

**Economic Policy, Childcare and the Unpaid Economy: Exploring Gender  
Equality in Scotland**

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**Thesis submitted for the degree of a Doctor of Philosophy**

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**2015**

## **Declaration**

I declare that none of the work contained within this thesis has been submitted for any other degree at any other university. The contents found herein have been composed by the candidate, Jecynta Amboh Azong.

## **Acknowledgements**

This work was jointly funded by the Scottish Government and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) studentship.

I am indebted to the late Professor Ailsa McKay who inspired but also believed in me to complete this work, though she passed on without having to see the person I grew up into. She was a great supervisor, friend and mentor.

My gratitude goes to all my interview participants from the Scottish Government, the Scottish Parliament, Feminist and non-Feminist policy stakeholders and the UK data service for providing me with labour force data.

I gratefully acknowledge my supervisors Dr. Alasdair Rutherford, Dr. Monika Wilinska and Professor Kirstein Rummery for their outstanding support throughout this process. I would like to thank my external supervisors Dr Ian Spencer from the Scottish Government and Dr. Angela O'Hagan from Glasgow Caledonian University for their support throughout this process and especially for helping facilitate access to interview participants.

My sincere gratitude to Professor Diane Elson who took a keen interest in my work providing support and encouragement to ensure I was on the right track.

Finally I want to thank my family and friends for their companionship and encouragement.

I give God all the Glory.

## **Abstract**

The research undertaken represents an in-depth study of gender and economics from a multi-disciplinary perspective. By drawing on economic, social policy and political science literature it makes an original contribution to the disciplines of economics and feminist economics by advancing ideas on a feminist theory of policy change and institutional design. Equally, the study develops a framework for a multi-method approach to feminist research with applied policy focus by establishing a pragmatic feminist research paradigm. By espousing multiple research philosophies, it extends understanding of gender differences in policy outcomes by connecting theories from feminist economics, feminist historical institutionalism and ideational processes.

Jointly funded by the Economic and Social Research Council UK and the Scottish Government, this project attempts to answer three key questions: What is the relative position of men and women in the Scottish economy and how do childcare responsibilities influence these? Which institutions, structures and processes have been instrumental in embedding gender in Scottish economic policy? To what extent and how is the Scottish Government's approach to economic policy gendered?

Quantitative analysis reveals persistently disproportionate differences in men and women's position in the labour market. Women remain over-represented in part-time employment and in the public sector in the 10years under investigation. Using panel data, the multinomial logistic regression estimation of patterns in labour market transitions equally reveal disproportionate gendered patterns, with families with dependent children 0-4years at a disadvantage to those without. Qualitative analysis indicates that these differences are partly explained by the fact that the unpaid economy still remains invisible to policymakers despite changes in the institutional design, policy processes and the approach to equality policymaking undertaken in Scotland. Unpaid childcare work is not represented as policy relevant and the way gender, equality and gender equality are conceptualised within institutional sites and on political agendas pose various challenges for policy development on unpaid childcare work and gender equality in general. Additionally, policymakers in Scotland do not integrate both the paid and unpaid economies in economic policy formulation since social policy and economic policy are designed separately.

The study also establishes that the range of institutions and actors that make-up the institutional setting for regulating and promoting equality, influence how equality issues are treated within a national context. In Scotland, equality regulating institutions such as parliament, the Scottish Government, equality commission and the law are instrumental variables in determining the range of equality issues that are embedded in an equality infrastructure and the extent to which equality issues, including gender, are consequently embedded in public policy and government budgets. Significantly despite meeting all the attributes of an equality issue, unpaid care is not classified as a protected characteristic in the Equality legislation. These institutions can ameliorate, sustain or perpetuate the delivery of unequitable policy outcomes for men and women in the mutually dependent paid and unpaid economy. Thus, economic, social and political institutions are not independent from one another but are interrelated in complex ways that subsequently have material consequences on men and women in society.

In summary, there are interlinkages between the law, labour market, the unpaid economy, the welfare state and gendered political institutions such that policy or institutional change in one will be dependent on or trigger change in another. These institutions are gendered, but are also interlinked and underpin the gender structure of other institutions to the extent that the gendered norms and ideas embedded in one institution, for example legislation or political institutions, structure the gendered dimensions of the labour market, welfare state, and the unpaid economy. By shedding light on institutional and political forces that regulate equality in addition to macroeconomic forces, the analysis reveals the important role of institutions, policy actors and their ideas as instrumental forces which constantly define, redefine and reconstruct the labour market experiences of men and women with significant material consequences.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The extensive feminist critique of structural adjustments programs in developing countries sparked interest in the gendered analysis of macroeconomic policies in the early 1990s (Bakker 1994; Elson 1991, 2002; Elson and Cagatay 2000). These intellectual currents challenged the basic foundations of macroeconomic theory and their models as androgynous, producing pervasive and unequal socioeconomic outcomes for women relative to men. Therefore, a plethora of studies investigated how public policy and other political (legislative) interventions influenced women's position with respect to what is traditionally defined as work in welfare states (Daly and Rake 2003; Lewis 1992, 1997; Pascall 2012). In recent years, studies which emphasize the gendered differential impact of macroeconomic policies have emerged focusing on the analysis of disproportionately harmful effects of gender blind economic policies on women in periods of economic recession (see Lahey and de Vilotta 2013; McKay et al. 2013; Ortiz and Cummins 2013). Consequently, the politicization of unpaid care economy as a social infrastructure has become even more visible with recent studies modelling the economic benefits of the unpaid economy and unpaid work for economic output (Braunstein et al. 2011). By contrast, relatively little attention has been paid to how in addition to economic forces both public policy, legislative and political processes might influence gendered relations in the paid and unpaid economy- at least in Scotland.

The overarching premise of this research is that gendered labour patterns are also products of gendered institutional and political forces and not just macroeconomic forces. That is, institutions, actors and ideas are important variables that determine who participates in

economic life and policymaking, in addition to who has the power to set economic policy agendas. They reveal the power dynamics that enable or disable policy development on gender equality issues.

Thus, the research presented in this thesis is designed to explore the range of institutions, actors and structures or processes that make up and have been instrumental in embedding gender in the Scottish economic policy terrain. It connects established theories from feminist economics (Elson 2000; Ferber and Nelson 2009; Waring 1999) and feminist historical institutionalism (Kenny 2007; Kulawik 2009) to shed light on the role of actors, ideas and institutions in shaping policy and regulating equality. The emphasis is to further understand how economic policy processes are effective on gender inequality based on the premise that a comprehensive account of gender differences in economic policy outcomes is unlikely without a focus on the institutional sites in which equality and mainstream economic policies are designed. It was feminist economics theories that informed substantive academic work on the gender impact of economic policy (Cagatay 2003; Elson 1994; Himmelweit 2002). However, these feminist economic theories did not extend their analysis to include an understanding of the legal, political and institutional configurations within which economic and equality policy is regulated and promoted.

Using Scotland as a case study, this thesis also aims to investigate the mechanisms through which economic policy processes, actors and discourses interact with these institutions to sustain, exacerbate or mitigate existing gendered processes. The argument is that ideational processes and discursive strategies can render certain issues invisible on the political agenda or some policies issues less relevant than others (Bacchi 1999, 2009; Beland 2009; Padamsee 2009). Drawing from feminist economics, unpaid childcare work is a particularly interesting concept to explore given that it remains invisible on the economic policy agenda in most countries. In particular, policy development on unpaid childcare work is absent in

the Scottish context although both social and economic policy frameworks often problematize the impact of childcare on women's labour market participation and work patterns.

Furthermore, this study examines how institutional processes interact to influence men and women's position in the Scottish labour market with particular reference to patterns in labour market transition. It analyses gendered distributional patterns in labour market participation and thereafter estimate the association between having dependent children on the labour market transitions of men and women and on families with dependent children. Using Scotland as a case study, multinomial logistic models are employed to estimate the impact of having children under age 2 or between the ages of 2 and 4 on patterns in labour market transition. Modelling patterns in labour market transitions helps to advance our understanding of the effect of government's policy on patterns in labour market participation and how this influences change in the size and composition of the unpaid economy. This study posits that any gendered effects on patterns in paid and unpaid work would be sustained and perpetuated as childcare policy is excluded from a range of economic policy considerations. This thesis contributes to academic literature by making both a theoretical argument and empirical case for how institutional settings for equality policy and economic policy processes sustain or perpetuate gender equality in paid and unpaid work.

### **1.1. Research objectives**

In order to achieve the aims of this research, the following objectives have been set:

1. Analyse the distributional labour market patterns on men and women and the impact of dependent children on relative positions.
2. Explore and examine the infrastructure for gender equality in Scotland

3. Highlight the gendered assumptions underpinning mainstream social policy and economic analysis in Scotland.
4. Find out how policymakers in Scotland conceptualise gender, unpaid work and care in mainstream economic and social policy frameworks.
5. Investigate how in the context of an overall commitment to promote both equality and economic growth, the Scottish governments' mainstreaming agenda has played out in terms of promoting gender equality.

## **1.2.Chapter Outline**

In Chapter Two, feminist economic theories of gender, equality and macroeconomic policy primarily influenced the line of inquiry adopted. In particular, gender is conceptualised, but is placed within the wider context of equality, economic and social policymaking. Thereafter, feminist economics theories of gender and macroeconomics are drawn upon to demonstrate the relationship between gender inequality in the paid and unpaid economy and economic policy. Following from this, this chapter attempts to link feminist economics theories with both ideational and feminist historical institutionalism perspectives as a useful framework for explicating the invisibility of the unpaid economy, unpaid care work and hence persistent patterns in gender inequality in the paid and unpaid economy. This joint approach is also highlighted as being a potential strategy to incorporate an understanding of 'if and how' ideas, politics and actors informing the policymaking process both conceptualise gender and influence gender relations.

Since this work is also concerned with if and how gender is integrated into policy processes aimed at organising work within a modern welfare state, Chapter Three examines the literature on gender and welfare states. It begins by discussing the history and development of modern welfare state regimes, identifying gendered assumptions and locating Scotland within a gender regime. An alternative approach to welfare state conceptualisation is

advanced in which feminist scholarship on gender equality is drawn upon to both conceptualise and build a case for the examination of women's position in a modern welfare state.

Chapter Four covers an overview of the policy context in Scotland as the chosen case study. The approach to economic and social policy in Scotland is discussed and finally, within the context of fiscal measures driving social austerity, this chapter makes the case that the form and scale of government spending would disproportionately affect men and women.

Chapter Five discusses the methodological approach. It outlines the research strategy and provides some reflections on feminist research, including the research philosophy. It discusses the research design, the chosen approach to investigate the ways in which these tensions play out in Scotland. Finally, after examining some ethical issues related to elite interviews, the chapter concludes.

Chapter Six, Seven and Eight present the findings. In Chapter Six, an analysis of labour market data to demonstrate gendered patterns in employment and patterns in employment transitions for parents with dependent children is undertaken. Chapter Seven examines the political and institutional context for an infrastructure for gender equality in Scotland. It examines the range of institutions that make up the equality infrastructure and the effectiveness of such an infrastructure by demonstrating how useful it is for promoting gender equality in paid and unpaid work. In Chapter Eight, the role of ideas, actors and institutions are further examined to explain gendered policy assumptions, the invisibility of unpaid care work and the unpaid economy in policy discourses and on economic policy agenda. Chapter 9 discusses the research findings and Chapter Ten concludes the study and makes recommendations for a gendered approach to economic policymaking in Scotland.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **GENDER, FEMINIST ECONOMICS, IDEATIONAL PROCESSES & FEMINIST HISTORICAL INSTITUTIONALISM**

#### **2.1.Introduction**

This chapter begins by offering an understanding of the link between gender, policies, ideas and institutions. The focus then shifts to notions of gender as a social construct, central to which is Risman's (1987, 1998) theory of gender as both an institutional and institutionalised societal process. In addition, Kenny's (2007) conception of gender as relating to power and hierarchy in political institutions is briefly discussed. In order to conceptualise gender for equality analysis, this study also draws on Acker's (1992) work on gendered organisations. What follows is a feminist understanding of equality. The intention is to conceptualise gender equality within a particular context for policy and institutional analysis purposes. Thereafter is a discussion of a feminist economic theoretical framework as relating to macro level processes- in particular macroeconomic policy. Some gaps in the academic literature on both mainstream economics and this feminist economics framework are identified. For example the role of institutions, actors and ideas in setting the terms of inclusion and exclusion of certain policy issues which are imperative for promoting gender equality in economic policy. The underlying premise is that in addition to macroeconomic forces, institutions, ideas and discursive practices have implicit material consequences for men and women in the economy.

#### **2.2.Conceptualising Gender for Policy Analysis: A Social Construct**

A number of distinctive social scientific theories have emerged over the years to explain gender (see Acker 1992; Lorber 2005; Martin 2004, 2006; Risman and Davis 2013). The first definitions focus on individual sex difference and how it originates - whether it be

biological (Udry 2000) or social in origin (Bem 1993). The second approach, captured in Epstein's (1988) *Deceptive Distinctions* emerge in response to criticisms of the individual sex difference literature. This second approach defines gender as a social structure that creates gendered behaviour as opposed to biology or individual learning. The third tradition arises from reactions to the individualist thinking of the first. It emphasizes social interaction and accountability to others' expectations, with a focus on "doing gender" and how this creates and reproduces inequality (West and Zimmerman 1987). The fourth, integrative approach treats gender as a socially constructed stratification system (Connell 2002; Ferree, Lorber, and Hess 1999; Lorber 1994; Risman 1998; Risman and Davis 2013).

The individual sex-differences literature, the 'doing gender' or interactional analyses (West and Zimmerman 1987), and the structural perspectives are portrayed as incompatible for modelling gender as an analytical category for policy analysis (Epstein 1988; Ferree 1990; Kanter 1977; Risman 1987; Risman and Schwartz 1989). For one, the sex-differences perspective delineates a profoundly basic level of understanding gender as a classificatory concept signifying biological differences between men and women. This prohibits the modelling of gender as part of a social structure, society, or as a property of collectivities and institutions (Connell 1987). Sex-difference also inhibits the modelling of gender in terms of gendered behaviour, power relations as well as a social institution.

Conversely, Lorber (1994) contends that gender difference vindicates sexual stratification. Lorber (1994) provides cross-cultural, theoretical, and scientific evidence to show that even though gender difference is socially constructed, it constructs "women as a group to be subordinate to men as a group" (p. 33). However, since gender is an historical social institution that rationalises inequality (Lorber 2005), one cannot justify inequality unless one conceptualises gender difference. Daly and Rake's (2003) construction of gender as a social practice supports Lorber's (1994, 2005) idea that gender as an institution is embedded in all



social processes of everyday life and social organisations. As such, gender is continually created and reconstituted by the differing activities of individual men and women as well as social institutions such as the family, labour market and welfare states. This rationalises gender as a dynamic social practice sustained through the agency of individuals, collectivities and institutions sustaining or resisting existing norms and power relations. In this context, gender is a principal way of demonstrating and naturalizing relationships of power and hierarchy (Hawkesworth 2005; Scott 1986).

Moreover, gender not only operates at the level of the subjective/interpersonal; rather it is a feature of institutions and social structures (Acker 1992; Martin 2004, 2006). It is emblematic of meaning-making of institutions within which individual actors are nested. To say an institution is gendered means that constructions of masculinity and femininity are intertwined in daily life of men and women (MacKay and Rhodes 2013). This implies that gender exists within the logic of political institutions rather than ‘existing out in society or fixed within individuals, which they then bring whole to the institution’ (Kenney 1996; Kenny 2007). Consequently, not only are gender relations seen to be ‘institutional’, but according to Rizman (1987) gender relations are ‘institutionalized’. This suggests that they are embedded in particular political institutions and transmitted through the ideas of political actors, thus constraining and shaping social interaction.

This work draws heavily on the perspective of gender being a social construct. Gender is understood here as a set of values and norms that socially determine men and women’s role and behaviour in society and in public and private life. Central to this, gender is conceptualised as a feature of power relations (Kenny 2007), embedded in institutions, social structures (Risman and Davis 2013) and ideas within political spaces. These dimensions conceptualise gender as a variable with explanatory and analytical potential capable of bringing insight to policy and political structures. Feminist political theorists on

gender and institutions illustrate that gender relations are cross-cutting, playing out in different types of institutions, as well as different institutional levels (Acker 1992; Connell 2002; Kenny 2007; Kulawik 2009). Moreover, gender relations operate within the macro representational level of institutions to the micro level of interpersonal day-to-day interaction, where the continuous performance of gender takes place (see Acker 1992; Annesley 2010; Banerjee 2010; Connell 2002; Legerski and Cornwall 2010).

By conceptualising gender as a social construct, this research corroborates the idea that gender is not a fixed biological trait and is constantly undergoing change both at the level of social institution and of personal identity (Weber 1998). Gender is deeply embedded in the practices and beliefs that make up major social institutions (Beckwith 2010; Chappell and Waylen 2013). Moreover, in line with Kenny (2007) and Kulawik (2009), gender is an historically specific and socially constructed pyramid of dominion representing power relations. This eventually structures the ways in which societal trends develop and play out amongst different groups of people. Viewed as a social structure (Risman and Davis 2013), gender is embedded in the individual, interactional and institutional dimensions of society at the micro, meso and macro levels (see Annesley 2007, 2010). At the macro level, gender can be argued to operate at the same level of general social significance as the economy and the polity and on the same analytical plane as policies, politics and economics. This is because gender is a multidimensional social structure and a phenomenon in the political and socioeconomic organisation of society (MacLeavy 2007).

Therefore, conceptualising gender as a social construct eliminates any assumption that gender categories are fixed. Rather, it indicates gender fluidity, constructed by individuals, society and policies. Understanding gender as a set of norms and relations embedded within social structure requires a broader observation of gender relations beyond a women-only approach to include an analysis of men and women (Bohan 1993). Conversely, social

practices are gendered and have consequences not only for relationships between men and women but importantly for public and private welfare. Disallowing both biological essentialism and a women-only approach allows for the diversity that exists among social actors according to different social identities (such as lone parents, couple parents), different characteristics (including age, ethnicity) and differential access to resources at different institutional spheres and levels.

Bearing these definitions in mind, a rich body of academic literature demonstrates that all policies are conduits of gender and reorganise gender relations (Beland 2009; Orloff 2009). These academic scholars maintain that policies are not gender neutral; they are gendered (Bakker 1994, p.1; Evers 1994, p.117; Himmelweit 2002), affecting men and women differently (Elson 1992, 2001; Lewis 1997). This is partly because policies are informed by ideas (Kingdon 1985), including ideas about men and women's lives. Together, policies and policymakers' ideas about men and women's lives determine, to an extent, how gender is perceived and experienced in society irrespective of policy objectives.

Both feminist and non-feminist academic literature demonstrates that the way policy ideas are articulated and how discourses are framed affect the way social and economic problems, which are at the centre of the debate over state intervention and policy change, are perceived and hence acted upon (see Mehta 2010). Therefore the way political ideas of gender and gender (in) equality are articulated determines if and how they are perceived in social and economic policy agenda, as well as the extent to which these ideas can promote gender equality. Prugl (2003) argues that policies are instruments for shaping gender relations in society with different implications for men and women. Hence, a policy can implicitly ameliorate or exacerbate gender inequality in society (Himmelweit 2002), depending on how these ideas and discursive practices shape policy preferences or political agendas.

Besides, discourses may well shape the way gender is conceptualised or not within policy frameworks. This matters for how men and women experience policy outcomes. Underlying this is the fact that, policies have direct impacts on gender inequalities as well as higher order impacts on men and women's behaviour (Elson 2004; Himmelweit 2002; Karamessini and Rubery 2013; Mandel 2012, McKay et al. 2013). Policies can have demonstration effects and can yield optimal outcomes for society. They can garner not only positive redistributive impacts between men and women and across groups of men and women but can also incentivise individuals who would not have originally responded or benefitted from a policy to respond. In other words, the way gender is conceptualised within policy frameworks matter for equitable policy outcomes. This suggests that a gender aware policy can reconstruct existing social norms and reconfigure societal processes.

### **2.3. Conceptualising Equality: A Feminist Perspective**

Fraser (1997) attributes the various debates on equality to the different waves in feminism. Squires (1999 p.116) on the other hand, posits that the debates on equality, difference and diversity can be seen as an on-going and unresolved discussion. The debates first emerge between the late 1960s to mid-1980s, a period Fraser (1997) reveals as the second feminism wave. The driving force behind this is attributed to an inherent tension in the conceptualisation of the concept of equality as sameness or difference amongst different feminists (see Hogeland 2001).

Liberal "feminists" argued for gender equality as sameness and opposed gender difference as an instrument of male dominance arguing that "difference" rationalized women's subordination (Friedan 2010; Sandberg 2013). From their perspective, gender difference appeared to be inseparable from sexism, thus, making the vision of liberal feminists that of minimizing this difference. Liberal feminists therefore advocated equality based on sameness with men (Friedan 2010; Greer 1971; Sandberg 2013; Wolf 2013). However,

equality as sameness between women and men was rejected as androcentric and assimilationist (Fraser 1997). Rather than challenging sexism, liberal feminism was seen to be reproducing it by devaluing femininity. Importantly, equality as sameness failed to unveil the underlying structural conditions that disadvantage women.

While advocates of the 'difference' feminism contend that liberal feminists presuppose the male as the norm, implying a disadvantage to women, the 'equality feminists' argue that the difference perspective relies on stereotypical notions of femininity which reinforce existing gender hierarchies (Fraser 1997 p.176-7). Consequently, these contestations resulted in the emergence of a new kind of "difference" feminism emphasizing that women do differ from men but that this does not mean inferiority. Accordingly, the way to do justice for women is to recognize and not minimize gender difference and to make women's voices and perspectives heard.

Starting with the work of Fraser (1997) and Squires (1999), the academic literature demonstrates conceptual shifts in feminist theory on equality as well as criticisms and problems inherent in the various emerging perspectives. Furthermore, feminist scholars have shifted focus from equality as sameness and difference to emphasize multiple intersecting differences and diversity, otherwise known as intersectionality (Cho et al. 2013; McBride et al. 2015; McCall 2005). These shifts, which are propelled by a feminist critique of the initial assumptions of a common oppression, challenge the construction of men and women as a uniform and stable category.

The ways these diverse conceptualisations of equality have emerged reveal different ways of framing the problem of gender inequality and identifying the dominant representations of gender (in)equality. Understanding equality within a context in terms of if and how it is represented, especially in political discourse and policy processes, is essential for analysing

whether policy problems and solutions are constructed with a notion of equality as sameness, difference or diversity. This is significant in that the way in which equality is perceived determines how 'gender inequality' is articulated as a policy problem or not. Therefore, the purpose of conceptualising equality is not only to advocate for the best description of gender equality. Rather, the aim is also to locate the dominant representative frames of gender equality in policy discourses and political systems in order to highlight entrenched normative assumptions and exclusions (see Verloo 2007).

Intersectionality presents a new research paradigm that transforms how equality and theories of gender can be theoretically conceptualised for robust empirical applied policy research (Risman 2004). Intersectionality extends the concept of gender equality to reconceptualise gender in the context of power relations embedded in social identities (Collins 1990; 2000). Challenging existing assumptions in gender theory and research, it posits the existence of mutually constitutive relations amongst social identities (Ashmore et al. 2004; McCall 2005). For instance, assumptions underpinning the homogenisation of the category of gender in research does not allow for the inclusion of social identities in gender theory, although an individual's social identity such as ethnicity or sexual orientation can critically affect his/her beliefs about, and experience of, gender.

This further brings the prominence of social location to the forefront of any gender inquiry since gender can be naturally situated with other significant social identities. Feminist scholars in particular maintain that, an inclusive view of women's position should substantively include an analysis of the intersection between gender and other social identities especially race or disability (see Dill 1983; Moraga and Anzaldúa 2015; Walby et al. 2012). Although race has been the predominant social identity within which gender has been intersected, recent studies either add to or reconstruct this frame depending on the research context (see Harnois 2012). This current study draws on ideas of intersectionality,

using gender as the main social identity as it is the most pervasive, visible and codified. This emphasizes the importance of social location and social identity for critical policy analysis and strives to put gender at the intersection of policymaking and policy change.

## **2.4. Gender, Macroeconomic Policy and Economic Analysis**

An examination of the feminist critique of mainstream economic models, policy and analysis is undertaken here to make the case that gender is an endogenous variable in macroeconomic models as well as an important variable of analysis. To this end, the gendered terrain upon which economic policy is conducted, and the gendered silences in economic concepts of market and work are considered. Since the traditional goal of economic policy is economic efficiency, drawing from Ott (1992) and Rosen (1993), the argument that economic efficiency can be compromised if greater equality is not an analogous goal of economic policy is also made.

### **2.4.1. Equality and Economic Efficiency in the Modern Welfare State**

Like liberty and democracy, equality is a social principle of the modern welfare state (Marshall 1950). Yet, when making economic policies, policymakers infrequently prioritise greater equality. The argument generally advanced is that greater equality impedes economic efficiency (Berg and Ostry 2011; Blank 2002; Tremblay and Tremblay 2012).

Economic efficiency refers to an economic state in which there is an optimal production and distribution of scarce resources, such that it is not possible to make one party better off without making another worse-off (Lindbeck 1986; Okun 1975). The goal is to reduce waste and inefficiency by ensuring economic prosperity through the availability of increased funds for investments and activate incentives to work (Browning 1976). This suggests the redistribution of income and wealth undermines efficiency by reducing investments and work incentives (see Kenworthy 1995; Layard and Walters 1978). Okun (1975) therefore

argued that, there exists a trade-off between efficiency and equality to the extent that it is only possible to achieve one or the other.

However, the existence of these trade-offs are the very rationales for which feminist economists can frame feminist goals. A significant contribution that has emanated from this line of argument has been the work of Ott (1992) and Rosen (1993) positing that an economic policy that lacks gender awareness produces suboptimal behaviour for different groups of people in the society. Theoretical work by Ott (1992) shows that even if optimal behaviour is attained in the short run in the divisions of work and trade in the household as argued by Becker (1981), decreasing power and outside options for the partner specialising in household work (usually the woman) will yield suboptimal behaviour in the long run. Similarly, Rosen (1993) extended the neo-classical economic theory to provide a framework showing how the presence of discrimination will lead to suboptimal matches between jobs and workers, hence, losses in economic efficiency, unless affirmative action is employed. Thus, applying a feminist lens to existing neo-classical theory provokes different policy implications for society.

Existing feminist studies have aided the analysis of issues such as wage differentials between men and women; division of work within the family; effect of domestic and caring duties on women's labour participation; and the effects of work interruptions on career development (Cebrian and Moreno 2015; Gehringer and Klasen 2015; Klasen and Pieters 2015). In terms of career interruptions, Mincer and Polachek (1974) construed the human capital theory to argue that in the absence of discrimination, only childless women can attain career development equal to that of men. Others have empirically shown how costly it is for women to have children in terms of lost earnings (Cebrian and Moreno 2015), time away from the labour market, lost pension contributions (Arber and Ginn 2004) and poverty in old age. These studies equally emphasize the cost to women of these different biases such as



gender pay gaps for full-time and part-time workers. Placing a feminist lens on these issues elicits the need for subsidized care to enable mothers to be able to combine both work and family rather than interrupt their careers (Gustafsson 1997). Such investments could take the form of public investment in childcare services as a potential growth industry capable of creating more employment. According to Antonopolous and Kim (2011), such investments would not only mobilise unused domestic labour resources in the economy and provide earned income even to those who have been previously unemployed, but they would also generate strong pro poor income growth patterns.

Hegemonic macroeconomic prescriptions are often geared towards creating new patterns of production which are more competitive and reflective of a better allocation of utilised resources. In reality, what happens is that a great deal of unused resources, notably labour, can be allocated to a smaller volume of production (Palmer 2003 p.47). The consequence is that new economic efficiency gained from these competitive patterns of production return costly externalities in the form of worsening unemployment and increased poverty for some segments of society. This is costly to society as a whole because in these instances, government spending on welfare would be expected to increase to meet these new types of structurally generated social risks. Thus, these types of macroeconomic policies that primarily favour economic efficiency mostly end up creating efficiency gains to some private individuals with greater losses to society (Palmer 2003 p.47). Introducing gender constructs in macroeconomic analysis can help policymakers choose policies that can simultaneously promote equality and economic efficiency.

Taking this a step further, Gustafsson (1997) argued that a feminist lens improves neoclassical theory by removing the inherent male bias, thus revealing the mechanism through which overall efficiency of the economy could be increased. Since efficiency is at the heart of economic analysis, any concealed male bias in economic theory that leads to

suboptimal behaviour of women in the economy implies economic inefficiency. In other words, a lack of gender awareness of economic policy capturing the short run and long run behavioural impacts of men and women can equally undermine efficiency and equality. These feminist accounts illustrate that where government policies lack gender awareness and policymakers lack an understanding of the linkages between unpaid work and female labour market participation, the economy performs below full capacity.

Therefore, economic and social policies which are driven by efficiency measures de-emphasize state intervention in public services that are relevant to provide real and genuine choices for both women and men to equally participate in the market economy. These policies impact on the quality of social rights and the extent to which these rights, which are now seemingly founded on market logics, liberate individuals and families from market forces. By de-emphasizing the importance of the non-market sector or unpaid economy, through economic policies that favour reductions in public spending on social services, such economic policies ignore the importance of unpaid work including unpaid care work as the social structures of production, which also matter for sustainable economic outcomes and women's equality and financial wellbeing.

#### **2.4.2. Unpaid Work, the Unpaid Economy & Macroeconomic Policy**

As defined by Himmelweit (2002 p.52), “the unpaid economy consists of the domestic sector that contributes to individual socialization and the production and maintenance of human capabilities”. For Donath (2000), this unpaid economy functions by gift and reciprocity rather than by exchange. Typically, the work carried out in this economy comprises labour used in managing social and personal relationships (Elson and Cagatay 2000), in addition to the care of people (Fraser 1995 p.75). This work, which is more generally known as unpaid work, is characteristically work that does not receive direct remuneration. In aggregate, the unpaid economy is a vital component of the overall

economy. Feminist theories indicate that traditional economic analysis tends to make a large proportion of unpaid work invisible because economic activity is directly or indirectly associated with the market (Palmer 1995).

As such, while income activities are classified as work for economic analysis, unpaid activities that produce goods and services for household consumption and inputs to other sectors are not, in economic terms, defined as work. This is because conventional economic analysis tends to see work as paid employment (Himmelweit 2002, Waring 1998, 1999), and National Accounting Systems only class paid work as employment (Waring 1987; Waring and Steinem 1988). That is, unless work is undertaken within the market economy, it is excluded from the system of national accounts. For this reason, domestic production and voluntary work carried out in households and communities are generally classified to be outside of the production boundary but within an invisible unpaid economy (Elson 2002).

There are different types of unpaid work in the unpaid economy, ranging from the provision of material resources such as food preparation to education including the formation of individual and collective identities and the care of children and adults throughout their lives. Forms of unpaid work such as subsistence production in households for consumption have now been classified as income generating and included in the system of national accounts. Other forms of unpaid work such as unpaid care work still sit outside the national accounts and remains invisible in economic analysis (Beneria 1999; Himmelweit 1995; Hirway 2015), even though similar unpaid care work activities carried out in the paid sector are remunerated as employment and entered in the system of national accounts. Therefore, a high proportion of women's unpaid care work remains economically invisible and statistically underestimated. This is because the market is viewed as the principal benchmark for defining work (Elson 1999). This challenges the very definition of work and what counts as economic activity.

Besides, theoretically and conceptually, it is important to distinguish between unpaid care work from other forms of unpaid work. For Fraser (2006), work directed to meet the needs of those who lack political voice such as children, the elderly, and the sick and disabled is very important. The focus of this thesis is on unpaid childcare work and the choice of variable is informed by a number of factors. On the basis of rewards and preference, men and women rate the care of children more highly than household chores (Juster and Stafford 1991). The costs of neglecting childcare are also different with lasting effects on a child's development (Deutsch, Lussier, and Servis 1993) and huge effects on the economy (see Antonopolous and Kim 2011). Relative to long-term care, empirical studies have shown that investments in childcare have both short, medium and long-term equitable growth outcomes and gender equitable job distribution effects (Antonopolous et al. 2010). Empirical evidence from a comparative study conducted by Plantega et al. (2008) demonstrates how childcare responsibilities are a major barrier to 'full' employment and especially an obstacle to women's employment. In line with Plantega et al. (2008), the argument is for the need to remove disincentives to female labour market participation, but also as a gender equality issue, an investment in the life of children and as an economic issue.

From a normative stand-point, this project is funded by the Scottish Government, which has responsibility over social policy areas such as education and childcare related issues as opposed to welfare policy issues that are currently reserved at the level of the United Kingdom. Policymakers, to date, continue to ignore the unpaid economy and unpaid childcare work as gendered social structures in their economic policy agenda, even in the market production process.

Economic policy is primarily focused on the paid economy albeit having unintended impacts on the unpaid economy (Himmelweit 2002). These impacts are gendered and disproportionately shared between men and women due to the social division of labour

within households and informed by social norms and societal values (Himmelweit 2002; Lewis 1997). Moreover, men and women are unevenly distributed between the paid and unpaid economy and women tend to do the bulk of unpaid childcare work. This gendered social arrangement challenges the assumption that distributional impacts of economic policies are evenly spread between men and women. Rather, the presence of an unpaid economy implies there is inherent friction in the level and rate of participation of men and women in the paid economy. Besides the unpaid economy, the existence of gender gaps and occupational segregation in the paid sector may as well function as automatic filters of the gendered effects of economic policy.

Thus, a comprehensive analysis of the impact of public policy must take into account its impact on the unpaid economy. First, it must account for the direct effects of economic policy on equality in labour market outcomes, including incomes or material rewards between men and women, second, the impact of second order incentive effects on behaviour and third, the consequent effects on social norms (Himmelweit 2002). However, in conducting economic analyses, mainstream economists and policymakers alike typically miss the differential distributional impact of policy on men and women. This undervalues any detrimental effects of policy on the wider economy (Elson 2002; Himmelweit 2002; McKay et al. 2013; Stotsky 2006). The unpaid economy continues to be an unrecognised social infrastructure that allows others, mostly men, to access full-time paid employment. Whilst the public sector free rides on it, the private sector equally gains from unpaid work through increased productivity from workers who receive care through social reproduction from the domestic sector (Elson 1992; Lewis 1997).

Surprisingly, mainstream economic policy frameworks make no provision for a corresponding investment good from the private sector or infrastructural services from the public sector to maintain the unpaid household sector (Elson 1995). Rather, the cost of

providing this infrastructure that benefits both the public and private sector is borne by women's unpaid labour. Astonishingly, this private cost that produces these social gains remains unrecognised in economic analysis and thus conceals actual policy outcomes. This renders economic policy gender blind. Any gains or losses to society constructed by prevailing gender norms within the households and effective on economic outcomes that remains obscured from mainstream economic analysis undermines the real impact of policy on the economy. Traditional macroeconomic policies therefore have gendered impacts and are gender biased in their effects (Darity 1995; Elson 1993, 1995; Grown et al. 2003) irrespective of geographical context.

Overall, the extent to which economic policies and their associated models are useful for understanding economic problems and for providing useful tools for policy depends on their ability to reflect essential reality (Evers 2003 p.8). However, 'humanising' macroeconomics is difficult to conceptualise since it is reputedly concerned with abstract aggregates, not human beings and certainly not men and women. Macroeconomic analysis mainly evaluates highly aggregated markets (Cagatay 2003). Reifying macroeconomic abstractions requires incorporating gendered social institutions such as households into macroeconomic models (Elson 1993). Theoretical research suggests embedding gender into macroeconomic models by reconstructing macroeconomic policy as a *bearer of gender* (Elson 1999). This consensus has been influenced by the recognition that economic development and growth policies had generally affected women differently to men (Cagatay 2003).

Gender is thus crucial to any macro policy process and important to the macroeconomists' goal of efficient and sustainable growth. According to van Staveren (2010), gender is a relevant variable of analysis in macroeconomic frameworks and it significantly influences macroeconomic outcomes. How to incorporate it in macro policy areas depends on how gender is conceptualised. Palmer (1995) suggests two major approaches to incorporating

gender into macroeconomic policy. One way is to underscore the different outcomes of policy for men and women and the changes that are required to bring about gender equality. The second way is by analysing the implications that gender relations and disparities hold for macroeconomic analysis and policy options. Contemporary approaches have begun to model care and unpaid work in macroeconomic models (Braunstein et al. 2011) as gendered labour activities and inputs into the market production processes. These approaches provide a stronger orientation for this research.

#### **2.4.3. Unpaid Work, Macroeconomic Policy Analysis and Economic Growth**

One of the motivating forces behind research on gender and macroeconomics hinges on the need to both promote gender equality and to ensure that the benefits of economic growth are equitably shared among the population (Stotsky 2006). However, the presence of an unpaid but disproportionately gendered sector, which is usually valued in public policy as inferior and unproductive compared to the paid sector, mitigates fairness in outcomes. Women dominate this sector by reason of their structurally socially constructed gender roles as mothers and carers. Further reinforced by societal expectations of what constitutes men's and women's work, the result is a lower level of inclusion and participation in paid employment, markedly lower wages and fewer job opportunities for women than men even in periods of economic growth. Hence, women's lack of economic and social opportunities both absolutely and relatively to men by virtue of family and unpaid care responsibilities can inhibit economic growth (van Staveren 2010).

Although Stotsky (2006) argues that economic growth leads to a reduction in women's subordinated condition, women's unpaid work is likely to prevent them from equally benefitting from improved macroeconomic environments. The reason being that, conventional macroeconomic policy frameworks overlook non-market work, especially unpaid care work and voluntary community work (Elson 2002; Himmelwiet 2002; Waring

1989). Generally, fiscal and monetary policy debates have been shown to be void of the unpaid or non-market work, as they are repeatedly alleged to be 'social roles' rather than economic activities (Elson 2002). Feminist economists maintain that these are economic activities in the sense that they provide vital inputs to the public and private sectors of the economy (Braunstein et al. 2011; Elson 2002; van Staveren 2010) and correspondingly because they require the use of scarce resources- women's time and labour (Elson 2002). Even so, Palmer (1995) establishes that unpaid care work is a tax in kind that is levied on the domestic sector in order to reproduce the economy. This tax is disproportionately paid by women and disproportionately influences female participation in the paid labour market. Unpaid work is thus a gendered work activity with macroeconomic implications but is often ignored in economic policy and analysis. Incorporating unpaid work into macroeconomic models enriches macroeconomic modelling by showing that the creation of wealth in a modern welfare state depends on the output of the unpaid economy and not just on the paid economy.

Another important issue that has engaged and exercised in particular, both economists and policymakers, is the issue of sources of economic growth (see Beck et al. 2000; King and Levine 1993). Surprisingly, few, if any, have considered the economic potential of the unpaid economy in stimulating economic recovery and growth especially in periods of economic crisis. Given that it is continuously viewed as a social policy area or one which is a cost to society, its economic growth impact remains obscured. Tzannatos (1998) estimates that if the unpaid economy were appropriately measured, it could augment the national output of a country by as much as one-quarter of current measures. Nonetheless, the unpaid economy is invariably omitted from measures of national income aggregates; despite the importance of its size and connection to the paid labour market (Elson 2002; Waring 1998). Waring (1998) underscores the importance of incorporating unpaid work into national



income accounts based on its contributory potential to national output and also on the premise that official measures of national output that ignore the unpaid sector are incomplete. Although difficulties and methodological issues have been put forward by economists as extenuating factors in incorporating this component of output into the national income accounts, these challenges are not insurmountable (Beneria 1999; Floro 1995).

The feminist economic theories discussed here illustrate that within the context of promoting equality and in particular gender equality through economic policy and government budgets, feminist research defines economic performance or outcomes in terms of how the economy affects men and women and how men and women affect the economy. Feminist economists show that institutions such as markets are organised along lines of gender (Elson 1999; Himmelweit 2002) and as such gender inequality in labour market outcomes can be explained by how government allocates resources between the sectors of the economy (Elson 2004) and how these allocations shape the labour market experiences of men and women in the society. It can therefore be argued that the form and scope of allocations could also be informed by who has power to set the priorities on the policy agenda and their ideas of the relationship between gender, economic policy and growth.

Extrapolating from this, this research posits that different policy priorities and policy agendas have different policy implications. To the extent that a policy agenda works to disproportionately influence the size and composition of different sectors of the economy; it would subsequently affect the labour market outcomes for men and women. Government policy can sustain gendered participation in the public and private sector while also creating more unpaid work in the invisible household sector. This suggests that in addition to these feminist conceptions, policy processes can have important material consequences for men and women in society leading to significant gender inequality in labour market outcomes.

Although macroeconomic forces are important, and gendered policy assumptions are inherent, gender inequality is also a consequence of institutional processes. Recognition of this could further enrich feminist economic theories.

### **2.5.Theoretical Framework: Ideational Processes & Feminist Historical Institutionalism**

Since the beginning of the 1980s, historical institutionalism developed as the main influential theoretical perspective in political analysis and policy studies (Pierson 1994; Skocpol 1992). Historical institutionalism maintains that a historically constructed set of institutional constraints and policy mechanisms conditions the behaviour of political actors and interest groups in the policymaking process (Immergut 1998; Thelen 2003, 2004). This centralises politics as the primary locus of power (Skocpol 1992), given that political activities are seen as conditioned by institutional configurations of governments. Furthermore, it is important in understanding how policy paradigms have been evolving or not in welfare states.

Historical institutionalism also offers a framework to explain policy stability and change on the basis that formal and informal institutions are set by past decisions. As such, institutional change follows a path of past decisions otherwise known as path dependency. In other words institutional change occurs but this usually follows an incremental path. In an attempt to then explain for non-incremental changes in institutions or to an institutional system, exogenous shocks such as transitions to democracy (Waylen 2007), election of a new government (Annesley, Gains and Rummery) or crises (Wilkinson 2006) are argued to provide windows of opportunity or institutional rupture. In Scotland, devolution would be such as event. In such instances, politicians can take advantage to implement significant institutional change leading to a critical juncture were institutional development deviates

from existing institutional path. Although formal institutions may change, North (1990) argues that informal institutions such as informal norms and values are tenacious.

The underlying premise for a feminist historical institutionalism therefore underscores the idea that institutions are gendered comprising both formal elements and informal rules. Institutions such as formal structures of power and decision making are organised along lines of gender and embody gender power dynamics. The organisation of political life is gendered and women are active participants in the system to the extent that policy and political change is not just a function of exogenous events but feminist actors both inside and outside political structures are active players in policy and politics and can alter the gender dynamics of formal and informal institutions. In this wise, feminists are viewed as part of the institution, especially as evidence shows that feminists take up roles in formal state institutions to engender institutions (Kantola and Outshoorn 2007) and in the UK, studies show that women MPs in parliament make a difference to gender issue attention on governmental agenda or in the Executive (Annesley et al. 2014).

Elsewhere, feminist institutionalist scholarship draws on historical institutionalism with particular reference to explaining changing gender relations and gendered power relations embedded in institutions of power and decision-making (MacKay, Kenny and Chapell 2010). Some have explained the gendered nature of power in political institutions (Kenny 2007, Kulawik 2009) in addition to why power relations are tenacious to alter, while others examine the ongoing gendering nature and process of political institutions (see Beckwith 2005, Annesley 2008). These gendered institutions are also noted to follow a path dependent course and Annesley (2006) and Schmidt (2006) note that discourse is also central to inducing institutional change.

In most cases, feminist institutionalist scholars engage this framework to articulate how this applies with particular reference to changing gender relations and gendered power relations embedded in institutions of power and decision-making. This research adds to academic literature by asserting that feminist economics is yet to incorporate the historical role of political ideas of gender into its theoretical framework to illustrate that the gendered construction of social problems in economic policy also matter for gender policy stability or change. Overall, espousing feminist economics theories to this aspect of feminist institutionalism demonstrates how ideas which are embedded within policy actors in institutions of power and change determine material consequences for men and women. That is, by virtue of how they are conceptualised, problematized or fail to be problematized in economic policy. Thus, a more nuanced understanding of the impact of economic policy on gender equality should take into account the role of policy actors, ideas and institutions and how for example, unpaid childcare is conceptualised - if at all (it features) in policy discourse as a policy problem.

### **2.5.1. Ideational Processes**

To the extent that historical institutionalism is receptive to ideational processes, this research seeks to investigate the role of political ideas of gender, institutions and actors in the policy process for gendering policies. Ideational process is argued here to be a key concept to help advance and embed the gender equality agenda in politics and mainstream economic policy in welfare states (see Béland and Cox 2011; Hay 2011; Schmidt 2011). This is because some sets of ideational factors such as gendered cultural assumptions, categories, discourse, and ideologies structure economic and political institutions (Beland 2009; Beland and Orenstein 2013; Padamsee 2009). Therefore, ideational processes help provide a richer understanding of policymaking processes and a framework to account for institutional friction and policy outcomes (Padamsee 2009). Already, the concept of ideational processes

provides a platform for feminist researchers to negotiate amid discursive frames on the intersection between categorical inequalities and policy ideas (Beland 2009; Lewis 2004) and the role of identities and gendered cultural assumptions (Padamsee 2009). This therefore suggests a multi-faceted approach to analysing categorical inequalities and their interplay with other social categories such as ethnicity, disability, class, lone parent and carer. Such an approach makes a strong case for gendering equality mainstreaming as opposed to a broader concept of equality mainstreaming.

Theoretically, ideational processes could be useful in underscoring how policy paradigms in the modern welfare state can and have evolved in relation to the changing status of women or changing gender relations. The concept of policy paradigm underpins this in the sense that it conceptualises if and how changes in social policy models can be driven by political ideas or not, in this context, political ideas of gender. This means that by analysing gender equality as an ideational factor, it is likely to augment our understanding of if and how contemporary welfare states have incorporated the unpaid and paid sector in policymaking or not. Arguably, one can then posit that ideational processes are valuable to explain if a gendered policy change or stability is based on a set of societal values, changing social norms, individual belief systems or changing institutional processes. Underlying these explanations are questions of how social and economic problems are perceived in relation to repositioning men and women in modern welfare states.

For example in the UK, drawing from social policy literature, social policy models within the past decade were dominated by claims about women's employment and an emphasis on care crisis, promotion of investment in children, and reconciliation between work and family life (Jenson 2009; Knijn and Smit 2009). Before now, social policy ideas and discourses were driven by notions of women's rights to equal access to work and pay (Lewis 1997). Also, policies such as old age pension, unemployment benefits, and disability dominated the

policy agenda under the UK's male breadwinner model. The breadwinner model describes a welfare typology that assigns male and female contributions to the household. It constructs men as having the primary responsibility to earn and women to care for the young and the old. This breadwinner model, which is based on ideas of dependency as argued by Lewis (2001) and Daly (2011), has been replaced by an adult worker model underpinned by ideas of needs and work. This indicates a shift in policymakers' ideas of social relations, family formations and welfare as reflected in the content of social policy dialogue. Thus, since different ideologies influenced social policy paradigms in welfare states, it is reasonable to argue that gender equality ideas can be injected into policy frameworks to the extent that a shift in ideology equally leads to a gendered sensitive policy change.

In mainstream economic policy, it is apparent that the ideas that make the policy agenda are assumed to be gender neutral, although arguably they are not. Rather, economic ideologies and processes tend to act as conduits of gender reinforcing or reorganising gender relations in society. Elson and Cagatay (2000) show how neoliberal and Keynesian economic ideologies, though different, have both favoured an approach to fiscal policy and government spending that are more concerned with macroeconomic aggregates. To put this in perspective, the different economic ideologies compel approaches to economic policy and public spending that are gender blind and biased by failing to adequately take into account unpaid care work which is disproportionately carried out by women. They also fail to account for the gendered outcomes of policies. As argued by Elson (2004), even within a Keynesian model that advocates for 'full employment' as an economic strategy, preference is usually given to male dominated sectors such as construction and manufacturing, implying it is the idea of full male employment that is being pursued. The implication is that economic policies and their corresponding budgets are not only instruments for intervention

but are equally important in redefining individuals' experiences of gender (Bakker 1994 p.1; Elson 1992; Evers 1994 p.117; Himmelweit 2002).

In addition to these ideologies, policy ideas are also crucial in defining people's experiences of gender by reason of how policy actors view social problems; define economic problems as well as the discursive frames engaged in such definitions. This determines the set of policy ideas pursued and the resources used to produce and legitimize these ideas. At this level, it is important to analyse gendered policy outcomes as an effect of policy ideas embedded in dominant economic policy frames and pursued by gendered policy actors. Hence, from both a feminist historical institutionalist and ideational perspective, the welfare state can be conceptualised as a gendered social institution traditionally arising from the content of a set of social policies backed by gendered assumptions entrenched in the ideas of both policy and political actors.

### **2.5.2. Policy Framing and Discursive Politics**

Political ideologies of gender within a modern welfare state determine how problems framed by actors can be generally perceived. Equally, these have consequences on how gender issues are defined and represented in policy and politics. Using ideational processes as a framework to integrate gender in policy and politics is therefore imperative as they are instrumental in the construction of social and economic problems (Boussaguet and Jacquot 2009). As already noted by some social researchers, ideational analysis helps to explain the political role of ideas, culture, and discursive frames in policy change (Camic and Gross 2001; Lieberman 2002; Steensland 2006; Stone 1997) as well as help to offer explanations for policy stability or change (Anderson 2008; Blyth 2002; Campbell 2004; Parsons 2003; Somers and Block 2005).

How ideas and ideologies regarding gender are framed and entrenched in political discourses can advance understanding of the changing status of men and women in society. Social policy paradigms developing from the ideational understanding of changing gender relations become useful to integrate gender in policy frameworks by framing policy issues in terms of such changes. Here, the important role of policy actors in framing policy issues using gender aware discourses is crucial. Policies are formulated by gendered political actors within institutions, which are themselves bearers of gender (Acker 1992). Institutionalising gender in the policy process thus requires constructing gender not only as an ideational factor but also as one that can transform society, and is central to socio-economic participation and citizenship. This implies the use of discursive frames that can mobilise critical actors capable of triggering a gender aware paradigm shift in policymaking. Conceptualising gender in political dialogue can have an impact in promoting policy alternatives that put gender analysis central to the policy process.

The way gender is construed in policy dialogue and if at all present in political ideas is important to determine how different members of society experience a policy and the resultant outcomes. However, researchers have mostly used material basis and sometimes economic rationale to make claims for the gendered analysis of both economic and social policy. In contrast, this research attempts to demonstrate that the way policy ideas are framed in addition to the social construction of the problems that may enter the policy agenda is a key aspect of the policymaking process and vital to shape individuals life choices and experiences of gender. Both feminist and non-feminists have confirmed that the way problems are socially constructed in the policymaking process is a significant element of the process (e.g., Boussaguet and Jacquot 2009; Kingdon 1985; Rochefort and Cobb 1994; White 2002). For Kingdon (1985), in constructing social policy problems, one must take into account the prevailing beliefs about what the perceived problems of the day are.



However, it is crucial that evidence of perceived problems influence policymaking or as Pawson (2002) puts it “knowledge should speak to power” (p.211). Abeysinghe and Parkhurst (2013) explain that evidence based policymaking provides an efficient and effective means of achieving social goals. Pawson (2002) on the other hand highlights the benefits of evidence based policymaking for strategic policymaking but contends that the relationship between knowledge and policymaking has led to the process becoming more muddled up. The case also exists that research evidence or policy evaluations may not necessarily inform policy goals. The reasons for this being that policymakers may be confronted with competing goals, dismiss evidence as irrelevant if it comes from a different sector, reject evidence due to lack of consensus in evidence base, or value other types of evidence over others (Black 2001). While some policymakers are reliant on personal experiences (Black 2001), some indicate preference for empirical evidence over a theoretical approach to policy-making.

