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## Gendering Comparative Policy Studies: Towards Better Science

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### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Feminist policy scholars in Western Europe first acknowledged the empirical gaps and gender biases in theory and methodology used in the study of the state and policy in the early 1980s. By the early 1990s, researchers in North America and Australia joined their Western European counterparts in the new feminist academic enterprise that sought to systematically study the interconnections between the social construction of men's and women's identities, policy and the state; in other words to 'gender' the study of state action. In the mid 1990s, a loose methodological consensus developed within this transnational community around conventions for conducting research, developing theory and reporting findings; a consensus, which moved the new field, Feminist Comparative Policy (FCP), into a stage of vitality and institutionalization. In 2012, with over 400 published pieces, an estimated 20 million euros in research funding, over 100 active researchers and four journals that serve as publication outlets – *Social Politics*, *International Journal of Feminist Politics*, *Politics and Gender* and *Women, Politics and Policy* – FCP holds an important place in comparative policy studies and political science more broadly speaking.

Given the theoretical and methodological connections to and commonalities with comparative policy studies and the continuing political relevance of gender policy issues throughout the world, FCP has a great deal to offer the comparative study of public policy. Overall, as this chapter will show, gendering policy analysis fills crucial empirical gaps in our knowledge about the state and policy in postindustrial democracies and, in doing so, places issues of democratic governance and performance to the fore. This process of gendering policy analysis also

entails the development of mixed methodological approaches that emphasize conceptualization and measurement and their application to complex context-sensitive studies that focus on problem-driven analytical puzzles.

One of the most successful efforts of contributing to non-FCP analysis, work that has ‘gendered’ the study of the welfare state, illustrates well the importance of bringing gender in.<sup>2</sup> Beginning with a critique of Esping-Andersen’s typology of welfare state regimes (1990), feminists asserted that crucial dimensions of the comparative taxonomy were missing: women’s access to paid work; the nature of women’s and men’s roles within the family; and the extent to which the social policies of a given country allowed women to combine work and family without being economically dependent on men. Subsequent work developed new gendered typologies and conducted comparative analysis with them that brought gender in as a category of analysis. Today, most comparative scholarship incorporates this crucial gendered dimension. Indeed, not taking into consideration these gender issues means that critical aspects of social rights and inclusion, issues at the core of the welfare state research agenda on postindustrial democracies, are excluded from the analysis. Thus, the process of gendering welfare state research enhanced knowledge and theorizing about the welfare state and social policy more generally speaking.

Unfortunately, the case of comparative welfare state research tends to be an exception; scholars in ‘mainstream’ or non-feminist policy studies tend to ignore this burgeoning area. The goal of this chapter is to show the methodological contributions that FCP scholarship makes to comparative policy studies; contributions which, like the gendering welfare state example, have the potential to strengthen comparative work on public policy from the larger theory-building and research design perspective of this volume. Thus, a central argument of this chapter is that non-feminist policy scholars need to better integrate FCP study designs, methods and findings in order to make comparative policy studies more systematic and, ultimately, to do better science.

The first section of the chapter presents FCP as an area of study since it first emerged in the late 1980s, its core features and more recent methodological contributions and issues. The successful gendering welfare state case is used as a running example to illustrate these core features. Next, the four major streams of FCP research – gendering welfare states, feminist policy formation, women’s movements and policy and state feminism – as well as three new trends – representation, intersectionality and feminist institutionalism – are presented in terms of how they gender comparative policy analysis and the added value they bring to conducting

policy research from a comparative perspective. The final section provides two illustrative examples of research designs in two of the research streams – state feminism and feminist policy formation – to further show the dynamics and contributions of doing gendered research in comparative policy analysis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the methodological lessons learned from FCP research.<sup>3</sup>

### FCP as an area of study

FCP assesses how, why and to what end the contemporary state has responded to demands for the advancement of women's rights, gender equality and for striking down gender based inequities in society. In other words, to what degree has the state become feminist?

#### Core features<sup>4</sup>

Feature 1 – Using Gender as a Category of Analysis: Since the mid 1980s, feminist research across different disciplines has shifted its focus from sex, a more or less dichotomous variable based on biological differences between men and women and/or women alone, to gender; the social construction of sexual difference between men and women. As Joan Scott first asserted in 1986, the relational concept of gender should be the prime 'category of analysis' in theoretical frameworks and research designs. This holistic approach to the use of gender is intended to push analyses beyond the 'add women and stir' phase where sex or women is added as an analytical afterthought. As many others have pointed out, a feminist approach to the study of politics, 'feminist political science', necessarily places gender at the center of analysis 'as a relational concept and an analytic category ...' (Krook and Mackay, 2011: p. 4), within the context of the promotion of feminist action and ideas.<sup>5</sup>

Following this broader trend in feminist studies, FCP work has placed gender as a fundamental category of analysis in a variety of ways as the analysis of the major streams of research shows below. Indeed, the central question of FCP – about whether tates are feminist – is inherently gendered. These include: if and ow public policy strikes down social hierarchies based on the asymmetrical relations between men and women and social constructions of those identities and/or patriarchy; if and how gender-specific actors, individual women, women's movements and groups, gender experts, men and many others influence or block state action; and if and how state structures have incorporated approaches that include perspectives and demands that address gender relations and asymmetries.

*Gendering Welfare States Example:* The complex notion of gender is brought into the feminist conceptualization of welfare states. It goes beyond a focus on women alone to how the division of labour between men's and women's roles in the family impacts the very nature of the welfare state and how market economies and welfare state 'de-commodify' women's work and not men's. Welfare state studies had either completely overlooked any complex consideration of gender (for example, Esping-Andersen, 1990) – a 'gender-blind' approach – or had included sex-based variables, for example, women's labour force participation, as indicators of social policy impact without placing that dimension into a larger context of complex gender relations; in other words, the 'add women and stir' approach (for example, Schmidt, 1993).

Feature 2 – An Integrative Feminist Empirical Approach: FCP scholars have increasingly followed an 'integrative empirical feminist (Mazur, 2011)' approach to studying gender, policy and the state. As Figure 10.1 shows, more generally in the context of feminist epistemologies, an empirical integrative approach combines empirical, postmodern and standpoint approaches, the three major feminist epistemologies identified by philosophers of science (for example, Harding, 1986).

