Title of Wor	kshop:
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### Gendering Equality in Practice

Since the late 1970s, democratic governments have placed on their agendas, adopted and put into practice an ever-increasing range of policies that both implicitly and explicitly seek to advance women's rights, strike down gender-based hierarchies, and promote gender equality and diversity more generally.

Studies conducted by a broad range of academic researchers, government agencies and NGOs show that gender equality contributes to economic growth and prosperity and that policies promoting gender equality and women's rights should be actively pursued to ensure a healthy economy (World Bank 2012; WEF 2011; IFC 2013; Ward et al. 2010; Mortvik and Spant 2005). As gender equality is still a distant goal, placing gender equality issues at the core of political party agendas, governments and other key political actors is a crucial first step, next adopting gender equality policies and then implementing and evaluating their impact and outcomes.

While governments and stakeholders have pursued gender equality policies for more than 40 years, the scientific community has only recently turned to the systematic study of all stages of the policy process to fully understand how, when, and why governments and other public actors actively promote and pursue gender equality (Mazur and Pollack 2009; Blofield and Haas 2013; Lombardo et al. 2013). Central to this analysis is the question of the relative importance of economic performance in promoting gender equality policy in relation to a host of other factors such as women's political representation and party competition (Annesley, Engeli et al. forthcoming; Htun and Weldon 2010).

A major obstacle to carrying out this challenging research agenda relies in the lack of comparative and systematic analysis that allows for investigating policy attention, formation and implementation across a large set of national contexts, a broad swathe of time and the full range of policy domains in which gender equality has to be achieved (Kenney 2003).

The workshop aims at filling up this gap and raises the crucial questions to understand how, why and to what extent does equality policy result in greater gender equality? What are the conditions and processes that make the realization of gender equality and the promotion of diversity possible? What are the challenges, blockages and resistances that equality policies come up against? Why are some equality policies more successful in their implementation than others?

The workshop will focus on the related aspects of the promotion and implementation of gender equality policy, including the measurement of policy outputs and outcomes in gender equality, and this across policy sectors, countries and time.

#### **Outline of topic:**

Over recent decades there has been a large amount of research on equality policy, including on its gendered implications, but most of it is focused on the process of adoption, with analysis frequently stopping at the point at which a policy is formally made. Yet, once adopted, policy becomes part of a complex process that means it continues to be negotiated, and often contested, and resisted, as it is implemented, evaluated, monitored and revised. The workshop will address the fate and impact of gender equality in policies after they are adopted at the different levels policies take place, over a meaningful period of time, across a broad selection of democratic states and in a range of important policy areas.

As shown in Mazur's outstanding state-of-the-art on this topic, many feminist policy analysts have made calls to focus on the thorny and complex phases that occur after a policy is adopted: implementation, evaluation, and the assessment of outcomes and impact (Blofield and Haas 2013; Lombardo et al. 2013; Mazur and Pollock 2009; Mazur 2009). Moreover, some of the early literature on gender and development looked at the design, implementation and impact of development policies to generate better policy assessment tools and eventually better policies (Lombardo et al. 2013: 656). Different aspects of these post adoption phases have been studied in Western post industrial democracies, but this is not representative of the bulk of studies of feminist policy formation. As reviews of work on feminist policy making assert, these post adoption stages have not been on the feminist policy studies agenda until recently (Blofield and Haas 2013; Lombardo et al. 2013; Mazur and Pollock 2009). An assessment of nine recent international research projects on feminist policy issues, for example, shows that none of the projects focused on implementation or impact evaluation (Mazur 2009). Rather the agenda-setting and adoption phases of policy formation were examined with a particular focus on the content of policies, policy debates, issue framing and problem definition with few connections to the crucial phases of post adoption (e.g., Kantola 2010; Lombardo and Forest 2010; Lombardo et al. 2009; McBride and Mazur 2010; Weldon 2011; Ferree et al. 2002). Thus as, Blofield and Haas (2013) state, while scholars have identified distinct patterns in types of government policies, more research is needed that links different policy frames to their adoption, implementation and outcomes (694).

Relation to existing research:

Recent research that does focus on post adoption primarily examines administrative outputs, seldom providing the details of the "practice" (Montoya 2013) of state and non-state actors in implementation and evaluation. Similarly, the question of the impact of policies is often left out of the implementation equation. Some notable examples illustrate this point. Zippel (2006) looks at the degree to which employers in Germany and the USA put into practice new sexual harassment regulation. Van Der Vleuten (2007) assesses how EU member states "implement" EU directives in national laws. Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2009) study how gender mainstreaming is put into place in EU government in administrative regulations or "outputs". Krook (2009) focuses on the implementation of quotas across the globe. Mazur assesses the implementation and evaluation of equal employment policy in France, the USA and Great Britain (1995) and the implementation of feminist policies in post industrial democracies (2002). Montoya (2013) studies violence against women policies in the EU through primarily examining administrative outputs and interest group activities at the EU, national and local levels.

Policy impact has been the major focus of the gender and welfare state

literature in feminist policy studies as well as feminist studies in economics and sociology. These studies often look at aggregate outcomes in isolation from the specifics of the policy process or at the details of policy implementation (e.g., Sainsbury 2008). More recent feminist social policy studies have brought in specific political actors (Morgan 2009) and specific aspects of child care programs (Ciccia and Bleijenbergh 2012) to assess the determinants of national level social policy.