Furthermore, policymakers engage different approaches to policymaking including non-incremental and incremental. Incremental approaches to policymaking usually result in typically modest changes to existing policy regimes while non-incremental policies lead to comprehensively different policies (see Berry 1990; Lindblom 1957; Miller 2006). This implies the determinant for policy adoption under these two approaches differs depending on the set of variables influencing the change. These could include internal political, economic and programmatic conditions (Miller 2006) and the character of the politics surrounding the policy issue (Berry and Berry 1999 p.120). The above review suggests that ideas and evidence play a useful role in both models and approaches to policy-making.

Evidence of what is happening in society can better inform policy ideas and strategically provide discursive frames for articulating problems. It is worth noting here that the construction of problems and attempts to push them on the policy agenda involve political

struggles over the very definition of such problems, which is generally contested (Stone 1997). The central point, however, is that problems have gendered dimensions and the way problems are articulated have implications for men and women in any social context. In current welfare states, it appears that the very definition of the prevailing problems of the economy seems to show a lack of understanding of how these relate to women and men in society. Economic policy ideas and problem definition still do not legitimise the important roles of gender, unpaid work and care for gender inequality and economic outcomes.

Theorising from Hayek's (1945) theory of knowledge, no one individual is knowledgeable enough to construct the right mix of policies for interventions in welfare states. Individuals and the states are often limited to the information they have about society and may not even know what they do not know. Drawing from industrial policy scholarship from Rodrik (2004), policymakers and governments are not omniscient. Therefore, the right approach to policy making is one in which information is elicited between public, private actors and social actors to determine what problems ail society and the measures required to solve them in an appropriate institutional setting (Rodrik 2000).

Moreover, the way a social problem would be constructed depends on who is articulating it, their experiences of the world, social location and identity. This further suggests that what gets onto the policy agenda is determined by who is in a position of power and decision making, their ability to mobilise support for ideas from other critical actors and control of financial resources backing policy ideas. Feminist scholarship argues that the descriptive and substantive representation of women in politics is crucial to bringing women's issues to the policy agenda (Annesley and Gains 2010; Annesley, Gains and Rummery 2010; Lovenduski 2005; Mazur 2002). The success of which also depends on their presence in extra-parliamentary sites such as policy networks (Annesley and Gains 2010) as well as in power institutions with control over resources such as the Executive and Treasury. Others

argue that the presence of well-resourced women policy machinery as part of the machinery of government is crucial (Annesley and Gains 2007; Mazur 2002). Thus, the presence of critical actors sympathetic to women's issues in institutions of governance is also useful to determine if, how, and when political ideas of gender enter the policy agenda.

## **2.6.Conclusion**

Institutionalist social scientists maintain that ideational process can have significant influences on politics and policy change (Cox 2001; Foucault 1984; Fraser and Gordon 1994; Hall 1993; Jenson 2009; Williams 1985). For instance, empirical work by feminist scholars shows that there exists a relationship between changing welfare policies and gendered cultural assumptions (Beland 2009). Central to this, is the fact that policies are not only gendered institutions; rather, they reproduce and sustain gender relations and hence gender norms (Daly and Rake 2003). Essentially, they assign social identities and social location to gendered individuals across space and time. The above discussions begin to open recommendations to an approach to policymaking that situates Scotland within an institutionalist and ideational framework given its commitment to improve policy processes and structures that deliver growth, gender equality and social justice. For Scotland, social policy ideas and discourses relating to work/life balance, family policies and care aimed at alleviating poverty, social exclusion and inequality could also be framed by new conceptions of gender relations and changing gender norms. How this plays out in social and economic policy frameworks in terms of gender equality and economic outcomes is a matter of empirical inquiry. This thesis attempts to show in subsequent sections that, stereotypical notions of femininity and masculinity underlie the gender division of work, reinforce gender assumptions of policies and are embedded in institutions of power and decision-making.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE WELFARE STATE, MAINSTREAM SOCIAL POLICY AND ECONOMIC ANALYSIS: FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

#### 3.1. Introduction

In the preceding chapter, this research reviewed how gender has been conceptualised to suit different contexts and adopts a social constructionist approach to gender research for policy analysis purposes. This chapter reviews how premier studies on welfare state theorizing in the late 1980s and early 1990s (see, in particular, Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999) categorised modern welfare state regimes based on entrenched traditions of political mobilisation and political philosophy<sup>1</sup>. Thereafter, an alternative approach is advanced based on the extent to which economic and social policies either jointly emphasise or de-emphasise the direct provision by state of social services and their gendered implications. Similarly, the extent to which social policies could mitigate the harmful effects of unfettered market forces on individuals within families is examined. These, it is argued have implications for gender equality. Gender mainstreaming is also considered in this chapter.

#### 3.2. The Modern Capitalist Welfare State: Men & Women's Position

The position of women in a modern welfare state has often been analysed based on their relationship between social security entitlements, labour market status and their role within the family (Daly and Rake 2003; Lewis 1997, 2002; Sainsbury 1999). Also, since the early 1990s, the main body of feminist research on models of gender and modern welfare states mostly involved descriptive and, to a certain extent, substantive analysis of how social policies—such as childcare, work/life reconciliation policies, family-related tax

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<sup>1</sup> Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism

expenditures, child allowances, household services, payments for caregivers, and social security—differed within welfare states and how they influenced gender relations in the family and the labour force (Anttonen & Sipilä 1996; Esping-Andersen 1999; Gornick & Meyers 2003, 2008; Korpi 2000; Lewis 1992; Montanari 2000; Sainsbury 1999). Building on these, this work suggests a different dimension of analysis by arguing that the form and level of public supply of social services, such as childcare in welfare state regimes defines women's position in society with respect to how it affects their provision in the labour market. How this plays out in terms of women's roles as mothers or carers and workers is based on the economic and social policy orientation of the policymakers and the ideas informing problem construction.

That welfare states are gendered has been theoretically and empirically investigated, and that they impact on gender relations has also been captured by others (Daly and Rake 2003; Lewis 1992; Orloff 2009). Although these dynamics have been thoroughly analysed in feminist scholarship, welfare states do not exist in isolation from the broader economy and do not escape the clutches of economic policy and budgetary decisions. Economic policies have an impact on the way welfare states or regimes are organised and hence have a secondary effect on the changing gender relations in welfare states. The unambiguous separation of social and economic policy is made here for analysis purposes only and to illustrate the extent to which women's position or gender inequality in general can be made worse by a lack of gender analysis of policies. It is also separated to show the level and depth of gender inequality that can be reproduced if gender is ignored in policy frameworks.

### **3.2.1. Gender and the Modern Welfare State: A Conceptual Framework**

Daly and Rake (2003) argue that the welfare state exists in men and women's lives and as one of the most important social institutions; influencing the organisation of everyday life. A vast body of theoretical work also contends that the welfare state is instrumental in

shaping gender relations in society by virtue of how it affects care, work and welfare (Lewis 2001; Orloff 1996, 2009; Sainsbury 1999). O'Connor, Orloff, and Shaver (1999) define welfare state regimes as patterns of gender and class across a number of policy areas. This conceptualization is used by feminist scholars to show that welfare states affect the gendered division of labour within the household, among the household, the public sphere, and the market- with feedback effects from the market and the family on the state (Duncan 1995; Lewis 1992, 1997; O'Connor et al. 1999; Orloff 1993, 1996; Sainsbury 1994, 1996).

Accordingly, Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999) identified three clusters of welfare state regimes based on the ways and extent to which countries 'decommodify' social risks - that is take social risks away from the market. The liberal welfare states cluster (predominantly Anglo-Saxon), he argued, is characterised by a small safety net of universal, means-tested benefits with more sophisticated forms of welfare outsourced to the private sector. This contrasts with the social-democratic welfare states (Scandinavian), in which public welfare systems are characterised by both generous and universally accessible welfare and social entitlements. The third cluster identifying conservative corporatist welfare states of Continental Europe is characterised by a social responsibility mix of networks of public and private actors administering reasonably generous but selective benefits and services.

Critics of Esping-Andersen's work argue for more, and specifically for a fourth welfare state typology (Trifiletti 1999), on the premise of his misspecification of the Mediterranean welfare regimes (for example Spain and Italy) as immature continental ones (for more detailed analysis see; Bonoli 1997; Leibfried 1991), while others (Arts and Gelissen 2002) contest his labelling of the Antipodean welfare states (Australia and New Zealand) as belonging to liberal regimes. Feminist critiques point out the absence of gender in his conceptualisation of the welfare state typologies (Daly 1994; Lewis 1992, 1997; Sainsbury 1999). In particular, his neglect of gender as a dimension of analysis to account for the

various social arrangements of welfare state typologies is criticised. Feminists argue that welfare states are gendered (Daly 1994; Daly and Rake 2003; Lewis 1992, 1997; Sainsbury 1999) and for this reason Esping-Andersen's concept of welfare regimes requires the integration of paid, unpaid work and welfare (Lewis, 1992). Others contest that although the gendered concepts of decommodification<sup>2</sup> and stratification are distinguishing features of welfare state clusters (Hobson 1994; Langan and Ostner 1991; Lewis 1992) gender does not play any explicit role in the analysis of the welfare state typologies (Lewis 1992; Sainsbury 1999). Treating the family as the unit of analysis falls short of uncovering the gendered nature of households, and hides the sequence of stratification and interrelationship between state, market and family. Evidence from feminist empirical work shows how patterns of gendered division of resources within marriage (Vogler and Pahl 1993), the gendered nature of childcare and domestic work (Pahl 2007) and the gendered division of labour and poverty (Lister 2009; Moreno-Colom 2015; Tarkowska 2002) can be hidden by treating the family as a unit of analysis.

Although, these criticisms have advanced knowledge on gender and the welfare state, recent feminist scholarship also question the focus of gendered welfare state analysis on a narrow selection of elements (see Lewis 1992; Walby 2011 p.104). In particular, the exclusion of critical aspects of the welfare state such as the economy, polity, violence and the civil society indicates a partial conceptualisation of gender and the welfare state at the macro level (Walby 2011). The economy, polity, violence and civil society have the capacity to regulate important aspects of social and economic life by either sustaining or reconfiguring existing gender relations within gendered institutions such as the welfare state.

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<sup>2</sup> Esping-Andersen (1990) characterises the decommodification dimension of welfare statism as a prerequisite for workers political mobilisation. In *Gender and Welfare Regimes*, Jane Lewis (1992), points out that 'decommodification' or 'dependency' is a concept with a gendered meaning and since mobilisation may depend on unpaid female household labour as much as state policies, Esping-Andersen's worker is male. In essence, decommodification for women would mean taking on unpaid caring duties to the extent that welfare dependency of women results in greater independence of others.

Economic policies have an impact on the way welfare states are organised and hence directly or indirectly impact on changing gender relations. Institutions, policies, politics and gender are vital inputs in the organisation of work and care. When, how and to what extent countries move away from welfare state regimes such as a male breadwinner model (or any other typology) is dependent in part on the context and content of the economic policy strategy of the welfare state and its social policy orientation. Annesley and Gains (2013) used a case study of the UK to show that prevailing economic conditions determine the extent to which gender equality is taken up in government policy. This implies, to comprehensively track women's position as wives, mothers and carers or workers in any modern welfare state requires a feminist institutionalist historical analysis of not only prevailing gender norms but also, the economic policy context and policy orientation of the welfare state. This is also relevant to determine if and how the level and quality of supply of social services in a welfare state can influence a country's welfare state typology by virtue of how it associates men and women's position as unpaid carers and paid workers.

### **3.2.2. Reconceptualising the Modern Welfare State: An Analytical Approach**

As feminist oriented scholarship became the vanguard of comparative welfare state research, questions such as the extent to which the prevailing typology of welfare state regimes—liberal, conservative, and social democratic— might also reflect important differences in gender-related policies became prominent. Addressing this question through a cross-sectional analysis of family policies, Esping-Andersen (1999) operationalised the concept of de-familialisation<sup>3</sup> to analytically re-examine welfare regimes with several empirical measures of social policies which promote shifting responsibility for care from the individual to the state. Esping-Andersen's empirical analysis found a general consistency

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<sup>3</sup> Esping-Andersen's (1990) initial path-breaking research in large part focused on an operationally defined index of the de-commodification of labour. In contrast to de-commodification, the policies that promoted de-familialisation were seen to reduce an individual's dependence on kinship, pursue work and family life reconciliation and afford women more choices as individuals.



among the three standard welfare regimes and the degree of de-familialisation. Within this framework, the level and extent of social responsibility is determined by the levels of public expenditure on family services and the percentage of children under the age of three in public childcare.

According to measures of public spending on family services as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), social democratic regimes had the highest degree of de-familialisation. They are characterised by generous family policies advancing gender equality and child well-being. Conservative welfare regimes in continental European countries however, showed a modest level of de-familialisation, through family policies emphasising the traditional role of family and underlying assumptions of the male breadwinner model. The liberal model, marked by the Anglo-Saxon approach to family policy, had the lowest level of de-familialisation among the standard welfare state regimes. He also added a fourth typology -Southern European welfare states- to his original three welfare regimes and found that they had a level of de-familialisation below that of the liberal regimes. Based on these diverse mixes of social responsibility between state and family, Esping-Andersen concluded that a huge distinction exists between the social democratic regimes and all the others forming a bimodal distribution.

The concept of de-familialisation is therefore useful to characterise welfare states not only through traditional techniques of divergent policies on social security rights and benefits mostly entrenched in market logic, but also, by levels and quality of state provision of childcare services. This suggests that different arrangements of social services within a welfare state give birth to divergent arrangements of work and care in welfare states. Anttonen and Sipilä (1996) have distinguished divergent arrangements of social care services within welfare states by considering the role of state and family in the provision of childcare. The quantity and quality of supply of social care services are used as

distinguishing features of welfare states. This is significant because the way childcare provision is planned for in economic policy and viewed in social policy has implications for women's and men's jobs, working patterns, and as users of social services. Given that gender equality underpins this research and the reconceptualization of welfare regimes in terms of the level of social service provision of childcare between state and family, the differing position of women in modern welfare states is subsequently discussed with a particular emphasis on liberal and social democratic welfare models.

### **3.2.3. An analysis of Women's Position: Comparing the Liberal and the Social Democratic Welfare States**

Lewis (1992) posits that all the welfare regimes typologies subscribe varying degrees to the idea of the male breadwinner model of the liberal welfare ideal. Thus, the male breadwinner family model serves as a comparative platform to situate women's position in modern welfare states with respect to care and work. It also helps to explain when and how women's position can change in the different welfare state regimes. In her exposition of how gender norms and roles shape the organisation of welfare states, Lewis (1992; 2001) argued that in the United Kingdom, social policies in the old labour contract created a male breadwinner model in the late nineteenth century based on a set of gendered assumptions of men and women's role or position in society. The gender assumptions that birthed the male breadwinner model were conceived in post-war ideas of gender difference. The resultant gender settlement constructs men as earners and women as mothers, carers and, in particular, dependants.

In addition to the fact that female dependence is inscribed in the male breadwinner model, it constructs women as embodiments of the welfare state (Lewis 2001, 2002). Significantly, this model works at the level of prescription. For instance, Lewis (1992) illustrates that policymakers treated the social norms underpinning the assignment of gender roles between

men (as workers) and women (as carers) as given. Social policies were underpinned by normative ideas of gender roles. In essence, policy ideas were framed by assumptions of female dependence on a male wage and family law that declared all women as married and/or economically dependent on their husbands or fathers (Weitzman 1985). This male breadwinner model serves as a point of departure to examine how different policy paradigms have treated women in terms of policy ideas of social service provision, particularly with regards to childcare. This consequently determines the nature of women's position in the labour market.

The liberal welfare state model in the UK had been characterised by low levels of public spending in social services, such as childcare, and hence low levels of female labour market participation rates (Lewis 1992, 1997). During the post-war era, ideas of social security assigned women as carers and men as breadwinners (Beveridge 1942). As such, welfare state policies such as old age pensions, unemployment benefits, and disability benefits informing the male breadwinner/female housekeeper model, benefitted men as primary income earners within families. Married women and lone parents adversely experienced very low levels of labour market participation and disproportionately represented or participated in social security entitlements. However, from 1931-1951, married women's labour market participation rate grew from 10% to 26% (Lewis 1992). This was partly explained by the introduction of policy levers by the labour governments of 1945-1951 favouring greater equality compared to the conservative<sup>4</sup>-dominated war time coalition government (Pascall 2012). Citizenship rights to health, housing, education and security for boys and girls, men and women informed social policy during this period. However, social inequality in class was rooted in the system with mixed outcomes for gender equality (Pascall 2012).

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<sup>4</sup> For example Education Act of 1944 legislating free secondary education for girls and boys

By the second half of the twentieth century, the UK male breadwinner model endured a series of revisions due to changing behaviour and changing gender roles (Lewis 2001). The initial gain in married women's employment in 1951 in the UK, under the UK's old Labour Government (1945-1951), grew from 26% to 49% by 1971 and to 62% by 1981 (Lewis 1992) under the UK Conservative Government (1979-1990). A number of factors accounted for this change. Equality ideas supported by the new labour government's equality legislation<sup>5</sup> in 1970 granting equal pay to both men and women. In addition, the enactment of legislations dismantling sex discrimination laws that disproportionately affected women compared to men (Pascall 2012), accounted for these changes in women's position in the economy. Consequently, socioeconomic changes in women's position as workers, mothers and/or carers was reinforced by an approach to social policy that extended rights to mothers to compete equally with men in the labour market. In addition to increased female labour market participation, fluidity in family formations also played a crucial role in eroding the breadwinner model (Daly and Rake 2003; Lewis 1997; Sainsbury 1999).

In the UK, the male breadwinner model is argued to have been replaced by an adult-worker model (Daly 2011; Lewis 2001). This is a state in which all workers are presupposed to be in the labour market in paid employment and secure financial independence (Annesley 2007). However, this transition to an adult worker model escapes social reality given that most European countries graduated from the male breadwinner model into a one-and-a-half-earner family model (Lewis 2001). Unlike in these countries, policy prescriptions in the UK reconfigured women's role primarily as paid workers reinforcing and undervaluing their caring roles. Policy prescriptions underpinning the adult-worker family model assumed full individualisation of men and women as workers (Daly 2011). The implication of this is that unpaid work remains invisible and its effect on the labour market participation rate of

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<sup>5</sup> See Equal Pay Act 1970

women remains obscured, although it reshapes women's experiences of gender, reproducing differing gender inequality patterns. For example, the job types and job patterns created in married women's employment from the post-war era were mostly in low paid and part-time jobs. In 1987 in the UK, 44.5% of married women worked in part time jobs with very short working hours (see Lewis 1992) and spending in social services such as childcare was marginal (see Lewis 1992). This partly accounts for the deep-rooted and existing gender pay gaps experienced between men and women in the market economy in addition to the time women spent away from the labour market.

In contrast, for social democratic states such as Sweden, 43% of the jobs created for married women in 1989 were also 'part time jobs'. However, the part time hours were relatively longer, enough to be considered as full-time hours although the labour market is segregated by gender and occupation. Unlike in the UK, women in Sweden were entitled to full social security benefits and participation in paid work was based on choice. The universal provision of childcare and the use of anti-poverty strategies are some of the reasons for which women could choose to work in paid employment in Sweden. While social policy became entrenched in citizenship rights and obligations to work in the UK, in Sweden, women exercised their right to work given the moderately high levels of childcare provision (Lewis 1992; Lister 2009). It appears to some extent that understanding the impact of public spending on social services and on childcare provision in particular on the labour market participation rates of women were more advanced in the social democratic states (Lister 2009). The implication is that unpaid care work, which is traditionally undertaken by women, became visible and somewhat understood as a determining factor for women with dependent children to freely access and participate in economic opportunities.

For example, in 2003, as a percentage of GDP, total public expenditure on childcare in respective social democratic welfare states almost tripled that of the UK. For Denmark,

public expenditure on childcare was 1.7% of GDP, 1.3 % for Finland and Sweden, whereas public expenditure on childcare in the UK was 0.5% of GDP (OECD<sup>6</sup>, 2007). A closer look at Denmark shows that, public expenditure for childcare per child per family grew by 5.3% over ten years from 1.150€ (Euro) annually in 1995, to 7.170€ (Euro) annually in 2005 (Rostgaard 2013). In 2005, total public expenditure on childcare excluding parental payment was 3.2 billion Euros, still approximately 1.7 % of GDP (OECD, 2007). The childcare industry in Denmark is also heavily regulated with high quality care provided (Roostgaard 2013). This partly explains the superiority of the social democratic models over the liberal models in attempts to promote gender equality in paid employment. The statistics also indicate that women's labour market participation rate increased as public expenditure on childcare services increased with some improvements in women's position economically/in labour markets. In other words, improvements in gender equality paralleled periods of constant increase in GDP growth. According to Goodin (1999), the more equal societies are, the more successful, healthier and happier they tend to be than unequal ones (Layard 2005; Wilkinson and Pickett 2010).

The differences in women's position in terms of labour market participation between these two typologies can be partly explained by the difference in the levels and quality of childcare supply. The values underpinning the social responsibility mix between the private and public sphere is significant and the amount of public expenditure directed towards childcare also matters. Lister (2006) recounts how in Britain the social investment approach to childcare is constructed as a child poverty issue and usually framed in terms of child development and removing barriers to working parents' paid employment. Moreover, it lacks gender analysis as children are decoupled from mothers, meaning it fails to capture

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<sup>6</sup> Social Expenditure database 1980-2003

childcare as a gender equality issue especially with reference to women's equality in paid and unpaid work (Lister 2006; 2009).

Unlike in Britain, although changes in public expenditure and political ideas of childcare in Denmark may not have been articulated in terms of gender (in)equality, changing gender relations and an understanding of the gendered assumptions of women's role influenced policy alternatives (Rostgaard 2013). In the UK, policy change towards a seemingly women-friendly state was instigated by socioeconomic transitions gained through positive action measures. The claims of the second wave women's movement advocating for access to equal work and pay to neoliberalism's attack on welfare benefits and state spending were significant drivers of the paradigm shift. Citizenship rights and obligation to paid work became the foundation on which women's entry into employment was articulated in the UK. Childcare and/or family responsibilities did not seem to be major underpinnings of the policy discourse which crudely excluded discussions around unpaid work and its influence on participation in paid work. Thus, ideas of social citizenship were non-existent, restricting access to citizenship rights to those engaged in paid work, consequently, creating an adult-worker welfare model.

The new adult-worker family model was created as a result of legislative action outlawing discrimination in work and pay. It was inherently driven by demands for equal opportunity in work and life rather than the need for a change in social responsibility mix between the family and state. Value judgements seemed to have been underpinned by economic ideas of a neoliberal and political agenda. The adult-worker model delineates how changing socioeconomic location of women in modern welfare states influenced social policy change and deconstructed ascribed gendered assumptions, norms and values regarding women's position in the UK economy.

Lewis (2001) gives an exposition of how social policy developments supported a responsibility mix in the UK that commanded the presence of every adult in the labour market regardless of gendered care obligations. For Orloff (2001 p.134), the gender assumptions built into the adult worker family model illustrated that social policy changes indicated a “shift in patterns of stratification toward gender sameness, in that institutionalized expectations for mothers were no longer distinguished from those for fathers—both were required to be employed.” This liberal feminist approach to equality implies gender equality is conceptualised as ‘sameness’ to challenge patterns of paid work and unpaid care that had initially defined men’s, and not women’s, lives under the male breadwinner model.

Compared to Britain, the relative success in gender equality outcomes in the Nordic countries is not just down to progressive policies on childcare or women behaving more like men in terms of accessing paid employment. Policies on leave such as parental (paid) leave (Haas and Rostgaard 2011; Keizer 2015; Moss and Deven 2015) and shared (daddy) leave (Brandth and Kvande 2015; Leira 1998) have been instrumental in reshaping the composition of the unpaid economy with more men taking part in unpaid childcare. This departs from the idea of gender sameness ingrained in the adult worker model. In line with Orloff (2001), Lewis (2001) confirms that social policies in the UK are increasingly predicated on the ideal of gender sameness, albeit some positive impacts on gender equality. According to Lewis (2001), this has been the case in European countries such as Britain and the Netherlands where there has been improved gender settlement for women in terms of paid work. The flipside is that institutionalisation of “gender sameness” means social policies value engagement in paid work while failing to recognize the value of unpaid care work (Orloff 2001 p.134) and the unequal sharing of it (Lewis 2001). Joining men in the public spheres of commercial and civic activity has also not relieved women of their socially



assigned primary responsibility for the private sphere of the home (Lister 2009; Walby 2011 p.106). The mainstay of the adult worker model is that it recognises women's increasing participation in the labour force but not a corresponding reduction in the amount of unpaid work within household.

Nevertheless, in basing social policy on the adult worker model, there is a likelihood for policymakers to overlook the fact that much of women's labour force participation is part-time since women are still disproportionately responsible for the care work necessary to maintain a family (Lewis 2001 p.155). Research shows that unpaid carers, usually women, are more likely to work part-time and earn less income than non-carers (Evandrou and Glaser 2004), in this case men. This restricts the level of labour supply in the economy and reduces the labour market participation rate of women and their incomes. In the UK, like other welfare states, a panel study showed a negative impact of care transitions on an unpaid carer's hours of paid work (Evandrou and Glaser 2004; Hutton and Hirst 2001). The implication has been that women's paid work practices become or remain feminized (Lewis 1992), reproducing different patterns of occupational segregation over the years.

Gornick and Meyers (2008) argued for a dual-earner/earner-carer society in which women and men engage symmetrically in paid and unpaid caregiving. The rationale for sharing in duties is based on new problems of 'time poverty' for parents created by shifts in employment opportunities for women. As more women enter the labour market without alternative social arrangements for childcare, time poverty sets in creating a care crisis. This exacerbates longstanding gender inequalities exposing children to unstable and poor quality childcare arrangements, as work place practices and social policies fail to respond to the changing social and economic realities of women (Gornick and Meyers 2008). Although not articulated in terms of gender parity (Lewis 2006), the social democratic model has been heralded as instrumental in promoting gender equality (see Bryson 2007; Daly and Rake

2003) and for overcoming the time constraint in unpaid work locked within the adult-worker model (Pascall and Lewis 2004).

Framed as the 'Real Utopia' (Gornick and Meyers 2003, 2008), the dual-earner/dual-carer model submits policy prescriptions of work/family reconciliation. The idea is for policies to create a social arrangement that engages men and women symmetrically in employment and caregiving. Heralded as superior to the adult-worker model in terms of promoting gender equality in the economy, it is capable of supporting equal employment opportunities for men and women, as well as equal contributions from mothers and fathers in domestic and caring duties at home. This model is argued to 'support high quality care for children provided by both parents, well-qualified and well-compensated non-parental caregivers' (Gornick and Meyers 2008).

In the UK liberal model, the adult worker model poses challenges for women's time-use and participation in paid work. Time deficits create a care deficit/crisis if there are no alternative social arrangements for care in response to improvements in socioeconomic differences between men and women in the paid economy. The Nordic social democratic welfare states have seemingly bypassed this challenge by promoting gender egalitarian growth enhancing policies (Kangas and Palme 2009) built on societal values of care (Eydal and Rostgaard 2011) and child-centred policies anchored on social investment. In addition to the core value of social justice at the heart of social policy in Denmark for example, social provisioning in social democratic welfare models are founded on principles of equality, solidarity and universalism rather than means-testing or social insurance.

The crux of the social investment perspective is to focus social policy on child-centred policies as a means of improving future outcomes for children by reason of intergenerational disadvantage. It maintains that the future must be assured by investing in children. The

social investment perspective replaced standard neoliberalism in Latin America as well as Europe based on ideas of social citizenship (Jenson 2009). The state therefore takes greater responsibility for childcare, although as an investor rather than as a spender. This expands access to citizenship rights to incorporate the socially excluded and marginalized individuals in society. It also alters governance practices to the extent that emphasis is made on the decentralization of services to the local and the community (Jenson 2009).

This social democratic model is arguably characterised by impressive social benefits when compared to the liberal welfare system as it ventures into the realm of childcare. Focusing on a set of child-centred policy ideas however, has the tendency of missing the gendered nature of childcare as well as being prone to discounting equality claims by women. As argued by Jenson (2009), these policies overlook the gender equality claims of adult women and rather pay sole attention to the needs of children. In terms of gender equality, Borchorst (2006 p.118) contends that this model can condense the gender equality project and engender the weak institutionalisation of gender equality. Focusing social policy on family policies with emphasis on childcare policies excludes gender equality as a representative goal of the model (Borchorst and Siim 2008).

Conversely, the social investment perspective brings ideas of gender differences to the forefront of policy discourses. It locates the unequal gendering effects of employment and family life at the front and centre of policy discourse (Jenson 2009; Molyneux 2006). The importance of this lies in the fact that gender awareness can then become illuminated as a distinguishing constituent of the social investment model (Molyneux 2006). Since the social investment policy paradigm centres on childcare policies, it can impact on prevailing gender equality regimes by overcoming the challenge of time deficits disproportionately experienced by women. This is crucial to unlocking and promoting increased female labour participation. In spite of the advancements in achieving gender parity in social democratic

states, women are yet to equally benefit in the paid economy in terms of participation and earnings.

Looking at the Nordic examples, dual earner-dual carer models have also produced more part time jobs for women and in certain low paying sectors (Gornick and Meyers 2008; Rostgaard 2013). This model helps to illuminate entrenched gender inequality patterns in the market economy. The persistent gendered division of labour in both the paid market economy and the unpaid domestic sphere adversely affects women's economic opportunity and participation. With regards to policies about leave, gender divisions in the labour market conflicts with decisions about entitlements to parental leave and home care allowances. Work/life reconciliation policies have also been criticized for perpetuating inequality in the labour market because it is primarily mothers who take them up (see Datta Gupta, Smith and Verner 2006; Mandel and Semyonov 2006).

Social democratic states under the social investment policy configuration witnessed an increased labour market participation rate among mothers in both couple- and lone-parent families (Gornick and Meyers 2008; Rostgaard 2013). These mothers joined a highly segregated labour market in both horizontal and vertical levels by international standards. The female labour force participation rate in 2006 in the Norden<sup>7</sup> overall was 76.1 percent though characterised by stereotypical notions of 'men's' jobs' and 'women's jobs' (Nordic Council of Ministers 2006, 16–17). Women are also more likely to work in the public sector, work fewer hours than men when children are younger and are unlikely to attain higher positions. Just like with occupational segregation, patterns of gender pay gaps vary across the Nordic states (Datta Gupta, Smith and Verner 2006), due to weak discrimination

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<sup>7</sup> Norden refers to the geographical and cultural region of Northern Europe and North Atlantic consisting of the five Nordic countries (Sweden, Iceland, Finland, Denmark, Norway).

laws and unwillingness of the state to implement equal pay laws in public service sector in countries like Sweden (Hellgren and Hobson 2008).

### **3.3. Mainstream Social Policy: Gender Perspectives**

As argued in the previous section, changing gender relations can influence policy change and the organisation of welfare states (Orloff 2009). Welfare states can also transform gender relations through policy ideas that change the organisation and delivery of public services as well as production processes. For example, most countries witnessed an expansion in the service sector and hence women's employment following a post-industrial shift (Perrons 2005). The types of employment and jobs created were known to have gendered dimensions characterised by uneven work patterns, especially for women (Lewis 1997). This greatly impacted on the traditional male bread-winner model of family life (Jessop 2002; Esping-Andersen 1999, ch.5) with varying implications for new models of caregiving. What is evident from the above is that gender is central to both configurations. Changing gender relations also appear to be, on the one hand, a crucial factor in transforming welfare states and on the other hand an output/outcome of welfare state dynamics. As such, gender appears to be integral in instigating transformations in the welfare state as well as being transformed by the welfare state.

Despite these dynamics, gender rarely explicitly features in social policy frameworks underlying policy change (Daly 2011; Jenson 2008; Lewis 2001). Neither does it appear as an embedded feature of the policymaking process. Discussions of social policy issues of work/life balance, family and care policies are rarely articulated with an understanding of their gendered nature and how they impact men and women's lives differently. Neither do existing mainstream social policy programs suggest that poverty, social exclusion and inequality have gendered dimensions. Where present, mainstream policy frameworks rather misrepresent these gendered viewpoints by either (mis)translating or transforming them into

economic rationales (Orloff 2009). For instance, instead of changing gender relations, new social policy paradigms have been entirely perpetrated by neo-liberal hegemonies, commodifying women for reasons of economic competitiveness. In fact, commodification of women is mainly influenced by new ideas of social investment underpinned by the long-term economic benefits of women's employment for competitiveness (Orloff 2009). Likewise, economic competitiveness is the argument underpinning the social investment model in the sense that it frames childcare provision within the context of pedagogically preparing children for the world of work or the future labour force by early years intervention (Rostgaard 2013). As such, the content of new social policies such as women's employment, child poverty, care crisis and work/life balance policies seriously downplay the gender perspectives of policy change in welfare states.

Recently, new designs of welfare states such as the social democratic typology have been brought about by alternative ideas of social policies inspired by gendered analysis promoted by feminist welfare scholars (Orloff 2009). These feminist scholars campaign for the recognition of the unpaid household sector as part of the overall framework for social policy. Consideration of the household and especially unpaid caring work carried out in the household has been established as crucial to a gendered understanding of welfare and wellbeing (Lewis 1992). Despite these developments, in practice, social policies do not seem to be framed with an understanding of the relationship between the unpaid and paid sector. Neither is there recognition of the gendered dimension of social issues nor the institutionalisation of gender through policy ideas in the policy process. This further suggests that political ideas backing social policy change lack a gender orientation. Introducing gender in the policy process helps to situate the dominant equality perspective in the welfare state. This is a crucial starting point for promoting gender equality, economic efficiency and efficient policymaking. Furthermore, familiarising gender in the policy

process helps to categorise the gendered content of a policy to establish if and how such policies can improve not only women's position in the society but how it can effectively promote equality, alleviate women's poverty and improve outcomes for children. This has an impact on the wider economy.

As a crucial pointer to identifying and targeting both general and practical gendered needs, gendering the policy process can also be argued to be a matter of principles/values obligating a government's commitment to equal opportunities, social justice and economic efficiency. From an economic perspective, this helps our understanding of the pervasive nature of gender inequality and how it affects the cost structure of the economy. From a feminist angle, gendering the policy process can help to apprehend the impact of policy on women's position in a modern welfare state and is thus crucial to improving women's position in society. Therefore, the case for incorporating gender in the social policy process is based on the gendered nature of the welfare state and its impact on changing gender roles.

### **3.3.1. Unpaid Work and Social Policy in the Welfare State**

Emerging social policy frameworks seem to condition access to social services and welfare upon participation in paid work (Pascall 2012). The implication is that unpaid care work, is undervalued or completely disregarded in the formulation of these new policies. This has implications for gender inequality by either sustaining or adversely reinforcing women's position as carers. The effect can also be transmitted in the wider economy through low female labour participation rates, and therefore low incomes and relatively higher poverty for certain groups of women than men. This approach to policy is gender blind and affects macroeconomic trends.

The crucial problem is that like other macro policies, social policies still construct individuals as androgynous economic agents, thus hiding women's care work (Prugl 2003).

It is thus important to comprehensively analyse how policy ideas and discourses pursued by actors within the institutions of power and decision-making create gender agency in the welfare state. Furthermore, like policies, institutions such as welfare states, are social constructs (Keohane 1989). They produce gendered agency and are reproducers of gender and conduits of power (Foucault 1980), thus constructing gender hegemonies and hierarchies (Prugl 2003; Whitworth 1994). Institutions are also embedded with gendered actors who drive policy ideas and political change. Social policies are framed by these various actors located within different levels of an institution.

Within the last five decades, modernisation of the welfare state was attributed to a transformation in the processes, practices, ideas and ideologies within which discourses of social policies were framed (Orloff 2009). In modern welfare systems, these transformations are paradigmatic in nature (Orloff and Palier 2009), containing a certain degree of historical continuity and driven by ideas, discourses, ideologies and cultural change (Orloff and Palier 2009). Historical knowledge in general and feminist history in particular offered broad dimensions for explaining the processes through which these changes occurred and how actors change their ideas and their implication for gender equality. Feminist perspectives showed that ideas of gender evolved in relation to social policy developments in modern welfare states and have had significant influences on social outcomes (Beland 2009; Padamese 2009).

Social policies have been instrumental in reinforcing the traditional division of labour between men and women by unleashing different care and welfare regimes in different countries (Antonnen and Sipila 1996; Daly and Rake 2003; Lewis 1992). The perspective adopted in this research proposes that social policies can give birth to diverse care arrangements with implications for women's unpaid work and national economic performance. Emerging patterns of care would affect men and women differently and



disproportionately so, depending on if and how care is both conceptualised and organised within the welfare state. Hence, the case for the gendered analysis of social policy is made stronger. This framework is useful for analysis because existing social policies and ideas in modern welfare states, with respect to care/childcare for example are constructed around the relationship between social provision and paid work (Lewis 2006; Lister 2006). This departs from the existing needs-based or universal welfare ideals (Lewis 2001). Additionally, others, such as social investment models relegate the gendered nature of care making women's contribution invisible and unimportant. This shows how unpaid work is given less priority in mainstream social policy.

The lack of gender analysis as an underpinning of social policy initiatives has been eloquently critiqued by many feminist scholars (Daly and Rake 2003; Featherstone 2010; Sainsbury 1999). In 'Gender and the Welfare State', Sainsbury (1999) posited that although changing gender relations have been central to social reforms, proposals for policy change are not usually framed in terms of gender relations. Investigating the content of current social policy paradigms in modern welfare states, scholars have noted that issues of particular concern about women's position in both the paid and unpaid economies are often relegated to the backwaters (Jenson 2009; Knijn and Smit 2009). Issues concerning women's employment, caregiving and especially childcare as well as work and family life reconciliation policies currently appear in the social policy agenda. However, they do not appear to be framed with an understanding of their gendered nature. Where gender appears, credit is given to feminist ideas of gender analysis of social policies and not necessarily by policy ideas of gender equality. Although, these ideas place gender as a central theme in understanding emerging notions and ideological underpinnings driving transformations in welfare states, in reality, policy change is not currently articulated in terms of what is actually driving change, which is, changing gender relations.

### **3.4. Gendering Policy, Policy Processes and Politics: Gender Mainstreaming**

Ideas and approaches to gendering the policymaking process have been emerging in the last three decades. Most of these ideas have aimed to underpin gender in policy and politics. They congregated around gender mainstreaming as the main lever for engaging with power relations, to improve the effectiveness of key policies by making visible the gendered nature of policy assumptions, processes and outcomes. Gender mainstreaming has been argued to be an effective strategy to promote gender equality (Moser and Moser 2005; Perrons 2005; Rees 1998; Walby 2005, 2011 p.81) in work, care and welfare if effectively implemented. It was a new and distinct form of gendered political practice and gendered strategy for theory development that endorsed equal opportunities and positive action strategies (Squires and Wickham-Jones 2004).

Globally, ideas of mainstreaming emerged in 1995 at the UN conference on the Beijing Platform for Action. In Europe, gender mainstreaming was embraced as a gender equality policy at the Luxemburg summit in 1997. This was closely followed by a new guideline on gender mainstreaming mandating European Union (EU) member states to consider the gender impact of all policies. In Europe, gender mainstreaming became driven by the European Employment Strategy stressing the need to improve women's participation in the labour market as a means to improving economic performance in the EU rather than gender justice (Perrons 2005). Targets for expanding women's employment and childcare in the EU as shown in the Lisbon Strategy (2000) and Barcelona summit (2002) were respectively expedited by the need for Europe to become a competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy in the world (Perrons 2005). To underpin the relevance of gender mainstreaming for gendering policy and the policy process in particular, it is important to consider some definitions and conceptions of gender mainstreaming.

Gender mainstreaming has been defined as “the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policymaking” (Council of Europe 2008, p. 1). At a basic level, this requires the visibility of the gender impact of policy by conducting a gender audit (Rubery 2005) and/or an identification of gender differences in inputs and outcomes. According to *Gita Sen* (2000) found in Kabeer (2003, p.2);

*a gender perspective means recognising that women stand at the crossroads between production and reproduction, between economic activity and the care of human beings, and therefore between economic growth and human development. They are workers in both spheres – those most responsible and therefore with most at stake, those who suffer most when the two spheres meet at cross-purposes, and those most sensitive to the need for better integration between the two.*

This perspective is attractive to policymakers and those seeking to improve women’s position as it shifts focus from equality as equal treatment to gender impact (Beveridge et al. 2000). This view however, narrows the potential of gender mainstreaming in that it can deliver far more radical and broader goals like gender equality between men and women (Rubery 2005). Gender mainstreaming has the potential to make visible the ways in which assumptions about gender influence all aspects of economic reasoning (Kuiper and Sap 1995:4). It is also useful to investigate patterns of gendered societal or market processes and outcomes embodied in traditional economic theory, policy designs and implementation (Rubery 2005). For Rees (1998), gender mainstreaming as an approach to promoting gender equality is ‘transformatory’ given that it is capable of reconstructing and improving the foundations of economic theory and policymaking. This approach to promote gender equality has the potential to change decision making structures and processes; the articulation of policy objectives; position gender amidst competing and emerging concerns even if they do not relate specifically to gender (Jahan 1995 p.126).

Sen's conception of a gender perspective portrays a process in which the goal of gender mainstreaming is to make visible and incorporate women's issues into macro level concepts. Within this context, gender mainstreaming is seen as an organising concept, practice and process through which the specific interests and values of both men and women in society can be taken into account in public policies. In particular, in those policies which are known to have a large impact on society such as macroeconomic policies and social care, housing and family policies. Practical examples of gender mainstreaming in macro initiatives would include gender budgets, which parallel national budgets, and reveal the impact of all government spending on women and men. Others, such as gender-auditing or gender-proofing of public policies use gender-disaggregated statistics found in national census statistics to account for women's unpaid work (Waring 1999).

### **3.4.1 Contesting Views: A Review of Gender Mainstreaming**

Gender mainstreaming, albeit a promising tool for advancing gender equality and women's issues has produced mixed outcomes, it is contested on conceptual grounds by Walby (2005, 2011), resisted by both policymakers and governing institutions and often interpreted differently across countries, space and time (Perrons 2005). Perhaps a common theme that cuts across these contestations is the role of the presence of and effectiveness of the range and variety of institutional mechanisms for gender mainstreaming in a country (Bacchi 2000; Rubery 2005). While serious attention has been paid to the technical and political barriers to gender mainstreaming (Subrahmanian, 2004), conceptual and practical barriers also abound. Briefly, policy actors in different policy domains other than those involved in gender equality issues can influence the outcomes of gender mainstreaming depending on the level of autonomy they have in defining the aim of gender mainstreaming strategy. The range of ideas, ideologies and articulation of the aim of a gender mainstreaming strategy influence the extent to which gender equality can be successfully achieved. Even within this

scheme is an underlying problem of how gender equality is defined or what it entails within the gender mainstreaming strategy (Meier and Celis 2011). How it is conceptualised would determine the types of instruments to be used in the implementation of the gender mainstreaming strategy. This study will subsequently examine these issues with respect to Scotland.

As gender mainstreaming became a part of many national and supranational policies, the UK government adopted gender mainstreaming as its gender policy in 1998 (Cabinet Office, 1998). However, the gender equality agenda remains elusive due to institutional resistance to gender mainstreaming (Standing 2004). Subrahmanian (2004) argues that institutional barriers impede gender mainstreaming, and public policy on its own cannot sufficiently bring about improved and sustained social transformation in society. Put differently, gender mainstreaming is essentially a contested process (Walby 2005) to the extent that new gender norms have to 'fight their way into institutional thinking' (Elgstrom 2000 p.457), because established policy goals, ideas or processes guiding policy design may conflict with the prioritisation of gender equality even if not directly opposed to each other. For instance, Perrons (2005) argued that in the UK, it is the preference for economic competitiveness that opposes gender mainstreaming rather than an outright rejection of gender mainstreaming. Bypassing this hurdle to include gender mainstreaming onto the mainstream agenda may therefore require some form of negotiation with the mainstream rather than the introduction of new policies (Walby 2005). How these play out within the Scottish context will be explored in Chapter Eight.

Closely linked to this, is the notion that the success of a gender mainstreaming strategy also depends on the developments and longevity of a national political agenda (Rubery 2005). A national political agenda can strengthen the gender mainstreaming case by concretising a well-established internally generated gender equality policy (Rubery 2005). In these

instances, gender mainstreaming is not just primarily linked to a particular policy agenda or generated in response to an external stimulus but cuts across other public policy areas. How successful this is in practice depends, however, on the level of commitment to the chosen approach of gender mainstreaming. The level of commitments also depends on the nature of programs and the incentives driving the gender mainstreaming agenda (Rubery 2005). Scotland presents a unique and interesting case to tease out these ideas given certain country characteristics which will be explored later.

In a traditional policymaking process, gender mainstreaming can jeopardize decades of work when it is used as a rationale for dispensing organizational structures or policy machinery created specifically for enhancing women's issues at the level of government, without proper thought to its replacement (Stratigaki 2005). In the past years, there have been instances where some European countries used the mainstreaming rationale to attack women-specific measures, including positive/affirmative action. Woodward (2001 p.4) confirms this by noting how states actually used the policy as a justification for reducing woman-focused programming. A substantive body of work shows that in Australia, mainstreaming has been widely considered to have provided the "rationale for abolishing or downgrading women's units, services and policies at various levels of government, by different administrations, at different times" (Mackay and Bilton 2000 p.62; see also Bacchi 2000). Coupled with an under-resourcing of the mainstreaming agenda as well as its low profile in political discourse, gender mainstreaming can almost appear to be an undesirable strategy for promoting equality. A study of European Union mainstreaming policies by Guerrina (2003 p.104) concludes that "far from creating the necessary conditions for substantive equality, gender mainstreaming served to silence women and remove gender from the political agenda".

Also, units dedicated to pursuing women's interests may become disbanded. Breitenbach (2006) reveals how in Scotland, in the run up to devolution, a consultative group known as the Women in Scotland Consultative Forum that had been set up to provide access to political institutions and ensure that women's voices are represented in politics and policy was disbanded. With the adoption of the approach to equality known as the equality mainstreaming strategy and the proclamation of a commitment to gender equality, this group only lasted until 2003 (Breitenbach 2006; McKay & Gillespie 2005). In the UK, the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Women's Equality Unit were shut down and integrated under the idea of intersectionality and mainstreaming, substantively disabling gender from policy and political discourse (see Annesley 2012; Walby et al. 2012). Elsewhere, Teghtsoonian (2003) provides evidence of how in British Columbia, Canada, a neoliberal government demolished an existing freestanding Ministry of Women's Equality, which had been providing a voice for women in high-level decision making for a decade under the guise that gender has been 'mainstreamed'.

Crucially, the normalisation of gender mainstreaming and its modification in an attempt to meet a wider policy agenda can equally circumvent it from its feminist political roots (Mukhopadhyay 2004; Stratigaki 2005). The danger is that gender mainstreaming instead weakens women's policy machinery within government, thus undermining the component of gender equality. Stratigaki (2005) expounds on this by arguing that like most feminist concepts, gender mainstreaming ideas and ideals are often lost in translation or modified to suit a wider policy or political agenda by different actors at various times. At the supranational level of the European Employment strategy, the case for gender mainstreaming is underpinned by the need to improve women's employment for economic reasons (Rubery 2005). At a micro level, Mukhopadhyay (2004) makes the case that gender mainstreaming has often been (mis)translated as a technical project thus dispersing the

feminist component of gender mainstreaming to the extent that it prevents gender equality analysis. As such, the way gender equality is articulated and the way the overall gender mainstreaming goal is conceptualised matters for successful gender mainstreaming outcomes.

Rees (1998 p.27) argued for an approach to mainstreaming that moves beyond earlier equality initiatives. That is from equal treatment which she termed ‘tinkering’, and positive action initiatives designated by her as ‘tailoring’ to mainstreaming, otherwise characterised as ‘transforming’. Mainstreaming in this sense is conceptualised as a policy strategy that seeks ‘to transform organisations and create a culture of diversity in which people of a much broader range of characteristics and backgrounds may contribute and flourish’ (Rees 1998 p.27). According to True and Mintrom (2001:34) mainstreaming is ‘an exemplary case of the expansion of the role of the state’. The point here is that while the other equality reforms sought only to slot women into existing policies and/or organisations, mainstreaming changes the character of these policies and organisations. Within this context, mainstreaming is informed by a ‘politics of difference’ that ‘recognises the androcentricity of organisations’ and seeks to change it. This approach to equality facilitates women’s full participation on equal terms.

Likewise, Jahan (1995 p.13) distinguished between two kinds of mainstreaming namely integrationist and agenda-setting. Like Rees, Jahan (1995) ascribes to a more radical, agenda-setting kind of gender mainstreaming. He argued that an integration approach leads to a focus on women as a marginalised group; as people with additional or special interests, while male interests are represented as the norm. Feminist critics of this approach contend that it only amounts to a recipe in which an extra ingredient (women) is added: ‘add women and stir’ (Subrahmanian 2007). Yet, the end result of the recipe, and the cooking method, remain the same. The integration approach is politically conservative; it ignores unequal



gender power relations, and repeatedly misunderstands the existing economic role of women. In most policy contexts, mainstreaming has not moved beyond an integrationist approach (Daly 2011). Women still continue to be marginalised and excluded as ever from political, social and economic life.

Indeed, as reviewed above, debates abound world-wide about whether mainstreaming has enhanced the likelihood of advancing women's cause, or worked against it. However, the case for gender mainstreaming can be made on the grounds that positive action falls short of providing a corrective to gender equality (Bridgeman and Millns 1998). Prior to gender mainstreaming, existing strategies to promote gender equality identified the problem of women's inequality as a labour market problem (Beveridge et al. 2000). Progress on gender equality was measured in terms of the rate of women's labour market participation. The notion of equality used by legislators and policymakers was limited to a comparison of the treatment of men with that of women in work and welfare. Therefore, the social determinants of inequalities were not fully comprehended in these equality strategies while positive action strategies could only promote equal treatment through a rights based approach to gender equality. In Scotland, laws and legislations on equality and those relating to discrimination in general and the labour market in particular are not within the remit of the Scottish government (Scotland Act 1998, 2012). Thus, there is little it can do to promote gender equality in terms of outlawing discrimination or implementing positive discrimination strategies. However, it does have the capacity to make gender sensitive policies in devolved areas which are pertinent for promoting gender equality.

### **3.4.2. Mainstreaming Institutions and Processes**

Gender mainstreaming has the potential to transform both the policymaking process and government structures in a bid to promote gender equality in society. As a strategy, it

illuminates and brings into focus gender as an important social determinant of inequalities (Braunstein et al. 2011). A characteristic feature of Scottish society is the deep-seated inequality apparent between men and women and across different social groups (see Hassan and Warhurst 2002; Mooney et al. 2006). A gender mainstreaming approach provides a timely tool or mechanism to understand if, how and to what extent gender influences inequality across equality groups and the society as a whole. If gender is a central social determinant of inequalities, it needs to cut across all areas of the policymaking process.