FCP scholars conduct studies of political phenomena to contribute to theory that also seeks to solve larger social problems and is methodologically pluralist, replete with the 'creative tensions' (Siim, 2004) found in much feminist political science work. Often, members of the FCP community design studies that are 'problem-driven' or 'use-inspired'

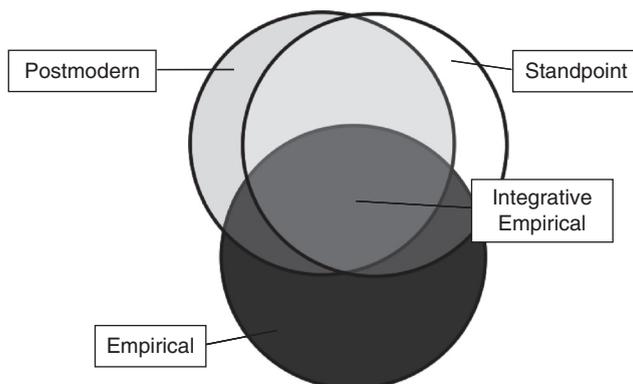


Figure 10.1 Mapping an integrative empirical feminist approach

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(Stokes, 1997) – a major trend across all social sciences – so that findings may be used to help policy practitioners and activists in women’s policy agencies, political parties, movements and organizations learn more about the causes of gender-based inequities and the complex range of solutions, including different ways of designing good practices. Since the early 1980s, FCP scholars have been consulted regularly in their expert capacity by the European Union – in particular, in the context of the Action Plans on gender equality – the Council of Europe, the Nordic Council, the United Nations, the World Bank as well as numerous country-based commissions at national and subnational levels. At the same time that FCP researchers have had an eye towards impact evaluation studies, they also focus on theory-building issues regarding the major drivers of policy dynamics or the ‘ingredients’ for gender policy successes.

*Gendering Welfare States Example:* Clearly, the gendering welfare state scholarship reflects the goal of developing new gendered conceptualizations and theoretical frameworks to advance empirical analysis; the welfare state regime taxonomies were gendered to allow for more accurate analysis of what welfare states were actually doing. The creative tension has been clear. While the original impulse was to develop a feminist critique of the treatment of the welfare state, many of the analysts moved quickly to developing new frameworks and taxonomies, built from the non-feminist work that had ignored gender as a complex dimension.<sup>6</sup> The feminist welfare state literature is decidedly problem driven. How can welfare states in democracies mediate between the need to regulate the market and develop women-friendly and gender-sensitive policies that promote gender equality? In this area as well, we have seen qualitative approaches applied to reconceptualizing and quantitative large-N analyses of empirical findings, often within the same studies, for example, O’Connor et al. (1999). Many of the experts of **gendering and the welfare states** have become policy experts for the European Union and other international organizations. A noteworthy example is Orloff’s analysis of the gendering welfare state literature for the United Nations (2002).

Feature 3 – Operationalizing Feminist Theory on Democracy: Normative political theory has been an integral part of the development of feminist studies in general. A major question asked by the large literature on feminist theory is whether established Western democracies are as democratic as observers think, particularly given the degree to which women and women’s issues have been excluded from politics in the context of

the formal articulation of universal and gender-blind values of equality, freedom and representation.<sup>7</sup> Feminist theorists who write on democracy have argued for a better inclusion of women and ideas that favour women's rights in the political process through Pitkin's (1967) typology of representation. Two of Pitkin's major categories have been adopted for analysis: 'descriptive' representation, the presence of women in public office and 'substantive' representation, the inclusion of women's interests in a meaningful manner in public discussions and policy. These themes of representation and democracy are crucial to FCP studies in so far as they ask the empirical question of whether, how and why democratic states can be feminist, identifying the presence of women as a potential key variable for policy change. The question is less about the specific form and design of democracy than its capacity to incorporate women's interests and women's representatives as a formerly excluded group into the political process and, in doing so, to promote gender equality and a more complete democratic system.<sup>8</sup>

*Gendering Welfare States Example:* While the gendering welfare states scholarship did not directly address political representation as much as the other areas of FCP that are further examined below, the reconceptualization of the welfare state was rooted in normative feminist theories that argue social policies of postindustrial democracies should include feminist considerations of gender-based inequities in market, family relations and state policy in order to meet the basic prerequisites of any democratic system.

Feature 4 – Bringing the Patriarchal State Back in as a Research Question: – As most political scientists agree, particularly since the state was 'brought back in' in the 1980s (Skocpol, 1985), the concept of the state – government structures as opposed to country – is not a simple idea. For many feminist theorists, the state is highly problematic given that it is a product of systems of power based on male-domination or patriarchy. From the assumption of the patriarchal nature of the state, where state actions, structures and actors seek to perpetuate systems of gender domination that keep women in their inferior positions in the public and private spheres and men as key players in maintaining that domination, many feminist analysts have dismissed or have been highly critical of the state as an arena for positive social change (for example, Mackinnon, 1989). Other feminist theorists provide a more malleable view of state patriarchy and argue that certain state arenas may be appropriate sites for feminist action (for example, Pringle and Watson, 1992). FCP analysts do not

entirely dismiss the possibility of a patriarchal state; they see the issue of state patriarchy as a question for empirical research. Some parts of the state may be patriarchal while other parts may have the potential to be quite women-friendly. FCP has placed the state and its institutions and the roles men and women play in those processes at its analytical core.

*Gendering Welfare States Example:* The gendered taxonomies of welfare state regimes are based on the assumption that states may eschew uniquely patriarchal regimes. The most feminist/women-friendly category of welfare states, usually associated with the Nordic countries, is seen to have policies that emphasize family models based on men and women sharing parenting roles and getting equal access to the labour market; lower categories of countries develop policies that prop-up more established gender norms about female full-time caregivers and male breadwinners with relatively lower levels of full-time women's labour force participation.

Feature 5 – Comparative Theory-Building in Western Postindustrial Democracies: FCP scholars have used principles of research design and methods developed outside of a feminist perspective to pursue a comparative theory-building agenda. Up until 2000, FCP work utilized small-to medium-N analysis – case studies and the comparative method – and took a ‘most similar systems approach’, where economic and political development in Western postindustrial democracies are the control variables and variations in nation-based culture, state-society relations, women's movement mobilization, government design and so on are examined as they influence gender, state and policy issues. Most FCP work assumed that postindustrial countries from the West, unlike other countries of the world, shared certain contexts and institutions with notable cross-national variations. A part of the common heritage is that women's movements have developed strategies aimed, at least in part, to influence the democratic policy process and the development of large welfare states. Designing and using concepts, like feminism, that are able to ‘travel’ across national boundaries without ‘stretching’ the core meaning has also been a key part of the comparative agenda of FCP (Sartori, 1970).

