter sectors of the labour market that deliver a living wage, failures of economic and intimate citizenship are inextricably linked: dependency on a higher earning (male) partner becomes hard to avoid. At a structural level, those who encounter workplace racism, cultural prejudice, homophobia, disabling physical environments, and employment practices that do not accommodate those with caring responsibilities, particularly if they are coping with these alone, tend to receive lower wages and to occupy jobs with less flexibility, which also impacts on the possibility of choice in intimate life. That said, all of our women interviewees were living without access to a male partner's wage and were managing, despite considerable financial hardship in some cases, to maintain their economic independence and relational autonomy.

Full intimate citizenship is also predicated on the existence of *multicultural citizenship*, and the recognition of the rights and equal human worth of people from all ethnic and religious groups. Our policy analysis found that at national and transnational levels, there is a profound tension between attempts to recognize the needs of particular groups in relation to intimate citizenship (e.g. to protect the rights of women subject to forced marriages or in danger of "honour killings") and the mobilization of racist/ Islamophobic discourses that construct certain minority groups as particularly patriarchal and/ or homophobic. Women's movements and women's groups within black and minority ethnic movements are actively engaged both in seeking to develop protection and services for women experience intimate citizenship violations and in challenging the new forms of supposedly pro-gender and sexual equality racisms in post 9/11 Europe. Our research with people living outside conventional families found that in their narratives, experiences of prejudice, misrecognition and exclusion, oppressive norms of intimate citizenship and racism and

minoritization were complexly interrelated. Some of the greatest violations of intimate citizenship were the assaults on subjectivity and selfhood constituted by racist state practices such as the forced changing of names of members of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria at the end of the 1980s, and the widespread removal of Roma children from their parents and their sentencing to labour education schools under Communism.

The relationship between bodily citizenship and *intimate citizenship* is contested within FEMCIT. In WP6 we have operationalized intimate citizenship to include attention to *embodied* experiences, and the movement claims and demands and law and policy that relate to these. For instance we have researched claims and demands around reproductive rights and parenting (including contraception, abortion, assisted conception, motherhood, fatherhood, adoption rights etc), sexual practice (including prostitution, pornography etc), and gender and sexual violence, all of which speak of control of the body. Our policy analysis has attended to the regulation of bodies through law and policy relating to reproduction, (trans) gender recognition and the increasingly important bio-politics of tissue and organ donation. We consider these issues to all be matters of *intimate* citizenship, experienced as intimate and personal to the individual, and subject to regulation by the state through law and policy, and often normatively and materially, by civil society. Bodily integrity is fundamental to full intimate citizenship, and hence we would suggest that bodily citizenship can be understood as a necessary element of intimate citizenship.

GENDER-FAIR CITIZENSHIP IN A MULTICULTURAL EUROPE (WP7)

WP7 leader: Beatrice Halsaa, University of Oslo
WP7 researchers: Sevil Sümer, Sabine Strasser, Hilda Rømer Christensen, madeleine kennedy-macfoy and all FEMCIT partners

Objectives

Work Package 7 has a special role in FEMCIT. Whilst the empirical research carried out within each of the thematic Work Packages 1-6 concentrates on one dimension of citizenship, the main objective of Work Package 7 (WP7) has been to serve as an integration tool to ensure delivery of the core objectives of FEMCIT. The intellectual work of WP7 has, therefore, focused on:

- developing a new, critical, multidimensional understanding of contemporary gendered citizenship in the context of a multicultural and changing Europe;
- investigating the impacts and legacies of contemporary women's movements for gendered citizenship
- constructing the building blocks for a *New Architecture of Gender-Fair Citizenship in a Multicultural Europe*.

To this end, WP7 has overseen and guided the overall progress of the other Work Packages and the affiliated sub-projects, and it has explored FEMCIT's core concepts, identifying cross-WP findings, developing the notion of *multidimensional gender-fair citizenship* and producing policy recommendations.

Theoretical Contributions of FEMCIT

Throughout the life of the project, Work Package 7 has organized cross-FEMCIT discussions of our key concepts, most importantly: *women's movements, citizenship, impact* and *the multicultural/ multiculturalism.* These concepts have been subject to vigorous discussions during the regular FEMCIT project meetings and have been further theorized in a number of WP7 publications (e.g. Halsaa 2008, Working Paper Nr.3 available online). We have, through this, contributed to the development of a number of key concepts in contemporary social science research, thereby advancing the state-of-the art.

Women's movements

FEMCIT distinguishes between women's and feminist movements, but is concerned with both. While 'women's movements' is used for a broad variety of different forms of women's organizing, the term 'feminist movements' refers to collective activity that explicitly opposes and confronts dominant gendered power relations. Feminist movements are conceptualized as a subset of women's movements (McBride & Mazur 2009:33), and the extent to which a movement or an organisation can be considered to be feminist is an empirical question (Tripp & Ferree 2006; Bergman 2002; Halsaa, Nyhagen Predelli and Thun 2008). In addition to women's and feminist movements, we have included gender-mixed organisations in order to embrace ethnic minority women's collective agency and LGBT movements (in WP6), and 'women's organisations' without autonomy and self-directedness in order to cover women's mobilisation during non-democratic regimes. FEMCIT decided pragmatically that 'women's movements' would be a relatively open term in order to encompass women's organizing and collective agency under different political regimes (communism, dictatorship and liberal democracies), and across ethnic and national majority and minority populations. Thus, FEMCIT's empirical research on women's movements includes a variety of organisations: women-only organisations, gender-mixed organisations, autonomous and semi-autonomous women's groups. Whilst FEMCIT mostly focuses on national-level women's movements, transnational organizing and cross-border work are addressed in WPs 4, 5 and 6. The specificity of the experiences, mobilizing and claim-making of women from minoritized groups are also comprehensively addressed.

Working from the 'bottom-up', and taking the demands of women's movements as our central concern, FEMCIT has explored issues of social and political exclusion and inclusion, and of redistribution and recognition, in relation to our six dimensions of citizenship: political, social, economic, multicultural, bodily and intimate. Research within each dimension has been operationalized via the investigation of particular issues identified by women's movements: political representation; child care and parental leave; paid employment in general and emerging care labour markets, in particular; relations between majority and minority groups within women's movements; religious faith; violence against women; abortion and other reproductive rights; prostitution; and intimate life - partnership, parenting, sexual identities and practices.

Citizenship

Building on the contributions of feminist citizenship scholarship, FEMCIT operates with an expanded notion of *citizenship*. The term has been 'opened up (…) from a narrow political-legal definition to a broader and more inclusive cultural-social definition, and include(s) attempts to analyse the extent to which women in various communities exercise citizenship in this broader sense' (Nyhagen Predelli 2010:10). Citizenship is about rights, responsibilities and legal status, but it is also about participation, identity and belonging (Lister 2007; Abraham, et.al. 2010), and feelings and experiences of inclusion and exclusion in everyday life – 'lived citizenship'

(Koopmans, Statham, Giugni and Passy 2005; Lister 2006). Citizenship refers to full membership of a community (Marshall 1950), which in democratic communities implies that those who are addressed by a law should be its authors. This may take place directly or be mediated, but a precondition for democratic citizenship is agency – 'a conscious capacity to choose and act at a personal and political level' (Lister 2003:39). Drawing on these perspectives, FEMCIT addresses various practices of citizenship – those of women's movements as well as of ordinary citizens and politicians. The project encompasses relations between states and citizens, and relations between citizens, including relations within women's movements; i.e. vertical as well as horizontal relations (Siim 2000:4; Yuval-Davis 2008).

FEMCIT also critically addresses the ways in which citizenship is being re-invented as a political concept and reformulated in response to social change. We have been particularly attuned to multi-level processes of social change (Tastsoglou & Dobrowsky 2006; Yuval-Davis 1997), including the breaking up of traditions and norms from below, which takes place on a small-scale and is often unsystematic and hardly noticed (Holter 2007). So, FEMCIT's research on the legacy of women's movements has not been limited to formal institutional and political changes, but has included changes in civil society discourses, cultural practices and everyday life. This is empirically consistent with the assumed interventions of feminism, and social movements in general, around norms, discourses and social and cultural practices of everyday life. This broad approach also corresponds to the feminist movements' claim that 'the personal is political' (Phillips 1991), and the concern with establishing autonomous institutions and innovative cultural-discursive constructions of gender. The analysis of the micro-level of citizenship, alongside the more traditionally-researched meso- and macro-levels, points to our concern to build a more encompassing, complex theorization of citizenship.

Impact

We have used the notion of *impact* to denote women's movements' formative role in, and contributions to, social and political transformation within a social constructivist research tradition. 'Impact' is one notion among a number of similarly connoting, but differently nuanced, terms that we have also employed in our research, such as *incorporation, intervention innovation, interference, outcome, role, resonance, success and transformation*. Rather than understanding 'impact' in its positivist epistemological connotations of direct causality, we refer to the contextualized contributions of women's movements to multi-level transformations in citizenship. Women's movements are characterized by multiple and intertwined aims and strategies. FEMCIT's empirical exploration of women's movements' practices and interventions illuminate the political histories of specific issues, and sometimes how claims are interrelated. One type of outcome – for example, increased political representation – might have a bearing on others. Outcomes at one point in time influence later outcomes, such as the effects of equal pay policies or policies on parental leave on intimate citizenship (Staggenborg 1995:341).

To summarize, FEMCIT has explored the impacts and resonances of, and the transformations set in train by, women's movements at the micro, meso and macro levels of the social and political formation. FEMCIT has researched a range of actors – women's movement activists, politicians and 'ordinary women', and men – in order to assess the impact of the movements. FEMCIT has analysed the biographical narratives of various groups of people to indicate to what extent new norms and practices can be traced to the activities and demands of women's movements. We have mapped movements' claims and policy documents to establish the extent to which women's movement framings were adopted by governments and incorporated into policy documents. We have explored political opportunity structures to see how institutional and discursive changes have provided better or worse conditions for women's movement demands.

These approaches have been applied on three levels with respect to selected issues within the six dimensions of citizenship, in order to assess women's movements' impacts:

Levels of impact, actors and dimensions of citizenship

Levels of impact:	Dimensions of citizenship:					
	Political	Social	Economic	Multicultural	Bodily/sexual	Intimate
Micro level (individual actors)	Changes in norms and practices					
Meso level (collective actors in civil society)	Changes in mobilisation, internal relations/alliances and conflicts					
Macro level (political actors in government, state practices, transnational regimes)	Changes in hard and soft laws/policy initiatives					

Multiculturalism

FEMCIT has been carried out in the political context of the retreat of governments' and policymakers' commitment to *multiculturalism* in many European countries, in response to fears about militant Islam. Gender equality has emerged as one of the core issues related to the critique/ withdrawal of multiculturalism because of the perceived contested relations between rights to gender equality on the one hand, and ethnic and religious rights on the other. The "paradox of multicultural vulnerability" (Shachar 2001) refers to the risk that state accommodation of ethnic and religious group rights may simultaneously contribute to gender inequalities. It has been argued by some that multiculturalism may increase women's vulnerability because group rights may work to reinforce or safeguard men's control of women and their sexuality, tolerating some forms of patriarchal violence practiced in the name of the group's particular culture (Okin 2005).

The wider social context of FEMCIT is a situation in Europe where an increasing number of citizens have roots in, and links to, more than one nation-state, and where citizens, denizens (with legal and permanent residence status and normally full social and civil rights) (Lister 2003:48) and non-citizens alike have multiple, compound or intersectional differences to deal with (Danish Institute for Human Rights 2007).

There are two major and partly overlapping bodies of citizenship theory that address this new empirical reality: theories of *differentiated/multicultural* citizenship and theories of *transnational/cosmopolitan* citizenship. The first group deals with the tension between equality and diversity in multicultural societies, and includes discussion of particular (representation) rights for disadvantaged groups. FEMCIT's conceptualization of six dimensions of citizenship is a contribution to ongoing efforts to theorise differentiated citizenship, or to *intersectionalise* citizenship. The second group of citizenship theories grapples with issues of border-crossing and the inequalities this throws up, addressing tensions between universal human rights and nation-state based citizenship rights (Benhabib 2002, 2004, Fraser 2008). Justice, freedom and equality are the major aims of modern citizenship, the accommodation of group rights are claimed by differentiated citizenship/multicultural scholars (Kymlicka 1995), whilst the recognition of transnational relations are claimed by transnational/cosmopolitan scholars (Bauböck 1994; Strasser 2010). Both groups of theories challenge the modern concept of citizenship linked closely with the nation state.

FEMCIT's empirical approach is mainly nation-state oriented, but we have also been informed and inspired by theories of transnational citizenship. We have critically reread concepts from citizenship studies against the complex empirically reality of relations between nation-states and their citizens, and against the backdrop of diversifications of belonging and membership in multicultural societies. The attention to transnational processes in some of the work packages (WP4, WP5, WP6) and in the *Mainstreaming project*, signal the importance of transnational multilevel citizenship theorizing.

Minority groups and processes of minoritisation and racialisation

In our descriptions and discussions of relationships between various ethnic, national or racialized groups within women's movements, we have been concerned about the unintended consequences of applying particular categories for analytical purposes. We have sought to ensure that ethnic, national or racialized groups are not presented as 'natural' (Halsaa, Nyhagen Predelli and Thun 2008). We try to deal with this problem by employing various terms for descriptive purposes, such as (ethnic) 'majority' and (ethnic) 'minority' on the one hand, and explicitly political terms like 'majoritized', 'minoritized', 'black', on the other. We have been inspired by Yasmin Gunaratnam's argument, in her book *Researching 'Race' and Ethnicity* (Gunaratnam, 2003) which is based on a social constructivist approach to the use of terms such as 'minority' and 'majority'. She uses 'ethnic minority' with quotation marks because she sees the label and its connotations as socially constructed and not merely descriptive. Gunaratnam also prefers to use 'minoritized' as it signals 'the active processes of racialization that are at work in designating certain attributes of groups in particular contexts as being in a 'minority'' (ibid.: 17).

