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Project Outline. Gender, Democracy and Welfare States in Transition

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Gender, Democracy, and Welfare States in Transition

Project Outline

I. INTRODUCTION

During the last 30 years the political position of Danish women has changed dramatically: from a state of political powerlessness to one of increasing political empowerment. This change in women's relation to politics represents one of the most far reaching, albeit largely unnoticed, changes in the Danish welfare state and democracy. The overall aim of this project is to study the interplay between changing gender relations and changes in the Danish model of welfare and democracy in a comparative perspective. The study will synthesize the development of the last three decades and discuss future trends.

The main focus of the program is on *the changing political meaning of gender*, looking at "the particular and contextual ways in which politics constructs gender and gender constructs politics" (Scott, 1988:46). We argue that the specific interaction of social and political rights as a defining characteristic of Scandinavian welfare states has deeply influenced the position of women and men and that gender relations and gender conflicts are among the crucial dynamics of the on-going and future political and economic processes of transformation (Hernes, 1988; Friberg, 1987). One crucial aspect is the increasing importance of reproduction issues, like child care, in public policy. Another aspect is the new roles women play in public, political life (Siim, 1994a: 287). We intend to study the implications of women's inclusion in political life for the future organization of democracy and welfare.

Since 1965, when the first Commission on Women was appointed by the Prime Minister, a "silent revolution" in women's relation to politics has taken place. Women have become politically mobilized and have increased their political participation and representation during the 1970s and 1980s. Today, women constitute about one-third of the members of Parliament, local councils and public boards, the gender gap in political participation has been narrowed considerably (Andersen et.al., 1993; Dahlerup og Hvidt, 1990; Karvonen and Selle, 1995), and the traditional gender gap in political attitudes and values has almost disappeared (Togeby, 1994). A new gender gap among young citizens, however, seems to be emerging (Christensen, 1995; Raaum, 1995) Women have gained a new presence in the public political sphere in Scandinavia, moving from a "small to a large minority" (Dahlerup, 1988). That does not mean, however, that political power today is shared equally by men and women, and in the 1990s indications point to a possible standstill in certain areas. Simultaneously, both the welfare state and Danish democracy have come under pressure due, among other things, to the increasing globalization of economics, internationalization of politics, and problems of legitimation.

Today there is a new interaction of gender and political institutions in Scandinavia. It is, however, an open question as to what the implications of this are for gender relations in general and for political life? Will the political culture and political decisions turn "women-friendly"? Will gender conflicts in politics increase? Will the women politicians continue to use their new power to promote policies of equal opportunity? Will political institutions, as many feminists have hoped, become more open and democratic, more related to everyday life with the changed gender relations in politics? Will women's as well as men's perception of "the political" change as more women enter politics?

The transformation processes will be investigated through the following three themes, which constitute separate, although interlinked, dimensions of the overall program:

- A. Citizenship and Democracy
- B. The Welfare State
- C. State Feminism and Gender Equality

II. THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE Program

The project will generate new insights into the relation between gender, power and politics, both empirically and theoretically, through the focus on the political importance and meaning of gender across the three dimensions. We have been inspired both by feminist paradigms and by the framework of welfare state and citizenship. We intend to develop an analytical framework for studying the political meaning of gender that challenges basic ideas in both mainstream and feminist approaches in this research field.

II.1. The concept of gender

The basic assumption of feminist theory is that *gender matters*. This may seem self-evident, but until now mainstream research on democracy, welfare state and citizenship has often been "gender-blind". Gender has been reduced to a statistical variable in political science, and in sociology, gender relations have been relegated to studies of the family and kinship groups. Our purpose is to provide new knowledge about recent trends in the Danish welfare state and Danish democracy by contrasting paradigms from feminist theory with mainstream theories on politics, democracy, and the welfare state. The basic idea is to apply gender as a central concept and variable in order to illuminate both inherent contradictions, current dilemmas, and new trends connected with democracy and the organization of welfare in Denmark compared to other Nordic and European democracies. As Robert Connell states: "Gender relations are present in *all* types of institutions. They may not be the most important structure in a particular case, but they are certainly a major structure at most" (1987: 120). It is our assumption that we cannot fully understand present changes in the welfare state, political institutions, and civil society without taking changing gender relations and gender conflicts into account.