*Gendering Welfare State Example:* The development of new gender comparative classification systems of welfare states is based on the notion of a most similar systems design, where the contemporary postindustrial state has reached common levels of commodification

and social policy regulation to manage market economies with large service sectors; gender role change was a part of that level of postindustrial development. Indeed, the feminist critique came out of the empirical realization that gender norms were changing and that women's movements were indirectly a vector of that change. Although Japan has been included in some of the gender welfare state analyses, for the most part these analyses have focussed on Western postindustrial democracies.

Feature 6 – The Glass Wall between Feminist and Non-Feminist Political Science: Many FCP scholars since the mid-1990s have actively sought to intersect their work with non-feminist literature. Instead of completely rejecting traditional political studies or uncritically using feminist studies, FCP work often purposefully develops the strengths and shores up the weaknesses of each to advance knowledge in both areas. In general, efforts to intersect work with non-feminist political science tend to be one-way and appear to confront an 'opaque glass wall' that prevents feminist research from being used in a meaningful way by scholars who do not take a feminist frame (Mazur, 2011).

*Gendering Welfare States Example and Feminist Policy Formation as a Counterpoint:* The gendering welfare states example is the outlier in terms of actually changing the study of welfare states. As Pierson's review article in *Comparative Political Studies* shows, gender has become an important dimension of welfare state studies (2000). An early example of the glass wall can be found in Outshoorn's use of non-feminist policy literature of the time in her analyses of abortion and equal employment policies in the Netherlands (Outshoorn, 1986, 1991), including Lowi's policy typology (1964), Bachrach and Baratz's non-decision-making theories (1970), Schattschneider's notion of problem definition (1960) and Cobb and Elder's work on agenda setting (1983). In fact, much of the feminist policy formation work in FCP has used these core notions as important launching points. In subsequent developments of the rich non-feminist research on preadoption (for example, Kingdon, 2003; Baumgartner et al., 2006), these applications to feminist policy have been rarely, if ever mentioned or referenced. A recent special issue of the *Revue Française de Science Politique* on agenda setting, problem definition and feminist policy formation (Boussaguët and Jacquot, 2009) indicates the degree to which the comparative policy literature continues to ignore insights from feminist work on preadoption issues.

**Recent developments: Methodological contributions and issues**

We now turn to the methodological contributions and issues in FCP that have emerged more recently through the assessment of nine large-scale FCP projects carried out since 2000, presented in Table 10.1 (Mazur, 2009).

In some ways, gender and comparative policy scholarship has not changed in recent years. Gender remains a fundamental category for analysis; issues of patriarchy, the persistence of gender-biased norms and the state are at the center of study designs; feminist and non-feminist theory continues to be operationalized in studies, and comparative theory building based on qualitative analysis is an important part of research designs. At the same time, there have been significant new developments reflected in these projects, also identified by other feminist policy scholars (for example, Squires, 2007). While these methodological issues define the shape of current and future policy scholarship that takes a gendered perspective, they also resonate with the methodological agenda of comparative policy studies covered in this book.

Table 10.1 List of FCP research projects

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| <b>Women's Movements and Reconfigured States</b> (1997–2003) Banaszak et al. (2003)  |
| <b>Gendering Europeanization</b> (1999–2003) Liebert (2003)  |
| <b>RNGS</b> (1995–2009). Research Network on Gender Politics and the State <a href="http://libarts.wsu.edu/polisci/rngs">http://libarts.wsu.edu/polisci/rngs</a> (for example, McBride and Mazur, 2010)  |
| <b>EGG</b> (2002–2005). Enlargement, Gender and Governance: The Civic and Political Participation and Representation of Women in Central and Eastern Europe <a href="http://www.qub.ac.uk/egg/">http://www.qub.ac.uk/egg/</a> (for example, Galligan et al., 2007) |
| <b>MAGEEQ</b> (2003–2007). <b>Policy Frames and Implementation Problems: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming</b> <a href="http://www.mageeq.net/">http://www.mageeq.net/</a> (for example, Lombardo et al., 2009)   |
| <b>QUING</b> (2006–2011). Quality in Gender Equality + Policies <a href="http://www.quing.eu/">http://www.quing.eu/</a> (for example, Verloo and Walby, 2012)  |
| <b>FEMCIT</b> (2006–2010). Gendered Citizenship in Multi-Cultural Europe: The Impact of Contemporary Women's Movements <a href="http://www.femcit.org">http://www.femcit.org</a> (Halsaa et al., 2012)   |
| <b>VEIL</b> (2006–2009). Values Equality and Differences in Liberal Democracies <a href="http://www.univie.ac.at/veil/">http://www.univie.ac.at/veil/</a>  |
| <b>Governing Difference</b> (2006–2009). A Challenge for New Democracies in Central and South Eastern European Countries   |

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**The norm of international research groups: Towards a cosmopolitan scientific community?**

FCP practitioners began to develop international research networks in the early 1980s and in the 1990s created multinational research projects, securing significant funding to maintain formal research groups with publications, meetings, websites and newsletters. The networks have often met at the conferences of the European Consortium of Political Research, the American Political Science Association, the International Political Science Association or the International Studies Association.<sup>9</sup> Since 2000, while not a prerequisite, the creation of a large international research group has become more of the norm; all but one of the nine projects presented in Table 10.1 had formal international research groups. The FCP community tends to be quite global and ‘cosmopolitan’, rather than driven by national ‘parochial’ considerations.<sup>10</sup> Most groups have both European and North American members with the leadership not being dominated by a single nationality. The FCP community more broadly speaking is quite evenly distributed between the Western countries, when controlling for population. In 2012, there were roughly one hundred scholars who worked regularly on FCP research.

**Going global: How big of an ‘N’?**

The inclusion of East Central and South Eastern European countries into the analytical purview of many of the newer FCP projects opened the door for the consideration of countries from outside of the West with different levels of economic and political development and cultural contexts. Moreover, the analytical perspective of FCP has clearly gone beyond the nation-state to include a multilevel approach, where the sub-national and extra-national levels are just as, if not more, important than the national level. This push to go beyond the West clearly resonates with the calls made by other feminist political scientists for a ‘Comparative Politics of Gender’ that places the study of gender and politics into a systematic cross-national and cross-regional perspective.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, much of the current research in FCP has sought broader and more systematic comparison through the inclusion of countries from different regions of the world.