For gender mainstreaming to be effective, it must spearhead a radical reform of policymaking procedures and radically reconfigure power relations (Beveridge et al. 2000; Perrons 2005). In civil liberal welfare states such as Scotland, the case for gender mainstreaming rests on the gendered nature of citizenship, representation and equality. These are concepts that work in favour of some interests and against others and disproportionately affect certain groups (Beveridge et al. 2000). Effective gender mainstreaming redresses these imbalances. In Scotland, like most liberal welfare states, citizenship is one of the major organising features of society. Citizenship endows individuals with rights which bind them to a community as well as make them governors of these societies (Marshall 1950). These rights may be civil, political or social (Marshall 1950) endowing individuals with freedom and choices that permit them to participate in all aspects of life. According individuals with these rights also grants them inclusion within a society as well as constitute them as a very particular sovereign polity capable of fulfilling the task of self-limiting democratic governance (Everson 1996 p.203). This implies citizenship grants inclusion and participation in the decision making processes of society. Lister (1997, 2012) makes a case that this is problematic for equality since the concept of citizenship derives from a set of values, experiences and practices which privilege men. The key features of an economy depend on an individual possessing the autonomy and personal

resources to uphold them. However, family demands on women and their caring duties within the family restrict their autonomy.

While citizenship is conventionally grounded in the public sphere, women's limited access to the public sphere of work and economic dependence excludes them from political participation. This raises the question of political representation (Pitkin 1967), which has been identified by feminists as influential in fostering women's issues. Phillips (1995 p.5) however, maintained that in liberal states, diversity in the range of individuals in political representation is not yet a strong underpinning value, rather diversity of ideas, beliefs and goals dominate. Even if women entered the public sphere, the expected transformation in women's social and economic position would be short-lived as long as laws and policies promoting gender equality are flawed. Consequently, few women would be elected into political offices and only then in specific institutional sites with little political power to engage with concerns relevant to women (Annesley and Gains 2010; MacKay 2004). The result is that policies are made about women or as Phillips (1995 p.5) coins it '*worked out for*' women and not *with* a politically excluded constituency. This reinforces women's position as a politically excluded constituency from the machinery of government.

Historically, men dominated the machinery of government in Scotland and this continued to be the case until 2014 when the newly elected Scottish National Party's First Minister announced a gender balanced cabinet<sup>8</sup> with equal representation of men and women (Scottish Government 2014). Mackinnon (1991) argues that a gender biased policy machinery often leads to the promotion of laws and policies that perceive women as men perceive women rather than recognizing the realities of women's lives. These equality laws and policies have tended to demand for the equal treatment of men and women rather than

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<sup>8</sup>See link to new ministerial line-up for Scotland: <http://news.scotland.gov.uk/News/New-ministerial-line-up-unveiled-1285.aspx> accessed 18/08/2015.

tackle the root causes of inequality. Conceptualising equality in this way makes men the standard against which women are measured, which is akin to the ideas of liberal feminism. Effectively tackling inequality in the public sphere would require tackling inequality in the private sphere of households. This means deconstructing and recognising gender as the overarching social determinant of inequality by virtue of how it constructs men's and women's role in society.

In Scotland, the government's approach to equality centres on the provisions of the public sector equality duties (see Equality Act 2006, 2010), which primarily encourage gender<sup>9</sup> equality in the public sphere of work (see Equality Budget Statements 2009-2015). Equal opportunity is upheld as an underlying principle couched in Scottish Government's ministerial duties (Scotland Act 1998). However, what is meant by equal opportunities is not clearly conceptualised and does not illustrate a case in which tackling the root causes of inequality are central. Within the government's equality duty, certain areas have been identified as important to women<sup>10</sup> and relevant to promoting gender equality in the labour market. Issues of domestic violence, occupational segregation and gender pay gaps, which have been argued by some scholars to be consequences or outcomes of gender inequality (Yllo, 1993), dominate government policies on gender equality. This fails to recognise that gender is an overarching social determinant of inequalities and the root cause of inequality in the public and private sphere. Moreover, there is no provision in the policy that recognises that the family demands and caring role of women alter the way women experience work, inclusion and participation in politics differently from men. This questions the inclusivity of equality policy and the assumption that citizenship is genderless. The

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<sup>9</sup> See Specific Duties on Equality by Scottish Government and Ministerial Duties on gender equality <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/People/Equality/PublicEqualityDuties/PublicSectorEqualityDutyScottishSpecificDuties> accessed 18/08/2015

<sup>10</sup> See link in footnote 9

tendency is for those dominating the machinery of government, usually men, to perceive all citizens as the same.

On the contrary, arguing for different treatment to compensate for these differences may run the risk of standardizing women as men's inferiors (Beveridge et al. 2000). A nuanced approach to eliminating gender inequality would require a true appreciation of the nature of inequality within a particular context. Contextualising inequality within a geographical space and across time provides a useful framework to appreciate it as a concept that is structural and deeply embedded in a society's cultural expectations of men and women. This implies the nature of inequality is context specific, although some central themes are similar across various geographical spaces.

For example, cross national analysis shows that women are disproportionately represented in both the paid and unpaid economy (Beveridge et al. 2000). As such, they tend to work in particular sectors; working part-time with gender pay gaps as a common feature of most welfare states. However, the nature, dimension, scale and scope of these inequalities between men and women vary across nations depending on the laws, policies and the nature of the machinery of government (Beveridge et al. 2000). Crucially, differences would also abound depending on the societal norms and expectations of women and men. Societies that place expectations on women as mothers and carers and men as earners continue to perpetrate inequality both at home and at work with consequential effects on societal processes. Those that categorise women as supplementary earners or assume all citizens to be individualised, undermine women's unpaid work, which is the vital social structure of production in society and contributes to growth. Therefore, a gender perspective to policymaking must be able to demonstrate the ways in which economies and societies function in addition to the notion of differences in behaviour between women and men.

Previous studies elaborate two principal imperatives for injecting a gender perspective into economic and budgetary processes (Walby 2005). First, existing patterns of gender inequalities mean that budgets affect women and men in quite distinct ways. It is important to understand these patterns in order to evaluate whether policies are properly targeted and meeting their desired aims efficiently. Differences in economic position also mean that women and men will respond differently to a changing policy environment so that a gender perspective is necessary to comprehend what impact budgetary changes might have on individual behaviour. Second, effective budgetary processes must take into account the paid and the unpaid economies and evaluate the impact of policies on both spheres. Without this broader perspective, it is impossible to assess whether budgets are delivering on social goals as well as more narrowly defined economic ones (Elson 2000; Rubery 1998; Rubery and Fagan 2000).

### **3.5. Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed literature on gender and the modern welfare state, and how as gendered institutions both have historically influenced gender roles and access to work. Within the context of a gendered welfare state is an examination of the ideas driving social policy and the content of past and existing social policies to underscore if, when and how social policy can be driven by a gender equality agenda. This is useful to argue not only for a gender analysis of policies but to also place gender analysis at the heart of the entire economic and social policy process. Using the concept of ideational processes, this chapter argued that gender as an ideational factor can be instrumental in effecting gender sensitive social policy change. In the absence of gender analysis in policy frameworks, gender equality is problematized. This further reinforces the argument that an efficient policy process is one that underpins gender right from the point of issues framing through to agenda setting and policy formulation. This approach is capable of capturing the gendered

behavioural impacts of policy in addition to reconstructing social norms in a way that helps enhance gender parity in work and unpaid work.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **CASE STUDY CONTEXT: ECONOMIC & SOCIAL POLICY IN SCOTLAND**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter discusses both economic and social policy developments in Scotland in addition to the policy machinery. It reviews various approaches to economic and social policy in line with feminist critiques, which help to set the context for the research questions asked. It then concludes after presenting the research questions to be investigated.

#### **4.2. Scottish Policy Machinery**

The wider UK policymaking terrain provides a framework to underscore the intricacies of policymaking within a political system where decision-making is vested on more than one actor and at different institutional levels. Usually, what occurs is a blurring of policy areas across each level of policy domain or the blurring of policy domains of each level or type of government (Cairney 2006) due to jurisdictional overlap. These institutional arrangements are characterised by dispersed decision-making authorities and endure a complex series of negotiations between institutional and non-institutional policy actors that determine policy outcomes (Bache and Flinders 2004a, 2004b; Hooghe and Marks 2003). This is the case with the Scottish policy terrain where decision making is dispersed between Westminster and Holyrood, with certain policy areas devolved to Scotland.

Since the complexity of governance arrangements makes it difficult to predicate policy outcomes based on institutional analysis alone, Scotland makes a good case study to explore the effect of formal institutions and informal arrangements by policy area and to interpret policy outcomes in terms of the power of the dominant policy actors or participants, thus presenting competing narratives of gender policy change or resistance. In Scotland, the



machinery of government is complex with policymaking on equality, economic policy and social policy dispersed across national territorial boundaries and different institutional levels and actors within the Scottish policy terrain. For Cairney (2006) this provides room to analyse two narratives of policy development. That is, a top-down narrative of UK dominance or a bottom-up narrative of reframing and downplaying issues to reassign them to local decision-making level (Cairney 2006). Situating this within the Scottish context, these narratives open a window to investigate the role of actors and institutions in economic policymaking by identifying dominant actors and their narratives. For the sake of gender policy development, this framework initiates an empirical base to underscore the existence of a top-down narrative or a bottom-up narrative and the respective actors setting the agenda for development on gender equality. As noted earlier, historically, the Scottish policy terrain has been dominated by men, and the consequence of this for gender equality has been captured by both institutional and liberal feminists (Acker 1992; Squires 1999).

Formed in 1999 as the Scottish Executive and currently known as the Scottish Government, the Scottish Government is responsible for: Health, Rural affairs, Justice, Education, Housing, and Transport. For example, social protection policy is a reserved power of the UK Government, while other areas relevant to the social inclusion agenda such as education, health, and economic development and housing are devolved to Scotland (Scotland Act 1998). Policy in this area is co-ordinated by the Scottish Executive's Social Inclusion Division, which influences the activities of a range of government and other bodies in delivering the social inclusion/social justice agenda within Scotland.

Given this institutional and policy framework, there exist constraints, but equally opportunities, for the realisation of the government's commitment to gender equality given that, theoretically, the government is able to develop its own distinctive childcare policy either through expenditure or education policy (childcare sits under education policy in

Scotland). These make compelling arguments for focusing this study on Scotland but also because devolution provided the Scottish Government with an opportunity to create an institutional framework or policy machinery that is different from the UK both in terms of policy ideology and commitment to social justice and gender equality in particular. Additionally, this administrative settlement provided the Scottish Government with a set of economic and social policy levers (Scotland Act 1998, 2012), which in conjunction with the institutional set up and new policy processes could deliver more on gendered policy outcomes. Social policy areas such as health and social services, education policies under which childcare sits are under the control<sup>11</sup> of the Scottish government while other policy areas such as taxation<sup>12</sup>, leave and welfare policy that are relevant for the promotion of gender equality are reserved to the UK government. Equally economic development and government expenditure (spending) is under the control of the Scottish Government (Keating et al. 2009; Scotland Act 1998, 2012), which means it can allocate and reallocate resources in a way that promotes gender equitable growth. However, the question then becomes, given the presence of this institutional framework, how has the Scottish policy terrain developed post-devolution with reference to policymaking on gender equality and what policy outcomes has it produced? This, alongside a detailed description of the development of the Scottish policy machinery will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

### **4.3. Social Policy in Scotland**

Going back to 1980, the rationale for social policy in Scotland was anchored on poverty reduction and high unemployment rates as the main sources of economic disadvantage (Mooney and Poole 2004; Scott and Mooney 2009). Since Scottish devolution in 1999, there

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<sup>11</sup> See link to list of social and economic policy areas that are devolved and those that are reserved <http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/visitandlearn/25488.aspx> accessed 17/08/2015

<sup>12</sup> Scotland Act 2012 sets in new powers for Scotland to vary income tax proportionately rates but not to vary specific tax rates of thresholds, or change credits of benefits. Also see new taxes on land transactions and disposals to landfill. <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2012/11/part/3/enacted> accessed 16/08/2015

has been a split in the implementation of social policy between the UK and Scottish Parliaments (see Haydecker 2010; Mooney and Poole 2004; Mooney et al. 2006). Furthermore, there has been an increasing focus on wider social and community related issues rather than just income and expenditure related criteria in social policy discourses in Scotland. Specifically, the social inclusion agenda includes: increasing labour market participation, especially for those who have greatest difficulty in accessing employment; modernising social protection systems; tackling disadvantages in education and training; eliminating child poverty and social exclusion; ensuring decent housing; improving access to quality services, including health care; and overcoming discrimination and increasing integration of disabled people, ethnic minorities and immigrants.

All of these areas already feature to a greater or lesser extent in recent UK and Scottish policy statements<sup>13</sup> but the underlying discourse and ideas are essentially oriented towards a liberal feminist model of equality as opposed to the Nordic approach built on gender difference. Within the Scottish context, issues of social exclusion and increasing labour market participation are not articulated in policy documents as gendered concepts. Neither is it recognised that gender is a main determinant of social and economic inequality.

Policy discourses in Scotland under New Labour (1999-2006) favoured the idea of social inclusion, bringing a more positive light to the notion of social exclusion in England. With the election of a Scottish National Party (SNP)-led government (2007-2011) in Scotland in 2007, policy discourses shifted from the idea of social inclusion to an arguably more social democratic language of ‘solidarity’ (Keating 2007). This signalled a renewed interest and greater emphasis on social equity underpinned by a widely held perception that women in Scotland are treated more equally than in England (Mooney and Poole 2004). The use of

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<sup>13</sup> See Scottish Government Equality Budget Statements from 2009-2015, UK and Scottish Government Draft Budget Statements

women-friendly terms did not mean that policymakers were aware of, or committed to improving, women's status in Scotland. However, the political idea of solidarity in this context, gave the general impression that egalitarian values were assumed to be more widely held in Scotland than in England (Breitenbach et al. 1998). This suggests the possibility of a divergent social arrangement and hence distinct 'Scottish social arrangement' that is skewed towards gender egalitarian values capable of reconstructing gender roles between men and women within the unpaid and paid economy.

Social policies such as work-life balance (WLB) policies introduced by the UK government were intended to essentially help 'employees better manage their work and non-work time' (Wise 2004). The categorisation of every individual in work as an employee significantly lacks gender content within the policy. The policy was specifically targeted towards parents with young children to help them combine work and childcare responsibilities. However, it did not take into account the gendered nature of unpaid care work and treated the family as a gender neutral unit. Though mention is made of 'non-work time' in the WLB policy, the policy did not recognise the fact that it is mostly 'women's' non-work time' that provides unpaid care duties. Arguably, the policy actively served to reinforce women's traditional roles as carers as it mainly focused on providing flexibility in working hours to all parents.

#### **4.3.1. Childcare Policy in Scotland**

In Scotland, the expansion of public support for childcare and service provision were important components of several key government social policies, such as social inclusion, eradication of child poverty, and work/life balance policies in the run up to devolution. These concepts underpinned the initial Scottish policy on childcare in 1998 with the most coherent embodied in the Green Paper: *Meeting the Childcare Challenge: A Childcare Strategy for Scotland* (Scottish Office 1998 p.8). The overarching aim stated in the document was:

*...to ensure good quality, affordable childcare for children aged 0-14 in each neighbourhood. This includes formal childcare, such as playgroups, out of school clubs and childminders. And it includes support for informal childcare, for example relatives of friends looking after children. We will ensure that the quality of care is improved, more families are able to afford childcare [and] there are more childcare places and better information about what is available. We will achieve this by working with others (Executive Summary p.9).*

This immediately suggests a strategy that encourages a diverse mix of childcare providers and a problem of affordability by families. Also, the rhetoric constructs the government as merely providing a supportive role to families and friends. Furthermore, although the support for childcare seems to be based on the need to provide affordable and quality childcare, there is an indication of a high demand for childcare services embedded in the rhetoric. Care in this case is not constructed as a gendered issue, neither does it articulate that those who spend on care are mostly women or that the care policy in itself is crucial to women's labour market participation. Constructed as a family issue, it is assumed that the family is androgynous and hence leaves no room for debate around the sharing of care within the household. Normatively, this works on the assumption that women are the care providers in the family.

Under the Labour-Liberal Democrat administration (1999-2006), childcare policy was aimed at helping parents into employment. The notion was that parental employment was perceived to be the main route out of poverty for children. To this end, a variety of initiatives were put in place including Childcare Partnerships, Childcare Information Services, Sure Start and Working for Families (helping low-income parents into employment, education and training through improving access to childcare).

Recently, childcare related policies such as the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act (2014) have developed from the child development viewpoint. This new legislation in 2014 introduced new childcare entitlements of up to 16hours/week from an existing provision that only allowed for a 12.5hours/ week during term time of pre-school education for 3 and 4

year olds. It also made provisions for vulnerable 2 year olds. However, the objectives were to support outcomes for children in addition to supporting parents to participate in work or training. Hence, programs such as Early Years have very much focused on child development along educational lines, but fail to define childcare provision with regards to the needs of working parents (women). To this end, childcare is effectively framed as a family issue and any spending from government is defined as helping to support families and working parents to balance work and care responsibilities. However, this shows the somewhat complex nature of the development of childcare policy in Scotland.

Overall, childcare<sup>14</sup> policy and strategies (Early Years framework and the Getting it Right for Every Child) were mainly aimed at helping parents into paid employment since parental employment was seen to be the main route out of poverty for children (Lister 2002, 2006; Scottish Government 2015<sup>15</sup>). Childcare is still not constructed as a gendered activity within these documents or that provision is gendered at the household level. Significantly, policy on childcare continues to be framed in a way that demonstrates childcare provisioning as the sole responsibility of the family and government would only step in to help working parents. This also means access to childcare tax credits was linked to participation in the labour market with an obligation to work a certain number of hours above or below, which meant that eligibility was problematic. However, gender still did not underpin the policy formulation. Drawing from the Nordic countries, introducing gender is not only an explicit priority in childcare policies, it is a necessity. Adopting a social democratic language without corresponding social democratic policies and/or social democratic spending does not translate into social democratic societies.

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<sup>14</sup> See <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/People/Young-People/early-years> for Early Years Framework

<sup>15</sup> See footnote 16 above

A review of the Nordic countries shows that the social democratic model started off with a strong focus on effecting wide-ranging changes at the level of policies. Policies became engendered at an early stage by offering men and women universal entitlements to balance work and care within a commitment to promoting citizenship rights that recognise gendered inequalities (Lister 2009). The UK, by contrast, has less robust universal entitlements, relying on a project of moral exhortation and emphasising the role of services in promoting fathers involvement (Featherstone 2010). This is not different from childcare provisioning in Scotland whereby women's participation in employment is viewed as a main approach to tackling gender differences in economic equality and poverty. The liberal approach to equality is also evident in the way childcare policy is framed. For example, parents are constructed primarily as a means towards improving child outcomes and welfare with an explicit emphasis on expanding parents' responsibilities towards their children. The implication is that the gendered dimensions of policies are ignored and the language often used has successfully obscured gender inequalities. Both policy and practice are flawed in terms of advancing gender equality and predicts a liberal feminist approach. This has often reinforced gender imbalances and the unequal division of work in both the paid and unpaid sector.

That welfare states are gendered has been theoretically and empirically investigated, and that they impact on gender relations has also been captured by others (Daly and Rake 2003; Lewis 1992; Orloff 2009). Economic policies impact on the way welfare states or regimes are organised and hence have a secondary effect on their changing gender relations. The unambiguous separation of social and economic policy is made here for analysis purposes only and to illustrate the extent to which women's position or gender inequality in general can be made worse by a lack of gender analysis of policies. It is also separated to show the

level and depth of gender inequality that can be factually created if gender is ignored in policy frameworks.

#### **4.4. Economic Policy in Scotland**

The Scottish Government's economic strategy is focused on a single overarching purpose – to promote sustainable economic growth (Scottish Government 2007; 2011). In delivering the objective, the Government have made explicit their commitment to ensuring *opportunities for all citizens* to benefit from Scotland's economic prosperity by *focusing government and public services on creating a more successful country, with opportunities for all of Scotland to flourish* (Economic Strategy 2007, foreword p.V). Thus, the implication is that the promotion of equality is integral to the Government's economic strategy. It also suggests that the provision of public services is central to a more successful country by creating opportunities for all of Scotland to flourish.

However, across Europe, the form and scale of public spending committed to fiscal stimulus initiatives imply a significant period of social austerity. For Scotland this meant the global economic recession effectively limited the government's ability to achieve its purpose. The tendency is for policymakers to also tilt social policies towards an economic rationale or for it to carry economic legitimacy (Elson 2004). This liberal approach to social policy implies that the public provision of social services assumes a lesser priority in a government's economic strategy and spending plans. In Scotland, the widely persistent retrenchment of public services and employment would arguably impact on men and women in a variety of ways that are often invisible and unaccounted for in mainstream social policy and economic analysis. First round impacts of the recession in a Scottish context have been felt mainly in the private sector (McKay et al. 2013). However, persistent public sector spending cuts are argued to have grave effects for women both as public sector employees and as service users (McKay et al. 2013).



Additional concerns relate to the nature of women's roles within both the paid and unpaid economies and their subsequent patterns of consumption (Pahl 2004, 2008). In Scotland, women have different spending preferences to men, for a whole host of reasons (Pahl 1990, 2008). Of particular relevance in this context is that women remain overwhelmingly responsible for childcare and as managers of the household budget they prioritise spending needs on a collective rather than individual basis (McKay et al. 2013). Any reduction in social services, as a result of public sector spending cuts, will ultimately impact on the ability of low paid women to manage limited resources in the face of competing and increasing demands for expenditure. Although the immediate and most obvious consequences of public spending cuts will relate to pay, thus affecting many low paid women with limited employment protection, the wider impact in terms of labour market participation would implicate economic recovery. Thus, within the context of an overall commitment to promoting both equality and economic growth, it is essential that any policy interventions are designed and delivered within an analytical framework that adequately acknowledges, and accounts for, the nature and consequences of gender based inequalities in Scottish society.

However, the focus on capital investment, affordable finance and enhanced economic growth, as set out in the plan for economic recovery appears to be informed by a particular way of thinking that represents a limited understanding of the contributing factors to economic growth. The proposed actions in the priority areas of capital investment and affordable finance, in particular, fail to account for unpaid economic activity within the household and the impact that reduced resources, both at a micro and macro levels, has on the resilience of households and wider communities. However, the unpaid economy contributes to national output through women's time and its connectedness to the paid economy as a social structure of production. In the US, time spent carrying out unpaid

childcare by parents was approximately 12% of total US paid work time and approximately 17 million worker equivalents (Warner 2009).

Drawing from Braunstein et al. (2011), the unpaid sector also contributes to growth via reproducing the current and future labour force. According to Tzannatos (1998), when accounted for, the unpaid sector can increase national output measures by as much as one quarter of existing figures. In economic policy planning, the unpaid sector is usually seen as an unproductive 'bottomless pit' into which money is thrown and hence not considered as a potential source of growth. However, in mainstream economics the central tenets informing economic policy are economic competitiveness and efficiency. Also, the tools and methods associated with mainstream economics do not recognise that the individual choices of men and women as 'economic agents' are effectively determined by a given set of structurally-determined roles, responsibilities and expectations. The combined effect of these gendered social and cultural norms is that men and women occupy very different positions in both the paid and unpaid sectors of the economy.

Within the context of this case study, a tightening of the government budget orchestrated by the 2008 economic crisis led to significant changes in government spending plans and priority areas for policy intervention. In Scotland, the approach to economic growth has not only been focused on capital investment, but there have been major changes in the way resources are allocated within the budget. While there has been a general but varying degree of spending cuts in both the revenue and capital departmental expenditure limits, resources are being reallocated from revenue consequential to fund more capital investment projects in male dominated sectors such as construction as the major strategy for job recovery (see Equality Budget Statement 2011, 2012). These changes are steadily reshaping the Scottish economy around different forms of traditional or market based economic activities such as enterprise, jobs and growth. Moreover, these spending plans are yet to redress

unemployment in the wider economy, occupation segregation, and unequal employment patterns.

As stated by a South African parliamentarian, Pregs Govender, *“the budget reflects the values of a country – who it values, whose work it values and who it rewards . . . and who, and what, and whose work it doesn’t”* (Budlender 1996 p.7). In Scotland, the current government spending plans as defined by capital spending and affordable finance, values and rewards economic activities in the paid economy and not the unpaid economy. There are no budgetary allocations towards unpaid care activities. What this suggests is that it undervalues the important unpaid infrastructure that enables all citizens to participate in economic activities. Therefore, it does not reward those -mostly undertaken by women- who provide the unpaid care in the unpaid economy. Women’s unpaid labour is undervalued whereas, men’s labour are valued by virtue of the fact that spending is directed towards capital projects undertaken in construction and manufacturing sectors mostly dominated by men.

#### **4.5. Research Questions**

Based on the theoretical framework and policy context informing this research, the following three main research questions have been designed to deliver this project’s objectives:

1. What are the relative positions of men and women in the Scottish economy and how do childcare responsibilities influence these positions?
  - Are families with dependent children between 0 to 4 years disadvantaged in the labour market relative to those without dependent children?
2. Which institutions, structures or processes have been instrumental in embedding gender in the Scottish economic policy terrain?

- How has devolution created a space for economic policymaking with respect to promoting gender equality in Scotland?
  - Is there an infrastructure for gender equality in Scotland?
3. How and to what extent is the Scottish Government's approach to economic and social policy gendered?
- Is gender institutionally repressed in the Scottish context? If yes, how?
  - How has the mainstreaming agenda of the Scottish government played out in terms of promoting gender equality in work and unpaid work?

#### **4.6. Conclusion**

The type of employment and patterns of work created for women in the market economy depend in part on government policies and the supply and quality of social services such as care in the society. This defines the size and composition of the unpaid sector. The type of jobs created also depends in part on the values or principles informing the spending plans of the nation. Who contributes to or benefits from this depends on the structures that are prioritised as growth stimulating structures. The level of economic growth would also depend on an understanding of the cost structure of the society, especially gender inequality inefficiencies, which can have pervasive impacts on economic efficiency. Importantly, budgetary decisions are capable of determining the nature and extent of gender inequality in society. Without these broader perspectives, it is impossible to reliably assess whether budgets are delivering on social goals as well as more narrowly defined economic ones (Elson 2004; Rubery and Fagan 2000; Rubery 1998). The implication is that economic policies and national budgets can incite social change in modern welfare states and that the direction of socioeconomic change depends on the form and scale of public spending.

# **CHAPTER FIVE**

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **5.1. Introduction**

Chapter 2 to 4 set the theoretical background and case study context for the current research. In this chapter, the methodology is discussed. It begins with the researcher's reflections on feminist research and methodological issues encountered in conducting a feminist economics research with elements of social constructionist philosophy. Thereafter, the research philosophy and the chosen research methods will be discussed in detail and the rationale for choosing them will be set out. The methodological discussion centres on a feminist critique of these methods and the advantages and disadvantages of the various methods in addition to a critique of the quantitative data. The approach to data analysis is then detailed and the chapter concludes with the ethical considerations in conducting elite interviews.

In subsequent chapters, the findings presented will be based on a research design that adopts a mixed methods research strategy with an applied policy focus. The quantitative element utilised micro-analytical models to analyse gendered labour market outcomes using both cross-sectional and panel data from the Quarterly British Labour Force Survey. A comprehensive review of existing theoretical literature was necessary to set the context against which an analysis of policy documents and semi-structured interviews were conducted to underscore the extent to which gender has been incorporated in the Scottish economic policy and political context. Therefore, a mixed method approach added depth.

## **5.2. Reflections on conducting an interdisciplinary research**

Unlike most doctoral research projects which are designed by the potential student or faculty to foster knowledge within a particular discipline or subspecialty, this current research was designed by the Scottish Government. Jointly sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council and the Scottish Government, the project was originally intended to foster knowledge on the impact of certain spending cuts and the Scottish Government's approach to resource allocation on men and women in Scotland. Being presented with a set project, set goals and objectives posed several challenges. First, I now had to understand and adapt it to suit the goals and objectives of the diverse stakeholders, including myself. For me, it was necessary to redefine the project in a way that met the initial goals while also introducing content that was theoretically and empirically appealing to the various disciplines. Secondly, it meant adapting and working with stakeholders and supervisors across different academic institutions and also working with the Scottish Government who had set the research questions to a feminist oriented research but who are not necessarily feminist.

Also, I had never conducted an interdisciplinary research before and being an international student from Africa with a minority ethnic background implied limited knowledge of the Scottish policy terrain. Both the new cultural context and gaps in personal knowledge of Scotland and in particular, the policy terrain –which would have been natural for a Scottish national, were challenging but equally interesting.

Equally I was challenged by the fact that I had to access and engage relevant stakeholders across three institutions. Being supervised by both academic and non-academic supervisors with skills and expertise in different subfields, and who sometimes had conflicting expectations, was taxing. For example, with respect to designing the course of the study and the direction of the research, I was constantly being confronted by how to master and reconcile a huge amount of information across multiple disciplines to validate the direction

of the research and negotiate the next steps of the research process with various stakeholders. This meant putting in unusual reading hours to acquire knowledge in conducting an interdisciplinary research spanning both economic and social policy fields and from a feminist historical institutionalist perspective. It was necessary to develop skills to espouse separate theories, data and ideas to bear on the research questions after reviewing them from the original ones that were set by the Scottish Government. Mastering and reconciling conflicting methods informed by different ideas was equally problematic given the increasing amount of information in both fields and the latest developments in feminist studies. As such, making significant contributions to theory and practice becomes challenging since mastering relevant knowledge from each fields requires time.

Apart from mastering concepts and language in the different disciplines, conceptualising and undertaking research in the absence of already well-established and proven frameworks and models was another challenge. Resolving conflicts between research paradigms and methods often predicated on different assumptions about what constitutes evidence required espousing research paradigms in different fields and within the same fields to rigorously establish the standards of proof in the respective disciplines. For this thesis, the use of interviews and empirical data for quantitative analysis was useful to bridge this contention and to contribute to theory and practice.

Other challenges related to the time and emotional strain of working with different stakeholders and especially, having to engage with economic and social policy audiences across and within different institutions as part of the research process. As a female of African origin and limited knowledge of policy process in Scotland, I was challenged to develop skills and abilities for power sharing and building trusting interpersonal relationships. This was necessary from the initial stages of the research especially in

engaging different stakeholders from different disciplines and institutions to jointly frame the research problem; agree on research methods and the approach to the analysis.

One of the challenges of a typical research process involves identifying an advisor who understands and shares a student's commitment to interdisciplinary research. This was not an issue given that there were already supervisors with expertise in the respective fields on the project. For me, the challenge was fitting myself into an already established team of advisors who had understanding and expert knowledge of interdisciplinary research. This was however augmented when one of my supervisors Prof. Ailsa McKay passed on at the same time that my main supervisor Prof. Kirstein Rummery went on sick leave. I was assigned new supervisors with disciplinary background in mainstream economics and sociology almost at the middle of the research process. However, it was a strengthening process for me and one that validated my confidence and determination to commit to the research.

On a more personal level, the absence of fellow students at the home university to provide collegiality and intellectual input somewhat posed challenges for formulating and honing new ideas. However, it was useful for me in that I was challenged to link with colleagues from other universities who although were sometimes physically and organisationally distant, made the journey enjoyable. Thus there were times I felt intellectually homeless without a place to share interests and goals but again, it was a memorable journey.

### **5.3. Reflections on Feminist Research and Methodological Issues in Feminist Economics Research**

The process leading up to the decision of a research philosophy for this thesis highlighted certain caveats in conducting mixed methods feminist research. Unlike other social science disciplines or research, which might be informed by a single theory or theoretical frameworks with distinctive epistemological and ontological claims informing particular



methodological choices, conducting social research from a feminist/gender perspective presents different challenges. Some of these challenges are discussed in subsequent sections.

### **5.3.1. Feminism and feminist research**

Initial reading of feminist debates on feminist research starts dismantling any idea of a single feminism, a single feminist/gender theory, and a unique feminist epistemology and methodology. What then becomes apparent is that different versions of feminist theoretical frames necessitate distinctive philosophical claims (Brooks & Hesse-Biber 2007 p.4; Harnois 2012), which may inform innovative methodological choices (Hay 2002). The consequence is that feminism by definition cannot embrace a single methodology (Bryson 1992; Collins 2000; Phillips 1998). While maintaining that there is no distinctive feminist methodology, there is a consensus that there may be a distinctive feminist approach to methodology and methods (Chafetz 2004; Fonow and Cook 1991; Harnois 2012; Hesse-Biber 2007).

Secondly, in attempting to achieve their goals and objectives, feminist researchers share ambivalent views on the issue of a unique feminist epistemology that informs feminist research. The very fact that there is no single feminist theory or perspective, the diversity of questions that feminists ask and the evidence of juxtaposing a wide array of methods and methodologies in a single research further reinforces ambiguity in the idea of a single feminist epistemology. Moreover, feminist researchers make use of multiple lenses which often intersect to unearth different aspects of women's lives and increasingly make visible gender relations or patterns (Brooks and Hesse-Biber 2007). Unquestionably, feminist researchers are endlessly in the process of developing new epistemologies, methodologies and methods of knowledge building. Central to this is the important point made by Charmaz (2006) and Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) that how a researcher's perspective on reality

interacts with and influences how the research process is undertaken is an important issue of feminist research.

Thirdly, this brings into question the important argument regarding the nature of the social world, who can be a knower, what can be known and how (Harding 1987). Based on this, feminist researchers identify three main epistemological positions as feasible to feminist research by critiquing the mainstream positivist social science approach. These are feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint epistemology and postmodern feminist epistemology. Central to the issue of epistemology and methodology are the criticisms of traditional methodology that feminist researchers have attended to in their quest to influence social change and advance women's issues. Ranging from personal to political (Unger 1983) and philosophical issues (Haraway 1988; Harding 1987), these criticisms of traditional methodologies are somehow mostly presented as a critique of quantitative research method (Fonow and Cook, 1991 p.89). In order to circumvent these challenges are requests by some feminist researchers (Harding 1987 p.196; Mason 2006) to view methodologies as 'justificatory strategies' from which researchers can simply make pragmatic appeals to address the particular issue at hand.

Finally, with regards to discussions about feminist research and the assumptions about the theory of the study of knowledge, it is imperative to note that what underpins or sits at the core of feminist research is the 'principle of feminist struggle' (Sprague and Zimmerman 1993, p.266). Whether documenting women's lived experiences, evidencing gender-based stereotypes and biases, or explaining gender discrimination in its broadest sense, feminist researchers seek to challenge the basic structures and ideologies that disproportionately affect women and their experiences in society, thus making the goal of feminist research that of fostering empowerment and the emancipation of women and other marginalised groups (Harnois 2012; Krook & Squires 2006; Locher & Prugl 2001; Mazur 2004). This current

research leans towards this aspect. In effect, research outputs are orientated towards promoting social change and social justice and this entails an element of political engagement.

### **5.3.2. Methodology and methodological dilemmas in feminist research**

This research utilised a multi-method approach to research. The rationale for leaning towards a pluralistic methodological position is underpinned by the complexity of the research aims and an appreciation of the knowledge that the social world and its categories can be studied from diverse angles. In line with some researchers, the underlying purpose or values of feminist research is underpinned by an approach to research open to various methodological frames (Harnois 2012; Locher and Prugl 2001; Mazur 2004). This is relevant for this current research given the pragmatic epistemological position taken. The idea that feminist research is driven by substantive political problems as noted by Krook and Squires (2006) sits well with the main arguments of the research being undertaken given that the Scottish Government initiated it with the hope that it would advance answers that would appeal to policymakers. Besides, a distinct willingness by feminist political scientists to employ various theoretical frames in their research as well as explore or juxtapose methods in innovative ways provides context for engaging in a wide-ranging methodological frame for this thesis.

In conclusion to research which focused on analysing the ways political scientists produce knowledge, Krook and Squires (2006) argued that pluralistic methodological approaches are eclectic as they strengthen and signal the ability of feminist researchers to produce multifaceted research findings. A pluralistic approach is not just something to be embraced by feminist political scientists, but engaging it within the social sciences and by feminist economists in particular is crucial for many reasons. With regards to this thesis, this approach offers alternative analytical frameworks to answer other sets of questions being

asked in addition to how concepts like ‘gender equality’, ‘unpaid work’, ‘work and childcare’ have been formulated in national policies aimed at promoting equality and fairness. It is also relevant when explaining gender differences in policy outcomes. Going back to Krook and Squires (2006), the underlying message is that when it comes to advancing feminist goals and given the political nature of feminist research, a problem-driven approach to research is productive and preferable to method-driven work. This thesis identifies with the problem-driven approach especially given the theoretical framework informing the study and the types of research questions asked.

However, substantive scholarship on mixed methods shows that there are some distinct advantages and disadvantages to conducting such studies (Cresswell et al. 2006; Denzin & Lincoln 2005, 2009; Howe 2004). Often arising from the differences in divergent views, including concepts and analytical logics between quantitative and qualitative approaches, combining methods offers more analytical leverage to studies (Mahoney & Goertz 2006). A pluralistic study may add analytical leverage by addressing omitted variable bias and develop more valid concepts while at the same time identify causal mechanisms. Opponents of mixed methods however, argue that the issue of causal mechanisms in mixed methods is a form of ‘experimentation’ (Howe 2004). They also problematize the incorrect use of mixed methods and ‘epistemological incommensurability’ (Ahmed & Sil 2012). In fact, the fundamental problems identified by opponents relate to the little weight of importance afforded to qualitative research over quantitative (see Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Howe 2004) and the lack of relative importance given to the interpretive foundations of qualitative research in a mixed methods study. Such arguments have been contended by both feminist and non-feminist researchers on the basis that they are limited, inaccurate and stereotypical (Cresswell et al. 2006; Mason 2006).

The next section identifies and seeks to explain the decisions leading up to the philosophical position and methodological choices. The theoretical framework that informed the research and the types of research questions asked informed a pragmatic approach to research. This required finding a middle ground between feminist standpoint epistemology and constructionism with an empirical focus.

#### **5.4. Epistemology & Ontology –A pragmatic approach to feminist research**

The idea of a single feminist epistemology has already been dismantled as a fallacy and untenable (Harding 1987; Leavy 2007; Leckenby & Hesse-Biber 2007). With an overarching aim of improving mainstream social policymaking and economic analysis from a gender equality perspective, this thesis adopts a pragmatic approach to feminist research by combining feminist empiricism and social constructionism as relevant research philosophies. Generally, pragmatism is viewed as the philosophical companion for the mixed methods approach. It provides a set of assumptions, which distinguish mixed methods from purely quantitative approaches that are based on a (post)positivism philosophy and purely qualitative approaches that are based on an interpretivism or constructivism philosophy (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004; Maxcy 2003; Rossman & Rallis 2003). Extant literature shows a number of ways in which pragmatism underlies the practice of mixed methods research. These facets of pragmatism are not necessarily mutually exclusive options, but in practice demonstrate some degree of overlap.

To start with, pragmatism provides a merging of approaches in an attempt to create a common ground or compatibility between old and emerging philosophies of research ( Datta 1994; Maxcy 2003; Teddlie & Tashakkori 2003). Secondly, pragmatism provides a basis for using mixed methods approaches as another option to research that requires more than one research approach to answering research questions (Johnson et al. 2007). Conversely,

pragmatism can also be seen as a new convention built on the conviction that it is permissible to mix methods from different research paradigms. It is seen as equally desirable based on the notion that good social research will almost unavoidably require the use of both quantitative and qualitative research in order to provide an adequate answer (Greene et al. 2001; Rocco et al. 2003).

#### **5.4.1. Feminist Empiricism**

Feminist empiricism is concerned with the use of empirical evidence to validate scientific theories or models (Anderson 2004). The justifications of such scientific theories occur within a number of assumptions, including those about research aims, appropriate methodology and the conditions for theory choice (Longino 2002). For feminist empiricists, the background assumption for a research context is equally based on ethical, social and political values. This sits in opposition to other empirical philosophies including positivism, which emphasizes the existence of an objective reality that is external to us, privileging facts and the idea of a value-free researcher.

Distinguishing this from a research underpinned by values and that is argued to be subject to mere interpretation, proponents of positivism posit a theory of knowledge building based on facts. They validate the use of uncontaminated instruments by value-free researchers, capable of generating a universal truth. Although this privileges the use of quantitative methods, positivism departs from feminist empiricism in that empirical evidence is not construed holistically to include other scientific theories, experiences and beliefs about sex and politics (Nelson 2010 p. 247-249). These exclusions serve to provide a platform for a feminist critique of positivism and quantitative methods (see Harding 1987) and the need for a feminist empirical method. For example, the problem of the invisibility of women and women's experiences, which often sits in contrast to findings generated by mainstream

methodological approaches, challenges the validity of the idea of a value-free researcher and an objective reality.

These ambiguities question the objectivity of the positivist epistemology given that it developed from a historical, material and social set of patriarchal power relations (Haraway 1988; Harding 1987). Seen from a feminist empiricist perspective, this implied value-free knowledge building was, and is, not possible since social reality was and is still not static and therefore positivism did/does not exist out of the social world. This profound line of argument is important in the sense that it challenges the idea of a universal truth claimed by positivists, establishing the fact that even a positivist orientated epistemology is informed by a partial truth since its approach to knowledge building is informed by a particular but partial perspective and informed also by a particular historical, material and social context, though claimed to be detached from the researcher.

This has two implications for this research. First, through this lens, a feminist empiricist philosophy despite its criticisms by other feminist opponents (because it is to an extent grounded in positivist ideological notions), can be useful in providing some reality about women's lives (see Harnois 2012; Leckenby 2007). While feminist empiricism finds affinity with this positivist paradigm, it also suggests a revision of the positivist epistemological basis of objectivity/neutrality and methodological frames to include women's experiences. However, critics challenge this on the basis that it exemplifies more of a women 'add and stir' approach to methodology or the aspect of simply controlling for gender by means of a single variable (see Harnois 2012 and Leckenby 2007). Harnois (2012), amongst others, notes the importance of quantitative feminist research arguing that it is also useful to advance women's issues in society.

Secondly, although feminist empiricism has been criticised by other feminist epistemological standpoints, its focus and approach to quantitative methods have served as important tools for understanding, documenting and challenging social inequalities and gender inequalities in particular (Harnois 2012). For example, feminist empiricists have rendered some of the best accounts of biases; describe previously silenced issues about women's lives and experiences, drawing on the strength of quantitative research to document the social construction of gender roles (Drinkwater 2015; Harnois 2012; Jensen 2012). Although adhering to the positivist notion of objective reality and value-free research, feminist empiricists sought to give a voice to women's knowledge and experiences. They question the divide between the subject and object thus advocating for alternative ways of thinking about knowledge building that refutes the positivist notion of a fixed and unchanging external social reality and neutrality.

On the other hand, Harnois (2012) points out that although entrenched with feminist critiques, quantitative research and, by extension, feminist empirical research, is not fundamentally irreconcilable with ideas of standpoint theorists. As a point of departure, the emphasis on understanding all knowledge claims as partial perspectives (Sprague 2005), whether from privileged or underprivileged groups, positions standpoint theorists as receptive to the idea that knowledge is socially situated. In light of this, the idea of both the subject and the object may become a tool for knowledge building and rich understanding of social phenomena since it encourages the investigation of the specific experiences and situated perspectives of human beings (Haraway 1988; Longino 2002; Neilson 2010). The aspect of a historically given, material and social context resonates with feminist standpoint epistemologies from the angle of knowledge creation as being structured by social inequalities (Hartsock 1998; Sprague 2005). This identifies with an approach that also seeks to gather policymakers understanding and perspectives of gender related issues and how



they relate to policy. It also attends to bringing women's experiences and voices to the policy and political arena.

#### **5.4.2. Social constructionism**

In developing the pragmatic approach adopted here, constructivist ontology serves as a middle ground to share with feminists a "conception of truth as situated, perspectival and discursive" Hekman (1997 p.356). This is also strengthened by the conceptualisation of gender as a social construct and as the theoretically informed basis for gendered differential impact of and response to policy. The argument that political ideas of gender and discursive politics determine the extent to which a gender perspective to policymaking is infused applies here. For instance, the ideas and discourse playing out within a policy area represent gendered power mechanisms through which certain dominant ideas are perpetuated to the exclusion or silencing of others. To the extent that these ideas and discourse are laced with assumptions and ideologies that reinforce and sustain a particular way of thinking and a discursive approach, policies arising from such political spaces are likely to silence a competing frame while reinforcing certain dominant frames and norms. These tensions are organised within institutional settings of power and contextual venues which can enable or disable policy change, and demonstrate spatial and temporal dimensions.

In this context, reality is represented by what every man and woman goes through. It is defined by the way policy makers and stakeholders represent policy problems, how they engage and design policies and the impacts of this on the experiences of women and men in society. Research findings from such an approach to knowledge is useful to advocate not only for social change or the empowerment of women but also to make a case for gender analysis and gender impact analysis of economic policy and government budgets. Furthermore, since the quantitative identification of difference between men and women does not comprehensively explain the difference or the reason for the difference, this thesis

also seeks to offer explanations for gender differences in policy outcomes. As Unger (1983) maintained, on its own, the show of difference can instead be used by both policy and political figures to make the claim that men and women are just different and choose to lead different lives, which then explains inherent differences in the labour market as reflected statistically. This risks making certain interventions 'non-essential' for policy action or defining social problems and policy problems in ways that fix, bend or stretch their meanings to deliver other policy goals. The argument is that ideas and political discourse can influence public opinion about men and women's lives. This can also work to reinforce social norms and existing policy assumptions about certain groups of people, thus failing to exert any causal pressure on policy change.

Arguably, how policy and political ideas on childcare, gender and gender equality are framed determines if and how these are registered on political agendas and the level of attention given to them. With reference to economic and social policymaking, how such ideas are framed is an important element in determining how individuals experience a policy. Therefore, an analysis of the way social and economic problems are framed in terms of how policymakers omit or talk about gender equality, write and argue about care and unpaid work in policy documents is an important element in policy analysis. Relevant to this study is the fact that gender shapes not only the perspectives of policy actors but also their perspectives of gender. Using policy documents on economic and social policy, gender equality and equality policy in Scotland constitute reliable and valid sources of data for this research.

Therefore, this research investigates if, how and why economic analysis and social policy is gender blind. It uses Scotland as a case study. In addition to the argued differential impacts of policy on men and women based on policy and gendered behaviour, questions such as in what ways are the gendered assumptions embedded in mainstream policy frameworks in

Scotland are relevant for explaining gender differences in policy outcomes. Analysing policy problem construction is also necessary to underpin how we define gender equality in the economic policy framework. Moreover, questions on how policymakers view the unpaid care sector and the implications for gender equality could suggest that policy outcomes are also the products of ideas or discourse. These ideas are entrenched in discursive frames of policy actors embedded in institutions of power and decision-making. Hence, answers to questions such as what are the values and principles informing spending decisions; how is a capital investment approach to economic growth reshaping the Scottish economy with respect to gender equality can be informed from an understanding of the ideas and discursive frames of policy actors and stakeholders. Within the scope of this work, social phenomenon and associated categories, including policy actors and stakeholders are studied within an economic and socio-political context from a discursive and historical perspective.

Although contingent and partial, the reality emanating from these discursive and value laden angles are empirically and logically plausible (Price and Reus-Smit 1998). The importance of situating the constructionist ontology to this framework is that in marrying it to a feminist epistemology, the political and ethical implications of such knowledge claims are also taken into account (Locher and Prugl 2001). What this serves is that:

*Epistemology then turns from probing philosophical justifications of truth claims as they relate to an objective reality to probing political justifications of knowledge claims as they relate to a constructed reality (Locher and Prugl, 2001 p.121).*

This is important to explain how, historically, women's position have been influenced by existing and changing cultural notions, experiences and ideas of gender roles, social norms and even changing institutional structures, which have been informed by socioeconomic processes inherent in welfare states. It situates the importance of the active role of

individuals such as policymakers and society at large in the social construction of reality. Of relevance is not only the idea of examining the way social phenomena is constructed in policy but also how societal and policy processes construct people's ideas and experiences of gender in the welfare state. Explicitly, social reality is viewed as an on-going process in which social actors such as policy actors, endowed with power and acting through the agency of institutions, construct and reconstruct social reality through policy ideas embedded in policy processes rather than something external to society. Similarly, this indicates how policy ideas on societal processes, including the way economic production is organised within a society, transmit intrinsic notions of how the social world is, or should be, organised. Within this context, how production is organised within a society is an aspect of the inherent assumptions embedded in the ideas around productivity or sectors of the economy that are deemed to maximize economic efficiency. This suggests that the level and capacity of resources employed in production processes becomes a function of whose labour is valued to be economically efficient in society. All these have implications on how people experience gender and inequality in society.

The discussions above set the basis of the epistemology and ontology informing the methodological frames that have been used in this thesis. It also becomes apparent that most of the issues with epistemology are related to questions of methodology. The relevance of this is not lost as Harnois (2012, p.1) also notes that "feminist research takes a variety of legitimate forms is one point that feminist methodologists have hammered home with surprising regularity" A pragmatic and problem-driven approach to feminist research addresses the question of which research approach in terms of qualitative or quantitative or mixed methods better serves feminist concerns or the goals of a specific research study. Although subject to criticisms, the critical stance with which feminists seek to engage research and the need to create research that is useful to promote social change demands

both methods and methodological frames that are comprehensive and nuanced enough to measure and explain complex social phenomena. The pragmatic problem-driven approach adopted suits the purpose of this current research as it seeks to model, measure and explain different aspects of gender inequality in Scotland while also accounting for the implicit role of ideas and discourse, actors and institutions as important drivers of gender equality/inequality. As such methodological pragmatism is pursued as it is arguably the foundation of good mixed methods research.

### **5.5. Study design**

Given the emphasis on differential policy impacts, a quantitative research strategy constitutes one of the appropriate methods for gathering data to address the research questions in this study. The qualitative data collection method was used to investigate how gendered assumptions embedded in policy frameworks may explain men's and women's position within a modern welfare state with respect to unpaid work, care and work. Additionally, it sought to capture policymakers' perceptions and understanding of the gendered impact of government budgets, in particular, government expenditure within the framework of equalities budgeting. The argument is that political actors and policymakers ideas or claims of the social world, the causal relationships, and cultural and discursive frames they engage in when constructing economic and social problems can work to perpetuate gendered patterns or dismantle them.

Table 5.1 below summarises the research design. It captures the project aims, objectives, and data sources in addition to how access to the data was gained.

