



Quality in Gender+ Equality Policies

European Commission Sixth Framework Programme
Integrated Project

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State of the Art and Mapping of Competences Report: European Union

Institute for Human Sciences (IWM)
Vienna
2007

Preferred citation: Espírito Santo, Ana, Reglero, María, and Lombardo, Emanuela (2007): *State of the Art and Mapping of Competences Report: European Union*, QUING Project, Vienna: Institute for Human Sciences (IWM), available at http://www.quing.eu/files/results/soa_eu.pdf.

This State of the Art report is part of the comparative research project QUING that is financed by the European Commission. QUING will answer two important questions: What are actually gender equality policies in the practice of national and European policy making? And also: What is the quality of these current policies, especially in terms of their transformative potential, their attention for other inequalities and their openness for voices of the movements that lay at its origin? QUING studies all 27 EU-countries plus Croatia and Turkey. QUING will present results from January 2009 on, and will be finished in 2011.

For its analysis, QUING has chosen three gender equality relevant issues: non-employment, intimate citizenship and gender based violence. The comparative study will enable a better understanding of differences and similarities, and of the quality of gender+equality policies. This comparative analysis is the heart of QUING that will generate new theory, that will be relevant to the whole of Europe. These parts of QUING are named LARG and WHY. In a related part, named STRIQ, the project will further develop theories on intersectionality, on the relationship between gender inequalities and inequalities originating in ethnicity, class, religion or sexuality, and describe and analyze to what extent and how intersectionality is incorporated in gender equality policies with across Europe. Additionally, QUING will also be preparing the ground for comparative research on the history of feminist ideas in Europe. In this part, named FRAGEN, QUING will start with the construction of a database that will 'open' selected core feminist texts to researchers by storing original second wave feminist texts in the database together with an analytic description of these texts in English. QUING will open this database to the research community in its last year. In its last two years, QUING will also be very active with its fifth part, named OPERA, actively translating its knowledge in gender training for all actors in policy making, and it will develop high quality standards for such training, that will be tested in practice. For a more extensive presentation of the QUING project please consult the website at www.quing.eu.

This State of the Art report has the goal of assuring that the QUING researchers start their research using the knowledge that is already available on gender equality policies in a country. In this sense, the State of the Art is a classic literature review, relevant to the different parts of the QUING project (LARG, WHY and STRIQ). Added to this, some information is asked for that facilitates the preparation of the activities in FRAGEN.

This report is structured as follows. In the first part a short assessment is made of the annotated bibliography that can be found in the second part of this report. In the second part of the report one will find the actual annotated bibliography. This part maps the most important relevant academic studies and other policy related literature (reports by IO, INGOs, experts etc.) about each country. The annotated bibliography has been divided into four separate sections. One section covers studies relating to gender equality policies, the following one is on non-employment related articles, the next one is on intimate citizenship related articles and the final one is on gendered violence related articles. In all sections, the accent is on studies that focus on the *gender equality aspects* of policies relating to these issues. The four sections itself have been divided into country language studies and English language studies. Comparative studies can be found under a separate heading within these language groups. Next to the bibliography, this part also contains a section relating to the OPERA part of the QUING project in which the most relevant gender training literature that has been produced in the country (e.g. gender equality manuals, gender mainstreaming manuals, gender impact assessment guides) is listed. There is a section related to the FRAGEN part in the QUING project listing the archives or documentation centres specialized in gender equality policies on national level.

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Introduction

The State of the Art on studies on gender+ equality policies in the European Union (EU) that we present here is a preliminary literature review of studies in the field of EU gender+ equality policy. The study is by no means exhaustive and there are many relevant studies which could not be included in this review, due to the usual time and context constraints of every research. This is also the reason why in this study we have focused on literature published in English, though we are aware of the existence of literature on gender equality policy in the EU published in many other European languages. We have included studies in the three issues analysed in the QUING project (non-employment, intimate citizenship and gender-based violence), but also a number of studies in a section named 'General literature' in which we have included works that either cover the three issues or that help to understand the EU gender equality agencies and policies and are therefore important references for the following steps of the QUING research (such as WHY).

When discussing the State of the Art of academic debates on gender+ equality policies in the European Union, it is helpful to trace a brief history of the development of EU gender+ equality policies, to better grasp the reciprocal influence of policy and academic developments. From the 1957 Treaty of Rome, the European Union gender policy has been predominantly based on the concept of equal opportunities and its main competence has been located in the area of employment and paid work. From the nineties onwards (partially also in the eighties), EU gender policy concepts have evolved by complementing the equal opportunities strategy with positive actions and gender mainstreaming. The latter refers to the introduction by governments and EU institutional actors of a gender perspective into all policies and programmes, in order not only to analyse their effects on women and men before decisions are taken, but also to implement, evaluate, and review policies and political processes taking gender into account (Lombardo and Meier 2007).

With the introduction of gender mainstreaming, the EU approach to gender inequality has broadened to incorporate not only new strategies but also new areas of policy making such as family policies and gender-based violence. However, these emerging areas are not regulated through legally binding Directives but rather through soft law instruments such as Recommendations, Communications, Action Programmes, etc. Although things are changing, still policy areas outside employment and the labour market do not fall so much under the EU remit, with exceptions in the areas of education and research, which explains for instance why the EU has powers in those aspects of family policies that are clearly employment related, such as issues of maternity and parental leave (Lombardo and Meier 2007).

In the last decade the EU has opened a new anti-discrimination policy strand through the approval of a variety of policy measures in this area (Verloo and Lombardo 2006). In 1997 the Amsterdam Treaty (Article 13), in 2000 the Charter of Fundamental Rights, a Community Anti-discrimination Action Programme, and two Directives, and, in 2004, an article in the Constitutional Treaty and a Green Paper on equality and non-discrimination, provided the Union with a legal basis for the

adoption of measures combating discrimination on grounds of racial or ethnic origin, age, disability, religion and sexual orientation. These developments are evidence of a move from addressing gender inequality to addressing multiple inequalities (Verloo and Lombardo 2006). In this respect, they represent an initial shift towards addressing intersectionality in the EU policymaking, with the limitation of an EU competence to tackle anti-discrimination essentially in the labour market.

This brief account of EU equality policies enables us to detect a link between EU policy developments in gender equality and academic studies in the issues of research selected by the QUING project. The EU competence in the area of labour market helps us to explain the greater number of studies in employment, and the more limited number of scholarly works on intimate citizenship and gender-based violence in the EU. The existing legislation on antidiscrimination has acted as a catalyst of academic works on the issue of intimate citizenship. And academic studies on violence seem to be especially focused on sexual harassment in the workplace and trafficking, rather than on other types of gender-based violence.

General gender equality policy

Here we included mainly two kinds of studies. On the one hand, we have included studies which have a broad approach often touching gender mainstreaming (for example, Beveridge forthcoming; Lombardo and Meier 2006; Liebert 2002) and works that are important for the understanding of EU gender policies and policymaking in general (crucial works are Hoskyns 1996b and Van der Vleuten 2007). On the other hand, we have included studies which focus on more than one of the three issues (Verloo 2007).

Non employment

As expected, a noticeable amount of academic studies have been produced on employment, part of which focuses on topics which touch the non-employment issue. We found policy, legal, economic and sociological analyses on the issue of non employment. A number of studies deal with the flexibilization of working time and part-time work in particular which reproduces familiar gender asymmetries (Bettio, Rubery and Smith 2000; Perron 1999; Tijdens 2002). The analysis of EU policies on women's employment in relation to different debates (job training, rights of workers, employment conditions) is carried out in several studies and from different perspectives, some more economically and others more policy oriented (Fagan, Rubery and Smith 2004; Hoskyns 2000; 2001; Laatikainen 2001; Rees 1998). Following developments of the EU policy discourse on the reconciliation of work and family life academic studies also debate the issue of family policies and reconciliation in the EU (for example, Duncan 2002; Hantrais 2000; 1995; Stratigaki 2004). Another question concerns the policies on motherhood and parental leaves mainly in connection with employment (Daly 2005; Perrons 1999; Stratigaki 2004; Guerrina 2002). Authors also explore how the EU gender policy in the labour market has evolved over time, focusing on particular EU institutions (Ostner 2000 analyses ECJ), policy measures (Hoskins 2000 analyses EU Action Programmes on Equal Opportunities) or policy methods (O'Connor 2005 analyses the Open Method of Coordination).

The less explored approach seems to be intersectionality, although Catherine Hoskyns (1996; 2000), Rosemary Sales and Jeanne Gregory (1996) have tried to

understand how migrant (and black or refugees) women are affected by EU policy. No studies were found dealing with the intersection between gender and age, marital status or sexual orientation. Walby (2004a; 2004b) tackles some issues related to the intersection of gender and other inequalities of class and ethnicity when analysing how changes in the EU gender policy are affecting women's employment and education and how powers of the EU are extending beyond the narrowly economic in complex ways.

There is a last point to note in the issue of non-employment. Although the definition of work has evolved in the EU law (in particular through ECJ cases), the main focus still remains on paid work. This is interesting for the issue of non-employment because it helps to identify people who fall under the category of 'non-employed' who are then not covered by EU equality policy in many cases. In the understanding and definition of 'work' there is a divide between policy and academic developments in the EU. Although the main trend at the level of EU policymaking is to legislate paid work and to leave out of the definition of 'worker' people who provide care work (predominantly women), there are a number of scholarly studies that highlight the need to reconsider the relationship between paid and unpaid work, by giving the unpaid work of care the same recognition granted to productive work (among others Hantrais 1995; 2000). Other works (Rubery, Anxo, Flax 2004) also highlight how the EU common employment objectives for women are being pursued against a background of quite different systems of social, family, welfare, and labor-market organization, which means that the outcomes of the common European employment strategy will also be very variable.

Intimate citizenship

The issue of intimate citizenship has been mostly related to the EU antidiscrimination policy. In particular it has been the research interest and subject of study by legal scholars interested in equality and discrimination (among others Bell 2002; Shaw 2005, Fredman 2005; McGlynn 2006). Policy analyses of intimate citizenship in the EU addressing gender and intersectionality are growing but are still at a more preliminary stage (Elman 2000; Verloo 2006). A number of legal studies analyse the EU anti-discrimination policy and discuss multiple inequalities of race (Shaw 2004; Bell 2002) gender, and sexual orientation (Bell 2002), or which tackle the issue of mainstreaming equality and diversity in the EU (Shaw 2005).

Other issues of concern for academics and other policy analysts in terms of Gender+Intimate Citizenship are the rights of same-sex partners (Bell 2002; Stychin 2001) and the rights of International migrants in the European Union in relation to partnership rights, residence permits, family reunification and same-sex sexual rights (among others Elman 2000; Kofman & Sales 2000; Morris 2002; Toner 2003). Academics also address the issue of same-sex transnational partnerships (Elman 2000) and the gender+equality aspects of immigration within the EU (Apap 2002).

The 'framing' of intimate citizenship as a partnership based issue and not always a question of individual rights (not to forget individual rights within part of a partnership) cannot be dismissed despite being in the context of new family models and new living arrangements. Mark Bell (2000) brings to the spotlight the issues of 'citizenship' and EU 'nationality' to draw attention to the actual meaning of citizenship within the context of the European Union. Furthermore, he argues for the principles

of anti-discrimination and the importance of intersectionality to take into account and to rethink the representation of citizenship in policy making. This debate is essential for policy analysis since it addresses the issue of transnational partnerships, migration and other inequalities beyond sexual orientation. Stytchin (2001) also deals with issues of nationality and citizenship status in the EU in relation to race/ethnicity and sexual orientation.

The literature on Intimate Citizenship is quite diverse since many issues subscribe to 'intimate life' and many policies affect it. The texts founded highlight the overlapping connections between the issues of non-employment and intimate life, the connection of sexuality to the material world and the gendered aspects of sexual and reproductive rights (Mazur 2002; McGlynn 2006; Mottier 1999; Randall 2000; Toner 2003).

One comment to make concerning the issue of intimate citizenship and its link with policy developments in the EU is that anti-discrimination policies tend to be not explicitly articulated as gender+equality policies but rather as 'genderless' anti-discrimination policies. Still, it is precisely the gendered aspects of public policies that are not articulated as gender equality policies are subject of our research and provide opportunities for including gender equality issues in the political agenda of anti-discrimination policies.

In the literature considered there are some policy studies which address how issues of anti-discrimination policies and issues of gender equality should not be considered separately but rather as interconnected. Verloo (2005; 2006) discusses the Green Paper on 'Equality and non-discrimination in an enlarged European Union' and the European Commission approach to mainstreaming diversity. She observes that although the proposal of an integrated approach to combat discrimination is not rooted in any theoretical or empirical analysis of the interrelationships between different types of inequalities, the Green Paper is quite positive about its claim to address multiple inequalities. Such a positive attitude derives from the EU assumption of being a learning organization, capable of transferring the knowledge and experience achieved in the area of gender to the treatment of other inequalities (Verloo 2006; 2005). In a more recent paper Verloo also looks at the extent to which the focus on diversity mainstreaming has been reflected in the formulation of EU gender policies. This is studied by analysing how EU gender equality issues, such as family policies, domestic violence and gender inequality in politics, have incorporated the concept of intersectionality in their policy discourses (Verloo and Lombardo 2006). Apart from Verloo, a few other authors develop policy analysis and explore narrative analysis and the sociology of Intimate life (Elman 1996; Carver 1999; Hantrais 2004).

Gender-based violence

The development of the issue of EU gender-based violence in academic literature is also connected to current policy developments and the EU labour market legacy. According to this very first stage of our research, there seems to be more literature and academic studies in the issues of trafficking, prostitution (Askola 2007; Wijers 2001), and sexual harassment at work (Gregory 2001; Zippel; 2004), than on other types of gender-based violence such as rape, sexual assault, homophobia and gendered bullying. The issue of domestic violence has been address by (Kantola

2006 ; Krizsan, Paantjens & Van Lamoen 2005 ; Bustelo, Hadjiyanni & Krizsan 2007).

Existing EU competence can explain why the issue of domestic violence and violence against women has frequently been overshadowed in the EU policy-making by the issue of trafficking in women, in particular to fight the criminal and migration aspects of the problem, which falls more clearly under the EU competence for developing an Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (see Askola 2006). However, the issue of domestic violence has slowly made its way through the EU policy agenda, though both the labour market orientation of the EU and the lack of a clear legal basis for violence against women have contributed to hinder the emergence of the issue (Lombardo and Meier 2007). Paantjens' MAGEEQ report on domestic violence in the EU (Paantjens 2004) makes an analysis of the EU official documents on violence which enables to detect a shift in the EU political debate from the 'human rights' approach adopted in the 'zero tolerance' campaign to the 'public health' perspective of the DAPHNE programme. Paantjens (2004) also argues in her study that the framing of violence as a health issue, in combination with the extended problem definition that includes children and young persons apart from women, shows a 'de-gendered' approach to the problem in the DAPHNE programme.

Moreover, the issue of domestic violence has been particularly addressed at the EU level by actors of the women's movement, European level NGOs such as WAVE (Women against violence Europe) and the EWL (European women's lobby). As we previously mentioned, because of the nature of the EU and its political competence in terms of gendered violence, trafficking and sexual harassment in the workplace have been more of a subject of research for legal scholars, policy analysts and social scientists (Askola 2007; Elman 1996, Kantola 2006; Zippel 2004).

Since trafficking has to be analysed in the context of global migration, legal status, non-employment and gendered violence, the issue of prostitution overlaps between non-employment and the interpretation of it and the issue of gendered violence (Outshoorn 2004). Not to mention the ongoing debate between feminists and women's movements regarding the politics of prostitution and its understanding as a question of employment regulation or gender based violence. We have acknowledged a need to 'fill a gap' in gendered violence policy research studies on rape, sexual assault, gendered bullying and spatial planning with a gender perspective.

The literature on gender+violence pays emphasis to intersectionality in relation to poverty, migration, trafficking and prostitution (Outshoorn 2004) however, the section on Gender+Intimate Citizenship offers a far more important insight on intersectionality as a means and end to quality in gender equality policies.

Finally, we have included a number of *policy studies* concerning different aspects of the EU gender equality policies, published by EU institutions, such as Commission and Parliament. We have also detected interesting works by European level NGOs such as, WAVE, EWL, ILGA, though we could not include almost of their contributions in this report.

Annotated bibliography

1. General Gender Equality Policy

1.1. English sources

1) Beveridge, Fiona. Forthcoming. Building against the past: the impact of mainstreaming on EU gender law and policy. *European Law Review*.

Keywords: European Commission outputs analysis; EU gender equality law and policy; gender mainstreaming.

This article examines the record of the European Commission in acting out its commitment to gender mainstreaming, in particular through an examination of outputs in the period 1995 to 2006. It considers the form mainstreaming activities have taken, the success of these activities and the problems revealed. A central focus of the paper is the impact of mainstreaming activities on EU gender equality law and policy. The paper concludes that mainstreaming has helped to widen the focus of Community gender policy, develop new tools and capacities and to push equality policy from the Commission down into Member States, particularly in areas governed by the Open Method of Co-ordination. Mainstreaming activities have also made distinctive contributions to the “vision” of gender equality pursued by the European Commission.

2) Beveridge, Fiona. Forthcoming. Gender, the *acquis* and beyond. In *The future of gender equality in the European Union*, eds. Susan Millns and Mercedes M. Diaz. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Keywords: EU gender law and policy analysis; candidate and new member states; 2004 enlargement.

This paper examines EU gender law and policy through the prism of accession. Using evidence drawn primarily from the 2004 enlargement it considers how candidate countries and new entrants to the EU experience EU gender law and policy and considers what impact the turn to mainstreaming has had on pre- and post-entry expectations and requirements. Accession can be seen to have a dual character, both as a formal legal act and as a process of social and political adjustment to new political structures and realities. This chapter considers the impact of both aspects of accession on new entrant states. Accession also impacts on existing Member States and alters the make-up of the EU polity. Therefore this chapter also considers the impact of the 2004 enlargement on EU gender law and policy.

3) Diaz, Mercedes M. and Susan Millns, eds. Forthcoming. *The future of gender equality in the European Union*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Keywords: gender equality in the EU analysis; EU law, policy and practice.