From a quantitative perspective these newer studies have the potential to increase the number of observations or N, to boost their explanatory power and to bring in considerations of most ‘different’ systems. At the same time, expanding the number of countries in a given study to include countries outside of the postindustrial West raises a new set of analytical issues that stem out of the inclusion of radically different

cultural and political contexts. Thus, researchers must carefully assess whether their concepts can actually ‘travel’ across these divergent settings without being ‘stretched’ beyond their original meanings (Sartori, 1970); a consideration that has been an integral part of FCP scholarship since its beginnings.

### **Methodological pluralism: Good or bad?**

Reflecting FCP’s integrative feminist empirical approach, methodological pluralism has become a more pronounced attribute of research in this area. To be sure, much work is qualitative, emphasizing the importance of expert analyses of country cases, process tracing, elite interviews and archival research. Contrary to conventional wisdom about feminist studies, FCP researchers also use quantitative large-N analysis, sometimes out of necessity, due to the tendency to include more countries in study designs (for example, Kittelson, 2008; Bolzendahl, 2009; Huber et al., 2009; Htun and Weldon, 2012). In addition, the tools of medium-N analysis, Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) (Ragin and Rihoux, 2008) are being increasingly used in FCP studies (for example, Mazur, 2009; McBride and Mazur, 2010). Moreover, many studies are seeking to follow a mixed methods approach (O’Connor et al., 1999; Htun and Weldon, 2010; McBride and Mazur, 2010; Weldon, 2011; Hoard, 2014; Montoya, 2013). An emerging part of the feminist approach is to more formally conceptualize and to develop specific data collection and analysis techniques, drawing from both feminist and non-feminist work; many make the call for more systematization and formalization of concepts and measurements. Developing valid and reliable concepts for empirical analysis has been an important theme in many studies and an arena for fruitful collaboration between feminist and non-feminist analysts (for example, Goertz and Mazur, 2008).

More recent feminist research has embraced the European ‘discursive turn’ (Kantola, 2006).<sup>12</sup> These studies have brought in approaches based on feminist standpoint theory and social constructivism with a focus on framing, discourse and policy content. The MAGEEQ/QUING projects developed a general approach to analyzing the inclusion of gender and other areas of inequalities called Critical Frame Analysis (CFA). These more interpretivist scholars may reject formalization of concepts and measurements and the scientific method more generally speaking; thus there is a potential for fundamental epistemological disagreements between FCP scholars that may make project completion challenging.

Therefore, the shift towards methodological pluralism is not necessarily positive. On one hand, the key issues of whether formal polices are

effectively implemented to actually change gender relations in society is left relatively unexamined due to the focus on discourse and policy content; on the other hand, an absence of clearly articulated hypotheses, formal concepts and findings may limit the broader empirical and applied messages of the studies. Without this systematic consideration of policy implementation and impact, the feminist scholarship that focuses on discourse, frames and the 'positionality' of researchers in the process and the power system, risks to miss the central questions of FCP – whether all of this new state activity actually matters in terms of actually achieving a more gender equal society. At the same time, the increased emphasis on bringing research to public officials and citizens through public meetings, conferences and training, an emphasis brought in by more constructivist approaches, potentially outweighs the empirical gaps.

### **Representation**

Normative and empirical questions of democracy are now a focal point for FCP studies in terms of including women's movements, actors and interests into the democratic process to make stable democracies more democratic and for newer democracies in terms of effective transitions to democracies. Women's movements and women's policy agencies, and not just legislatures, are now identified as potential sites of representation as well (Weldon, 2002a). This emphasis on representation as a means to link issues of women's presence to policy outcomes in the FCP scholarship dovetails with comparative scholarship on women in politics, which is also taking a more systematic look at women's substantive representation and policy outcomes (for example, Celis and Childs, 2008; Celis and Mazur, 2012).

### **Big theory to answer big questions**

While the 'critical tensions (Siim, 2004)' between the different strands within the integrative empirical approach of FCP may lead to some differences about the appropriate methodological tools for data collection and analysis, there seems to be an emerging consensus around the development of more macro-level theory to answer the 'big questions' of democracy, gender equality and representation.<sup>13</sup> The inclusion of countries from throughout the world, at 'all levels and in all domains' in study designs, allows for an analytical terrain on which a variety of propositions and hypotheses can be tested about what the major drivers are for achieving maximum democratic performance and for promoting successful and meaningful gender equality policies. The development of culturally sensitive analytical concepts that travel across time and space

as well as increasing the number of observations also lends itself to the eventual pursuit of more macro theory that can apply to a larger number of cases. These studies, thus, can provide more informed and more scientific answers to the perennial big questions being asked by FCP, questions which are at the center of Comparative Policy Studies as well as all areas of political science.

### **What matters the most: The path towards configurational analysis and complexity**

Big theories do not necessarily mean mono-causal explanations. Indeed, research on FCP, often conducted at the mid-range level,<sup>14</sup> has posited a series of key factors that must be taken into consideration as hypotheses/potential drivers in producing authoritative policy responses in any macro theory of gender, policy and the state. These include ideas (for example, Orloff and Palier, 2009; Sauer, 2010), institutions (for example, Krook and Mackay, 2011), women's movements (for example, McBride and Mazur, 2010; Outshoorn, 2010; Weldon, 2011; Htun and Weldon, 2012) and partisan politics (for example, Kittelson, 2008). Increasingly, studies have been identifying sectoral differences to be more important in explaining policy outcomes than national or regional policy styles (for example, Mazur, 2009; McBride and Mazur, 2010; Htun and Weldon, 2012). While individual studies make claims to the explanatory power of specific factors and often give a privileged place for these as drivers and objects of analysis, many others show that pathways to feminist success in policy are actually quite complex, often being comprised of different 'configurations' of factors and in some cases with different pathways leading to the same outcome (Banaszak et al., 2003; Krook, 2009; Mazur, 2009; McBride and Mazur, 2010; Weldon, 2011). This analytical logic resonates with qualitative methodologies and with the tenants of equifinality and conjunctural causation that are part and parcel of Comparative Configurational Analysis as a general methodological approach (Rihoux and Ragin, 2008 and their chapter in this volume).

### **Persistence of the glass wall**

One characteristic of FCP which has remained through the years is the degree to which non-feminist policy studies and political science continue to ignore gender and policy research; thus the glass wall persists. With the exception of welfare state research, mainstream comparative politics and policy studies still do not integrate the findings of feminist scholarship in a meaningful way or bring gender, women's movements or women's representation as an important aspect to be analyzed in

comparative studies of democratic politics. To be sure, there has been an increase in publications of gender research in non-feminist journals and some qualitative methodological discussions have integrated some of the lessons learned from FCP studies (for example, Geertz and Mazur, 2008; Lieberman, 2009), but few non-feminist scholars have seriously gendered their own analysis beyond isolated cases or the more expedient approach of ‘add women and stir’.