**Table 5.1: Research design**

Aims	Objective	Data	Access
<p>To analyse the relative positions of men and women in the Scottish economy, in particular, gendered distributional labour market outcomes over a ten year period. Model labour market transitions to determine if the behavioural impact of policy on families with dependent children is greater than the effect on families without dependent children.</p>	<p>Develop an understanding of how mainstream social policy and economic analysis influences gender relations in the labour market and resource allocation between men and women. Account for how these complexities renders the policy and the policy process not only gender blind but gender biased.</p>	<p>Gather gender disaggregated secondary data. Datasets include: Quarterly Labour Force Survey (LFS) &amp; Five-quarter labour force survey</p>	<p>Readily available and in the public domain. Full approval to access has been gained already.</p>
<p>To use mixed methods to investigate if and how gendered assumptions embedded in economic policy frameworks influence men's and women's position within a modern welfare state with respect to unpaid work, care and work.</p>	<p>Investigate if and how gender assumptions are reinforced or sustained in economic policy through discursive processes and policymakers' understandings and views of gender and equality. Provide understanding of how discourses interact with institutions to sustain, exacerbate or mitigate gendered processes.</p>	<p>LFS Five-quarter Draft Budget Documents (2004-2008) Equality Budget Statements (2009-2014) Equal Opportunities/ Finance Committee Reports</p>	<p>Available online on Scottish Government website</p>
<p>Analyse the current economic policy framework in Scotland for the visibility of</p>	<p>To show that how unpaid work and care are defined determines how much resources are</p>	<p>Interviews Budget Statements (as</p>	<p>Interviews with elites. Access</p>

<p>unpaid work, whose work it values by virtue of what constitutes economic activities, which sectors are the target of economic and social policy and the level of public resources directed towards the unpaid sector.</p>	<p>directed towards the mutually dependent paid and unpaid sector. Hence, determines the size and composition of the unpaid sector.</p>	<p>above) SG Economic Policy Strategy</p>	<p>was negotiated by Scottish Government contact. Policy documents accessible online</p>
<p>To investigate how institutions, actors and ideas are crucial in regulating equality, not least gender equality in any political context. Examine the presence and quality of an infrastructure for gender equality in Scotland.</p>	<p>To unpick the range of actors and institutions that regulates or promotes equality and policy change or stability. Examine if policy problem construction, policy formulation and political framing are entry points to embed a gender perspective into mainstream policy process and how.</p>	<p>-Semi-structured interviews with policymakers, policy networks. -Parliamentary Minutes - EHRC Documents</p>	<p>Access to policymakers facilitated by the Scottish Government (SG) contact assigned to this PhD.</p>
<p>To analyse how the Scottish government's equalities mainstreaming agenda has played out in terms of promoting gender equality</p>	<p>Understand if within the context of an overall commitment to promote equality and economic growth, the Scottish Government's equality budget statement and equalities mainstreaming tool has directly or indirectly promoted gender equality in society.</p>	<p>-Equality Budget Statement -Draft Budget documents -Equality Mainstreaming Report 2011 -Minutes of EBAG meetings -Gender Equality Strategy -Equality Act (2010, 2006)</p>	<p>Available online on credible websites such as the SG's website</p>

## **5.6. Data Collection: An Integrated Concurrent Approach to Mixed-methods**

This research develops a theoretical framework that guided data collection and the approach to analysis. Three methods are used to collect the relevant data: secondary data from policy documents; primary data from semi-structured interviews and secondary data from the British Quarterly Labour Force Survey. Inspired by King, Keohane and Verba's (1994) *Designing Social Inquiry* and engaged by Mazur and Parry (1998), it incorporated both qualitative and quantitative approaches in the research design by doing what they termed "choosing not to choose" one approach over the other. The following research methods were concurrently used for data collection:

### **5.6.1. Quantitative Research Method**

This research investigates the distributional impact of economic and social policy on labour market outcomes for men and women of working age in Scotland. It models labour market outcomes for families with dependent children and those without dependent children. Additionally, it examines patterns of labour market transitions for workers in the Scottish labour market to track yearly policy effects on families with dependent children under the age of 2; families with dependent children between the ages of 2 and 4 and comparing them with those families without dependent children within the same age brackets. The first section of the quantitative analysis draws on repeated cross-sectional data from the UK quarterly labour force survey to describe distributional impacts. The second section draws on longitudinal data from the five-quarter labour force survey to model labour market transitions. The labour force survey collects information on respondents' labour force participation each quarter and this is suitably weighted.

The analysis undertaken here is restricted to Scotland but this could be extended to other national settings to investigate how different policies and institutional settings reproduce or reinforce gendered societal patterns. To set the context for type of data used and the focus of labour market outcomes, the argument is that labour market outcomes are a critical



determinant of household wellbeing. This is especially significant in an economic policy context where equality policy and legislation are not under the full control of the state (Scotland) but some, if not most, of government spending is devolved. Also fundamental is the fact that the ideas informing the approach to government spending in Scotland defines labour market participation as the main source of income.

The focus on labour market outcomes and the chosen indicators (see below) are relevant given that macroeconomic policy is not devolved and welfare policy is reserved at the UK level. Jurisdictional overlaps and multi-level style of governance can often be used by policymakers to argue that the government has little scope to regulate equalities (Vickers 2010, 2011). However, economic policymaking, policies on childcare and spending decisions, which are arguably influential on gender equitable labour market outcomes, are within the scope of the Scottish Government. Childcare as a social policy area is devolved to the Scottish Government and its role for women's labour market outcomes is well documented (Pascall and Lewis 2004; Pfau-Effinger et al. 2014). These are policy areas that are usually viewed as costly and fiscally redistributive (Annesley et al. 2010, 2014), but have significantly disproportionate gender impacts, can influence economic growth and also have equitable job creation potential in the economy (Antonopolous et al. 2010). Focusing this analysis on job patterns for individual men and women in addition to families with dependent and non-dependent children begins to provide context for the place of care in the economy.

#### **A. Distributional Impacts Using Cross-Sectional Data from UK Labour Force Survey**

The primary concern in designing quantitative research methods was to gather gender disaggregated data to model the relative position of men and women in the labour market. The purpose of this was to underscore how governments' economic and social policy

impacts upon gendered labour market patterns. Gender differences in employment patterns are analysed from which explanations can be advanced for the indirect effect of policy on gendered job patterns in the economy. The observations are restricted to Scotland in addition to using just wave 1 data from 2004 to 2013 from the LFS. The variables include:

**Table 5.2: List of variables**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Description</b>
Main industry sector of work Working in public or private sector Full time and part time employment Economic activity: Used to derive the unpaid care work category. The category unpaid care work captures those individuals that are defined as economically inactive due to unpaid care work ‘why not want full-time job: To explain gender differences in employment patterns and preferences, analysis of the variable	
<b>Workers characteristics</b>	
Sex	Sex includes men and women
Age group	Age was re-coded to derive a categorical variable ‘agegroup’ consisting of younger age groups 16-24, those 25-34, 35-49 and 50-64years.
Education	Education was derived from level of highest qualification and grouped into four categories of higher education, secondary, other and no qualifications.
Social class	Social class derived from the standard occupation class variable classified by the National Statistics Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC). This was recoded into five categories of professional, intermediate and small employer accounts, lower supervisory and semi-(routine) and never worked.
Family unit type,	Recoded into families with dependent and non-dependent children

Changes in the trends of labour market indicators for different groups of workers indicate changing relative positions over the years. For example, group differences in outcomes could reflect policy decisions or household labour supply decisions, but the former is more consistent with increases in job losses while the latter is more likely to be explained by smaller declines in participation.

## **B. Longitudinal data for Labour Market Transitions**

One of the main contributions of this section is that it provides a systematic examination of the issue of childcare by considering the influence of gender and socio-economic status/gender (interacted) differences on patterns of labour market transitions. This analysis uses the five-quarter LFS which offers larger sample sizes and it is suitable for detailed labour market investigations for a relatively wide and recent period, from 2006 up to 2013. Moreover, the definitions of the labour market conditions are based on the ILO criteria and not self-defined economic statuses. The five-quarter LFS is designed as a rotating panel. Households are observed quarterly over the course of a year, thus, each individual in a household can be observed five times. The analysis contains observations between 2006 and 2013 of all individuals of working age with dependent children between 0 and 4 and those without. These individuals are either in ‘paid employment’, ‘economically inactive due to unpaid care’, ‘unemployed’, or in the ‘inactive other’ category in their wave 1 interview. The dataset therefore precludes observations of transitions that take longer than one year to take effect.

Variables include labour market activities such as economic activity, employment, unemployment, unemployment amongst the active labour force. Control variables such as the age of the worker, age of dependent children, education, and marital status are considered.

## **C. A Critique of Quantitative Dataset**

- Proxy respondent

The LFS gathers information on households and in some instances when individuals are not available proxy respondents to interview questions are used. These could be spouses or children of respondents who may not have accurate information of certain subjective or

private characteristics of the respondents. However, the data needed was related more to employment characteristics and such information from proxy respondents could be considered as accurate given that it reports on objective and public circumstances or events.

- Sex as a category of gender

This research is concerned with modelling gendered effects and gender is defined as socially constructed. However, since the LFS does not collate gender disaggregated data, the variable sex is used to model gender. The LFS measures sex given that the sex variable only contains two categories, which are male and female. Also, respondents are not asked to identify their gender based on their socially constructed roles. Harnois (2012, p.6) argued that sex is a category of gender and so can be applicable in modelling gendered outcomes. For this study, in addition to Harnois argument, the variables used, especially families with dependent children captures gender roles, disaggregating this by sex further illustrates the feminist argument that women are mostly those who fall in this category. Similarly, disaggregating by parent type indicates that lone parents are mostly women and even in couple families, those who work part-time are mostly women, who do not work full-time because of care responsibilities. As such, in instances where sex is used as a proxy for gender, the results provide an accurate representation of gender difference in outcomes.

- Household as a sector of the economy and lack of unpaid work as dimension of work

In the LFS, variables such as employment sector do not include the household as a sector of the economy in which work is undertaken. This variable captures just the private and public sector and a few organisations in the voluntary sector. Households are however absent, although work is equally undertaken in this sphere. As argued by feminists (see section on methodology above) this provides a distorted view of the economy.

With regards to the type of work represented in the survey, only paid work in the private and public sphere are included in the employment variable. Unpaid work is absent and information on care work undertaken in the household is not included.

- Economic activity

Equally, the variable ‘economic activity’ can be grouped into active, inactive and unemployed. Amongst those classified as economically inactive are individuals who are not in the labour market due to care responsibilities. This obscures the economic contribution of women (Palmer 1995) from the analysis of economic performance since unpaid work is not directly linked to or associated with the labour market. More generally, the definition of the variable economic activity is derived from the International Labour Organisation. This international context sets the framework for the definition of economic activity and its relevant categories within national contexts. This again illuminates the feminist argument that in mainstream economics, unpaid care work is undercounted or remains uncounted; undervalued, and treated as a non-economic activity. Although this argued to be a major limitation of the survey data, it also shows that the international context is flawed.

### **5.6.2. Qualitative Methods**

#### **A. Data for Documentary Analysis**

Secondary data was sourced from policy documents as one of the qualitative approaches (see table 5.1 above). The data collected was intended to be used to advance explanations for how and why economic analysis and social policy is gender blind and hence gender biased. The data collected reflects the historical and political context shaping the approach to equality and gender equality in Scotland, the range of institutions, actors and ideas regulating equality issues in this political context. It is believed that the information sourced from these methods can explain the reason for the differential impact of policy on men and

women. Questions such as how we view spending on childcare, how equality, gender, gender equality are defined could explain whether social outcomes are the products of the ideas of political actors and/or policymakers within certain institutions of power and decision-making. Also, answers to questions on how and why develop gender sensitive policies can be informed from this research method. The range of policy documents from which data was collated are listed in table 5.1 above.

### **B. Semi-structured Interviews**

To credibly inform how the Scottish government's mainstreaming strategy has played out in terms of gender equality, elites (see chapter 5) such as policymakers and leading members of policy networks constituted a reliable source of data. Semi-structured interviews with elites were used to explore the issue of incorporating gender in economic and social policymaking processes. In particular, interview questions investigated if policy is framed with an understanding of their gendered impact, the causes of gender inequality and how it can be addressed. The active choice of interviewing elites or policymakers and influential members in policy networks was intended to generate useful data to capture their perspectives and awareness of the interaction between economic policy making, policy outcomes and gender equality.

#### **Interview Participants**

The aim of the interviews was to examine the participants' perceptions (both personal and professional) of a gender perspective to the approach of social service provision and what is prioritised within this framework. Thus, interviews were conducted after receiving ethical approval.

Respondents for the qualitative interview were identified and approached to participate in the research through gatekeepers from the Scottish Government and directly by emails. It

was made clear that no one would be made to participate through coercion or a sense of obligation to their employer. The participants were varied in order to obtain diverse views as possible. Access to participants was also facilitated by my presence at the Scottish Government’s Equality and Budget Advisory Group’s (EBAG) meetings acting as an observer at formal meetings. With regards to policy networks such the Scottish Women Budget Group (SWBG), Engender, and WiSE, emails were sent to request participation in the research process. The interviews were conducted between June 2014 and September 2014 with men and women of various ages. Semi-structured interviews lasted between 45mins to 90mins. The interviewees were grouped into three categories reflecting different institutional and non-institutional actors. It was hoped that this mix of actors would generate a relevant and reliable dataset for making some contextual generalisations. To ensure privacy and anonymity, participants from the Scottish Government were coded as SG, the Scottish Parliament as SP, and social actors or members of policy networks as SA (see table 5.3).

**Table 5.3: List of interview participants**

<b>Scottish Government (SG)</b>	<b>Participants</b>	<b>SG</b>
	Office of the Chief Economic Adviser	SG1
	Finance Department	SG2
	Analytical Services	SG3
	Equality Unit	SG4
	Gender Equality & Mainstreaming Teams (group interview with 3 participants)	SG5a, SG5b, SG5c
<b>Scottish Parliament (SP)</b>	<b>Participants</b>	<b>SP</b>
	Finance Committee Member of Scottish Parliament I	SP1
	Finance Committee Member of Scottish Parliament II	SP2
	Equal Opportunity Committee Member of Scottish Parliament	SP3
<b>Social Actors (SA)</b>	<b>Participants</b>	<b>SA</b>
	Women in Scotland’s Economy (WiSE)	SA1
	Engender	SA2
	Scottish Women’s Budget Group	SA3

## **5.7. Data Analysis**

This research engaged a fairly robust theoretical framework which initially focused on the social construction of gender (Risman 2004), followed by theoretical work on gendered impacts of macroeconomic and social policy (Elson 2002; Himmelweit 2002; Lewis 1997), the role of institutions, actors and ideas in gender relations (Annesley 2010; Annesley, Gains and Rummery 2007; Prugl 2003), as well as the related aspects of gendered ideational processes and policy framing (Beland 2009; Orloff and Palier 2009) tied together with theories of gender and the welfare state (Daly and Rake 2003; Sainsbury 1999). This provided the theoretical platform for data analysis, described in detail below.

### **5.7.1. Quantitative data analysis**

#### **A. Analysing distributional effects using cross-sectional data 2004-2013**

Concerned with evaluating the impact of public policy on men and women in society, Scotland is used as a unique country case study to investigate these issues. The main argument maintains that economic policy has an impact on gender and vice versa, but additionally that men and women's experiences in society are implicitly or explicitly the product of policy choices. This aligns with an empirical feminist approach in which hypothesis testing, standards of replication and transparent measurements and indicators are combined with a focus on gendered processes.

The analysis examines distributional impacts taking into account job patterns created from 2004-2013 without necessarily trying to capture recessionary effects. The point as Annesley et al. (2014) notes, is that governments have in the past not taken account of the gender impact of economic policy and this continues to be the case with or without a recession. Recession in this case has acted as a light bulb to elucidate what feminist have been saying for over three decades. Again it shows how institutions, norms, gender, policy actors and



ideas are relevant in reinforcing or dismantling gendered processes. In order to answer the question what is the position of men and women in the Scottish economy, the following sub-questions are useful:

- What are the relative positions of different groups of men and women in the Scottish economy taking into account gender, age, socio-economic class, family type, and education?

The proposition here is that government spending can sustain gendered patterns leading to persistent gender inequality in labour market participation. Patterns of employment for men and women in both the public and private sector<sup>16</sup> could be indicative of policy choices or involuntary labour supply decisions triggered by policy decisions. Sustained patterns are equally indicative of an approach to policymaking based on assumptions made about individuals, households and production processes. Involuntary labour supply decisions reflected in slight reductions in participation rates could mean individuals decide to work part-time instead of full-time due to structural and policy reasons. For instance, the way mainstream social policy areas such as childcare is designed matters for how women participate in employment.

In addition to being an employment issue, childcare is a gender equality issue since it is argued to regulate women's labour market outcomes. It is thus necessary to be central to economic analysis. The gendered nature of childcare provision thus situates gender as an analytical variable. However, in explaining the gendered differential impact of economic policy on men and women's labour market outcomes, economic analysis is void of

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<sup>16</sup> Employment within public and private sector is self-reported in the LFS. Therefore, there may be individuals who do not fully understand what sector they work in. That is if they are employed by a private sector company that delivers public services as part of, for example, external arms-length organisations. The best source to use for public sector is the Quarterly Public Sector Employment Statistics. However it does not have gender-disaggregated data except at local government level.

explanations on childcare. In Scotland, gender blindness and consequent bias in mainstream economic and social policy frameworks is demonstrated if post-devolution disproportionately gendered labour market patterns have been sustained over the years.

**B. Analysing Labour Market Transitions using a Transition Probability Matrix (TPM) & Multinomial Logistic Models showing Yearly effects from 2006-2013**

This section undertakes an empirical and econometric investigation of the disadvantaged worker effect in the Scottish labour market by adopting a simple five-state labour market transition representation. This enables a description of the Scottish labour market by means of a Transition Probability Matrix (TPM), which shows both permanence in each labour market condition and the probability of moving from one state to another in a given period of time.

A TPM is developed whereby each row represents an initial labour market state and each column gives the value of the state at the end of the period. This provides four labour market stocks, namely full-time employment, part-time employment and inactivity due to unpaid care and inactive other. Each element of the matrix represents the probability of moving from initial state (state at time (t)) to the state at the end of the period (state at time (t+1)). Values at the diagonal represent persistent patterns as they show the probability of remaining in the same condition during the given unit of time. The class of the models considered for the econometric investigations are Multinomial Logit regressions which has been used in similar intersectional studies by Harnois (2012), and Mussida and Fabrizi (2014).

The analysis undertaken here sets aside other important dimensions of socio-economic factors affecting income and well-being, such as changes in welfare programs and the share of investments and only focuses on labour market outcomes. The analysis seeks to capture

labour market flows as a measure of change in the size and composition of the labour market on families with dependent children. The analysis investigates the period before the crisis, during the crisis and periods of austerity, tracing changes in labour market trends over an 8 year period (2006-2013) for different family units by socio-economic characteristics.

The goal of this section is to model the transitions in the economy for workers to see how employment patterns changed over the period 2006-2013. The aim is to demonstrate that in addition to a dominant neoliberal approach to policy, in times of crises, changes to policy that retrench spending in the public sector and lack a gender focus, are likely to result in job losses and also discourage women from work. These changes result in the loss of purchasing power for families with dependent children and especially women as users of public services, mothers and carers. This works as a disincentive to stay in the labour market which may have a discouragement effect on certain groups of workers, particularly women.

In using a Transition Probability Matrix, this study identifies relevant labour market flows which may determine the male-female discouragement worker effect gap. This is relevant for informing policies aimed at favouring the inclusion and well-being of disadvantaged workers, especially those facing labour market participation problems due to lack of affordable and quality childcare. The lack of adequate childcare services can further lead to long term unemployment or underemployment depending on other cumulative policy effects.

To examine transitions in labour market trends between the same groups of individuals over the years, an analytical model has been developed based on annual observations using the five-quarter labour force survey. The intention is to investigate the impact of the government's approach to capital investment on jobs but also to attempt to explain changes in labour states in the period where the governments shifted spending from revenue

consequential to capital consequential as its strategy for economic recovery. The proposition is that the more discouraged that female workers are, especially those with dependent children, the more likely they are to drop out. The question becomes: Is the effect on families with dependent children greater than the effect on families without dependent children?

### **5.7.2. Qualitative Analysis**

Devising feminist historical institutionalism and ideational processes as the theoretical framework required a design that controlled for historical, institutional, political and social context. Policies and legislation relating to equality, political processes like devolution, and systems of governance between the UK and Scotland, and agency activity through policy stakeholders provided these contexts. Although this is a case study of Scotland, to maximise the number of observations, the unit of analysis is taken to be specific policy debates and institutional processes. As already noted, a problem-driven approach to methods sits well with this current research and this is also driven by whatever methods are deemed necessary to answer the research questions. The analysis undertaken here started by reviewing policy documents and locating the policy context within the relevant feminist theories. Primarily, the data was sourced from interviews and policy documents to analyse the policy terrain in Scotland with respect to the theoretical approach based on feminist historical institutionalism and ideational analysis.

The data from the interviews were presented together with information from the government's policy documents. The interviews were audio recorded and field notes were taken at the same time. The interviews were then transcribed, coded thematically by different concepts and an institutional context as they emerged and analysed using NVivo. The main objectives were to triangulate the data from the interviews with policy documents

and relevant sections of budget statements (see table 5.1 above). It was hoped that this would reveal the extent to which gender has already been incorporated in both economic and social policy.

### **A. Analysing Institutions and Processes: Institutions & Policy Stakeholders as units of Analysis**

One of the main aims of this research was to analyse institutional setups and infrastructures for gender equality in Scotland. Fundamentally, this extended to the examination of the policy terrain in Scotland, equality regulating and institutional processes, a range of actors in these institutions and the range of equality issues that feature prominently in the policy context in Scotland. For Scotland, the context for analysing the infrastructure for gender equality began with an analysis of the equality architecture. As noted by Walby et al (2012), an equality infrastructure regulates the vision of gender equality pursued and the strategies of promoting gender equality. Therefore, in addition to political or historical context, how institutional sites are used to embed equality, in addition to the quality of policy processes are important factors to consider. This is because they determine the extent to which economic and equality related policy issues including gender equality have been institutionalised in a wider political system or not and how these translate into gender-awareness in policymaking. For Walby, Armstrong and Strid (2012), the quality of an equality architect is relevant for how gender equality is promoted as well as in promoting other strands of equality.

### **Defining the Equality Architecture**

The analysis began by setting the historical and political context. The infrastructure for gender equality in Scotland was then analysed to generate data on if and how feminist visions or gender equality issues are represented in the machinery of government. In

defining the range of institutions to include in an equality structure, Walby et al. (2012) suggested a conception that is inclusive of government or quasi-governmental agencies and departments that regulate or promote equality. They maintain that it is important to take note of those institutions that shape and regulate inequality that are not included.

Studies within political science and feminist academics show variations in the range of institutions included in the analysis of an equality architecture (see Lovenduski 2005; Mazur 2002; O’Cinneide 2007; Squires 2009). The way the equality architecture is conceptualised also matters for the assessment of its quality (Walby et al. 2012). For example, agencies such as women’s policy units (Stetson and Mazur 2000, 2010) within government, sometimes referred to as gender machinery or gender architecture are often included as part of the architecture. The potential for a women’s policy machinery to foster policies on gender equality especially women’s issues has been captured by academics in studies on state feminism (Lovenduski 2005, Mazur 2002) and most often illustrates the unequal gender power dynamics at play between different actors within such institutions.

With respect to gendered power dynamics, Kenny’s (2007) framework on gender as a social structure and dimension of power enables the analysis of gender relations within the equality architecture. In the scope of this thesis, this was useful to demonstrate how gendered constructions of economic institutions are entrenched and maintained and the consequences this has for promoting gender equality in paid and unpaid work. This offered an avenue to investigate the gendered nature of economic and equality regulating institutions and how they have perpetuated the visibility of certain policy issues over others.

Furthermore, the configuration of institutional arrangement within a political system determines not only gendered power relations but equally, discursive practices and structure access to discursive arenas by different actors. This is significant because as Kulawik (2009)

demonstrates, institutions are not only sedimentations of discursive struggles, but because there are interactions between discourses and institutions, institutions are locations of communication and regulators of equality. This would also include law and legislation. These inherently influence the range of equality issues, policy preferences and the composition of actors that become part of the governance structure in a political system. Effectively, discursive practices in institutional settings could either normalise or neutralise norms that are pervasive to the gender equality goal. The potential for this to eventually exert material consequences for men and women is determined by the issues that become included as the range of equality policy concerns and preferences that are actionable on policymakers' agenda, but also those that are excluded, for example, unpaid care.

Walby et al. (2012) restricted the structures of the architecture to government bodies, institutions such as the law and formalised consultative processes that have an explicit remit to address equality issues. Existing studies show that there are informal institutions or mechanisms such as civil society organisations, 'femocrats', academics and other policy networks such as businesses which have potential causal influence in shaping policy. However, this current research restricts focus on formal institutions for the purpose of defining who is responsible within the machinery of government for developing and promoting the vision of and strategy for equality in Scotland. This restriction also enabled analysis of the accessibility of institutions to equality policy stakeholders and the extent to which they can influence equality and mainstream policymaking. Therefore, formal institutions that regulate equality and the strategy for achieving gender equality within the Scottish policy terrain are included in the analysis.

This conceptualisation is also important to assess the quality of the architecture by virtue of how permeable such institutions are to gender equality advocates outside government and

how deliberative, inclusive and democratically accountable such institutions are. This approach, therefore, embraces a discursive perspective (Kulawik 2009) which helps conceptualise the relationship between institutions, policy actors and other stakeholders from both a discursive and agential perspective but also identify the range of policy issues that feature as policy preferences.

Lombardo et al. (2009), Bacchi (2009) and Ferree (2009) argue that the law, politicians and other policy actors can contribute to the shaping of equality policies through discursive processes that give meanings, sometimes multiple but contradictory meanings that equally change over time. While the meaning of equality changes, it also implicates whether a broader or deeper conception of gender equality or a gender perspective is incorporated in the equality institutions and mainstream policy processes (see Lombardo and Meier 2006). A broadening or deepening perspective is evident by virtue of how the equality imperative is problematised (Bacchi 1999), whether as an equal opportunities issue or a question of structural relations between men and women (Lombardo and Meier 2006). Conversely, this delineates the extent of contestations and negotiations of gender equality and the mainstream and the types of tools used in promoting gender equality. For Scotland, this would show how successful or not the equality mainstreaming strategy has been in promoting gender equality in institutional sites. The role of devolution is also important for the type of infrastructure for gender equality that is present in Scotland. Other factors include the recent changes in the overall UK equality framework on the policy terrain. This is crucial given that changes could displace the priority given to gender equality issues amidst other equality concerns.

With regards to the institutional setting, McKay and Gillespie (2005) have demonstrated how devolution was the opportunity for Scottish politicians and policymakers to design new



processes and institutions that were more responsive to issues of poverty and inequality compared to their Westminster counterparts. What follows is an analysis of if and how the new institutional settings or processes provided opportunity structures for inclusive and participatory policy and politics from a gender perspective. First, the range of institutions and actors are identified followed by the quality of such an architect for incorporating a gender perspective in policy and politics. Kenny's (2007) approach to feminist institutionalism, which centralises gender as a social structure and fundamental dimension for power and institutional analysis, is used to locate gender power dynamics between actors in the various institutional settings.

### **B. Semi-Structured Interviews & Documentary Analysis with Policy Debate as the unit of Analysis**

To subsequently investigate how these dynamics have influenced gender-aware economic policymaking, this research analysed how equality has been framed through the government's policy. It showed how the range of institutions, actors and ideas including the discursive framing of the deep-seated socio-economic issues have developed over the years to inform the Scottish government's approach to policy making on equality issues and public policy in general.

In unpicking and analysing the various institutions that make up the equality infrastructure in Scotland and its relevance for gender equality, a feminist historical institutionalist framework was used to trace its development post-devolution. This helped to set the context to question if and how gender has been embedded in the equality architecture. Using Kenny's (2007) theoretical framework on gendered power relations, the policy analysis sought to uncover how gender issues have been contested, institutionalised, or not, over the years and where gender currently sits within the wider equality framework. Furthermore, the

various policies, policy stakeholders and forms of political engagement are examined to underscore how inclusive and accessible this architecture has been in terms of placing women's issues on the political agenda.

Similarly, an evaluation of how economic and social policy is conducted in Scotland was undertaken to investigate if and how a gender equality perspective features in the policymaking process on issues such as framing, agenda setting, and policy formulation. It also explored the underlying gendered assumptions built in the economic models informing the strategy for sustainable growth in Scotland within the context of an overall commitment to promoting gender equality. An historical analysis of if and how economic analysis and social policy frameworks in Scotland has informed policy change with regards to gender equality was undertaken. This served as crucial data to explain whether and how gender assumptions entrenched in economic and/or social policymaking have influenced women's position in the private and public sphere in Scotland over the years, relative to men.

It was noted earlier that the social world is also constituted in the way people talk it (Potter 1996 p.98), in the way social problems are framed (Bacchi 1999, 2000), and the way policy actors and relevant stakeholders, who may include women, categorise social reality, write it and argue it (Schmidt 2005; Verloo 2007). As such, the categories that people employ in helping them to understand and talk about the social world are regarded as social products. They are also built up and are constituted in and through interaction in various institutional and discursive spaces. In other words, the meanings given to social phenomena are constructed in and through interaction which can dismantle, erect or reinforce certain dominant frames. For example, categories like 'gender' 'care' 'equality' 'femininity' and 'masculinity' may be treated as social constructions.

To put this into perspective, gender is interpreted as something whose meaning is built up and transmitted during interaction, and would vary across place, space and time; just as it would for care and equality. This demonstrates the important role of institutions, actors, the ideas and discursive frames of other policy stakeholders used in presenting categories as features of representation of social phenomena and the way they give meanings to and explain social problems. The implication is that the social world is constituted in and through interaction which may also be in the form of ideas and discourse.

In attempting to understand the specific role of institutions, actors and ideas in affecting policy debates or in the policy process and bringing gender issues into each debate, standard methods of process-tracing are used to analyse the dynamics and outcomes using policy documents and interviews. Bacchi's 'What's the Problem Represented to be (WPR)' analytical process is used to trace policy problem definitions. As defined by Bacchi (2009), the WPR is an approach to policy analysis that emphasizes the way policies represent policy problems, and the extent to which these problematisations may define or redefine people's experiences of a policy. As a methodological approach, it also provides a framework to unpick the discursive politics of certain concepts, policy debates or definitions of policy problems which invariably is argued to inform policy choices. A feminist critical frame analysis developed by Verloo (2007) is used to trace processes of fixing, stretching, shrinking and bending. That is, how meaning is given to policy problems and the way they are presented in political spaces through discourse or in policy documents. Following a diagnosis and prognosis approach from Bacchi's (1999) WPR methodology, records for different policy debates were used. This was to ensure methodical debate selection and analysis, and also to standardize, as much as possible, the data collection process in order to provide the maximum potential for replication.

## **5.8. Ethical Considerations for Elite Interviews**

There are peculiar ethical concerns beyond the standard issues surrounding the general requirements as prescribed by basic day-to-day reflexivity in social science interviewing when interviewing elite participants. Although information must always be kept confidential and in line with legislative requirements, such as the Data Protection Act and the Freedom of Information Act, there were inherent challenges of maintaining anonymity when it came to interviewing elites. Issues of selection bias were also present.

### **Ethical Issues with particular reference to elite interviewees**

This study adhered to the ethical guidelines set out by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2012) and the School of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Stirling. In addition to generally identifiable ethical issues in social science research, some pertinent ethical issues relating to elite interviewing also required attention. Walford (2012) highlights how researching the powerful, for example, policymakers, pose particular difficulties in terms of access, interview techniques needed, interpretation of data generated and other ethical issues already discussed above.

#### **➤ Representation of Research Participants and Selection Bias**

In the process leading up to the interviews, it was projected that issues of recruitment of participants for this study in terms of the selection effect of interviewees and possible bias in responses would arise. Generally in elite interviews, participants are chosen based on either wealth and power or position (Schneider and Aguiar 2012; Walford 2012). For this research, participants were chosen based on who they are and the position that they hold within the machinery of government, their role in regulating equality, promoting gender equality, promoting women's position in the modern welfare state, equalities budgeting, informing economic policy and analysis, and social policymaking. This ensured that the

relevant policy stakeholders were chosen for the interviews based on their role in making or influencing policy within the broad fields of economic, social and gender equality policy, irrespective of their opinions on gendering policy and/or politics.

A closely related problem that was anticipated was that some policymakers whose views are crucial to the research process may not be willing, or available, to take part in the interview. This was the case with some Scottish ministers of parliament who turned down the invitation to participate in the research because the researcher is not a member of their constituency area. As such, the views of some relevant policy actors were not included in this research, although such views were indirectly incorporated by incorporating data from some parliamentary minutes which captured their views.

Another problem that was envisaged was that some participants would be agreeable to be interviewed because they are passionate about the context and content of the research or any other reasons which may pose bias in responses. To overcome this, the researcher initially read documents to gain an understanding of the views of respective elites on these issues in past and/or current debates or public documents.

➤ Gaining access: Gatekeepers

Walford (2012) argues that elites have considerable ability to stop research from being conducted on their activities. Thus, access to research sites is rarely easy, especially where policy initiative is controversial and fiercely contested. Relevant to this study is the issue of modelling care and unpaid work in economic models, gendering the policy process and equalities mainstreaming of the Scottish budget. However, Fitz and Haplin (1994) argues that one way of overcoming this requires exploiting pre-existing links with those in power. For Cassell (1988 p.95), the researcher of the powerful needs many of the characteristics of the social climber. This can either be in the form of 'institutional' or 'personal' sponsorship.

He argues that this can help smooth access to research sites and research participants. This study is jointly funded by the Scottish Government/Economic and Social Research Council with networks with Engender and the Scottish Government's Equality and Budget Advisory Group (EBAG). Additionally, access to the research site was initially facilitated by an informal invitation to attend EBAG meetings as an observer. Having a Scottish government contact from both the Equality Unit and the Office of Chief Economic Adviser of the Scottish Government helped in facilitating access to policymakers and other elite participants at different levels of central government.

Ozga and Gewirtz (1994) maintained that easy access to elite participants can also be gained if the interviewer seems 'perfectly harmless'. Walford (2012), from a sexist perspective, points out that female researchers may be at an advantage in being perceived as 'harmless' especially if they are relatively young. However, as noted by Neal (1995), being female may also hinder research by not being taken as seriously as a male researcher. Conducting research on gender equality issues coupled with being a female researcher can mean that both are not taken seriously. For this research, information letters were sent to potential participants stating that the research was a PhD in economics, which in some ways gave leverage to the level of seriousness given to the topic. This was something that was noticeable in the course of the interviews. Being female, worked both ways, as some interviewees were more relaxed and willing to talk without reservation. Given that the researcher had read widely prior to interviews, it was relatively easy to decipher when a participant was just talking or giving relevant information on the topic. On the other hand, being a female and conducting economics orientated research meant the researcher had to 'prove' her knowledge of economics in some instances and show understanding of some concepts to access reliable information. These dynamics revealed issues of power between

interviewer and interviewees, which are, perhaps, common challenges when interviewing elites.

Another perspective brought in by Kogan (1994) suggests targeting the retired powerful elites as opposed to those currently in power. This was not particularly relevant for this research as most of the participants have been in government or policy networks for more than half of the period under investigation. However, it was useful for tracing the relevant historical background for investigating the role of ideas, norms and structures or legislations in reproducing gender and gender assumptions about women's position in Scottish society, and in economic and social policies.

#### ➤ Interviewing Elite Participants

Most policy related research relies on semi-structured interviews and documents as the main sources of data. Success in interviewing elite participants depends in part on how widely read an interviewer is and how prepared he or she is for the interview (Phillips 1998). Furthermore, those in power can also assume that the interviewer has already obtained information on the policy areas under investigation and thus may not be prepared to supply similar information. Moreover, those in power are experts in their field (Moyser 1988) and are likely to question why some particular questions are being asked. As a result, some may 'just talk' and not answer the questions that are asked. Ostrander (1993) argues that a situation like this accurately typifies a reflection of the elite's position of power and not necessarily self-centredness. As indicated above, the researcher was widely read and was therefore not intimidated by those being interviewed. The main research questions were also written down with probes to enable the researcher to ensure that their agenda, and not the interviewees, is followed.

### ➤ Interpretation of Elite Interviews

The interpretation of elite interviews is more problematic than other types of interviews given that interviews with policymakers are more political and ‘game like’ in nature (Ball 1994). Walford (2012) argues for the researcher to recognise and explore the interview more fully as the ‘play of power’ rather than separate them, since those in power have a vested interest that they wish to protect. Significantly, ethical issues abound if the researcher has political or ideological views that are in opposition to those being studied. This is not particularly relevant to this research as the researcher’s political or ideological views are not the subject of the research or research aims. However, given that the relationship between gender and economic growth is fairly contested in mainstream policy circles and this research has a gender equality perspective, it was anticipated that the feminist ideologies underpinning this research may be in opposition to those of the interviewees. While there was some evidence of contestation in the understanding of these issues, generally, interviewees were willing and open to discussing their perceptions and their relevance to policy. In some instances, the oppositions were the basis for which some of the follow-up research questions were informed.

This issue of opposing views poses another ethical issue regarding the degree to which a researcher should reveal his or her own views. Mickelson (1994) proposed that one way of going about this is to adopt a confrontational stance and challenge differing viewpoints while remaining imprecise on their views. This way, the researcher can generate ‘good data’ although this approach raises other ethical issues of misleading the interviewee. It is therefore important for the researcher to carefully decide how much information they wish to disclose regarding their views on particular issues.



### ➤ Interpretation of Data Generated

Based on the issues of confidentiality, Walford (2012) argues that conducting elite interviews can lead to self-censorship since there are real and perceived problems of libel with regards to what to write should there be any doubt with regards to the interpretation of interviews. As such, extreme care has to be taken with the interpretation of elite interviews, despite this conflicting with the ethical duty of reporting what has been said. Walford (2012) suggests that a way round this is to look up existing information or material in which the elite has been quoted in making a point and use it as a basis to match to the current interview output. This helps to inform the interpretation, especially if the views expressed in the interview are similar to those in policy documents, speeches or other relevant material.

Furthermore, the need to conduct future research may also lead to self-censorship. For example, practical matters relating to disclosing hidden information in one piece of research is unlikely to guarantee access to that research site again (Walford 2012). Publishing material that is critical can also have a detrimental effect on future researchers, especially if they are connected to the same university or seen to be linked to the first researcher. It is possible that during the research interviews participants may discuss highly sensitive topics and it is the ethical duty of the researcher to ensure that such discussions do not harm the participants in any way. For this research, participants were told prior to the interview that they are free to withdraw at any time and can refuse to answer any question or discuss any topic without explanation. In addition, the researcher compiled a list of potential participants and their contact details should a participant reveal that they require more information with a particular issue, although this did not occur.

Participants may request to read the report after the interview and may strongly disagree with how the researcher has interpreted what they said. In such cases, participants may

request that their data be withdrawn from the study. A more realistic way of overcoming this was to offer interviewees a chance to review their interview notes but not to comment on the study outputs or reports, although they can still be provided with copies of research outputs. This was crucial for Scottish government participants, given that this research is sponsored by the SG to evaluate their policies and processes and may be unhappy with any critical conclusions drawn in the study. With respect to this research, careful consideration has been given to what can be offered in addition to the fact that the research outputs were agreed upon at the outset. Advice has also been obtained from supervisors and colleagues with regards to this issue.

➤ Procedure for informed consent

Upon gaining ethical approval for the study, the researcher corresponded with participants via email and an information sheet was attached detailing what their participation involved. This approach was useful in dispelling any confusion or misinterpretation of the researcher's intentions. Fully informed consent was sought from every participant before the interviews were conducted. In this case, fully informed consent meant voluntary consent following a full and meaningful explanation of the research goals and how it would be disseminated. Richards (1996) highlights the ethical challenges that are specific to gaining informed consent from elite participants. Relevant to this study is a participant's awareness of their right to refuse to participate, their understanding of the extent to which confidentiality will be provided, an awareness of how their data may be used and the ability to renegotiate consent (Corti, Day, Backhouse 2000). None of these issues arose in the interview process, with the exception of one participant who assigned someone else to participate in the interview.

Furthermore, where requested, three participants were contacted at a later date and provided with copies of their interview transcripts and given the opportunity to withdraw from the study. Since they did not withdraw, the transcripts were used.

Elites are typically public figures, thus it is difficult to offer them anonymity because it is not only what is said that is important but also who says it (Walford 2012). Interviews conducted with a particular named person is often central to policy studies research (Walford 2012), compared to other forms of research where participants are chosen on the basis of representation in some way to the wider population. Protection of participations with respect to confidentiality would be given through the informed consent process. However, realistically, this still poses problems of confidentiality, especially when interviewing a small group of high profile individuals who may be identifiable to those working in their areas.

Given the moderate number of participants interviewed, the sex of the interviewees has not been disclosed as a measure to ensure anonymity. Also, the exact role or position of the interview participants within their respective institutions has not been disclosed. Otherwise, it becomes impossible to guarantee anonymity. Participants were assured that their names would not be disclosed and in the course of the interview, although some participants disclosed their names, they were not interviewed 'on the record'. The purpose of this was to obtain quality information since data may be compromised as the interviewee may, to some extent, withhold information.

All respondents participating in this research were given the assurance that the information they provided would not be passed on to a third party and that they would not be identified by name, or otherwise, in any publications arising from the research. To this end, interviewees have been re-coded given that the respondents could be easily identifiable from

their position. All interview data and the personal details of interviewees have been kept safe in a locked cabinet in a secure room. No information was or will be passed to third parties unless it meets the legislative criteria of the data protection act and sensitive information redacted.

## **5.9. Conclusion**

This chapter illustrates how it is possible to apply a mixed methods approach in feminist economics research and attempts to undertake a pragmatic approach to research following two research philosophies. Central to the choice of methods in feminist research is the need to develop methods that provide the relevant and reliable data needed to answer the research questions. Given that feminist research is political in nature with emancipatory aims, the need to source information from policymakers is equally as important as the need to gain women's voices and experiences as an expression of reality. What is also evident in the approach taken here is that different approaches to research provide partial insights to social phenomena. Thus, mixing methods is crucial to gaining a wider compass of knowledge of the topic being studied.

## CHAPTER SIX

### WHAT IS THE POSITION OF MEN AND WOMEN IN THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY?

#### **6.1. Introduction**

This chapter examines the relative position of men and women in the Scottish labour market. It analyses distributional labour market outcomes using secondary data from the UK Labour Force Survey (LFS). Using quantitative methods, it explores disproportionately gendered labour market patterns in the Scottish labour market over a ten year period from 2004-2013. Gendered disadvantage in the labour market is demonstrated by analysing labour market transitions for men and women and for families with dependent children using a Transition Probability Matrix (TPM). To account for differences in patterns in labour market transitions and the effect of dependent children on those patterns, multinomial logistic models are estimated using panel data from the five-quarter LFS. Specifically, the analysis models the patterns in employment transitions for families with dependent children under the age of 2 and compares this with those without dependent children of the same age group. It also models employment transitions for those families with dependent children between the ages of 2 and 4 and compares them with those without.

#### **6.2. Cross-sectional analysis for distributional labour market patterns from 2004-2013**

This section shows a general picture of the labour market over the 10 year period 2004 to 2013. Data from the UK Labour Force Survey (LFS) reveal that 72.2% of all workers in the Scottish labour market work in the private sector compared to 27.8% in public sector. In other words, one quarter of the population work in the public sector and this pattern is consistent over the years. Splitting this between the public and private sector, 81.4% of all men in employment work in the private sector compared to only 18.6% of men in the public

sector, while 62.7% of women in employment work in the private sector as a whole compared to 37.3% in the public sector (chart 6.1).

**Chart 6.1: Public and private sector employment within sex**

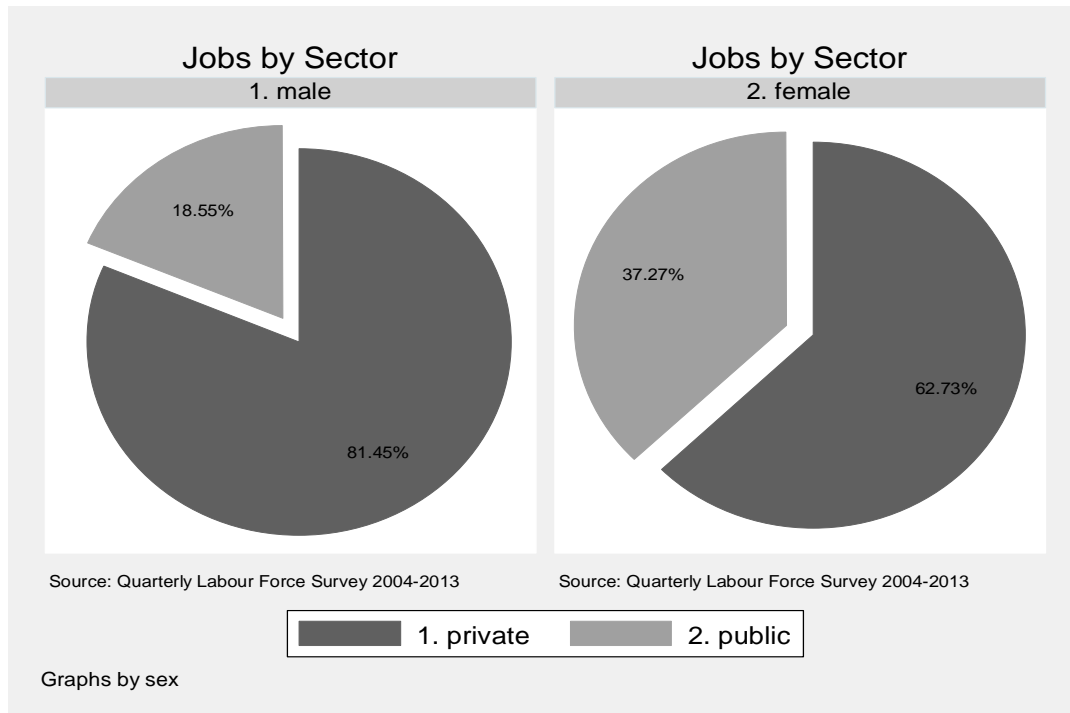


Table 6.1 below shows that the private sector employs more male than female workers. In the private sector men comprise 57.2% of all workers compared to 42.8% of women, whereas 66.1% of all workers in the public sector are women compared to 33.9% of men.

**Table 6.1: Public/Private Sector Employment between men and women**

Sex	Private	Public
Male	16,013	3,648
	57.23%	33.91%
Female	11,966	7,110
	42.77%	66.09%
Total	27,979	10,758
	100%	100%

The data therefore indicates that men and women have different participation patterns within the public and private sectors. These gendered patterns, especially those for women in the public sector have been argued to be driven by some monetary and non-monetary reasons

(Buelens and Broeck 2007; Disney and Gosling 1998). For example, with regards to pecuniary reasons, academic literature maintains that the public sector is attractive to women because they are more likely to earn higher wages in the public sector than in the private sector (de Castro et al. 2013). This provides an economic reason for a high concentration of female workers in the public sector. With regards to non-pecuniary motives, extant empirical work has demonstrated that employment conditions are different in the public sector compared to the private sector (see Cornley et al. 2011; Pfeifer 2011). From a non-financial perspective, working in the public sector may be reflective of the convenience of shorter hours of work or flexible working conditions that allow parents to balance work and family life. Given that women tend to undertake more unpaid care and domestic work compared to men, they are more likely than men to work in the public sector. This also applies to parents with dependent children, who are most often females, who may be constrained from working at all or forced to work in part-time jobs due to family and domestic commitments.

Over the 10 year period investigated, men have been substantially more concentrated in full-time employment than in part-time employment compared to women. As revealed in chart 6.2, on average, 89.3% of men in employment work full-time compared to 58.6% of women. Part-time working patterns are also gendered showing a higher average for females (41.4%) from 2004-2013 compared to males (10.7%). Part-time employment is classified in ONS and ILO as working less than 30 hours per week. Given the self-reported nature of LFS, individuals' response is based on the respondent's view of the amount of work they do. It is not related to the hours worked during the reference week.

**Chart 6.2 Full/Part-time employment within men and women**

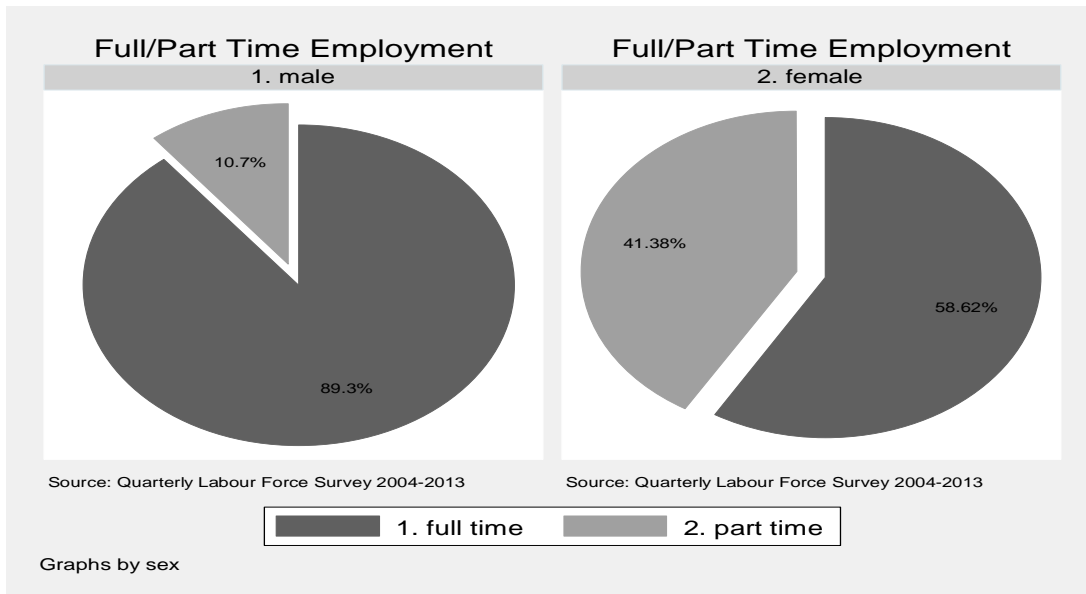
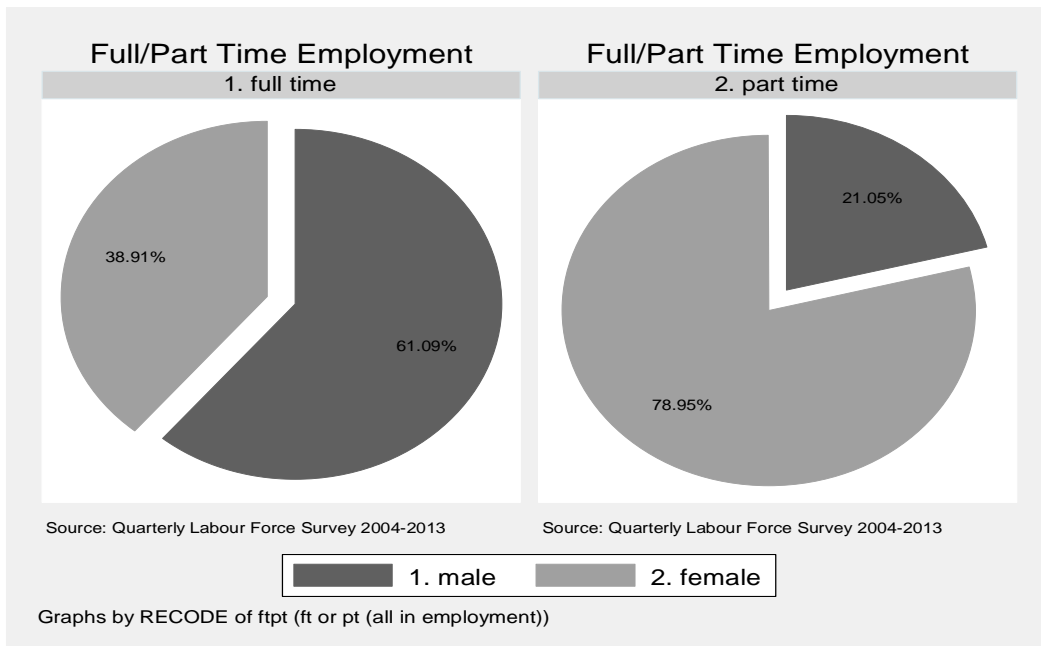


Chart 6.3 below reveals that the female proportion of those working part-time is four times more (79%) compared to their male counterparts (21%). By contrast, a higher proportion of males (61.1%) in employment work in full-time employment compared to females (38.9%).