The collection includes a series of interdisciplinary perspectives upon the development of the principle of gender equality in the European Union. Situated within the context of debates on the EU constitutional future, the collection explores current initiatives and future prospects for the promotion of gender equality as a matter of EU law, policy and practice. Drawing out the implications of constitutional change for women, the collection offers a gendered reading for the present constitutional debates ensuing that key questions about participation, representation, transparency, solidarity, citizenship, equality and the protection of fundamental rights do not go unexplored and unchallenged from a gender perspective¹.

4) Lombardo, Emanuela and Petra Meier. 2007 forthcoming. European Union gender policy since Beijing: shifting concepts and agendas. In *Multiple meanings of gender equality. A critical frame analysis of gender policies in Europe*, ed. Mieke Verloo. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Keywords: gender equality policies analysis; European Union; gender mainstreaming; family policy; domestic violence; gender inequality in politics; policy analysis.

The chapter provides an account of the EU evolution of gender equality strategies from equal opportunities to positive actions and mainstreaming, according to the different concepts of equality that have been developed over time. Then, it discusses the progressive development of the EU gender policy from a merely labour market focus towards a broader approach that includes issues of family policy, violence against women, and gender inequality in politics. Reference is made to the EU main policy documents and events that were milestones in this process, through a reconstruction of a timeline on the three selected issues. It draws on research carried out within the context of the MAGEEQ research project (www.mageeq.net).

5) Van der Vleuten, Anna. 2007. *The price of gender equality*. Aldershot: Ashgate².

Keywords: gender equality policies analysis; history and development of EU gender policy.

This thoroughly researched, well-documented book presents a theoretically guided empirical analysis of developing and implementing gender equality policies in the European Union (EU). In spite of a wealth of research, many questions have long remained unanswered and these are addressed here. The author developed an international relations theoretical framework in order to explain the changing fortunes of women's activism, the changing attitudes of European institutions and the behaviour of member states in a multi-level

¹ Abstract from http://www.amazon.com/Future-Gender-Equality-European-Union/dp/1403946671/sr=8-1/qid=1172748382/ref=sr_1_1/102-6891483-4268956?ie=UTF8&s=books, on the 1st of March 2007.

² Useful for the WHY, timelines and text selection.

setting. The book traces the history and development of EU gender policy to the present day and will be inspirational reading for those interested in European governance and the European Union, as well as gender issues and political sociology”³.

6) Lombardo, Emanuela and Petra Meier. 2006. Gender mainstreaming in the EU: incorporating a feminist reading? *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 13(2): 151–166.

Keywords: Policy analysis; gender equality policies; family policies; gender inequality in politics; gender mainstreaming; policy frame analysis.

This article explores the extent to which a feminist reading of gender mainstreaming is incorporated in the EU political discourse by analysing how family policy and gender inequality in politics are framed in EU policy documents. Gender mainstreaming is treated as an open signifier that can be filled with both feminist and non-feminist content. The article provides a set of criteria to assess whether a feminist reading of gender mainstreaming has been adopted. The frame analysis of EU documents on family policy and gender inequality in politics reveals but a partial adoption of a feminist understanding of gender mainstreaming and only in the area of gender inequality in politics” (p.151).

7) Lombardo, Emanuela. 2005. Integrating or setting the agenda? Gender mainstreaming in the European constitution-making process. *Social Politics* 12(3): 412-432.

Keywords: policy analysis; EU Constitution-making process; gender mainstreaming in the EU.

The European Union (EU) constitution-making process has adopted an “integration” rather than an “agenda-setting” approach to gender mainstreaming. This argument draws on analysis of both the European Constitutional Convention and its product – the Constitutional Treaty. Five indicators of application of mainstreaming serve as reference points for exploring how it has been applied in the EU Constitutional Convention: a broader concept of gender equality, the incorporation of a gender perspective into the mainstream, equal representation of women, the prioritization of gender policy objectives, and a shift in institutional and organizational culture. The article provides a tentative explanation for the failure of the EU constitution-making process to adopt an “agenda-setting” approach to gender mainstreaming (p. 412)⁴.

³ Abstract available at <https://www.ashgate.com/shopping/title.asp?isbn=0%207546%204636%20X> on the 10th of March 2007.

⁴ This article is also useful for non-employment issue, since it focuses on family policies.

8) Rees, Teresa. 2005. Reflections on the uneven development of gender mainstreaming in Europe. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7(4): 555-574.

Keywords: gender mainstreaming; equality; Europe; UK; equal treatment; positive action.

Gender mainstreaming was endorsed as the official policy approach to gender equality in the European Union and its member states in the Amsterdam Treaty (1997). New member states have been obliged to adopt a gender mainstreaming approach as a condition of joining the EU. However, despite this endorsement, there remains considerable confusion as to what gender mainstreaming is and there has been uneven development in the adoption of gender mainstreaming tools. This article seeks to contribute to the debate by identifying three principles that appear to underlie gender mainstreaming in Europe - treating the individual as a whole person; democracy; and justice, fairness and equity. It then draws on the experience of a number of European countries to identify where tools associated with each set of principles have been introduced. These include gender-disaggregated statistics, gender budgeting and 'visioning'. The article illustrates how there appear to be very few examples of a gender mainstreaming approach where promoting gender equality is the main policy goal (agenda setting). More often, gender mainstreaming is used as a means of delivering on or is subsumed under another policy (integration). Despite these weaknesses in practice, the article concludes that gender mainstreaming has significant potential as a transformative strategy.

9) Stratigaki, Maria. 2005. Gender mainstreaming vs. positive action: an ongoing conflict in EU gender equality policy. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 12(2): 165-186. ⁵

Keywords: Policy analysis; EU gender equality policies; gender mainstreaming; positive action.

This article examines the development of a gender mainstreaming strategy in the EU by illustrating how this strategy was shaped by other than gender equality policy goals. Gender mainstreaming was originally launched in 1996 to promote gender equality in all EU policies, in the context of international and European mobilization on women's issues. It was aimed to transform mainstream policies by introducing a gender equality perspective. However, it has been largely used as an alibi for neutralizing positive action. The successful implementation of positive action in political decision-making had challenged the gender distribution of political power over policy institutions and technical, human and financial resources. This led to policy softening and institutional weakening due to counteracting by the EU political and administrative hierarchies. The argument is based on text analyses of relevant Community acts and on direct observations of the policy process, based on personal working experiences in the European Commission" (p.155).

⁵ Useful for timelines and the WHY.

10) Verloo, Mieke. 2005. Displacement and empowerment: reflections on the concept and practice of the council of Europe approach to gender mainstreaming and gender equality. *Social Politics* 12(3): 344-365.

Keywords: report of the Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming analysis; gender mainstreaming; displacement; empowerment.

This article measures one of the foundational texts of gender mainstreaming, namely, the final report of the Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming (Council of Europe 1998) against theoretical concepts of displacement and empowerment. While the Council of Europe process approach is shown to be a fundamental "displacing" asset, there are important shortcomings, such as its consensualist premise, lack of space for oppositional politics, and general technocratic understanding of gender mainstreaming, hindering empowerment. The ambivalence of its articulation of the goal of gender equality is particularly problematic in view of the logic of the dual agenda in gender mainstreaming. More explicit power analyses are highly needed (p. 344).

11) Walby, Sylvia. 2004. Gender and European Union integration: towards a political economy of gender. In *Gender Transformations*, ed. Sylvia Walby. London: Routledge.

Keywords: sociological study; gender changes; European Union integration; employment, education and political representation; complex relations between gender, class and ethnicity.

In this book Sylvia Walby overviews changes in women's employment, education and political representation and the complex relations between gender, class and ethnicity, between local conditions and global pressures which together determine the place of women both in the labour market and in the wider social, political and economic world of today. The book, which has a chapter tackling these questions specifically in the European Union, deals with how questions of gender remake and are remade by the social and economic conditions in which they occur.

12) Woodward, Alison. 2004. Building velvet triangles: gender and informal governance. In *Informal governance and the European Union*, eds. Simona Piattoni and Thomas Christiansen, 76-93. London: Edward Elgar.

Keywords: policy analysis; EU gender policy networks; informal governance.

The author of this chapter analyses the existing network of alliances between institutional and civil society actors in the EU gender equality arena. She explores the paradox that these 'velvet triangles' are crucial elements in the making of a legitimate gender policy agenda and at the same time the informal character of their influence threatens the legitimacy of their policy action. All 'the contributors to this volume address an issue of paramount importance

concerning the politics of the European Union: aspects of governance and policy making in the EU that are labelled 'informal.'

13) Elson, Diane. 2003. Gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting. Paper presented at the conference 'Gender equality and Europe's future'. Brussels: European Commission⁶.

Keywords: Gender budget analysis; gender mainstreaming; European Structural Funds.

The EU is committed to the promotion of gender equality by means of a strategy of 'gender mainstreaming'. Gender budgeting initiatives contribute to 'gender mainstreaming' by focusing on the gender dimensions of government budgets, both the revenue and the expenditure side. Such initiatives are taking place in a number of EU countries at national and at regional levels. Gender equality considerations have also been introduced into the regulations and guidelines of the European Structural Funds and a review has been conducted of the gender dimensions of tax/benefit systems in EU countries. This paper gives a short introduction to gender mainstreaming in the EU and to some of the key ideas and tools of gender budgeting.

14) León, Margarita, Mercedes M. Diaz and Susan Millns. 2003. Engendering the Convention: Women and the Future of the European Union. Paper presented, available at: http://www.fedtrust.co.uk/uploads/constitution/06_03.pdf.

Keywords: role of the Constitutional Convention analysis; policy-making; gender mainstreaming.

This paper (...) assesses the role and work of the Constitutional Convention from a gendered standpoint exploring three dimensions: political, legal and social. The first part of the paper addresses the Convention as a political process, demonstrating the extent and nature of women's participation and representation in its deliberation and decision-making procedures and argues for a stronger practical manifestation on the part of the Union of its commitment to parity democracy. Secondly, the legal dimension of the Convention's approach towards gender equality is examined within the framework of the elaboration of a draft Constitutional Treaty for the EU and the place of sex equality guarantees within this, notably those contained in the Charter of Fundamental Rights. The third section of the paper explores the social dimension of constitutional revision, noting the gender requirements of the development of a concept of social citizenship and the need for a greater *de facto* commitment towards gender mainstreaming throughout EU policymaking. The paper concludes with a number of policy recommendations (p.1/2).

⁶ Paper available at https://pdimail.ucm.es/attach/gender-mainstreaming-and-budgetingelisonEU2003.pdf?sid=&mbox=INBOX&charset=escaped_unicode&uid=129&number=4&file name=gender-mainstreaming-and-budgetingelisonEU2003.pdf, on the 7th March 2007.

15) Lombardo, Emanuela. 2003. EU gender policy: trapped in the 'Wollstonecraft dilemma'? *The European Journal of Women's Studies* 10(2): 159–180.

Keywords: Policy analysis; EU gender policy; feminist political dilemmas; Spanish gender policy

This article explores EU gender policy through the lens of the 'Wollstonecraft dilemma', a guiding conceptual device that helps to summarize women's difficult path towards equality in a patriarchal system. EU gender policy reflects the contradictions women must face in their struggle for equality, which are common to most public gender policies. All provisions devised to progress in gender equality have negative retroactive effects on women, due to the patriarchal context in which they are applied. Empirical evidence from the Spanish case offers further support to the argument, showing how EU gender policy is still trapped in the 'Wollstonecraft dilemma'. A more holistic approach to EU gender policy, able to tackle all the areas of which patriarchy is composed, and an improved monitoring of EU gender policy implementation in the member states, could both generate a more effective gender policy in the EU and make further progress in solving the dilemma (p. 159).

16) McCrudden, Christopher. 2003. Gender equality in the Constitutional Treaty: drafting suggestions. Paper presented at the conference "Gender Equality and Europe's future". Brussels. (available at <http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/ajm/organisation/equality/contributions/mc-crudden.pdf> , accessed on 10th March 2007).

Keywords: Constitutional Treaty; gender equality.

This paper consists of a presentation done by Christopher McCrudden at a conference related to the Jean Monnet Project. The presentation is about the issue of gender equality in the Constitutional Treaty. The author argues that "the issue of gender equality in the Constitutional Treaty involves three issues: the first relates to the role, status and content of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, and its place in the Constitutional Treaty; the second relates to the accession by the Union to the European Convention on Human Rights, and what the Constitutional Treaty should say about this issue; the third relates to the place of gender equality in the other parts of the Constitutional Treaty, particularly the general part setting out values, objectives and competences. I consider it essential that these issues be considered together, if we are to produce a coherent Constitutional Treaty, whose parts are mutually supportive in furthering gender equality rather than contradictory".

17) Booth, Christine and Cinnamon Bennett. 2002. Gender mainstreaming in the European Union: towards a new conception and practice of equal opportunities?. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 9(4): 430–446.

Keywords: Policy analysis; equal opportunities policies; gender mainstreaming.

This article aims to make a contribution to the conceptualization of mainstreaming gender equality promoted by the European Union. It starts by exploring the historical evolution of equal opportunities delivery strategies and challenging the compartmentalization of these developments. It suggests that equality policies can better be conceptualized in terms of a 'three-legged equality stool', which recognizes the interconnectiveness of three perspectives – the equal treatment perspective, the women's perspective and the gender perspective. The article argues that the gender perspective has been closely associated with strategies for mainstreaming gender equality, but that this association is misleading. As a result mainstreaming has remained a 'fuzzy' concept, which in turn has led to many different styles and forms of practical implementation in European member states (p.430).

18) Duncan, Simon and Birgit Pfau-Effinger. 2002. *Gender, economy and culture in the European Union*. London: Routledge.

Keywords: diverse gender issues analysis.

Providing a comprehensive analysis of comparative gender difference in the EU, this book addresses a spectrum of gender issues. From employment and households, to culture, sexuality and male violence, the book transcends any 'economy/culture' divide. This wide coverage is placed within a conceptual view of structured 'gender cultures' which vary spatially and historically. Individual chapters are written around this common theme by an expert board of international contributors, drawn from a variety of intellectual and disciplinary backgrounds, allowing the reader to compare between chapters and read across them. This book has chapters covering the three QUING issues.

19) Duval, Cécile. 2002. *Women's rights new legislative texts and other provisions since 1998*. European Parliament.
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/expert/eStudies.do?language=EN>

Keywords: European legislative provisions; women's rights.

This study is intended to highlight the various European legislative provisions concerning women's rights since 1998. In some ways it follows on from the study undertaken by the European Parliament on 'Women's Rights and the Treaty of Amsterdam on European Union.'

20) Liebert, Ulrike. 2002. Europeanising gender mainstreaming: constraints and opportunities in the multilevel Euro-polity. *Feminist Legal Studies* 10(3): 241-256.

Keywords: Comparative Europeanisation; equal treatment and equal opportunity directives; European governance; gender mainstreaming; Germany; multilevel polity

What are the conditions for empowering 'gender mainstreaming' as a new policy frame beyond the supranational level in member states and regions of the European Union? This paper is premised on the following assumptions: that mainstreaming will reduce gender disparities in Europe only if it takes root at all levels of decision-making, but that some national gender regimes can be expected to resist mainstreaming more than others, especially because it does not command 'hard' legal tools. The puzzle to be examined is how mainstreaming can become effective across the European multilevel polity. It is argued that *vis-à-vis* the resistance of domestic gender regimes, the Europeanisation of equal treatment norms in national, regional and local contexts over the past decades has generated a variety of mechanisms for the cross-border diffusion of new policy ideas that can help to promote mainstreaming. Drawing on comparative Europeanisation research, this argument is developed in three steps. First, the past performance of member states in the implementation of E.U. gender directives is explored, to identify patterns and dynamics and classify leaders and laggards. Second, current mainstreaming experiences in one of the most conspicuous laggard states – Germany – are examined closely. Finally, as a means of explaining the rather intense engagement of German federal and regional governments with mainstreaming, two factors are highlighted: elite learning, and new governance instruments developed by the E.U. Notwithstanding the steps taken to promote mainstreaming, the prospects for further institutionalisation within the E.U. appear contingent on the outcome of the Convention on the Future of the Union and the Intergovernmental Conference planned for 2004, since the invigorating of the subsidiarity principle and the division of competences across the multilevel polity are key issues of debate.

21) Mazey, Sonia. 2002. Gender mainstreaming strategies in the EU: Delivering on an agenda? *Feminist Legal Studies* 10: 227-240.

Keywords: equality; European Union; European Women's Lobby (E.W.L.); Europeanisation; feminism; gender-mainstreaming; policy transfer

Recent years have witnessed the emergence of a new policy style within the E.U., characterised by voluntary policy transfer between member states and soft policy instruments including exchange of best practice, targets, benchmarking and national league tables. This article examines how these methods have been used by gender mainstreaming advocates and evaluates the impact of this strategy to-date upon E.U. policy-making procedures and outputs. It is argued that mainstreaming has provided new opportunities for feminists to influence the E.U. policy agenda, but that the impact of mainstreaming varies between sectors and member states. The concluding section considers the implications of E.U. mainstreaming from the perspective of the European Women's Lobby (E.W.L.). This discussion highlights the potential opportunities and risks for feminists of mainstreaming.

22) Hoskyns, Catherine. 2001. Gender politics in the European Union: The context for job training. In *State feminism, women's movements and job training. Making democracies work in the global economy*, ed. Amy Mazur, 31-47. London: Routledge.

Keywords: policy analysis; EU gender policies evolution; job training.

This chapter focuses on the evolution of the EU women's policy, and only in part also on job training issues. The analysis addresses the issue of why the EU gender policy took a particular political trajectory. This includes the analysis of pressures and resistance that took place in occasion of the Fourth Action Program and the Treaty of Amsterdam. The chapter considers the implications of these two policy initiatives for future dynamics of the EU gender policy.

23) Pollack, M. A. and Emilie Hafner-Burton. 2000. Mainstreaming gender in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 7(3): 432 – 456⁷.

Keywords: Strategic framing; Gender Mainstreaming in the EU; Political Opportunities; Social Movement Theory

This article examines and explains the adoption of gender mainstreaming by the European Union (EU), and traces its implementation in five issue-areas of EU policy: Structural Funds, employment, development, competition, and science, research and development. The EU decision to adopt gender mainstreaming, as well as its variable implementation across issue-areas, can be explained in terms of three factors derived from social movement theory: the political opportunities offered by EU institutions in various issue-areas; the mobilizing structures, or European networks, established among the advocates of gender equality; and the efforts of such advocates to strategically frame the gender-mainstreaming mandate so as to ensure its acceptance by EU policy-makers (p. 432).