Whilst there is no generally accepted legal (or other) definition of 'minority', a series of core elements is usually referred to in academic and policy debates with the use of this term. 'Minority' refers to stable ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics, which are different from the majority of the population, and signals a numerical minority position, non-dominance and a separate cultural identity, which the minority itself wants to preserve (Henrard 2000, p. 30-48, in Freidenvall 2010). Several distinctive conceptions of minority can be distinguished in international legal frameworks. For instance, while the United Nations focuses on 'ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities', the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) talk about 'national minorities'. In many EU documents, 'ethnic minorities' seems to be the preferred term (Henrard 2000).

In FEMCIT, the word `minority' refers to: groups that are identified as minority groups in national constitutions and/or in minority groups' own organisational platforms; or groups that are minorities according to the Henrad criteria listed above. 'Minority women' refers to women in these groups. 'Minoritized' and 'majoritized' refer to the relational character of minority and majority women, being placed in an inferior/superior and marginalized/privileged positions in relation to each other, and to men in both groups. How groups of people are labelled is to a great extent determined by existing power relations and power differentials between different groups. By giving voice to minority women, the position and experience of being minoritized is challenged and made subject to change (Freidenvall 2010).

Intersectionality

One of the major contributions of FEMCIT has been to theorize and empirically explore the *intersection* of social categories and inequalities in relation to citizenship. The intersections of gender and ethnicity have been explored comprehensively in all work packages and operate as a unifying theme across the citizenship dimensions, while sexuality, class and religion also occupy prominent positions. FEMCIT theorizes women, gender and all social categories as relational, historical and contextual. Our empirical research provides thick descriptions of processes of majoritization and minoritization. It offers rich evidence of how individual women and groups of women can (sometimes simultaneously) occupy dominant and subordinate positions. In order to explore contradictions not only between categories, but also differences within categories, the project encompasses a large diversity of groups, thereby contributing to Anthias's goal:

> If justice is contextual, in any society the more voices heard and represented the greater the safeguard against violations and exclusions although the issues of competing claims remains (Anthias 2002: 285).

Feminists of colour, socialist feminists, and lesbian and queer feminists have, in various ways, critiqued white, middle class, heterosexual and Western feminism. Since the 1970s tensions around differences between women have been a major concern of feminist politics and theory (Mohanty 1988; 2002; Crenshaw 1989, 1994), and these debates have fed into feminist theoretical work on citizenship (Anthias 2002; Yuval-Davis 2006). Drawing on this work, FEMCIT acknowledges that whilst particular identity categories can be represented separately for scientific purposes, in lived practice these categories are always intertwined and mutually constitutive. FEMCIT has sought to work 'intersectionally' to avoid the reification of categories and to represent interconnections as well as hierarchies between the respective categories.

Gender-fair citizenship

FEMCIT set out to contribute to the development of a new architecture for more *gender-fair citizenship*. We suggest that the struggle to achieve full citizenship – understood as a complex involving law and policy, the public and the personal, collective and individual practices of everyday life, as well as experiences of identity and belonging – is central to the achievement of gender-fairness in Europe. The 'architecture' of our project, as epitomized in Figure 1, with its six pillars (dimensions) depicts our aim of identifying and theorizing the important building blocks, and sketching a new structure, of multidimensional citizenship as a system of rights and duties, participation and belonging in each dimension.

The notion of 'gender-fair' citizenship is a FEMCIT term that refers to the Norwegian concept 'kjønnsrettferdighet' (Holst 2002; Halsaa, Sümer D7.6), and relates to the more established notions of 'justice as fairness' (Rawls 1971, 2001), 'justice as redistribution, recognition and

participation' or 'participatory parity' (Fraser 2003, 2008), justice as human rights and justice as capabilities (Nussbaum 2000, 2007). For FEMCIT, the point is not to enter into sophisticated debates in political philosophy and normative feminist theory. Rather than exploring different notions of justice theoretically, and applying top-down or deductive approaches to justice, such as the capability approach and the human rights approach, FEMCIT relies on a bottom-up approach to gender-fair citizenship. We take a grounded approach, based on comprehensive and meticulous empirical research into the claims and contributions of women's movements (Halsaa 2008). This approach is inspired by feminist scholars like Iris Young (2000), departing from women's movements' definitions of needs and interests, and listening to women's personal experiences and individual and collective strategies to combat discrimination. FEMCIT uses the notion of 'gender-fair' not in opposition to terms like 'gender justice' or 'justice', but in an effort to provide a contrast to the taken-for-granted embracing , at least at the level of rhetoric, of 'gender equality' in contemporary Europe. The point is to problematize and disturb the norm of 'gender equality'. FEMCIT's exploration of women's movements emphasises the political nature of 'gender equality', and attempts to repoliticize 'gender equality' in multicultural Europe.

The question of gender-fairness plays out in the contested relations between the legal and the moral, the subjective and the objective, equality and difference. Notions such as 'gender-fair' and 'gender justice' signal that the criteria for assessing (gender) equality are not fixed in advance, but rather are historically contextual and socially constructed and contested. The meaning-making processes which define and assess the 'quality' of society are always open for (re)negotiation, and are a matter of political struggle as well as theoretical debate.

The empirical research in WPs 1 to 7 shows how women are remaking citizenship and establishes a pool of new knowledge from which we can:
- *outline major deficiencies* in relation to visions of gender equality,
- *identify gaps* between women's movements' demands and norms and practices in social and political institutions, and
- suggest *knowledge-based policy initiatives*.

The ambition is thus to expose fulfilled, unfulfilled and partially-fulfilled women's movements' demands, and thus to engage in concrete utopian thinking about gender-fair citizenship, based on empirical and theoretical research.

The discussions within FEMCIT of our core concepts are spelled out in greater depth in various WP7 Deliverables (e.g. Halsaa 2009; Halsaa & Sümer 2010).

Epistemological Approaches and Methodological Tools

The implications of FEMCIT's broad approach to women's movements and of our inclusive notion of citizenship are reflected epistemologically methodologically in our plural research designs, which are aimed at context sensitivity and thick description (D 7.1, D 7.2). The empirically-grounded FEMCIT projects apply a historical and context sensitive delineation of the claims and contributions of women's movements to policies, notions and practices of citizenship. A number of epistemological approaches and methodological tools have been employed and development within the research.

Critical relativism

Within the context of feminist efforts to address the 'multicultural paradox' (Shachar 2001), FEMCIT employs the notion of *critical relativism*. Sabine Strasser (2009) suggests critical relativism

as a tool to reconcile the shared concerns of women and minorities about equality and protection from discrimination. The aim of critical relativism is to foster and practice a combined awareness of the needs of those who are affected by 'intersectional vulnerability', or multidimensional discrimination, such as women and ethnic minorities. While older versions of cultural relativism stand accused of provoking a non-interventionist stance by many liberal scholars, activists and politicians, critical relativism is a tool intended to address intersectionality and conventional cultural relativism. When successful, critical relativism opens up a debate on contested cultural differences without stepping back from the call for states to accommodate and fund minority organizing (Strasser 2009: 5). One FEMCIT suggestion, therefore, is a reformulation of conventional cultural relativism to critical relativism in order to better understand our multicultural reality from within.

Perspectival dualism

We suggest that Nancy Fraser's concern with dilemmas of justice with respect to redistribution and recognition, and her argument that remedies for the one may influence the other, are crucial when relating FEMCIT findings to the formulation of policy input. Fraser's 'perspectival dualism' approach is a way of dealing with the complicated intertwinement of distribution and recognition. A rephrasing of Fraser to accommodate FEMCIT's concerns is: always ask if political initiatives are gender-fair, regardless of where they are to be institutionally located. Ask about gender-fairness (or justice) from two analytically distinct normative vantage points: do the initiatives in question ensure both the objective and the intersubjective conditions of participatory parity? (Fraser 2003: 56). This means that political initiatives to improve one of FEMCIT's dimensions of citizenship must always be assessed with respect to intended and unintended consequences for the other five dimensions. Changes in rights and access for some groups may undermine the rights and access of other groups, and have to be considered in their entirety.

A majority-inclusive approach

FEMCIT research applies a 'majority-inclusive approach', following from the acknowledgement of majority women *as* majority women, and from the notion of majorities and minorities as always constituted in relation to each other. The construction of *majority-minority* takes place in ongoing meaning-making processes, during which some people/groups are marked while others appear as unmarked and thus as neutral (Berg et.al. 2010:22). This implies, for instance, asking the same questions to majority and ethnic minority women, and asking questions that otherwise would not have been asked. As a consequence, new knowledge of the 'native' majority population is produced in addition to knowledge about minoritized groups.

Memory work

WP 7 introduced 'memory work' as a methodological tool for self-reflexivity with respect to majoritizing and minoritizing processes (Berg 2008; Gunaratnam 2003), and in order to raise awareness of power relations within the FEMCIT research teams. The immediate reason was the contradiction between the research focus on multicultural, ethnic, racialization and minority-majority issues on the one hand, and the predominantly 'white' composition of the research team on the other. Memory work is a method which can dig out various 'taken for granted' aspects of our own social positions, and make them objects for further examination. FEMCIT applied the tool mainly to address whiteness, racialization and ethnicity in the project (See Halsaa and Berg, 2008). Memory work resembles 'transversal politics' (Yuval-Davis 1997), which is based on the dynamic and dialogical principles of 'rooting and shifting', but is more developed as a practical tool.

FEMCIT's point of departure was, as previously outlined, that social categories such as 'race' and 'ethnicity' are the outcome of social and historical processes and are embedded in power relations. Therefore, responsible researchers need to move beyond simply naming our own position and make efforts to be reflexive in relation to the categories. There is always the danger of reproducing the very categories we want to disturb, and memory work was introduced in an effort to avoid this reproduction. In order to find empirical approaches to 'race' and ethnicity that are not reductionist and reifying, we followed Gunaratnam's suggestion to work both within and against the categories of race and ethnicity, and to connect theory to lived experience (Gunaratnam 2003). She suggests – very much in line with the *critical relativism* discussed previously - a:

> radical, reflexive analytic doubleness when we want to be able to address the historical particularity and the plurality of racialized and ethnicized difference, at the same time as interrupting binary systems of knowledge production (ibid. p. 22).

Memory work is a tool for addressing our own racialized experiences of privilege or discrimination, and for analyzing relations of power and privilege. FEMCIT practiced memory work in several ways, based on assignments related to whiteness/racialization and privilege. We asked ourselves, if 'whiteness' is a social construction, what does it mean to be constructed as white and how do we deal with 'whiteness' as researchers, regardless of our own colour?

This form of reflexivity has helped us to see how race, ethnicity and other categories influence our research, from the framing of research questions to the selection of concepts, encounters with respondents, and how the categories influence our analysis and policy advice. This increased our sensitivity towards our own positionalities. But we also found that analysing memories is a time-consuming and arduous task, and we noted the importance of having sufficient time. Positioning work is a hard work, and approaching memories as 'data' and not as 'wrong' or 'right' memories to be assessed normatively, is a challenge. It is easy to fall into the 'guilt trip' of illuminating memories of personal failures.

Remaking Citizenship: The FEMCIT Anthology

Throughout the course of the project, WP7 managed practical strategies of *cross-reading* and *core concept debate* to promote the integration of the six analytical citizenship dimensions, and to link FEMCIT findings to ongoing theoretical and political debates. This work served as preparation for our forthcoming integrative book *Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: women's movements, gender and diversity* (eds. Halsaa, Roseneil & Sümer; Palgrave Macmillan 2012).

The FEMCIT anthology explores the relationship between women's movements, diversity and citizenship in multicultural Europe over the last forty years. Through comprehensive analyses of lived experiences and claims making, the book aims to contribute new understandings of the legacy of women's movements and new theorizing of concepts such as citizenship and gender-fairness in the context of a diversified, multicultural Europe.

The book has two distinctive features: an extensive comparative analysis of the legacy of feminist and women's movements across national boundaries; and an exploration of six dimensions of citizenship. The book offers a conceptual exploration and theorization of some typically under-researched aspects of citizenship, by adding multicultural, bodily and intimate citizenship to the more widely recognized political, social and economic dimensions, in the light of multicultural

realities. The book takes multicultural Europe seriously and revisits the multiculturalism-feminism debates through the intersectional approaches to gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity that underpin the chapters. The book also reflects on the cultural and political impacts on citizenship that might be attributed to the important interventions made by women's movements in the countries studied. The table of contents is as follows:

Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: women's movements, gender and diversity

Chapter 1 Introduction (B. Halsaa, S. Roseneil, S. Sümer)

Chapter 2 Rethinking Citizenship: critical encounters with feminist, multicultural and transnational concepts of citizenship (Sabine Strasser)

Chapter 3 Remaking Political Citizenship in Multicultural Europe (M. Threlfall, D. Dahlerup. L. Freidenvall. M. Fuszara)

Chapter 4 Remaking Social Citizenship in Multicultural Europe (S. Bergman, H. Haskova, K. Pulkrabkova, M. Rantalaiho, C. Valiente)

Chapter 5 Remaking Economic Citizenship in Multicultural Europe (N. Le Feuvre, M. Metso, A. Krajewska, R. Ervik)

Chapter 6 Remaking Multicultural Citizenship (L. Nyhagen Predelli, B. Halsaa, C. Thun)

Chapter 7 Remaking Bodily Citizenship in Multicultural Europe (J. Outshoorn, T. Kulawik, R. Dudová, A. Prata)

Chapter 8 Remaking Intimate Citizenship in Multicultural Europe (S. Roseneil, T. Hellesund, I. Crowhurst, A. C. Santos, M. Stoilova.)