**Chart 6.3: Full/Part-time employment between men and women**





Data from the LFS reveals that, in Scotland, women were in part-time work for a number of reasons. Table 6.2 below indicates that of those women who responded to ‘reason why in part-time employment’, 77.3% are more likely to say they ‘did not want a full-time’ job compared to the other reasons listed. A higher proportion of men (48.5%) also stated this as a ‘reason why in part-time employment’ followed by being a student (25.9%).

**Table 6.2: Reason why in part-time employment**

	Male	Female
Student	540	797
	25.94%	10.14%
ill/disabled	75	129
	3.60%	1.64%
could not find full-time	458	860
	22%	10.95%
did not want full-time	1,009	6,071
	48.46%	77.27%
Total	2,082	7,857
	100%	100%

However, of those women who reported ‘did not want a full-time’ job as a reason for being in part-time employment, 62.92% reported family and domestic commitments as the reason for ‘not wanting a full-time’ job, followed by financial security (17.91%) and ‘another reason’ (15.74%) - table 6.3 below. The table shows that of those men who reported ‘did not want a full-time job’ as a reason for being in part-time employment, financial security was the strongest reason (48.91%), followed by ‘another reason’ (34.19%).

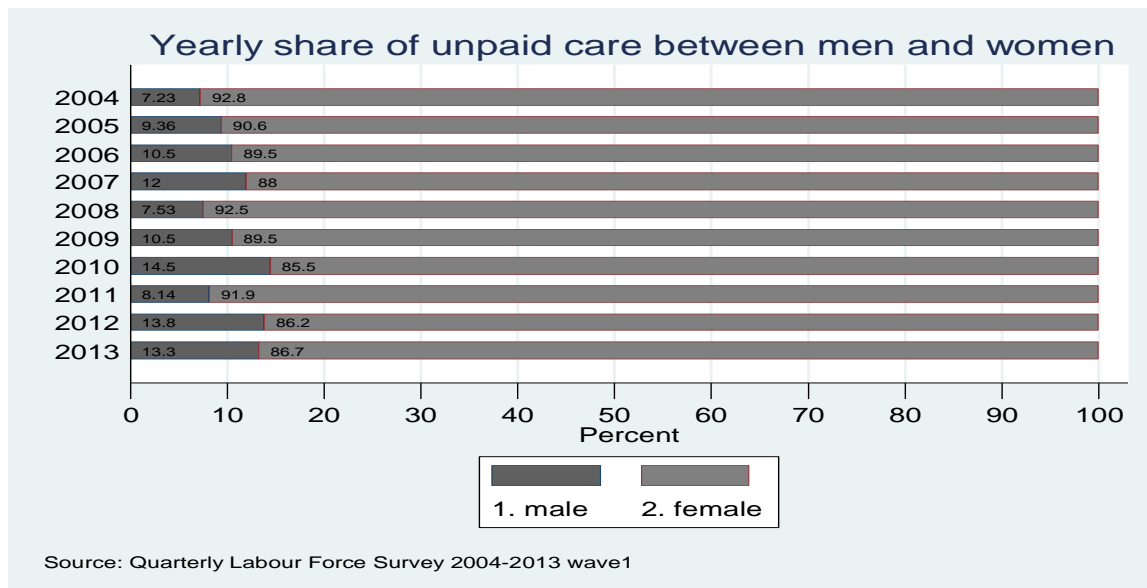
**Table 6 3: Reason not wanting full-time job**

sex	financial security	family & domestic	insufficient childcare	another reason	Total
Male	246	82	3	172	503
	48.91%	16.30%	0.60%	34.19%	100%
Female	527	1,851	101	463	2,942
	17.91%	62.92%	3.43%	15.74%	100%

Family and domestic responsibilities were reported as important for women as opposed to financial security for men. These domestic responsibilities and insufficient care services

constrain women to take up part-time employment in order to balance work with caring for children and elderly relatives as well as looking after the home (unpaid domestic work). For clarity, Graph 6.1 below reveals the share of unpaid care between men and women over the 10 year period.

**Graph 6.1: Changes in share of unpaid care as a share of economic activity**

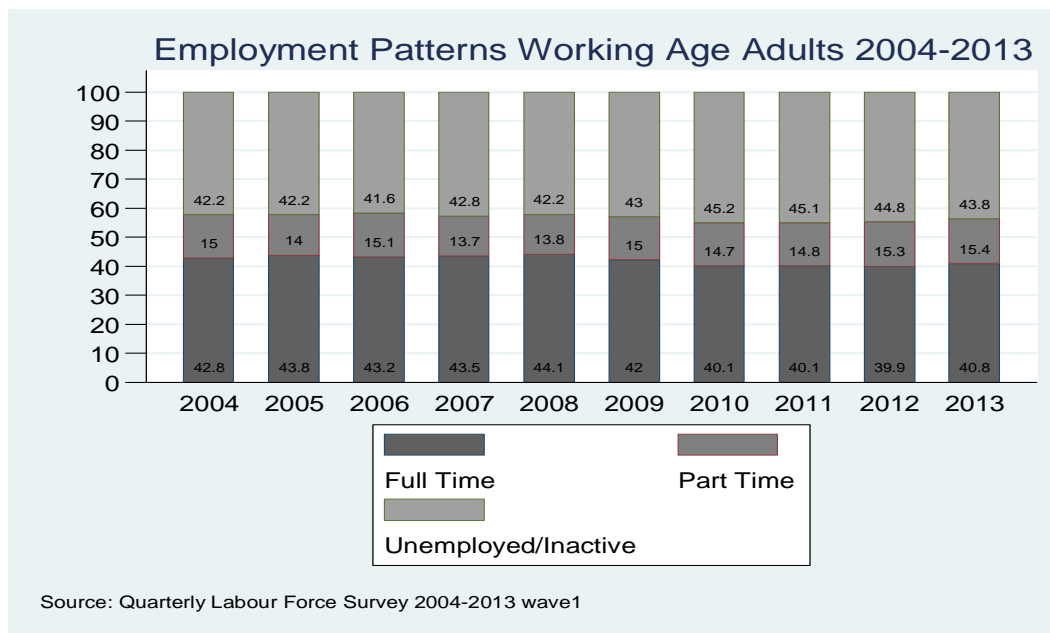


The graph shows on average, 90% of those who reported being economically inactive due to unpaid care are women, in comparison to a male average of 10%. This pattern has persisted over the years and suggests that the government’s approach to social policy areas, such as childcare, has not changed over the years but may have maintained gendered patterns. Women do more than three quarters of unpaid care work. This remains largely unrecognised as an economic activity or economic contribution, without infrastructural investment from the public sector (Elson 1992) as it is privatised as a household issue. Until the recession, men’s share of unpaid care work was below 10% but has now increased significantly from 10.5% in 2006 to 14% and 13% in 2010 and 2013 respectively.

## A. Yearly employment patterns for Working Age Adults

This section describes employment patterns of working age adults in the Scottish labour market taking in account patterns in unemployment and economic inactivity. Graph 6.2 shows employment patterns of all working age adults from 2004-2013.

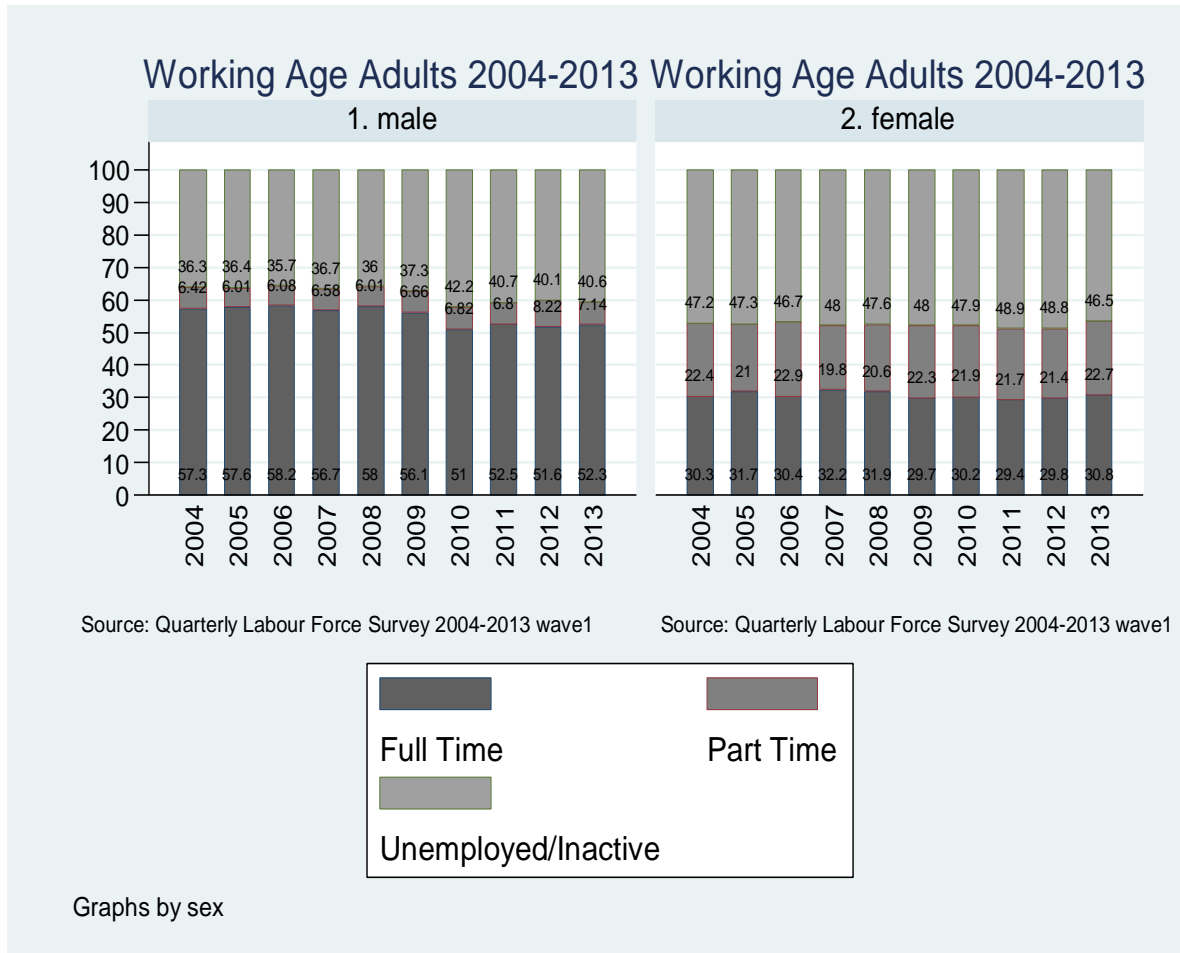
**Graph 6.2: Employment Patterns of all Working Age Adults from 2004-2013**



With regards to full-time work, graph 6.2 above shows that from 2004-2008 the percentage of working age adults in full-time employment increased from 42.8% to 44.1%, but later dropped in 2009 by 2.1% percentage points to 42%. In 2013, the overall full-time employment of working age adults fell to 40.8% down 3.3 percentage points since 2008. On the other hand, part-time trends from 2004 to 2008 fluctuated between 15% and 13.8% for all workers. By 2009, there was a substantial increase in part-time employment to 15% continuing to increase to 15.4% in 2013 for both men and women of working age. This increase could be explained in part by a shift of full-time workers into part-time employment. In the same period, full-time employment dropped and the percentage of working adults who slipped into unemployment, or who became economically inactive,

increased. Graph 6.3 below shows employment patterns for men and women of working age in the Scottish labour market 2004-2013.

**Graph 6.3: Employment patterns of working age adults by sex from 2004-2013**



From graph 6.3, men experienced a drastic decline in full-time employment of 5.1 percentage points between 2009/2010 although there was an initial indicative decline between 2007 and 2008. Between 2007 and 2012, women’s full-time employment decreased steadily from 32.2% in 2007 to 29.8% in 2012. These patterns could be due to the effects of the recession. Both men and women endured the later decline in full-time employment, but for men, the decrease could be mostly accounted for by a reduction in full-time jobs in the manufacturing and construction sectors as a result of the recession (McKay et al. 2013).

There were also increases in the proportion of working age men in part-time employment from full-time employment from 2010 to 2012. For women of working age, there was a substantial decline in part-time employment by 3.1 percentage points between 2006/2007. However, trends have now reversed but have fluctuated between 22.3 % in 2009, 21.7% in 2011 and 22.7% in 2013. This pattern could indicate that workers are either cutting down on hours worked in current employment or they are underemployed. It could also mean workers are switching from unemployment and inactivity into part-time jobs. This period coincides with the government's policy on capital investment as a strategy for economic recovery and spending shifts that financed shovel-ready projects creating short term jobs for men in the public sector. As such, the noticeable short-lived gain in full-time employment for men in 2011 could be reflective of the outcome of this policy given full-time employment for men dropped by 0.9 percentage points from 52.5% in 2011 to 51.6% in 2012. These were mostly short-term infrastructural projects. On the other hand, increases in part-time jobs for men have been more severe than for women.

Data from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) showed that women's employment in Scotland had been increasing during 1998-2008 (McKay et al. 2012). In fact pre-recession employment rates for women in Scotland were generally higher than for those in England. Between 2004 and 2005, women's full-time employment increased steadily but fell in 2006, increased in 2007 but declined in 2008 just after the beginning of the recession in 2007 (McKay et al. 2012). Increases in full-time employment in 2004/2005 can be explained by the increased employment of women in the public sector due to shorter hours and the presence of flexible work patterns (see McKay et al. 2012). Thus, the female share of the public sector has increased over the years but these are often jobs in service industries, highly dominated by women (see section on industry sector) and incur low pay rates with unstable working patterns. Current figures indicate a reduction in full-time employment for

women and a rather steady pattern of 42% in part-time jobs from 2009 to 2013. By implication, the form and scale of government's spending could have reinforced gendered patterns, implicitly resulting in an increase in women's share of unpaid work, thus, maintaining historically gendered patterns of unpaid work.

What appears in Scotland is the creation of a one and a half family worker model in which men work full-time as breadwinners while women work part-time as second earners and take up other roles as providers of unpaid care work. Because economic outcomes are indisputably concerned with employment aggregates, understanding these patterns as economic consequences and incorporating them in associated economic models and mainstream approach to economic analysis has been problematic (Evers 2003 p.8). Elson suggested incorporating gendered social institutions such as households into economic models (Elson 1993, 1994) for gender equitable policymaking. Given the institutional perspective taken here, incorporating unpaid childcare work as both an equality strand and unpaid work as a variable of analysis in policy is crucial. This also means incorporating childcare policy as employment policy within an equality architect. This approach is useful in inextricably linking economic and social policy to gender.

## **B. Investigating Trends by Socio-economic Characteristics**

How labour market outcomes change for different groups of workers and the barriers to labour market participation faced by women are of particular concern to the people affected and to policy makers in Scotland. It is also important because these labour market outcomes are gendered and vary for different groups of men and women. Besides the personal effects inherent in these patterns for those facing them, these outcomes may also indicate if labour markets are operating inefficiently. Gendered outcomes and inefficiency in policy could be revealing of policy outcomes generated through government spending programs, policy

goals as well as individual labour market supply decisions. Himmelweit (2002) maintained that economic policies that have gendered behavioural impacts are inefficient if left unattended to. Although these are also linked to conditions triggered by declining economies, most often the problem is linked to policy decisions that impact on jobs, pay, and social services that women require to access the labour market in any economic context. The following analysis examines trends in employment patterns for different groups of workers by socio-economic characteristics from 2004-2013.

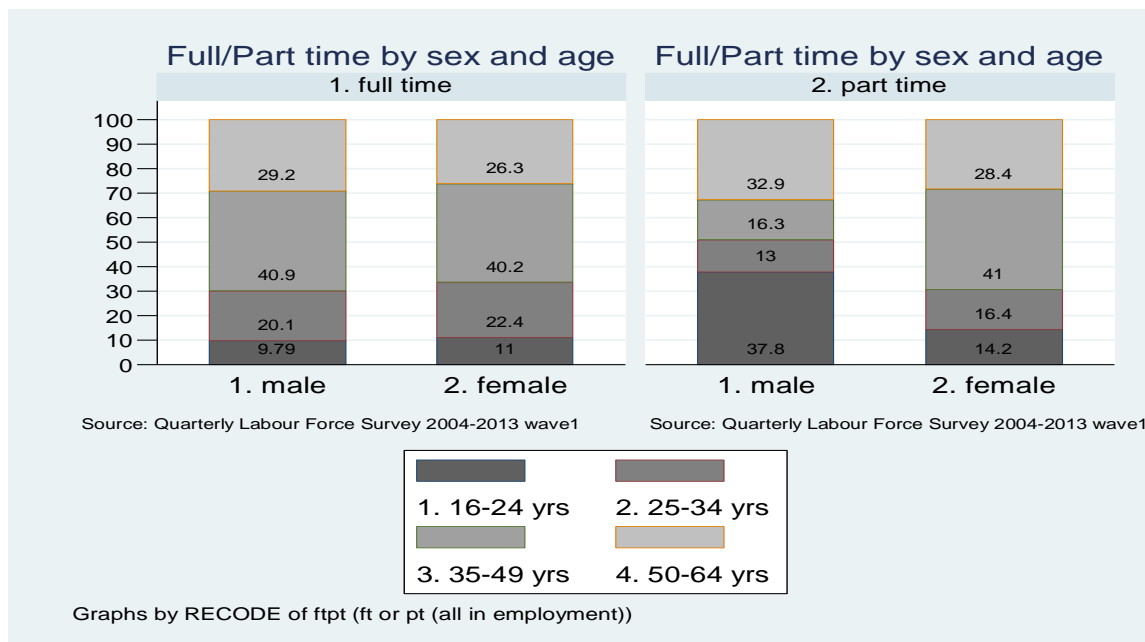
### **Part-time employment for different characteristics of workers**

#### **By Age Group**

The graph below (6.4) illustrates the age composition of workers in employment. Of those in full-time employment who are females, a higher proportion are within the 35-49 age group (40.2%), which is the same for men (40.9%). Of those women working in part-time employment, a higher proportion are in the 35-49 age group (40%). However, of those in part-time employment who are men, higher proportions are in the 16-24 age group (37.8%). What is also interesting is that a significantly smaller proportion of men in part-time employment are between 35-49 years old (16.3%). For women, a similar proportion working in both part-time (41%) and full-time jobs (40%) are within the 35-49 age group.

Unlike middle age women, for men, age seems to have an effect on the working patterns of those within the middle age group. While men in full-time employment are less likely to be between the ages of 16-24 years (9.8%), a higher proportion of men in part-time employment are however more likely to be the youngest men (38%). For women, there seems to be an age effect on the last two younger groups, although not as significant for men. This is consistent with the general trend identified above for men and women in part-time employment without controlling for age.

**Graph 6.4: Age composition of workers in Full-time and part-time employment by sex**

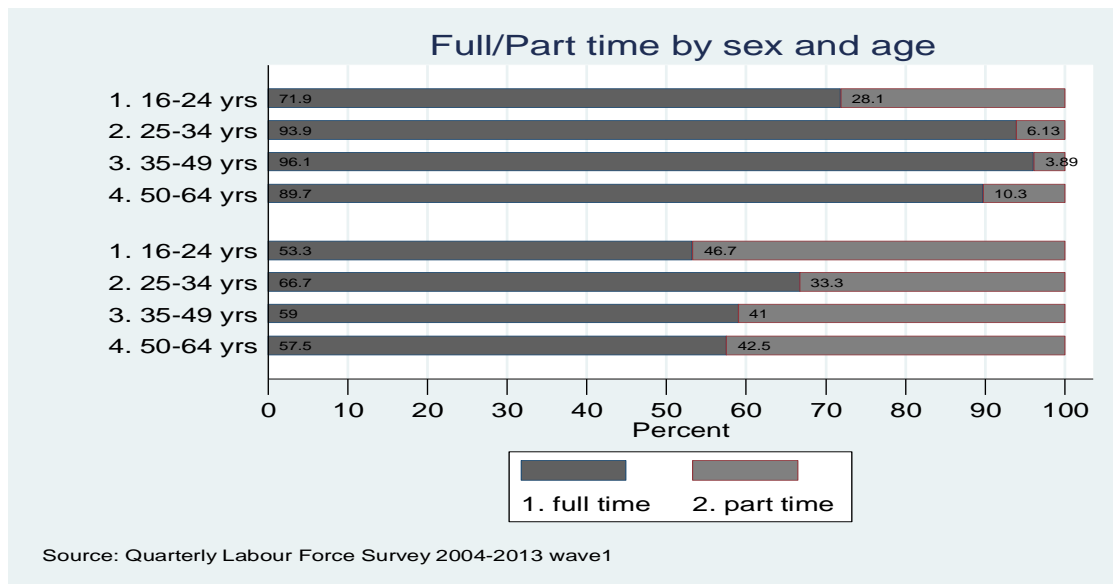


These various persistent work patterns may be indicative of how care responsibilities are influential on labour market outcomes for women but, importantly, how economic decisions in the public and private sphere may sustain patterns or indirectly increase the care burden on women.

In graph 6.4a below, men across all age groups are significantly more likely to be in full-time employment at all times than in part-time employment. Across all age groups for women, there is a balance in presence between part-time and full-time employment, except for those women 25-34years who are significantly more likely to work full-time than part-time, followed by those 35-49years.



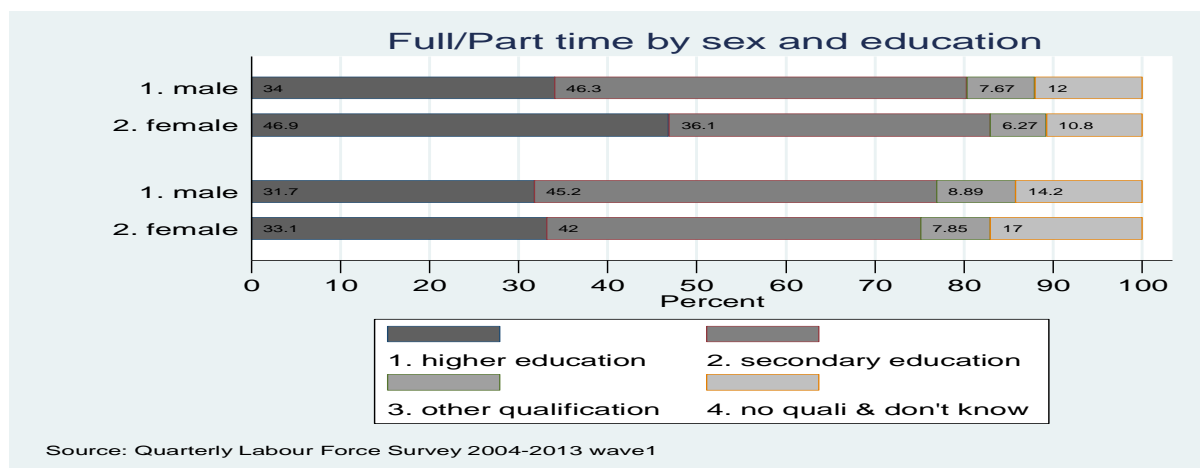
**Graph 6.4a: Full-time/Part-time employment for men and women by age**



**By Education**

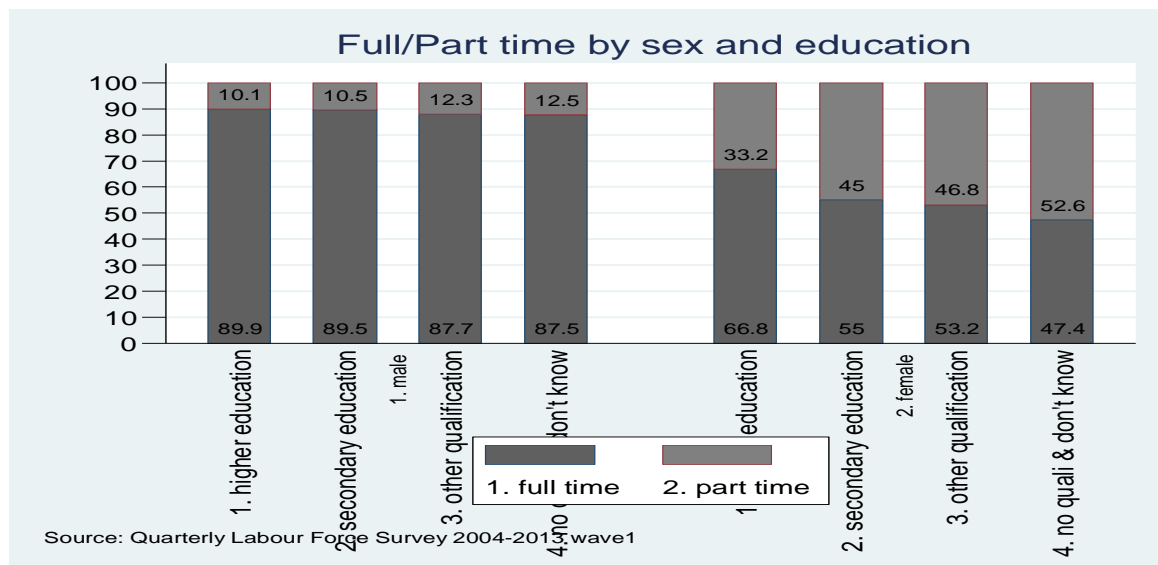
Graph 6.5 below represents the educational level of men and women in the workforce. Of those men in full-time employment, 46.3% have secondary education followed by higher education (34%). However, of those women in full-time work, a majority have higher education (46.9%) followed by secondary education (36.1%).

**Graph 6.5: Educational Level of workers in full/part-time employment by sex**



In terms of part-time employment, the composition of the educational level is reversed such that of those women who are in part time employment, a higher proportion is those with secondary education as opposed to higher education. While the graph shows that overall, the workforce is more educated, in terms of work patterns by educational level, graph 6.5b below shows that across all educational levels, men in employment are more likely to work full-time than part-time. For women, those without any education are more likely to work part-time than full-time.

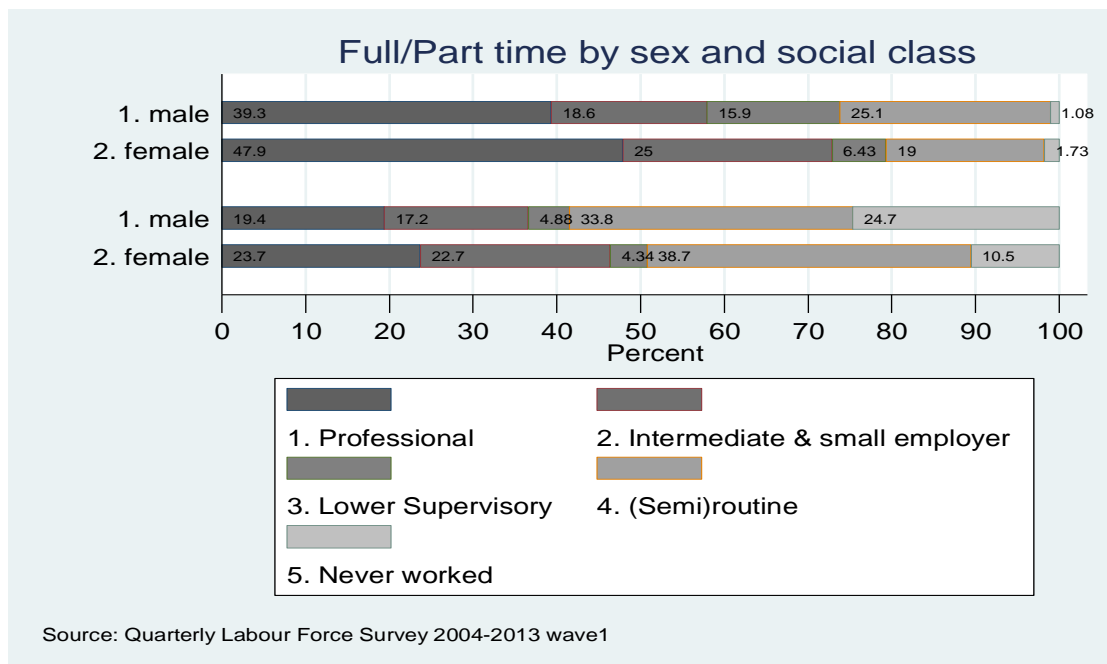
**Graph 6.5a: Full/Part-time participation for men and women by education**



### By Social Class

Graph 6.6 below reveals the occupational classes of those in the Scottish labour workforce. Overall, of those men working full-time, a higher proportion is likely to be classed as professionals, followed by those with semi-routine and routine skills. Women working full-time are also more likely to be professionals, followed by those with intermediary skills. Of those women in full-time employment, the majority are classed as professionally skilled or as having intermediary skills, whereas male workers are classed as skilled and unskilled. With regards to part-time work, the majority of men and women are classed as those with semi-routine and routine occupations.

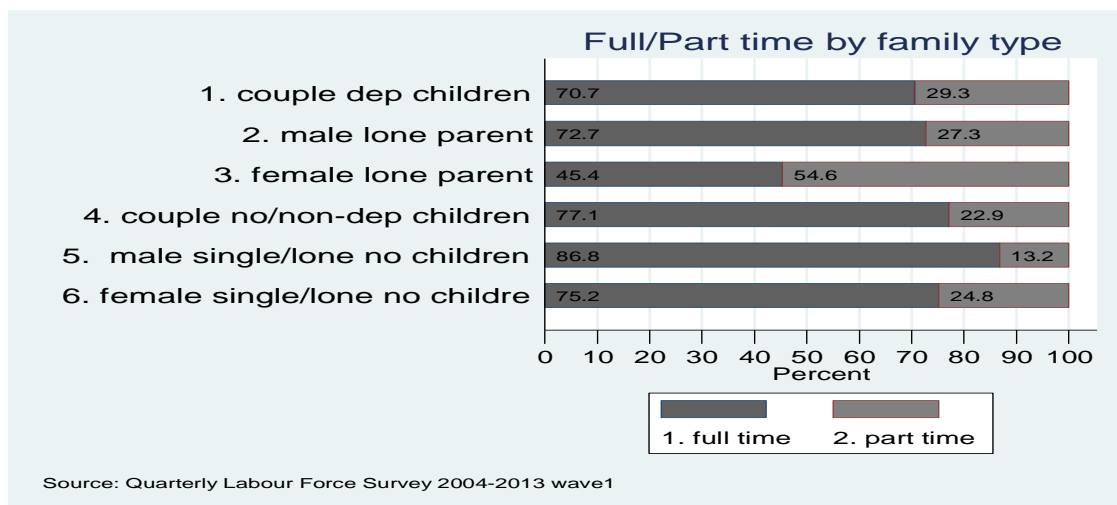
**Graph 6.6: Full/Part-time employment for men and women by occupation class**



### By Family Type

Graph 6.7 below represents the proportion of workers in full and part-time employment by family unit type. Of those employed, couples with and without dependent children are more likely to be in full-time work than in part-time work. Of those in employment, male lone parents are also more likely to be in full-time work than in part-time work, a pattern that is also evident in single men or men without children. However, of those female lone parents in employment, a higher proportion is likely to work part-time (54.6%) than full-time (45.4%). Single women or those without children who are in employment are more likely to work full-time than part-time. This shows a disadvantaged position for female lone parents, who also make up the majority of lone parents in Scotland. This further demonstrates the importance of childcare for patterns in labour market participation.

**Graph 6.7: Full-time and part-time work by family type**



### C. Inactive due to unpaid Care for different groups of workers

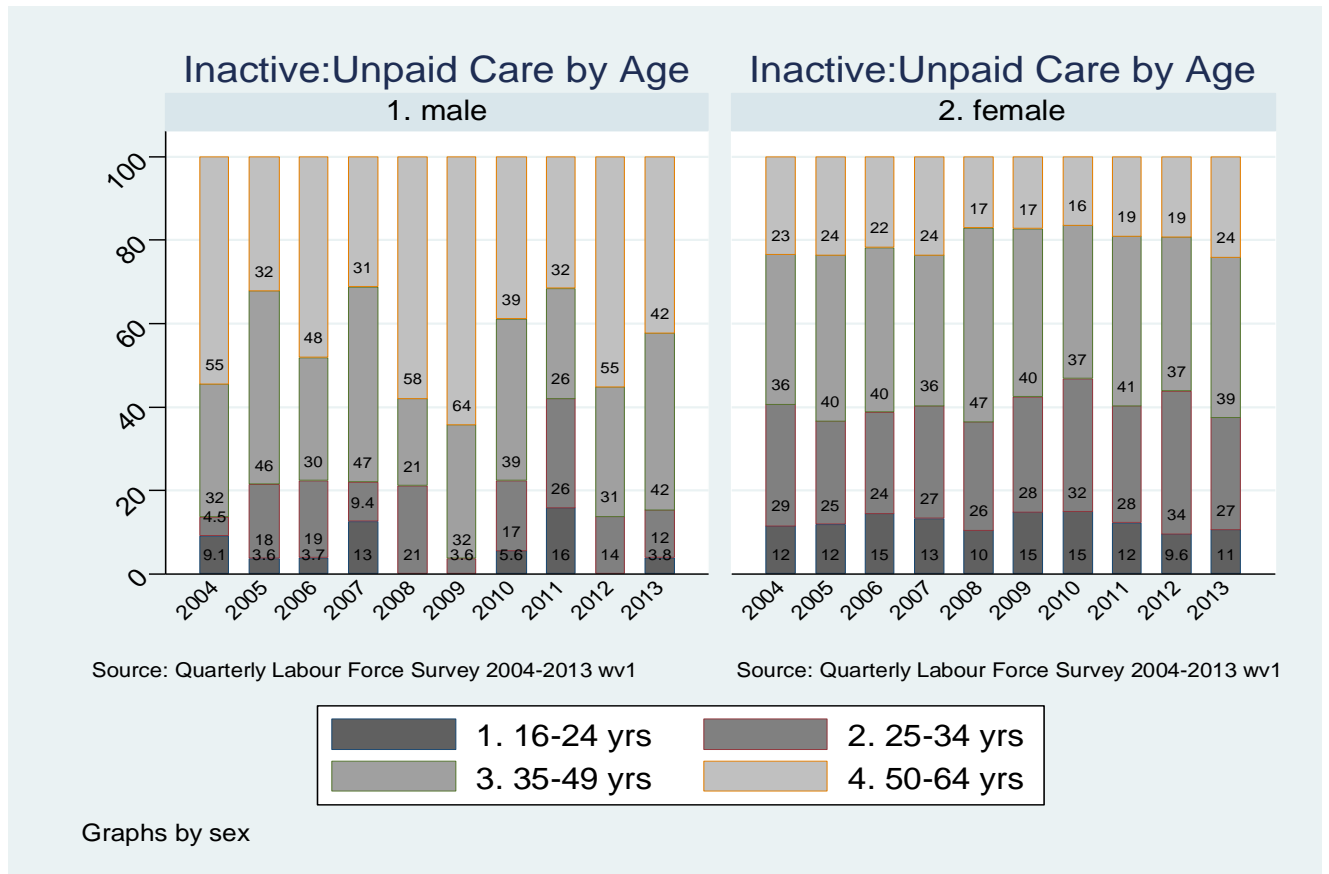
This section considers those who are reported as economically inactive due to unpaid care by socio-economic activities. Overall, more women than men reported being economically inactive due to unpaid care over the 10 year period investigated.

#### Age

The graph below shows different patterns across the years for different age groups. Of those men who reported being inactive due to unpaid care, a higher proportion of them are those within 50-64years, followed by those within 35-49years. The older category could include grand-parents looking after children or older spouses caring for each other. However, of those men who are economically inactive due to unpaid care, there was a sharp decrease in the proportion of those who reported being within 34-49years in 2008 from 47% in 2007 to 21% in 2008, while those within the 50-64 age group increased in the same period, with 16 and 24 years group remaining constant. Overall, for women, the patterns are consistent across the years for all age groups, although, unlike men, women who reported being inactive due to unpaid work are mostly those between 24-34years and 35-49years. This

shows a high proportion of women of working age reporting as being inactive due to unpaid care.

**Graph 6.8: Age composition of men and women who are inactive due to unpaid care**

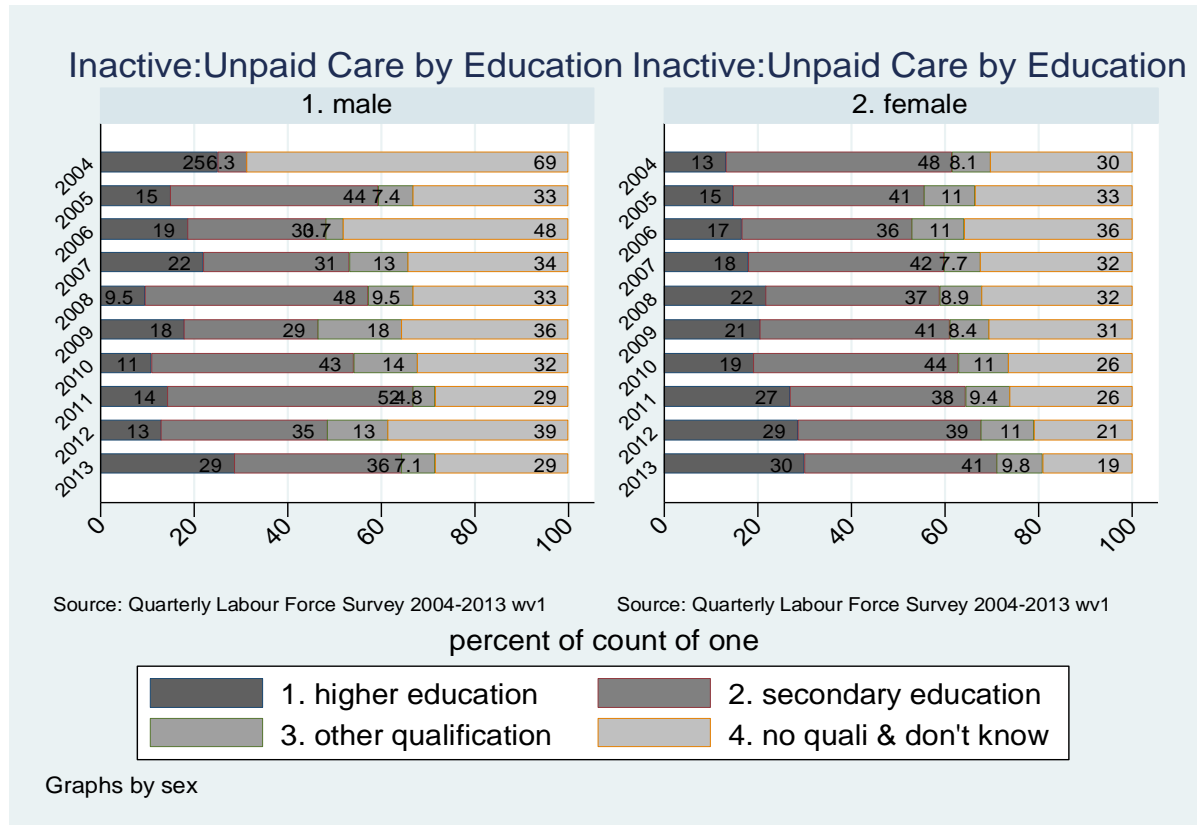


### By Education

Graph 6.9 shows those who are inactive due to unpaid care and their educational levels. Yearly trends show that of those men who reported being economically inactive due to unpaid care in 2004, a higher percentage were those without qualifications. However, this figure declined sharply in 2005 to 33% and has been steadily declining over the years to 29% in 2013. As from 2005, the trend reversed inasmuch that of the men who reported being inactive due to unpaid care; higher proportions were those with secondary education. This has been increasing steadily until 2013 where 29% reported having higher education.

Over the years, of those men who reported being inactive due to unpaid care, there was an increase in the composition of those with higher education.

**Graph 6.9: Educational level of men and women in economic inactivity due to unpaid care**

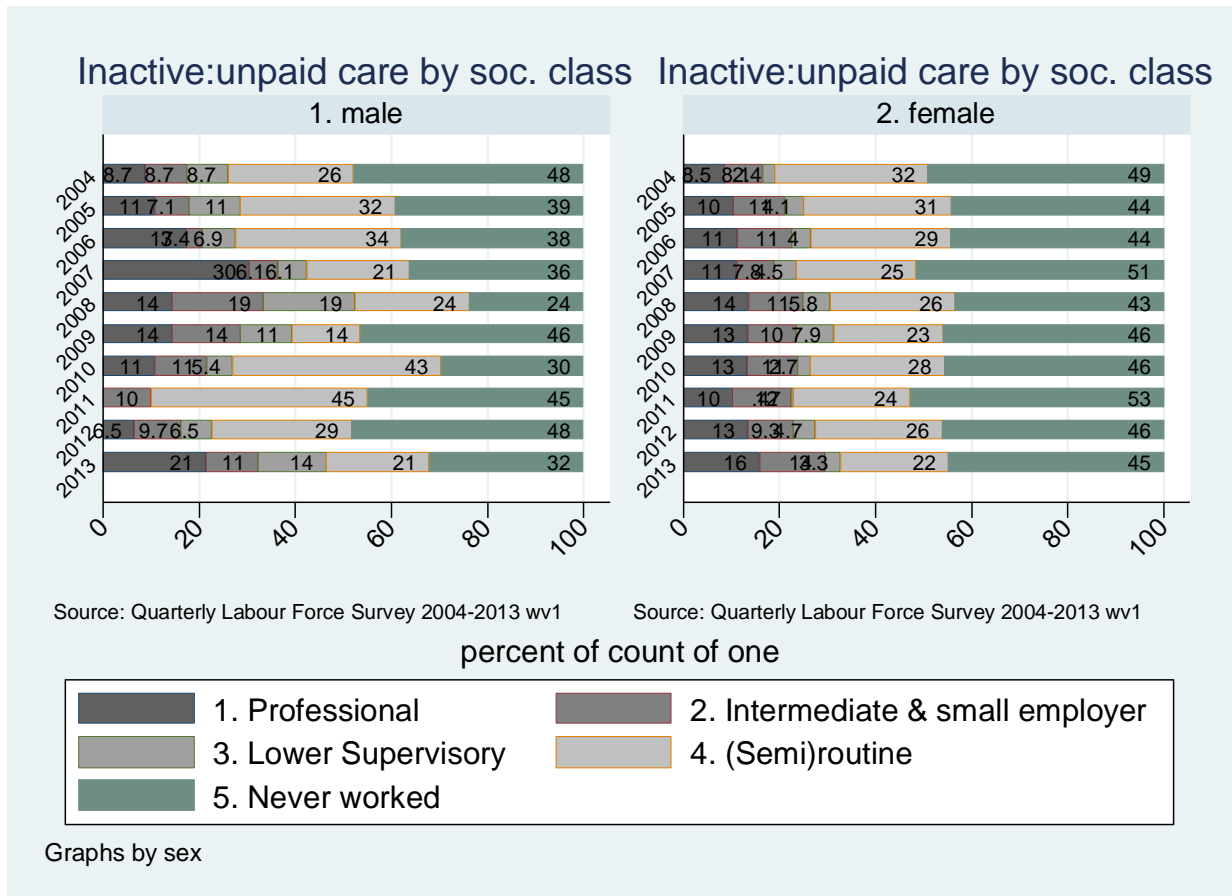


### By Social Class

In graph 6.10, across the years for both men and women who reported being inactive due to unpaid care, a higher proportion are those who indicated 'never worked' as their occupational class. For women, the annual trends are steady and consistent while for men, there is a higher degree of fluctuation indicating that being inactive due to unpaid care is different and change frequently for men. However, for women it may be constant given the persistent pattern for those whose occupation class is 'never worked'. Also, across the years for men and women who reported being inactive due to unpaid care, there seems to be a

consistent pattern for those who reported being professionals. However, for men, this fluctuated rapidly in the later years.

**Graph 6.10: Occupation class of men & women in economic inactivity due to unpaid care**

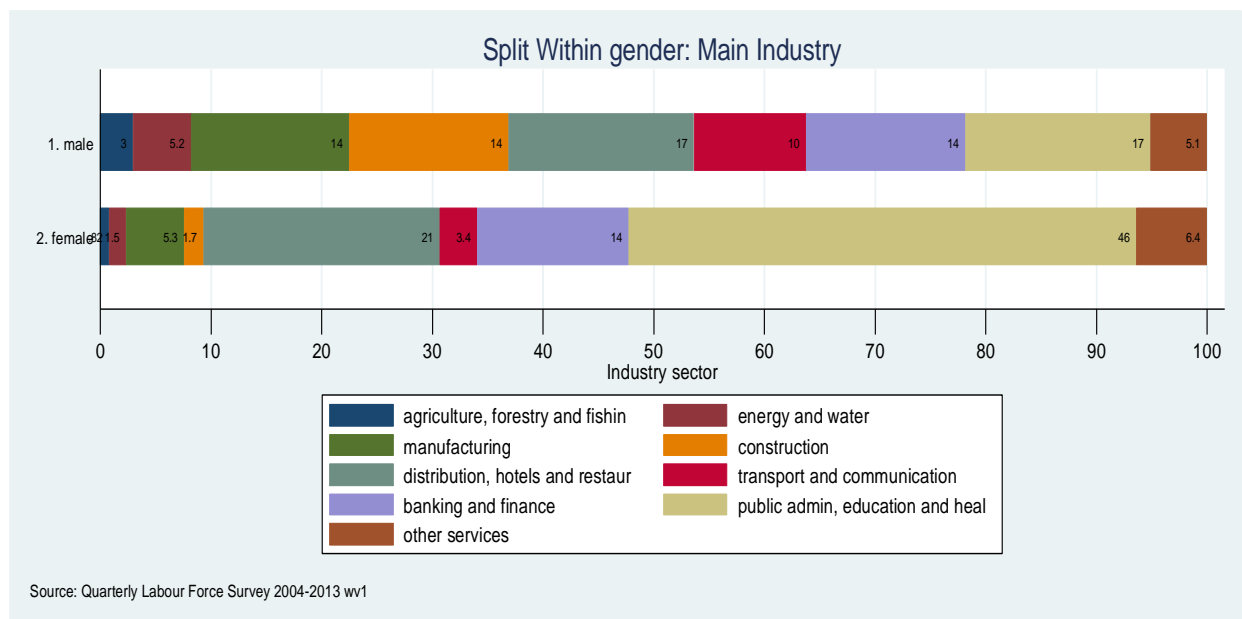


### 6.2.1. Discussing the position of men and women in the economy

From the findings above, sectoral employment disadvantages for women are particularly salient. Graph 6.11 below reveals that on average a higher proportion of women in employment are employed in the service industries than in the energy, construction and manufacturing sectors. Generally, employment trends reveal that although labour market patterns for men and women have really not changed significantly over the 10year period, in the crisis period, male workers in the manufacturing, construction and financial services sector were initially affected, partly as a result of existing occupational segregation. Elsbey et al. (2010) maintain that disproportionate impacts on men in these sectors are explained by

the vulnerability of these sectors to economic cycles. In the USA, Canada and Finland there is evidence that initial reductions in employment during the recession were greater for male-dominated sectors (Elsby et al. 2010). However, several studies have also emphasized the vulnerability of women, based on the evidence that this initial effect does not necessarily mean positive labour market outcomes for women, as they tend to be clustered in low paying, flexible and part-time jobs.

**Graph 6.11: Employment in main industry sector for men and women**



The analysis also shows that in periods of economic crisis, coupled with significant cuts in public sector spending and social services mostly used by women, ‘economic inactivity’ is likely to rise for women (see graph 6.1). In Scotland, such cuts in social services regulate women’s labour supply decisions, transform women’s employment patterns and may lead to reductions in labour market participation. There is evidence that women tend to be over-represented in the public sector, and increases in labour market participation can mostly be attributed to more women entering the public sector. While labour market trends improved for different workers and especially women, they are importunately concentrated in the public sector, in low quality jobs. Additionally, their part-time employment patterns have



implications for incomes, household wellbeing and equality. Cutbacks in a number of vital social services had a disproportionate effect on women, as employees and beneficiaries of public services.

Social austerity can also lead to the substitution of unpaid work for unavailable public services, and thus reduce the time available for paid employment. Cutbacks in public services coupled with unaffordable childcare costs may induce mothers to spend more time caring for their own children. The substitution effect of time use may be one of the most important implications of fiscal retrenchment. However, in line with Stotsky (2006), the overall effect of spending cutbacks and not just the effect of specific cutbacks provides a more robust picture of the effects of fiscal retrenchment since the impact of specific cuts may be offset by alternative fiscal policies. Within the context of an overall commitment to promoting both equality and economic growth, it is essential that any policy interventions are designed and delivered within an analytical framework that adequately acknowledges the gendered economic behaviour and accounts for the nature and consequences of gender based inequalities in Scottish society. The form and scale of provision of critical social services could have potentially disproportionate effects on women and the economy by altering the socioeconomic position of women with implications for gender inequality and overall economic growth (Braunstein et al. 2011; Perrons 2005).

Equally, periods with significant losses in part-time employment corresponds with austerity measures set in Scotland. The government directed spending on capital investment projects leading to retrenchment in public sector employment and public services. Elson (2004) argues that such an approach to economic policy, where government preferentially allocates spending to capital projects over investment in services, is gender biased and driven by dominant neoliberal economic ideas. In the Scottish context, the employment patterns for

women and families with dependent children may have depreciated given that they were concentrated in the public sector, in service industries and government spending, which led to significant retrenchments. Although age is significant in determining employment patterns for male of working age in the younger age range, the gender effect through childcare responsibilities is more significant for those women with care responsibilities within that group than age itself.

The way the government allocates resources bears on these patterns to the extent that spending changes on childcare have implications on men and women as employees and as users of public services. This suggests that spending decisions are an important factor when explaining changes in labour market outcomes, such as decisions to work or not to work and choices regarding patterns of work. It is important to note that, for women, these changes appear to be a result of different constraints from both the public and private spheres.

Group differences in employment patterns are also reflective of the UK government's payfreeze and employment policies, public sector spending decisions and household labour supply decisions. Changes in the labour supply decisions are more consistent with smaller declines in participation. In 2002, pre-recession, 70% of women of working age were economically active compared to 82% of working age men. The economic activity rate for women had increased from 70% in 2002 to almost 76% in 2006 (see Macpherson and Bond 2009). However, from the beginning of 2007, the economic activity rate for women began fluctuating from 73% to 71.5% in the middle of 2009 and back up to more than 73% in 2010, where it levelled out until the end of 2011, before declining sharply to just over 71% in 2012. The 2012 period, with extremely low figures of economic activity for women, coincides with the period of significant austerity measures leading to retrenchment of public services, introduction of payfreeze policy, welfare reforms at UK level and a focus of

economic policy on capital investment and affordable finance. These changes underpinned the reductions in the female labour supply.