Our framework challenges *the tendency towards universalism* in feminist theory which has a tendency to analyze the gender dualism as the primary and only contradiction, thus isolating gender from social categories. We want to develop a more dynamic perspective on the interaction of gender, class, and generation. This means that one of the objectives of the program is to investigate the interplay between, on the one hand, the general processes of differentiation in society and, on the other, the processes of differentiation between women and men. We ask how and to what extent these processes create new gender polarizations and inequalities. How do new patterns of polarization between insiders and outsiders on the labor market, between the well-educated elite and the employed workers and the groups outside the labor market correspond to new patterns of polarization in political power when looking at gender and class? We intend to study to what extent gender equalizing in fact creates new social differentiations, for instance according to class, and to investigate to what extent gender has a different meaning for different generations. This framework poses challenges, both theoretically and empirically.

Finally, the framework goes beyond *the dualist interpretation of power and politics* in Scandinavian feminist research: The pessimistic approach to gender and power that argues that the older forms of male dominance have just been replaced by new kinds of patriarchal power (Hirdman, 1990), and the optimistic approach focusing on the "women-friendliness" of the Scandinavian welfare states (Hernes, 1987). Here a shift of perspective is needed which reformulates the concepts of equality, rights and interests and synthesizes research on women's agency with structural and institutional perspectives in order to reach more valid and differentiated conclusions.

II.2. Approaches to the welfare state

Mainstream approaches to the welfare state have focused primarily on the relation between the state and the market, and feminist scholars have argued that by neglecting the interplay between the state, market and the family, welfare state research leaves out important aspects of gender differences (Bussemaker and Kersbergen, 1994; Borchorst 1994a). In addition, crucial aspects of differences between countries have been ignored and thereby the prevalent welfare typologies have become insufficient or partial. From an empirical point of view, the explanatory power of welfare models has been blocked by the overwhelming focus on income transfers, and the relative neglect of social services, especially in the non-Scandinavian literature. We also find that differences in political cultures and the different role of religion and the church as an institution must be taken into consideration when the intention is to explain the different organization of gender relations (Pedersen, 1993). The interplay between religion, politics and welfare states, which is important in order to explain historical variations between welfare states, has especially been downplayed by Scandinavian scholars.

Feminist scholars have recently argued that there is a gender system built on the sexual division of labor that transcends welfare regimes. One implication of this is that in spite of policy differences, the male breadwinner model has historically been the dominant model in all welfare states. Lewis and Ostner differentiate welfare states into strong, medium and weak breadwinner models (1994:17). Other scholars have differentiated between models of motherhood and of organizing caring work as the defining characteristics of the modern welfare states (Leira, 1992). One main question today is what are the implications for gender equality of the tendency toward a dual breadwinner model in all European countries? To what extent does this represent a new integration and participation of women as workers, mothers and citizens, or new forms of segregation and marginalization of women?

The prevalent models of welfare have been challenged in later years theoretically and empirically. Some typologies are based on assumptions and principles behind policies, some on levels of benefits and some on effects, for example in terms of inequalities. It is also important to make distinctions between the different role of actors in the historical formations of welfare states and in different periods of welfare states. Our focus is both on the role of women as actors in the development of modern welfare states, the gendered assumption behind public discourses and social policies and the interrelation between gender relations and social policies. We will confront the debate about welfare regimes with the debate on models of citizenship and discuss, whether the prevalent typologies of welfare can be reformed, or whether a shift of paradigm is needed that integrates dimensions of welfare

and participation in order to develop typologies that adequately describe the formation of welfare states and the variation in gender structures in different policy contexts.

II.3. The Concept of Citizenship

One of the key concepts in the framework is the notion of citizenship. It is a contested concept which is currently the object of a theoretical debate between (neo)liberals, socialists, (neo)republicans, communitarians, and feminists. In our understanding the concept of citizenship combines two dimensions: It refers both to the rights and duties of citizens vis-a-vis the state (the vertical dimension), and to the political participation, attitudes and communities of citizens (the horizontal dimension) (Andersen et al., 1993: 13). Thus citizenship as a research framework may embrace studies of both actors, structures and institutions, from a "bottom up" as well as from a "top-down" perspective. It can therefore be used as a framework for a critical analysis of which groups at different points of time, in different places and to various degrees, are integrated or excluded from civil, political, and social rights, and as a basis for a comparison of the different processes for mobilizing and empowering women and for empowering unskilled and marginalized groups of women and men.