### Research streams of FCP: Gendering non-FCP studies

We now turn to identifying the major streams of current FCP research. Here, we present some of the most recent work from each stream; given the vitality of this area some of the work we cover here has not yet been published or is the object of doctoral research.

*Gendering Welfare States* – As we have already noted, taking the welfare state broadly construed as the primary object of analysis, the work in this area has arguably had the most success in breaking down the glass wall with non-feminist political science. Taking on Esping-Andersen’s taxonomy of the welfare states in Western postindustrial democracy, feminist analysts asserted that any understanding of the contemporary welfare state had to be gendered (1993). In Orloff’s influential critique of the non-feminist concept of welfare states, there are two new necessarily gendered dimensions:

Thus, the decommodification dimension must be supplemented with a new analytic dimension that taps into the extent to which states promote or discourage women’s paid employment – the right to be commodified. I call this fourth dimension of welfare-state regimes access to paid work. If decommodification is important because it frees wage earners from the compulsion of participating in the market, a parallel dimension is needed to indicate the ability of those who do most of the domestic and caring work – almost all women – to form and maintain autonomous households, that is, to survive and support their children without having to marry to gain access to breadwinners’ income.

(Orloff, 1993: pp. 318–19)

The concepts of welfare regimes and welfare state taxonomies were thus gendered and applied to welfare state analyses from both feminist and non-feminist perspectives. A recent special issue of *Social Politics*, edited by Palier – a non-feminist political scientist – and Orloff, exemplifies the

way feminist and non-feminist research on welfare state has become integrated (2009). Feminist analysts recently have begun to 'gender' the Varieties of Capitalism framework as well (Mandel and Shalev, 2009). Another distinctive feature of the welfare state stream is that it takes seriously the analysis of impacts. Indeed, the extent to which gendered social policies have actually contributed to changes in women's status often in comparison to men's is at the center of the cross-national (Daley, 2011) and often quantitative analyses (for example, Huber et al., 2009; Bolzendahl, 2009).<sup>15</sup>

Value addition: This first stream of research shows clearly how bringing gender into established classification systems and theoretical frameworks as well as empirical findings can enhance the leverage and analytical power of those theories to produce valid results that reflect the full range of political and social activity that are actually occurring. Without this feminist impulse to gender research in this area, both in terms of frameworks and empirical analysis, welfare regime analysis would only be presenting a partial picture of the dynamics and determinants of welfare state regimes in post-industrial democracies.

*Feminist Policy Formation* scholarship scrutinizes the ways in which public policy promotes women's status and strikes down gender hierarchies through the study of the obstacles, actors, content and processes of policy that is purposefully feminist. Feminist or gender equality policy is conceptualized as a distinct sector of government action that has a range of subsectors that promote feminist goals across all the areas of government action that have the potential to change gender relations: for example, blueprint, political representation, equal employment, reconciling work and family, family law, anti-sexuality and violence policy and reproductive rights policy.<sup>16</sup> It is important to note that analyses of feminist policy assess the degree to which government action takes a feminist approach or not; thus, a normative assumption here, based on feminist theory, is that the state needs to promote a feminist agenda in these areas.

The state in this area, as in other streams, is conceptualized as a disaggregated entity, where certain parts can pursue feminist activity and other arenas can be positively anti-feminist. The task of policy analysts is to study whether, how, when and why state action actually follows a feminist course whether it is formally articulated in policy documents and statements or not. Given the presence of the feminist impulse in the public arena since the late 1960s, any systematic understanding of the contemporary state, therefore, must take into consideration feminist policy as a separate sector, in its full complexity; in other words, how state action has been specifically gendered.

This subarea of scholarship continues to be very active, with a wide range of feminist subsectors of policy under scrutiny, from an increasingly cross-regional/national perspective. Anti-sexual violence policy has been a recent focus (Weldon, 2002b; Montoya, 2013). A recent special issue of *Comparative European Politics* covers some of the key areas of feminist policy (Mazur and Pollock, 2009a). Sauer (2009) examines veiling policy, a relatively new area of feminist policy in South Eastern European countries. Morgan (2009) conducts a cross-national analysis of the content of reconciliation policies in Western Europe; Engeli (2009) on abortion and artificial reproductive technology policies in eight Western European countries; Zippel (2009) on sexual harassment policy at the EU level; and Haffner-Burton and Pollock (2009) on EU gender mainstreaming. French speaking FCP experts have turned to specifically looking at policies that focus on the private sphere like violence and prostitution policies (Engeli et al., 2008). Lombardo and Forest (2012) continue the tradition of Liebert (2003) and others to focus on the ‘Europeanization’ of feminist policy.

Like much non-feminist policy scholarship, research in this area takes a policy stage approach. Problem definition has been a major focus of much FCP work, particularly scholarship that takes a discursive/social constructivist approach. Inspired by E.E. Schattschneider’s caveat: ‘... the definition of politics is the supreme instrument of power’, this work examines the framing of policy problems and their solutions (for example, Lombardo et al., 2009). A recent special issue of *Revue Française de Science Politique* (Boussaguet and Jacquot, 2009) brought together francophone FCP experts to specifically look at how women’s movements contribute to setting the agenda and defining problems on feminist policies in Francophone Europe and the EU level.

Another FCP effort in this stream is seeking to ‘gender’ the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP) – a large-scale cross-national quantitative project that has coded tens of thousands of policy agendas across most Western European countries, the United States and Canada in 225 plus areas of policy over the past 100 years with the ultimate goal of conducting cross-national analyses on agenda setting.<sup>17</sup> Gender was virtually ignored in the original design of the project – feminist policy was only treated in a single residual category combined with civil rights and minority issues, and there was little effort to determine whether feminist issues were placed on institutional agendas. Annesley et al. (2011) recodes the CAP data in the Netherlands, Great Britain, Switzerland, Denmark and Spain to analyze agenda setting on gender equality. A current collaborative project by the original CAP team and feminist researchers led by Engeli

and Mazur is underway to go through the entire CAP database and recode all policy cases that have the potential to be gendered (94 out of the original 225) for mention of gender and feminist ideas. A pretest on 4000 cases in the US congressional hearings dataset indicates that 2.4 per cent of all gender potential issues actually end up formally mentioning gender.