Chapter 9 Framing the Multicultural: Minority and Immigrant Women's Organisations in Brussels, London and Oslo (m. kennedy-macfoy)

Chapter 10 Remaking Citizenship: problems and prospects (Halsaa, Roseneil & Sümer)

The anthology will be finalized and submitted to the publisher, Palgrave Macmillan, in June 2011.

Projects affiliated with WP 7

The *Gender Mainstreaming project*, carried out by Partner 14 Hilda Rømer Christensen, and Sabine Strasser's (Partner 15) theoretical work on conceptualisations of the multicultural, citizenship and feminist theory have been part of WP7. In addition, madeleine kennedy-macfoy's postdoctoral research project *Framing the Multicultural: Minoritised and Immigrant Women's Organisations* has been carried out in the context of WP7. This project is co-funded by the Norwegian Research Council, and will be completed in August 2011.

The Gender Mainstreaming project:

The purpose of the FEMCIT Gender Mainstreaming project is to explore how gender mainstreaming and multiple inequalities respectively have been brought into the political agenda, and to discuss and improve existing models and approaches to gender mainstreaming, see

Mainstreaming Gender, Diversity and Citizenship: Concepts and Methodologies (Working Paper No. 4, WP7). The focus of the project is on the dynamic, innovative and contested processes between NGOs - mainly women's movement related - and political and administrative institutions at European and selected national levels. The research aimed to develop the knowledge base of the mainstreaming strategy that has been called for by feminists and women's policy agencies. This includes knowledge of how gender mainstreaming is defined and negotiated in a range of institutions in relation to political issues, as well as the development of new theoretical and practical tools to enhance the intersection of gender, ethnicity and social class. With this background, the project provides a study of mainstreaming and the ways in which it interfaces with gender-fair citizenship (Christensen 2011).

The empirical material for the exploration of national practices of gender mainstreaming is based on a combination of public reports, interviews with national gender equality ministries or departments and NGOs in five European countries, selected as examples of different gender regimes: Nordic (Norway), Continental (Germany, Austria), Southern Europe (Spain) and Eastern Europe (Poland). In addition, interviews with EU experts and EU level NGOs and participant observation at key conferences were conducted as well as a quantitative survey. A critical discourse analysis approach is applied.

The project develops and discusses three questions:

- How is gender mainstreaming articulated by EU and governmental institutions and by women's NGOs?
- How is gender understood, and what are the practical implications of this understanding?
- How is gender mainstreaming linked with the call for intersectional analysis and diversity mainstreaming?

Gender mainstreaming started as a policy strategy to make mainstream public administration and policymaking communities address gender and recognize the importance of including gender and equality in their work. It aims at gender fairness or gender equality by challenging patriarchal and genderless norms in mainstream thinking and policymaking and mobilizing various actors in public institutions and civil society. This is a strategy that is congruent with the ideal of gender-fair citizenship for all. Gender mainstreaming can be seen as a late 20th century political methodology still able to address gender and other inequalities, and to intervene in the complicated governance structures of the 21st century. Nevertheless the strategy of mainstreaming gender has also developed into two strands, one more associated with public administration and policy experts, the other a more 'democratic' version involving the participation of non-institutional actors and civil society, which is far more complex in practice. As a result, there have been both division and convergence in mainstreaming gender as a practice, with the development of tactical demands for the adoption of specific indicators by a policy community sometimes referred to as the "velvet triangle" (Woodward 2003) of (actors in) public administrations, social movements and research institutions. It should also be noted that gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy remains foreign to some women's movements and is poorly developed in a number of countries.

The gender mainstreaming research suggests that a broader approach to gender mainstreaming could be adopted to promote gender-fair citizenship: this is labelled *diversity mainstreaming* by some scholars (Hankivsky 2005). It argues that an awareness of diversity, requiring an intersectional approach to understanding specific problems that cross-cut gender and ethnicity (to name but one) might transform gender mainstreaming as a tool, and even complicate the power dynamics within institutions and public administration.

The gender mainstreaming study contributes to FEMCIT's engagement with the institutional EU level and shows that within the EU, the establishment and extension of new partnerships between key agents in the making of equality policies, political institutions and scholars have been important. It here seems as if the former division of work between women's movements, political institutions and knowledge producers has been blurred and relocated along with the implementation and diversification of gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming has produced several, seemingly contradictory outcomes:

- reinforcing the bonds between state/EU machineries and key women's movements such as the European Women's Lobby, and

- at the same time, contributing to blurring the boundaries and power relations between the most central institutions and movements in equality policies and opening up the inclusion of more axes of discrimination (e.g. ethnic minorities).

- opening up to criticism (neo-liberal) economic policies, and

- at the same time also contributing to the neo-liberal compartmentalisation and project-making of feminist politics (e.g. as demonstrated in the working methods of the European Institute for Gender Equality).

Nonetheless, there is still a need for the inclusion of critical and diverse voices in the gender mainstreaming reporting systems. Governmental units have expanded and been consolidated over the last two decades due to the requirements of gender mainstreaming, while national women's non-governmental organisations have a rather weak representation in the current decision-making and reporting systems. The gender mainstreaming analysis accordingly recommends securing the critical and diverse voices of women's movements and civil society in future reporting mechanisms, which requires both knowledge and resources.

'Framing the Multicultural: Minoritized and Immigrant Women's Organisations' project

kennedy-macfoy's research focuses on migrant and minoritized women's organisations in three European cities: Brussels, London and Oslo. The research asks which dimensions of gendered citizenship have been most salient within the work of these organisations, and considers their contributions to the efforts of women's and feminists movements' to remake gendered citizenship in European contexts. The research investigates how migrant and minoritized women's organisations address different/differentiated inflections of gendered citizenship in their practices and political activities, given their marginal positions in multicultural countries in Europe.

Migrant women in this study were women who had themselves left their countries to migrate to Brussels, London or Oslo. Minoritized women were women whose parents or grandparents had migrated. All of the organisations researched were established *by*, and in the first instance *for* migrant women living in these countries. However, they were also aimed at the female descendants of such migrants, who are referred to here as 'minoritized' women (Gunaratnam, 2003), since they are not themselves migrants, but Belgian, British and Norwegian citizens.

Findings from kennedy-macfoy's research reinforce the importance of contextual specificities, which supports similar findings from other FEMCIT research. In particular, kennedy-macfoy's research suggests that the specificities of the three locations in her study (Brussels, London and Oslo), defined the realms of possibility for migrant and minoritized women's organising. These include wide variations in the national histories of colonialisms and postcolonialisms, and the related ebb and flow of migrations and movements of people between and within

colonial/postcolonial centres and peripheries (Goldberg, 2006). Secondly, each context is characterised by particular types of political structures and opportunities, which have a direct impact on the types of organisations that it is possible to establish and sustain (see Nyhagen Predelli *et al*, 2008). In sum, migrant and minoritized women's organisations exist to fulfil self-identified needs; they also exist because certain historical, social and political conditions are in place to make that existence possible, if not always easily sustainable. Accordingly, this project's main findings can be summarised as follows:

- The usefulness of the concept of citizenship (as it is used and understood by feminist theorisers) to migrant and minoritized women's organisations at the 'grass roots' level varies depending on the national context. In the Brussels case-study, citizenship was the framework for the organisation's work because citizenship is a key social and political framework in Belgium generally, which is reflected in the requirements of funders, and in the way the organisation frames its work. As one of the interviewees put it: 'Citizenship is a notion that comes both 'from the field' and from our funders' requirements, with all of its limitations.' In contrast, the organisations researched in London and Oslo did not have much use for the concept of citizenship, because they frame their work more explicitly in terms of human rights.

- Migrant and minoritized women's organisations in the three contexts were established precisely because issues pertaining to various aspects of migrant and minoritized women's citizenship are differently inflected in very specific ways. In London and Oslo, the organisations worked on sexual/bodily and intimate citizenship, but focused on aspects that exclusively or disproportionately affected migrant or minoritized women, namely, female genital mutilation and forced marriage. In Brussels, the organisation's work on social, economic and political citizenship reflected the women's status as migrants who more often than not lacked the relevant language skills, knowledge about the local or national politics of their new contexts, to be able to actively participate during elections, and understanding of how to maximise their economic possibilities.

- The transnational/diaspora dimension is important insofar as it: a) defines the lived experiences of migrant and minoritized women, since they are located in one national context whilst maintaining strong links to one or multiple other national contexts or local 'home' communities; and b) all of the organisations researched have some transnational dimension in the content of their work, and transnationality frames all of the issues on which the organisations work.

The contributions of WP7 to the overall problem addressed in FEMCIT – to provide a new, critical, multidimensional understanding of contemporary citizenship, and to explore the legacy of contemporary women's movements - are outlined further in Section III.

Section III Conclusion: Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe

New Knowledge and Conceptualizations

FEMCIT has developed a significant body of new knowledge about citizenship, women's movements and the multicultural. Our wide-ranging comparative focus, and the dynamics of the movement-citizenship-multicultural triangle with which we have been concerned, have demanded new conceptualizations.

Explorations of women's movements in multicultural Europe have required conceptual discussions of 'women's movements' and 'feminist movements'. FEMCIT has established that currently used definitions of these movements within feminist scholarship tend to function in exclusionary ways through overlooking mobilization and activism by ethnic minority women that often happen outside the 'usual' spaces for activism within majority women's movements. Ethnic minority, black, or white minority women's organising has been the object of increasing academic interest since the late 1990s (Agnew 1996; Breines 2006; Lloyd 2002; Nyhagen Predelli 2003; Roth 2004; Srivastava 2005; Sudbury 1998; Williams 2003). Research has focused on minority women's organizing in its own right, but few scholars have focused the relations between minority and the majority women's organisations as we have.

Investigations of citizenship in relation to the claims and practices of women's movements have demanded a conceptual focus on citizenship as participation, belonging and everyday practices, in addition to rights and duties, and a careful consideration of the multi-dimensionality of citizenship. FEMCIT suggests that full, gender-fair citizenship must involve the six dimensions of citizenship that we have studied.

We argue that minoritized and majority women's movements are, in and of themselves, examples of citizenship as practice. They are conscious actors, whether their aim is to resist and redefine ascribed identities, to provide shelters or establish social communities, or to claim redistribution of resources and rights. Conceptualizing citizenship as practice is in line with existing feminist theories of citizenship, but FEMCIT's unique contributions have been in terms of empirically grounded and operationalised studies of citizenship as practice and belonging in civil society and in everyday life.

Researching women's movements' impact on notions and practices of citizenship in multicultural Europe has required conceptualizations of majoritizing and minoritizing processes, not just in society at large but also within women's movements. FEMCIT has shed new light on, for instance, the organizing and practices of women in the Sami indigenous population in the Nordic region of Europe, of women within the Roma national minorities in Finland, Spain and the Czech Republic. The focus on the multicultural has influenced project designs, and methods such as our 'majority-inclusive approach', which addresses the mutual and relational construction of the majority and minorities (Staunæs 2003: 102; Berg et.al. 2011: 22). Thus, FEMCIT has elucidated majority-minority relations with respect, for example, to the ethnicization of elderly care, in our work on economic citizenship.

FEMCIT's empirically grounded projects have produced a number of exciting results such as the development of the concepts *intimate citizenship regimes*, *intersectional representation* and *recognition work*, to mention three:

Intimate citizenship regimes: from WP6, Roseneil (2010) has proposed the notion of intimate citizenship regimes to refer to the empirical conditions of intimate citizenship that prevail in any particular nation state, at any particular time, and suggests that intimate citizenship regimes develop historically, in relation to already existing law and policy (both national, and increasingly, transnational) , and comprise the laws, policies and cultures that regulate and construct everyday lived practices of intimate life. She suggests that intimate citizenship regimes can be more or less familial or individualized; more or less patriarchal or gender equal; more or less heteronormative or sexuality-equal; more or less racist/ ethnic majoritarian or multicultural.

Intersectionalizing representation: from WP1, Freidenvall has suggested the notion of intersectionalizing representation to refer to an intersectional approach to the study of the under-representation of women and minorities in politics. This is needed in order to focus on the political exclusion experienced by many ethnic minority women, and the double discrimination, or the different, new and often mutated outcome of this double discrimination, for a multitude of women who are positioned at the bottom of the gender hierarchy. Without an intersectional perspective, gender fair representation risks being an issue of majority women only.

Recognition work: from WP4, Halsaa and Thun have suggested the notion of recognition work to refer to the efforts of ethnic minority women to be recognized as equal, reasonable and rational citizens. Recognition is not just an expression of respect and acceptance by someone to others, something ascribed by others; it is also a matter of doing or of activity, and as such it is a continuous and reflexive.