We propose to develop a framework which combines the study of social and political citizenship. Traditionally, citizenship has been divided into three different aspects: civil, social, and political rights (Marshall, 1950). Sociologists like Marshall have emphasized the social rights (and duties) of individual citizens vis-a-vis the state, while political scientists have emphasized the political rights and political participation of citizens (Mouffe, 1990; Turner, 1992). The specific content of and interaction between different aspects of citizenship is contextual and has varied in different national policy configurations and for different groups (Turner, 1992).

In this project we will investigate the gendered meaning of the key concepts of citizenship, freedom (autonomy), equality, and solidarity. Feminist researchers have challenged the concept of the universal citizen arguing that the interaction between social, civil, and political rights has been different for women and men: Women gained social rights before they became full citizens in a political sense, whereas it was the other way around for working class men (Hernes, 1988; Orloff, 1992; Pateman, 1988).

Pateman's classical studies of women's citizenship have analyzed women's exclusion from politics and their powerlessness in modern democracies. She argues that the separation between the private and the public sphere has created a dilemma for women in modern democracies between 'equality and difference' (1988). Scandinavian feminist researchers have started to analyze the new dilemmas for women's citizenship connected with women's political empowerment and to rethink the concepts of equality and difference from the context of Scandinavian welfare states (Skjeie 1992; Jonasdottir 1991; Siim, 1994a). This implies analyzing the gendered meaning of women's public political roles. This framework is based on a relative autonomy and importance of politics, including public policies, political institutions and political culture, vis-a-vis the economy and the family in shaping gender relations in society.

The theoretical dimension of gender, welfare state and citizenship, mentioned above, represents the link between the following three dimensions: citizenship and democracy, the welfare state and state feminism and gender equality. At the same time it constitutes a fourth and independent dimension of the program.

III. CITIZENSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

III.1. Gender and democratic citizenship

One main area of the program is a comparative Nordic study of the implications of women's increased political empowerment in politics for political communities and the political culture.

There is still inequality in women's and men's political power. And research has documented new gender inequalities and differences in women's and men's citizen roles (Andersen et.al. 1993: ch. 7 and 8). This gender differentiation can be interpreted both as a potential and as a problem for democracy: Gender differences can increase diversity and pluralism in political life, if men and women have different patterns of organization and different values and attitudes toward politics. They constitute a problem for democracy only to the extent that gender differences are an expression of systematic gender inequalities in women and men's political power.

On the normative level, we focus on citizenship as a community which does not exclude anyone and is equal, active and pluralist (Andersen et.al., 1993: 20). Radical (or discursive) democracy emphasizes political communities and political dialogue as a means to reach consensus and to solve conflicts of interests (Mouffe, 1990; Habermas 1992; Torpe 1994). This understanding is inspired by the participatory democratic tradition that emphasizes citizen involvement in and democratic control of political decisions and public institutions, and stresses active participation as the basis for democratic learning (Pateman, 1970). It is different from both the liberal tradition, which focuses on the rights and duties of individual citizens and from the republican (or communitarian) tradition that is based on a substantial understanding of the common interest which tends to suppress particular interests in the name of the 'common good' (Touraine, 1994). One crucial question from a perspective of radical democracy is what are the conditions for the political dialogue and in what way can a gender perspective contribute to a new understanding of the dynamic and meaning of political communities today?

One of the main results from the Danish investigation of citizenship was that during the 1990s there has been a growing polarization between a politically active, elite culture, and a relative passive group of spectators. This polarization is not new, but historically there has at the same time been a number of relatively strong political organizations and social movements that were the centers of the classical political dialogue. Today there is a tendency toward a fragmented and segmented political culture. Citizens are divided in many different roles organized around particular interests and single issues. From a radical democratic perspective, it is a problem if only a few citizens are organized in stable political communities with obligations toward the 'common good'. From a gender perspective we can ask, to what extent the inclusion of women in political life will increase segmentation and fragmentation in the political culture and to what extent women will become political innovators through the development of new forms of political communities?