24) Shaw, Jo. 2000. Importing gender: the challenge of feminism and the analysis of the EU legal order. *Journal of European Public Policy* 7(3): 406-431.

Keywords: Feminist approach to the EU Gender Law State

The article reviews feminist approaches to the analysis of European Union (EU) law and the EU as a legal order. It suggests that feminist analysis can make a broader contribution than hitherto to the understanding of EU governance. It employs a method of 'importing gender' derived from social constructionist strands of feminist thinking in order to identify key areas of EU law for further empirical and conceptual analysis. These concern the reconceptualization of the 'state' in the EU context, where feminist problematization shares some concerns with constructivist analyses and the challenge of the EU as a reformist entity" (p.406)

⁷ Useful for the WHY.

25) European Parliament, Directorate General for Research. 1999a. Working paper *The work of the Committee on women's rights 1994-1999*. European Parliament. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/expert/eStudies.do?language=EN>

Keywords: work and achievements of the Committee on Women's Rights of European Parliament.

This working document gives an overview of the work of the Committee on Women's Rights during the fourth parliamentary term (1994-1999) and sums up its achievements. Before discussing its activities as such, the document lists the members of the Committee on Women's Rights and its responsibilities. The responsibilities of the Committee on Women's Rights are laid down in Annex VI, point XIX of the Rules of Procedure of the European Parliament. They include the definition and evolution of women's rights in the EU, the implementation of directives relating to women, social and employment policy, female unemployment, women's role in the family, the situation of women in the EU institutions and the problems of migrant women, etc.

26) European Parliament, Directorate General for Research. 1999b. Working paper *Institutions and bodies responsible for equality between women and men*. Women's Rights Series, FEMM 10. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/expert/eStudies.do?language=EN>

Keywords: Institutions and bodies responsible for equality between women and men; Member states and the EU.

This guide aims to provide a survey of the institutions and bodies responsible for promoting equal opportunities for men and women in the Member States of the European Union, the European Institutions, the Council of Europe and the United Nations, including also some organisations representing women in Europe and worldwide. The description of the structure in each Member State begins with a reference to the ministry responsible for equal opportunities in the relevant country, in the case of those countries which have a specific women's rights portfolio. For countries where equality laws are firmly entrenched in society, as in the Nordic countries, a brief description is included. In view of their specific nature, parliamentary committees on equal opportunities for women and men in the EU Member States are listed in an annex, with their electronic address.

27) European Parliament, Directorate General for Research. 1998. Working paper *Women's rights and the treaty of Amsterdam*. European Parliament. FEMM 104 - 08/1998. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/expert/eStudies.do?language=EN>

Keywords: gender equality policy in the EU; Amsterdam Treaty.

The Treaty of Amsterdam, signed by the 15 Member States of the European Community on 16 and 17 June 1997, is undoubtedly an important step in the process of European integration. This working document - written before the Treaty was fully ratified - aims to attempt an analysis of its implications for and impact on women's rights. These cannot be properly assessed without a certain amount of knowledge of existing law in this area during the period of application of the Maastricht Treaty, the Protocol on Article 119 and Protocol 14 on social policy. For this reason, before turning to the Amsterdam Treaty, we shall briefly survey the vast area of Community law on equal treatment for men and women. The picture which emerges will show that achieving equality between men and women is a long and laborious process, which took a step in the right direction with the Maastricht Treaty and culminates in the Amsterdam Treaty.

28) Reinalda, Bob. 1997. *Dea ex machina or the interplay between national and international policy-making. A critical analysis of women in the European Union.* In *Sex equality policy in Western Europe*, ed. Frances Gardiner. London: Routledge: 197-215.⁸

Keywords: decision-making; national and international levels; equality recommendations and directives.

Having examined the state structural limitations on equality legislation, Reinalda calls our attention to the interplay between two levels of decision-making – national and international. He depicts the evolution of ideas and international standard setting of the United Nations, the ILO, Council of Europe and the European Union as consisting of ‘inputs’ to domestic political institutions which are internalised by the lower political entity. National political decisions may also be seen as ‘inputs’ to the international level through consultation and compromise create policy. These international compromises (...) then feed back into the national system. According to Reinalda, the intention of international standard setting is that national states ratifying these norms should adapt their national laws and practises to such international norms. The dependency of nation states contributes to the acceptability of such policy decisions. He refers to the EU equality recommendations and directives by way of example and concludes that although often seen to ‘fall from on high’ or as *dea ex machine*, these supranational gender egalitarian measures create a mechanism such as the European Court of Justice to legitimate their existence and afford citizens an agency to resort to should the need arise (p. 19/20).

29) Duncan, Simon. 1996. Obstacles to a successful equal opportunities policy in the European Union. *The European Journal of Women’s Studies* 3: 399-422.

Keywords: Policy analysis; gender equality policy general; limits of EU policies.

The author suggests that there is a wide gulf between the EU policy rhetoric about equal opportunities, and gendered reality. In this light, this article

⁸ Useful for timelines and the WHY.

examines the limitations of EU equal opportunity policies. It concludes that, although at a first glance, EU gender policy seems quite impressive, a deeper look at it shows that it is not the case. To be more successful, equal opportunity policy needs to focus more towards achieving social independence for women, which implies concentrating not only on paid employment, but also, for example, on household responsibilities and male violence.

30) Hoskyns, Catherine. 1996a. Gender and transnational democracy: the case of the European Union. In *Gender politics in global governance*, ed. Mary K. Meyer and Elisabeth Prügl, 72-87. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.⁹

Keywords: policy analysis; EU democracy debate; EU women's policy.

There is a well known EU democratic deficit, since citizens tend to lack effective interest in the EU. Symptomatic of that is EU difficulty to achieve a balance between economic integration and a strong social policy. However, policies towards women constitute an exception, since they are one of the few well-developed areas of EU social policy. The aim of this chapter is to relate women's politics and the democracy debate in the EU. "The chapter begins by looking at some of the issues in EU democracy debate and goes on to examine what light women's experiences over more than thirty years of EU politics and policy can shed on these" (p. 73). Finally, the author looks at the debates that took place within the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC).

31) Hoskyns, Catherine. 1996b. *Integrating Gender: Women, law and politics in the European Union*. London-New York: Verso¹⁰.

Keywords: Policy analysis; development of women's policy.

The goal of this book is to "subject the operations of the EU to a feminist scrutiny, and in so doing to open up hitherto ignored spaces and ask new questions" (p. 1). It aims at tracking, in a chronological order, the development of the EU policy on women's rights from its origins (with the adoption of the Article 119 on equal pay in 1957) to the beginning of the 1990's. Hoskyns analysis follows three main threads: the nature of women's policy and its effects, organisation and mobilisation among women, and the structure and ethos of the EU. Chapter 9 focuses on intersectionality, as it seeks to understand how black and migrant women are affected by EU policy.

⁹ Useful for the WHY.

¹⁰ This book will be useful for mapping and understanding gender equality policy agencies within the EU, for the WHY, for the issues timelines and for selecting legal and policy documents.

1.1.1. Comparative studies

32) Verloo, Mieke, ed. 2007 forthcoming. *Multiple meanings of gender equality. A critical frame analysis of gender policies in Europe*. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Keywords: gender equality policies; Europe; frame analysis; policy analysis.

This book aims at mapping the diversity of meanings of gender equality across Europe and reflecting on the contested concept of gender equality. Case studies include the European Union and member states such as Austria, the Netherlands, Hungary, Slovenia, Greece and Spain. In all of these settings, the different meanings of gender equality are comparatively explored in relation to the issues of family policies, domestic violence, and gender inequality in politics, while specific national contexts discuss the issues of prostitution (Austria, Slovenia), migration (The Netherlands, Greece), homosexual rights (Spain), and anti-discrimination (Hungary). These were all case studies in the European project MAGEEQ (Policy Frames and Implementation Problems: the case of Gender Mainstreaming), where research for this book has been conducted. The diversity of meanings of gender equality across Europe is studied through Critical Frame Analysis, a methodology originating in social movement theory and further refined with elements of gender and political theory within the context of the MAGEEQ research project. This book has chapters covering the three QUING issues.

33) Van der Vleuten, Anna. 2005. Pincers and prestige: explaining the implementation of EU gender equality legislation. *Comparative European Politics* 3(4): 464–88. ¹¹

Keywords: Policy analysis; Gender equality policy general; compliance; comparative study (France, Germany and the Netherlands).

This paper answers the question, under which conditions compliance with a supranational agreement can be obtained in cases in which a member state is unwilling to comply. It shows that the willingness to implement depends on the economic and ideological costs of policy change and on the amount of pressure exercised by societal actors. An unwilling state decides to comply when its prestige is at risk and it is ‘squeezed between pincers’, put under pressure by supranational and domestic actors simultaneously” (p. 464). This paper analysis the implementation of EU gender equality policies in France, Germany and the Netherlands between 1958 and 2000.

34) Liebert, Ulrike eds. 2003. *Gendering Europeanisation*. Brussels: Peter Lang.

¹¹ Useful for the WHY since it helps understanding why some policies have emerged.

Keywords: gendered varieties of Europeanisation analysis (resistance, adaptation, transformation, innovation); engagement of equal-opportunity directives.

The advancement of European gender equality rights over the past three decades has been accompanied by a growing diversity of gender regimes in an enlarging EU. While the paradigms in European governance research tend to focus on homogenisation, enforcement and compliance with EU norms, comparative approaches to Europeanisation are premised on the awareness of a multiple Europe. This book explores gendered varieties of Europeanisation, ranging from resistance to adaptation, transformation and innovation. How have EU members engaged with EC equal-opportunity directives since 1975? Which gender issues have sparked political controversy? What were the outcomes of the interplays between EU norms and domestic gender regimes, public discourses on the EU and gender equality advocates? *Gender Europeanisation* presents the findings of an international group of social and political scientists based at the University of Bremen. The volume begins with a scrutiny of the mechanisms and forms of Europeanisation, presents case studies of six countries and concludes with a comparative analysis of gender politics in Europe¹².

35) Beveridge, Fiona. 2000. Same song – different tunes: a lesson in harmony singing? In *Making women count: integrating gender into law and policy-making*, ed. Fiona Beveridge, Sue Nott and Kylie Stephen, 191-222. Aldershot: Ashgate.¹³

Keywords: Policy analysis; Gender equality policy general; Impact of EU law; Comparative study (Ireland, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom).

This chapter aims at exploring the apparent harmony between the EU and the Member States concerning first generating equality strategies, i.e., anti-discrimination strategies. The author starts by exploring the nature and extent of the EU guarantee of equality and then, analysis the impact of EC law in some Member States. More precisely, Beveridge examines “the extent to which particular features of the national landscapes disrupt the harmony which EU law seeks to promote” (p.192). She concludes that, within the scope of its competencies, the EU has in general been an important driver of equality laws and policies within the Member States, though its effects vary considerably concerning the country.

¹² Abstract from the back cover of the book.

¹³ Useful for the WHY.

2. Non-employment

2.1. English Sources

1) European Commission. Directorate-General Employment and Social Affairs, Unit G1. *A roadmap for equality between women and men 2006-2010*. 2006. Luxembourg: Office for Official Sources of the European Communities. EN, FR, D (accessed 9 March 2007)
http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/sources/2006/ke7205596_en.pdf

Keywords: roadmap for Equality between Women and Men in the EU; economic independence; reconciliation; gender-based violence; equal participation in decision-making; gender stereotypes; equality outside the EU.

This Roadmap for Equality between Women and Men covers the period 2006-2010 and seeks to devise new objectives and actions to accelerate progress towards equality. The roadmap identifies 6 priority areas of EU action in the sphere of equality: equal economic independence for women and men (Lisbon employment targets; fighting gender pay gap; women entrepreneurs; gender equality in social protection and fight against poverty; gender dimension in health; combating multiple discrimination especially against immigrant and ethnic minority women); promoting reconciliation of work, private and family life (flexible work for both women and men; better reconciliation measures for both sexes; increase in care services); promoting equal participation of women and men in decision-making; eradicating gender-based violence and trafficking; eliminating gender stereotypes in society; promoting gender equality outside the EU.

2) Anxo, Dominique, Jean Yves Boulin and Inmaculada Cebrián. 2005. *Working time options over the life course. Changing social security structures*. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.
<http://bookshop.europa.eu/eGetRecords> (accessed 14 March 2007)

Keywords: flexible working time; individual life course; Lisbon Agenda of the European Union; reshaping of time, income and social security provision; sociological analysis.

How can employees juggle better the conflicting time constraints which arise at the so-called 'rush hour of life' – time for having and raising children, caring for dependants, investing in lifelong learning, building a house and progressing in their career? With the Lisbon Agenda the European Union has committed itself to fundamental reform process, including a restructuring of its labour markets, social security systems and working time regimes. This report looks into the potential reshaping of time, income and social security provision over an individual's life course. It uses the model of the life course perspective –how to distribute time and income over the life course, to plot out various scenarios for redistributing time in line with an individual personal needs. The overall aim is to show how flexible time arrangements over the life course can lead to better

individual quality of life without impacting negatively on income level and social security benefits.

3) Daly, Mary. 2005. Changing family life in Europe: significance for state and society. *European Societies* 7(3): 379-398.

Keywords: family policy analysis, family change, family and welfare state reform, demographic and social risks, gender and family relations, family in European society.

Family change and the risks associated with it form the departure point of this article. The intent is both to elaborate the nature of family change in European societies and to interrogate contemporary policy on the family in the light of emerging changes and risks. The first part of the article undertakes an overview analysis of the main changes affecting families, looking at structure, organisation and relations. It then moves on to consider the key risks and challenges posed by recent changes for individuals, states and society. The risks discussed include the seeming lack of readiness to commit to parenthood, a polarisation between parenthood and partnership, overburdening of women and risks around care. The final section of the article turns to the state's response, in terms of what it has been and what it might (need to) be. It shows how policy on the family, while a growing area of intervention, has actually narrowed in scope, becoming more an arm of employment policy and operating to a rather one-dimensional model of family, viz. the two-income family. The underlying story is of a continuing divergence between states' responses and what people wish for their family life. When it comes to the family, states it seems are always out of date¹⁴.

4) O'Connor, Julia S. 2005. Employment-anchored social policy, gender equality and the open method of policy coordination in the European Union. *European Societies* 7(1): 27-52.

Keywords: open method of policy coordination (OMC); National Action Plans; governance; gender equality; gender mainstreaming; childcare; social policy; welfare regimes.

This paper focuses on the development of an employment anchored social policy framework within the European Union and explores how changing governance structures within the EU may influence national policy in this area. National Action Plans on Employment and Social Inclusion are the key pillars of the EU employment anchored social policy framework. The associated open method of policy coordination (OMC) is the process through which these plans are formulated. The achievement of the EU employment objectives is considered as is the issue of quality in employment and the constraints on its achievement in the context of a labour market characterised not only by the

¹⁴ Abstract available at <http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/content/q6212t435502n674/> on the 12th of March 2007.

growth of high quality jobs but also by a substantial proportion of low quality jobs and a policy framework that gives primacy to economic over social policy. It considers the potential and limitations of the OMC for enhancing social policy objectives in the EU, in particular the gender equality dimension and conclude that a single OMC process involving all member states is essential in employment-enhancing areas if an employment anchored social policy is to be sustained, gender equality is to be achieved and the radical potential of OMC realised. The theoretical context within which these questions are addressed encompasses issues relating to governance of social policy at the supra-national level and its linkage to national welfare regimes.

5) Rubery, Jill. 2005. Reflections on gender mainstreaming: An example of feminist economics in action? *Feminist Economics* 11(3): 1-26.

Keywords: employment policy analysis; gender mainstreaming; feminist economics.

This article reviews the experience of gender mainstreaming within the European Employment Strategy - an experience that merits evaluation not only for what it has and has not done for fostering equal opportunities in Europe, but also for the implicit lessons it provides in applying feminist economics in practice. The experience has been mixed: though the argument that increasing women's employment is critical to the achievement of Europe's aspirations for a higher employment rate has been widely accepted, there is a much weaker and more fragile commitment to improving the quality of work available to women. In part, this limited impact reflects the continuing gender blindness of most employment policy analysis and development; there is a clear need for continued parallel development of feminist theory and analysis and more practical experiments in integrating a gender perspective into policy programs.

6) Fagan, Colette, Jill Rubery and Mark Smith. 2004. *Women's employment in Europe*. London: Routledge.

Keywords: women's employments in Europe analysis; equal treatment in labour market; 4th Action Programme of the European Commission.

Based on extensive original research, this volume examines contemporary patterns of women's employment in Europe in the context of the profound economic, social and cultural changes that have taken place in recent years. It considers the progress made towards equal treatment in the labour market in the light of European Union action programmes, and examines the prospects for women's employment under the fourth action programme. The authors conclude that progress towards equal treatment will only occur when gender issues are fully integrated into the European Commissions employment and labour market policies.

7) Stratigaki, Maria. 2004. The cooptation of gender concepts in EU policies. The case of reconciliation of work and family. *Social Politics* 11(1): 30-56.

Keywords: Policy analysis; reconciliation of work and family; European Employment Strategy.

The article contends that gender equality policy objectives become part of the main political agenda of the European Union only after their meaning has been transformed to satisfy other policy priorities. A content analysis of relevant official EU acts, from the first European Commission's social action program (1974) to the Conclusions of the Barcelona European Council (2002) and the fifth EU action program for gender equality (2001–2005), shows how a concept introduced to encourage gender equality in the labor market, the "reconciliation of working and family life," gradually shifted in meaning from an objective with feminist potential ("sharing family responsibilities between women and men") to a market-oriented objective ("encouraging flexible forms of employment") as it became incorporated in the European Employment Strategy of the 1990s. (...) [Stratigaki] argues that this process can be characterized as cooptation because the goals of the original proposals are undermined by shifting the meanings of the original concepts to fit into the prevailing political and economic priorities in the EU (p. 30).