This focus on agenda setting, problem definition and policy framing highlights the extent to which FCP work has been centred on content, policy adoption processes and outputs rather than outcomes and impact. This is an area of weakness of FCP that undermines feminist policy research to systematically determine whether the state has successfully pursued feminist policy in terms of achieving gender equality in society. While calls for more impact and implementation research have been made (for example, Mazur and Pollock, 2009b), systematic comparative research on the later stages of the policy process is only in its nascent stages and still tends to focus on outputs in implementation rather than impact (for example, Avdeyeva, 2009; Haffner-Burton and Pollock, 2009).

Value addition: Here we see the importance of refocusing the analysis on a broad swathe of policy that had been previously ignored by non-feminist scholarship. The systematic analysis of feminist and gender-specific policy formation in terms of the process, outcomes and impacts of that policy *and* the major causal drivers that promote feminist action provide a more complete picture of state action that reflects the highly complex, variegated and, often, contradictory nature of state action as a whole. Moreover, theorizing state action in terms of feminist action and issues of inclusion of women's interests, provides an additional critical test for democratic performance on a more normative level: Can the contemporary democratic state respond to demands for social change and justice and, if so, to what end and why? As in the case of gendering the CAP, research findings have the potential to provide definitive evidence about the extent to which states have taken on gendered and feminist issues and, hence, provide new data for studying systematically the complex causal factors that will allow us to refine our theories about public policy and the state more broadly speaking.

*Women's Movements and Policy* research is concerned with the interplay between women's movements, the state and policy. A major issue of interest here is to evaluate the success of women's movements in influencing public policy. Researchers of the women's movement turned to the state and public policy in the 1990s given the degree to which women's movements had sought to engage with the state over the past forty years at all levels – local, subnational and extranational. For feminist analysts

and theorists alike, women's movements are defined as a major potential vector of feminist change and women's representation.

Banaszak et al. (2003) set the stage for this area of FCP research by conducting a comparative study of how women's movements and organizations affected and were affected by 'state reconfigurations' in the 1990s. The mixed methods study of Weldon (2011) asserts that movements, women's and class-based movements, are central to the promotion of democracy, and many other studies have shown that women's movements 'matter' in the development of meaningful state action. FCP work has gone far in conceptualizing and operationalizing what is meant by the women's movement (McBride and Mazur, 2008; Outshoorn, 2010), a crucial step for conducting sound comparative theory-building studies (Mazur et al., forthcoming). Scholars show that contemporary women's movements are significantly different from other social movements in terms of their structure and activities. Women's movements include both autonomous protest-oriented groups and more formal organizations. Similarly, women's movements have developed close relationships with state actors and have sought to promote reform as well as take more protest-oriented stances, typically associating with 'new social movements'. Finally, feminist social movement researchers have shown that contrary to the conventional wisdom that the new era of new social movements has come to a close, women's movements are still alive and active, albeit in different ways.

Value addition: In this third stream, FCP scholars place women's movements on the research agenda as an important variable, if not a crucial determinant in policy formation, that needs to be carefully examined. Women's movement ideas are an important analytical touchstone for studying the content of feminist policy as well. The conceptualization of women's movements beyond merely protest and anti-system groups also pushes non-feminist analysts to examine women's movements separately from other new social movements and suggests that other social movements need to be considered in terms of a more institutionalized and permanent form.

*State Feminism* research arguably takes the most direct route to understanding how the contemporary state is gendered. It scrutinizes the state structures and actors that are formally charged with promoting women's rights and striking down gender hierarchies: women's policy agencies/gender equality machineries and the agents who work for them – 'femocrats'. As McBride and Mazur (2007) assert, the concept of state feminism went from a 'loose notion' about women's policy agencies to a more precise analytical construct about whether women's policy

agencies worked with women's movements to promote women's interests in the state through both promoting women's movement actors participation and the inclusion of women's movement ideas in the state policy discussions and policy. Thus, women's policy agencies are potentially important vectors of representation and enhanced democratization, they can be crucial arenas for both women's substantive and descriptive representation. Examined in further detail in the next section, the Research Network on Gender Politics and the State (RNGS), a 40 member international research group, has been a major contributor to the research agenda on state feminism since its creation in 1995.

Value addition: A focus on state feminism allows researchers to assess directly the extent to which the contemporary state has seriously taken on demands for social change and justice, in this case, through gender equality, thus once again contributing to solving the larger question of to what degree are consolidated and stable democracies actually democratic. Systematic analysis of women's policy agencies also fills an empirical gap about the state more generally, particularly given all Western postindustrial democracies and all countries of the world, for that matter, have had some form of women's policy office at various levels of governments.

#### **Additional streams or new cross-cutting themes?**

The following three areas have more recently become important objects of study and research foci for FCP analysts. Given the extent to which these issues are being taken-up to varying degrees in all current feminist policy work, it is not clear whether each is a discrete stream of research. Nonetheless, they provide new and formerly uncharted avenues for comparative policy analysis to be gendered.

#### **Representation**

Issues of linkages between women's descriptive and substantive representation have become central analytical foci for many FCP scholars alongside other political scientists who use Pitkin's taxonomy of representation (Celis and Mazur, 2012). The question of whether women make a difference in public policy formation and whether policies are representing women's interests are at the fore of studies on feminist policy formation. At the same time, women's movements and state feminism research that focus on representation assert that the ultimate test of democratic performance and representation is whether the substantive content of public policy is taking on formerly excluded interests (for example, Celis and Childs, 2008). A methodologically rich, cross-national

and cross-regional literature has emerged on the development and impact of quota policies throughout the world as well (Dahelrup, 2006; and Krook, 2009). This comparative work combines three out of the four FCP streams, given that quota policies are a specific example of political representation policies – one of the feminist policy subsectors – and that women’s movements and women’s policy agencies are potentially major partners in the adoption and implementation of quotas. Also, the new scholarship on quotas examines not just the content and diffusion of quota policies but also whether they make a difference in enhancing women’s substantive and descriptive representation in the crucial dynamics of implementation and impact.

### **Intersectionality**

The relatively new concept of intersectionality, the notion that systems of gender discrimination are interwoven with other systems of discrimination and inequality based on ethnicity, race, class, culture, religion and sexual orientation, is becoming an essential analytical tool as it relates to representation, democracy and gender equality.<sup>18</sup> For example, working-class Muslim women from North Africa have interests different from upper-class white women in European society. Thus, the representation and the equality policies that are formulated to respond to each group’s demands may be quite different (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011).