Even though there are no longer any major differences between the political participation of women and men today, there are still crucial gender differences in the political participatory culture which is important for the development of permanent political communities based on a stable commitment. Women's political mobilization and values have historically been different from men's. The inclusion of women in the larger political

community in the 1970s and 1980s as active partners in the democratic dialogue, for example through social movements, can be interpreted as an important extension of democracy that integrated political issues of gender equality in the political culture (Christensen, 1991).

The relationship between participation in classical political organizations like political parties and interest groups on the one hand, and in new organizations and movements like social experiments and user participation on the other, is a central question for the functioning of Danish democracy (Larsen and Andersen, 1995b). We intend to pursue the recent studies of changing gender differences in participation, looking at the impact on political identities, goals, strategies, and organizational patterns. Today, the new social movements no longer represent an alternative to the classical political organizations, like the political parties and the trade union movement. Women's mobilization has already to some extent spread to a broader spectrum of organizations, e.g. the trade union movement, local user organizations etc, but there are gender inequalities in other organizations, e.g. the political parties. It is a problem for the Danish model of democracy that women and the young are not attracted to the classical political organizations.

Danish democracy shows contradictory tendencies: Decentralization and local mobilization on the one hand, and centralization, internationalization or europeanization (through EU) on the other hand. While studies have shown women's empowerment on the local level, we still don't have studies of women's involvement and influence, e.g. through the very important committee-system on the EU level (Pedersen, 1995) and of the impact of the internationalization of the decision-making processes on women's political power in general.

Finally, we want to expand the field of gender investigation on politics to include masculinity and the political role of men. To what extent are men mobilized according to their gender and what is the significance of men's organizations? One interesting question is whether men's interests are voiced only in terms of fatherhood, as is the case with the new associations of fathers, or are expressed in relation to other issues as well. This investigation cannot be limited to organizations with the declared aim of representing men's interests, but must also include seemingly gender neutral areas as for example members of Parliament and male dominated organizations like the trade unions.

III.2. The Meaning and the Effect of Gendered Political Representation

The political representation of women in the Nordic countries is the highest in the world and so is the number of female ministers. In this project, we will synthesize the different attempts to explain this dramatic change, and also try to explain why Denmark has the lowest representation of women among the Nordic countries, with the exception of Iceland. Do Danish women seek influence through other channels than women in the other Nordic countries?

This project will also, through decision-making analyzes, discourse analyzes and interviews with politicians, try to answer the question, so often asked, but so difficult to answer, namely what have been the effects of the increasing political representation of women on political institutions, on the political culture and on policies. Female politicians do not have a uniform opinion as to the effect of their presence. Our hypothesis is that women as newcomers in politics have challenged - and to some degree - altered the political

culture and the political institutions. They have been active in placing policies of equal opportunities and policies concerning children and welfare more strongly on the political agenda. In this way, we intend to move away from the common assumption that women politicians only had to adjust themselves to the male political institutions. Instead we will investigate the actual connections between the changes in welfare state policies and the functioning of democracy on the one hand and women's political empowerment on the other. While some discuss the welfare state mainly in terms of raising expenditures, the women's movement throughout history has demanded extension of welfare state provisions as a prerequisite of true equality between women and men.

It is our assumption that the relatively unique cooperation in the Scandinavian countries between women on the left and on the right on women's issues has contributed to the emergence of state feminism in the 1970s and 1980s. We must, however, ask whether this cross-party alliance has vanished today?

We intend to examine whether there has been a change in the way female politicians perceive feminism and gender equality. A Norwegian study has concluded that women in the 1970s and 1980s entered politics on a "mandate of difference", but found it difficult to act on such a mandate (Skjeie, 1992). Our hypothesis is that this has also been true for Denmark, but that the younger generations of female politicians today do not accept such a mandate.

Projects under this theme, se Appendix I.

IV. THE WELFARE STATE

IV.1. Convergence of Models?