8) Walby, Sylvia. 2004. The European Union and gender equality: emergent varieties of gender regime. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 11 (1): 4-29.

Keywords: gender equality analysis; theorization of gender relations; nature of EU powers.

The implications of the development of the European Union for gender equality are analyzed through an assessment of the development of a path-dependent form of the gender regime in the EU. Two issues underpin this analysis, one concerning the theorization of gender relations, the second concerning the nature of EU powers. The analysis of gender inequality requires more than a simple scale of inequalities and additionally requires the theorization of the extent and nature of the interconnections between different dimensions of the gender regime. The powers of the EU are extending beyond the narrowly economic in complex ways.

9) Craig, Paul and Gráinne De Búrca. 2002. Equal treatment of women and men. In *EU law. Text, cases and materials*, Paul Craig and Gráinne De Búrca. Oxford: Oxford University Press¹⁵.

Keywords: Gender equality legislation analysis.

This chapter follows in detail the evolution of gender equality legislation on employment from the Treaty of Rome onwards, covering the areas of equal pay and equal treatment at work and equal treatment in social security. It discusses directives and law cases of the Court of Justice.

¹⁵ Useful for selecting texts later on.

10) Duncan, Simon. 2002. Policy discourses on reconciling work and life in the EU. *Social Policy and Society* 1(4): 305-314.

Keywords: EU policy discourse analysis; reconciliation of work and family life.

This paper outlines the development EU policy discourse on 'the reconciliation of work and family life'. This imposes a policy disjuncture on New Labour, for, while the British government may be ideologically more attracted to the liberal US model of 'flexible' labour, it is bound by EU law to implement a more corporatist gender equality model. The paper notes how themes of economic competition, democratisation, and protecting gender contracts emerged at the foundation EU gender policy. It traces these themes into an 'equal opportunities at work' discourse during the 1970s and 1980s and, with the increasing importance of the 'demographic time bomb' discourse and of Scandinavian style gender equality, into discourses stressing the 'reconciliation of paid work with family life' and gender mainstreaming. The paper ends by addressing the 'half-empty or half-full' assessments of EU gender policy¹⁶.

11) Guerrina, Roberta. 2002. Mothering in Europe: Feminist critique of European policies on motherhood and employment. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 9(1): 49-68.

Keywords: EU policies analysis; gender politics; maternity rights; parental leave; women and employment.

This article looks at the role of the European Union in promoting substantive equality for men and women in the European labour market. For this purpose it looks at the assumptions about gender roles and gender divisions of labour enshrined by EU directives on maternity rights and parental leave. The article presents a theoretical discussion of the role of EU policies in protecting women's rights and thus promoting a socioeconomic model that allows men and women to reconcile work and family life. The main policies at the heart of this research are the 1992 Pregnant Worker Directive, the 1996 Parental Leave Directive, the 1992 Childcare Recommendations and the 2000 Council Resolution on Balanced Participation in Work and Family Life. The article thus assesses the gender biases of EU policies and the ensuing implications for the future of gender relations and socioeconomic trends in Europe.

12) Tijdens, Kea G. 2002. Gender roles and labor use strategies: Women's part-time work in the European Union. *Feminist Economics* 8(1): 71-99.

Keywords: regimes of part-time employment analysis; gender roles; secondary labor market; optimal staffing; responsive firms.

¹⁶ Abstract available at:
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract;jsessionid=B5F624EC56D1D478B9026A6BCC449CD6.tomcat1?fromPage=online&aid=120468> , on the 7th March 2007.

What is the nature of female part-time employment in the European Union? Using data from the Second European Survey on Working Conditions, the author seeks to address this question. The paper examines four regimes of part-time employment. The gender-roles model, which assumes that women work part-time because they are secondary earners or have children at home, ranks first as a predictor of the likelihood that a woman will work part-time. In the responsive firms model, which ranks second in explanatory power, part-time work is primarily seen as the firms' response to workers' demands for fewer working hours. The optimal staffing model assumes that employers will create part-time jobs as a response to the demand for time-related services; it ranks third in explanatory power. Finally, the secondary-labor market model, which assumes job insecurity, poor wages, and poor working conditions, ranks fourth in predicting whether a woman will work part- or full-time.

13) Laatikainen, Katie V. 2001. Caught between access and activism in the multilevel European Union labyrinth. In *State feminism, women's movements, and job training. Making democracies work in the global economy*, ed. Amy G. Mazur. New York and London: Routledge¹⁷.

Keywords: Policy analysis; analysis of debates; job training.

This chapter focuses on the participation that different actors (non-governmental and governmental) have had at two very important debates over EU job training policy: the one that led to the 1993 review of the European Structural Fund and Agenda 2000. While in the former women played a pivotal role with their demands being incorporated in the policy outcome, in the later the result was rather different. In fact, the author argues that by the late 1990s the EU has shifted "to a narrower, market-oriented approach to social policy and toward decentralizing policy to member-states" (p. 106). As a consequence, the EU women's policy agencies and women's movement must better monitor member states' actions.

14) Rubery, Jill, Mark Smith, Dominique Anxo and Lennart Flood. 2001. The future European labor supply: The critical role of the family. *Feminist Economics* 7(3): 33-69.

Keywords: Policy analysis; gender; family; employment; Europe; Labor; Supply.

The European employment strategy initiated in 1997 is critically dependent upon the further integration of women into the labor market. The European Union has set a specific target employment rate for women of 60 percent by 2010 and is also committed to providing more and better child care facilities. This gender focus is reinforced by the requirement for gender mainstreaming in all aspects of European employment policy. There is an implied Europe-wide, universal policy of encouraging female labor-market participation and reducing the care work performed by domestic labor. However, the European Commission continues to have limited competence in areas of family, social, and welfare policy. As a result, these common employment objectives for women are thus

¹⁷ Useful for the timelines and for mapping and understanding gender equality policy agencies and structures.

being pursued against a background of quite different systems of social, family, welfare, and indeed labor-market organization. These systems have different economic and employment implications, such that the outcomes of the common European employment strategy will also be highly variable.

15) Bergamaschi, Miriam. 2000. The gender perspective in the policies of European Trade Unions. In *Gender policies in the European Union*, ed. Mariagrazia Rossilli, 219-240. New York: Peter Lang. (this book was translated into Spanish and published in Spain, in the same year, by Narcea)¹⁸

Keywords: EU women's policy analysis; trade union women's programmes; decision making.

An analysis of trade union women's programmes during the mid-1980s and late 1990s is the focus of Miriam Bergamaschi's essay. Trade union's key role in helping shape industrial relations in the European Union is the starting point of her analysis. Marginalization of women in trade union decision making is one of the major concerns of women trade union activists and EU women representatives who pushed for reforms in labor policies. According to Bergamaschi, women's rights in the workplace, career training, and family and work responsibilities are issues that must be addressed together in creating equal opportunity reforms and programs. Some of the trends in women's policy from the mid-1980s are reviewed and compared by the author, noting the problem of women's under-representation collective bargaining and policymaking activities. She points out the importance of gender democracy in challenging the existing balance of power in trade union collective bargaining process and equal opportunity policies.

(abstract from Rosal, Carmel L.. 2000. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 2 (1), available at <http://www.bridgew.edu/SoAS/jiws/nov00/gender.htm> , on the 21/2/2007)

16) Hantrais, Linda. 2000. From equal pay to reconciliation of employment and family life. In *Gendered policies in Europe. Reconciling employment and family life*, ed. Linda Hantrais, 1-26. Houndmills: Macmillan¹⁹.

Keywords: EU gender policy analysis; institutional framework for gender policy; impact of member states.

Equal pay and equal treatment for men and women have long been on the European agenda" (p. 1). This chapter provides "an overview of the European context for equality policy formulation and implementation. It sets the scene by presenting the evolving institutional framework and economic context in which gender issues have moved onto the political agenda at European and national level. It then tracks the shift in European legislation from equal rights to reconciliation measures, and examines the impact of the different waves of membership on gender policy" (p. 2/3).

¹⁸ Useful for the WHY (more precisely to understand why the policies/directives approved by the EU do not have a social perspective).

¹⁹ Useful to select texts later on.

17) Hoskyns, Catherine. 2000. A study of four Action Programmes on equal opportunities. In *Gender policies in the European Union*, ed. Mariagrazia Rossilli, 60-83. New York: Peter Lang. (this book was translated into Spanish and published in Spain, in the same year, by Narcea)²⁰

Keywords: EU women's policy analysis; EU four action programmes.

In Chapter 3, Catherine Hoskyns focuses on the changes in women's rights policy of the European Union. She evaluates the EU women's policy by focusing on four of the EU Action Programmes on Equal Opportunities from 1982 to 2000. (...) Hoskyns examines each of the EU four action programmes in terms of its aim, focus, implementation, and negative and positive outcomes. (...) Hoskyns writes about the emphasis and scope of each action programme which evolved into broader areas from addressing the rights of workers (i.e. full-time, part-time, and immigrant women workers) to the inclusion of men in the equality process. Several efforts were introduced to advance women's participation in social, economic, and political domains. (...) Issues that centred around women who were poor, marginalized, immigrants, or disadvantaged, Hoskyns observes, have been neglected in policy implementations. (...) In Hoskyn's view, greater gender equality across the EU can be attained by women's sustained efforts to participate in decision-making activities with other social groups in the future". In addition, the author points out that the broadening of scope through gender mainstreaming implies a departure from more focused and binding legislation on employment.

(abstract from Rosal, Carmel L.. 2000. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 2 (1), available at <http://www.bridgew.edu/SoAS/jiws/nov00/gender.htm> , on the 21/2/2007)

18) Ostner, Ilona. 2000. From equal pay to equal employability. Four decades of European gender policies. In *Gender policies in the European Union*, ed. Mariagrazia Rossilli: 34-59. New York: Peter Lang.

Keywords: EU equality policies analysis; European Court of Justice role; Directives impact.

Ilona Ostner examines in the second chapter the European Court of Justice's capacity in altering EU equality policies and how policy changes present an opportunity for Member States in the struggle against unequal treatment of women in labor market sectors. She argues that "gender policies have developed within the framework of both negative integration and regulation policies designed to remove market barriers or to increase marketization" (p. 26). The starting point in Ostner's analysis of European gender policies is the Treaty of Rome. Article 119 came into fruition and was incorporated into the Treaty of Rome's social policy section as a result of pressure from France. According to Ostner, Article 119 ruled that each Member State ensured and maintained the application of the principle that men and women received equal pay for equal work (p. 28). Ostner traces the development of gender policies in

²⁰ Useful for the WHY.

the EU between 1970 and 2000 and analyzes the impact of various Directives on industrial relations”.

(abstract from Rosal, Carmel L.. 2000. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 2 (1), available at <http://www.bridgew.edu/SoAS/jiws/nov00/gender.htm> , on the 21/2/2007)

19) Shaw, Jo. 2000. *Social law and policy in an evolving European Union*. Oxford: Hart Publishing.

Keywords: Social law and policy analysis; employment equity.

Social law and policy have been moving increasingly into the mainstream of the European Union. There have been important changes to the Treaty framework for enacting social policy, bringing the role of the social partners to the fore. New Treaty provisions for adopting discrimination legislation have highlighted the potential role of the EU in combating aspects of social exclusion, and in challenging disturbing phenomena such as racism and xenophobia. Social policy is increasingly linked to the emerging notion of Union citizenship. The arrival of the single currency in 1999 is now matched by a more pro-active EU-level policy on employment and the labour market. The analyses in this collection address these and other questions against the backdrop of the longstanding controversies over the nature and scope of EU social policy, including the UK's opt-out from certain provisions between 1993 and 1997, and the ongoing debate about whether EU social policy has, or should have, a social or an economic rationale. Part IV of this book “Strategies for equality, employment and employment equity” is particularly relevant for non-employment issue.

20) Stratigaki, Maria. 2000. The European Union and the equal opportunities process. In *Gendered policies in Europe. Reconciling employment and family life*, ed. Linda Hantrais: 27-48. Houndmills: Macmillan: 27-48²¹.

Keywords: European institutions policy process analysis; role played by many actors; equal treatment; reconciliation.

This chapter examines the role played by European institutions in the policy process and negotiation procedures that brought about this shift. It shows how the institutions of the European Union have both promoted and resisted change, and how the interaction between the intentions of the initiators of policy, interpretations of policy-makers and lobbying of women's organizations provides the framework for policy formation” (p. 27). “The first part of the chapter describes the role of national governments, the European Commission, the European Parliament, the social partners and women's organizations in the development of European policy on equality. Specific reference is made to their role in promoting either equal treatment or reconciliation” (p.2). “The second part of the chapter illustrates the roles played by different social actors and their interaction at critical points in equal opportunities policy development (p.2).

²¹ Useful for the WHY.

21) Threlfall, Monica. 2000. Taking stock and looking ahead. In *Gendered policies in Europe. Reconciling employment and family life*, ed. Linda Hantrais, 180-200. Houndmills: Macmillan.

Keywords: EU equality politics process analysis; reconciliations politics; reconciliation models.

This chapter focuses on specific issues arising out of the reconciliation strategy adopted by the European Union, drawing on the contributions in this volume to take stock and assess the political outlook for equality politics. The first section appraises the EU equality work, arguing that, despite the distorting effect on women's policy of the EU mandate, European institutions have overcome their limitations to a remarkable extent. It analyses reconciliation as a policy instrument, particularly in relation to its implications for fathers and its link to the question of citizenship and difference. The second section complements the country and policy-based models of reconciliation for women (...) by proposing a set of models for reconciliation of paid work and family life within individuals households for both sexes. The last section of the chapter looks beyond the EU, arguing that the next stage for action is primarily the domestic arena, and drawing attention to the notable extent to which gender policies are adopted as by-products of other goals or motivations of policy actors. In conclusion, it is suggested that the imperative of gender equality has moved beyond law-making to enter other terrains of action" (p.180).

22) Rees, Teresa. 1998. *Mainstreaming equality in the European Union. Education, training and labour market policies*. New York: Routledge²².

Keywords: Policy analysis; training policy; models of equal opportunities.

In 1957, the European Community made a commitment to equal treatment for men and women. Now in the much enlarged EU of fifteen Member States, gender remains the single most important factor in education, training, job and pay distribution. This book traces and critiques the record of the EU on equal opportunities from equal treatment, then positive action, through to the current agenda – mainstreaming equality. The author combines insights from feminist theory on conceptualizing equality, familiarity with Eurospeak and original research on education and training programmes and projects of the Commission to offer an accessible, jargon-free account of the EU attempts to encourage equal opportunities.
(abstract from back cover of the book)

23) Hantrais, Linda. 1995. *Social policy in the European Union*. Houndmills: MacMillan.

²² Useful for the WHY and timelines.

Keywords: EU social policy analysis; family policies (chap. 5); welfare of women; women's rights as workers and mothers (chap. 6).

This book examines not only the development of the social dimension of the European Union and the role of the Union in setting a European-wide social policy agenda but also the impact of action at European level on national welfare regimes. It provides a thematic and comparative review of the field, leading readers through the key policy documents. The introductory chapters present central concepts in the policy-making process and explore theories of convergence in the context of national social protection systems. Subsequent chapters analyse the main policy addressed by the Union, including education and training, the improvement of living and working conditions, family policies, women, welfare and citizenship, policy for older and disabled people, social exclusion and intra-European and non-EU mobility²³. Chapter 6 (women, welfare and citizenship) focuses on women's rights on the Union's policy agenda.

24) Ostner, Llona and Jane Lewis. 1995. Gender and the evolution of European social policies. In *European Social Policy. Between Fragmentation and Integration*, eds. Stephan Leibfried and Paul Pierson, 159-193. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Keywords: EU equal-treatment policy analysis; social policies; member states policy.

This chapter examines the scope and limits of EU equal-treatment policy. First, (...) [the authors] hold that the Commission and the European Court of Justice (ECJ) have exploited successfully the principle of equal pay and equal treatment, forcing member states to give up many discriminatory practices. Nevertheless, both the Court and the Commission have consistently refrained from family policy per se – indeed, from any policy that was not “clearly stated or unambiguously implied in the Treaty”. Transforming the gendered division of labour in households has not been a goal of EU social policy (p.160/161).

25) Sales, Rosemary and Jeanne Gregory. 1996. Employment, citizenship, and European integration: The implications for migrant and refugee women. *Social Politics* 3 (2/3): 331-350.

Keywords: exclusionary policies analysis; employment and welfare rights; minority ethnic groups.

European integration is producing a radical restructuring of citizenship. Within the European Union (EU), two distinct sets of citizenship rights are developing: on the one hand, EU nationals have freedom of movement within the union and access to employment and welfare rights; on the other, the mobility of non nationals within Europe is increasingly restricted and conditional on employment. "Migration" is used commonly and confusingly to refer to both

²³ Abstract from the back cover of the book.

types of movement, thereby masking the increasing polarization of opportunities and benefits formally available to members of the two groups. This article is primarily concerned with the impact of the increasingly exclusionary policies adopted by EU member states in relation to migrants, particularly refugees, originating from countries outside the EU. It also draws attention to the consequences of such policies for minority ethnic groups in general, which foster a climate of control and suspicion in which xenophobia and racism can flourish. The line between formal and informal exclusion becomes blurred in practice, and a complex hierarchy of citizenship status emerges” (p. 331).

2.1.1. Comparative Studies

26) Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung (BIVS). 2006. *Economic aspects of the condition of Roma women*. *European Parliament*.
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/expert/eStudies.do?language=EN>

Keywords: economic and social study; Roma Women in the EU

It analyses the economic aspects of the condition of Roma Women in the EU, including specific country studies for a selection of EU members from the North, South, West and East of Europe, including Turkey.

27) Bleijenbergh, Inge, Jet Bussemaker and Jeanne de Bruijn. 2006. Trading well-being for economic efficiency: The 1990 shift in EU childcare policies. *Marriage & family review* 39: 315-336.

Keywords: Childcare policies analysis, European Union, gender equality, Germany, Netherlands, United Kingdom.