Many of the most recent FCP studies address intersectionality in their research designs in large part, given that this has been placed on policy agendas in European countries and at the EU level in recent years as well as on the agendas of certain women’s movements. Many of the major international feminist policy research projects have brought in some level of intersectionality as well, for example, FEMCIT and QUING. Several recent publications have investigated how intersectionality has been integrated into gender equality efforts in Western Europe. Verloo and Walby (2012) bring together QUING members to reflect upon how the European Union and EU member states have pursued policies that combine different forms of discrimination. Similarly, Kirzsan et al. (2012) conduct a cross-national and regional analysis of government agencies that have formally institutionalized intersectional approaches that will contribute to state feminism scholarship. Halsaa et al. (2012) examine intersectionality in Europe in the context of issues of citizenship. The exact contribution and findings of this new body of work remains to be seen. However as Hankivsky and Cormier (2011) point out, the precise shape and design of the intersectional approach is in flux. Moreover, the potential threats of diluting gender equality efforts in the development of diversity and intersectional policy must be assessed as well.

### Feminist institutionalism

The 'new institutionalism' with its emphasis on formal structures, rules and norms is an important touchstone for FCP. Many FCP studies have directly dialogued with the various forms of new institutionalism in their theory building. An international network, Feminism and Institutionalism International Network (FIIN), has been recently created with  explore the interplay between feminist approaches to gendered institutions and new institutional theory' as its major goal (<http://www.femfiin.com/>). The group brings together many FCP members from across the globe and has called for and developed a feminist institutional approach to gender analysis.<sup>19</sup> New scholarship on 'gender, politics and state architecture' that focuses on the territorial dimensions of government that address gender policy issues can also be seen as a part of feminist institutionalism (for example, Chappell and Vickers, 2011). A broad focus on gender and institutions cuts across many areas of political analysis and not just policy or state focused analysis; thus feminist institutionalism may not be as much an emerging distinct research stream as FCP work on representation and intersectionality.

### FCP research designs in action: State feminism and feminist policy formation

The following two projects capture a range of FCP studies across the different areas of research. The first is a completed study conducted by a large international network with many publications and outputs focused on state feminism, and the second is an in-progress study of a new object of analysis for the feminist policy formation stream, gender expertise. It was originally conducted in the context of a PhD thesis by a single researcher. We show these two cases to illustrate the different stages of FCP projects and to emphasize the importance of doctoral research in the FCP research cycle as well as of large-scale well funded studies conducted by international networks.

### RNGS: Gendering theories of policy change, social movements, representation and institutions

Following the lead of Scandinavian, Dutch and Australian feminist scholars, RNGS was created in 1995 to pursue systematically a cross-national study of the interface between women's policy agencies and women's movements in 17 Western postindustrial democracies. Through complex mixed-methods design, which 'chose not to choose' (Mazur and Parry, 1998) between a uniquely qualitative or quantitative approach from the start, over 40 researchers conducted research to produce 5 issue

books, a data base of 130 policy debates with information on 75 variables and a mixed methods analysis of state feminism across five issue areas (McBride and Mazur, 2010).<sup>20</sup>

The RNGS study ‘gendered’ comparative policy analysis by posing the question of whether, how and why women’s policy agencies make states more democratic through promoting the presence of women’s movements, actors and ideas in the policy process. The analysis assessed women’s representation in individual policy debates across five policy areas with the potential to shift gender relations significantly – abortion, job training, political representation prostitution and an issue of national significance centered on state reconfiguration or ‘hot issue’. Researchers conducted qualitative analyses in three policy debates for each country across all five policy areas through process-tracing to determine whether the agencies introduced gendered frames into the policy debates on these issues, whether they supported women’s movement claims, whether women’s movement actors participated in the debate and whether the policies that were adopted at the end of the debates contained movement demands. The core concepts were formally operationalized and indicators, both qualitative and quantitative, were developed to provide valid and reliable comparative analyses. The study design also was constructed around three strands of theory, both feminist and non-feminist, on representation, movements, policy framing and institution.

Value addition: Thus the multi-methods empirical analysis tested hypotheses from these bodies of theory and the final ‘theory of state feminism’ produced by that analysis contributed to the cumulative knowledge and theory building in the three strands of theory informing the study. The final multi-methods capstone book in particular made contributions to each area of theory building and, hence, to a more general understanding of democratic performance at the center of comparative policy studies (McBride and Mazur, 2010).

### **The politics of expertise in postindustrial democracies: Making gender visible and gender expertise matter**

Recent non-feminist research has rediscovered the role of expertise in democracy as an important theme in policy studies (Maasen and Weingart, 2005). Yet, this research omits examination of gender expertise. This is a significant oversight given the political relevance of gender policies and the number of organizations, including both non-governmental and governmental, that have sought gender experts to create and inform public policy. Feminist research has found that gender expertise can be

important to feminist policy success (for example, Elgstrom, 2000; Sauer, 2010); however, systematic analysis has yet to be developed.

This study seeks to analyze gender policy expertise and contribute to literature on democratization and representation by analyzing if, when and how women's interests are being conveyed to political actors through gender experts (Hoard, 2014). More specifically, it contributes to scholarship on women's substantive representation by analyzing if, how and why the advice and recommendations of gender experts are successfully translated into public policy. Gender experts are therefore conceptualized in terms of their potential to speak for women as a group.

In order to analyze the impact of gender experts, it is necessary to devote considerable attention to the conceptualization and operationalization of gender expertise. This process involves combing insights from several non-feminist policy theories, including Multiple Streams Theory, Advocacy Coalitions Framework, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, the Theory of Epistemic Communities and Social Construction Theory and integrating this knowledge with current feminist research on gender expertise, gender knowledge, feminist policy formation and women's movements in order to create an operational definition of gender expertise.

The study design utilizes a sequential mixed-methods approach. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with gender experts working with local, regional, national and supranational organizations. These experts come from a variety of backgrounds and performed a variety of activities. Interview data was used to further conceptualize and operationalize the concept of gender expertise as well as to determine factors that bolster or hinder gender expert success in the policy process. Following analysis of the interview data, a survey was developed in order to increase the number and types of experts analyzed. The survey was designed to build on the interview data by testing the factors identified by interview participants as important to their success. In an effort to develop a more macro-level theory, this study also empirically tests the factors that are identified by experts and officials in both the interviews and survey as important for successful implementation of gender expertise through a multilevel, cross-national analysis, which examines gender expertise in public policies of Western postindustrial democracies. QCA is used in order to determine the necessary and sufficient conditions that impact gender expert's success in influencing policy design. The mixed-methods, multilevel and cross-national analysis allows this research to make contributions in theory building to both feminist and non-feminist policy analysis, increasing our understanding of democracy and representation, which are central to both.