The Nordic countries have many similarities in terms of the situation of women and the way social and political citizenship has been linked. The Scandinavian welfare states, and especially Sweden and Denmark, have extended the role of the state in human care substantially. Because of this, the dependency on the state as users of public services has become different for women and men. Also in relation to income transfers and the role as clients of welfare, the status of women and men has been very different. The change in women's situation from being economically dependent on marriage and husbands to being more dependent on the state relates to the very different role of men and women in the family. We discuss whether the extension of the welfare state has undermined civil society and the family networks, or whether new family structures have emerged.

We will investigate whether one can conclude that a specific Nordic or maybe just a Scandinavian model is or has been existent, and if so what has caused this development and what are the effects in terms of new forms of dependency? Our point of departure is the approach that "politics matters", and we investigate the interplay between economical, political, and demographic factors.

The situation of women in Northern Europe has been considerably different from the situation in many Continental European countries. Countries where the Catholic church has played a strong role for longer periods, like West Germany and the Netherlands previously ascribed a strong role to the family in human care, and the male breadwinner family model has been predominant in these countries for a much longer period than in Scandinavia. Today women are increasingly entering the labor market in all European countries, and the male breadwinner family model is crumbling. The question is, in what direction are these countries now heading in terms of the interrelation between market, state and family?

Similar questions are crucial in the former communist countries in Eastern and Central Europe. Who will care for children and the elderly in the future welfare state, and who supports the family? In liberal countries like the UK, women have been integrated in the labor force without public care. Here strong gender inequalities and marginalization undermine the legitimacy of this model, and EU directives challenge some of its main features. In republican countries, like France, there has been extensive political support to married women's wage work. Here the republican model built on universalism and on women's marginalization in the public, political arena is today being challenged.

At the same moment the Scandinavian welfare states are under strong criticism and are in a process of restructuring (Borchorst, 1994b). We intend to analyze implications of different scenarios of restructuring of the Danish welfare state and its impact on gender relations. One crucial question is which role women will play in the restructuring of care and work, another is to what extent and under what conditions men will take over a larger part of care in the family and in society.

IV.2. Growing Polarization between Men and Women?

It has been argued that the extension of the Danish welfare state mitigated gender conflicts due to the partnership between women and the welfare state. More recently the argument has been that the strong concentration of women in welfare state jobs creates serious cleavages in terms of gender differences in job structures (Esping-Andersen, 1993). It has been documented that especially young women are more positive vis-a-vis the welfare state and less "liberal" than young men (Christensen, 1994). Hence, there is some evidence that a certain gender polarization exists. It seems to crystallize as a public-private split. Private is here understood in two connotations: an economic one in terms of the private market, and a sociological one in terms of the family. The question is whether the restructuring of the welfare state will deepen or lessen the gender conflicts, and whether gender polarization will be more pronounced in Scandinavia than for instance in Continental European countries. We suggest that the growing diversity of women of race, color and ethnicity and religion, also in Europe, fosters different types of gender cleavages, and we intend to study how European integration affects these processes, which have not been the subject of much scientific interest in Denmark so far.

IV.3. Social and Political Citizenship

As Lockwood argued already in his classic survey of working class communities in the 1960s, individuals "visualise the structure of their society from the vantage points of their own particular milieu, and their perceptions of the larger societies will vary according to their experiences in the smaller society in which they live out their daily lives" (1966: 249). In this project we are interested in studying the dynamic interaction between the "small" and the "big" democracy, between the experiences and thinking of actors in everyday life and their political behavior at large. Especially Denmark has a long tradition of "bottom up" initiatives in local communities, which will eventually influence the welfare system and the functioning of the democracy in general (Andersen and Larsen, 1996).

Feminist research has studied the relation between politics and family relations arguing that the gender division of work has been a main barrier to women's political participation (Randall, 1982). This is no longer the case in Denmark, where motherhood and marriage have no negative influence on women's political participation (Siim, 1994a;

Langberg, 1994). Have experiences with motherhood/parenthood become a new basis for political participation for both women and men? Today women (and men) have a plurality of political roles as parents, workers, clients/consumers, and citizens. Has this created a new diversity in women's political identities and practices, or led to new forms of solidarity between different groups of women? To what extent and in what ways do political institutions, organizations and political discourses provide possibilities of or barriers to the empowerment of citizens according to gender, class, and generation?