FEMCIT research has many striking and important empirical findings about the role and impact of women's movements on the remaking of citizenship. For instance, these concern:

- *the strategic use of language in claim-making:* women's movements have strategically used terms such as autonomy and self-determination, according to the resonance of these ideals within national political opportunity structures, rather than the language of citizenship. For instance, abortion was framed as a social justice and public health issue in Portugal, whilst the movement in the Netherlands referred to autonomy and control, framing the issue against state intervention (WP5).
- *the salience of political legacies in public debates about women's movement issu*es: in countries with eugenicist traditions, such as Sweden and the Czech Republic, medical knowledge played an important role in the abortion debates. In the Czech Republic, with no independent women's movement prior to 1989 and not much feminist organizing afterwards, the abortion on demand of 1987 was driven by new medical techniques and psychological knowledge. (WP5)
- *the transformation of intimate citizenship regimes:* women's and other movements for gender and sexual equality and change have succeeded in putting issues of intimate citizenship firmly on political and cultural agendas across Europe, contributing significantly to the transformation of intimate citizenship regimes, which have become increasingly gender-equal, sexuality-equal and individualized. Everyday practices of intimate life have undergone radical change, with possibilities of life outside the conventional family proliferating, and the desire for self-realization and authenticity in intimate life becoming widespread, particularly in the more prosperous and older democracies studied. However, the experience of *full* intimate citizenship, of truly being able to live embodied selfhood

and important close relationships safely, securely and according to personal choice, with respect, recognition and support from state and civil society, remains elusive. Violations of intimate citizenship remain widespread across Europe, particularly for women and members of sexual and racialized minority groups (WP6)

- *the possibility of reversals in the organization of gendered social citizenship:* Finland had, until the 1980s, the highest share of mothers in paid work in Western Europe, but today is one of the few European countries where mothers' employment rates are declining, and the home-care allowance is very popular and uncritiqued by the women's movement, despite the existence of well-established publicly provided day care (WP2).

- *the attitudes of religious women towards women's movements:* both Christian and Muslim religious women in Norway, Spain and the UK view women's movements as having had a positive impact on women's rights, equal opportunities, equal pay and women's empowerment, but many also see women's movements as 'having gone too far' or being 'too extreme' by pushing a notion of gender equality that emphasizes equality as sameness and interchangeable gender roles, rather than viewing equality in terms of equal *value* and the complementarity of *different* gender roles, rooted in biological difference (WP4).

- *the permeation of feminist ideas through culture and society:* experiences of intimate citizenship in everyday life are more likely to be framed in terms of self-realization and the quest for authenticity in Norway than in the other countries studied, which we suggest is linked to the cultural permeation of feminist ideas and ideals through Norwegian society, and to the nation's prosperity and the security offered by the Norwegian welfare state. Norway is the country in our research which moved earliest and furthest towards a gender and sexuality-equal intimate citizenship regime (WP6).

- *the importance of wider economic conditions:* in addition to the impact of prosperity on everyday experiences and framings of intimate citizenship (see above, WP6), the "settlement" of redistributive issues in Sweden enabled bodily issues to become high priorities in the late 1980s (WP5), and the weakening of women's position on the labour market in many ex-USSR member states, and the disintegration of the social welfare and life-long paid work paradigm that existed for all citizens before 1989, led to new tensions around normative gender roles (WP3).

- *the unfulfilled promise of political citizenship:* the 'ethnic representation gap' of political parties, the 'satisfaction gap' of citizens with respect to feeling represented, and the 'agency gap' of women parliamentarians remain important issues of political citizenship in European nation states (WP1).

To summarize the issue of the impact and legacy of contemporary women's movements: FEMCIT's research on issues of crucial concern for women's movements has established that women's movements in contemporary Europe have had significant impact on notions and practices of citizenship. Women's movements have been major agents of change both with respect to procedural changes in formal access to social institutions and regarding substantive changes in public policy, and also in culture and everyday life. FEMCIT's findings are in line with MacBride and Mazur's claim that the record is clear:

> "In Western postindustrial democracies, women's movements have had remarkable success in achieving procedural access and policy response since the 1960s - but there is no one recipe for success (McBride and Mazur 2009: 241)".

Despite differences in degree and saliency between European states and societies, generally speaking, FEMCIT confirms claims of women's movements' contributions to:

- procedural changes: gaining access for women to employment, the inclusion of women in political and religious institutions, etc.

- substantive changes: policy changes such as the introduction of publicly funded child care, gender equality policies, quotas for women, abortion rights, policies to combat violence against women gender, and diversity mainstreaming, etc.

- transformations of culture: everyday life changes such as new norms and practices of mothering, parenting, the body, sexuality and intimacy and personal life. There has been a fundamental shift in Europe towards more similar and equal gender roles.

Women's movements have not been alone in their interventions, however. It is impossible to totally isolate the effects of women's movement activists from those of other sympathetic groups, and from broader processes of social, cultural and economic change, such as individualization, de-traditionalization, globalization and gendered transformations in labour markets and welfare states (see also D 7.2 and the forthcoming D7.14 and D7.15). Equally important is the fact that there have been counter-mobilizations of anti-feminist (sometimes framed as 'pro-family', or 'men's movement') groups and individuals who have resisted the transformation of gendered citizenship.

Despite women's movements' wide-reaching and multi-level impact on public policy and everyday life, they have not yet achieved *full gender-fair citizenship* for women. The empirical evidence gathered in FEMCIT displays failures, unrecognized and weak spots related to each of FEMCIT's six dimensions. This is not just a matter of improving the state-citizen relations (redistribution and recognition of legal rights and duties, political participation), but also of changing citizen-citizen relations (recognition, respect, inclusion, and a sense of belonging). A number of crucial *failures and paradoxes* remain to be addressed:

- Although a number of women's movement demands have been (partially or totally) accommodated, ongoing structural and social changes mean that women's movements are facing new challenges. Although gender equality is established by law, for instance, it is often used instrumentally, as a tool for other aims (such as economic growth).

- Whenever gender equality is framed as a 'European' value, it works as a symbolic marker between 'us' and 'them', where non-Western/European immigrants are often perceived as patriarchal and regressive.

- Broad support for gender equality in European public domains is challenged today not only by equal worth ideologies related to religious and cultural diversity, but also by economic deregulation and neoliberal policies.

- New norms of dual-income-families and the expectations that women should be in paid employment throughout their lives (from 'welfare to workfare') mean that women are expected to "earn" their citizenship rights on the same basis as men, whilst still providing much of the un-paid care.

- Economic independence for some groups of women takes place at the expense of other groups of women, in particular groups of non-western/ non-EU immigrants. As certain categories of women approach equality in the labour market, other groups of women are forced to take up employment in jobs that mirror the tasks they are also expected to continue to perform, unpaid, for their own families.

- Some women's movement issues are more controversial than others, such as prostitution compared to abortion. They are 'position issues', which means that there are disagreements about the very goals, in contrast to 'valence issues' where there is disagreement about the means.

- There are still many barriers that hinder women in politics, both starting a political career and in working effectively once in the parliament, including the keeping of women away from positions of responsibility, and excluding women from unofficial meetings where key decisions are made.

Conceptualizing gender-fairness and multidimensional citizenship

FEMCIT has sought to develop understandings of *gender-fair*, *multidimensional citizenship*, and has engaged in ongoing discussions about policy that might contribute to remaking citizenship in multicultural Europe. The notion of 'gender-fair' signals, as previously discussed, that the meaning of (gender) equality is not fixed in advance, but that the definition and assessment of the (e)quality of any society are open to negotiation, and are political issues. Feminism, women's and gender-related movements have vested interests in this field. The normative ambition of FEMCIT's contributions to gender-fair citizenship is related to our empirical aims of exploring women's movements' claims and practices, interventions and impact. Thus, our formulation of 'input' into policy is based on the findings of the empirical analysis conducted in WPs 1 – 7. The policy implications of FEMCIT research are wide-reaching, relating to legal changes, financial regulations and channels of dialogue (D 7.11 FEMCIT Policy Document).[10] A central aspect of the policy implications of FEMCIT research is naming and confronting barriers to citizenship in different spheres of women's lives and considering fully how the public, personal and private are interwoven.

FEMCIT's contributions to the *conceptualization of gender-fairness and multidimensional citizenship* have been developed along two lines: one, practical-political, and the other, theoretical and empirical.

Our practical-political work

FEMCIT's new understandings have contributed to *overall assessments and formulations of 'input' into policy*. We have made policy recommendations, explicating policy choices and dilemmas, and we have discussed best practices (PAR 2010: 24). A number of policy implications have been suggested and discussed with relevant groups of policy-makers and other end-users. In addition, the *FEMCIT MANIFESTO for Multi-Dimensional Citizenship*, elaborated through a collective process co-ordinated by Sasha Roseneil, and involving almost all the researchers who have worked on FEMCIT, is a unique part of FEMCIT's policy recommendations that aims to reach out to women's movement activists, as well as to policy-makers and practitioners, and to be of interest to scholars and researchers. This practical-political process of disseminating general and work package specific findings to various audiences has also proved productive in fostering the integration of results and the elaboration of our concepts.

Our theoretical and empirical work

FEMCIT has developed the notion of *multi-dimensional citizenship* consisting of six analytical dimensions: three more established terms of citizenship (political, social and economic), and three more recently recognized terms (multicultural, bodily and intimate). The original FEMCIT

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[10] FEMCIT policy document is currently under revision to be submitted as a Policy brief to be published online in April 2011.

model of citizenship as multi-dimensional has proved to be viable, and has only been slightly revised in terms of the naming of one of the dimensions. Our critical examinations of the six analytical dimensions, however, suggest that:

- Citizenship is not fully accomplished nor complete in any of the dimensions analyzed. FEMCIT's empirical examination has exposed extensive failures in relation to 'gender fairness.'

- The more established citizenship terms are not necessarily widely applied as analytically separate dimensions of citizenship in empirical research: for example, economic citizenship has often been subsumed under social citizenship and not researched in its own right. FEMCIT has explored economic citizenship analytically in its own right.

- There are aspects of the more established dimension of citizenship that are unrecognised or under-researched, such as the political agency of elected women, and the ability of citizens themselves to *feel* represented by their representatives.

- The relationship between the less established terms and dimensions of citizenship is contested. For instance, there is an emerging debate about whether religious citizenship is a distinct dimension or should be included in 'multicultural citizenship', and there is a debate regarding whether bodily/sexual citizenship (WP5) and intimate citizenship (WP6) should be regarded as two analytically separate dimensions or not. Sexuality can be encompassed within the notion of intimate citizenship, but what about the body? There are strong arguments for making "intimate citizenship" deal with procreation and embodiment, as our work in FEMCIT did, but also for claiming that state interests in controlling the body through population policies and bio-politics justify a separate dimension of bodily politics. We have decided to keep them as analytically separate dimensions, for political as well as theoretical reasons, although the scholarly debate will continue.

- The relationship between the six analytical dimensions and the specific issues selected for empirical research, is flexible: the same issue can be used to explore a range of empirical questions. In FEMCIT, bodily and sexual citizenship was operationalized in terms of abortion and prostitution. Prostitution, however, also clearly relates to intimate citizenship (prostitution as sexuality), as well as to economic citizenship (prostitution as sex work). Economic citizenship was operationalized in relation to elderly care, which also could be an issue related to social citizenship. Similarly, gender violence was explored in relation to multicultural citizenship as well as intimate citizenship.

To conclude: *a sustainable architecture for full and gender-fair citizenship* has to involve the following key features:

- *Multi-dimensionality*: the six FEMCIT dimensions of political, social, economic, bodily/sexual, intimate and multicultural citizenship. This means that full citizenship requires attention to six analytically distinct dimensions.

- *The inter-relationships between dimensions*: the analytical dimensions of citizenship are intertwined in everyday life in complex and often conflictual ways. This means that the further exploration of *critical relativism* and *perspectival dualism* are essential as methodological tools.

- *Multi-layered constructions:* having full citizenship means more than being granted state rights or freedoms in the vertical relations between state and citizen with respect to status and rights. A sustainable architecture for gender-fair citizenship has to go beyond the nation-state and recognize the complexities of lived citizenship with respect to participation, identity and belonging at the local, national and transnational level. This means further emphasis on notions of multicultural and cosmopolitan citizenship.

- *Holistic rights:* citizenship rights are entangled and should be seen in their entirety. Like human rights, they should be treated as indivisible to preclude that some rights automatically or systematically are prioritized above others. The rights and recognition of some groups should not undermine the rights of underprivileged groups.

- *Dynamic adaption to context:* claims and frames for the implementation of rights, participation and experiences of belonging have to be interpreted and applied in relation to the context. Claims are actively constructed by individuals and group in specific contexts and are not fixed or 'given' once and for all. The participatory dimension of citizenship remains crucial.

- *Intersectionality:* citizenship has to be sensitive to how different forms of inequality - based on age, gender, race, class, sexuality etc. - intersect in complex ways in lived citizenship. Different structures of subordination and marginalization overlap.

Suggestions for future research

FEMCIT's research suggests a number of areas in which there is a need for further in-depth research. This research concerns the underdeveloped aspects of citizenship that we have revealed, areas where political initiatives have not yet delivered, and the impact of social and political change on gendered citizenship.

- There is a need for new, fuller statistics at national and European levels, such as statistics on ethnicity and gender in employment and on unconventional categories of intimate life, including by ethnicity.
- Theoretically, we suggest a continued focus on the multi-dimensionality of citizenship, and the interrelations between the dimensions.
- Further research is needed to develop comparative understandings of multicultural citizenship beyond the countries studied in FEMCIT, and to elaborate a broad-ranging policy agenda for multicultural citizenship in Europe.
- Research should investigate the current development of government institutions in Europe that are set up to deal with different and intersecting forms of inequalities, and the ways in which intersecting inequalities are dealt with at the practical, political level and in specific cases of discrimination. Moreover, it is urgent to investigate whether gender equality and discrimination are receiving priority attention when gender is but one of the issues that are dealt with by government institutions promoting equality. Such research should also examine the extent to which organizations representing majoritized and minoritized groups of women are invited to participate in policy-making processes that aim to promote gender equality, including policy-processes aimed at developing national as well as international policies and strategies.