In 1992, the European Union (EU) adopted the Recommendation on Childcare and became involved in childcare policy. For the first time, care services and domestic care were acknowledged as the common responsibility of all the European and national political units. The article shows the interaction between childcare policy at the European level and in three welfare states with strong male breadwinner policy logics: Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom (UK). At the European and national levels, arguments prioritizing economic efficiency and equal opportunities gained ground at the expense of arguments prioritizing the well-being of children. Formerly male breadwinner states reached a consensus on the policy goal of shared responsibility for care giving by emphasizing common economic interests and the principle of equal opportunities while still allowing for nation variability in how this policy goal will be carried out.

28) European Commission. Directorate-General Employment and Social Affairs, Unit G1. 2006a. *The gender pay gap: origins and policy responses*. Office for Official Sources of the European Communities. (accessed 9 March 2007)

http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/sources/2006/ke7606200_en.pdf

Keywords: gender pay gap in the EU; EU 27, EEA, + 2 candidate countries; public policies to reduce wage difference between women and men; best practices.

Report on the gender pay gap from an independent group of European experts in gender issues in social inclusion and employment. The report provides a comparative review of EU-27 and EEA (Norway, Liechtenstein and Iceland), plus information on two candidate countries (Romania and Bulgaria) of policy approaches implemented to tackle the gender pay gap.' The report addresses the origins of the problem, it focuses on how public policies try to reduce wage differences between women and men, and highlights best practices.

29) European Commission. Directorate-General Employment and Social Affairs, Unit G1. 2006b. *Gender Inequalities in the risks of poverty and social exclusion for disadvantaged groups in thirty European countries*. Luxembourg: Office for the Official Sources of the European Communities.

Keywords: gender inequalities in the EU; poverty; social exclusion for disadvantaged groups; thirty European countries; gender mainstreaming.

Gender mainstreaming is specified as a key requirement in the Social Inclusion Process; however, this approach to policy design and monitoring is still under-developed and often absent from National Plans. The aim of this report is to inform and help develop the gender mainstreaming of the Social Inclusion Process, drawing on national reports for 30 European countries. It reviews gender differences and inequalities in the risks of poverty and social exclusion, followed by chapters which focus on selected examples of disadvantaged groups to illustrate the relevance of gender mainstreaming for social inclusion policy.

30) European Commission. Directorate-General Employment and Social Affairs, Unit G1. 2006c. *"Making work pay" debates from a gender perspective - A comparative review of some recent policy reforms in thirty European countries*. Luxembourg: Office for the Official Sources of the European Communities.

Keywords: making work pay agenda from a gender perspective; EU 25 + information on EEA + Bulgaria and Romania.

This report contains an overview of some of the recent national reforms or policy debates in relation to the 'making work pay' agenda from a gender perspective in the 25 EU Member States. Information is also provided for three EEA countries, Iceland, Norway and Liechtenstein, and two Candidate countries, Bulgaria and Romania.

31) European Commission. Directorate-General Employment and Social Affairs, Unit G1. 2006d. *Reconciliation of work and private life - A comparative review of thirty*

European countries. Luxembourg: Office for the Official Sources of the European Communities.

Keywords: reconciliation of work and private life; EU 25 + information on EEA + Bulgaria and Romania.

This report contains an overview of policies targeted towards the reconciliation agenda of the 25 EU Member States. In addition, information is provided for three EEA countries, Iceland, Norway and Liechtenstein, and two Candidate countries, Bulgaria and Romania.

32) European Commission. Directorate-General Employment and Social Affairs, Unit G4. 2006e. *Equality and non discrimination. Annual report 2006.* Luxembourg: Office for the Official Sources of the European Communities.
http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/fundamental_rights/pdf/pubst/poldoc/annualrep06_en.pdf

Keywords: equality and non discrimination; implementation of EU antidiscrimination legislation; 2007 Year of Equal opportunities for all

The report summarises developments in implementing the EU legislation on anti-discrimination, in particular Directives 2000/78 and 2000/43, in the 25 Member States,. It describes the national bodies created to enforce and protect the new EU anti discrimination rights. Finally, it outlines the main objectives and activities planned for the 2007 Year of Equal Opportunities for all.

33) European Commission, Hardarson, Omar. 2006f. *People outside the labour force. Female inactivity rates down.* Luxembourg: Office for Official Sources of the European Communities.
<http://bookshop.europa.eu/eGetRecords> (accessed 13 March 2007)

Keywords: People outside the labour force; Female inactivity rates; European Union; statistical study.

Since 1999 the share of inactive persons in the total population of 15-64 years old has dropped from 31.6% to 29.8% in 2005. The inactivity rate of women in this period fell from 40.5% to 37.5%, while inactivity rate of men remained relatively stable, 22.6% in 1999 and 22.2% in 2005. Care of children and family responsibilities are the main explanatory factors behind the different inactivity rates of the sexes. These are the results of the European Union Labour Force survey. The publication analyses also the inactivity rate in relation to age, reasons for inactivity, willingness of the inactive persons to work, their education and family situation.

34) European Commission, Directorate-General Employment and Social Affairs, Unit G1. 2006g. *Report on equality between women and men, 2006.* Luxembourg: Office

for Official Sources of the European Communities. EN, FR, D (accessed 9 March 2007)

http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/sources/2005/keaj05001_en.pdf

Keywords: 2006 report on equality between women and men; EU 25 Member States; EU gender equality policy developments; gender contribution to growth and employment; Lisbon strategy; effective reconciliation of work and private life; effective institutional mechanisms for gender equality; external dimension of gender equality

This yearly report presents an overview of the main developments on equality between women and men in the European Union in 2005. It also outlines challenges and policy orientations for the future.' The report covers the policy and legislative developments of the EU gender equality policy until 2005. It addresses the issues of exploiting gender equality policy contribution to the EU Lisbon strategy for growth and employment, promoting an effective reconciliation of work and private life, supporting gender equality with effective institutional mechanisms, and addressing the external dimension of gender equality to respect the Beijing Platform for Action and the Millennium goals.

35) European Commission Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities. 2005. *Employment in Europe. Recent trends and prospects*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Sources of the European Communities. EN
<http://bookshop.europa.eu/eGetRecords> (accessed 13 March 2007)

Keywords: EU employment policy; earning disparities; inactive population; policy report.

The 17th edition of the annual Employment in Europe report presents a panorama of recent developments in the labour markets of the enlarged EU and a short snapshot of the labour market situation in the acceding and candidate countries. This year, the report reviews the achievements of the European Employment Strategy, investigating developments in its three main objectives: full-employment, quality and productivity at work, and strengthening social cohesion and inclusion. It furthermore reflects on the importance of domestic demand for employment creation, as despite the positive development in labour markets following employment reforms, policy measures can only solve part of the problems. It also presents recent data on earnings disparities and analyses the determinants of the earnings distribution in the EU, thus reflecting another dimension of social and territorial cohesion and feeding into the debate on efficiency and equity. Finally, the report examines in detail the current situation and past developments concerning the inactive population, providing figures on its size and structure, the reasons for being inactive and as such could be a guide to identifying where measures to increase participation could most effectively be targeted.

36) European Commission, Directorate-General Employment and Social Affairs, Unit G1. 2005. *Report on equality between women and men*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Sources of the European Communities. EN, FR, D (accessed 9 March 2007)

http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/sources/2005/keaj05001_en.pdf

Keywords: 2005 report on equality between women and men; EU of 25 Member States; EU gender equality policy; development in the situation of women and men in education, employment and social life; immigrant women and men

The second annual report on equality between women and men, as requested by heads of state and government at the Spring European Council, in March 2003, is the first to cover the enlarged EU of 25 Member States. This report shows the main development in the relative situation of women and men in education, employment and social life. It focuses on immigrant women and men and addresses challenges for the further promotion of equality between women and men.' The report covers the evolution of the EU gender equality policy including recent developments since 2004 EU Constitutional Treaty. It addresses the issues of strengthening women's participation in the labour market, promoting reconciliation measures, addressing the role of men for achieving gender equality, and integrating a gender perspective into immigration and integration policies.

37) Von Wahl, Angelika. 2005. Liberal, Conservative, Social Democratic, or . . . European? The European Union as equal employment regime. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 12(1): 67-95.

Keywords: employment policies analysis; national gender equality policies; Europeanization of gender politics.

How do the dynamics of the multitiered European Union (EU) affect national equal employment policies for women? This article introduces the concept of equal employment regimes and asks if and how such regimes are being integrated in the EU. I argue that states cluster according to the equal employment policies they formulate, implement, and enforce. A review of existing national gender equality policies in Western Europe (such as equal pay and positive action) in relation to their timing, extent, and implementation investigates the robustness of the notion of equal employment regimes. This national-level review is then contrasted to an analysis of the supranational level and concludes that the EU equal employment policy regime is not the outcome of a simple convergence of existing national regimes but rather reflects the expanding Europeanization of gender politics. As such the EU can be conceptualized as a fourth regime type with its own policies, institutional features, and mechanisms. Recent literature on Europeanization helps theorize the differences between the national and the EU level on this issue.

38) Calers, Hélène. 2004. *Women and poverty in the European Union*. European Parliament. EN (accessed 14 March 2007)
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/expert/eStudies.do?language=EN>

Keywords: economic and social study; poverty for women in the EU

This note aims at defining the main risk factors of poverty for women in the European Union and at identifying the groups that are particularly at risk. It has to be underlined that some data are not available for the new Member States'

39) Daly, Mary. 2004. Changing conceptions of family and gender relations in European welfare states and the third way. In *Welfare states change towards a third way?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 135-155.

Keywords: policy analysis; state; European Union; social investment; children; UK; citizenship; human capital; Canada; welfare regime; Third Way

The chapter explores the idea of the social investment state in the context of Third Way thinking and practice. It considers the social investment state as: a normative ideal; a pragmatic response to the perceived economic and social challenges facing mature welfare states; and an analytical tool. Following a discussion of its evolution and key elements, the chapter explores the emergence of the social investment state in the UK and Canada. It offers a critical analysis of the treatment of children as citizen-workers of the future, drawing out the implications for children and also women²⁴.

40) Haas, Linda. 2003. Parental leave and gender equality: Lessons from the European Union. *Review of Policy Research* 20(1): 89–114.

Keywords: EU parental leave policy analysis; 15 EU member states.

This article describes the development of European Union parental leave policy and its impact on mothers' and fathers' access to parental leave in the individual nations that make up the union. Cross-national variations in parental leave policy are described and analyzed. Although the 15 countries belonging to the EU in 2002 are concerned about helping working parents reconcile employment and family responsibilities, so far, only one—Sweden—has begun to develop a parental leave policy likely to facilitate men's and women's sharing of responsibility for breadwinning and child care²⁵.

41) Bettio, Francesca, Jill Rubery and Mark Smith. 2000. Gender, flexibility, and new employment relations in the European Union. In *Gender policies in the European Union*, ed. Mariagrazia Rossilli, 169-218. New York: Peter Lang.

²⁴ Abstract available at:

<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/oso/849310/2004/00000001/00000001/art00009;jsessionid=83110mgc3h3k7.alice> on the 12th March 2007.

²⁵ Abstract available at: <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/links/doi/10.1111%2F1541-1338.d01-6> on the 10th March 2007.

Keywords: Policy analysis; 15 EU Member States; employment patterns; flexible jobs.

In chapter 7, Francesca Bettio, Jill Rubery, and Mark Smith provide a policy oriented discussion and comparative analysis of employment patterns of women and men in the European Union. Considering the increase in the availability of flexible jobs (i.e. temporary contract and part time work) in the European Union, the authors note that these arrangements “reproduce familiar gender asymmetry” (p. 156). (...) In the first part, the authors scrutinize various employment relations and working time arrangements across 15 EU countries, and how these are linked to labor market organization and employment over the life course patterns. In the second part, the authors examine, evaluate, and propose alternatives to three labor flexibility strategies: employer friendly flexibility, flexibility over the life cycle, and working time reduction. The authors propose practical solutions so that current policy can be revised by shifting the focus of labor flexibility arrangement toward an employee friendly flexibility orientation.

(abstract from Rosal, Carmel L.. 2000. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 2 (1), available at <http://www.bridgew.edu/SoAS/jiws/nov00/gender.htm> , on the 21/2/2007)

42) Gonzalez Garcia, Isaac. 2000. *Recruitment and Equal Opportunities Systems*. European Parliament. ES,DE,EN,FR
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/activities/expert/eStudies.do?language=EN>

Keywords: public administration study; recruitment systems; equal opportunities policies

The aim of this study is to describe and analyse the specific aspects of the various recruitment systems and equal opportunities policies for men and women of the civil services of the Members States of the Union, the European Institutions and international organisations (the Council of Europe and the United Nations).’

43) Perrons, Diane. 1999. Flexible working patterns and equal opportunities in the European Union: conflict or compatibility? *European Journal of Women's Studies* 6(4): 391-418.

Keywords: comparative qualitative analysis; flexible work; equal opportunities between women and men; six European countries

Employment flexibility is particularly associated with neoliberalism and deregulation and, thus, with Britain, rather than the other countries of the European Union (EU), which are more closely associated with corporatist or social democratic welfare regimes. During the 1990s, however, flexible working has expanded throughout the EU. Within EU policy discourse flexible employment represents a means of resolving the unemployment problem, increasing economic and social cohesion, maintaining economic efficiency and competitiveness and enhancing equal opportunities between women and men. The purpose of this article is to consider the extent to which flexible working is

compatible with one of these objectives: equal opportunities between women and men. The article draws mainly upon a comparative qualitative analysis of flexible working in the retail sector in six European countries and concludes that while flexible working may expand employment opportunities, there is little evidence to suggest that it will contribute towards equal opportunities in any other way.

3. Gender+ Intimate Citizenship

3.1. English sources

1) McGlynn, Clare. 2006. *Families and the European Union: law, politics and pluralism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keywords: European Family Policies analysis, EU family law, European Civil Law, partnership, parenthood.

In the first book to offer a comprehensive analysis of family law in European Union, McGlynn argues that a traditional concept of 'family' which has many adverse effects-on individuals, on families (in all their diverse forms), and indeed on the economic ambitions of the EU is forming the basis for the little-recognised and under-researched field of EU family law. This book examines three different aspects of family life-childhood, parenthood and partnerships and critically analyses existing EU law in relation to each. It examines the emerging field of EU family law, providing a highly sceptical account of recent developments and a robust challenge to the arguments in favour of the codification of European civil law, including family law"²⁶.

(Note that chapter three pg.42 "Children and European Union Law: Instrumentalism, protection and Empowerment" makes reference to children's rights. Although we are focusing on Intimate Citizenship in relation to partnership and adulthood, chapter 3 explores issues related to childhood).

2) Verloo, Mieke, 2006. Multiple inequalities, intersectionality, and the European Union". *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 211-228.

Keywords: Policy Analysis; Intersectionality, European Union, Class, Gender, Sexual orientation, Race; ethnicity, Gender mainstreaming, Diversity mainstreaming.

The European Union (EU), a pioneer in gender equality policies, is moving from predominantly attending to gender inequality, towards policies that address multiple inequalities. This paper argues that there are tendencies at EU level to

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<http://books.google.es/books?vid=ISBN0521613353&id=n59I9VMxjXwC&dq=governing+sexuality:+the+changing+politics+of+citizenship+and+law+reform> , on the 26/2/2007.

assume an unquestioned similarity of inequalities, to fail to address the structural level, and to fuel the political competition between inequalities. Based upon a comparison of specific sets of inequalities (class, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation and gender), this paper explores where and how structural and political intersectionality might be relevant. It argues that “a one size fits all” approach to addressing multiple discrimination is based on an incorrect assumption of sameness or equivalence of the social categories connected to inequalities and of the mechanisms and processes that constitute them. Focusing on similarities ignores the differentiated character and dynamics of inequalities. It also overlooks the political dimension of equality goals. Moreover, it has become clear that attention to structural mechanisms and to the role of the state and the private sphere in reproducing inequalities is much needed. The final part of the paper presents constructive ideas for a more comprehensive way of addressing multiple inequalities”. (Abstract obtained from the article at the EJWS, Vol. 13, No. 3, pg. 211).
<http://ejw.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/13/3/211>.

3) Bleijenbergh, Inge. 2005. *Between work and care: the shaping of European social citizenship*. Paper for seminar Rethinking Equal Opportunities. Athena II Working group 3b. Radboud University Nijmegen: Institute for Gender Studies.

Keywords: Policy Analysis, Social citizenship, European Union, work and family life gender equality, social policy.

This article shows how the combination of work and family life has become a central issue on the European political agenda in the 1990s, by analysing policy debates around primary and secondary legislation, communications and Action Programmes. Moreover, it examines to what extent combining work and family life helped shape European social citizenship. It shows that facilitating parents caring responsibilities became a central theme in EU social policy in the 1990s, but the primacy of employment was emphasised. Gender equality became formulated in terms of equal opportunities on the labour market rather than equal treatment at work. Workers were still central, but this was especially true of workers with caring tasks. The European Union, European employers' organisations and trade unions and national member states took common responsibility for guaranteeing workers rights to time for care and care services, herewith shaping European industrial citizenship rather than European social citizenship.

4) Ellis, Evelyn. 2005. *EU anti-discrimination law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Keywords: Policy Analysis, EU Anti-discrimination law, Direct Discrimination, Indirect Discrimination, General Framework, Equal Treatment.

EU Anti-Discrimination Law provides a critical analysis of the current body of EU law prohibiting discrimination on the grounds of sex, part-time and temporary working, racial and ethnic origin, religion and belief, disability, age, and sexual orientation. Ellis begins by examining the objectives underpinning the notions of

non-discrimination and equality, and by setting out the essential characteristics of EU law. The book then moves on to consider key concepts including direct and indirect discrimination, harassment, positive action, and mainstreaming. Ellis analyses in depth the principle of equal pay (including its application to pensions) and the principle of equal treatment (including its application to pregnancy and maternity), and explores the law prohibiting discrimination in relation to social security. The scope and enforcement of the Race Directive and the Framework Directive (Council Directive of 27th November 2000 establishing a General Framework for Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation), and the contribution of the European Convention on Human Rights to the law forbidding discrimination are examined. The part played by other instruments for the protection of human rights and by the Charter of Fundamental Rights contained within the draft Constitution of the European Union are considered.