The processes of differentiation take on different forms for men and women. There is evidence that marginalization on the labor market tends to increase women's political powerlessness relative to men's. On the other hand, unemployed and unskilled women have in some cases been more successful than men in developing new individual and collective experiences in response to marginalization through alternative and experimental activities. The interaction between experiences in everyday life, empowerment and participation will be examined in greater detail through local case studies of social-cultural experiments with new communities at the local level, for example day folk high-schools.

Projects under this theme, se Appendix I.

V. STATE FEMINISM AND GENDER EQUALITY

A third main area of this program is comparative studies of the development of public agencies and policies of equal opportunities ("state feminism") and their actual effects on gender equality. The study will include the local, the national as well as the international level.

When the Women's Commission finished its work, its main proposition was the establishment of a permanent agency to promote equality between women and men. The Council of Equal Status was indeed established in 1975. A further institutionalization of equal opportunity policies has taken place through the establishment of regional equal opportunity consultants and equality committees in the communes, within state agencies and large public and private enterprises.

A number of different laws on equal opportunities have been passed, some of them following EU directives and most of them quite similar to initiatives taken in the other Nordic countries. Our hypothesis is that the major reforms for women have been gained through welfare state policies rather than through policies of equal opportunity. Furthermore, it seems to be a paradox, that while Denmark scores very high in terms of women's political representation and welfare state policies, the goals and means of the Danish equal opportunity policy do not seem to distinguish themselves from those of most other Western countries (Haavio-Mannila et al, 1985; Meehan & Sevenhuijsen 1991; Watson 1990).

While the radical Women's Liberation Movement of the 1970s revived the feminist challenge and revitalized the public debate on feminist issues, more traditional women's organizations in all the Scandinavian countries have become increasingly integrated in the formal political system, especially through the equality agencies (Dahlerup, 1996). At the same time, radical feminism has lost its momentum. What has happened to feminism as a political practice? Is there a link between the recent decrease in feminist activism and this institutionalization? And conversely one may ask, whether state feminism can survive and gain results without an active mobilization of women at the grass roots level?

This program aims at cross-national studies of equal opportunity agencies and policies. Nordic equal opportunity agencies and policies are characterized by being gender-neutral, even programs of affirmative action are based on gender neutrality (Borchorst, 1995), whereas some other countries, like France, USA, and Germany, have established special *women's* offices (Stetson and Mazur, 1995). We will investigate the implications of the principle of gender neutrality in Danish legislation. Furthermore, we will discuss how the recent focus on *men* in the gender equality debate should be interpreted. Is it a reflection of a backlash against feminism as it has been argued in the case of the USA (Faludi, 1991), or is it a sign that gender equity has reached a new stage in Scandinavia? Finally, what are the reasons for the differences in content and salience of the debate on equality in the five Nordic countries, that otherwise have been so very similar in this regard so far?

According to the present Danish law on equality, all public institution must work actively for equality between women and men. To develop actions-plans for equality is one of most important means in the policy of equal opportunity in the public administration today. However, reports have shown, that many institutions give low priority to equality policy, whereas many other want to work actively in this field, but are bewildered as to goals and means. After the institutionalization, the equality policies seem to rest on the assumption, that this must be consensus policy, contrary to the visible gender conflicts of the 1970s. What does this mean for the choice of goals and measures within different agencies?

Economic independence of men and marriage through education and integration in the labor force have been the dominant strategies for gender equality in Denmark since the 1960s. There are new strategies of gender equality now that the integration of women in the labor force is almost at the level of men, and the level of education is very similar for men and women. Very different positions and strategies have been voiced. Some argue that the equality strategy has failed because new kinds of gender hierarchies have replaced the old ones. Women are still low paid and occupy lower positions in the job hierarchy. It has been argued that too much priority has been given to participation on the labor market and entitlement tied to paid work, whereas unpaid work and the family have been ignored. Others argue that the strategy has been successful during this stage, and new strategies need to be developed that involve changing the culture and attitudes of men as employers, workers and parents. Our hypothesis is that some groups of women have benefited more than others, according not only to their own background, but also to differences among the men they marry. We will discuss new trends concerning strategies for gender equality seen in relation to diversities in social background and generation and we will focus on the political actors promoting them. Can we anticipate a new and strong political alliance between groups of men and groups of women around care for children with the aim to reconcile work and family?