- Research is needed on the impact of the reorganization of care in relation to gendered social and economic citizenship, particularly the current trend to assign responsibility for care services to the community sector or the market.
- Further investigation of the usefulness of regime typologies for the understanding of the dynamics of gendered citizenship and policy change would significantly advance the social science knowledge base.
- Further research should take seriously the embodied and psychic dimensions of citizenship, advancing a research agenda that understands citizens as fundamentally relational, and citizenship as encompassing matters historically constructed as *private* and *personal.*

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Annexes I – III

Annex I - Final Plan for using and disseminating knowledge
Annex II - Final Dissemination list
Annex III - Complete Deliverable List

Annex I

Final Plan for Using and Disseminating Knowledge

FEMCIT is committed to disseminating findings from its research results widely to different audiences, including the broader academic community, relevant public authorities and policy makers, NGOs and the general public. In compliance with the scientific objectives of FEMCIT, the consortium regards it as of utmost importance that the results of the IP are put to use by as many stakeholders as possible, including researchers, policy makers, educators, and, where appropriate, private business and industry. An integrated project such as FEMCIT requires a systematic and targeted strategy for dissemination and exploitation, in order to ensure successful use of results. For this reason, we have assigned one work-package – WP8 – to the coordination of dissemination and transfer of knowledge. The objective of WP8 is to provide for the organised dissemination of results, and if appropriate, to initiate protection and utilization measures. FEMCIT has appointed a *Knowledge Management and Dissemination Committee*. This Committee consists of all the FEMCIT partners and is led by the Scientific Coordinator.

Dissemination activities

Strand 1: Project Reporting:

Project reporting has been successfully carried out through close cooperation of the Project Office with the Steering Committee. FEMCIT submitted all the four annual activity and management reports punctually. Besides reporting on major achievements and scientific activities, the annual reports also provided comprehensive accounts of FEMCIT contacts and dissemination activities, sorted by Work Packages.

Strand 2: The Website, FEMCIT MySpace:

FEMCIT has a public website for dissemination purposes towards the general public (http://www.femcit.org/). The web service provides a contact point for press/media, as well as other stakeholders, including FEMCIT interviewees, movement activists, NGOs and the wider general public. Publishing preliminary research findings as FEMCIT working papers has been a priority.

As of February 2011, twenty-four FEMCIT Working Papers were published online. A majority of these texts are extensive research reports, providing detailed information on the data gathering and analysis undertaken in the different Work Packages.

FEMCIT was contacted by the British Library with a request to archive the website. After securing the consent of all the FEMCIT Partners, the contents of our website was archived by the British Library. This means that the website, and the FEMCIT Working Papers, will be held in perpetuity by one of the great libraries of the world, and will continue to be available to scholars both in London, and around the world through the British Library's web portal.

We established an internal communication system, FEMCIT MySpace, which has facilitated communication, dialogue and integration. It is a forum for internal discussions, posting of crucial documents (such as meeting agendas, minutes and project Deliverables), texts for publication and a place to work on documents together. The work packages have closed sections where internal work in progress is posted and commented on (such as interviews and other data, preliminary

findings and draft reports). FEMCIT MySpace will continue to be available to FEMCIT researchers for at least 5 years after the end of the project.

Strand 3: Project meetings and PhD courses:

FEMCIT had focused on dissemination of emerging research findings and contact with experts in the field of gender and citizenship in connection with the annual project meetings.

FEMCIT arranged two PhD courses (In Prague (2008) and in Warsaw (2009)). FEMCIT researchers and invited guest lecturers participated and a total of 40 PhD students from around Europe have received certificates of participation from FEMCIT. Each course lasted for 5 days and functioned as important dissemination events for FEMCIT research.

Strand 4: Scientific publications and external scientific conferences:

FEMCIT researchers have targeted international, high-impact scientific journals to publish their research results. As the detailed account of dissemination activities shows, FEMCIT researchers participated in numerous international and national conferences, seminars and workshops and presented their research findings. A number of invited keynote addresses have been given by FEMCIT researchers at conferences (See the dissemination activities list in Annex II).

FEMCIT organised two major conferences which were both very well attended:
The international, interdisciplinary FEMCIT Open Conference *Beyond Citizenship: feminism and the transformation of belonging*, took place over three days, from 30 June to 2 July 2010, at Birkbeck, University of London and had 280 participants.
The Final Conference of FEMCIT *Remaking Citizenship: Women's Movements, Gender, Diversity* took place on 20 January 2011 in Oslo and had 120 participants.

Strand 5: The FEMCIT Anthology and Book Series:

Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: women's movements, gender and diversity

FEMCIT signed a contract for the title *Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: Women's movements, gender and diversity* (Halsaa, Roseneil & Sümer eds.) in January 2010 with the publisher Palgrave Macmillan. This book will bring together findings from all the FEMCIT Work Packages, which each focus on different dimensions of citizenship.

The book explores the relationship between women's movements, diversity and citizenship in multicultural Europe over the last forty years. Through comprehensive analyses of lived experiences and claims making, the book aims to contribute new understandings of the legacy of women's movements and new theorizing of concepts such as citizenship and gender-fairness in the context of a diversified, multicultural Europe.

The book has two distinctive features: an extensive comparative analysis of the legacy of feminist and women's movements across national boundaries; and an exploration of six dimensions of citizenship. The book offers a conceptual exploration and theorization of some typically under-researched aspects of citizenship, by adding multicultural, bodily and intimate citizenship to the more widely recognized political, social and economic dimensions, in the light of multicultural realities. The book takes multicultural Europe seriously and revisits the multiculturalism-

feminism debates through the intersectional approaches to gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity that underpin the chapters. The book also reflects on the cultural and political impacts on citizenship that might be attributed to the important interventions made by women's movements in the countries studied. The proposed table of contents is as follows:

Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe:
women's movements, gender and diversity

Chapter 1 Introduction (B. Halsaa, S. Roseneil, S. Sümer)
Chapter 2 Rethinking Citizenship: critical encounters with feminist, multicultural and transnational concepts of citizenship (Sabine Strasser)

Chapter 3 Remaking Political Citizenship in Multicultural Europe
(M. Threlfall, D. Dahlerup. L. Freidenvall. M. Fuszara)

Chapter 4 Remaking Social Citizenship in Multicultural Europe
(S. Bergman, H. Haskova, K. Pulkrabkova, M. Rantalaiho, C. Valiente)

Chapter 5 Remaking Economic Citizenship in Multicultural Europe
(N. Le Feuvre, M. Metso, A. Krajewska, R. Ervik)

Chapter 6 Remaking Multicultural Citizenship
(L. Nyhagen Predelli, B. Halsaa, C. Thun)

Chapter 7 Remaking Bodily Citizenship in Multicultural Europe
(J. Outshoorn, T. Kulawik, R. Dudová, A. Prata)

Chapter 8 Remaking Intimate Citizenship in Multicultural Europe
(S. Roseneil, T. Hellesund, I. Crowhurst, A. C. Santos, M. Stoilova.)

Chapter 9 Framing the Multicultural: Minority and Immigrant Women's Organisations in Brussels, London and Oslo (m. kennedy-macfoy)

Chapter 10 Remaking Citizenship: problems and prospects (Halsaa, Roseneil & Sümer)

FEMCIT Book Series (contracted books as of February 2011)

Halsaa, B., Roseneil, S. & Sümer, S. (forthcoming) *Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: women's movements, gender and diversity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nyhagen Predelli, Line and Halsaa, Beatrice (forthcoming). *Majority-minority relations in contemporary women's movements: Strategic Sisterhood*. Palgrave Macmillan

Roseneil, S. (ed) *Beyond Citizenship: feminism and the transformation of belonging*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, contracted for publication in 2012.

Strand 6: Contact with End-users and the general public
FEMCIT has addressed relevant end-users and has offered results in ways compatible with these end-users' activities. In particular, we l initiated meetings with public and private agencies that are working towards gender-fair citizenship (politicians, bureaucrats and NGOs). The Mainstreaming Report is of particular relevance to gender equality end users.

A list of end-users potentially interested in project results and project contact was prepared and submitted as a project Deliverable (D 8.4) in the first year. This list was revised and extended in 2009 and was used as a basis in the planning of FEMCIT dissemination seminar targeting end-users in Brussels. This dissemination seminar took place at the Amphitheatre of the European Commission Building at Madou, on 23 September 2010. Invitations, which included brief

information on the project and a reference to the website, were sent to numerous institutions and NGOs operating at the European-level, as well as to nationally based organisations. The list of invitees included, among others, The Committee of Women's Rights and Gender Equality (the FEMM committee) in the European Parliament, Committee on Employment and Social Affairs**,** European Economic and Social Committee, Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism, Black European Women's Council and selected NGOs that are members of the Social Platform (e.g. European Network of Migrant Women; European Network against Racism).

FEMCIT prioritised organising events targeting women's movements organisations. e.g. the Nordic FEMCIT seminar *Among Grass Roots, Red-stockings and State Feminists: the role of women's and gender movements in the Nordic Countries* in Oslo; the Networking Roundtable on the theme of *Stepping Stones to Political Representation for Ethnic Minority Women* and the dissemination seminar entitled *Religion, Women and Citizenship* which was held in Loughborough in November 2010.

In addition to dissemination via the website and contact with the media, public bodies and other stakeholders, FEMCIT consortium-members have a strong record of participation in media debates, and in delivering public speeches. We see this as an important dissemination strategy and a way to engage with a wider audience about our research.

FEMCIT Publishing Guidelines

The following guidelines were prepared by the PO and approved by the SC to guide the co-authoring and publishing of FEMCIT research findings:

a) Guidelines for web-publishing of FEMCIT reports and working papers

Most FEMCIT deliverables will take the form of conference papers, refereed journal articles and book chapters. We have however also planned a set of FEMCIT reports/ working papers. These reports will documents that are not suitable for publication in books or journals at this stage, but are of interest to other readers.

FEMCIT has specified the following revised and simplified rules for having texts accepted as FEMCIT working papers to be published on the website:

1. The author of the text sends to the WP-leader for approval.
2. If the author is the WP-leader, the WP-leader needs to get feed-back from one consortium-member outside the WP, or one national reader at senior level.
3. If the proposed working paper is in a national language (i.e. not in English), a short summary in English will be prepared.
4. If the working paper is also a Deliverable, the Deliverable template should be applied before publishing of the paper on FEMCIT website.

b) Guidelines for Publishing FEMCIT Research Findings and Related Material

In accordance with the Consortium Agreement, all texts to be published in journals or books (outside the FEMCIT website) should be uploaded at FEMCIT Myspace (in the folder "abstracts for publishing") at least 30 days before any planned publication. After the text is uploaded, all partners are notified by email that there is a text they may comment on. All partners have the right to comment on the publication of this text within 30 days after the text has been uploaded.

FEMCIT is committed to respecting the intellectual property of its researchers, at all levels of seniority, and to crediting all the researchers who have been involved in preparing any particular publication, whilst clearly acknowledging lead authors/ originators of the research. The process outlined above is designed to ensure that attribution of authorship and intellectual property issues are dealt with in a fair and open manner within the Consortium.

c) Co-authoring Guidelines

Guidelines for Co-authoring FEMCIT Research Findings

FEMCIT is committed to respecting the intellectual property of its researchers, at all levels of seniority, and to crediting all the researchers who have been involved in preparing any particular publication, whilst clearly acknowledging lead authors and/or originators of the research. Please refer to the Consortium Agreement Section 12 and 13 for general guidelines regarding publications and intellectual property rights. These are supplementary guidelines especially related to co-authoring. The Scientific Coordinator and/or the Scientific Director should be informed about all the publications plans based on FEMCIT research in advance. WP-leaders need to be involved in decisions about all publications from their WPs.

WP-specific publications:

The WP leader is encouraged to discuss the publication plans openly with the researchers who have been involved in FEMCIT (for longer periods) and who have contributed significantly to data collection and analysis. For the Chapters in "Remaking Citizenship", we specifically encourage the WP-leaders to include all the key researchers involved as co-authors.

We find the following guidelines specified by the British Sociological Association useful:

- Everyone who is listed as an author should have made a substantial direct academic contribution (i.e. intellectual responsibility and substantive work) to at least two of the four main components of a typical scientific paper: a) Conception or design; b) Data collection and processing; c) Analysis and interpretation of the data; d) Writing substantial sections of the paper (e.g. synthesising findings in the literature review or the findings/results section).

- Everyone who is listed as an author should have critically reviewed successive drafts of the paper and should approve the final version.

- Everyone who is listed as author should be able to defend the paper as a whole.

Cross-WP publications:

When planning publications across WPs, the WP-leaders (and involved researchers) are encouraged to be involved in all the phases together and contribute jointly to the cross-WP analyses.

Acknowledgements:

The FEMCIT project and the funding from the EU FP6 should be mentioned and acknowledged in all the future publications. A reference to the website should be provided.

Annex II:

FEMCIT Dissemination

I. Books:

Forthcoming books in FEMCIT Book series: Citizenship, Gender & Diversity:

Halsaa, B., Roseneil, S. and Sümer, S. (forthcoming) *Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: women's movements, gender and diversity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nyhagen Predelli, L. and Halsaa, B. (forthcoming) *Majority- Minority Relations in Contemporary Women's Movements: Strategic Sisterhood*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Roseneil, S. (ed.) *Beyond Citizenship: Feminism and the Transformation of Belonging*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, contracted for publication in 2012.

Other FEMCIT-based books:

Haskova, H. and Uhde, Z. (2009) (eds.) *Women and Social Citizenship in Czech Society: Continuity and Change*. Praha: Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic.

FEMCIT-related books:

Berg, A-J., Flemmen, A.B. and Gullikstad, B. (eds) (2010) *Likestilte norskheter. Om kjønn og etnisitet* (Equalised Norwegianness: On Gender and Ethnicity). Trondheim: Tapir.

Falquet, J., Hirata, H., Kergoat, D., Labari. B., Le Feuvre, N. and Sow, F. (ed.) (2010) *Le sexe de la mondialisation : Genre, classe, race et nouvelle division du travail*. Paris: Editions de Sciences Po.