From 2004-2013, the labour market experiences of women deteriorated with more incidences of women with second jobs around the time of the crisis. As argued by McKay et al. (2012), this move may reflect efforts to protect incomes as women experienced significant job losses in full-time employment in the 2007 recession. Consistent with policy documents, it is worth pointing out that the consequent austerity measures following the crisis also reshaped the economy around energy, enterprise and jobs in male dominated sectors with implications for women's full-time and part-time employment. In addition to ploughing in some disincentives for full-time work, austerity measures curtailed the provision of social services, which women depend on heavily for participation in full-time employment and as public sector employees and users of public services. Post-devolution, women's position has still not improved significantly as they primarily take up temporary, part-time employment and are segregated in low-pay jobs. Work remains split into 'men's work' and 'women's work' with women mostly found in public administration, education and health services; social care, teaching and cleaning sectors while men are concentrated in energy, transport, construction and manufacturing sectors. Occupational segregation still remains a major feature of the Scottish labour market suggesting gendered path dependency.

### **6.3. Disadvantaged Workers in the Scottish labour Market: Gender Gaps and the place of Childcare in Economic Policy**

Literature on labour market transitions typically highlights significant gender differences as structural features of the labour markets of certain economies (Bertola and Garibaldi 2003). Women, on average, show different employment patterns and involuntary labour market preferences, which have often been interpreted to mean lower attachment to the labour force than men (see Booth et al. 2003). This thesis investigates the case of Scotland where women

have characteristically participated at a disadvantaged position in the labour force than men. This is characteristically due to structurally social constraints, inadequate social services that fail to provide genuine choices for women as they do for men, and the role of policy in perpetuating these outcomes.

For this reason, the thesis focuses on the disadvantaged effect on women with dependent children in Scotland, especially those with children under age 2 and those between 2-4 years. First, there is evidence of their disadvantage in terms of initial participation level in the labour market. Second, there is a potential gap between this disadvantaged category and the rest, namely families without dependent children and socio-economic indicators by considering other individual worker characteristics. As shown above, the Scottish welfare state corresponds to the liberal welfare model with some features of a one and a half structure. This structure is traditionally characterised by job protection for male workers through capital and infrastructure investment, high unemployment rate amongst the young population and moderate social policies, like childcare, though underpinned by a mixed economy of inadequate universal provision. This makes the reconciliation of work and family roles difficult, especially for women.

### **6.3.1. Transition Probabilities between employment states for workers in the Scottish labour market**

Table 6.4 below shows the number of observations by transitions between labour market outcomes for all workers in the sample. Only 9.26% of those working in full-time employment at wave 1 switch, within a year, into part-time employment, inactive from unpaid care, unemployed and inactive due to other reasons. A greater percentage of those in full-time employment (4.95%) who switched, exited into part-time employment relative to the other labour market transition states.

**Table 6.4: Transition probabilities for all workers**

status @ wave 1	Employment transition for all workers at wave 5					Total
	Full time	Part time	Unpaid care	Unemployed	Inactive:Other	
Full time	6,471	353	25	86	196	7,131
	90.74%	4.95%	0.35%	1.21%	2.75%	100%
Part time	270	2,219	31	48	184	2,752
	9.81%	80.63%	1.13%	1.74%	6.69%	100%
Unpaid care	10	56	456	41	129	692
	1.45%	8.09%	65.90%	8.92%	18.64%	100%
Unemployed	110	99	37	171	77	494
	22.27%	20.04%	7.49%	34.62%	15.59%	100%
Inactive: Other	95	204	127	131	3,948	4,505
	2.11%	4.53%	2.82%	2.91%	87.64%	100%

Source: UK Labour Force Survey 2006-2012

The outflows from part-time employment shows full-time employment (9.81%) as the most common transition destination followed by inactive due to other reasons (6.69%). Compared to full-time employment, 2 times more workers in part-time employment switched labour market states. Moreover, the percentage of part-time workers at wave 1 to exit into unpaid care at wave 5 (1.13%) is higher than that of full-time workers at wave 1 exiting into unpaid care at wave 5 (0.35%).

Table 6.4 also shows that for all workers in the Scottish labour market who are inactive due to unpaid care at wave 1, up to 34.1% transition into other labour market states within a year, with inactive other (18.64%) being the most common destination, followed by part-time employment (8.09%). Although individuals in unpaid care are more likely to exit this state than those in both part-time and full-time employment, they tend to transition out of the active labour market force rather than into part-time employment.

The data equally reveals that a greater percentage of those unemployed (65.38%) switched out of unemployment, with full-time and part-time employment being the common destinations. With regards to those who are inactive due to other reasons at wave 1, only 12.36% switched within a year into full-time, part-time, unpaid care and unemployment, with part-time employment (4.53%) being the common transition destination. What is also

reveals is that it is more difficult for those workers who are inactive due to other reasons to exit this disadvantaged state into the active labour market force. However, unemployed workers tend to switch states into the active labour force than those who in part-time employment and inactive due to unpaid care switching into full and part-time employment within a year.

By gender, table 6.5 and 6.6 shows that the percentage of men staying in full-time employment (92.86%) within a year is higher than for women (87.36%) while the percentage of women staying in part-time employment (83.3%) within the year is increasingly higher than that of men (69.17%). This shows the likelihood of women switching to part-time employment than full-time employment within the year. Moreover, it highlights that the probability of women switching from part-time employment into other labour market states being smaller than it is for men, perhaps due the need to balance unpaid care work and paid work.

**Table 6.5: Employment transition between waves for male workers 2006-2012**

	Males: Employment Status at wave 5					
Status @ wave 1	Full time	Part time	Unpaid care	Unemployed	Inactive:other	Total
Full time	4,073	123	6	65	119	4,386
	92.86%	2.80%	0.14%	1.48%	2.71%	100%
Part time	83	359	2	16	59	519
	15.99%	69.17%	0.39%	3.08%	11.37%	100%
Unpaid Care	2	4	57	3	21	87
	2.30%	4.60%	65.52%	3.45%	24.14%	100%
Unemployed	74	37	7	105	48	271
	27.31%	13.65%	2.58%	38.75%	17.71%	100%
Inactive:Other	56	90	25	78	1,654	1,903
	2.94%	4.73%	1.31%	4.10%	86.92%	100%
Total	4,288	613	97	267	1,901	7,166

Source: UK Labour Force Survey 2006-2012

**Table 6.6: Employment transition between waves for female workers 2006-2012**

	Females: Employment Status at wave 5					
Status @ wave 1	Full time	Part time	Unpaid care	Unemployed	Inactive:other	Total
Full time	2,398	230	19	21	77	2,745
	87.36%	8.38%	0.69%	0.77%	2.81%	100%
Part time	187	1,860	29	32	125	2,233
	8.37%	83.30%	1.30%	1.43%	5.60%	100%
Unpaid Care	8	52	399	38	108	605
	1.32%	8.60%	65.95%	6.28%	17.85%	100%
Unemployed	36	62	30	66	29	223
	16.14%	27.80%	13.45%	29.60%	13.00%	100%
Inactive:Other	39	114	102	53	2,294	2,602
	1.50%	4.38%	3.92%	2.04%	88.16%	100%

Source: UK Labour Force Survey 2006-2012

In terms of destinations, compared to men, a greater percentage of women in full-time employment switch to part-time employment (8.38%) within the year than they do to other labour market states. Both men and women who are employed part-time in wave 1 are more likely to switch into full-time employment than into unpaid care, unemployed and inactive other within the year. However, the rate of men switching from part-time employment into inactive other is significantly higher than it is for women. For those men and women in unpaid care at wave 1, a greater percentage switch into inactive other (24.14% for men and 17.85% for women) as the most common destination, followed by part-time women. However, women (87.43%) make up a higher percentage of those in the labour market who are inactive due to unpaid care within a year than men (12.57%).

Within a year, a greater percentage of unemployed men at wave 1 switched to full-time employment (27.31%), whereas a greater percentage of unemployed women at wave 1 switch within a year to part-time employment (27.8%) as the most common destination. This illustrates that women are at a disadvantage in entering full-time employment compared to men, though it would seem both are accessing the labour market from the same initial labour market state. This could be explained by the fact that women face an initial barrier due to unpaid care responsibilities. Equally, the sector and industry of work could be

important factors in explaining these gender differences, as women tend to work in the public sector where part-time jobs allow more for work life balance or in industries such as distribution with more part-time work patterns.

The analysis below examines the probabilities of families with dependent children between the ages of 0 and under 2 and between 2 and 4 switching between five employment states. Below, table 6.7 shows the number of observations by transitions for families with dependent children under the age of 2 while table 8 provides those for families with dependent children between the ages of 2 and 4. Only 16.14% of those in full-time employment at wave 1 switch within a year to being part-time employed, inactive due to unpaid care, unemployed and inactive due to other reasons, with part-time employment being the most common transition. For those in part-time employment at wave 1, full-time employment is the most common destination (10.8%), followed by exiting to become inactive due to unpaid care (4.55%). However, for families with dependent children under the age of 2 in unpaid care at wave 1, a greater percentage switched to part-time employment (13.64%) within the year followed by unemployed (5.3%). Similarly, those who started off as unemployed at wave 1 have a higher probability of moving into part-time employment (26.32%), followed by full-time (18.42%) and closely by unpaid care (15.79%). Overall, part-time employment appears to be the most common transition destination for families with dependent children under the age of 2 given the five initial labour market states considered here except for those who started off as inactive other in wave 1, with a greater percentage switching to unemployed within the year.



**Table 6.7: Employment transition between waves for families with dependent children age under 2 (2006-2012)**

	Employment Status at wave 5					
Status @ wave 1	Full time	Part time	Unpaid care	Unemployed	Inactive:other	Total
Full time	317	41	7	11	2	378
	83.86%	10.85%	1.85%	2.91%	0.53%	100%
Part time	19	142	8	1	6	176
	10.80%	80.68%	4.55%	0.57%	3.41%	100%
Unpaid Care	3	18	99	7	5	132
	2.27%	13.64%	75.00%	5.30%	3.79%	100%
Unemployed	7	10	6	15	0	38
	18.42%	26.32%	15.79%	39.47%	0.00%	100%
Inactive:Other	1	2	3	5	12	23
	4.35%	8.70%	13.04%	21.74%	52.17%	100%
Total	347	213	123	39	25	747

Source: UK Labour Force Survey 2006-2012

On the other hand, table 6.8 below shows that only 6.22% of families with dependent children between the ages of 2 and 4 employed in full-time employment at wave 1 exited into part-time, unpaid care, unemployed and inactive other within the year. Equally, the most common transition destination for families with dependent children between 2 and 4 in full-time employment and inactive due to unpaid care in wave one is part-time employment as opposed to unpaid care for those who were unemployed or inactive due to other reasons at wave 1.

**Table 6.8: Employment transition between waves for families with dependent children age 2-4 (2006-2012)**

Table 6.8:						
	Employment Status at wave 5					
Status @ wave 1	Full time	Part time	Unpaid care	Unemployed	Inactive:other	Total
Full time	528	22	5	6	2	563
	93.78%	3.91%	0.89%	1.07%	0.36%	100%
Part time	28	283	9	0	5	325
	8.62%	87.08%	2.77%	0.00%	1.54%	100%
Unpaid Care	4	23	156	17	7	207
	1.93%	11.11%	75.36%	8.21%	3.38%	100%
Unemployed	6	4	11	14	2	37
	16.22%	10.81%	29.73%	37.84%	5.41%	100%
Inactive:Other	6	7	7	4	37	61
	9.84%	11.48%	11.48%	6.56%	60.66%	100%
Total	572	339	188	41	53	1,193

Source: UK Labour Force Survey 2006-2012

#### **6.4. Modelling labour market transitions for all workers between 2006 and 2013**

Table 6.9 (see appendix A) shows modelling transitions for all workers and conditional on gender for the five labour market states between waves 1 and 5. It also shows results of transitions to a labour state at wave 5 conditional on an individual being in one of initial five states as opposed to another. The table shows that individuals who were in part-time employment at wave 1 are most likely to transition into unpaid care, unemployed and inactive other within waves as opposed to an individual who started off in full-time employment at wave 1 transitioning to unpaid care, unemployed and inactive other within a year. The same pattern holds for individuals who were inactive due to unpaid care, unemployed or inactive due to other reasons at wave 1. Interacting this by gender shows subtle changes in the magnitude of the switch. However, overall, men and women respond in the same way as indicated.

By worker characteristics, all full-time workers at wave 1 who are within the 25-34 age bracket are significantly more likely to switch into unpaid care between waves than those within the ages of 16–24. They are also significantly more likely to transition into inactive other than the youngest age group, although the magnitude of the switch into inactive other is lesser than for those switching into unpaid care. Although gender predicts transitions, when interacted with age, it reveals even greater gender differences indicating a stronger age effect. The results show that male workers in full-time employment in wave 1 within the 25–34 age group are significantly less likely to transition into part-time employment. However, women in this age group are significantly more likely to transition into part-time employment when compared to 16-24 year olds. In other words, female workers between the ages of 25 and 35 in full-time employment are significantly more likely to transition between waves into part-time employment than their 16-24 year old counterparts, even when compared to males. Both men and women in the 25-34 age group are significantly

more likely to transition between waves into unpaid care than their 16-24-year old counterparts. However, women within the 25-34 age bracket are significantly more likely to transition into inactive other compared to the reference category, while there is no significant effect for men.

Overall, age is a predictor of transitions into unpaid care work for men and women. In the first model showing all workers, workers in the 35-64 age group are significantly more likely to transition into unpaid care between waves than the youngest age group, even when interacted with sex. Men and women have very similar age patterns, that is, they are more likely to transition to care in the 25-34 and 50-64 age groups. However, for men, the 50-64 age group is more important and for women, the 25-34 age group is more important to determine transition into unpaid care. Nonetheless, the oldest age group (50-64) are significantly more likely to switch into inactive other which includes early retirement and long term illness than those within the 16-24-year age group. Male workers between the age of 35 and 49 are less likely to transition into part-time work and unemployment but more likely to switch into unpaid care between waves when compared to males between the ages of 16 and 24. This effect can almost certainly be explained by a change in family status as shown in the cross sectional data. Females between 35 and 49 years on the other hand, are more likely to transition to part-time, unpaid care and inactive other between waves.

Educational qualifications influence probabilities of transition between labour market states. Workers without a degree are significantly more likely to transition into unemployment than those with a degree. This effect is similar for men and women. Women without a higher level qualification, such as a degree or NVQ level 4 and above, are significantly more likely to transition into unpaid care compared to those with a degree and also in comparison to their male counterparts. This could be attributed to women overwhelmingly being

responsible for unpaid care and are employed in higher proportions in part-time employment due to the need to balance employment and unpaid care work. This effect is especially stronger for those without a degree level qualification. Women with secondary, other and no qualification also tend to transition into unemployment and inactive other. However, only men without a qualification are significantly more likely to transition into inactive other when compared to those with a degree.

Individuals who reported not having a disability are significantly less likely to exit in to unpaid care, unemployed or inactive other than those with work limiting disabilities. Even by gender, men and women reporting as not disabled are significantly less likely to switch into unpaid care, unemployed and inactive other than those reporting a work limiting disability.

The results also show significant year effects for various individuals. Model 1, with all workers, shows that in 2009, individuals were significantly more likely to be in part-time employment, unemployed or inactive other than in 2006. By gender, men were significantly more likely to be unemployed in 2006, while women were significantly more likely to be in part-time employment or inactive other.

By 2010, both male and female workers in the Scottish labour market were more likely to be unemployed than in 2006. However, 2011 revealed a reversal in labour market states for all workers with significant gendered patterns for men and women as opposed to 2006 trends. Individuals were significantly more likely to be part-time employed, unemployed or inactive for other reasons than in 2006. Men showed a stronger disadvantage effect compared to women workers but generally both sexes transitioned into part-time, unemployed and inactive other than in 2006. Although the same labour market pattern in 2011 applies in 2012 for all workers, by gender, women experienced a greater disadvantage than men.

While men experienced more job losses, women increasingly switched into part-time employment, unemployment and inactive other. By 2013, all workers were still significantly more likely to be unemployed compared to 2006 figures.

The years 2010-2011 coincides with the period when the payfreeze policy and the Scottish policy to shift spending from revenue consequential to capital consequential occurred. In Scotland, within the context of a contracting economy, budget measures were directed at reducing a growing budget deficit through an economic strategy based on capital investment. These measures took different forms. On the expenditure side of the budget, fiscal retrenchment led to a reduction in spending on government programs, pay freezes and retrenchment of public services. Declines in part-time employment for women of all ages could be reflective of job losses or gendered behavioural responses to policy.

There are two issues here. First, the payfreeze represents a real cut in the incomes of men and women, which implies a cut in their purchasing power and ability to buy or access services. Secondly, given that women make up more than half of Scotland's public sector workers- 64%, the payfreeze policy will affect women disproportionately in terms of incomes. Similarly, women, it has been argued, are the main purchasers and consumers of social services such as child care services, which have long term impacts on the economy. A drop in the income of women has a negative effect on children and other labour supply decisions. This means a reduction in incomes and public services could also have secondary effects on the labour market.

#### **6.5. Modelling transitions for families with dependent children in the Scottish labour market**

This section explores the effect of having dependent children on transitions between labour market states by estimating multinomial logistics regressions. It shows the status of

individuals at wave 5 conditional on them being in full-time employment, part-time employment or inactive due to unpaid care at wave 1. Controls for age, education, gender and disability are included in the regression. Hourly wage is included in model 1 and 2 for workers in employment. However, those who are economically inactive due to unpaid work are not included in model 3 as they are not, economically speaking, considered to be in employment and are not paid a wage for the unpaid work that they do. The regression table 6.10 (see appendix B) shows the results of the modelling transitions from 3 (full-time, part-time and unpaid care) initial labour market states to all labour market states between waves 1 and 5.

The model results indicate that the presence of dependent children under age 2 in families predicts transitions from full-time employment into part-time employment, unpaid care and unemployment than those between 2 and 4 years of age. However, workers with dependent children under age 2 are no more likely to transition into inactive other from full-time employment than those with children between the ages of 2 and 4. The results show that full-time employed workers who reported having 1 or more dependent children under 2 years of age are significantly more likely to be undertaking unpaid care, part-time employment or to become unemployed than those without dependent children under age 2.

For workers who are in part-time employment, reporting having a child or more under the age of 2 or between 2 and 4 does not significantly predict transitions into any of the labour market states. Those in unpaid care at wave 1 with dependent children under the age of 2 are significantly less likely to transition into unemployed and inactive other than those without dependent children age under 2. Also, those in unpaid care who reported having dependent children between the age of 2 and 4 are significantly less likely to exit into inactive other than those without dependent children within this age bracket.

Incomes influence the probability of transition from full-time employment into other labour market states. Those on low incomes are more likely to transfer into unemployment and part-time employment than those on high income in full-time employment in the whole period. However, for workers in part-time employment, income levels do not significantly predict transitions into any labour market state.

Female workers in full-time employment are significantly more likely to transition into part-time work and unpaid care than their male counterparts. Women are also less likely to transfer into unemployment from full-time work compared to men. Part-time employment equally predicts transitions into full-time employment for men. Women are significantly less likely to switch into full-time employment from part-time employment in wave 1 than men, while being in unpaid care work in wave 1 has no significant effect on women switching into other labour market states.

With increased age, the probability of transition from full-time employment into inactive other is less significant. Those in the 25-34 and 35-49 age brackets are significantly less likely to transition into inactive other from full-time with reference to those in the 16-24 age group. Similarly, individuals within the 50-64 age group are significantly less likely to transfer into unemployment than those between the 16 and 24. With regards to transitioning from part-time employment, those in the youngest age group, 16 to 24, are more likely to transition in to full-time employment than the other age groups. Those between the ages of 35 and 49 are equally significantly less likely to switch to unemployment or inactive other from part-time employment than those between 16 and 24 years. Model 3 shows that individuals between the age of 50 and 64 are significantly less likely to transition from unpaid care into unemployment than the youngest age group.

Workers in both full-time and part-time employment reporting that they have secondary level qualifications are significantly less likely to switch to part-time work and full-time work respectively than those with a degree. However, those workers in part-time employment who reported having other qualifications are significantly more likely to switch into unemployment and inactive other than those with a degree. Those without any qualification at the start of the period are significantly less likely to transition into part-time employment than someone with a degree.

Workers who reported as not disabled in full-time employment in wave 1 are significantly less likely to transition into part-time work and inactive other than those with a work limiting disability. However, those who reported being DDA disabled at the beginning of the period are more likely to switch into unemployment at wave 5 compared to those without. Equally, those who are DDA disabled have a higher probability of transitioning into part-time work from unpaid care than those with a work limiting disability. For workers in part-time employment, reporting as not disabled indicates a lesser likelihood of transitioning into unemployment and inactive other than those with a reported work limiting disability. It is also evident from model 3 that workers who reported no disability are significantly more likely to move into part-time work from being inactive due to unpaid care.

In Scotland, women are significantly more likely to shift into unpaid care work from full-time employment than men. Given the context of austerity, lesser employment declines in 2009 for women than men do not imply that women were more advantaged in the crisis period. Men were significantly more likely to switch into unemployment due to their initial position in the labour market with the onset of the financial crisis. Most men were found in construction and manufacturing sectors and worked in the private sector where employer's



policies in response to the crisis could have had a far greater negative effect on employment. As argued in the section on distributional impact, there was evidence of a large increase in female distress work and women took up second jobs and mostly found in precarious jobs. Compared with changes in employment patterns, increases in the proportion of unpaid care for women and parents with dependent children under age 2 as an economic activity can be interpreted as an indirect policy effect on women, largely because unpaid care tends to be severely insufficient and is a huge barrier to female labour market participation.

## **6.6. Conclusion**

Analysing employment data for Scotland from 2004 to 2013, the findings suggest that the government's policymaking on childcare is important for women's position in the labour market. A number of factors explain this. The unequal position of women in the labour force, their higher propensity to be in part-time employment, to be 'inactive' due to caring responsibilities, and the different patterns in their labour market transitions- particularly for families with young children. Furthermore, after controlling for age, class, education, there were no significant changes in women's employment patterns compared to men. The presence of children had a huge effect on women's work patterns. Therefore, child care policy is important for both gender equality and as an employment policy issue.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **POLICY PROCESSES, ECONOMIC POLICY & GENDER EQUALITY: AN INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH**

#### **7.1. Introduction**

The main aim of this chapter is to investigate the various institutions (including the law and public policy), actors and structures for economic and equality policy making in Scotland with reference to how they have promoted gender equality in paid and unpaid work. The chapter makes use of qualitative data from interviews and relevant policy documents to examine how the institutional configuration of the Scottish political system determines policy outcomes. The objective is to demonstrate how policy outcomes are predicated on a complex series of negotiations between institutional and non-institutional actors. The findings in Chapter Six reveal gender differences in participation in paid and unpaid work with women at a disadvantaged position in the labour market and even in their patterns of labour transition. Broadly, the proposition made here is that the extent to which economic policy and the approach to equality policy delivers on gender equality is underpinned by the way the equality architecture is designed and the quality of such.

In terms of promoting gender equality in particular policy areas, not least economic policy, which are generally elusive to the gender equality goal, the range of equality issues and equality regulating institutions within a policy domain are important arenas of analysis. How these equality regulating structures are linked together, or not, within the mainstream policy domain, determine the effectiveness of the institutional setting for promoting gender equality. Reviewing this equality policy setting in terms of the constellation of actors, range of equality issues and respective approaches to embedding equality is vital to underpin the

extent to which gender is or has been embedded in policy and politics. The main questions asked are:

- Which institutions, processes and actors have been instrumental in regulating and promoting gender equality issues in the Scottish policy terrain?
- How have institutional structures created a space for economic policymaking with respect to promoting gender equality in paid and unpaid work in Scotland?
- Is there an infrastructure for gender equality in the Scottish policy terrain?

The subsequent section identifies the range of policy actors, relevant stakeholders and institutions that promote or regulate equality in the Scottish context. Thereafter, is an evaluation of the range of equality issues or strands that are embedded in the institutions identified and how these equality issues, especially the gender strand, are incorporated in this institutional configuration. The range of actors, institutions, equality issues and approaches to embedding equality issues in the Scottish polities were identified from interviews and relevant policy texts while also drawing on Walby et al. (2012) in order to determine the range of actors and institutions that are necessary for inclusion. Since macroeconomic policy is not devolved to Scotland, how these polities (including political institutions, law and politics) have been instrumental in embedding gender equality is discussed with reference to how the approach to promoting equality through economic policy is designed. Within the scope of this research, devolution is briefly discussed since it provides the context and space for the institutional configuration for equality.

## **7.2. Processes, Institutions and Actors that Regulate Gender Equality in Scotland**

Findings from the analysis reveal that in Scotland, three instances of institutional change have had implications for the type of equality architecture, quality of the equality

architecture and how gender becomes embedded in it or not. These are changes in political and administrative settlements through devolution; the changes of equality commissions in 2006-2007 resulting in the merging of single equality commissions to the Equality and Human Rights Commission; and changes in equality legislation which saw the merging of all equality issues in a single Equality Act in 2010. This section discusses these institutional changes and while acknowledging the political context, it sets the relevant institutional contexts for identifying the range of actors that have been embedded in the economic and equality policy processes in Scotland.

### **7.2.1. Changes in Law & Legislation**

Lombardo et al. (2009) argued that the law can contribute to the shaping of equality policies. In 2010, the UK government introduced a new Equality Act 2010. The Equality Act 2010 is a UK wide legislation that ‘legally protects people from discrimination in the work place and in the wider society’ (Equality Act 2010: guidance, p.1). Prior to the enactment of the current Act, in the 1970s changes to equality legislation were influenced by women actors campaigning against issues of discrimination on the grounds of sex in the UK. Women campaigned for equal pay until the late nineteenth century, and government legislation for this came into effect only in 1970 (Equal Pay Act 1970). By 1975, women received statutory protection from discrimination in the work place (Sex Discrimination Act 1975). This demonstrates an instance whereby the law shapes equality and in particular gender equality issues regarding the right to paid work, which inevitably have material consequences for women. Although this indicates a movement in women’s labour and time resources between the paid and unpaid economy, jobs remained feminised with women found in low paid jobs and under-presented in senior positions in most sectors (Breitenbach 2006). These changes procured through legislations do not form part of a distinctive Scottish government policy to improve women’s position in the economy or politics. Rather, these legislations were

enacted at a UK wide level but exhibit how the law garners gendered economic effects that spilled-over to the Scottish level.

Prior to the introduction of the Equality Act 2006 and 2010, equality issues were treated based on a silo strand strategy with different acts representing different equality strands. Equally, laws on other forms of discrimination based on race (Race Relations Act 1976; 2000), disability and civil partnership acts ensued in subsequent years after the equal pay legislation. A change in the strategy to condense the separate laws into a single act resulted in the enactment of the Equality Act 2006 and the Bill of 2009 in an effort to even out the differences between strands (Walby et al. 2012). In line with Walby et al. 2012, this move augmented focus on the newer equality strands of age, religion and sexual orientation that came with this new Act rather than the older ones. As an older equality strand within this legal framework, the relative importance of gender diminished. In line with Guerrina (2003) who demonstrated how gender mainstreaming dismantled the gender imperative, the law as seen in this context served to silence gender from the political agenda, limiting the necessary conditions for substantive gender equality in the Scottish context. In other words, this Act directed at a higher level the range of equality issues to consider in policies or on the political agenda and policy instruments such as the budget. While new laws can disband or demolish existing institutional structures, within a multi-level governance structure they acutely serve to dislodge or empower the range of issues to be considered in policy development over others in political systems with blurred jurisdictional boundaries.

In terms of delivering on equality policy outcomes, the new Equality Act 2010 brought into effect the Public Sector Equality Duties in 2011 as a mechanism for embedding equality issues into government policy. The Public Sector Equality Duties requires public bodies including the Scottish Government “to pay due regard to eliminate discrimination, advance

equality of opportunity and foster good relations” through the way the Scottish Government shapes policy and delivers on public services. Significantly, the Regulations to the Act which came into force in September 2011, containing Public Sector Equality Duties and Specific Duties, required public bodies to publish relevant and proportionate information showing compliance to the Equality Act 2010. This also required the setting of equality objectives by the various devolved governments of the UK. In some ways, this offered the Scottish government, as with other devolved governments in the UK, the space to shrink or broaden and include the set of equality issues deemed relevant for promoting equality at the work place and in the wider society. For Scotland, an extra duty on gender such as the Gender Equality Duties that has been in existence was eroded, showing how the law has the capacity to define, institutionalise but also dismantle existing mechanisms for promoting gender equality in certain multi-level political systems. This had negative effects for the gender strand in Scotland, given that the UK equality context set the tone for how gender became subsumed within the broader equalities agenda in Scotland.

### **7.2.2. Changes in the Equality Commissions: Equality and Human Rights Commission**

Prior to the establishment of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, key equality strands of race, disability and gender equality had independent commissions through which their specific equality strands were monitored in a bid to promote the equal treatment of all persons. Formed in 2007, the Equality and Human Rights Commission is a merger of the single commissions discussed above and has additional competences for new equality strands that came into effect in 2006 (see Equality Act 2006). The merging of these commissions problematized the priority and place of gender within the wider equality framework. Relevant to this research is that internally, the Equality and Human Rights Commission is not organised based on separate inequalities. The Equality and Human Rights Commission regulates equality, but its work on equality is organised along functional

lines of policy, legal and research work and not in terms of equality strands. The implication is that equality issues are bundled together and as Walby et al. 2012 argues, this approach to regulating equalities adopts a ‘unitary’ model. The institutional changes and functional structure of this new Commission is equally important because within the wider context of equality and focus on the Scottish policy processes, the Equality and Human Rights Commission sets guidance on the set of equality outcomes that are likely to make a significant difference in tackling inequalities by the Scottish Government (see EHRC Scotland 2012; Scottish Government 2013). How this has played out for gender equality issues is subsequently analysed in terms of if or how these guidelines have informed the range of equality issues in the Scottish context.

### **7.2.3. Devolution and Emergence of Equality Institutions in Scotland**

In the UK, devolution ushered political and administrative settlement for Scotland and Wales (McKie and Riddell 2006) resulting in constitutional change in Scotland (Scotland Act 1998), which led to the reconvening of a Scottish Parliament in 1999. For Scotland, this meant the emergence of a new form of governance, the production of diverse forms of social policies (see Mooney and Scott 2005 p.1), and the aspiration of a ‘new politics’ framed around greater participation and ownership by all Scots (Hassan and Warhurst 2002a, p7). With respect to participation in policymaking on equality, findings from analysed policy documents<sup>17</sup> and interviews reveal that devolution provided a space for greater participation, access and opportunity for state engagement by different equality stakeholders that had previously been excluded from the UK wider equality regulating institutions. Similarly, it provided a space that allowed for state engagement across and within institutional sites, such as between the Scottish Government and the Scottish Parliament and within key policy

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<sup>17</sup> See Equal Opportunities Committee & Finance Committee Reports on Draft Budgets

actors. These views were shared by interview participants in both institutional and non-institutional policy arenas and interest groups as shown below:

SG2 “You know ministers engage directly with parliaments, with stakeholders, there is a lot of transparency around the budget process, it’s a very open and participative process because of the months of scrutiny in that way, so we go through it each year...”

SP1 “I think generally it has brought government closer to the people so it's much easier for all of these issues to be discussed at a Scottish level, and if you take colleges for example, you know, the colleges links, you know, could easily go and speak to government ministers, whereas at the UK level they can't...”

While SG2 reveals the closeness of politicians to the Scottish public, SP1 discusses the closeness between politics and the society. This confirms Hassan and Warhurst (2002a, p7), assertion that devolution provides this advantage, but the relevance of this for policymaking on gender equality is established if this closeness offers political opportunity structures (Chappell 2011; Cullen 2014; Walby 2011) for feminist actors with gender claims to effectively influence the political agenda (Annesley et al. 2015; Cullen 2014) of the new polities. The case of Scotland demonstrates that generally, participants tended to define this ‘closeness’ by making comparison to what used to be before devolution and also in relation to how gender equality stakeholders in England are less likely to be close to policymaking sites relative to those in Scotland. Besides, interviews reveal that in the economic and equality policy making context in Scotland, the desired level of closeness to economic policymakers required by certain gender equality constituencies for effective participation is yet to be attained. However, this is less problematized when making comparison to the situation in which fellow women groups in England are in. For example:

SA2: “Definitely! definitely! definitely! as far as I can tell and I think if you look at the approaches being taken north and south of the border, hmm even though we seem sometimes quite far away from economic policy making, compared to our sisters in England we are so close to the process. They don’t have the Equality Budget Advisory Group, they don’t have the Equality Budget Statement, they’ve got a very good budget group but they’re just not involved in their discussions in the same way that we are. They went to court down there to try and get the equivalent of the



Equality Budget Statement but couldn't get one and then they changed; they've got a different Public Sector Equality Duties which is less good"

The above shows the closeness or political opportunity structure of social actors in Scotland- in particular, women organisations- to the economic policy process in comparison to policy actors in England. Importantly, it illustrates how this opportunity structure has been accessed by feminist actors with eventual benefits in terms of the new but distinctive policy outputs (Equality Budget Statements) and institutional avenues (Equality and Budget Advisory Group) for feminist engagement. Consequently it is not just the presence of political opportunity structures that have made a difference but the ability of feminist groups to engage state structures for claims making (Chappell and Curtin 2011).

The above interview equally identifies distinctive structures in the Scottish policy terrain that have been prominent in shaping policy on equality and the relevant outputs. For example, the Equality and Budget Advisory Group identified by the participant above, is an important institutional site that has been instrumental in facilitating and providing a space for state engagement for a diverse mix of equality actors, including the Scottish Women's Budget Group. Importantly, the Equality and Budget Advisory Group is also attributed to be an output of the scale of devolution given that such a structure did not exist before devolution and currently does not exist at the UK level or in the other devolved administrations. The relevance of the Equality and Budget Advisory Group as an equality regulating institution is evident in how it provides a space for various institutional and non-institutional actors to engage the budget process and advise the Scottish Government on how to embed equality in its spending plans. The significance of having such an institutional structure and the difference it can make for state engagement is theoretically explored by Kulawik (2009) and empirically evidenced by Chappell and Curtin (2011) and Cullen (2014).

In addition, the institutional friction between the women's group and policy actors identified above, illustrates evidence of gendered power dynamics between institutional and non-institutional policy stakeholders (Annesley et al. 2010). These power dynamics are embedded in institutional structures and can severely limit the extent to which progress on equality and gender equality is achieved (see Cullen 2014; Kenny 2007). For instance, the case of the Women's Budget Group in England mentioned in the interview above demonstrates that having expertise in a policy area and lobbying policy actors for policy change can be repressed if institutional sites are less permeable to equality stakeholders. What is also noticeable is that women's interest groups can be excluded from the economic policy arena or political spaces by muting their voices or gender claims and not just through physical absence. What this means is that where women's voices are muted in policy arenas by historically dominant institutional configuration, the range of relevant gender equality actors and alternative discourses are limited and the extent to which they influence gender issues in policy spaces is structurally restricted.

This suggests that institutions matter in the extent to which gendered actors can access and participate in shaping gender equality issues within the wider equality agenda but also in economic policy. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that different political systems create or limit access points to institutional sites and state engagement by equality actors. This could explain why equality issues, not least gender equality policies are more developed in some political systems than others. For example, in terms of policy outputs, the Scottish context has the Equality Budget Statement as a result of state engagement by the Scottish Women's Budget Group, which is not the case in the UK, as indicated by interview participant SA2 above.

However, the process to achieving access and securing an Equality Budget Statement reveals institutional mechanisms that historically resisted the inclusion of feminist actors and their gender claims. Although, the presence of the Equality and Budget Advisory Group and the Equality Budget Statement demonstrate how devolution provided a place and space for feminist actors to engage state structures and how useful this has been, it also provides evidence of instances of institutional resistance and gender power dynamics that ensued in this political system (see Kenny 2007). Nonetheless, outputs such as the Equality Budget Statement show how feminists and women's movements used the Equality and Budget Advisory Group as an institutional venue and their different strategies of state engagement to sustain and create more political opportunities for claims making on gender issues. As noted by these interview participants:

SA1 "Hmm it's actually the Scottish Women's Budget Group campaigned for 10years and the Equality Budget Statement came into being a few years ago, 4? 5? Hmm and yeah that was it really. That was how it happened. So the SWBG campaigned every year saying this is the gendered impact, this is what you should be doing. Please do this. And then the Equality Budget Statement came into being and since then we have criticized the Equality Budget Statement".

SA3: "Without SWBG and particularly Angela O'Hagan's intervention and that of Ailsa McKay we would not have had an Equality Budget Statement. I firmly believe that the Scottish Government would not have undertaken that initiative had they not been consistently pressed on it over the years and by 2007 by the time the government changed from the then liberal democratic coalition to the Scottish National Party government, EFBAG as it was at that time, was very much in decline".

The statements above indicate the views of social actors on how a new policy orientation and institutional change manifested in Scotland, albeit slowly, with much pressure from a single feminist group. What this could mean is that political dynamics such as discourse and ideas (Beland 2009; Schmidt 2005), or the strategies of state engagement utilised by policy advocates (Beckwith 2007; Kulawik 2009) interact in the process of lobbying for policy

change. Moreover, this could reveal how actors experienced institutional resistance in this political context (Annesley and Gains 2010).

Although this process of change could be viewed as rapid, the views expressed here demonstrates that the process of obtaining the Equality Budget Statement through the Equality and Budget Advisory Group and the length of time it took for its realisation were rather slow. For instance, they reveal how management practices of government and historically entrenched institutional patterns of work can constrain institutional and non-incremental policy change. Even when policy change occurs it can be incremental (see Cairney 2008) or deviate from what is actually advocated, since dominant actors may seek to maintain existing traditions or co-opt new ideas to support or justify dominant policy logics. Explicit in this context are the power dimensions that are at play in terms of whose idea gets onto the policy agenda to influence change (Beland 2009; Kenny 2007; Padamsee 2009), irrespective of how accessible an institutional structure is. For example, while the Scottish Women Budget Group have, over the years, consistently advocated for a gender analysis of the budget and inclusion of unpaid economy in economic analysis, these have not manifested and rarely feature in political discourse. This is important to note in the sense that access into institutional sites of power and decision-making may not necessary imply power to influence a change on the policy agenda or political discourses.

In Scotland, the opportunity to access political institutions is equally explained in that as a result of devolution, policymaking was not only brought closer to Scotland but politicians could be easily accessed given that Scotland is a small country. For instance, the level of influence of the Scottish Women's Budget Group in engaging political institutions was enabled by good relationships with politicians. Here, the 'smallness' of Scotland as a country meant equality stakeholders, including feminist actors and other social actors, could

easily create close relationships with politicians and use this to influence their agenda. For example, in addition to accessibility, the leadership of the Scottish Women's Budget Group developed strategies of state engagement by harnessing and nurturing these relationships with politicians and civil servants. The interview below (SA1) demonstrates the importance of the smallness of Scotland especially as the prominent policy stakeholders are referred to by their first names.

SA1 "So there's those kind of, I suppose, links which by and large have come about through relationships, you know, so Ailsa's... cause of chapping at the door she gets to know people and gets on with them, they respect the arguments she's saying and it kind of develops from that... and Scotland is a small country".

Importantly, the prominent members of the feminist group such as the late Professor Ailsa McKay and Dr. Angela O'Hagan who accessed this state venue were academics. In fact, Professor McKay was appointed on a number of occasions to serve as an economic advisor to the Equal Opportunities Committee of the Scottish Parliament to guide on their budget scrutiny. This further served as opportunities to not only engage this structure for gender claims making, but also as an important form of state engagement strategy for the Scottish Women's Budget Group (see Beckwith 2007; Walby 2011). Together, this engagement strategy, the institutionalisation of the Scottish Women's Budget Group within an academic institution and the organisation and membership structure of the group were vital for navigating political institutions as indicated by the interview participant below (SA3). Coupled with the accessibility of political institutions and feminist ideology of the Scottish Women's Budget Group, the stage was set for claims making on gender issues as stated by the following participations:

SA1 "...you'll know that so Ailsa talked and she wrote a paper and stuff, so I think all of these things added up and also it sort of helps with the referendum, that women are not voting [laugh] so they have that political thing at the background".

SA2 “So absolutely she [Ailsa] did a lot of work hmm supported by the others and because she was an economist she could absolutely talk the language of the other economist and critique their perspectives and models and so absolutely she was a driving force behind this”.

Moreover, the evidence shows that members of the Scottish Women’s Budget Group, especially the late Professor McKay, used the Scottish Women’s Budget Group as an institutional tool to engage the Scottish Government and the Scottish Parliament in advancing the groups emancipatory aims. As noted below:

SP2 “So as I say, I was more conscious of it [gender issues] in the equal opportunities committee when I was on that and in fact when we were doing that work Ailsa was the advisor... she was a professor of economics... she was kind of a leading light on this kind of issue of gender and the economy. So she advised us when we did our budget process, I can't remember whether that was... oh I get my years mixed up, anyway three years or maybe it was in the last parliament, four or five years ago. So that's when I was most conscious of the issue so to be honest...”

Remarkably, what is even more significant is the fact that the leading members of the group who engaged state structures via the Equality Budget Advisory Group were academics. For example, Professor McKay was an economist and she is presented as someone who could talk the language of economics and equality; moreover, making claims using both quantitative and qualitative evidence to support her arguments in various political institutional arenas was crucial. This is important as Pawson (2006) and Black (2000) indicate that policymakers prefer a certain evidence base over others and in the field of economics empirical evidence trumps qualitative evidence. Additionally, the use of different types of evidence for claims making on gender issues seemed to have been underpinned by the need to make substantive evidential claims based on both economic and equality grounds given the diverse range of actors, complexity social issues in Scotland, and expediency of the Scottish Government’s economic policy terrain to influence gender equality in paid and unpaid work through its budget process.

In addition to bringing new actors and interest groups into the equality regulating institutions, findings reveal that there was a general perception that devolution would provide a place and space to address equality issues through public policy in Scotland. Although it was unpredictable, this outcome has played out through the government's budget and the budget process. Devolution provided an opportunity for the Scottish Government to institutionalise equality in the various institutions and to take a slightly different approach to economic policy and public spending due to some contextual issues in Scottish. To start with, Mooney and Scott (2005) contended that the demand for devolution was made on the basis that the Scottish economy was uncharacteristically unequal compared to other regions of the UK. The 'Scottish solutions for Scottish problems' (Mooney and Scott 2005; Stewart 2004) mantra that ensued in the run up to devolution endorsed the notion of a new system of governance and approach to public policy framed around the need to redress specific Scottish concerns. One of the outcomes of this process can be seen in the way social policy became intrinsically linked to and framed around the dual themes of poverty and inequality, subsequently social justice and social inclusion. This demarcated the socioeconomic issues that were deemed as profoundly peculiar in the Scottish society as distinct from the rest of the UK. Interviews revealed that devolution provided a critical moment and a space that enabled this new approach to equality policymaking.

Nonetheless, the relevance of this is reflected in the equality-awareness of policymakers, the need to design equality sensitive institutions (for example equality is one of the principles of the SP) that are different from the rest of the UK. In other words, for Scotland, devolution is the context to explain the presence and quality of an institutional setting for policy making on equality and mainstream policy issues. While it added an extra layer of governance, it also secured a space for bringing different actors to engage new political institutions, policy

processes and a more equality integrated approach to public policymaking compared to the UK.

### **7.3. Is there an Infrastructure for Policymaking on Gender Equality in Scotland?**

Walby et al. (2012) maintain that the ‘best’ architectures are inclusive of a range of actors and inequalities. Importantly, the range of inequalities should address the relations between disadvantage and advantage and the variation in the ontologies of these inequalities. To understand why the ranges of people and equality issues have evolved in Scotland, it is important to note that devolution came at a critical point in the larger equality debate. By 1999, positive action measures such as quotas and women’s policy agencies were being advocated as effective strategies to increase awareness of women’s issues as well as to provide more employment opportunities for women (Pascall and Lewis 2004). All of these which related to specific issues of discrimination and fairness in employment.

Concurrently, equality mainstreaming was gaining prominence as the best way to move the gender and more general equality platform forward in Scotland (Equality Strategy 2000). In other words, equalities advocates embraced the move towards a multiple discrimination-diversity approach. Findings from interviews and analysed documents (EBS 2010/2011, p.7) reveal this move as part of a wider effort to encourage visibility of the intersecting nature of discrimination and inequality, but also to promote equality and tackle disadvantage.

EBS 2010/2011: “A key element of mainstreaming equality is equality impact assessment – a process for ensuring, as part of the development of policies, frameworks and activities, that the impact on different groups is considered and proposals are adjusted accordingly. In the EQIA process we expect account to be taken of the diversity of needs and experiences of those affected and for the proposals to be informed by relevant equality data.”

SG5a “... really is to promote equality and tackle discrimination and bring about good relations across, you know, as the public sector equality duty requires us to do ...”



Given the scope of this work, while there is a wide range of policy areas for which equality issues are also relevant, the range of policy issues addressed here is narrowed down to socio-economic issues. In particular, economic policy within the context of promoting gender equality in paid and unpaid work. The rationale is that despite empirical evidence of how unpaid work, unpaid childcare and care are policy domains, that are likely to benefit women significantly or if ignored disproportionately disadvantage women and the wider community (Braunstein et al. 2011; Elson 2002), they have persistently not been viewed or conceptualised as equality initiatives. How this could be included within the equality architecture and the implications of this for the equality architecture is discussed given that policies and institutions that address these issues of unpaid work have traditionally resisted public spending on unpaid care work or, more generally, traditional social policy areas such as social care and childcare by viewing them as costly and detrimental to dominant economic policy goals.

### **7.3.1. Institutional Processes, Economic Policy and Gender Equality in Scotland**

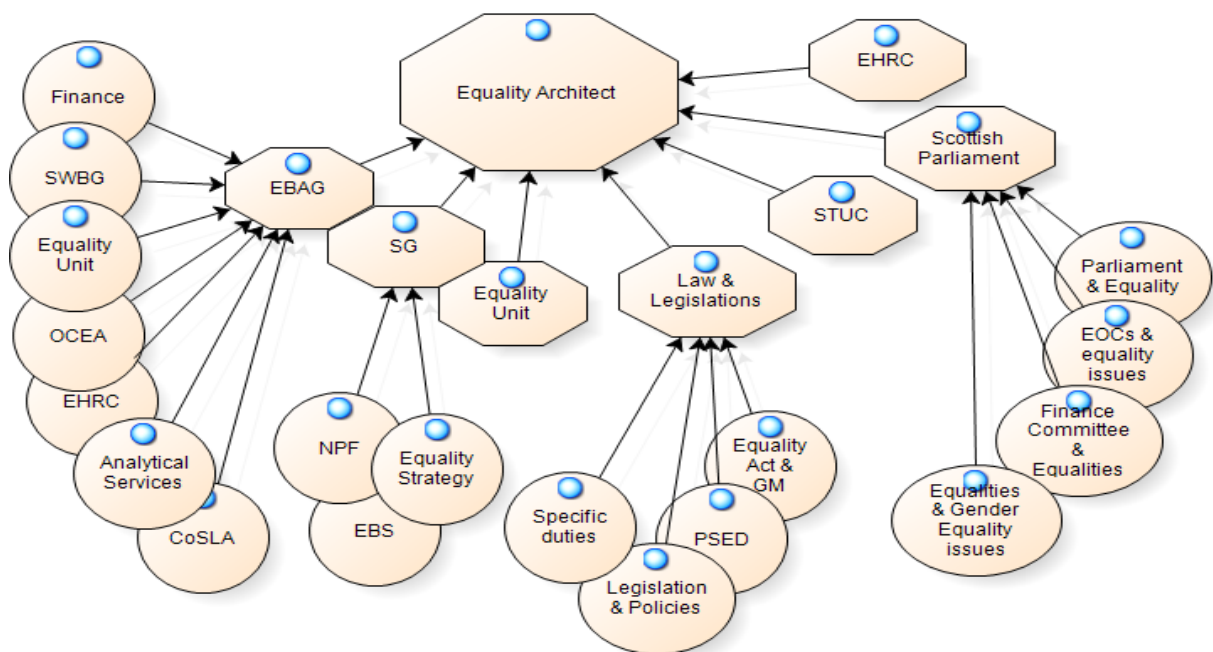
This section traces the development of the gender equality architecture from the time of devolution. The rationale for this is that just after devolution; in 2000 the Government launched an Equality Strategy defining its approach and commitment to equality issues as follows:

*‘Mainstreaming equality is the systematic integration of an equality perspective into the everyday work of government, involving policymakers across all government departments, as well as equality specialist and external partners’ (Scottish Executive, 2000a, p.14).*

Central to this definition was the public pronouncement of a strategy of incorporating external actors and equality specialists in the everyday work of government, although the nature of the mix was not stated. How this has played out in embedding external actors and

gender equality policy stakeholders in the everyday work of government and the difference this has made for equality policy making in Scotland is analysed here. Based on the definition of an equality architecture by Walby et al. (2012), which is discussed in Chapter 5, the following institutions have been identified from the policy documents (all Equality Budget Statements from 2009 to 2014), government reports (see Scottish Government Mainstreaming Report, 2013) and interviews as relevant for the institutional set up for policy making on gender equality.

**Dig 1: Equality Architect in Scotland: Institutional and Non-institutional Actors**



The Equality Unit, Equality and Budget Advisory Group and Scottish Government are separated on the diagram to show the unique nature of the Equality and Budget Advisory Group and the kind of integrated framework for equality and budget process within the executive. As shown on the above diagram, there is a commission with over-sight for the implementation of equality and law, that is the Equality and Human Rights Commission already discussed above. Also included is the law and institutions to implement the law,

such as the Equality Act 2010 in which is contained the Public Sector Equality Duties and the additional Scottish Specific Duties which are separately undertaken in Scotland. The law or equality legislation is not fully devolved to Scotland, except for disability that was recently devolved earlier this year (2015). The following sections would discuss the range of actors in political institutions including the Scottish Parliament and Scottish Government as both institutions interact with the law. The Equality and Human Rights Commission is embedded through its membership with the Equality and Budget Advisory Group. In Walby et al. (2012), institutions such as the employment tribunal are included. However, because the focus of this chapter is on the policy process and systems specifically designed for gender equality in Scotland, the Scottish Parliament has been identified as the institution that monitors how the Scottish Government has taken equality considerations into its daily work (see Scotland Act, 1998).

### ***Scottish Parliament***

As noted above, devolution led to the creation of new polities such as the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Government. In defining the terms of operation of the Scottish Parliament, the *Scotland Act 1998* set out four fundamental principles to underpin and guide the work of the Scottish Parliament (see Cabinet Office 1998). The quest for equality as an overarching principle subsequently featured in the Scotland Act 1998 and currently plays out in the way the Scottish Parliament monitors the government's approach to embedding equality in its policy and budget process (see EBS 2010/2011 - 2015/2016). The Scottish Parliament is committed to principles of equal opportunities, access and participation, accountability and power-sharing. All of which have implications for how equality and gender equality has been embedded in the policy and politics in Scotland.