Projects under this theme, se Appendix I.

VI. METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN OF THE Program

VI.1 The comparative approach

The program is based on a comparative approach. The focus is on Denmark, but systematically studied in a comparative European perspective. Therefore the program will include a selected number of other countries, and the research projects will be carried out in cooperation with researchers from these countries.

- The other Nordic countries
- The Netherlands
- Germany
- United Kingdom
- Ireland
- France
- Hungary or the Czech Republic (to be decided)

While Germany, France and the Netherlands represent the Continental model of welfare state, the United Kingdom today represent a special kind of liberal welfare state in contrast to the social democratic welfare states of Scandinavia. The selection of countries also covers variations in the importance of the religious factor and marked differences in women's inclusion in the labor market and in politics. The inclusion of a postcommunist country throws light on the importance of changes in the balance between state, market and civil society for gender relations.

Some of the projects under this program are based on a Nordic comparative perspective, while others include a broader European comparison including all the selected countries.

VI.2 The empirical methods

We focus both on the dynamic changes of the political meaning of gender, and on the specific dynamic between gender and politics in different social and political contexts. The program will employ a plurality of approaches based on both quantitative and qualitative empirical methods depending on the subject of investigation:

1. Analysis of survey-data
2. Questionnaires
3. In depth-interviews
4. Case-studies
5. Discourse analyses
6. Policy analyses
7. Institutional analyses

ad.1. We intend to limit the collection of new survey data to a few well-defined and strategically chosen cases with a relative small number of questions. As a point of departure in the first part of the program, we intend to use existing survey data primarily from the 1990s. It will be possible to generate new data on gender and politics by using existing surveys. We have already access to following representative surveys:

- The Nordic Investigations on Citizenship (Sweden 1988, Denmark and Norway 1990) (Ann-Dorte Christensen and Birte Siim)
- The Survey of Former Redstockings in Denmark 1992 (Drude Dahlerup)
- The Danish Election Surveys from 1971, 1979, 1987, 1990 and 1994 (in agreement with Jørgen Goul Andersen)
- The National Survey on Citizens and Local Government 1995 (in agreement with Lars Torpe)
- The Representative Survey of Members of Unions affiliated to the Danish LO 1992 (in agreement with Morten Lassen)

VII. LINKS TO NORDIC AND INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH PROJECTS

Gender and Welfare Systems in Europe (European research project under the Human Capital and Mobility Network). Birte Siim is the Danish participant.

State Feminism: (International research project, with 12 countries). Anette Borchorst is the Danish participant.

Women, Welfare State and Citizenship: (European research network, Utrecht University). Danish participants: Anette Borchorst, Birte Siim.

"Halva Makten": (Nordic project, producing a follow-up to "Unfinished Democracy" (Haavio-Mannila et.al., 1985). Ann-Dorte Christensen (co-editor), and Anette Borchorst, Drude Dahlerup and Birte Siim.

Gender and Citizenship: Social Integration and Social Exclusion in European Welfare States: (European Network with 11 countries coordinated by Birte Siim, under the Targeted Social and Economic Research Program TSER).

Research Network, Social integration and exclusion in the city. (EU's 4th framework). John Andersen is the Danish participant.

Research Network, European Citizenship and Social Exclusion Network. (EU's 4th framework). Jørgen Elm Larsen is the Danish participant.

Research Network, Locally Based Anti-poverty/Social Integration Activity. (EU's 4th framework). John Andersen is the Danish Participant.

International Social Science Council's Research Program. "Comparative Research Program on Poverty". Jørgen Elm Larsen is the Danish participant.

VIII. ORGANIZATION OF THE PROJECT, INCLUDING MANAGEMENT

The applicants involved are situated at the universities of Aalborg, Aarhus and Copenhagen and Copenhagen Business School. The organizational framework of the project is therefore to constitute a research center "without walls": a Center for *Gender, Democracy and Welfare States*. The management of the Center will be shared by Birte Siim, FREIA, Department of Development and Planning, Aalborg University, and Drude Dahlerup CEKVINA/Institute of Political Science, Department of Political Science, University of Aarhus. The Secretariate will be situated in Aalborg.

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