Halsaa, B. and Hellum, A. (2009) *Rettferdighet* (Justice). Oslo : Universitetsforlaget.

Special Issue of a Refereed Journal

Roseneil, S., Crowhurst, I., Santos, A. C. and Stoilova, M. (eds.) Citizenship and Reproduction/ Reproducing Citizens, *Special Issue of Citizenship Studies*, contracted for publication in 2013.

II. Journal Articles and Book Chapters:

Alsos, G. A., Steen-Jensen, R. and Ljunggren, E. (2011) "Gender and Entrepreneurship: Revealing Constructions and Underlying Processes. The Case of Norway". In Brush, C. G., Gatewood, E. J., de Bruin, A. and Henry, C. (eds.) *Women's Entrepreneurship and Growth Influences: An International Perspective*. Cheltenham: E. Elgar Publishing.

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Fuszara, M. (2009) "Kobiety w polityce w Polsce w latach 1989-2009" (Women in Politics in 1989-2009 in Poland). In *Kobiety dla Polski, Polska dla kobiet (20 lat transformacji 1989 -2009) (Women for Poland, Poland for Women (twenty years of transformation 1989-2009)*. Warsaw: Fundacja Feminoteka.

Fuszara, M. (2009) "Równe szanse czy bariery? Kobiety w parlamencie Polski i Macedonii" (Equal Opportunities or Barriers? Women in the Parliaments of Poland and Macedonia), *Societas/Communitas*, Vol. 6: 125-146.

Fuszara, M. (2009) *Kobiety, Mężczyźni i Kwoty* (Women, Men and Quotas), Warsaw: Institute of Public Affairs.

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Nyhagen Predelli, L. (2010) "Researching women's movements: Understanding the significance of place, space and nation". Paper presented at the closed conference 'Researching women's movements: Four troubling questions', organized jointly by the research projects *FEMCIT* and *Sisterhood and After*, British Library, London, November 2010.

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Roseneil, S. (2007) "Re-Thinking Personal Life Through a Psycho-Social Lens", AHRC Centre for Law, Gender and Sexuality, University of Kent, May 2007. INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2007) "Sociability, Sexuality, Self", *British Sociological Association*, University of East London, April 2007.

Roseneil, S. (2008) "Criticality, Not Paranoia: Registers of Feminist Social Research", *Social Research after the Cultural Turn Conference*, Birkbeck, University of London, 19 June 2008. INVITED KEYNOTE

Roseneil, S. (2008) "Criticality, Not Paranoia: Registers of Feminist Social Research", *Changing Gender Relations: Nordic Feminism and Gender Research Conference*, Karlstad University, 6-8 October 2008. INVITED KEYNOTE

Roseneil, S. (2008) "Criticality, Not Paranoia: Registers of Feminist Social Research", *Norwegian Gender Studies Conference*, University of Oslo, 10-11 November 2008. INVITED KEYNOTE

Roseneil, S. (2008) "Cultures of Protest", *Assessing the History and Future of Social Movement Culture Symposium*, EXIT Art Gallery, New York, 25 September 2008. INVITED KEYNOTE

Roseneil, S. (2008) "Intimate Citizenship in Multicultural Europe", Macquarie University, 29 July 2008. INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2008) "Intimate Citizenship: belonging, recognition, meaning", *Intimacies seminar series*, Centre for Citizenship, Identities and Governance, Open University, 4 June 2008. INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2008) "Researching Intimate Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: methodological challenges", Stein Rokkan Centre, University of Bergen, 18 September 2008. INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2009) 'Sociability, Sexuality, Self: relationality and individualization', *Psychosocial Studies Seminar Series*, Institute of Education, May 2009. INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2009) "Friendship in an age of individualization: a psychosocial approach", Friends*, Patrons, Followers Conference*, University of Freiburg, 23-25 July 2009. INVITED KEYNOTE

Roseneil, S. (2009) "Intimate Citizenship in Multicultural Europe", *7thEuropean Feminist Research Conference*, Utrecht University, June 2009.

Roseneil, S. (2009) "Sociability, Sexuality, Self: relationality and individualization", Thomas Coram Research Unit, University of London, September 2009. INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2009) "Sociability, Sexuality, Self: relationality and individualization", *European Sociological Association Conference*, Lisbon, September 2009.

Roseneil, S. (2009) "Transforming Intimate Citizenship: movements for gender and sexual equality and change", at *Social Movements and Well-Being COST Action Symposium*, International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, 4-7 March 2009. INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Doing Qualitative Research Differently: challenging sociology", *ESRC Methods Festival*, University of Oxford, 5 July 2010. INVITED.

Roseneil, S. (2010) "FEMCIT and Comparative Research", *FEMCIT Nordic Seminar*, University of Oslo, 4 November 2010.

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Intimate Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: the tenacity of the couple norm", Sub-Plenary, *British Sociological Association Conference*, Glasgow, April 2010. SUB-PLENARY

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Intimate Citizenship regimes: towards a comparative analysis of continuity and change", ESRC Seminar Series: *New Gender Regimes*, University of Bristol, June 2010. INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Intimate citizenship, post-colonial theory and psychoanalysis", *International Research Group for Psycho-Societal Research*, Dubrovnik, 25 May 2010. INVITED.

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Intimate Citizenship: an agenda for research and politics", American *Sociological Association Conference*, Atlanta, August 2010. (Presidential Invited Thematic Panel). INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Living Intimate Citizenship Transnationally: movement, migration and emotional life in the Pakistani diaspora", *Pakistani Migration and Transnationalism Workshop*, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, 13-15 January 2010. INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Living Intimate Citizenship Transnationally: a psychosocial case study", Department of Sociology *Seminar Series*, University of Bristol, February 2010. INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Making Personal Life Public: social movements and intimate citizenship across Europe" at the *Making Things Public Colloquium in Honour of Janet Newman*, Open University, 5 October 2010. INVITED

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Remaking Intimate Citizenship", *Gays the Word Bookshop*, London, 26 November 2010. INVITED.

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Researching Women's Movements: four burning questions", *FEMCIT/ After Sisterhood Colloquium*, British Library, 19 November 2010.

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Thinking Psychosocially about Personal Life", '*Emerging forms of Sociality Conference*', Goethe-Frankfurt University, September 2010. INVITED KEYNOTE

Roseneil, S. (2010) "Towards a Psychosocialanalysis of Contemporary Personal Life", *Psychosocial Studies Conference*, University of East London, January 2010.

Roseneil, S., Crowhurst, I., Hellesund, T., Santos, A.C. and Stoilova, M. (2009) "Transforming Intimate Citizenship: the claims and demands of women's movements", *Gender and Politics Conference*, ECPR, Queens University Belfast, January 2009.

Roseneil, S., Crowhurst, I., Hellesund, T., Santos, A.C. and Stoilova, M. (2009) "The Changing Landscape of Heteronormativity in Europe", *European Sociological Association Conference*, Lisbon, September 2009.

Sandu, A. (2008) "Representation, class and gendered citizenship: the case of migrant women in Spain". Paper presented at the Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM) conference: *Nationalism, Ethnicity and Citizenship: Whose Citizens? Whose Rights?* University of Surrey, 30 June - 1 July, 2008.

Sandu, A. (2008). "Women's movement in Spain". Paper presented at *Women World Congress 2008 - Mundo de Mujeres*, Madrid, 7 July 2008.

Sandu, A. (2009). "Contemporary Women's movements in Spain: Problem representations of relations between ethnic majority and ethnic minority women". Paper presented at Centre for Research in Social Policy International Conference: *Beyond Social Inclusion: Towards a More Equal Society?*, Loughborough University, 22-23 January 2009.

Sandu, A. (2010) "Participation, Representation and Voice: the Case of Women's Movement in Spain". Paper presented at the *Social Inclusion seminar series*, Family and Community Studies, Anglia Ruskin University, September 2010.

Santos, A. C. (2008) "A transformação da cidadania íntima em Portugal: contributos dos movimentos pela igualdade de género e sexual". In Actas do Congresso Feminista 2008 ("The transformation of intimate citizenship in Portugal: the contributions of movements for gender and sexual equality". *In Feminist Congress Proceedings*).

Threlfall, M. (2009) "Como crear sistemas de representación política sensibles a las aspiraciones de una ciudadanía de géneros y pluri-étnica? Respuestas desde una investigación qualitative" AECPA, *Spanish Association of Political Science*, Malaga, September 2009.

Threlfall, M. (2009) "Feeling represented: diverse women's needs and preferences for their political representation in a multi-ethnic Europe", *IPSA Conference*, Santiago, July 2009.

Threlfall, M. (2009) "Feeling represented? European Citizens' and Residents' Subjective Views on their Political Representation: some findings from Macedonia", Paper for *ECPR Belfast*, January 2009.

Threlfall, M. (2009) "How can EU member-states create or maintain more satisfying systems of political representation among gendered, pluri-ethnic and pluri-national populations?", Paper presented at *EUSA conference*, Los Angeles, May 2009.

Threlfall, M. (2010) "What helps multi-ethnic male and female citizens feel politically represented? Results from qualitative research in the UK, Spain, Poland and Macedonia", presented to *ECPR conference*, Porto, June 2010.

Thun, C. (2007) "Interrelations between Ethnic Minority and Ethnic Majority Women's Organisations in Norway", *The 14th Nordic Migration Researcher's Conference*, Bergen, Norway, 15 November 2007.

Thun, C. (2008) "Ethnic 'minority' and Ethnic 'majority' Women's Organisations in Norway – Sister Solidarity or Different Agendas?". Paper at the *Women's Worlds, 10th International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, Spain, 7 July 2008.

Thun, C. (2008) "Ethnic 'minority' and Ethnic 'majority' Women's Organisations in Norway – Sister Solidarity or Different Agendas?". Paper at the FEMCIT roundtable, *Women's Worlds, 10th International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, Spain, 8 July 2008.

Thun, C. (2008) "Women's Experiences and Agency through Talk? A Discussion of Discourse/Frame Analysis Approaches in the Analysis of Qualitative Interviews with Majority and Minority Women Activists in Norway", *Power and Resistance Conference,* University of Oslo, 10-11 January 2008.

Thun, C. (2010) "'Minoritets'- og 'majoritets'kvinneorganisasjoner i Norge. Søstersolidaritet eller ulike agendaer?" *The Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud*, Norway. 28 May 2010.

Thun, C. (2010) "Feminist i hijab?", Innlegg på Åpen dag, University of Oslo, 4 March 2010.

Thun, C. (2010) "Norsk feminist i hijab? En studie av religiøse kvinner i dagens Norge", *Innlegg på Kjønnsforskningsmaraton*, House of Literature, Oslo, 6 September 2010.

Thun, C. (2010) "Norwegian feminist in a hijab? Intersections between feminism, ethnicity and religion". *DEMDI conference*, Stockholm, Sweden, 28-29 October 2010.

Thun, C. (2011) "Norsk feminist i hijab?". *Innlegg på Åpen dag,* University of Oslo, 10 March 2011.

Thun, C. (2011) "Relations between the women's movement and the state in Norway". Presentation at the *FEMCIT final conference*, University of Oslo, 20 January 2011.

Thun, C. and Halsaa, B. (2010) "Religiøst medborgerskap. Kvinner i kristne og muslimske grupper", Seminar, 11 May, 2010. University of Oslo, Norway.

Thun, C. and Halsaa, B. (2010) "Religious Citizenship: Identity, participation and belonging. A Case study of Muslim and Christian women in Norway". Presentation at the Conference "*Beyond Citizenship*", London, UK, 30 June – 2 July 2010.

Uhde, Z. (2007) "Care as a critical category of gender inequality. Conceptualizing Misrecognition of Care in the Transnational Context". *8th Postgraduate conference Life in Motion: Shifting Spaces, Transcending Times, Crossing Borders*, Brno, Czech Republic, 28-30 June 2007.

Uhde, Z. (2008) "Zneuznání péče a sociální nerovnosti" ("Misrecognition of care and social inequalities"). Conference *Migrace a integrace v šesti pohledech*, Prague, Czech Republic, 27 May 2008.

Uhde, Z. (2009) "Feminist Struggle for Valuation of Care and the Impasse of Domestic Workers". *European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop A Caring Europe?* Care, Migration and Gender. Milton Keynes, UK, 12-13 November 2009.

Uhde, Z. (2009) "The Social Dynamics of Feminist Struggle for Care: The Impasse of Domestic Worker". *Sociology Gender Workshop*, UC Berkeley, USA, 1 May 2009.

Valiente, C. (2007) "¿Son los organismos de igualdad los aliados del movimiento feminista? Un sí condicional--el caso del Estado central en España" ("Are gender equality institutions the policy allies of the feminist movement? A contingent 'yes'--the Spanish central state"). Paper presented at the *IX Congreso Español de Sociología* (9th Spanish Congress on Sociology), Barcelona, Spain, 13-15 September 2007.

Valiente, C. (2007) "'Consequences' is not synonymous of 'success': Feminist activism in the Catholic church in Franco's Spain". Paper presented at the *4th European Consortium for Political Research General Conference*, Pisa, Italy, 6-8 September 2007.

Valiente, C. (2007) "Are gender equality institutions the policy allies of the feminist movement? A contingent 'yes' in Spain". Paper presented at the *202nd American Sociological Association Annual Meeting*, New York, United States, 11-14 August 2007.

Valiente, C. (2007) "Child care in Spain after 1975: The educational rationale, the Catholic church, and women in civil society". Paper presented at the conference *Economic Well-Being and Social Protection in Southern Europe: Changing Policies and Trends*, Instituto de Estudios Fiscales (Fiscal Studies Institute), Madrid, Spain, 15-16 November 2007.