With regards to the range of actors within the Scottish Parliament, the institutional setting (committee system) and parliamentary process (budget scrutiny and evidence taking) following devolution are important. Annesley and Gains (2010), Koopmans & Kriesi (1995) and Kriesi et al. (1992, p.27) argue that parliament is an important institutional site for social activists, and as Cullen (2014) notes, it is also an arena for claims making. Meaning different actors can invoke different discursive frames to institutionalise their claims as an approach to 'doing institutions' (see Kulawik 2009). Prior to devolution, changes in gender relations that followed within the parliament occurred albeit at a relatively slow pace. Post-devolution, women ministers increased to 39.5 % in 2003 from 37.2% in 1999, but has now dropped to 35%. As a form of agency, the Scottish Parliament facilitates a space for equality stakeholders to target and engage strategic actors such as ministers, civil servants and other decision makers within government through its budget scrutiny role and the way it is organised. Policy influencers both inside and outside government can navigate these venues to problematize, deliberate and influence issues of interest regarding different equality constituencies. In line with Lovenduski (2005), Annesley et al. (2014) and MacKay (2004), the presence of women within this site is important in the way women's and, more generally, gender issues become or fail to become embedded in the work of parliament in addition to government and the wider political landscape.

Findings from the data (see below) reveal that the Scottish Parliament has been instrumental in engaging feminist actors in the parliamentary process through its evidence taking and budget scrutiny function. In engaging and deliberating on the equality considerations as part of the budget process, the parliament has been influential in providing a space and place for equality actors to participate in these parliamentary processes. The process of evidence taking for the equality impact of budget decisions by the Scottish Parliament requires soliciting input from equality stakeholders on the effect of the government's spending plans

on different equality constituencies represented. This has been significant in getting feminist actors involved in Scottish politics; served as an arena for claims-making by these actors and to also demand indirectly for fiscal accountability from the Scottish Government.

SP2 “Well I think representatives of women's groups come in, I mean, the finance committee in its own witness taking on the budget and the evidence oral and written that it takes, I mean, we had Angela O'Hagan giving evidence at the committee, we've had Close the Gap on Equal Pay giving evidence, Engender give evidence, so certainly we've had an input from these groups; so certainly that's an advantage of the committee system in the Scottish Parliament, you do have an opportunity to present written evidence and to be called for oral evidence, but obviously you can't determine how much weight is going to be given to your evidence, but certainly last year Angela was making, probably a lot of my general perspective of it is influenced by what Angela said as well because I think she would say there's been progress but we've got a long way to go. So, you know, I tend to be influenced by people who I would see as leaders in the field, you know.”

It is worth noting that this process did not happen passively or automatically, as described in the interview below.

SG4 “... the process by which devolution was secured, the constitution convention there was a lot of focus around equality in the demand or ask for a devolution and women's groups were part of it... and then the ask for equality to be embedded in our institution with the parliament and the government... it has helped because we've had places where this was the focus.”

Different policy stakeholders, including equality constituencies and women's movements in particular, played a prominent role in demanding for and pressuring the institutionalisation of equality as an underlying feature of the new politics. Consequently, the platform for engagement can be argued to have been enabled by feminist actors taking advantage of the existence of participation and equality principles of the Scottish Parliament. The implication is that political opportunities do not just exist but opportunity structures can equally be created (Chappell and Curtin 2011). Moreover, the difference between feminists who

effectively engage and those who do not lies in their ability to take advantage of existing opportunities and equally to create new ones (see Annesley and Gains 2010; Kulawik 2009).

However, the data also shows that the continued state engagement by feminist groups to advance gender equality issues in the parliament and through parliamentary backing help them to engage and influence governmental agenda. Annesley (2010) notes the importance of the presence of ‘strategic actors’ and ‘gate openers’ such as sympathetic or ‘feminist’ men in the core executive for the substantive representation of women’s issues in policy and politics. While this is subsequently shown as relevant in the Scottish context, the present data also shows a dimension of representation where feminist actors (movement) without institutional power harnessed and created alliances with strategic actors to shape policy outputs and outcomes through budget processes. Consequently, it is safe to state that the parliamentary focus on the budget is a crucial aspect in the equality terrain as it provides a space for gender equality actors outside government, such as the Scottish Women’s Budget Group, to mobilise support from strategic policy actors within both parliament and government to advocate for gender awareness in economic policy and budget decisions.

State engagement by different stakeholders is crucial to shape policy and politics on core policy issues including those around economic policy and gender equality issues such as unpaid care work. The way feminists access this space is also relevant for shaping norms and transforming institutions. Generally, ministers, civil servants, other policy actors and stakeholders can be accessed by different constituencies evidencing a system of governance and approach to policy that is both ‘open’ and ‘participatory’. What this means is that feminist state engagement for gender issue representation in Scotland took multiple forms and occurred in multiple venues, delineating an interactive approach to state engagement for equality issues (see Chappell 2000).

In part, it would appear that what influenced this approach to gendering politics was that equality is a fundamental principle of the Scottish Parliament and it is also described as integral to the strategy for economic growth and economic competitiveness in Scotland (Scotland Act 1998; EBS 2009-2014). The institutionalisation of equality in the new politics is evident in the main structures of government and system of governance. For example, taking a historical perspective shows that in 1998, the Consultative Steering Group in its recommendations to the Scottish Parliament on the operations and rules of procedures placed a strong emphasis on the need for the Scottish Parliament to promote equal opportunities for all. This led to the establishment of an Equal Opportunities Committee (EOC) of the Scottish Parliament in June 1999 as one of the eight mandatory committees of the Scottish Parliament. The Equal Opportunities Committee is now a standing committee of the Parliament charged with responsibility for considering and reporting on matters concerning equal<sup>18</sup> opportunities including those within parliament and the government's budget. Similarly, the Finance Committee of the Scottish Government scrutinizes the government's budgets for 'value for money', albeit from a purely financial and economic efficiency perspective with a remit to foster opportunities for all.

However, it is worth noting that legislating for equal opportunities is reserved<sup>19</sup> to the UK parliament. The implication is that it confines the powers of the Scottish Parliament to that of 'encouraging and promoting' equality of opportunities. Despite this, the Scottish Government can impose equality duties on Scottish public bodies to incite equality of opportunities for all and have been doing so over the years. Thus, equality can be argued to

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<sup>18</sup>cc 'equal opportunities' includes the prevention, elimination or regulation of discrimination between persons on grounds of sex or marital status, on racial grounds, or on grounds of disability, age, sexual orientation, language or social origin, or of other personal attributes, including beliefs or opinions, such as religious beliefs or political opinions"

<sup>19</sup> See Schedule 5 of the Scotland Act 1998

be an underpinning of the main influences of the new politics, system of governance and recognised as fundamental to economic growth in Scotland (EBS 2013, 2014, 2015).

As shown above, the context for how gender has been embedded in the political and policy institutions is devolution. Shortly after devolution, the Scottish Government adopted an approach to equality known as equality mainstreaming. This was informed by the multiple discrimination and diversity model to equality. These factors coalesced over time to activate the structuring of statutory committees within the Scottish Parliament. With regards to wider equality issues, the Scottish Parliament set up a standing committee on equal opportunities known as the Equal Opportunities Committee. This committee is responsible for overseeing all equalities policies, although equal opportunities also rest on the responsibility of every other parliamentary committee.

To start with, the committee system provides a space not only for women ministers to engage and influence policy and politics but also for equality stakeholders to access politicians and parliament. This is important because closely related to issues of poverty and inequality (Mooney and Scott 2005), devolution in Scotland was also justified on the basis that it would make government more responsive to the specific needs of people in Scotland since much of the population of Scotland felt detached from the Westminster government (Hassan and Warhurst 2002 p.7; Keating 2005). Underlying this were demands for transfer of powers and responsibilities from Westminster to Scotland (Hazell and Rawlings 2005) but also a demand for a space and place by constituencies represented by civil society movements, which had been previously excluded from the state engagement to engage in politics and influence policy for various reasons. Tracing the gains of devolution from 1999 to 2014, it is evident that devolution brought government closer to the people.



For example, feminist and women's movements represent an equality constituency that have been able to access and engage the state and policy domains facilitated by committee system and scrutiny process. Increasingly epistemic communities are also engaging and playing significant roles in the policy process in Scotland. But this is also enabled by the Scottish Parliament. Findings from policy documents and interviews reveal that devolution brought academics, civil society actors and other individuals closer to civil servants and decision makers. The effect has been the range of issues and influence on the type of conversations on equality and other policy related issues taking place within political institutions in Scotland. As noted by a participant

SA2 "... before devolution you'd have to go and speak to somebody in the Scotland office... now it's much easier for all of these issues to be discussed at a Scottish level".

For example, civil society actors access political institutions, target politicians and engage in the economic policy process to problematize and deliberate the range of issues on the government's agenda through the evidence giving process that underpins the parliament's scrutiny function. Gender equality stakeholders have equally engaged the parliamentary committees to influence policy (McKay and Gillespie 2005) through discursive strategies.

The types of 'conversations' taking place and the usefulness of such 'conversations' in challenging traditionally entrenched institutional thinking, inspiring conceptual shifts and changes in social norms are visible outcomes of engagement by external stakeholders. This discursive perspective reconceptualises the relationship between actors and agency (Kulawik 2009) but also show gendered power struggles taking place within this arena (Kenny 2007) in institutionalising gender norms in processes and policy ideas. Through this, the committee systems and scrutiny function of the Scottish Parliament created a place and space for women and feminist movements to engage both parliament and the government to

influence economic policy. Thus, the budget scrutiny process enables the parliamentary function of holding government accountable for adherence to equality duties, or equality legislation.

### ***Governmental Units - Equality Unit***

The governmental policy unit that focuses on equality policy development is the Equality Unit of the Scottish Government. The Equality Unit is responsible for promoting the government's work on equality by providing training to government officials on how to equality proof policies. They equally engage with equality stakeholders, providing funding for their work as a means of embedding equality issues in policymaking. Prior to the creation of the Equality unit, in Scotland, the work on equality issues began with a focus on women's issues as early as in the run-up to devolution in 1998 (Breitenbach 2006). By 1999, when the Equality Unit of the government was launched, the sex/gender/women's theme was expanded to incorporate other equality groups (Breitenbach 2004). These included race, disability, sexual orientation and gender with further remit for age and religion in compliance with the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). With the inclusion of other equality groups, Breitenbach (2006) argued that concerns over women's issues in Scotland gradually faded.

Further evidence for this is seen in how after devolution, there was an initial shift from the single strand approach to the multiple discrimination/diversity approach to tackling equality in the Equality Unit. Six equality strands of gender, sexual orientation, age, religion and belief, race, and disability were incorporated. These were treated through a multiple discrimination and diversity approach, resulting in the broadening of the single strand approach in which equality strands such as age and gender are addressed as 'add ons' without regard to their overlapping intersections with other categorical inequalities. The UK

wide Equality Act 2010 also transformed and incorporated the single strands treatment into a bundle of inequalities, expanding the strands to include nine protected *equality* characteristics. Drawing from O’Cinneide (2002) this context evidences an approach where cross-strands strategy to addressing overlapping and multiple forms of discrimination through separate institutions and laws (Verloo 2006) are lacking.

With regards to how gender has been incorporated, over the years, the range of actors involved in driving gender equality issues has equally evolved to include state and non-state actors. For example, women’s groups have been incorporated by virtue of the Equality Unit’s approach to promoting equality through funding equality stakeholders. In addition to this, the Equality Unit regulates equality through the Equality and Budget Advisory Group of the Scottish government as institutional members and has been useful in incorporating feminist and non-feminist voices in the developing equality policy regarding the budget process in Scotland.

### ***Consultative Groups: Equality and Budget Advisory Group***

In the run up to devolution, the Women in Scotland Consultative Forum was created in 1998 to provide access to political institutions and ensure that women’s voices were being represented. This only lasted until 2003 and was disbanded (Breitenbach 2006; McKay & Gillespie 2005). Unlike in Whitehall, where there was a Women and Equality Unit devoted primarily to gender equality which has now been demobilised (Annesley 2012), there is no women’s policy unit within the machinery of the Scottish government. By 2003, a Scottish Women’s Convention (SWC) was set up by the Scottish Executive with aims to incorporate women’s voices in shaping public policy (EBS, 2013/2014). Still in existence, the SWC responds to policy, but does not have a clear and strong remit for regulating equality or women’s equality in Scotland ([www.scottishwomensconvention.org](http://www.scottishwomensconvention.org)). It rather engages

women's organisations that work on separate issues through celebratory events, participation in certain Scottish and UK government consultation papers using road shows and different events to respond to policy. With regards to structure, it is not a formally constituted consultation body that sits within the framework of the equality architect identified here.

With regards to institutionalized consultation mechanisms that engage constituencies in civil societies with the state, the range of institutions identified in the equality architecture above shows that there is no institutionalised women's policy unit in the machinery of government in Scotland. However, the budget process which is informed by an equality mainstreaming approach provides both venues and avenues for unique forms of formalised consultative processes that engage constituencies in civil society working on single or multiple equality strands. For Scotland, the Equality and Budget Advisory Group, which is also chaired through the Equality Unit by the government, is an important consultative structure that brings external actors from within civil society organisations to deliberate on equality matters and budget processes. This arena fits the description of a formalised consultative process. The Scottish Trade Union Congress (STUC) is also important in the ways it has engaged equality issues through the STUC women's committee, although it is not examined within the range of institutions defined here.

The Equality and Budget Advisory Group is a crucial structure in the equality architecture in Scotland within the policy domain analysed here- that is economic policy. It is a non-statutory advisory group that helps in shaping the government's approach to equality budgeting across all policy areas of spending (Scottish Government, EBS 2010/2011-2015/2016). Convened by the Scottish Government in the 2000s as the Equality Proofing Budget and Policy Advisory Group (EPBAG), McKay (2004) argued that this ad-hoc

advisory group was representative of the new politics in Scotland that underpinned the principle of openness and participation as it drew on expertise from external actors. For Keating (2007 p.205) the mix of actors within the group provided a formal framework to engage the state apparatus to promote a more gender-aware approach to the budget.

The group which is chaired by the Scottish Government hosts both internal members and external policy members including equality stakeholders. Since 2008, internal membership included the Equality Unit, Chief Economist from the Office of the Chief Economic Adviser, Finance Policy, and the Equality and Tackling Poverty Analysis unit while external members consist of the Scottish Women's Budget Group, Equality and Human Rights Commission, and Convention of Scottish Local Authorities.

Through the establishment of Equality and Budget Advisory Group, there have been significant developments in the treatment of equality issues, not least gender equality matters, in Scotland (McKay and Gillespie 2007). Particularly, the Equality and Budget Advisory Group presented external stakeholders a space to have varied and influential conversations that seem to have helped shape the Scottish Government's approach to budgeting, recognition of gender equality issues of childcare and unpaid work and other policy outputs.

SG4        “Well as a group it's an interesting group because you have people who've been on the group for a long, long time and then you have a mix of civil servants, so I think always influential was the conversations around the table with other influential areas of government, so it was important that we had finance there, and I think before I came, the year before when it was readying, there was particularly good conversation around and a very good director of finance...”

As a consequence of engaging this space, the Scottish Government for the first time in 2009 produced an equality statement alongside its draft budget, setting out how planned spending

actions would contribute to greater equality. The Equality Budget Statement set out the equality context of the government's spending decisions in Scotland. This equality statement has become a feature of the budget process over the years with the equality statement attached to the government's draft spending document in the past five years.

The range of actors and conversations that take place within Equality and Budget Advisory Group are viewed as crucial to the Scottish experience of equality mainstreaming and for influencing a change in understanding the equality issues that the institutional actors present.

As stated by this participant:

SG4 "So I think they (SWBG) had influence on those individuals who came who might not have an equality, who didn't have an equality background, so the conversations were very, very interesting and Ailsa and Angela were so bright and intellectual and spirited, so it made things come to life I think, so it was always fun! So I think they were very influential on this for civil servants but also very influential we brought into the impact assessment of the budget annual meetings with our cabinet secretary for finance."

Further evidence on the influence of the Scottish Women's Budget Group through the Equality and Budget Advisory Group is visible in the policy documents analysed (EBS, 2012/2013 p.18; 2015/2016 p.3) and findings from interviews. These show that in addition to the Equality Budget Statement, outputs such as the equality impact assessment tools and other policy outcomes on equality issues are visible within the Scottish context as the result of the conversations that took place within the Equality and Budget Advisory Group. Importantly, these are feasible due to the way the Scottish Women's Budget Group engaged members of the group and parliamentary committees to make demands on the Scottish Government and frame their claims on equality and gender equality in particular.

EBS 2012/2013 "We have been guided in our approach by the work of the Equality and Budget Advisory Group (EBAG) and the observations made by the Scottish Parliament's Equal Opportunities and Finance Committees during the scrutiny of last year's Draft Budget."

EBS 2015/2016: “Both Cabinet Secretaries met EBAG in August 2014 as part of this year’s budget process.”  
“Given the unusual context for this year’s Draft Budget, EBAG advised that the EBS should safeguard the improvements made over recent years and focus thinking on opportunities for longer term improvement and consideration”

Therefore, the ability of interest groups to engage parliament and work the spaces of power seems crucial to the maintenance or the creation of opportunity structures to access governmental agenda to embed equality issues. For example, external actors that gained access to institutional spaces could potentially influence discourses and ideas within these spaces. Actors such as the Scottish Women’s Budget Group have equally maintained presence at this high level platform, challenged its membership composition, interacted with other non-state actors and influenced thinking on gender equality issues.

SA1 “Hmmm and I think maintaining presence on EBAG has been crucial in a number of ways to the continuance of EBAG, to the continued progress such as it is in embedding equality analysis in the budget process.”

Significant also is the location of the Equality and Budget Advisory Group within the government structure and the lobbying by the Scottish Women’s Budget Group for the presence of economic and finance departments of the government within this group. The presence of governmental units transformed the membership structure and the range of conversations that took place in this site. This brought together actors including civil servants and key policy actors who may not have had knowledge of and understanding in incorporating equality issues in policy or in an arena of equality and budgeting. As such, state structures that provide access to gender-aware or equality-aware actors who are able to engage policy actors can offer great potential for shifting thinking on equality issues in relation to the mainstream.

SG4 “So I think that those conversations with the Cabinet Secretary for Finance were very influential as well, yeah, so that was how it was, so with significant civil servants but also directly with the cabinet secretary.”

EBS 2012/2013: “A report was provided to Ministers in August 2010 and this informed both last year’s and this year’s equality approach to the budget. Ministers also met with EBAG in August 2011 to discuss the approach further.” (p.18)

Maintaining presence significantly informed and continuously transformed the equality approach to mainstreaming within the Equality and Budget Advisory Group and across different levels of government. For example, evidence of the Scottish Women’s Budget Group’s instrumental role on this platform to promote a range of gender and equality issues is visible from projects that sought to make visible gender issues of paid and unpaid work, unpaid and paid childcare (EBS 2014/2015 & 2015/2016). Arguments to undertake gender analysis of the government’s budget to those promoting the development and improvement of proper analysis of the Equality and Budget Statement also ensued.

### **The law and range of equality issues**

With respect to the law, the range of issues specified shifted from the single treatment of different strands (Equality Act 2006) to a single piece of legislation (Equality Act 2010) endorsing a multiple discrimination approach to inequalities and especially with regards to gender. The revision of the Equality Act had implications for how equality became conceptualised and the approach to treating equality issues. The implication at the level of the Scottish Government and for the Equality Unit is that equality strands or equality groups became known as protected characteristics. The range of equality characteristics were also broadened to accommodate asylum seekers, refugees and gypsies/travellers making up nine protected characteristics (Equality Act 2010).



These had many implications for the vision of equality pursued, the meaning of equality and the strategy to achieving gender equality. Under the 2006 Equality Act, concepts like equality groups and equality strands were used, and later changed to protected characteristics with the introduction of the Equality Act 2010. Driven by the Equality Act and of course at the UK level, at the Scottish level the extent to which this has created tension and at times misunderstanding in the pursuit of equality and gender equality in particular is apparent.

For instance, the Equality Act 2010 transformed the picture of equality groups from a condition to define a characteristic, but equally redefined approaches to promote equality. This conceptual shift inspired a wider equality discourse ushering concepts such as multiple discrimination, intersectionality, and equality mainstreaming as an approach to deliver equality to protected groups. As such, the idea of intersectionality in Scotland appears to be driven by the Equality Act and is underpinned by the recognition that individuals face multiple disadvantages which can further perpetuate discrimination and inequality.

These findings also reveal that the range of equality issues that feature in the equality architect in Scotland only pertains to those in the equality legislation as defined in the Equality Act. This suggests that the law can restrict the range of equality issues that are deemed worthy of a government's attention while excluding others. Unpaid work and unpaid childcare are not traditionally defined in the law as 'discrimination' or 'disadvantage' although they fit all criteria for equality issues (see section on EHRC below).

### **Equality Commission: Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC)**

The Equality Human Rights Commission regulates the public sector equality duty by monitoring and enforcing the requirements of the equality act 2010 on public bodies. With regards to the policy process, the Equality Human Rights Commission's guidelines on

selecting equality outcomes identifies the scale and severity of the equality issue, concern from equality groups as a significant issue, impact of the issue on communities and potential for improvement and finally the remit to address the equality issue. Based on these criteria the potential and scope for the Equality Human Rights Commission to monitor and engage the Scottish Government to include unpaid care as an equality outcome in its overall equality framework is present. Unpaid care is disproportionately provided by women (60%), and presents significant barriers to women's labour market participation (see EBS, 2013/2014) and risks to equality of opportunity. Feminist groups, women's movement and even government documents identify the issue of care and childcare as a significant issue to women's equality and economic performance. The negative impacts of unpaid care work on women's lives and the wider economy has been captured in several studies and is also evident in that the SG has the remit and scope to do something about it. It has control over social policy areas of care and the government has control over economic development and public spending. How it uses this space to incorporate unpaid care and unpaid work as a policy field is a question of political will and commitment to gender equality. If unpaid care were to be included as part of the range of inequalities encompassed in the equality architect, it would also mean that it would be incorporated in the work of the equality unit. Moreover, the Equality Human Rights Commission also has a role to play in championing it on the political agenda.

However, evidence from interviews and policy documents<sup>20</sup> indicate that the Equality Human Rights Commission has been instrumental in producing reports showing outcomes for different protected characteristics as part of their monitoring and enforcement function. In terms of engaging and influencing political institutions on areas of unpaid care which

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<sup>20</sup> See EBS 2011/2012, p.6 & 8 making reference to the Equality and Human Rights Commission's Triennial Review and Equality Measurement Framework.

pose significant barriers to women's economic equality, they have really not engaged parliament. One of the ministers of parliament pointed out that:

SP3 "the EHRC do not help us in any way, you would think they would be wanting to influence us, they don't... so that's a major problem for us."

This illustrates that in addition to monitoring and enforcing internal compliance and coherence to the Public Sector Equality Duties, committees such as the Equal Opportunities Committee may equally expect a 'push' or pressure from the Equality Human Rights Commission to move the gender equality agenda forward.

Consequently, attention to unpaid childcare is also weakened within policy spaces and largely conceptualised as a family issue, and its pervasive impact on women's economic equality is persistently referred to as "unintended consequences of policy". Elsewhere in policy documents (EBS, 2011/2012, p.50), unpaid care is described as activities in which women own the greater share whereas these are important policy areas that significantly affect women's economic equality, cuts across intersecting inequalities but are treated as non-policy fields.

This thesis therefore argues that a quality infrastructure for gender equality would include domains such as childcare policy or policy on unpaid work in this framework. The potential for the inclusion of unpaid care as an equality characteristic is that it would transform discussions on multiple inequalities, discrimination and disadvantage and the nature of equality architecture. The Equality Budget Statements-EBS (2012/2013, 2013/2014) mentions the intersection of care between gender and some minority ethnic groups but with reference to differential 'attitude' towards accessing public services. Attention is yet to be paid to unpaid work and unpaid care as an equality issue in its own right and its possible intersections with other inequalities of class and ethnicity. The implication for the

institutionalisation of unpaid care in the equality architecture would either mean the incorporation of an unpaid care or unpaid work policy team within the Equality Unit and use of specific duties as levers to incorporate unpaid work in economic analysis and policy.

#### **7.4. Institutional Opportunities and Challenges for Promoting Gender Equality through Economic Policy in Scotland?**

This section discusses the policy and political dynamics that are relevant in explaining if and how the institutional setting and policy processes have created a space for economic policymaking with respect to promoting gender equality. These structures explain the inherent challenges but also opportunities for promoting gender equality in this political system. Overall, devolution came across as the main process or institutional dynamic that created a space and place for policymaking on gender equality and the extent to which gender issues have been incorporated in policy and political processes or not.

Devolution offered the opportunity to build equality issues into the new polities, existing legal structures and policies. This provided both a political opportunity structure and institutional configurations that could be accessed by civil society actors representing different equality constituencies that had been originally marginalised from politics and policy settings. The prominence of equality as an underlying principle of these new polities and approach to policy is significant because it gave impetus for political commitment to equality issues, not least gender equality, in budget processes and politics.

It is also clear from the analysis above that in spite of these opportunities, challenges for policy making on equality, in particular, gender equality and economic and social policy abound. Although there is an element of participatory governance, in the Scottish budget process, economic policy priorities are set at a high level by ministers. Consultations from other policy stakeholders only take place at a later stage as shown in Chapter Eight. Mostly,

this engagement is for informational purposes and it is not generally clear how this information feeds into the budget process, apart from the advisory work of the Equality and Budget Advisory Group in the Equality Budget Statement. Therefore, this provides evidence to show that agenda-setting on economic policy and spending priorities take place at a higher ministerial level dominated by male actors. In addition, it reveals that spending allocation on social services separately takes place at the local government level and central government level. In other words, the process is not robustly linked together since the central government's spending allocation agenda on social services may not necessarily correspond with the local government's spending priority and agenda. However, there is also evidence of other political and ideological factors that are relevant in explaining the gender equality context in Scotland as shown below.

### *Accessible Institutions and Participatory Governance*

The necessity for a government that was accessible, participatory and conversant with the specific needs and deep-seated problems of socio-economic issues and inequality in Scotland was seen to be fundamental to addressing the Scottish specific problems. The ensuing politics that defined the type of government and new institutions required in Scotland discursively constructed a futuristic institutional setting with values, norms, processes and a culture to governance underpinned by equality. For examples interview participants noted that

SG4 “... the process by which devolution was secured, the constitution convention there was a lot of focus around equality in the demand or asks for devolution and women's groups were part of it. ... and then the ask for equality to be embedded in our institution with the parliament and the government... it has helped because we've had places where this was the focus. I think devolution obviously has brought academics and people closer to civil servants and decision makers of course because that is now in Scotland so all the... this wouldn't have been a conversation we'd be having before devolution, you'd have to go and speak to somebody in the Scotland office, so that would be another example of the changes and just the spotlight of the parliament I think on budget decisions, you know,

they analyse and they scrutinise and they lobby and so I think that obviously has made a big difference in context.”

In this instance, devolution created a space for different actors and equality issues to be built in policy processes and is seen as fundamental to tackling the socio-economic issues in Scotland. Relevant to this is that feminist and women’s movements in Scotland equally saw devolution as a key opportunity to ensure that gender issues, and equality more generally, were a focus of the new Scottish Parliament and Executive. Thus, they campaigned strongly for equal representation, family-friendly policies and feminist values to be included in the newly formed political organisations (Breitenbach and Mackay 2001; McKay and Gillespie 2005). As such, equality is embedded in the institutions, and discourses in budget processes and gender equality through the discussions that take place within the various institutional sites and avenues for feminist engagement.

In terms of providing a space and place for feminist movement’s and women’s representation in politics and policy spaces, there seems to be a positive impact. This is important for gender equality in Scotland especially when unpicking actors and ideologies of actors within the new systems as a means of examining how inequality can be built into a system or not. In Scotland, devolution brought government closer to the people, created momentum for the creation of new and accessible polities such as the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Government. This provided a platform for a different culture of doing policy and politics characterised in some instances by experimentation and learning provided by the Scottish Women’s Budget Group. This championed an approach to policy that appears to be more equality focused and as shown in the interview data, budgetary decisions are more inclusive, participatory, transparent and subject to different levels of democratic scrutiny and accountability.

On the flipside, in examining how effective the Equal Opportunities Committee has been in fostering gender equality issues, interview participants revealed how a range of issues such as women in work, fathers and parenting, and modern apprenticeships repeatedly appear in different sessions but also presented in different languages (SP3). The narratives in the documents are somewhat uncritical of the inequalities revealed through the discussions and various voices challenging the pervasive nature of government policies during the evidence giving process. Although, the engagement process is there, there also appear to be a lack of scope or mechanism to follow-up on how the government incorporates recommendations in the subsequent budget processes. This was described by one minister from the Scottish parliament who was interviewed (SP3) as a process of “going through the motions” to satisfy equality legislations.

With regards to the dominance of Scottish National Party’s in these committees, there is a tendency of invoking liberal ideologies in the work of committees given that the economic policy priority has been that of promoting growth through increased GDP. The implication of this liberal ideology for the committee is evident in instances where the Finance Committee has engaged work on employability in the context of austerity. In conducting this work, the committee’s focus<sup>21</sup> was on value for money and not necessarily on whether government’s economic policy priorities and spending were aligned to equality issues. Although, there was evidence from a broad range of discussions and analysis regarding the gendered impact of this approach to policy, there is no evidence of where the Finance Committee challenged the capital investment approach to growth, in as much as evidence

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<sup>21</sup> Scottish Parliament (2012), Finance Committee 9th Report, 2012 (Session 4): Report on Draft Budget 2013-14, Scottish Parliament paper 231, see page 4.

[http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/S4\\_FinanceCommittee/Reports/fir-12-09w.pdf](http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/S4_FinanceCommittee/Reports/fir-12-09w.pdf)

was also taken from women's groups. Rather, the focus was on how to get the government to boost the economy through capital investment programs.

Given such a male dominated committee, which is also characteristic of masculine identity and values, different equality voices get drowned out when debates and conversations are dominated by traditional institutional logics. Evidence of women's group participation is also limited compared to their participation at the Equal Opportunities Committee. While the language of equality is present, the pursuit of equality is however, not as prominent in comparison to other policy considerations such as economic growth. Where there is a general perception within both committees that economic growth in itself would not create more equality, the priorities and values of the Scottish Parliament are also revealed to be growth and not necessarily equality given that the overarching framework of the government is not problematized by the Scottish Parliament. The Scottish Parliament pays attention to equality issues, but equality is not especially high up on their agenda. The same applies for gender equality issues with the exception that issues of gender equality has been pushed and sustained by women's groups, especially the Scottish Women's Budget Group, through their participation in the Equality and Budget Advisory Group and continued presence within the Scottish Parliament, despite institutional resistance.

Overall, interview participants within the Scottish Parliament explained that the Equal Opportunities Committee pays more attention to equality issues than any other committees in the SP (SP2 & SP3). In an attempt to better integrate this process, the Equal Opportunities Committee sends out reports to other committees as part of the scrutiny process. However, it also appears that emphasis on equality gets diluted by other core policy considerations as it moves across committees from the Equal Opportunities Committees. Such contestations between equality and gender equality and the mainstream have challenged the extent to



which gender becomes embedded in mainstream policy and politics or not. This also relates to issues of unpaid care and unpaid work more generally. Interviews reveal that the Scottish Parliament has not engaged unpaid care work as an object of inequality. Rather, the committees have focused their attention on getting the government to report on the strategies of considering main equality strands found in legislation into projects such as Women in Work<sup>22</sup>.

While these processes and dynamics are in place, the extent to which they feed into government policy is unclear if at all present. It is not also clear what mechanisms are in place to ensure that community engagement feeds into policy. From a process perspective, the fundamental issue here is that a space exists not only for the pursuit of equality policies in Scotland but especially a space for incorporating gender perspectives into all aspects of policymaking. Besides, the presence of diverse political actors and channels suggest the presence of discursive opportunity structures, which feminist movements in particular can and have engaged in, to shape or shift institutional thinking. They have challenged entrenched social norms and assumptions built in to policies that have pervasive effects on people's lives.

In Scotland, we see how feminist movements including Engender, the Scottish Women's Budget Group, and other women's movements such as Scottish Women's convention, and academics including non-feminist civil society actors who are representatives of various equality strands have access to and have engaged the Scottish Parliament and Scottish Government for emancipatory purposes. This access is achieved by engaging with civil servants, ministers and formally constituted consultative groups set up or chaired by government - the Scottish Women's Budget Group accessing the Equality and Budget

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<sup>22</sup> Scottish Parliament (2013) Equal Opportunities Committee 4th Report 2013 (Session 4): Women and Work. SP paper 348, [http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/S4\\_EqualOpportunitiesCommittee/Reports/eoR-13-04w.pdf](http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/S4_EqualOpportunitiesCommittee/Reports/eoR-13-04w.pdf)

Advisory Group. However, gender inequality is still a main feature of the Scottish society and engagements have not resulted in any significant policy or spending shifts capable of delivering on gender equality.

While equality is a key principle in informing the way the Scottish Parliament has been setup, there also appear to be many challenges in delivering gender equality, not only by the committee systems but also by individual ministerial actors. With regards to the committee system, the general perception from women's groups and ministers of parliament was that the leadership of a committee is important in the extent to which gender equality issues are taken seriously and how community engagement occurs. Committee convenors it appears are important figures in embedding issues of gender in parliamentary sites. While their leadership role is crucial, understanding of equality issues and the interrelationship of equality issues with the economy by convenors is equally significant for embedding gender issues. Political will in addition to a convenor's passion to drive gender and equality issues on governmental agenda were seen as important. Convenors that are not acquainted with the various political processes involved in advancing equality policy in addition to being pro-gender are unlikely to advance the gender imperative. Furthermore, putting this understanding into practice by engaging different stakeholders in the scrutiny process and the ability to drive the committees equality agenda are also significant factors. As Kulawik (2009) argues, institutions work in the way political actors "do institutions". That is, either as routinized processes (Schmidt 2008) or through a deliberative process that engages foregrounded discursive abilities. The Scottish context shows a combination depending on both the identity of the practical and discursive consciousness of the convenor.

The remit of all the committees within the Scottish Parliament are worded as having a duty to promote equal opportunities for all. This exemplifies the functional nature of these

committees, such as pursuing binding decisions and the procedural orders. How this has played out in embedding gender is also a question of how different actors interact with this relatively fixed functional perspective to make gender claims. In terms of championing gender equality, findings show that all the statutory committees have not really played significant roles in embedding normative and cognitive gender codes and schemas in their operations as has the Equal Opportunities Committee. Interviews with women's groups and ministers of parliament identify the important role of the Equal Opportunities Committee and Finance Committee in securing access to and voice through evidence giving sessions. However, the more focused attention of the Equal Opportunities Committee on equality issues in budget scrutiny is apparent compared to other committees. For example:

SP2 "Right, well to be honest I can't sit here and say that the finance committee is the great champion of equality issues because in so far as anybody is in the parliament it would be more the equal opportunities committee, and the equal opportunities committee try to get all the committees to look at equality issues as part of their work, you know, mainstreaming and so on, and I suppose it's often frustrating for the equal opportunities committee because it's not so high up on the agenda of other committees."

This illustrates that within Parliament, the role of the Equal Opportunities Committee in promoting general equality matters in policy and budget processes has also been to get other committees to deliberate on equality issues, even though these committees are meant to promote equalities for all as indicated in their respective remits. The above interview equally demonstrates the frustration of the Equal Opportunities Committee with other committees owing to the laxity with which these other committees treat equality issues in the budget scrutiny process or their overall remit.

SP1 "Well they're [equality issues] there but I wouldn't say they were central, I would say they were central for the Equal Opportunities Committee, I wouldn't say they were central for Finance Committee and that is a bit of an issue. I mean, the Finance Committee concentrates on the finances and are we getting value for money, they're looking at value for money this year for example."

Above, the transcript reveals the relative difference in the focus on equality issues by the Equal Opportunities Committee compared to the Finance Committee. This could be reflective of the gender composition of the membership of the respective committees and objective of the scrutiny process for each committee. On the issue of membership, the Finance committee has generally been male dominated and in the last two parliamentary periods the majority members have been ministers of the Scottish National Party. In the current parliamentary period, the Finance Committee has just one female out of seven members. In addition to the higher composition of men and Scottish National Party ministers within the Finance Committee, committee interview participants (SP2 and SP3) pointed out that the convenors in the Finance Committee are mostly men. However, in the Equal Opportunities Committee, successive convenors have been women and existing evidence suggests that women politicians are more likely to be pro-equality than their male counterparts.

Why these patterns have played out is not exactly clear, but it could be revealing of the way equal opportunities as a process or policymaking on equality and mainstream issues are understood and thus manifested by assigning equality issues to women and mainstream finance issues to men. Drawing on Nelson (1992), it could also be that equality issues would generally bear a feminine identity compared to finance issues. However, it does not really explicate if the persistent gender skewedness in leadership is a question of choice whereby women would rather be convenors in Equal Opportunities Committee than in the Finance Committee, or if it is more of a question of existing structural barriers. However, the problematisation of gender composition and leadership of the committees is debated with caution because it is also clear that women leaders may not necessarily engage or passionately champion the drive for equality as argued by Annesley and Gains (2010).

### **Learning Costs & Lack of Gender Analysis relevance**

Keating (2007 p.13) argued that devolution presented the new policy officials with challenges of conducting public policy. This challenge that led to learning has been a key feature of policy officials and increasingly on the part of civil servants delivering government's policy. The challenge for the Scottish Government is related to understanding the process, benefits of gender equality and how to design gender-aware public policy. The newness of the economic policy terrain, structures and processes meant that key policy actors had to acquaint themselves with developing institutional logics and how to embed equality in the new state architecture. Building systems to embed equality without necessarily implementing the Westminster blue print to deliver on peculiar socio-economic issues required experimentation.

### **Challenges to Multiple level of Government & Jurisdictional Overlap**

With respect to state capacity to enact legislation and policies on areas that can also make significant differences in men and women's lives, key policy actors can be constrained by multiple levels of government. This emerged as a crucial issue in the extent to which such institutional arrangements have weakened both the Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament's capacity to enact certain laws and also weakened the capacity of women groups, in particular feminist groups, to make demands for legislations especially within the context of equality that could make significant differences to women's lives. Similarly, because policies such as equality and macroeconomic policies are not fully devolved to the Scottish Government, its capacity to act on issues of equality are also limited while feminist organisations engaged in economic policy terrain are also limited in the extent to which they can lobby to make claims for policy change. Furthermore, the multiple level of government led to weakened and limited legal and legislative powers on certain policy areas, such as equality, which is significant for addressing socio-economic inequalities. The expansion of

equality issues from gender and class to include a wider focus on other equality strands was also seen to have rolled back government's focus on gender equality, negatively impacting on women's lives.

Macroeconomics is still reserved at the UK level, while economic development is devolved with the Scottish Government having responsibility over government spending. However, economic policy making and social policy areas such as childcare are devolved, and how they are designed implicate how the Scottish Government achieves its social and economic objectives. Although different values of fairness, social justice and principles of equality and solidarity are built in both policy and institutional frameworks, in practice, the policy goals and priorities pursued by successive governments post-devolution are reflective of dominant neoliberal ideologies. The multiple levels of government and jurisdictional overlap in economic policy making, presents a challenge for the pursuit of gender equality issues by reinforcing UK dominant ideological and political approaches to economic policy in Scotland. The approach to neoliberal economic policy, the economic models underpinning this neoliberal ideologies and assumptions embedded in this policy paradigm pursued by the union are still a prominent feature of the Scottish economic policy terrain post-devolution. Within this context, issues like austerity measures and budget cuts resulting in state retrenchment in public services and pursuit of economic growth through GDP from the UK level correspondingly incite the same approach to policy in Scotland; although mitigation strategies are sometimes set in place by the Scottish Government to offset impact on equality groups. These in part explain some of the persistent gendered employment patterns over the years.

### **Outcomes based approach to Budgeting**

Devolution provided the opportunity to develop a framework on which the approach to government and to policy making, especially with reference to budgeting became embedded in an equalities perspective. This approach identified within the policy documents and from interview as ‘an outcomes based approach’ to policy and budgeting is first traced to ideas of poverty and inequality that underpinned the devolution debates in 1998. Currently, this outcome based discourse is overwhelmingly linked to delivering the government’s overarching purpose, despite being framed as an equality outcomes discourse. The rationale is to integrate government’s processes and approach to work to deliver on both the government’s purpose through the National Performance Framework (NPF).

The NPF together with the Government’s economic strategy provides two policy frameworks that provide guidance on economy policy and equality issues in Scotland’s otherwise outcomes based approach (OBA) to policy. With regards to the budget process, this OBA is meant to commit government to make a difference not only in how it allocates resources or organises policy inputs but also the impact it has on equality outcomes. In this regard, the budget can be conceptualised as a driver of decisions given that it operates as a part of a system and gives effect to decisions taken within different spaces in this wider system. The implication is that spending decisions are informed by this wider outcomes framework and the Equality Budget Statement is meant to help the government make connections between equality outcomes and mainstream spending portfolios.

Although it appears as an integrated budget process that makes connections between equality and mainstream areas of spending, it does not, however, really espouse budget decisions to gender equality outcomes. In the Equality Budget Statement, it is not clear how the budget process integrates *the* budget within the National Performance Framework, public service reform, community planning, and the economic strategy. How in practice

these different policy frameworks are aligned with regards to promoting both equality and economic growth is not clear. On the scale that Scotland has devolution, successive governments have had the opportunity to address equality issues as integral to economic growth, but it was only recently in 2009 that an explicit equality analysis agenda became embedded in the budget process. Known as equality budgeting, this approach to addressing inequality through the budget commands in particular, places a broader focus on equality characteristics. Indeed, this is an important feature of the budget process, but what is also questionable and has been contested by feminist movements in Scotland, not least the Scottish Women's Budget Group, and reflected in the Equality Budget Statement is the depth of analysis that is undertaken in relation to the budget.

Another issue with this OBA approach is that budget processes and economic policy analysis have focused extensively on policy outcomes. However, because policy outcomes are inherently unknowable *ex ante*, it is thus crucial to equally focus on getting the policy process right. Getting the process right involves eliciting information from external actors and other sectors on significant externalities caused by gender inequality, identifying their remedies as it is about implementing appropriate policies for economic growth

## **7.5. Discussion & Conclusion**

All these institutions, structures or processes illustrate the continued recognition and commitment by government to the process of embedding equality in policy institutions. The institutional setting and processes described above exemplifies a fairly embedded network of linkages between government, private and community stakeholders. An institutional setting of this nature can be diametrically attuned to meeting the needs for information flows for effective policymaking. This setting has particular reference to policy in that unlike the private sector, the public sector typically has less information about the cost structure of an



economy (Rodrik 2004) and the pervasive nature of inequalities. Additionally, as argued by Rodrik (2004) the public sector is not omniscience, it would usually have less information to locate and grasp the nature of market failures that exacerbate gender inequalities and core economic policy outcomes. With regards to the budget process, having an Equality and Budget Advisory Group with external partners is crucial to access informational needs.

What is obvious is that devolution created a space and place for the Scottish government to commit to issues of equality in Scotland. For example by developing institutional frameworks that are very different from Westminster, through a process of self-discovery that allowed for process creativity. Devolution also created a place and space for economic policymaking and a different budget process, but these institutional processes also led to the creation of structures such as the Equality and Budget Advisory Group. Collectively, these have been crucial in bringing together institutional actors such as the Scottish Parliament, Scottish Government and non-institutional equality stakeholders including the Equality and Human Rights Commission to regulate or promote equality in Scotland. The range of actors discussed reveals how devolution created a space that delivered the development of new equality-aware polities, processes and approach to public policy as opposed to legislating or replicating existing blueprints reflective of UK priorities or Westminster models. The extent to which these various actors are institutionalised and their influence in incorporating gender issues in the wider equality infrastructure can also be attributed to the fact that Scotland is a small country and people can easily create relationships with politicians and civil servants as shown in the above.

Whereas devolution adds another layer to the already complex landscape of gender and equality policy and legislation in Britain (Breitenbach 2006), it creates a space for this distinct approach to policymaking where academics and equality stakeholders engage the

political institutions to influence policy processes. This is especially so for those constituency of people who have been absent from the policymaking arena. In this way, the new politics provide a platform for advocates and lobby groups, not least the women groups, to access and engage the equality architect to influence various issues relating to women's equality. With regards to incorporating a wider range of stakeholders into the work of the SP, the committee system of the parliament has been crucial. Besides, the institutional setting allows for a different policy orientation or a very different environment for doing both social and economic policy in Scotland that is more equality focused.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **POLICYMAKING ON GENDER EQUALITY AND ECONOMIC POLICY IN SCOTLAND: INSTITUTIONS, ACTORS & IDEATIONAL PROCESSES**

#### **8.1.Introduction**

In the previous chapter (Chapter Seven), the range of actors and institutional processes discussed revealed how devolution created a space that delivered the development of new equality-aware polities, processes and approach to public policy. The extent to which actors are institutionalised and the range of equality issues that are embedded in the various institutional sites were investigated. Using qualitative methods, this chapter examines how gender issues have been defined and incorporated in the wider equality infrastructure and economic policy in particular.

To illustrate this, the first section of this chapter examines if economic policy in Scotland is gender neutral. The reason is that, the previous chapter demonstrated that issues of gender equality are formally recognised on the political agenda; however, action to gendering equality impact analysis of policies is underdeveloped. This section draws on feminist economics theories and data from policy documents and interviews to examine if unpaid care work and in particular, unpaid childcare work is visible in economic policy, the definitions of work in policymaking spaces and the visibility of unpaid economy in mainstreaming policymaking. To do this, this section examines the economic policy ideas from 2004-2014 and the economic policy orientation in Scotland to explore policy assumptions, conceptual silences and invisibilities of gendered institutions.

It also examines the approach to mainstreaming and how it has delivered in terms of promoting gender equality in economic policy. Furthermore, the analysis draws on feminist

institutionalism and ideational perspectives to examine the place of gender in the context of economic policymaking in Scotland. Therefore, the main premise in this second section is that the mechanisms through which economic policy processes and discourses interact with institutions to sustain, exacerbate or mitigate existing gendered processes. It investigates in detail the conceptual understandings of gender, equality, the relevance of gender analysis in this policy space and its implication for the institutionalisation of gender in the policymaking process. It also considers how the equality mainstreaming agenda has delivered for gender equality in Scotland. The logic is that gendered policy assumptions emerge from and are reinforced by these conceptual dilemmas and in turn sustain and reproduce gendered policy outcomes.

## **8.2. How and to what extent is the Scottish Government's Approach to Economic Policy Gendered?**

To evaluate if the Scottish Government's approach to economic policy is gender neutral, this section examines the economic policy orientation within this political system and how it has influenced the extent to which gender initiatives are undertaken. To do this, the section takes as its point of departure, economic critiques of mainstream policy by feminist economists. This helps to locate the policy ideologies and economic institutions that influence how gender issues have been incorporated in economic policy discourse or not.

### **8.2.1. Economic Policy Ideologies: Neoliberalism, Efficiency and Productivity**

Analysing the draft budget documents from 2004-2006, that is the period under the Liberal Democratic and Labour Coalition government, the respective Draft Budget Statements reveal that consecutively the government's main economic development priority was primarily focused on economic growth. In this period, productivity was defined as the crucial factor in achieving economic growth and living standards. In consecutive years, the draft budget contained statements such as:

Draft Budget statements                    “The Executive’s vision for economic development is set out in The Framework for Economic Development in Scotland (FEDS), FEDS identifies productivity as the critical factor in improving Scotland’s economic growth and living standards...” (Scottish Executive, 2005, p.9 2006, p.8).

In the 2005/2006 draft budget, the government equally stated that: “*Across the whole of the Executive, our aim is to grow the economy.*” (Scottish Executive, 2004, p.1). In the same document, the government identified as an approach to achieving this aim, the need to combine economic growth with social and economic justice goals. However, realistically, the focus was on economic growth given that 2004 equally marked the beginning of the introduction of the idea of the efficient government (see Draft Budget 2006/2007, p.8, that is, Scottish Executive, 2005, p.8). From 2005 up to 2007, the aim of growing the economy was transformed into a top priority of government as shown below:

Draft budget statements                    “Growing the economy is our top priority. A successful economy is key to future prosperity and a pre-requisite for building first class public services and social justice.” (Scottish Executive 2005, p.9, Scottish Executive 2006, p.8)

“The Executive’s role is to create the right environment for business to flourish and to facilitate economic growth by providing the necessary physical, human and electronic infrastructure.” Scottish Executive, 2005, p.9)

The above excerpts demonstrate the continuous focus of government on economic growth as a policy priority with weak elements of social and environmental justice given the commitment to efficiency savings plans which usually restrict government spending on programs or sectors of the economy that are viewed by policymakers as unproductive. As reflected in the Scottish context, the sectors prioritised for spending were those that the government could identify and count tangible monetary benefits from as opposed to non-economic production sectors.

Draft budget 2006/2007

“An efficiency improvement is any activity which improves the ratio of outputs to inputs. This can either be achieved by producing the same outputs with fewer inputs or by producing more or better outputs for the same inputs. Producing the same outputs with fewer inputs is generally termed as a “cash-releasing” efficiency saving and producing more or better outputs for the same inputs is generally classed as a “time-releasing” efficiency saving.” (Scottish Executive, 2005, p.8)

Drawing from Elson (2002), this approach to growth that primarily favours economic production and efficiency savings fails to recognise the aspect of production that involves households, otherwise, social reproduction in the joint process of production of the means of life. Equally, the framework indicates that production is privileged over reproduction, businesses and markets over care and other forms of reproductive activities. To this end, government spending in reproductive activities undertaken within households are seen as wealth consuming. Significantly, these are highly gendered terrains and processes with a high proportion of women in care and involved in social reproductive work in households. These strict definitions of economic goals have been challenged by feminist economists for their exclusion of the unpaid care economy, which is equally crucial for producing services for families, communities and the wider economy (Braunstein et al. 2011; Elson 1992).

However, the above documents demonstrate that in Scotland, the market economy or ‘commodity economy’ is the focus of economic policy and the unpaid care economy in which women disproportionately work due to gender relations is outside the boundaries of economic policy and planning. This approach to policy, as argued by Elson (1991 p.179), is unlikely to equitably and efficiently deliver on growth since it works on the assumption that the demand for women’s labour is infinitely elastic by ignoring the impact of macro-economic fluctuations for unpaid care labour inputs. For example, shortfalls in income and resources in times of crisis may mean less time for care responsibilities as women may tend to work extra jobs to balance household resources.

As shown above in the 2004-2006 period, the Scottish Government noted in policy documents that a successful economy is “*key to future prosperity and... pre-requisite for building first class public services and social justice*” (Scottish Executive, 2005, p.9; 2006, p.8). From 2007 onwards, in terms of economic policymaking, the government still prioritised productivity as policy, a goal with economic policy priorities being that of promoting sustainable economic growth on the backdrop of efficiency savings.

Spending Review 2007-11      “As highlighted above, the drive for more effective government is a central part of the Spending Review and is underpinned by a new Efficient Government Programme for 2008 11. This programme provides a new commitment to delivering 2 per cent cash-releasing efficiencies each year over the next three years.” (Scottish Government, 2007 p.5)

EBS 2012/2013                “I have made clear that our priority at this time of unprecedented reductions in public spending in Scotland by the UK Government is to accelerate economic recovery and growth.” (Foreword to EBS 2012/2013, Scottish Government, 2011, p.iv)

EBS 2013/2014                “As such, this budget focuses on accelerating economic growth and supporting job creation.” (Scottish Government, 2013 p.2)

The analysed documents show that consistently from 2004 onwards up to 2014, the government identified itself as an Efficiency Government. As an Efficiency Government, it is responsible for not only growing the economy, but economic growth is the main policy priority and is viewed as a pre-requisite to social justice as shown in draft budget statements from 2005-2006. In line with Elson (2002), social justice arguably features as an afterthought, which would indicate an approach to policy that adds-on social justice as a means to achieving socially desirable economic outcomes. Central to this approach is the underlying assumption in policymaking that the diversity of men and women in Scotland would equally benefit from economic growth. However, Himmelweit (2002) shows that men and women respond differently to policy and because they are unevenly placed

between the mutually dependent paid and unpaid economy, they are unlikely to equally benefit from growth that is gender insensitive.