There is increasing attention to assessing the impact and results of policy alongside the complex process of implementation at the "street level", including French work on parity, equal employment and violence policies (Mazur and Revillard forthcoming) and research on gender mainstreaming in Sweden (Lindholm 2012; Callerstig 2014). A growing literature on gender expertise and training has also provided important information about how gender equality policies have been put into action (Lombardo et al. 2009; Hoard forthcoming; Lindholm 2012). Work on domestic violence policy in the USA has also turned its attention to post adoption (Stark 2009). Official government reports and studies of women's groups conduct impact assessments of gender equality policies over-time as well, although often in isolation from the scholarly literature on feminist policy. Work on gender quotas worldwide, an important feminist policy, has also begun to tackle the complex connections between policy content, implementation and impact (Krook et al. 2012). Feminist theory on the representation of women's interests in terms of Pitkin's taxonomy of substantive and descriptive representation has also been putting how women's interests are substantively represented in processes of implementation on its analytical radar (Celis 2012).

It is clear that one of the major reasons feminist policy studies are just now turning to the post adoption phases is that gender equality policies were only placed on government agendas beginning in the early 1970s and some of the more developed policies, like gender mainstreaming, were not put on the books until the late 1990s. We now have a significant amount of time that has gone by to make assessing implementation and outcomes meaningful in terms of the degree to which these new policies have actually changed gender relations and equality between the sexes. Thus, this shift in analytical focus is part of the research cycle in feminist policy studies that first began by assessing how feminist policy issues were placed on government agendas and formulated into laws and policy decisions.

# Likely participants:

The workshop is likely to attract a high number of participants all across Europe and North America who work on gender equality policies, LGBTQI policies and diversity policy across a large range of policy sectors such as employment, child care, elder care, immigration, social welfare, reproduction, same-sex marriage and parenthood, gender-based violence, education, and health. Gender scholars working on Europeanization are also likely to find this panel attractive as much research is done on the impact of Europeanization on gender equality policy implementation.

More broadly this workshop also speaks to the dynamic policy community who works on implementation in Europe and elsewhere.

The workshop welcomes participants at all the stages of career and will make sure to enhance the participation of graduate students.

A number of established and emerging scholars have already expressed their interest in the workshop and the workshop call for papers will diffused across the ECPR SG on gender and politics, the CES Network on Gender and Sexuality Studies, the APSA Women and Politics' section as well as related academic groups working on public policy and implementation.

# Type of Papers required:

We look forward to receiving paper proposals adopting a comparative perspective (across countries, regions, policy sectors or time) as well single case study which study the implementation of gender equality and diversity policy. Empirical papers are preferred but strong methodological or theoretical pieces are welcome as well.

### **Funding:**

Most participants will be self-funded from their home institution. We will seek additional funding to promote participation.

**Karen Celis** is research professor at the Department of Political Science, and co-director Research of RHEA (Centre of Expertise Gender Diversity and Intersectionality) of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. She conducts theoretical and empirical research (qualitative, comparative) on political representation of groups (women, ethnic minorities, class, age groups, LGBT), equality policies and state feminism.

She has published in *Politics & Gender*, *Representation*, *Government & Opposition*, *Parliamentary Affairs*, *Publius*, *West European Politics*, *Political Studies*, *Social Politics*, *Regional and Federal Studies*, *Comparative European Politics*, *Journal of Legislative Studies*, and *Journal of Women*, *Politics and Policy*. She is co-editor of the forthcoming *The Oxford Handbook on Gender and Politics* (with Georgina Waylen, Johanna Kantola and Laurel Weldon, Oxford University Press, 2013) and of *Gender*, *Conservatism and Political Representation* (with Sarah Childs, ECPR Press, 2014).

In her more recent work she investigates the political representation of groups from an explicit intersectional perspective. Intersectionality theory calls for an understanding groups as formed by the intersection of discriminatory mechanisms such as gender, race/ethnicity, class, age, sexual understanding etc. This evidently challenges the concept and praxis of political group representation, as well as the ways to assess the quality thereof. Against this background, Celis investigates the implications of understanding women's interests as plural, the political inclusion of ethnic minority men and women, and the normative standards for assessing the quality of substantive representation.

**Isabelle Engeli** is Reader at the University of Bath. Isabelle was Max Weber fellow at the European University Institute in Florence in 2009-2011. Her research interests focus on dynamics in issue attention and agenda setting over time, regulatory regimes on biotechnology and as well as gendering policy attention and action.

Her work appears notably in *The European Journal of Political Research*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *The Journal of European Public Policy*, *Regulation & Governance*, *West European Politics*, *Comparative European Politics*, *La Revue Française de Science Politique*. She is a member of the Comparative Policy Agenda Research Network (<a href="https://www.comparativeagendas.info">www.comparativeagendas.info</a>) and has recently co-led an international

#### **Biographical notes:**

project on party competition and morality politics in Western Europe (*Morality Politics in Western Europe. Parties, Agenda and Policy Choice*, with Christoffer Green-Pedersen and Lars Thorup Larsen, 2012, Palgrave Macmillan) and co-directed a book on methods for comparative public policy (*Comparative Policy Studies. Conceptual and Methodological Challenges*, with Christine Rothmayr Allison, 2014, Palgrave Macmillan). She is the co-winner of the 2012 APSA Best Paper in Comparative Policy Analysis and the corecipient of the 2011 Carrie Chapman Catt Prize. Isabelle co-direct the Routledge Series in Gender and Comparative Politics.

Isabelle is the co-convener of the ECPR Standing Group on Gender and Politics and the co-convener of the European Conference in Politics and Gender. She is also the co-founder of the CES Research Network on Gender and Sexuality Studies.

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