5) European Women's Lobby. 2005. *Gender Equality Road Map for the European Community 2006-2010*. EWL www.womenlobby.org (accessed on 19 March 2007)

Keywords: EU antidiscrimination policies; women's multiple discrimination

In this paper the (EWL) European Women's Lobby welcomes the fact that the EU has developed anti-discrimination policies considerably in the last few years. Such policies are indispensable complement to specific gender equality policies; as many women face inequality on more than one ground and women often form the majority in all discrimination groups²⁷.

6) Fredman, Sandra. 2005. Double trouble: multiple discrimination and EU law. In *European Anti-Discrimination Law Review* 2: 13-21.

Keywords: Legal analysis; Anti-discrimination policy, Intersectionality, Multiple discrimination.

This paper explores the expansion of EU anti-discrimination Law on a much wider range of discrimination grounds. The author argues that on the basis of multiple identities and discrimination on different grounds, citizenship and gender equality issues ought to be framed by policy makers from a multiple and intersectional approach. Furthermore, the author identifies the basis of gender equality making to be in many cases blind to other inequalities assuming that all women are white, middle class and heterosexual. However the opening up of framing policies to an intersectional approach brings about new opportunities for gender+equality policies as well as obstacles to monitor and address the great diversity of issues. Despite the difficulties implementing anti-discrimination and gender equality policies as the author highlights "Only once the invisibility of those suffering multiple discrimination has been recognized will it be possible to frame law and social policy accordingly²⁸". This reader makes a strong point on

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http://www.womenlobby.org/SiteResources/data/MediaArchive/policies/gender%20equality/EWL%20Road%20Map%20_EN.pdf

²⁸ (Extract from the paper, p. 18).

intersectionality, the recognition of identity politics and the importance of developing EU policies to respond to cross-cutting issues and multiple inequalities.

(extract from the paper, pg 18).

7) McCrudden, Christopher. 2005. Thinking about the discrimination Directives. Benefits and risks associated within the Directives. *European Anti-Discrimination Law Review* 1: 17-23.

Keywords: Policy Analysis; EU Directive, Race, Religion, Disability, Rights, Discrimination.

The anti-discrimination approach that the EU Race and Employment Equal Treatment Directives are based on has certain major advantages, particularly in presenting race, age, religion, and disability issues as issues of rights, and therefore ensuring that those who have previously been invisible are empowered to become more visible and exercise choices. There are, however, several inherent risks associated with reliance on the EU Directive model. In this text the author concentrates on two in particular. First, there will be pressure to adopt interpretations of the Directive simply to assure a rather superficial consistency with the way in which each ground of discrimination is interpreted. Second, there is a danger that the directives will come to be seen as not only a necessary tool of policy regarding disability but as a sufficient tool of policy²⁹.

8) Shaw, Jo. 2005. Mainstreaming equality and diversity in the European Union. *Current Legal Problems* 58: 255-312.

Keywords: Legal Analysis; Equality, Diversity, Mainstreaming, European Union, Legal studies.

The article considers how it is possible to give constitutional form and effect to the principles of equality and diversity in the European Union. In the context of strategies for securing equality and diversity and in the context of the emergent EU constitutional system, it pays particular attention to the meanings and scope of the tool of 'mainstreaming'.

9) Shaw, Jo. 2005. Mainstreaming equality and diversity in European Union law and policy. Paper presented at Demcon Conference: Supranational Political Community: Substance? Conditions? Pitfalls?. 30 September – 2 October. University of Victoria. Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

Keywords: Legal analysis; Equality, Diversity, EU, transparency, Gender Mainstreaming, Gender Equality.

²⁹ <http://www.migpolgroup.com/multiattachments/2451/DocumentName/alre.pdf>

This article has twin objectives: (1) to consider how it is possible to give constitutional form and effect to the principles of equality and diversity, in the wider context of (2) delivering effective, transparent and legitimate governance in the European Union. The integration of Gender mainstreaming and equal opportunities strategies is intended as central to an evolving legal and social order of the EU towards Gender Equality.

10) Verloo, Mieke. 2005. One size fits all? On EU anti-discrimination policy and its claim to address multiple inequalities. In *Auf dem Weg zu einer Politik der "differenzierten Gleichheit": Theoretische Reflexionen über die Anti-Diskriminierungspolitik der Europäischen Union - Endbericht*. Cinar, D., H. Gürses and S. Strasser. Vienna: Europäisches Zentrum für Wohlfahrtspolitik und Sozialforschung.

Keywords: Policy Analysis; multiple inequalities in the EU, EU anti-discrimination policy, intersectionality, mainstreaming, policy analysis.

This paper presents a critical reflection on both the positive contributions and pitfalls connected to this new claim to address multiple inequalities. How is this claim justified? How are multiple inequalities addressed in the proposal in its current form? And are they addressed in a sufficient, convincing and potentially successful way? Seen from a perspective of gender equality, there are serious theoretical puzzles attached to these questions too, because “the relationship of gender mainstreaming with other complex inequalities” is one of major issues in the analysis of gender mainstreaming at the moment (Walby, 2004). As these puzzles are not commonly elaborated on in policy papers, this paper will try to contribute theoretically to the conceptualization of the relationship of gender inequality to other structural inequalities in particular. This paper will not stop at a critical assessment, but will also present some constructive ideas for a more comprehensive approach for future policy developments.

11) Shaw, Jo. 2004. *Mainstreaming equality in European Union law and policymaking*. ENAR Report (accessed 9 March 2007)³⁰

Keywords: Legal Studies; Mainstreaming equality in the EU; EU policy against racism, constitutionalisation of the principle of mainstreaming equality in the EU.

The report analyses the extent to which the EU has mainstreamed the principle of equality in its policymaking, with particular reference to anti-racism policy. It starts from the examination of the constitutional basis of equality in the EU law, which defines the concepts of equality and discrimination. It specifically focuses on mainstreaming anti-racism policy in the EU, exploring the opportunities and limitations of the mainstreaming strategy. Finally, it makes recommendations for implementing the principle of mainstreaming equality and anti-discrimination in the EU 2004 Constitutional Treaty.

³⁰ http://www.enar-eu.org/en/publication/reports/mainstreaming_04_en.pdf

12) Hantrais, Linda. 2004. *Family policy matters. Responding to family change in Europe*. Bristol: The Polity Press.

Keywords: Sociological Study, family-policy, family diversification, European Commission, fertility, candidate countries, EU Social Policy.

This book explores the complex relationship between family change and public policy responses in EU member states and candidate countries. Although the text combines chapters on demographic trends, changing welfare needs and the changing family-employment balance (this last topic more relevant to the issue of non-employment), it also illustrates the changing family-policy relationship and the impacts of policy on family life. Chapter three examines the current family diversification in the European context which is a relevant subject for the issue of Intimate Citizenship clearly addressed in this section of the State of the Art³¹.

13) Toner, Helen. 2003. Immigration rights of same-sex couples in EC law. In *Legal recognition of same-sex couples in Europe*, eds. Katharina Boele-Woelki and Angelika Fuchs, 178-193. Antwerp: Intersentia.

Keywords: Legal analysis; Same-sex Community law, transnational same-sex partnership, migration, marriage, immigration policies, heterosexism, sexual prejudice.

Immigration rights for non-national partners are amongst the most important and significant rights for those in same-sex relationships. Without these rights, the couples are dependent on the possibilities, which may be severely limited, for the non-national partner to acquire a residence permit independently. In this paper the author outlines the current law, highlighting the limited nature of the rights currently available to same-sex couples, and the reluctance to make any significant progress in current legislative proposals. The author suggests that Community Law contains a number of basic principles which mean that policies refusing residence permit to a same-sex partner are of dubious legality. They interfere with certain protected rights and require justification. A brief look at the way Community Law deals with justifications for interfering with protected rights suggests that, although possible, the arguments in favour of maintaining marriage-only or heterosexual-partners only immigration policies are not convincing³².

³¹ Note that this text includes current trends on re-signifying the family concept and its relation to public policy. The next is theoretical and more focused on EU member states than on the EU as a policy actor.

³² Note that the book 'Legal Recognition of Same-sex couples in Europe' also includes chapters on: The Danish Registered partnership act, a chapter comparing the Finnish and Swedish partnership acts, Registered Partnership and Same-sex marriage in the Netherlands, Same-sex partnership in the legislation of Spanish autonomous Communities, *Le Pacte civil de Solidarité* (PACS) in France, German Law on Same-sex partnership and the legal position of Same-sex couples in English Law.

14) Apap, Joanna. 2002. *The rights of immigrant workers in the European Union: an evaluation of the EU public policy process and the legal status of labour immigrants from the Maghreb countries in the new receiving states*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Keywords: Policy analysis, Nationals, Immigrant workers, European Union, Maghreb, migrants, European Council.

This book is one of the very few studies that evaluate the evolving policies towards third country nationals residing and working in the European Union (EU). Other studies have analysed the existing legal framework of citizenship and migrants' rights in the EU and the flow of migrants into the Community. However, much less comparative research has been carried out about the actual position and the practice of migrants' rights in the receiving countries, in the context of an ever integrating EU and the removal of internal borders. The focus of this book is on the consequences of the increasing number of female and male Maghrebin workers residing in Italy and Spain - both for EU policy and with respect to these two countries as relatively new receiving states. The book examines: What public policy implications does the labour immigration from the Maghreb Countries have for the EU as a supranational Community rather than for the Member states individually? To what extent can citizenship rights be extended to third country nationals legally residing in a European Union to make their status as close as possible to that of European citizens?³³

15) García-Ramón, María Dolores and Janice Monk. 2002. *Women of the European Union. The politics of work and daily life*. ISBN: 978-0-415-11880-4.

Keywords: Policy analysis, women's representation, intersectionality, EU policies, class, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, gender equality.

The text challenges gender-blind assessments of the economic and social aspects of the European Union policies to examine the real implications of Union for the diversity of women in the Member States. The authors also analyze how women's work and daily lives are shaped by local and national policies, by local and global economic conditions, and by diverse and changing cultural values. Detailed contemporary case studies explore how place comes together with class, life stage, sexuality and ethnicity to affect the way in which women are constrained and how they develop strategies to manage their lives. The transformation towards a more equal EU member states in terms of gender equality goes hand in hand with the political and social transformations affecting other inequalities that intersect with gender.

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<http://books.google.es/books?vid=ISBN9041119221&id=WUQL5nSxScAC&dq=domestic+violence+EU+policy>. See also 'National Policies for Maghrebin Labour Migrants in the New Receiving States: Italy and Spain, pg 137-211.

16) Mazey, Sonia, Jo Shaw, Amy Elman, and Mark Bell. 2002. Progressive Europe? Gender and non-discrimination in the EU. *European Union Studies Association EUSA Review Fora and Essays*, 15(3): 1-7. <http://aei.pitt.edu/113/> (accessed 9 March 2007).

Keywords: EU gender policy; EU non discrimination policy, legal and constitutional foundations of EU equality, legal and policy studies.

In this Forum, four authors assess this claim of a "progressive Europe," focusing on the evolution of EU gender policy (Sonia Mazey, Jo Shaw, R. Amy Elman) and the development of a broader policy regarding non-discrimination on the basis of factors such as race, age, and sexual orientation (Mark Bell). Taken together, the essays reveal the impressive legal and constitutional foundations of EU gender and non-discrimination policies, as well as the significant weaknesses of EU policy practice, the problematic relationship between gender and other grounds for discrimination such as race and age, and the difficulty of measuring what constitutes "progress" in the first place.'

17) Morris, Lydia. 2002. *Managing migration. Civic stratification and migrants rights*. London: Routledge.

Keywords: Sociological; Asylum seekers, guest worker, regular status, state watch, immigration rules, EU immigration policy, contradictions, immigration rules.

This text analyses from a Sociological perspective the 'citizenship' aspects of the civic stratification of Migrant's rights. When Nation States now increasingly have to cope with large numbers of non-citizens living within their borders, what becomes the articulation of citizenship? This has largely been understood in terms of the decline of the nation state or of increasing globalisation, but in *Managing Migration* Lydia Morris argues that it throws up more complex questions. In the context of the European Union the terms of debate about immigration, legislation governing entry, and the practice of regulation reveal a set of competing concerns, including: anxiety about the political affiliation of migrants a clash between commitment to equal treatment and the desire to protect national resources human rights obligations alongside restrictions on entry.

The outcome of these clashes is presented in terms of an increasingly complex system of civic stratification. The book then moves on to examine the way in which abstract notions of rights map on to lived experiences when filtered through other forms of difference such as race and gender.

18) Kofman, Eleonore, Annie Phizacklea, Parvati Raghuram and Rosemary Sales. 2001. *Gender and international migration in Europe: employment, welfare and politics (gender, racism, ethnicity)*. London: Routledge.

Keywords: Policy analysis, Migratory regimes, migrant women, North African, European Commission.

This book introduces a gender dimension into theories of contemporary migrations. As the European Union seeks to extend equal opportunities, increasingly restrictive immigration policies and the persistence of racism, deny autonomy and choice to migrant women. This work demonstrates how processes of globalisation and change in state policies on employment and welfare have maintained a demand for diverse forms of gendered immigration³⁴. The authors examine state and European Union policies of immigration control, family reunion³⁵, refugees and the management of immigrant and ethnic minority communities. Most importantly this work considers the opportunities created for political activity by migrant women and the extent to which they are able to influence and participate in mainstream policy-making.

19) Stychin F, Carl. 2001. Sexual citizenship in the European Union. *Citizenship Studies Journal*. Vol. 5 (3): 285-301.

Keywords: Narrative analysis; Politics and International relations, Race/ethnicity, citizenship, European Citizen, transnational 'European citizen', 'sexual citizen'.

This article examines two different uses of the language of citizenship: in the context of the 'sexual citizen', and the transnational 'European citizen' of European Union politics. It begins with an exploration of how the concept of citizenship has been constitutively built on a set of binary constructs of in/exclusion and can prove a disciplining and regulatory concept. Yet, simultaneously, citizenship can have an active and democratic potential. The article interrogates these two faces of citizenship by considering the mobilization of lesbians and gay men through the International Lesbian and Gay Association Europe (ILGA Europe), and the engagement of ILGA with the institutions of the European Union. The article concludes that European and sexual citizenship underscores the tension, not only between active and passive citizenship forms, but more generally, between identity and difference. This tension demands, in turn, a reappraisal of identity-based thinking, in favour of a more coalitional, affinity-based politics³⁶.

20) Bell, Mark. 2000. Equality and diversity: anti-discrimination law after Amsterdam. In *Social and policy law in an evolving European Union*, ed. Jo Shaw, 257-170. Oxford and Portland: Hartman.

Keywords: Policy analysis, Nationality and Sex discrimination, EU Anti-Discrimination law, horizontal approach, vertical approach, Citizenship, EU Social Policy.

³⁴ See text also for the issue of Non-employment as a lot of the work carried out by migrant women remains 'invisible'.

³⁵ Family reunion is a key aspect of the dimension of 'intimate citizenship' and the feminization of International migration in the EU although there has been a current trend in the last few years of female independent migration to European Union countries.

³⁶ <http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/content/lr175f5cdxbduc7e/>

In the context of the EC Treaty, nationality and sex discrimination were dealt with separately, both in legal terms and at the European Court of Justice. However, article 13 brings together different grounds of discrimination. This chapter considers the arguments for and against of both, the vertical and horizontal approaches to EU anti-discrimination law. Both approaches and their implications are considered in theoretical and pragmatic terms. The author recommends taking into account the exact message that emanates from the Amsterdam Treaty to then enter the debate about the different approaches on equality and diversity Anti-discrimination law at the EU. The author introduces the debate by highlighting the enduring weakness of community anti-discrimination law on the grounds of EU nationality and sex.

21) Elman, R. Amy. 2000. The limits of citizenship: migration, sex discrimination and same-sex partners in EU Law. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38 (5): 729-749.

Keywords: Policy analyses, Citizenship, partnership, immigration, family, sexuality, social exclusion, transnational partnerships.

“This article addresses the paradoxical politics of heterosexism within the European Union (EU) policy through a critical consideration of matrimony as the primary legitimating link between EU nationals and third-country spouses. It also emphasizes the discrimination experienced by same-sex couples to whom protection and privileges of marriage are unavailable and questions efforts to extend state-sanctioned unions to same-sex partners. Indeed, it argues against the presumption that relationships (whether spousal, cohabitational, sexual or familial) provide justifiable criteria for citizenship and the privileges associated with it. The article has theoretical implications for those studies in which themes of citizenship, immigration, family, sexuality and social exclusion are central”³⁷.

22) Kofman, Eleonore and Rosemary Sales. 2000. The consequences of EU policies on immigrant women of non EC areas. In *Gender policy in the European Union*, ed. Mariagrazia Rossilli, 266-288. New York: Peter Lang.

Keywords: Sociological Study, Migration, asylum seekers, family reunification, Intersectionality, family formation, dependency, gender bias legal status, partnership.

The text explores some of the issues confronting refugee communities in the European Union, namely the feminization of immigrant population in Europe in the context of labor migration and family formation and reunion. Migrant women encounter difficulties in attaining autonomy and rights when they enter Europe. Kofman and Sales note that one of the difficulties faced by a migrant women applying for asylum is “when a man and wife arrive together, the husband is classified as the ‘main applicant’, except in cases where he is severely mentally impaired, which renders the wife dependent on his status” (p. 206). In addition, they describe the situation faced by thousands of women asylum seekers who work long hours and earn minimum wage in sweatshops in London. Lacking the

³⁷ Abstract from JCMS: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38 (5), 729-749.

legal right to reside and work in a European country becomes a precondition for exploitation by employers. Kofman and Sales observe that efforts by organizations which campaign for the humane treatment of migrant workers seem to be thwarted by national government and popular opinion which oppose non-restrictive policies. They authors challenges the current situation which represent a lack of 'real' rights a 'citizenship deficit' in migrant women's rights.

23) Knocke, Wuokko. 2000. Migrant and ethnic minority women: The effects of gender-neutral legislation in the European Community. In *Gender and citizenship in transition*, ed. Barbara Hobson, 139-155. London: Routledge.

Keywords: Policy analysis, Intersectionality, Migration, migrant women, EU legislation.

In the European Union we are witnessing a growing importance of questions related to immigrants and immigration. Among these, the securing of borders is a topic of high concern for all member states, while many issues relating to the social situation and rights of settled immigrants and minorities remain unresolved, especially where women are concerned. (The author) begins this article by pointing out some of the conceptual problems in this complex field and then addresses some of the specific difficulties encountered by women. In particular, (the author) focuses on the effects of legislation that regulates rights of settlement and work. A major question is whether existent formal processes contribute to the marginalization of immigrant and ethnic minority women in the EU³⁸.