Valiente, C. (2007) "Pre-school education in Spain after the 1930s". Paper presented at the *International and Interdisciplinary Conference: The German Half-Day Model-A European Sonderweg? The "Time Politics" of Child Care, Pre School and Elementary School Education in Post-War Europe*, University of Cologne, Germany, 1-3 March 2007.

Valiente, C. (2007) "Why 36 percent of Spanish members of parliament are women? The effectiveness of quota". Paper presented at the conference *Engendering policy and politics: International and comparative challenges and perspectives*, University of Manchester, Manchester, United Kingdom, 21-22 June 2007.

Valiente, C. (2008) "Child care in Spain after 1975: the educational rationale, the Catholic church and women in civil society". Paper presented at *Gender, family responsibility and legal change–an international, interdisciplinary conference*, Sussex Law School, University of Sussex, Brighton, United Kingdom, 10-12 July 2008.

Valiente, C. (2008) "Children, gender and families in the Spanish welfare state". Paper presented at the *International workshop "Gender, Children and Families in Mediterranean Welfare States"*, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem Israel, 1-3 June 2008.

Valiente, C. (2008) "Feminist activism in the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain". Paper presented at the *103rd American Sociological Association Annual Meeting*, Boston, United States, 1-4 August 2008.

Valiente, C. (2008) "Feminist activism in the Spanish Catholic church in Franco's Spain". Paper presented at the *13th International conference--Alternative futures and popular protest*, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, United Kingdom, 17-19 March 2008.

Valiente, C. (2008) "How Spanish women gained thirty-six percent of parliamentary seats? The effectiveness of (voluntary) gender quotas in Spain". Paper presented at the *66th Midwest Political Science Association Annual National Conference*, Chicago, United States, 3-6 April 2008.

Valiente, C. (2008) "Internationalization, religion and gender identities: the feminist protest within the Catholic church in Franco's Spain (1930s-1975) ". Paper presented at the *First International Sociological Association Forum of Sociology*, Barcelona, Spain, 5-8 September 2008.

Valiente, C. (2008) "The feminist protest within the Spanish Catholic church". Paper presented at the *104th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*, Boston, United States, 28-31 August 2008.

Valiente, C. (2008) "Why 36 percent of Spanish members of parliament are women? The effectiveness of quotas". Paper presented at the *10th International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, Spain, 3-9 July 2008.

Valiente, C. (2009) "Between waves of mobilization: Feminist organizing in society and within the Catholic church in Franco's Spain (1930s-1975) ". Paper presented at the *Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting*, Chicago, United States, 2-5 April 2009.

Valiente, C. (2009) "En ausencia de un movimiento social organizado: La protesta feminista durante el primer franquismo" ("In the absence of an organized social movement: The feminist protest during the first part of the Franco's regime"). Paper presented at the *7th Encuentro de Investigadores sobre el Franquismo* (7th Meeting of Researchers on Franco's Spain), Santiago de Compostela, Spain, 11-13 November 2009.

Valiente, C. (2009) "Feminism and (some) varieties of conservatism can co-exist: The feminist protest within the Catholic church in Franco's Spain (1930s-1975)". Paper presented at the 5th *European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) General Conference*, Potsdam, Germany, 10-12 September 2009.

Valiente, C. (2009) "Hard times for mobilization: Feminist organizing in society and within the Catholic church in Franco's Spain (1930s-1975) ". Paper presented at the *Fourteenth Social Movements Conference--Alternative Futures and Popular Protest*, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, United Kingdom, 15-17 April 2009.

Valiente, C. (2009) "Political regimes matter for social movements in "abeyance": Feminist organizing in Franco's Spain (1930s-1975)". Paper presented at the *104th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association*, San Francisco, United States, 8-11 August 2009.

Valiente, C. (2009) "Political regimes matter in "abeyance" times: Feminist organizing in Franco's Spain (1930s-1975)". Paper presented at the *105th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*, Toronto, Canada, 3-6 September 2009.

Valiente, C. (2009) "Social movements in "abeyance" and political regimes: the feminist protest in Franco's Spain (1930s-1975)". Paper presented at the *50th International Studies Association Annual Convention*, New York, United States, 15-18 February 2009.

Valiente, C. (2009) "Social movements under authoritarian rule: The women's movement in Franco's Spain (1930s-1975)". Paper presented at the *7th European Feminist Research Conference*, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands, 4-7 June 2009.

Valiente, C. (2010) "¿Por qué protestan las mujeres?: La resistencia feminista en la Iglesia Católica en España durante el primer franquismo"("Why women protest? The Feminist resistence within the Catholic Church in the first decades of Franco's Spain"). Paper presented at the *X Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Contemporánea* [10th Conference of the Association of Contemporary History], Universidad de Cantabria, Santander, Spain, 16-17 September 2010.

Valiente, C. (2010) "Allies or members? The role of men in the feminist protest within the Spanish Catholic Church". Paper presented at the *51st Annual Convention of the International Studies Association*, New Orleans, United States, 17-20 February 2010.

Valiente, C. (2010) "La protesta feminista en la Iglesia Católica durante el primer franquismo" ("The feminist protest within the Catholic Church in the first decades of Franco's Spain"). Paper presented at the *15th Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación Española de Investigación de Historia de las Mujeres (15th International Conference of the Spanish Association of Research on Women's History)*, Bilbao, Spain, 11-13 November 2010.

Valiente, C. (2010) "Male allies of feminist citizenship: Women's organizing within the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain". Paper presented at the *Beyond citizenship: Feminism and the transformation of belonging*--An international and

interdisciplinary conference, Birkbeck College, University of London, London, United Kingdom, 30 June-2 July 2010.

Valiente, C. (2010) "Male allies of women movements: Women's organizing within the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain". Paper presented at the *105th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association*, Atlanta, United States, 14-17 August 2010.

Valiente, C. (2010) "Male allies of women's movements: Women's organizing within the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain (mid-1930s-1975)". Paper presented at the *15th Social Movements Conference--Alternative Futures and Popular Protest*, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, United Kingdom, 29-31 March 2010.

Valiente, C. (2010) "¿Cómo protestan las mujeres?: La resistencia feminista en la Iglesia Católica durante el primer franquismo" ("How women protest? The feminist protest within the Catholic Church in the first decades of Franco's Spain"). Paper presented at the *2nd Congreso Internacional "Las mujeres en la esfera pública--De lo privado a lo público: herencias contemporáneas"* (*2nd International Conference "Women in the public sphere–from the private to the public: contemporary legacies)*, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Madrid, Spain, 9-11 June 2010.

Valiente, C. (2010) "Male allies of the feminist protest within the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain (mid-1930s-1975)". Paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Baltimore, United States, 29-31 October 2010.

Valiente, C. (2010) "When men help: Male allies of the feminist protest within the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain". Paper presented at the *4th Conferencia de Doctores Miembros* (4th Conference of Doctors), Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales del Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones, Madrid, Spain, 17-18 June 2010.

Annex III:
FEMCIT Deliverables that have been submitted throughout the full course of the project:

D. No.	Deliverable name	Date due	Delivery date
D. 1	**Work Package 1 Political citizenship**		
D.1.1	a) Anticipated Interview guide for Organisations in Sweden b) Anticipated Interview guide for UK Organisations	Month 4	Month 8
D.1.2	a) Discussion Guide for focus Groups in Spain b) Strand 1 Discussion Group Guide for UK.	Month 4	Month 10
D.1.3	a) Strand 3 Interview questionnaire for Macedonian Members of Parliament (in Polish and translated into Macedonian) b) Interview Questionnaire for Macedonian Women's Organisations (in Polish and with a translation into Macedonian)	Month 6	Month 12
D.1.4	Conceptual grounding of the Work Package on Political Citizenship WP1: Building blocks towards women's gender-fair political citizenship		Month 12
D.1.5	Final Interview questionnaires and group discussion guides for WP1 Political Citizenship	Month 20	Month 20
D.1.6	Draft reports from all Strands	Month 24	Month 25
D.1.7	Manuscript of article submitted to a journal -Strand 1: "Judging Gender Quotas: a results oriented approach"	Month 34	Month 33
D.1.8	Manuscript of book chapter or journal article to be submitted -Strand 2	Month 34	Month 34
D.1.9	Manuscript of article submitted to a journal -Strand 3	Month 34	Month 33
D.1.10	Outline of a book proposal submitted to a publisher	Month 40	Month 39
D.1.11	Final draft of Chapter in FEMCIT Anthology – "Perceptions and Strategies of Political Citizenship"	Month 47	Month 48
D.1.12	One Strand 1 article to be submitted to a journal – "Den politiska representationens intersektionalisering"	Month 47	Month 48
D.1.13	One Strand 2 article to be submitted to a journal – "Constituents and their elected representatives: ideals and challenges in Britain, Spain, Poland and Macedonia"	Month 47	Month 47
D.1.14	One Strand 3 article to be submitted to a journal – "The right to represent – Parliamentarians talk about their representative roles."	Month 47	Month 47
D. 2	**Work Package 2 Social Citizenship**		
D.2.1	a) Draft report on public childcare and parental leave arrangements – Czech Republic b) The development of parental leave and child care arrangements since the 1960s in Spain – Draft report c) The development of parental leave and child care arrangements since the 1960s in Norway – Draft report d) The development of parental leave and childcare arrangements since the 1960s in Finland – Draft report	Month 18	Month 18
D.2.2.	a) Research on political actions and claims by women´s movements and other NGOs in childcare and parental leave issues in Norway and Finland– Draft report b) Research on political actions and claims by women´s movements and other NGOs in childcare and parental leave issues in the Czech Republic –Draft report c) Research on political actions and claims by women´s movements and other NGOs in childcare and parental leave issues in Spain – Draft report	Month 18	Month 20
D.2.3	Draft design for the interviews and the document analysis	Month 17	Month 17
D.2.4	Presentation of conference papers (partners 3, 4, 6): a) The state as an arena for gender-conscious activism in childcare policy in "Norden" b) Social movements under authoritarian rule: The women's movement	Month 30	Month 30

D. No.	Deliverable name	Date due	Delivery date
	in Franco's Spain (1930s-1975) c) Care as a critical category of gender inequality. Conceptualizing Misrecognition of Care in the Transnational Context. d) Childcare between women and the state–the case of the Czech Republic		
D.2.5	Three articles for scholarly journals/book chapters (submitted for review) (partners 3, 4, 6): a) Childcare policy in the 'most gender equal country of the world' since the 1970s: a field of grass root activism and conflicts b) Child Care in Spain after 1975: the Educational Rationale, the Catholic Church and Women in Civil Society c) Female employment, population policy and childcare: Early childhood education in post-1945 Czech society	Month 30	Month 30
D.2.6	Presentation of 4 conference papers, for a panel at the FEMCIT Open Conference, Birkbeck College, University of London, all 3 partners: a) The Path of Czech Women's Groups to Non-Reformist Reforms of Care? b)Transforming Notions of Care: Post-1980's Politics of Childcare and Gender-based Activism in Finland c) Male Allies of Feminist Citizenship: Women's Organizing within the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain (mid-1930s-1975) d) Gender-fair citizenship and feminist demands and visions on childcare	Month 42	Month 42
D.2.7	Report on childcare among Roma in Finland	Month 45	Month 45
D.2.8	Chapter draft for WP2 contribution to the FEMCIT anthology – "Remaking Social Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: Women's movements' agency in childcare politics and policies"	Month 47	Month 48
D.2.9	Manuscripts for articles submitted to peer-reviewed journals, all 3 partners a) Childcare as a Field of Claims-making and Political Mobilisation by Women's Movements in Finland and Norway b) Social Movements in "Abeyance" and Political Regimes: Women's Organizing in Society and within the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain (1930s-1975) c) The Framing of Care Claims by Czech Women's Groups in a Post-socialist Context	Month 48	Month 48
D. 3	**Work Package 3 Economic Citizenship**		
D.3.1.	Research design for the publications mapping exercise & ethnic data reports	Month 6	Month 12
D.3.2.	Two conference papers on "gendered work life in different national contexts" a) "How to be equal in a multi ethnic work organization? Intersections of sexuality, gender and 'race'/ethnicity" b) "The Gender Dimensions of Academia and their Effects on Women's Careers"	Month 18	Month 12
D.3.3	Final mapping report from Strand 1a (women's movement claims with regard to economic citizenship) finished. All countries - Women's Economic Citizenship in a Multicultural Context: Mapping Issues from the Women's Movement in Finland, France, Norway, Poland and the UK	Month 18	Month 20
D.3.4	Final report from Strand 1b (ethnic data mapping) finished. All countries - Women's Economic Citizenship in a Multicultural Context: Mapping the Labour Market Experiences of 'Majority' and 'Minority' Women in France, Norway and Poland	Month 18	Month 20
D.3.5.	Final report from Strand 2A. All countries. a) Gender Equality and Diversity Policies in France b) Media representations of migration issues, migrants and refugees in Poland c) Norwegian policies for gender equality and ethnic integration	Month 31	Month 31