Value addition: This research makes gender experts and gender expertise the exclusive focus of its analysis and places gender experts as an important independent variable to be considered when examining public policy, helping to contribute to feminist and non-feminist policy theories through conceptualization and analysis designed to develop better theory regarding expertise. A focus on gender experts and gender expertise allows for assessing the extent to which Western postindustrial democracies and the international community has seriously pursued efforts to achieve gender equality as well as for evaluating the extent to which gender experts are influencing public policy, representing women's interests and the long-term development of more democratic democracies.

### Conclusion

Feminist policy scholars have long lamented the gender bias and empirical gaps that exist in non-feminist state and policy research. As this chapter has illustrated, feminist researchers have countered some of the limitations of comparative public policy research through the development of a transnational community of scholars committed to improving feminist and non-feminist research through innovative methodological contributions that strengthen theory building, research design and comparative research in public policy. With an ever-growing international presence in academia and more applied policy settings, FCP is proving to be an important and meaningful area of study within comparative policy studies. As such, there may very well be real scientific ramifications for being uninformed about its contributions.

FCP provides several methodological lessons that can make comparative policy studies more systematic. First, the development of a large and genuinely international research community allows FCP to broaden its impact and contributions through research that goes beyond national analysis and culminate insights through research that is truly multinational. While the majority of this community is comprised of Western scholars, efforts are currently underway to incorporate non-Western gender policy experts and research into newer FCP projects, leading to an area of study that is increasingly going global and expanding its scope beyond postindustrial democracies.

Second, the methodological pluralism and increasing use of mixed methods design result in research that provides more analytical leverage and stronger theories. Third, and especially important to comparative policy

studies, is the emerging emphasis on conceptualization, operationalization and the creation of concepts that travel, a development that also produces more valid and reliable results. Fourth, while tensions exist within FCP between different empirical strands, FCP research increasingly incorporates more comprehensive research designs in order to develop macrolevel as well as mid-range theories about policy content, policy formation and, more recently, implementation and impact. The pursuit of macro-level theory does not mean that FCP scholars are beholden to mono-causal explanations of political phenomena; research in this area illustrates that the determinants of feminist policy success are complex and quite varied. Indeed, the mixed methods designs being used by recent studies provide for better ways of fully grasping *and* theorizing about these highly complex processes.

Fifth, FCP scholarship has contributed to public policy research through the analysis of new objects of study and variables that have previously been ignored in non-feminist literatures such as women's movements, women's policy agencies, gender expertise, feminist policy, gendering policy frames, intersections between race, class, gender, sexuality and so on and the influence of women as actors. Lastly, is the contribution that FCP scholarship has made to feminist and non-feminist theory building through the integration of both literatures. This has led FCP scholars to reconceptualize some of the most central and important concepts and theories about the state, democracy and the policy process in order to conduct research that adequately incorporates women and gender.

In conclusion, FCP scholarship offers several methodological and theoretical insights that can improve comparative policy studies; yet much non-feminist policy research continues to miss the contributions of this important area of study. Given the strong methodological and theoretical links between FCP and comparative policy studies as well as the growing and continued focus on gender policy issues across the globe, the glass wall that still appears to be in place needs to be dismantled. FCP offers much to both feminist and non-feminist policy scholars alike, which, if genuinely incorporated, will lead to a comparative public policy field that is more systematic, integrative, inclusive and, ultimately, more scientific. In the final analysis, therefore, strengthening comparative policy studies through the gendering process will allow this area of political science to better contribute to our general understanding of democratic performance and its critical processes and in doing so enhance democracy itself.

## Notes

- 1 We would like to thank the editors for their valuable and insightful comments as well as the following scholars for sharing with us their feedback and in-progress scholarship: Mieke Verloo, Judith Squires, Celeste Montoya, Andrea Kriszan, Katalin Fabian, Alba Alonso, Emanuela Lombardo, Laurel Weldon, Joyce Outshoorn and Birgit Sauer.
- 2 See, for example, Orloff (1993) and Sainsbury (1994) for an overview of scholarship in this area.
- 3 We use here a broad notion of methodology, which recognizes the connections between epistemology, theory building, research design, conceptualization and tools for data collection and analysis.
- 4 This analysis is based on a large-scale assessment of over 400 FCP pieces (Mazur, 2002).
- 5 See Lovenduski (1998) for one of the foundational texts on the importance of gender as an analytical concept.
- 6 See the chapter contributions to Sainsbury's (1994) path-breaking edited volume on 'gendering welfare states'.
- 7 See Squires (1999) for an overview of feminist theorizing on democracy, gender and the state.
- 8 For a systematic treatment of the notion 'women's interests' see the 'Critical Perspectives' on Women's Interests in *Politics and Gender* 2011, 7(3).
- 9 At least 15 FCP books have come out of work carried out at these conferences.
- 10 Norris (1997) and others have been quite critical of European political science for being overly concerned by parochial and nationalistic issues that have prevented the creation of a unified and systematic European political science.
- 11 For more on the Comparative Politics of Gender, see the special issue of *Perspectives* (March 2010).
- 12 See, for example, Lombardo et al. (2009), Verloo and Walby (2012), and Kantola (2010).
- 13 A workshop that brought together scholars working on these big comparative studies was held at the European Consortium of Political Research joint sessions in April 2012.
- 14 Following from Merton's (1949) notion of mid-range or meso-theory, mid-range theory building can take place across categories of countries or sectors of policy, for example. Hypotheses from these studies can then be assessed in larger, more macro-level studies across different groups of countries or different sectors of policy.
- 15 Many of the pieces in *Social Politics* are in the welfare state stream as well.
- 16 This is the taxonomy of feminist policy developed by Mazur (2002) from the review of the FCP literature in 2000. Blueprint policy includes any policy that seeks to set-up general principles of gender equality like the Equal Rights Amendment in the USA or gender mainstreaming policy, often identified with the European Union (e.g., Haffner-Burton and Pollock, 2009).
- 17 For more on the CAP go to <http://www.comparativeagendas.org/>
- 18 For more on intersectionality as an analytical concept, see, for example, Weldon (2008).

- 19 For more on feminist institutionalism, see Krook and MacKay (2011).  
 20 For more on the RNGS study design, its publication and dataset go to <http://libarts.wsu.edu/pppa/rngs/>

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