24) McClynn, Clare. 2000. Ideologies of motherhood in European Community sex equality law. *European Law Journal* 6 (1): 29-44.

Keywords: Legal study; EU Community sex equality legislation, motherhood, raising children, gender roles.

This article argues that, in a series of cases from Hofmann in the mid-1980s to Hill and Stapleton in 1998, the Court of Justice has reproduced, and thereby legitimated, a traditional vision of motherhood and the role of women in the family, and in society generally. This vision, characterized as the 'dominant ideology of motherhood', limits the potential of the Community's sex equality legislation to bring about real improvements in the lives of women. Accordingly, far from alleviating discrimination against women, the Court's jurisprudence is reinforcing traditional assumptions which inhibit women's progress. It is argued that the Court should reject the dominant ideology of motherhood and utilize its interpretative space to pursue a more progressive and liberating rendering of

³⁸ Abstract from:

<http://books.google.es/books?vid=ISBN0415926866&id=tqWK4WQKWuwC&pg=RA1-PA139&lpg=RA1-PA139&ots=fEVIhrIW9r&dq=knocke,+wuokko&sig=Vhzy8qto3cVXQB8WVm50vNxqJBk#PRA1-PA139,M1>

women and men's relationships and obligations to each other and their children³⁹.

25) Bell, Mark. 1999. Sexual orientation and anti-discrimination policy: The European Community. In *Politics of sexuality: identity, gender, citizenship*, eds. Véronique Mottier and Terrell Carver, 58-78. London: Routledge.

Keywords: Policy analysis, Sexual orientation discrimination, soft law, anti-discrimination policy, sex equality policy, policy innovation, the European Commission, Social Policy.

In this chapter, the author explores the case of social and political regulation of sexual-orientation anti-discrimination in EU policy. Although the EC Treaty prohibits sexual discrimination in employment, more anti-discrimination policies in terms of sexual orientation are needed at EU policy level. The author aims to provide a critical overview of the European Community's response to sexual orientation discrimination and outlines the key stages in the evolution of the policy. It also explores and considers the potential for the future development of the politics of sexuality.

26) Carver, Terrell. 1999. Sexual citizenship: Gendered and de-gendered narratives. In *Politics of sexuality: identity, gender, citizenship*, eds. Véronique Mottier and Terrell Carver, 13-24. London: Routledge.

Keywords: Narrative analysis, Citizenship, gendered forms, de-gendered forms, politics of sexuality.

In this chapter the author proposes to examine some of the ways in which citizenship is produced as a productive and disciplinary category, which is regularly deployed within formal and informal relations of power. To do that the author argues that Constitutional and other legalistic definitions and 'guarantees' are realistically and characteristically linked to more popular forms of understanding, conceptualised here as 'narratives. These narratives, so he claims, are characteristically deployed in both gendered and de-gendered forms, of which he cites examples. In order to explain this political phenomenon, he examines very closely the concept of gender in the light of recent theorisations and his observation of contemporary usage. He draws attention to the disjunction between gendered and de-gendered narratives of citizenship, and to the way that this discursive strategy operates within the current politics of sexuality. In conclusion he reformulates a number of political questions in ways that are subversive of traditional hierarchy of power⁴⁰.

³⁹ <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/links/doi/10.1111/1468-0386.00094/abs/>
⁴⁰

http://books.google.es/books?vid=ISBN0415169534&id=T5lms9J_9Z0C&pg=PP1&lpg=PP1&ots=mBTXAayING&dq=carver+terrell&sig=qPvs1Ey3Uv2xKq6Xl6j9tJOiVMI#PRA1-PA13,M1

27) Ackers, Louise. 1998. *Shifting spaces: women, citizenship and migration within the European Union*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Keywords: Legal analysis, Gender Equality, Citizenship, Community Law, shifting spaces, free movement, migrant women, mobility, legal framework.

The author traces the development and construction of European citizenship through a deep look at the gender dimension of immigration within the EU: for example, what are the effects of internal migration within the European Union on the lives of women immigrants? The author makes a distinction between independent and derived entitlement within the hierarchy of entitlement and argues for a more holistic and broader definition and approach to the meaning of 'citizenship' in relation to migrants' rights. The text focuses not only on the mobility aspect of Community law but also on the gendered nature of Community Law as the interpretation of the concept of spouse (Intimate Citizenship), or the failure to recognise the 'economic' contribution of unpaid work and the specific barriers faced by women in gaining access to and maintaining continuous employment histories⁴¹.

3.1.1. Comparative studies

28) Bell, Mark, Isabelle Chopin and Fiona Palmer. 2007. *Developing anti-discrimination law in Europe*.
<http://www.migpolgroup.com/documents/3640.html>

Keywords: EU antidiscrimination law; EU transposition (accessed on 19 March 2007)

This publication examines the transposition into national law of the Racial Equality Directive and the Employment Equality Directive in 25 EU Members States. The analysis compares and draws some conclusions from the information set out in country reports prepared by the European Network of Independent Legal Experts in the non-discrimination field, a network established and managed by Human European Consultancy and MPG on behalf of the European Commission⁴².

29) Verloo, Mieke and Emanuela Lombardo. 2006. Mainstreaming political intersectionality: absence and bias in gender equality policies in Europe. Paper presented at the ECPR, Istanbul, 21-23 September. Panel on Equality, Diversity and Gender Politics in Europe.

Keywords: Policy Analysis; Gender Mainstreaming, Diversity Mainstreaming, policy frames, EU Equality Policies.

⁴¹ See chapter 6, 'Citizenship and paid work' for the issue of non-employment. Pp. 183-222.

⁴² http://www.migpolgroup.com/multiattachments/3639/DocumentName/CA_2_en.pdf

The paper considers the extent to which the focus on diversity mainstreaming has been reflected in the formulation of European gender policies, both in the EU and a selection of Member States from the Centre-North, South and East of Europe, by analysing how gender equality issues, such as family policies, domestic violence and gender inequality in politics, have incorporated the concept of intersectionality in their policy discourses. It also reflects on the extent to which gender and diversity mainstreaming are perceived as competing or complementary equality strategies in the EU. It draws on research carried out within the EU funded MAGEEQ project and employs the methodology of frame analysis developed by the research team (see www.mageeq.net). It outlines the development of the Union's anti-discrimination policy in the last decade, and assesses the nature of the approach adopted by the EU and the extent to which the latter is taking on board lessons from mainstreaming gender into mainstreaming diversity. Authors also conceptualize political intersectionality and introduce its study through critical frame analysis. A preliminary analysis of the framing of intersectionality in the political discourse of European gender equality policies is carried out. Finally, authors discuss the findings about the treatment of intersectionality in policy frames on gender equality policies in Europe and raise questions for future research on the mainstreaming of intersectionality in such policies.

30) Bell, Mark. 2002. *Anti-discrimination law and the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Keywords: Policy analysis, Anti-Discrimination Law, European Union, Market Integration, Citizenship, Nationality, Gender, Racial Discrimination, Sexual Orientation discrimination, European Social Policy.

Anti-Discrimination Law and the European Union considers the relationship between national and European anti-discrimination law. A survey of national anti-discrimination statutes is presented in order to identify the variety of legal traditions which exist in this field. The diversity of these legal cultures impacts significantly upon the scope for and nature of EU anti-discrimination legislation. The author concludes by reviewing the principle factors which have influenced the evolution of EU anti-discrimination law and applying this to an analysis of the prospects for future development⁴³.

31) Mazur, Amy G. 2002. *Theorizing feminist policy: theorizing feminist policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Keywords: Policy analysis: Feminist comparative policy, family law, reproductive rights, body politics.

This book is a response to three realities: Building from and contributing to feminist and non-feminist scholarship, feminist comparative policy (FCP) seeks to answer the highly complex questions of it, how, why contemporary western

⁴³ <http://books.google.es/books?vid=ISBN0199244502&id=JOhRqfCp6kC&dq=anti-discrimination+law>

post-industrial democracies are feminist. The book also explores the complexity of machineries and policies and the different levels of success in achieving ambition goals. The author also focuses on the link between social movement and feminist policy development.⁴⁴

This text has been introduced under the heading Gender+Intimate citizenship Comparative Studies although it includes chapters also relevant for the other two issues and therefore to the section on general interest literature: chapter 6 addressing reconciliation policy, chapter 7 addressing family law politics and chapter 8 addressing body politics in relation to reproductive rights policy. See also chapter 9 on body politics in relation to sexuality and violence politics.

32) Millns, Susan. 2002. Reproducing inequalities: assisted conception and the challenge of legal pluralism. *The Journal of Social Welfare & Family Law* 24: 19-36.

Keywords: Policy analysis; Discrimination, European Law, Fundamental Rights, Gender, (in) fertility Treatment Services, Marital Status.

Taking a comparative perspective, this article examines the effect upon single persons of eligibility criteria for access to new reproductive technologies in the UK, using as a parallel recent developments in this area in Australia. Through an analysis of the decision of the Federal Court of Australia (Victoria) in *McBain v. State of Victoria & others* [2000] FCA 1009, in which state legislation that prohibited single women from gaining access to assisted conception services was deemed contrary to the Commonwealth's Sex Discrimination Act 1984, the article examines the potential for challenging the current access provisions in the UK. This is particularly relevant in the light of developments at the supra-national level, including the recent incorporation into domestic law of the European Convention on Human Rights and the increasing potential of European Union law to touch upon health-care matters⁴⁵.

33) Mottier, Véronique and Terrell Carver. 1999. *Politics of sexuality: identity, gender, citizenship*. London: Routledge.

Keywords: Policy analysis: Decriminalisation, gay politics, Outshoorn, unwanted sexual, reproductive behaviour, femocrats, sexual harassment, sexual politics, identity politics.

This book recognises sexuality as a mainstream concept in political analysis and explores issues in the politics of sexuality that are highly salient and controversial today. These include conceptions of citizenship and nationality linked to gender and sexuality, the legislation about the age of consent, prostitution and 'trafficking in women', the international politics of population control, abortion, sexual harassment, and sexuality in the military. The international team of contributors provides a wide range of perspectives in a variety of contexts. On a national level they offer illustrative case studies from

⁴⁴ Abstract from the book's introduction.

⁴⁵ <http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/content/xp9q86605hg6ca7j/>

the UK, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain and Israel among others, and on an international plane they cover the European Union, the UN Conference on Population and Development and the role of the Vatican as international arbiter. Moreover, the volume addresses the interaction between political discourse and the work of major theorists such as Weber, Freud, Foucault, Irigaray and Butler.

34) Randall, Vicky. 2000. Childcare policy in the European States: limits to convergence. *Journal of European Public Policy* 7 (3): 346-68.

Keywords: Policy analysis; Childcare Convergence, European Union, Gender Equality, single-parent families, new living arrangements.

In the 1970s childcare provision and policy varied markedly between European Community member states. A number of subsequent developments including the growing numbers of working mothers and single-parent families, shifts in national welfare and labour market policy priorities, developments in European Union (EU) childcare policy and the impact of feminism might be expected to have encouraged convergence. This article uses available comparative data to demonstrate both the extent and the limits of convergence in practice. It suggests possible reasons for the limitations to convergence including the limited impact of feminism and of EU childcare initiatives, national variations in women's working patterns and lone motherhood and especially in the resilience of policy orientations embedded in different kinds of welfare regime⁴⁶.

4. Gendered violence

4.1. English sources

1) Askola, Heli. 2007. *Legal responses to trafficking in women for sexual exploitation in the European Union*. Oxford: Hart Publishing.

Keywords: Policy analysis, Trafficking, Gendered Violence, EU policy, NGOs.

The phenomenon of trafficking in women for sexual exploitation, which in the last decade has changed from a marginal 'non-issue' to a legitimate concern in many parts of the world, has become familiar through newspaper coverage, and now, finally, legislators and law enforcement agencies have begun to act. In Europe many EU Member States now have (or are developing) at least some sort of anti-trafficking policies (with some of them in the forefront of global anti-trafficking efforts). Moreover, the EU itself has become markedly more active with regard to curbing trafficking in human beings, as part of its migration control and police and judicial co-operation functions under the current Third Pillar. However even co-ordinated efforts such as those being worked on by the EU

⁴⁶ <http://taylorandfrancis.metapress.com/content/tpey2au09tqf159c/>

tend to produce only short-term 'cures' to a problem that is in truth global and structural in nature and which cannot be eradicated - or necessarily even significantly reduced - through policing and migration control measures alone. Too often there is little debate on broader measures which might be targeted to address the 'root causes' of trafficking, such as poverty, under-development, general lack of economic and migration opportunities and, above all, gender inequality. Against this background, this book deals with present efforts to control trafficking in women for sexual exploitation. In doing so it examines claims that what is needed to effectively prevent and tackle trafficking is a 'comprehensive' approach, and at the very least one that is far more wide-ranging and coherent than what exists today and also questions the assertion that destination countries, and more specifically Member States of the EU, could and perhaps should, take more action against trafficking through regional co-operation, particularly in the framework of the EU, rather than as individual Member States⁴⁷.

2) Askola, Heli. 2005. Gender equality, trafficking in women and the European Union. Paper presented at the ECPR joint sessions (Granada, 14-19 April), Workshop: '*The future of gender equality in the European Union*'.

Keywords: Policy analysis; Trafficking chain, migration, multidisciplinary approach, prevention, the European Union.

The European Union has been actively engaged since 1996 in developing a comprehensive and multidisciplinary approach towards the prevention of and fight against trafficking, in human beings involving all relevant actors- NGOs and social authorities, judicial, law enforcement and migration authorities. Such an approach involves national and international co-operation. It is necessary to address the phenomenon throughout the trafficking chain (recruiters, transporters, exploiters, other intermediaries and clients). A variety of measures, as well as measures to ensure adequate protection of, support for, and assistance to the victims, are required. Since women are in a position of vulnerability to become victims, there is also a clear need to tackle this problem from the angle of promoting gender equality.

3) European Commission, Directorate-General Justice, Freedom and Security. 2005. *The Daphne experience 1997-2003. Europe against violence towards children and women*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Sources of the European Communities. EN <http://bookshop.europa.eu/eGetRecords> (accessed 14 March 2007)

Keywords: violence against women and children; European Union; DAPHNE; Project report.

The report is an account of the history of the European DAPHNE project experience in combating violence towards children and women from 1997 to 2003. It describes the past and future of the Project, its *raison d'être*, the aims

⁴⁷ http://www.amazon.ca/Responses-Trafficking-Sexual-Exploitation-European/dp/1841136506/ref=pd_rhf_p_1/701-3903947-7336314

and priorities of the Project. It clarifies some concepts related to violence and its diverse forms. It reviews the results of the DAPHNE experience and its implementation in Europe.

- 4) Paantjens, Marjolein. 2004. *Revised preliminary report on the European Union: domestic violence*. Vienna: IWM.

Keywords: domestic violence in the EU; human rights; health; policy analysis; research report.

This is a research report on domestic violence in the European Union produced as part of the European MAGEEQ project (www.mageeq.net). In it the author analyses the emergence and development of the issue of domestic violence in the EU policy from 1995 onwards, discussing policy documents and programs such as DAPHNE. The analysis of the EU official documents on violence enables Paantjens to detect a shift in the political debate from the 'human rights' approach adopted in the 'zero tolerance' campaign to the 'public health' perspective of the DAPHNE programme. The author also suggests that the framing of violence as a health issue, in combination with the extended problem definition that includes children and young persons apart from women, shows a 'de-gendered' approach to the problem in the DAPHNE programme. The report helps to identify among the main actors initiating and developing policies on violence against women in the EU the European Commission through the DAPHNE programmes, the European Parliament (particularly through the Committee on Women's Rights' reports and declarations), the Council through expert meetings held by the different EU Presidencies, individual EU officers from the Commission and the Parliament, and European level NGOs such as the EWL and WAVE.

- 5) Zippel S. Kathrin. 2004. Transnational advocacy networks and policy cycles in the European Union: The case of sexual harassment. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 11(1): 57-85.

Keywords: Political analysis; Transnational Advocacy Networks, EU policy, Sexual harassment, gender based violence, non-institutional actors.

This article expands and modifies the concept of Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink of a transnational advocacy network (TAN) to explain the interaction between institutional and non-institutionalised actors in the complex policy-making cycles in the European Union. (...) [The author looks] at how gender equality TAN successfully raised the issue of sexual harassment in the EU in the early 1980s and brought it into the amended 1976 Equal Treatment Directive in 2002 and explain this with three factors. First, TANs create policy expertise through the exchange of information and knowledge across borders among activists, experts, and policy makers, with both insiders and outsiders sharing an interest in creating transnational expertise. Second, newer international organizations and institutions, like the EU, offer activists a more open terrain to advance their goals. Third, the "boomerang pattern" identified by

Keck and Sikkink occurs as a “ping-pong effect” in the EU because of its multilevel policy-making structure, which provides both challenges and opportunities for advocates⁴⁸.

6) Elman, R. Amy. 2001. Testing the limits of European citizenship: ethnic hatred and male violence. *NWSA Journal* 13(3): 3-14.

Keywords: Policy Analysis; European Citizenship; European Union, Women’s movements, Xenophobia, Male Violence.

European Citizenship was designed to inspire gender faith in the European Union, yet women remain less favourably disposed than men to the process of integration. This article explores some likely explanations. Focusing on efforts to end xenophobia and counter male violence, the argument is made that the drive toward social justice is remarkable less for the claims being made by European Women’s Movements than for the road on which many activists must now mobilize. Though the Union provides a potential venue for social change, women are at a particular disadvantage in gaining significant access to that venue⁴⁹.

7) Wijers, Marjan. 2001. The politics of the European Union on women’s trafficking. In *Gender policies in the European Union*, ed. Mariagrazia Rossilli, 245-266, New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Keywords: Policy Analysis; Trafficking, prostitution, EU policy, NGOs, migration.