D. No.	Deliverable name	Date due	Delivery date
	d) Migration policies and practices in Poland		
D.3.6.	Presentation of one conference paper, partners 5, 10 and 11 a) "Women in Polish transformation 1989-2009: Recapitulations, interpretations, prospects" b) "Women's Economic Citizenship in Grass-Roots Activist and Academic Feminist Publications in Five National Contexts: The Invisible Intersections of Gender, Class and Race?" c) "Visible difference? Notes on "race", racialisation and reification."	Month 31	Month 31
D.3.7.	Draft article / book chapter (submitted for review). Authors partners 5, 10 and 11 a) "Når likestilling blir ulikhet. Interseksjonalitet i arbeidslivet" b) "Les femmes cadres et dirigeantes d'entreprise en Europe: De la sous-représentation aux politiques de promotion de l'égalité dans la prise de décision économique " c) "Immigrant Women on Polish Labour Market"	Month 33	Month 33
D.3.8	Final reports from Strand 2B. All countries. a) Elder care in Norway: a descriptive overview and a case study b) Economic Citizenship Issues in Elderly Care Policies and Practices in France. A Case Study. c) Immigrant Workers in the Elderly Care Sector in Poland	Month 36	Month 36
D.3.9	Final reports from Strand 3. All partners a) The Economic Citizenship Experiences of Elderly Care Workers in France b) Elderly care and economic citizenship in Norway: Traditional and emerging forms of employment in the elderly care sector and their impact on majoritized and minoritized carers c) Institutionalised Elderly Care in Poland: Legal Framework and Real-Life Practice	Month 46	Month 47
D.3.10	Final contribution to the FEMCIT Anthology. Partner 10: "Remaking Economic Citizesnhip in Multicultural Europe: Issues of Equality in the "Commodification of Care Work" Process"	Month 47	Month 48
D.3.11	Article to be submitted to journal. Partner 11 – "Earning a living: Women minority entrepreneurs and economic citizenship" Report strand 3b	Month 47	Month 48
D.3.12	Final contributions to one of the publications in the FEMCIT Book Series. All partners: "Traditional and emerging forms of employment in the Norwegian elderly care sector: Impact on economic citizenship of "majoritized" and "minoritized" carers"	Month 48	Month 48
D.4	**Work Package 4 Multicultural Citizenship**		
D. 4.1	Dissemination at roundtable session, Women's Worlds conference in Madrid July 2008	Month (16) 18	Month 19
D. 4.2	Cross –country report strand 1: Issues of Problem-Representations, Framing, Claims-Making and Resonance in Women's Movements in Norway, Spain and The United Kingdom	Month 24	Month 24
D. 4.3	Article to be submitted to international refereed journal strand 1: " Domestic violence or violence against women? The dispute over definitions and strategies between the State and the women's movement in the UK"	Month 24	Month 24
D.4.4	Single country reports Strand 1: a) Women's Movements: Constructions of Sisterhood, Dispute and Resonance. The Case of the UK b) Women's Movements: Constructions of Sisterhood, Dispute and Resonance. The Case of Spain c) Women's Movements: Constructions of Sisterhood, Dispute and Resonance. The Case of Norway	Month 21	Month 21

D. No.	Deliverable name	Date due	Delivery date
D.4.5	Roundtable at the Women's World conference in Madrid	Month 18	Month 19
D.4.6	a paper reflecting on the contributions of WP4 to the overall FEMCIT aims: Women's Movements and Citizenship: Issues of Gender, Ethnicity and Religion	Month 37	Month 37
D.4.7	3 working papers, one from each country, Strand 2: a) Religion, Gender and Citizenship: A Case Study of Christian and Muslim Women in Norway b) Religion, Gender and Citizenship: A Case Study of Christian and Muslim Women in The United Kingdom c) Religion, Gender and Citizenship: A Case Study of Christian and Muslim Women in Spain	Month 39	Month 39
D.4.8	3 academic journal articles or book chapters from Strand 1: a) 'The Other' in Women's Movements Discourses b) Inclusive Women's Organisations in Denmark and Norway? c) Opportunities and Mobilisation: Feminism in a Multicultural Society	Month 41	Month 41
D.4.9	1 working paper, cross-country analysis, Strand 2: Christian and Muslim Women in Norway, Spain and The United Kingdom: A Qualitative Study of Religion, Gender and Citizenship	Month 44	Month 44
D.4.10	A book chapter on inclusive or exclusive notions and practices of citizenship, based on interviews with women activists (Strand 3): 'Citizenship is not a word I use': How women's movement activists in Spain, Norway and the United Kingdom understand citizenship as a concept and practise	Month 48	Month 48
D. 5	**Work Package 5 Sexual and Bodily Citizenship**		
D.5.1.	Protocol of common framework and concepts	Month 10	Month 12
D.5.2.	Data set on the historical development of second wave women's movements and their demands and discourses concerning the body	changed	Explained in PAR
D. 5.3.	Tracing policy lines. The issue s of abortion in the Netherlands and Sweden and prostitution/trafficking in the Netherlands: chronology and sources	Month 22	Month 22
D.5.4.	A conference paper on women's movements historical demands concerning the body at relevant international conferences (ECPR): Women's Movements and Bodily Integrity: towards a dynamic institutionalist approach.	Month (18) 15	Month 16
D. 5.5	Papers at European Conference on Politics and Gender: a) A Return to Morality Politics? The Renewed Debates on Women's Body Issues in the Netherlands b) Abortion in Czech Law and political discourse: from a contraception method to today's controversies.	Month 24	Month 24
D. 5.6	Papers at European Conference on Politics and Gender: a) Bodily and sexual citizenship and the impact women's movement in policy debates on prenatal diagnosis and abortion in Sweden b) Is sex work? Debates on prostitution in Germany and Sweden since the 1970s c) Rethinking Bodily Citizenship in the Era of Reprogenetics. Comparative Insights	Month 24	Month 24
D. 5.7	Paper ECPR Joint Sessions of workshops, NL case: "The institutionalisation of equality policy in the Netherlands: will intersectionality take root?"	Month 27	Month 29
D. 5.8	Submission of article on the Netherlands to journal: "A Return to Morality Politics? Framing, Policies and Party Alignments in the Netherlands"	Month 28	Month 29
D. 5.9	Submission of article on abortion (Czech R.) to journal: „Interrupce v socialistickém Československu z Foucauldovské perspektivy"	Month 27	Month 29
D. 5.10	Submission of article on prostitution (Sweden) to journal: " On the Historiography of Swedish Prostitution Policy"	Month 31	Month 31
D.	Submission of article on Sweden trafficking:	Month 31	Month 36

D. No.	Deliverable name	Date due	Delivery date
5.11	"The Discovery of Trafficking in Sweden – The Impact of Women´s Movements"		
D. 5.12	Submission of article on gender and institutionalism to journal: "Staking the Frame of a Feminist Discursive Institutionalism"	Month 33	Month 33
D.5.13	Submission of article on abortion (Sweden) to journal: "Nationalism and women's self-determination: the abortion issue in Sweden 1964-2009"	Month 36	Month 37
D.5.14	Submission of article on NL to journal: "The Return of the Victim: Changes in Dutch Prostitution Policies"	Month 39	Month 39
D.5.15	Submission of article on bodily citizenship and reprogenetics to journal: "Body Politics, Biomedicin, and Gender Knowledge in Sweden. A Policy Study within a Discursive Insitutionalist Approach."	Month 46	Month 48
D.5.16	Submission of article on abortion in Czech Republic: "The framing of abortion in the Czech Republic: the continuity of discourse and development of institutions"	Month 42	Month 42
D.5.17	Final report on abortion in Portugal	Month 42	Month 42
D.5.18	Conference Paper: "Citizenship and prostitution in the Netherlands: The Contested Citizenship of Sex Workers: the Case of the Netherlands"	Month 41	Month 42
D.5.19	Paper on prostitution in Czech Republic: "Prostitutes as „the Others"? The construction of prostitutes and prostitution in the Czech political discourse"	Month 42	Month 42
D.5.20	Draft chapter for final FEMCIT book: "Remaking Bodily Citizenship in Multicultural Europe"	Month 47	Month 47
D. 6	**Work Package 6 Intimate Citizenship**		
D.6.1	Interview guide	Month 5	Month 12
D.6.2	Strand 2 Report: Policy Contexts and Responses to Changes in Intimate Life	Month 20	Month 20
D.6.3	Two conference papers at high profile learned society or international conferences: a) "A transformação da cidadania íntima em Portugal: contributos dos movimentos pela igualdade de género e sexual " b) "New research on the Norwegian feminist women's movements of the 1970s."	Month (18) 20	Month 20
D.6.4	Strand 1 Report: Changing Cultural Discourses About Intimate Life: The Demands and Actions of Women's Movements and Other Movements for Gender and Sexual Equality and Change	Month 24	Month 24
D.6.5	Roundtable presentations and paper at ECPR Gender and Politics: "Intimate Citizenship in Europe: the claims, demands and practices of women's movements"	Month 24	Month 24
D.6.6	Submit one academic journal article: "Intimate citizenship: a pragmatic, yet radical, proposal for a politics of personal life"	Month 31	Month 31
D.6.7	One conference paper: "The Changing Landscape of Heteronormativity: the regulation of same-sex sexualities in Europe"	Month 32	Month 32
D.6.8	Strand 3a Report: Statistical and contextual background	Month 39	Month 39
D.6.9	Strand 3b Report: Methodology	Month 40	Month 40
D.6.10	One conference paper : "Intimate Citizenship Regimes in Multicultural Europe: The Tenacity of the Couple Norm"	Month 42	Month 42
D.6.11	Strand 3c Report: analysis of biographical-narrative interviews : a) Intimate Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: Analysis of Biographical Narrative Interviews - Bulgaria b) Intimate Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: Analysis of Biographical Narrative Interviews – Norway	Month 44	Month 46

D. No.	Deliverable name	Date due	Delivery date
	c) Intimate Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: Analysis of Biographical Narrative Interviews – Portugal d) Intimate Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: Analysis of Biographical Narrative Interviews - UK		
D.6.12	Submit one academic journal article for international refereed journal: "The Changing Landscape of Heteronormativity: the regulation of same-sex sexuality in Europe"	Month 44	Month 46
D.6.13	Submit one academic journal article for international refereed journal: "Cidadania íntima e feminismo em Portugal"	Month 45	Month 46
D.6.14	Book chapters: a) Heteronormativity, Intimate Citizenship and the Regulation of Same-Sex Sexualities in Bulgaria b) Intimate Citizenship and Gendered Well-Being: The claims and interventions of women's movements in Europe	Month 48	Month 48
D.7	**Work Package 7 Integrative Analysis**		
D.7.1	Draft report on design and methodologies	Month 6	Month 12
D.7.2	The "impact" of women's movements and the "architecture" of gender-fair citizenship – conceptual discussions within FEMCIT	Month 25	Month 26
D.7.3	Minutes from FEMCITs contributions during Women's Worlds	Month 20	Month 19
D.7.4	Minutes from FEMCITs contributions during 7th EFRC, Utrecht	Month 30	Month 30
D.7.5	Report on multicultural tensions and integrative reflections (P15)	Month 16	Month 16
D. 7.6	Design for the report on gender mainstreaming (P14)	Month 20	Month 20
D.7.7	Paper on the contributions of WP 1-6 to the overall FEMCIT aims regarding architecture for gender-fair citizenship and integrating the citizenship dimensions (partner 1 and 2)	Month 36	Month 36
D.7.8	Paper on Citizenship and Intersectionality (partner 15): "Relocating Flexible Citizenship: Belongings and Membership in a Multicultural Europe"	Month 36	Month 37
D.7.9	Mainstreaming equality and diversity (partner 14): Mainstreaming Gender, Diversity and Citizenship: Concepts and Methodologies	Month 37	Month 37
D.7.10	Revised paper for the Beyond Citizenship Conference in London (Partner 14): "Citizenship as a Communicative Event: Contextualising and Visualizing Gender- and Diversity Mainstreaming in the European Union."	Month 43	Month 43
D.7.11	FEMCIT "policy document" based on Brussels presentations: FEMCIT: Gendered Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: the Impact of Contemporary Women's Movements	Month 46	Month 47
D.7.12	'The intersection of gender fair citizenship and gender mainstreaming' (the Mainstreaming report) (Partner 14): Mainstreaming Gender, Diversity and Citizenship: Concepts and Methodologies	Month 48	Month 48
D.7.13	Presentations at the final FEMCIT conference	Month 48	Month 48
D.7.14	Draft article for an international refereed journal based on the integrative analysis from WP3 and WP6 (Partners 10 and 16): "Flexibilisation and individualization: entanglements of economic and intimate citizenship in contemporary Europe"	Month 48	Month 48
D.7.15	Draft article for an international refereed journal based on an integrative analysis across the WP's (Partners 1,2 and 16): "Grounding Multidimensional Citizenship: Researching the Impacts, Influences and Resonances of Women's Movements in Multicultural Europe"	Month 48	Month 48
D. 8	**Work Package 8 Dissemination**		
D.8.1	Project web-site incorporating public, private and training components	Month 4	Month 6
D.8.2.	Plan for using and disseminating knowledge	Month 6	Month 11
D.8.3.	Report on all meetings attended at which the project has been represented and publicised	Month 18	Month 12
D.8.4.	List of end-users interested in project-results and project-contact	Month 4	Month 12
D.8.5.	Revised plan for using and disseminating knowledge (in cooperation	Month 24	Month 26

D. No.	Deliverable name	Date due	Delivery date
	with FEMCIT Knowledge Management and Dissemination Panel)		
D. 8.6.	Revised account of dissemination activities	Month 24	Month 26
D.8.7	Consolidated Dissemination Report	Month 38	Month 38
D.8.8	Final Dissemination Report	Month 48	Month 48
D. 9	**Work Package 9 Training**		
D.9.1	Web-training service	Month 2	Month 8
D.9.2	Plan for the 1st biannual international Ph.D. course	Month 14	Month 12
D.9.3	FEMCIT web training service is taken into use by all staff and visited by the external target user	Month 6	Month 12
D.9.4.	Evaluation report on the first biannual international FEMCIT Ph.D. course	Month 18	Month 19
D.9.5.	Plan for the second biannual international FEMCIT Ph.D. course	Month 24	Month 25
D.9.6	Evaluation report on the second FEMCIT PhD course	Month 32	Month 32