Marjan Wijers writes about current developments and debates about European Union policies on trafficking in women in the last chapter. She points out that although European Union countries have implemented measures to confront the problem of trafficking in women, these measures are shrouded under the cloak of controlling illegal migration and regulating public order and morality. One of the major problems that confront policy makers who address the issue of trafficking in women is the lack of standard definition for trafficking in women. Based on a review of documents by leading European and international organization including the European Parliament and the United Nations, Wijers describes how the definition of trafficking in women has resulted in confusion and has evolved overtime. She identifies five shifts in the definition of trafficking in women, which varies from the traditional definition of “forced recruitment of women into prostitution” (p. 212) to the 1990s trend of linking trafficking in women and illegal migration. Noting two approaches in solving the problem of trafficking in women, Wijers writes that “two modes of strategies can be discerned—repressive strategies, aimed at suppressing what is considered

⁴⁸ Useful text for timelines and WHY.

Social Politics: International Studies in Gender & Society, Volume 11, Number 1, pp. 4-29 [Social Politics, Volume 11, Number 1, © Oxford University Press 2004; all rights reserved.](#)

⁴⁹ http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/nwsa_journal/v013/13.3elman.pdf

‘undesirable behaviour’, and empowering strategies, used primarily by NGOs, aimed at supporting the women and strengthening their positions” (p. 227).

8) Grunell, Marianne. 1999. A good practice: The role of women’s studies in the coalition of feminists and the state against physical and sexual violence. *EJWS* 6 (3): 341-358.

Keywords: Sociological; Women’s Studies, Gender-Based Violence, Feminism, Coalition.

Since 1991 government has harnessed mass media resources to tackle the problem of physical and sexual abuse, aiming its media messages specifically at men as potential perpetrators. This article examines the ways this new state responsibility has taken shape. The central theme here is the role played by women’s studies as intermediary between feminist action and government policy. It looks at how physical and sexual abuse became part of the parliamentary political agenda and how a political and policy basis was created. A guiding role was played by representative research commissioned by government on sexual abuse of girls and violence in heterosexual relationships. Data on the extent of the problem generated surprise and concern among the general public and downright disbelief in the press. Yet, government continued to pursue policy development, supported by the clearly demonstrated extensive physical and sexual abuse. One decisive result of the representative research - the relationships or family dynamics interwoven with violence - remained less easy to tackle through government policy. The more precise questions subsequently posed by women’s studies on specific relationships and situations in which women can be affected by violence are reflected in government policy aimed at groups of women at risk. Those elements which apply to potential victims also apply to potential perpetrators. Here again, sociopsychological research among perpetrators has been initiated whereby sexual violence as an element of everyday reality becomes more transparent. These studies emphasize the significance of a dominant heterosexual pattern and the relationship dynamic this implies, and as such reflects the first representative studies. This concept has ultimately been incorporated into the mass media information programmes initiated by government.⁵⁰

4.1.1. Comparative Studies

9) Bustelo, María, Andromachi Hadjiyanni and Andrea Krizsan. 2007 forthcoming. Domestic violence: a public matter. In *Multiple meanings of gender equality. a critical frame analysis of gender policies in Europe*, ed. Mieke Verloo. Budapest: CEU Central European University.

Keyword: Policy analysis; Domestic Violence, EU Gender Equality, different interpretations, women’s citizenship.

⁵⁰ Abstract from the EWJS summary in: <http://portal.isiknowledge.com/portal.cgi?>

In the last few decades the recognition of a domestic violence as a criminal offence has passed from a feminist demand to a major public issue. This recognition is the result of ongoing discussions and struggles across Europe. Generally speaking, in today's Europe, domestic violence is considered a matter of concern for the entirety of society, a matter in which public intervention is required by states that are supposed to protect its citizens. This recent recognition has different interpretations across and within countries. This chapter sets out to explore the range of interpretations found in six European Countries and the EU, and especially their connection to gender equality⁵¹.

10) Kantola, Johanna, 2006. Transnational and national gender equality politics: The equality politics: The European Union's impact on domestic violence discourse in Finland and Britain's. In *Women's citizenship and political rights*, eds. Sirkku Hellsten, Anne Maria Holli and Krassimira Daskalova, Pg 154-178. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Keywords: Policy Analysis: (EU) Member States, Gender Equality Policies, Domestic Violence, UK, Finland.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate transnational gender equality politics and its meaning to national politics. In order to do this, the chapter will explore the relationship between violence against women and gender and gender equality in two European Union (EU) member-states, Finland and England, and in the EU itself. The link between domestic violence and gender equality has been strong in Britain and weak in Finland, and it's emerging at the EU level. The EU gender equality policies develop within a framework of differing national understandings of what gender equality consists of, what is crucial for gender equality and how to achieve it. These differing conceptualisations have, in turn, taken very different institutional forms in the member states. As there is no universal conception of gender equality, even among feminists even within Europe, the EU plays an important role in negotiating new conceptions of gender equality. In this process, the EU member states learn from one another and new EU level conceptions of gender equality emerge.⁵²

11) European Commission, Directorate-General for Research. CAHRV (Coordination Action Against Human Rights Violation). 2006. *Report on the state of the research on prevalence of interpersonal violence, and its impact on health and human rights available in Europe*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Sources of the European Communities. EN <http://bookshop.europa.eu/eGetRecords> (accessed 14 March 2007)

Keywords: interpersonal violence; Europe; human rights problem; United Nations; research report.

⁵¹ Reference to the variety of interpretation of domestic violence in different policy debates. Reference also to narrative analysis of policy discourses surrounding domestic violence. This chapter is relevant as a comparative study.

⁵² Abstract from the book's introduction pg. 154.

The study analyses interpersonal violence as a violation of human rights as an issue that has emerged recently and has began to be considered a public problem for individuals, societies, and states. The formulation of the problem is connected to the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and to the following declarations of rights of women and children.

12) Zippel S. Kathrin. 2006. *The politics of sexual harassment: A comparative study of the United States, the European Union and Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keywords: Policies on Sexual Harassment, sexual harassment, gender equality, the European Union, workplace, policies.

Sexual harassment, in particular in the workplace, is a controversial topic which often makes headline news. What accounts for the cross-national variation in laws, employer policies, and implementation of policies dealing with sexual harassment in the workplace? Why was the United States on the forefront of policy and legal solutions, and how did this affect politicization of sexual harassment in the European Union and its member states? Exploring the way sexual harassment has become a global issue; Kathrin Zippel draws on theories of comparative feminist policy, gender and welfare state regimes, and social movements to explore the distinct paths that the United States, the European Union and its member states, specifically Germany, have embarked on to address the issue. This comparison provides invaluable insights on the role of transnational movements in combating sexual harassment, and on future efforts to implement the European Union Directive of 2002.⁵³

13) Krizsan, Andrea, Marjolein Paantjens, and Ilse van Lamoen. 2005. Domestic violence: who's problem?. *The Greek review of social research* 117: 63-92.

Keywords: Policy Framing; domestic violence, frame analyses, women's rights proponents, government policy, Hungary, The Netherlands, EU.

This article juxtaposes shifts in prevailing frames on domestic violence in the Netherlands, Hungary and the EU. Domestic violence, first brought on the political agenda by women's rights proponents as a problem related to gender inequalities, has been framed and re-framed under the influence of mainstream policy makers. The analysis of these frames shows how shifts in the gender of governance, particularly the marginalization of feminist NGO voices, have led to

⁵³ Useful for timelines and WHY

<http://books.google.es/books?vid=ISBN0521847168&id=6H4OfjPW3iYC&dq=gender+equality+police+s+in+the+European+union.+Mariagrazia+Rossilli>

shifts in the governance of gender. These shifts caused a weakening or even disappearance of gender-equality considerations in domestic violence policies, or an integration of it in a broader framework thereby going beyond gender specific interests. The authors argue that strengthening government engagement on the issue of domestic violence goes hand in hand with a de-gendering in the articulation of the problem. This shift has taken away the privileged position of women's rights proponents to speak out on the issue, and established the interests of other members of society to speak on it by affirming its cross-societal nature.

14) Outshoorn, Joyce. 2004. Comparative prostitution politics and the case for state feminism. In *The politics of prostitution. women's movements, democratic states and the globalisation of sex commerce*. Ed. Joyce Outshoorn, 265-295. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keywords: Policy analysis: Prostitution, EU member states, State feminism, politics of prostitution, Women's movements, Prostitutes' movements, gendering prostitution, prostitution policies.

In this chapter the author draws from a comparative analysis on the factors that make women's movements and agencies successful, the argument for "state feminism". By exploring the politics of prostitution and the policies that do 'regulate' it in different countries, the author not only acknowledges the diversity of debates on the political agenda of EU member states regarding prostitution but the very nature of national political culture regarding prostitution as a gendered violence issue or otherwise.

The author is interested in the political effectiveness of women's movements, prostitutes' movements as well as the nation-state policy debates on prostitution and the opportunities created for state feminism.

15) Gregory, Jeanne. 2001. Sexual harassment: The impact of EU law in member states, In *Gender policies in the European Union*, ed. Mariagrazia Rossilli, 209-227. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Keywords: Policy Analysis; EU, Sexual harassment, Member States, Gender Inequality.

The "discovery" of sexual harassment in EU Member States and the capacity of EU institutions in addressing the problem of sexual harassment are the main themes that Jeanne Gregory explores in Chapter 9. Gregory cites numerous empirical evidence as early as 1980s from several EU countries where studies have suggested the existence of sexual harassment in the workplace and its negative consequences in employer-employee relationship. Although studies, varying from case studies to large-scale national surveys, have been conducted in Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France, it was not until the late 1980s when a report published by Michael Rubinstein showed that "no Member State had any explicit legal prohibition against sexual harassment and that only in the UK and Ireland had the courts accepted that it was unlawful sex discrimination" (p. 178). Evidence from studies on sexual harassment strongly

suggests “that sexual harassment was an endemic feature of EU labor markets and constituted a serious impediment to women’s inequality” (p. 179). Gregory describes how the roles of the Irish government (early 1990s EU president), the Council of Ministers, and the European Commission were inextricably linked in defining and confronting sexual harassment in the workplace. In her view, the continued commitment of women’s groups in Member States to challenge problem of sexual harassment in the workplace and sexual violence against women is necessary for social change.

16) Elman, R. Amy. 1996. *Sexual politics and the European Union*. Providence and Oxford: Berghahn.

Keywords: Policy Analysis; EU Gender Equality Policies, Gender-Based Violence, sexual harassment, male violence, European Union.

The politics of European integration is rarely discussed in a manner which holds the sexual subordination of women as political in nature, economic in consequence, and worthy of state or Union action. In those few instances where women’s issues take precedence, the focus has been on employment or gender inequality, to the exclusion of the political implications of sexual abuse and male violence. This volume attempts to change this and, consequently, contribute to a more comprehensive assessment and innovative approach to women and the European Union.

(Excerpt from the book’s introduction by R. Amy Elman, pg. 3) An interdisciplinary group of European feminist scholars critically explores the European gender policies

In this book an interdisciplinary group of feminist scholars critically explore European Gender policies in terms of gendered violence. The book integrates the work of these expert academics on the challenges that the EU is facing to combat gender based violence at policy level. The book offers an introduction on the EU from feminist perspectives followed by, an overview of women’s rights policy, the formation of sexual harassment legislation in France and the EU policy initiatives, pornography and human rights and pornography and sexual harassment, sexual trafficking of women in Europe and the common market of violence. The book also addresses the issues of reproductive technologies in Germany and abortion rights in Ireland. These two subjects more relevant to intimate citizenship in Germany and Ireland.

5. OPERA Gender training books and manuals

This list of manuals is by no means representative of all the literature on 'gender mainstreaming' that has been used to integrate and incorporate the gender dimension in all policies at the EU institutions. Only a few of the relevant sources on gender equality issues have been included in the annotated bibliography.

1) Appelt Birgit, Verena Kaselitz and Rosa Logar. 2004. *Away from violence. Guidelines for setting up and running a women's refuge* (DAPHNE project 2003)] WAVE (Women against violence in Europe).Vienna.

Keywords: manual; violence against women; setting up and running a women's refuge.

'Financial support from the EU Commission (Daphne Programme) and the co-financiers (the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Health and Women's Affairs, and the Municipality of Vienna) has made it possible finally to realise a project that had been planned for several years. The WAVE Co-ordination Office / European Information Office against Violence against Women has received innumerable inquiries from women and women's groups intending to establish a refuge and needing basic information on the necessary planning and operational steps. The present Manual is designed to meet this need. "Away from Violence" sets out first and foremost to address the practical issues involved for women who establish, organise, run and work in a refuge, although the publication also deals briefly with the specific theoretical background to violence against women. A team of experts from eight countries contributed to the compilation of the material contained in this Manual.'

2) Council of Europe. 1998. *Gender Mainstreaming. Conceptual framework, methodology and presentation of good practices*. Final Report of Activities of the Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming (EG-S-MS). Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Keywords: policy manual; gender mainstreaming

This text is a report result of the fifth working sessions with the group (EG-S-MS) of mainstreaming specialists. The text integrates sections on the conceptualization of gender mainstreaming, methodology and the presentation of good practices.

3) European Commission. 1998. Employment and Social Affairs. *A guide to gender impact assessment*. Luxembourg: Office for the Official Sources of the European Communities.

Keywords: policy manual; gender mainstreaming; gender impact assessment

This guide to gender impact assessment is intended for adaptation to the specific needs of each Directorate-General and policy area, as appropriate.

Relevant examples from all Directorates-General (DGs) and policy areas could in the future be annexed to the guide to improve its usefulness.

4) European Commission. Employment and Social affairs. 1997. *How to create a gender balance in political decision-making*. Luxemburg: Office for the Official Sources of the European Communities.

Keywords: policy manual; gender balance in political decision-making

This guide is meant to assist governments, political parties and NGOs of the EU countries in putting into action their positive attitude to the empowerment of women into concrete, integrated policies leading to an increase in the number of women in political position and political decision-making.

5) European Commission. 1993. *How to Combat Sexual Harassment at Work. A guide to implementing the European Commission code of practice*. Luxemburg: Office for the Official Sources of the European Communities.

Keywords: policy manual; sexual harassment at work

This is a guide to implement the European Commission Code of Practice to combat sexual harassment at work⁵⁴. The Code of Practice is intended to be applicable in both the public and the private sector. For the purpose of QUING, we are interested in this manual as a gender training manual for personnel at the EU public Institutions.

⁵⁴ This Code of Practice is issued in accordance with the Resolution of the Council of Ministers on the Protection of the dignity of women and men at work.

6. FRAGEN

There are some documentation centres in the EU institutions, Commission and Parliament in particular, which have sections on gender mainly collecting EU policy documents. There are also a number of databases on the web (on women in politics, on women in science). European-level NGOs have their own databases; we could only include two of them here.

WAVE Women Against Violence Europe Database

They collect material on combating violence against women: contacts to women's support services, information on prevention measures, activities in individual countries, particularly in the field of research

<http://www.wave-network.org/>
office@wave-network.org

EWL European Women's Lobby

NGO database on the different gender policy areas in which the organisation intervenes. This also includes information gathered by the EWL Policy Action Centre on Violence Against Women.

<http://www.womenlobby.org>
ewl@womenlobby.org

Documentation Centre of Directorate General Employment and Social Affairs DG Employment, Social Affairs & Equal Opportunities

It collects policy and research documents on gender equality, equal opportunities and discrimination

European Commission

DG Employment and Social Affairs

Communication and Speechwriting Unit

Documentation Centre

B-1049 Brussels

Belgium

Fax: 32-2 296 23 93

E-mail: empl-info@ec.europa.eu

Webpage: http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/sources/center_en.html

Sources catalogue:

http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/emplweb/sources/index_en.cfm

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European Database on Women and men in decision-making

It collects material on the percentage of women and men in a number of decision-making positions in each of the following domains: in the political, public and juridical and social and economic domains.

http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/women_men_stats/measures_in4_en.htm

Access to the archive of the European Database on Women in Decision Making" (1996-2001) database is now provided by the FCZB (FrauenComputerZentrumBerlin Projects. To access please follow this link.

<http://www.fczb.de/english/eprojekt/ewid.htm>

Contact: Renate Wielpütz

DG Research, European Commission

The women in science web page from the DG Research' responsible unit collects material on women and research/science

http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/page_en.cfm?id=3197

It gives links to other initiatives collecting material on women and research such as:

The Enwise expert group http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/women/enwise/index_en.html

A link to the 'She figures' (stats)

WIR (women in industrial research) : http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/women/wir/general_en.html

WiST (a working group called "Women in Science and Technology")

European Parliament's Library

It collects policy documents on different aspects of EU policies including gender and anti discrimination, and research reports by the Committee on Women's Rights of the European Parliament

Tel: +32 2 284 8100

Fax: +32 2 230 6581

Email: library@europarl.eu.int

Intranet: <http://www.library.ep.ec/jsp/index.jsp>

The Council of Europe, InfoPoint (General Documentation Centre)

It collects policy and research documents on human rights and gender issues

Council of Europe

Avenue de l'Europe

67075 Strasbourg Cedex

France

Tel. +33 (0)3 88 41 20 33

Fax +33 (0)3 88 41 27 45

Email : infopoint@coe.int

Council of Europe Archives

It collects policy and research documents on human rights and gender issues

Council of Europe

Note: Access for the public is by appointment

Tel. : +33 (0)3 90 21 43 77

Fax : +33 (0)3 90 21 47 76

Email: archives@coe.int

Contact person: Benjamin Palermi

Library of the European Court of Human Rights

It collects legal documents of the European Court of Human Rights and human rights in general, including gender

European Court of Human Rights

Council of Europe

Library of the Court

1 Quai Ernest Bevin

F-67075 Strasbourg Cedex

France

Tel : +33 (0)3.90.21.41.53

Fax : +33 (0)3.90.21.40.56

Email : bibliotheque@echr.coe.int

Webpage: <http://www.echr.coe.int/Library/indexEN.html>

Gender Studies Programme European University Institute

A database for researchers on the EU gender equality policies can be found in the European University Institute as part of the Gender Studies of the Robert Schuman

Centre and in the EUI Library

European University Institute

Badia Fiesolana

Via dei Roccettini 9

I-50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)

ITALY

Robert Schuman Centre

<http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/Research/Gender/Index.shtml>

Tel: 055 4685037 055 4685770

EUI Library

<http://www.eui.eu/LIB/>