Within the economic policy terrain, the period 2005-2014 is seen to be dominated with both an efficiency and productivity discursive frame. These discursive frames shaped the social justice agenda by committing the government to tackle poverty and disadvantage on the basis of Scotland's growing economy, thus stretching the meaning of social justice to growth for poverty reduction. Within this context of efficiency government, equality through social justice is discursively constructed as a secondary outcome of economic policy. This has a number of implications for the wider economy and how gender equality is experienced in the labour market.

First, as argued by Ott (1992; 1995) and Rosen (1993), an efficiency focused economic policy that prioritises productivity lacks gender awareness. It tends to create suboptimal behaviour for different groups in the division of work and may result in the creation of mismatches between jobs and workers in both the short run and long run. This, to an extent, is demonstrated in the Scottish context. For example, in chapter six, the quantitative analysis results showed that women are at a disadvantaged position in the labour market both in their patterns of labour market transition and in the likelihood of them working part-time as opposed to full-time.

Secondly, the problem of talent mismatch relates to the issue of under-utilisation of labour and effects on economic performance. Empirical work by Hsieh et al. (2013) found that between 1960 and 2008, improved allocation of talent for men and women within the United States accounted for 17% -20% growth. Other empirical scholarship reveal that gender inequality in the labour market had negative effects on current aggregate productivity,



distort allocation of productive resources and hence economic growth (Cuberes and Teignier 2012).

Thirdly, productivity as a key factor for growth and efficiency does not reveal whose skill contributes to productivity and the unpaid economy in which households are located are generally not included in the scope of sectors driving productivity. This clarifies policy assumptions about households as unproductive units or unpaid economy as unproductive economy thus silencing it from policy decisions. In essence, households do not contribute to productivity and therefore no corresponding investment in the domain where women have the highest share of work or unpaid activities that women need to access jobs for both productivity and gender equality. These approaches to economic policy have arguably been problematic for job patterns and gender equitable growth in Scotland.

Unlike 2007-2014, in 2004-2006 there were conceptual silences in political discourses on the gendered terrain on which policy measures were targeted. However, from 2004-2006 the Scottish Government (SG) recognised this for the first time and started to collect information on the gendered impact of economic policy. The government also acknowledged that policies can have gendered behavioural responses. In 2005 for example, the government through the work of EBAG, then known as the Equality Proofing the Budget and Policy Advisory Group (EPBPAG) acknowledged the gendered nature of the market economy and possibility of designing policies to deliver better gender outcomes. The statement below illustrates this:

Draft budget 2006/2007

“We are working with the Group to develop tools for gender analysis of the budget, and there are two pilots underway – starting with the issues of smoking cessation and prevention and sport with specific reference to young people in Scotland. The work has focused on whether there are gender differences in response to initiatives in both these areas and on making connections that

underline the cross-cutting nature of inequality.” (Scottish Executive, 2005, p.10).

Nonetheless, the political acknowledgement of the gendered terrain on which economic policy is targeted was absent in policy discourses. The unpaid economy was absent from such economic policy discourses. From a feminist economics perspective, this provides evidence to show that the foundation of economic framework in Scotland was not linked to a gender relations analysis and recent documents reveal that gender analysis has not informed the current government’s economic strategy.

Similar to 2004-2006, the Scottish government’s economic strategy of 2007 and 2011 is equally rooted in the gender neutral notion of markets and the economy as reflected in statements above. Women and men do not appear in this strategy although GDP appears. There is no recognition that these economic institutional structures are infused with gender power relations and gender asymmetries. Under the Scottish National Party (SNP) minority government in 2007 and the current SNP administration from 2011, the government’s economic policy has been consistently geared towards economic growth. Efficiency savings equally underpins the spending strategy. While a social democratic language persists, the beginnings of a gender analysis approach that surfaced in 2005 disappeared in policy documents and political discourses and has never reappeared. Perhaps, influenced by the Equality Act 2006 that saw the introduction of multiple forms of discrimination demanding a wider equality focused approach to policy and spending. Moreover, the same kind of labour market trends that prevailed under the old government persisted under successive administrations.

The issue of getting value for money, which underpinned an efficiency government from the period 2004-2006, was also reinforced in the period 2007-2014 by the Scottish National Party (SNP) led government. In the Scottish context, this appeared in the form of efficiency

spending meaning government spending in a particular sector is justified on the basis of how much benefit it accrues less market cost, which as Elson (2002) argues, fails to take into account non-market cost and benefits. In other words, an efficiency approach to government spending is also characterised by reductions in the public provision of social services such as care and this is built on the assumption that spending on non-market processes are exhaustive and wasteful. According to Elson (2002), this implies a false economy since non-market processes create and sustain human life and communities. Beside, failing to incorporate non-financial costs in such a spending framework shifts the burden of managing work life balance to women since they have to pick-up the unpaid care work that is not provided for by the public sector. In essence, this impacts labour market participation rates for women which again may undermine the goal of an efficiency government as shown in the findings in chapter six.

Overall, across successive governments from 2004-2014, the efficiency discourse can be argued to have rendered invisible the issue of unpaid care work. On the other hand, the data from the interviews reveal that the invisibility and lack of representation of unpaid care work in economic policymaking can be explained by a number of factors. First, the difficulty encountered in estimating or measuring the economic benefits on unpaid care work compared to capital and infrastructural projects. In other words, the lack of development of policy on unpaid care work in economic policy planning is due to the difficulty in quantifying its economic benefits, as depicted by interviewees within the Scottish Government:

SG5b: “Well the government sees it [*unpaid work*] as a real issue and our Ministers have talked about that... it's an area we've been trying to unpick with colleagues internally and our stakeholders as well. It is difficult to quantify but we have been looking at ways that we could even test work with colleagues who lead on caring to see if there is a way, first to mitigate the issues...”

Secondly, closely linked to discourse on difficulty in quantifying the economic benefits of unpaid childcare work are political and business related barriers to developing policy on unpaid childcare work. Interviews demonstrate that the Scottish Government does not view spending on childcare services as growth enhancing. Since investment in childcare is not viewed as having economic or business benefits, the wider society has to be cajoled for such spending shifts to happen.

SG5b “But you have to take people with you and part of that is business, so if we started to move, like, you're talking about moving capital spend out of the traditional areas into childcare, we have to take people with us to buy into that, to vote for the government, so it has to be a movement of... we can't just become a radical kind of feminist government overnight and change our... it has to be about that kind of hearts and minds, making the arguments about how this will work but...”

In the transcript below, in an attempt to explain the reason for why policy on unpaid childcare has not adequately developed in Scotland, electoral and business barriers surfaced as relevant restrictive factors. The need for government to gain votes from the public and to be in the right standing with the private sector or businesses, limits attempts by the government to invest in unpaid care work. Within this context, a government that invests in childcare is seen as a feminist government, which is unappealing for businesses and political continuity.

SG5c “... and that's how the government framed the childcare transformation/the childcare change, is it wouldn't just be about, you know, it would have benefits all round it, you know, for women but for the economy, for...”

SG5b “Yeah but to do a radical reconfiguration of our budget, we'd lose... the majority of voters out there would be 'what have they done, where are they going with this?' yet it's kind of like the equality impact, you need to take people with you and explain why you're doing that, we couldn't just dismantle the budget and say 'we're now going to spend it on building childcare centres' instead of bridges or roads or the stuff that people are used to capital spend representing. It's about that kind of building I think... well that's my, I don't know if you agree but that's my perspective.”

Therefore, in policy documents and political discourse investment in childcare or

development of transformative childcare policy is framed on an economic case and not on a gender equality issue.

Thirdly, even if an economic case for investment in childcare is made, issues of jurisdictional overlap and control of resources are equally problematized. As shown below:

SG5a: “But it [*investment in childcare*] was predicated on having control of budgets that at the moment we don't have control of.”

Apart from the issue of measurement and invisibility, issues of administrative overlap and struggles over control of financial resources inhibited the representation of childcare or social services in general in economic policy planning. Even when such discussions of measuring the unpaid care sector feature, there is still a lack of investment or spending directed towards this sector as potential benefit; in terms of income tax generated from increased employment for women not being viewed as beneficial to the Scottish economy. For example, in policy discussions, the impetus to shift spending to social services such as childcare or social care in general is restricted because these economic benefits generated from tax income do not remain in Scotland due to administrative overlap. As noted by a policy maker:

SP1 “... the feeling is at the moment, if we do spend more on childcare and especially if more women get into work, the economic benefits in income tax and so on that they pay goes to Westminster...”

However, the same is not argued against income taxes on men's jobs derived from capital investment, despite the fact that men's income taxes also end up in Westminster. These discussions surfaced within the context of the 2014 referendum but are indicative of the thinking and value given to women's economic contribution to the Scottish economy. It also shows how jurisdictional boundaries and administrative overlaps stifle government's

commitment to gender equality (see Vickers 2010).

Fourth, the Scottish Government's ideology on mainstream economic and social policies weakens policy development on unpaid care work. The government's economic policy is focused on a single overarching purpose of delivering sustainable economic growth with opportunities for all to flourish (Government Economic Strategy 2007, 2011). Within this framework, the understanding is that equality is an integral objective of the government's purpose. However, set within an austerity discourse, the government's overarching purpose sits within a dominant economic growth and economic efficiency frame. These economic efficiency and economic competitiveness frames are driven by a neoliberal economic ideology. In Scotland, this ideology has championed an approach to economic policy based on capital investment and affordable finance as the means to delivering on the government's purpose and equality commitments. The dominant neoliberal ideology identified for Scotland had significant consequences on how unpaid care is viewed and the discourse surrounding it.

Tracing the ideas and discourse that have emerged in the EBS from 2009 up to 2014, the discursive frames have not adequately taken into account unpaid work. In 2010/2011 EBS, care was discussed only in terms of health care, care of the elderly and childcare provided in the market economy. With regards to elderly people, an age discrimination discourse ensued, but equally the role of elderly grand-parents providing childcare was acknowledged. With regards to childcare provision, an equality discourse and economic efficiency frame is used. For example the government stated that:

*“High quality childcare provision contributes to greater equality of opportunity through increasing access to education, employment and training. Further it has a direct positive impact on our plans for economic recovery. The Scottish Government will continue to provide significant support to ensure the availability of childcare across Scotland that is of*

*high quality, affordable and matches children's needs and parents' working patterns'' (EBS 2010/2011, p.43).*

The implication is that commitment to spending on childcare is based on an economic case, although discussed in terms of promoting equal opportunity. This relates to how childcare discourse has subsequently evolved to obscure unpaid care work, which may explicitly or implicitly influence men's and women's position in the welfare state (Daly 2011; Lewis 1992). Thus, the partial conception of the economy derives from discursive practices, which means the way unpaid care work is or fails to be problematized in welfare states matter for labour market outcomes. Therefore, gendered outcomes are also a product of prevailing economic ideologies, gender equality policy ideas, institutional constraints or other social norms in a political context. How this plays out in terms of women's roles as mothers, carers and workers is based on the economic and social policy orientation of the policymakers, institutional settings and the ideas informing policy proposals and how such ideas are framed for policy problem construction. Thus, definitions of work, unpaid work, and the problematisation of women's labour market participation are crucial factors for designing gender-aware policies.

From the above, it can be seen that these discursive strategies are crucial in determining agenda-setting processes and what appear on policy agendas. As a process, agenda-setting in economic policy and budget process is a power process that organises what issues become visible on the policy agenda or not but also organised along lines of gender. As a gendered process (Acker 1992), agenda-setting in economic policy and budget represents a locus of power within which certain dominant ideologies such as neoliberalism, or hegemonic ideas of a capital investment approach to economic policy dominate the policy agenda while others are silenced or excluded from the policy arena. In this case unpaid care work is silenced, rendered a non-policy issue and remains obscured in policy discourses.

For example, within an agenda-setting power dimension, the silencing of unpaid work or the framing of unpaid care work as social roles on economic policy agendas is evident in the EBS. This silences unpaid care as a policy issue in economic policy discourse, revealing a feature of gendered power relations that is embedded but hidden in institutions, social structures and ideologies within political spaces or policy processes. This links to the issue of political opportunity structure and how institutions serve as arenas of discourse and policy making on gender equality.

### **8.2.2. Economic Policy Orientation: Capital Investment, Policy Assumptions, Invisible Households and Implications for Unpaid Childcare Work**

As shown above, in Scotland, the government's economic approach is based on capital investment, affordable finance and enhanced economic growth. This approach to economic policy in Scotland is anchored on economic efficiency through the provision of free markets driven by private sector production. The proposed actions in the priority areas of capital investment, in particular, fail to account for unpaid economic activity within the household and the impact that reduced resources, both at micro and macro levels, has on the resilience of households and wider communities. To clarify how these have worked in practice to obscure the unpaid care economy, unpaid care work to produce gendered outcomes, the Finance and Sustainable Economic Growth (FSEG) budget portfolio of the equality budget statement is used to summarise the mix of policies and programs on which the government focuses spending on delivering both equality and economic growth. As with other budget portfolios in the EBS, the aim is to focus resources on creating conditions that offer opportunities for all of Scotland to flourish, through increasing sustainable economic growth.

The FSEG portfolio is aligned to the 'equity' strategic principle of the Government Economic Strategy. However, from 2010-2013, the portfolio's budget was solely centred



around providing support and funding to businesses through enterprise, energy and tourism bodies as drivers of growth (EBS 2010/2011 p.21; EBS2011/2012 p.15; EBS 2013/2014 p.19). In 2013, the portfolio mentioned equality as “an important driver of sustainable economic growth” (EBS 2014/2015 p.24). The approach to economic growth sponsored within this portfolio has not just focused on capital investment, but there have been major changes in the way resources are allocated within the budget. A tightening of the government budget orchestrated by the 2007 economic crisis led to significant changes in government spending plans and priority areas for policy intervention. While there has been a general but varying degree of spending cuts in both the revenue and capital departmental expenditure limits, resources are being reallocated from revenue consequentials<sup>23</sup> to fund more capital investment projects (EBS 2013/2014 p.22), which are usually in male dominated sectors, as the major strategy for job recovery. These changes are also steadily reshaping the Scottish economy around different forms of traditional or market based economic activities such as enterprise, tourism, climate change and growth. This indicates a liberal approach to economic policy, but also reveals assumptions about households and unpaid work within household that are built into the policies informing expenditure in this portfolio. While the strategy for economic recovery organises production within the economy in a way that does not value or make better use of women’s potential in the labour market, it also redirects public resources towards market activities that mainly support jobs in male dominated sectors. The effect is the creation of a large female intensive unpaid care sector; the under-utilisation of women’s labour, and under-investment in future human capital.

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<sup>23</sup> Revenue consequentials refers to the Scottish Governments Departmental Expenditure Limit (DEL) resource. This is a discretionary element of the Scottish Government, and in 2012 the government intended to transfer at least £200m per annum from this resource to capital DEL to spend on capital and infrastructural projects.

The economic contribution of women's unpaid work located within the household sector is not accounted or provided for as an integral part of the entire economic production process in this capital investment framework. This approach to economic policy squeezes a very productive sector of the economy -the household. Household production is not recognised as economic output within the Scottish economic policy framework. Crucially, since work within the Scottish political context and economic policy framework is defined by paid employment, domestic production and unpaid care work carried out in households and communities do not feature as part of the production process.

Seen as unproductive units, unpaid care work is given a lesser priority in a government's economic strategy and spending plans (Palmer 2003). This economic framework values and rewards economic activities in the paid sector and undervalues the important unpaid infrastructure that enables all citizens to participate in economic activities (Elson 2002) and does not reward those who provide this infrastructure. The current assumptions informing spending changes in public spending undervalue economic and social activity within the household sector -primarily undertaken by women. Further, an approach to equalities budgeting that undermines investments in the unpaid social care economy is gender biased and inefficient in economic terms. Such an approach to growth challenges the conventional economic approach to production by showing how it undermines the household as social structures of production

Moreover, in Scotland, policy documents reveal that traditional policy impact analyses frameworks or ideas informing policies tend to treat the family as the unit of analysis. This fails to capture gendered behavioural differences, unequal power relations and the way care responsibilities are shared within the family. The social responsibility mix created impacts on gender relations in the family, the public sphere of work and wider society since

gendered patterns are based on assumptions on the organisation of care in families. Its effect on gender relations is evident on how it affects women's gendered roles as workers, mothers and carers. The overarching premise here is that as a gendered policy area, especially in terms of provision, social services such as childcare significantly determine women's position in a welfare state. The extent to which gender relations change or not can be attributed in part to the historical and political economy context, but also to the gendered assumptions underpinning economic and social policies.

Equally, the priority sectors show how government policies determine the types of goods and services produced and consumed both domestically and otherwise. This affects the types of employment available as men and women work in different sectors of the economy. These dynamics interact with gender relations to determine who gets which jobs. This can be further reinforced by the prevailing economic climate. A capital spending approach to economy growth, and a focus on priority areas identified in the FSEG portfolio reveals invisibility and absence of the unpaid economy in economic frameworks. In fact, government budgets that prioritise capital spending in physical infrastructure prioritise jobs in sectors that are dominated by male workers, do not provide stronger equal employment opportunities for women (Antonopolous and Kim 2011), and do not recognise the gendered nature of the paid economy and the presence of an unpaid economy.

Analysis of the EBS, Economic Strategy and Spending review documents shows that from 2009-2012, the unpaid sector was absent from fiscal policy discourses and definitely not considered as a potential source of growth. In 2012, following a women's summit organised by the First Minister, STUC committee and Engender, a statement in the EBS acknowledged "*... the limitations of economic models to reflect the contribution of women's paid and unpaid employment*" (EBS, 2013/2014, p.6). Since then, unpaid care has not explicitly

featured in the EBS. What is visible is the recognition of unaffordable and poor quality childcare as a barrier to women's employment. This is separate from the unpaid work issue in Scotland. Although one of the gains of the 2012 summit was the visibility of childcare responsibilities as a barrier to women's economic participation, unpaid childcare work and unpaid work still remained invisible.

In as much as childcare responsibilities are problematized as a significant barrier to women's employment, spending is viewed as support to families, and not necessarily an investment in the future labour force or an investment that will yield returns to the Scottish economy. The implication is that even when childcare appears, spending is still seen as a cost to government, as evident in the perceptions of policy actors. Until recently, in 2013, political and fiscal policy discourses in Scotland did not view the unpaid economy as part of the wider economy but rather construed it as an unproductive sector into which money is thrown, and is still not considered as a potential source of growth. Currently, spending on childcare is framed as an investment by the policy actors interviewed, however, they make the distinction that this perspective is not from a purely accounting point of view.

Some maintained that the accounting view which defines spend on care as a current expenditure is important and needs to be maintained given that it is not a typical capital investment spend. This means although spending on unpaid care work for example unpaid childcare work can be defined as an investment for the purpose of making visible its economic benefits, conventional definitions supersedes its treatment as a long-term investment worthy of government spend. From the above it can be deduced that unpaid care work is still classified as non-economic activities, meaning, any government spending directed towards it is viewed as exhaustive. These economic dynamics have implications for gender equality and economic growth as parallel objectives for equitable economic growth.

### **8.3. Is gender institutionally repressed in the Scottish context or is it a question of conceptual dilemmas and problem definition?**

To investigate if gender is institutionally repressed, Bacchi's (2009) critical framework analysis on "What is the problem presented to be" is used to interrogate how issues of gender equality are represented in policy documents and interviews. Bacchi's (2009) framework is useful to show how gendered assumptions become embedded in policy which helps clarify how the argument that feminist economists have made about gender assumptions works to reproduce gendered patterns and the implication of this on gender inequality. Drawing on ideational analysis, this section shows how problem construction as an ideational process is a gendering process, and how the range of policy proposals, and policy alternatives, can repress the promotion of gender equality. Here, understandings and perceptions of gender, equality and gender equality in general and how they are defined in the economic policy terrain is examined. Afterwards, this is applied to the strategy of mainstreaming in Scotland to underscore what equality mainstreaming means and how it has delivered in terms of promoting gender equality.

#### **8.3.1. Defining Gender, Equality and Gender Equality in Scotland**

Findings from the analysed policy documents (EBS, 2010/2011-2015/2016) and interviews reveal that within the government, women's issues were and have been over the years persistently conferred as synonymous with gender, with gender also being treated as synonymous with sex. This ambiguity in understanding is informed in part by two factors. That is, the way the equality legislation evolved in the UK and the working environment of the Scottish Government.

First, findings reveal that prior to and with the introduction of the Equality Act 2010; sex was the language describing the gender equality strand. The introduction of the 2010 Act still maintained the language of sex, which was equally adopted by the Scottish

Government. As a result, in policy documents such as the Equality Budget Statements (EBS, 2009/2014), the Scottish Government uses gender as a protected characteristic to illustrate its consideration in the budget. However, sex and gender are interchangeably used to mean the same thing.

SG5b “...when we talk about the protected characteristic of gender we're meaning the one that's called sex in the legislation”

SG5c “I would say within our team we use both words, sex and gender, because sex is obviously described within,”

In line with Bacchi (2010), defining gender as synonymous with sex in this political context, fails to conceptualise it as a category of analysis given that it reduces the meaning of gender to a part of a person rather than viewing gender as a process that is ongoing, contested and incomplete. Additionally, the use of sex in the current UK wide Equality Act 2010 to represent gender and the expansion of the range of equality issues in the Act appear to have worked to relegate gender compared to the new equality issues. For example, interview participants within government in attempting to clarify what gender meant within this new shift in the language of equality made statements such as:

SG5b “we're all massive characteristics... everybody has a whole massive collection and they can change through your life as well and I think that is why the equality act broadened itself... and talked about characteristics rather than strands or groups because of the recognition that we're all a package of different characteristics.”

While also indicating how equality is represented, the above interview shows evidence of a conceptual shift in the naming of equality issues from equality strands to equality groups and from equality groups to protected characteristics. With this protected characteristics conception, equality issues became expanded to include sex, sexual orientation, pregnancy and maternity, marriage and civil partnership, gender reassignment, disability, age, race. This expansion of equality issues and conceptual shifts are indicative of discursive processes in which, in the Scottish context, issues of equality have equally derived their meaning. For

instance, in the EBS, sex is somewhat designated to mean women. This is equally reflected in interviews where participants across government defined gender as sex and attributed the sex protected characteristic to women. In very few instances was gender or the sex protected characteristics attributed to both men and women. These are reflective of conceptual dilemmas which obscure the concept of gender as a category of analysis. Furthermore, the language of the Equality Act 2006 is very much engrained in the equality policy discourse such that although sex appears in policy to mean gender, both sex and gender then refer to disadvantage and the disadvantaged people are women.

SG5b “when we talk about the protected characteristic of gender we're meaning the one that's called sex in the legislation I would say, because there's also gender reassignment”

SG5a “Well I think we're trying to reduce discrimination and disadvantage, to take away barriers to achievement for women, to make sure that women get their chance to be represented in all aspects of public life, that they get access to employment, that there are...”

On the other hand, within the Equality unit of the Scottish Government, although gender is used rather than sex, this is, however, influenced by the work environment. For example, from the group interview an interviewee stated that:

SG5b “to me it's a bit problematic to talk about sex because people assume you're talking about something else [laugh] and it can get a bit silly...”

or “but we say that the work we do is gender work rather than sex work for obvious reasons [laugh]”

Responses from interviewees such as the one above are indicative of the ways in which an institutional environment is constituted of discursive struggles (Kulawik 2009), codes and schemas (Acker 1992). It equally shows how discursive struggles and historical institutional practices reinterpret and naturalise the ambiguous use of and articulation of gender issues in policy. Significantly, it questions the level of relevance attributed to gender issues within government, since the use of normative and cognitive schemas may instead enable a

routinized use of concepts that are not up for open contestation even when such use obscures effective implementation of policy.

Bacchi (2010 p.105) argues that the way gender is conceptualised determines the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming and gender analysis as change processes. In the same way, the definition of gender described above is equally useful to begin to clarify how equality and equality mainstreaming is conceptualised and treated in Scotland within the context of the changing language of equality. What this shows is that gender equality initiatives are bound to be categorically confined as gender is represented as something that people have as opposed to being a gendering process. In other words, any attempt to promote gender equality is seen as a way to make policies gender-neutral or to balance out measurable differences between men and women thus obscuring any unequal power differences between men and women while ignoring policies as gendering processes (Bacchi 2010).

This relates to the way equality is conceptualised and equality analysis is undertaken in this political space. In understanding equality generally, the idea of intersectionality is presented given the idea of protected characteristics, but in the enterprise to understand and conduct intersectionality within government, there is confusion between the multiple-discrimination and the diversity approach to equality and the term intersectionality remains an enigma. Perhaps, this is only indicative of a change in understanding equality, the nature of inequality and the struggle to identify new approaches to deliver equality based on new ideas or outcome based approaches to equality. In the work of the Equality unit, while certain work programs cover all protected characteristics, some deal with women's multiple discrimination as quite separate from work on violence against women and domestic abuse, which is also different from work on gender equality in the economic domain. In essence,



even gender issues are broken down into distinct bundles of characteristics which could obscure the relationship between disadvantages. For example, domestic violence against women may be more closely related to women's economic inequality.

The evidence of the conceptual struggles above equally relates to the ambiguity in the meaning of gender equality in the Scottish context. First, gender equality takes its meaning from what it is not, but closely means disadvantage. For example, participants within government stated that gender equality means:

SG5a            "... no disadvantage, no discrimination, no people being held back because of their characteristics."

Also, gender equality is presented to mean a 'situation' or 'condition' in which everybody (and in this case women) are facilitated into the labour market to deliver the government's purpose of contributing to the economy through paid work and through this "*achieving their full potential*" (SG5b). Findings from documents and interviews suggest that the government does not have an explicit vision of gender equality, a gender equality objective or a strategy to achieve gender equality.

Following from the above, participants were asked what it means to deliver gender equality given this shift in the language of the law. In terms of promoting gender equality, the approach is described by an interviewee as:

SG5a            "first mitigating issues, then removing barriers that inhibit women's contribution to the economy"

In other words, the objective of gender equality would be about getting women to fulfil government's purpose and this is achieved through their participation in paid work. This approach silences the equality imperative of gender equality, treats gender as a static and binary category and not a social construct. These factors provide evidence on how the law, structures and ideational processes within a system give meaning to men and women's lives

and the implication for policy outcomes. To clarify this, the conceptual shift from equality groups to protected characteristics in the new Equality Act 2010 assigned women as belonging to the 'gender/sex' protected group as shown below:

SG5 "if we're talking about the groups that are covered by the equality legislation then we talk about protected characteristics because that's the language of the Act,"

SG5a "Well it's [gender] one of the protected characteristics and therefore, you know, it's a key part of our work. It's also obviously the largest, you know, women are the largest group in society, being slightly over 50% and therefore gender is the characteristic that encompasses all other characteristics in quite a big way as well, so you know, if you're improving your gender balance then you're going to be, you know, if you're doing it right then you're going to be improving minority ethnic balance and your disability balance and your sexual orientation balance and your age balance and all of that as well, so I think it's a, you know... it's protected by law, it's a characteristic that's protected by law but also just the fact that the sheer weight of numbers means it's the largest group in society then it requires a particular focus."

To further illustrate how this relates to the way gender equality is conceptualised in the Scottish context, it is also noted above that the gender protected characteristic is descriptive of categories of people (women). However, in terms of gender equality, the categories of disadvantaged people are women with peculiar conditions that marginalise their economic participation in the labour market and hence limit their contribution to the economy. Again, sex as a protected characteristic refers to women, which in the Scottish context is interchangeably gender and sex. As such, gender inequality is synonymous with women's inequality, and women as representatives of the sex/gender protected characteristic have a labour market participation disadvantage and barriers to full participation is what subjects women and their families to poverty. Here, gender inequality is represented as a labour market issue. The effect is that structural barriers are rendered invisible within this protected characteristic conception, and perhaps explain why for example analysis of the disadvantages faced by women (gender strand) are often bundled up and treated as similar to those of disabled people and sometimes young people and in other instances comparable to young men entering jobs.

Although these conceptual dilemmas are problematic for the way gender issues are treated in policy spaces, they are also important factors to consider in understanding the extent to which gender issues of unpaid work have been historically considered in the Scottish policy context. In the past six years, there have been little developments in recognising the pervasive effects of unpaid care on women's labour market participation, but more generally the high cost and unavailability of quality childcare in Scotland. While there is statistical evidence that women provide 62% of unpaid care, this contribution is not explicitly recognised, quantified and further qualified as a major equality policy area. In Scotland, unpaid work and, in this context, unpaid childcare, although crucially relevant for employment, does not feature within the policy domain of equality issues, although it is central to gender inequality and especially women's employment. In Equality Budget Statements (see EBS, 2011/2012 p.50), unpaid childcare features briefly, and unaffordable childcare appears as a hindrance to women's labour market participation (see EBS 2012/2013 p. 91). In the EBS, the government appears to mention unpaid care, but as something that women are disproportionately involved in. It is not within the range of equality issues present in the equality framework.

Even in the institutional context, findings from interviews reveal that when advising on gender, men feature as an after-thought. For example:

SG5c            "... when we go and give advice to policy officials who do the equality impact assessments... you know, as one of the protected characteristics, we always say "think about also men"

Here, we see women presented as the disadvantaged group and 'owners' of this protected characteristic. Men do not logically feature in such discussions since the understanding is that "the bulk of the work is about promoting women... *given that* the bulk of the disadvantage that is experienced in the Scottish society is by women rather than men"

(SG5b). While statistically this is the case, it easily renders men invisible from the analysis of this disadvantage since the disadvantages that are labelled with men appear not to have any form of social relations with those of women.

For example, policy documents (EBS, 2011/2012 p.50) reveal statistics showing the employment disadvantage that women face as a result of a disproportionate share of provision of unpaid care (60% of unpaid). Whereas this is indicative of the fact that it is gendered, perhaps it is more revealing as a paradox of policy choices. The other conundrum that arises is how even when narratives of unpaid care surface, they are generally alienated from the childcare discourse and men's unequal share in provision. This obscures the structural explanations and the social but gendered relations that perpetuate gender inequality.

To add perspective, in policy documents and interviews, the problematization of the significantly microscopic share of men's provision of unpaid childcare is absent. Rather, the corresponding issue for men is that "young men, ethnic minority men and disabled men" face disadvantages, and the work of policy is about getting men into jobs. This reinforces the idea of men as breadwinners, showing the role of policy through problem construction in obscuring or reinforcing gendered patterns whether unintentionally or not. In other words, the reproduction of structural inequalities is rendered invisible, covertly reinforced and easily drops out of gender equality analyses.

This is reflected in the types of equality analysis that come through in the Equality Budget Statements. The analyses show an approach to the treatment of multiple inequalities, though with struggles, rather than an intersecting approach (see McCall 2005 and Walby et al. 2012 on intersectionality). In addressing each inequality, the Equality Budget Statement reveals

the lack of treatment of the relation between the relevant strands of disadvantages and advantages.

### **8.3.2. Mainstreaming Gender in Public Policy in Scotland & Budget Processes**

Administrative boundaries and legal frameworks demarcated the treatment of gender issues in the Scottish policy context compared to the wider UK environment. Prior to the introduction of the Equality Act 2010, the Scottish Government's commitment to gender equality was visible through the Gender Equality Duties (GED) of the Scottish government. This Gender Equality Duty appeared useful in enabling the visibility of gender issues in the overarching Scottish policy terrain. The Gender Equality Duty laid out general duties for public bodies as contained in the 2006 Act. Beyond these general duties, the Gender Equality Duty in Scotland specified additional duties regarding equal pay, education authorities and on Scottish Ministers than those passed for England and Wales.

In addition to the Duty for England and Wales, all public authorities in Scotland were required to identify, set gender equality objectives, take appropriate actions to achieve these objectives, and report annually on progress (Scottish Government 2008, 2011). Progress was to be reviewed every three years and evidence of the gender impacts of policies was a requirement to inform subsequent work programs. The Gender Equality Duty process also required government officials to consult employees, service users, trade unions and other stakeholders in designing objectives and work programs. What is not clear within this framework is if the equality duties bound government and policymakers to pursue gender responsive policies. The gender equality duty also makes no mention of women's unpaid work in relation to gender inequality, although in Scotland it is also significantly women who provide the bulk of unpaid care.

The introduction of the Gender Equality Duty was again reflective of the shifts occurring in the gender equality landscape, which could have marked the move towards the enforcement of the gender mainstreaming agenda. However, what it achieved was a realisation that organisations need to assume the responsibility for proactively stopping discrimination, rather than placing the burden on the individual. Although it created a space for a more gender sensitive approach to ‘doing institutions’ and designing gender sensitive policy instruments, the implementation and institutionalisation of the Duty proved difficult for many of the same reasons that made the wider mainstreaming strategy difficult to implement. For example, the vision of gender equality was not defined, what is meant by equality and understanding of the process was unclear. Rather, the Gender Equality Duty introduced new ways of working within organisations to address issues of gender equality, and yet it ignored the ‘genderedness’ of political institutions and the gendering nature of policies.

Currently, the Equality unit of the Scottish government regulates and shapes equality through the mainstreaming and gender teams by respectively espousing legislation focused and policy motivated perspectives. These teams are important to assess if and how gender is embedded in policy and economic institutional processes in Scotland after the introduction of the Equality Act 2010, which also led to the weakening and removal of the Gender Equality Duty in Scotland. As such, the organisation of the work of the Equality Unit is important to situate the government’s approach to, and framework for, embedding gender in the equality infrastructure.

#### **A. The Scottish Government’s ‘Mainstreaming Team’ promoting gender through Legislation**

The legislation approach to mainstreaming gender issues is informed by the Public Sector Equality Duties (PSED) that is embedded in the Equality Act 2010. This legislative approach to institutionalising gender and more general equality issues is implemented within the Scottish Government by the mainstreaming team. It does this by deploying legal provisions in the Equality Acts to “promote equality of opportunity, tackle discrimination and bring about good relations across government” (SG5a). This legislative approach reveals active and ongoing institutional processes that construct and empower invisible gendered political institutions in attempts to promote an equality based, multiple discrimination approach. As shown above, the idea of multiple characteristics and the treatment of gender as a confined category suggest the same for other protected characteristics. Following McKay and Gillespie (2005), this is representative of an approach that ‘adds’ gender or sex, for example, rather than institutionalises gender in equality analysis or economic policy institutions.

Furthermore, the approach to mainstreaming gender undertaken by this mainstreaming team has been to provide advice and training across the Scottish Government and some of its agencies on how to conduct equality impact assessments or what participants termed “equality proofing” of policies (SG5c). What can be drawn from the interviews is that the advice and training provided are best regarded as support mechanisms to government officials to undertake equality impact assessments (Equality Mainstreaming Document, April 2013). This means, although there is a demand by the law to tackle discrimination and disadvantage, there is no obligation on the Scottish Government to do so via equality impact assessments. Consequently, the level of commitment to and quality of equality impact assessments is questionable. This is significant because even in institutional contexts where there is an obligation to conduct, for example equality analysis, Benschop and Verloo (2006) maintains that obligation alone is neither sufficient to ensure that gender analysis of

policy is done and done well nor is commitment to training officials or conducting impact assessments the key to success.

Similarly, Bacchi (2009) makes the case that commitment and obligation to gender analysis can only be sustained if people can see the relevance of gender to the work they do so that it becomes institutionalised in institutions rather than individualised and in this case through training specific policy officials. This implies in the Scottish context, the extent to which equality analysis, and by extension gender analysis, becomes a feature of the policy process depends on the level of commitment and institutionalised obligation to gender equality analysis. The extent to which this legislation approach delivers for gender equitable outcomes is equally dependent on the acknowledgement of the relevance of gendering equality impact assessments and beyond training government officials, equality analysis then becomes an organisational rather than an individual issue. This is crucial because an inherent challenge in the Scottish context pertains to whether policy officials who receive training actually go ahead and do it and even if they do, how robustly these assessments are carried out do not appear to be the responsibility of the Equality Unit. Furthermore, it is not obvious if besides the legislation there is a formal process in place to ensure that government officials have robustly carried out such assessments, their timing and how this feeds into policy.

Additionally, as an equality regulatory structure, this internal approach to gendering institutions expands the range of government officials shaping policy on equality issues. The challenge with an expanded framework is that different actors are involved but there is no clarity on what they are actually doing, if at all anything is being done with the training obtained. What this reveals is how different actors are brought into the process, the struggles to embedding equality and gender equality norms through training and advice, and informal



strategies of encouraging government officials in what appears to be ‘ a process to do’ the legislation. Even within the Equality Unit, it is not evident that the relevant team delivers training that shows adequately the social relations within an equality strand. Eventually, embedding gender can be viewed as part of a more general strategy for equal opportunity where gender mainstreaming is implicitly subsumed within a larger policy of equality mainstreaming, rendering it loose and wayward for substantively institutionalising gender.

### **B. The Scottish Government’s ‘Gender Team’ mainstreaming gender in public policy**

While the work of the mainstreaming team is more internally focused on training government officials as the approach to regulating equality, the gender team of the Equality Unit (including the other protected characteristics teams) regulates equality issues by funding and connecting equality stakeholders to influence policy internally. Within the gender team, various themes are used to describe the approach to incorporating equality stakeholders in the policy process. For example, the institutionalisation of gender from what participants described as “a policy perspective” (SG5a) is about “networking with external organisations working on gender issues” (SG5a) to influence policy. The strategy for networking for institutionalisation is through discursive, agential and institutional processes of “talking to, connecting with and linking colleagues” with gender stakeholders or more generally equality advocates (SG5c). The leverage for these processes is augmented by the funding relationship existing between the Equality Unit and equality stakeholders. As such, integrating equality in policy is about funding the work of different equality stakeholders and also trying to link these stakeholders with other governmental units to influence policy, thus broadening the range of actors involved in mainstreaming.

This approach to equality which encourages governmental departments to engage and collaborate with equality stakeholders outside the state is intended to incorporate the voices

of gender equality stakeholder's or constituencies in policy. Drawing from Benschop and Verloo (2006), despite good intentions of creating participatory coalitions that appeal to an image of cooperation between equal parties pursuing a dual agenda of growth and equality goals, it becomes less effective in transforming policies because of crucial differences in power relations between these parties. The external focus, which is perceived as beneficial by the gender team in creating links for engaging and connecting government with communities, may not be necessarily shared by gender stakeholders since some gender equality stakeholders still face institutional barriers (Annesley et al. 2014).

For example, organisations such as Engender, which are partly funded by the Equality Unit, are equally engaged by the gender team to influence economic and social planners. Yet, they still have to undertake programs of state engagement as part of their work in order to access policy planners. While this suggests a type of agential relationship between the gender team and Engender, it does not really imply existence of an opportunity structure to engage policy planners. This does not suggest that such approaches are not transformative at all, but for collaborative approaches to be transformative and organised along more balanced gendered power lines there is need for the institutionalisation of gender analysis as an approach to policy in the wider policy process. Without a formally institutionalised gendered process, the power dynamics shaping the gendered structures that the equality unit tries to overcome by encouraging equality stakeholders to engage policy planners would continually exclude the focus of gender inequality from economic policy and political agendas. This applies across all institutional sites of policymaking.

Kulawik (1991) expresses that how external actors perceive opportunity structures are important. While engagement with equality communities is also symbolised as a useful link to connect other government departments or divisions to these equality organisations,

gender equality communities and organisations tend to view this linkage as ineffective. The reason being that it is the requirement of the Public Sector Equality Duties (embedded in the Equality Act 2010) that has been operational in encouraging the economic and social planners to engage gender equality constituencies to gain local knowledge on equality issues.

SA2 “So while the EU would be trying to link us in with the hmm economic and social planners that are not necessarily a desire that the economic and social planner have themselves.”

“In terms of economic, social or gender equality issues it hugely varies but generally it is not particularly permeable. I wouldn’t say. Hmm I think that the PSED acts as a little bit of a lever hmm to encourage other bits of government to seek the informational voice from organisations like engender”

Just as in the legislative approach to gender undertaken by the mainstreaming team, how cohesively the local information on equality issues from equality stakeholders feeds into the work of economic and social planners, how robustly this informs policy and at what point this information is solicited is not robustly accounted for. What also appears is that the responsibility for mainstreaming gender and how democratically accountable the process becomes is not regulated by any binding procedure or mechanism. The absence of an institutional mechanism to effectively integrate the work of communities into the work of government implies that the equality perspective of equality communities may not become incorporated into policy. The outcome is that gender concerns arising from organisations representing the gender protected characteristic encounter institutional frictions in making it to the agenda of economic and social policy planners. While the ‘funding’ relationship shows work that is promoted externally, it is not clear how robustly this informs policy decisions.

Nonetheless, the approach to promoting equality by the Equality Unit also shows a fairly networked and integrated approach to embed different stakeholders in the equality regulating institutions. Described by an interview participant (SG5c) as being “like the two

sides of the same coin”, it is also the case that the external policy oriented process of incorporating equality actors appears to be disjointed from the internal legislative process, despite the fact that both of them are aimed towards tackling discrimination and inequality. While encouraging the enforcement of legislation internally on gender issues, the focus on embedding gender in policy remains weak and without any formal commitment or obligation to robustly embed the voices of external actors into mainstream policy areas.

#### **8.4. Mainstreaming Gender in the Budget Process**

With regards to mainstreaming gender in budget processes, the development of institutional processes and the range of actors have been significant in the Scottish context. Findings from Equality Budget Statements and interviews reveal that the membership structure of Equality and Budget Advisory Group has been significant to make visible the relevance of unpaid care work and care responsibilities for women’s employment in policies and the Equality Budget Statements. Furthermore, it demonstrated that the extent to which gender issues including unpaid work or unpaid care subsequently appear or fail to appear as a policy issue is dependent on the institutional bearings and design of the policy making process and not just membership of a policy making configuration. The involvement of internal and external stakeholders at the level of Equality and Budget Advisory Group and the scrutiny function of the Scottish Parliament is suggestive of an institutional setting in which government elicits information from private actors about existing constraints and opportunities for growth. This setting unambiguously provides a space and place for embedding issues of unpaid work into policy and budget processes from inside government mediated by outside government stakeholders. In practice this is not the case. The Equality and Budget Advisory Group, which includes women groups, are absent in setting agenda preferences in core policy areas such as economic policy, gendered issues of unpaid care work is absent in mainstream policy ideas and discourse which are then reflected in policy

goals and priorities. The Group only provides an advisory role to this process but the extent to which inputs from the range of actors in the group feed into the actual spending plans and resulting budget allocations is revealing of how certain voices get silenced in the process as the policy orientation has historically been geared towards a neoliberal agenda. As such, policy legacies defined by these hegemonic ideologies prevail and act as barriers to new ideas of gender-aware economic policymaking.

In the Scottish context, the budget process is led by the Finance department, working with the Office of the Chief Economic Adviser, Equality Units, Strategy and Performance, and Public Service Reform units liaising with lead contacts in each of the Scottish Government budget portfolios. In essence, the budget process is represented as a high level process involving ministers with responsibilities for individual portfolios. Apart from the Equality and Budget Advisory Group that is consulted as an explicit way of getting views from equality groups, public consultation in the budget process only begins once the budget has been published annually in September.

In terms of mainstreaming gender in the Scottish Budget process, the Equality and Budget Advisory Group can be argued to have been an important structure to help improve equality analysis of the Scottish budget. The publication of the Equality Budget Statement (EBS) alongside the Draft Budget illustrates a key element of the government's commitment to equality mainstreaming (Scottish Government 2009) gained through this platform. However, it is essential to question not only who constitute members of the Equality and Budget Advisory Group but importantly, does the Equality and Budget Advisory Group, as a group, have the power to influence issues of relevance on women or gender equality in general on the government agenda? Investigating if the various actors represented within the Equality and Budget Advisory Group have a commitment to gender equality as a central principle or

value to be embedded in the budget process or equality mainstreaming strategy is important. Otherwise, the consequence is having an institutional setting in which policy processes and mechanisms are not democratically accountable to the gender equality goal and do not carry full legitimacy of citizenship rights.

In terms of influencing issues in the Scottish context, the governmental units that are represented within Equality and Budget Advisory Group (Equality Unit, Office of Chief Economic Adviser, Finance and Analytical services) are currently engaged in an arena where discourses of the relevance of gender and gender analysis of budgets and economic policy are being made by the Scottish Women's Budget Group. The Equality and Budget Advisory Group engages with a high level key policy actor once a year as shown above (SG4). Apart from this, state engagement in this site is somewhat of a learning experience for civil servants and a space for the Scottish Women's Budget Group to justify the relevance of equality analysis and gender analysis. An outcome of this engagement process is seen in conceptual shifts in the understanding of gender issues of unpaid work within this policy terrain. However, there is yet to be evidence of spending shifts in the budget or policy shifts that recognise unpaid work or unpaid care as a policy field.

The data also reveals that the actors and government officials within government who engage with the Equality and Budget Advisory Group are not those who make strategic economic and equality policy decisions. Similarly, key policymakers are not those who participate in discussions at the Equality and Budget Advisory Group for this learning process on equality analysis. Those who do participate in the Equality and Budget Advisory Group and conduct equality impact analysis of spending are not those that are at the upper levels of government. Therefore any claims for the relevance of the gendering of equality analysis of policies is less effective and reflected in the equality policy analysis process.

SG3 “So every year the EBS is written by a whole range of different people across the Scottish Government, there's a lead for each EBS chapter. They don't tend to be directors, they tend to be sort of middle level people who are managing teams, so they get the guidance, but they work with the main budget teams very closely.”

However, at the upper level of government there is acknowledgment of equality relevance in policy analysis, but what appears is a lack of action or commitment to the process of gender analysis of equality policies. How influential the conversations and the extent to which the ideas that are exchanged within this arena embed gender perspectives into policy seem to be lost along the management line. Although, conceptual shifts may result from the conversations taking place within this arena, this is not reflected in the content of policies. It could be that the policy design and budget processes are either not comprehensively connected to incorporate the discussions into policy decisions or the Equality and Budget Advisory Group may not have the relevant institutional powers to influence government to conduct ‘a gender analysis of the equality analyses’ of policies. This means it would also not be able to influence the kind of gender analysis that incorporates paid and unpaid work.

## **8.5. Discussions & Conclusion**

The Scottish context provides evidence for the need for conceptual clarity in policy sites, which further links to how policy proposals are defined and the implication for visibility of unpaid work or not. Also, there is the additional challenge that gender budgeting is not conducted. The main equality analysis of the Equality Budget Statement is not informed by a gender-aware equality impact analysis framework. Given that equality impact assessments are being done, there is space to negotiate and prioritise gender as a key analytical variable for equality budget analysis. It is thus reasonable to assert that equality impact assessment tools have the potential to incorporate gender perspectives. A gender aware equality impact assessment tool would arguably pass as a coherent mechanism for linking mainstream and

gender priorities together with the other equality strands. Both negotiation and prioritisation is relevant in the Scottish context because the competitiveness of the economy still takes precedence over equality considerations as government's priority. Similarly, the inherent tension between gender and the mainstream (Walby 2005, 2011) is apparent as well as the tension between gender and other categorical inequalities. Engaging institutional thinking has meant the development of work to influence understandings of what is gender, equality and their relation to economic imperatives.

Furthermore, policy goals, priorities and approaches to policy making do not seem to critically target Scotland's specific socioeconomic circumstances. According to McKay and Gillespie (2007), the Scottish set-up portrays the existence of a framework that systematically aligns budgetary allocations within the context of an overall equality agenda. In practice, it lacks government commitment to gender equality as there is yet a disharmony in objective setting, process and resource allocation in the Scottish public policy framework (McKay and Gillespie 2007). According to McKay and Gillespie (2005, 2007), these three bedrocks of the public policy framework in Scotland are not harmoniously linked together in practice. For example, in Scotland, gender equality is not a policy objective but rather sits loosely in the equality mainstreaming agenda.



## CHAPTER NINE

### DISCUSSION

#### 9.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the research findings in line with existing literature. It summarises some of the major findings, highlighting the contributions made to the field of feminist economics and mainstream economic policy. The preceding chapters elaborated how substantive academic work in developed countries debated the gender impact of macroeconomic policy and the impact of gender inequality on macroeconomic variables with suggestive ways of incorporating gender in policy formulation (see McKay et al. 2012; van Staveren 2010; Stotsky 2006). These theories explicated how gender as a social construct alters economic and social outcomes and vice versa by virtue of how it assigns roles between men and women within households and, consequently, participation in the mutually dependent paid and unpaid economy (Lewis 1992; Orloff 2009; Staveren 2010). Equally, these theories elucidate that because men and women are systematically placed differently in the economy; they face different constraints, assume different socially determined responsibilities and are thus more likely to respond differently to policies (Himmelweit 2002).

Past developments in this field examined micro level gendered effects of economic policies through intra- and inter-household changes (Ott 1992, 1995; Rosen 1993). At the macro level, analyses suggest ways to incorporate care and unpaid work, which remain invisible in economic frameworks, as gendered inputs in macroeconomic models (see Akram-Lodhi and Hanmer 2008; Braunstein et al. 2011; Fontana 2007; Staveren 2010). Others, such as Antonopolous and Kim (2011) have quantitatively modelled the distributional social and financial impacts of government employment creation programs on both men and women.

The intention as argued by feminist economists is to underscore the analytical potential of gender.

While acknowledging and problematizing the impact of economic policy on gendered outcomes, this thesis maintains that it is equally important for feminist economists to incorporate the role of institutions (political and legal institutions and public policy), ideas and actors to foster a more nuanced understanding of how gender inequality in care and work is perpetuated since gender is also a product of political and institutional forces. The role of institutions, ideas and the range of policy actors participating in the policymaking process are fundamental since historical, political institutional contexts and obligations to ensure equality implies the critique of dominant economic institutions and the questioning of existing routinized policy and political processes. The subsequent discussions thematically highlight the main findings and the implication of these for policy development on gender equality and ideas for a theory of feminist policy change.

## **9.2. Problem Construction & Representing Unpaid Childcare Work as a Policy Issue**

Feminist policy scholars persuasively demonstrate how a set of inherently ideational factors—gendered cultural assumptions, categories, ideologies, and discourses—structure social policy and state institutions (Orloff and Palier 2009; Schmidt 2008, 2011). In line with these and drawing from Bacchi (2009), the analyses in the preceding chapters illustrate that policies are gendered not only in the way they affect men and women but, importantly, in the way they are constructed. As Bacchi notes, deconstructing a policy reveals how a policy problem is represented, what it is represented to be and the prognosis to the policy. In Bacchi's work, the assumption is that the policy problem is represented and it is what it is represented to be that underpins the analysis. However, this research has revealed that there are instances where a policy relevant problem is not represented as a problem, if it features

at all, in policy discourse. For example, the non-representation of unpaid childcare work as a policy problem in economic policy discourse and even for economic policy planning in Scottish policy discourse. Rather, what is represented as a problem (and not necessarily economic policy relevant) is the lack of affordable childcare as a barrier to women's labour market participation. As a gendered concept, the absence of unpaid childcare work as a policy issue and gender as a variable of analysis in economic policy frameworks validates the main argument that the absence of gender from the policy process is a core policy issue.

Moreover, even when gender features, it can be misrepresented through institutional processes with consequential effects on policy outcomes. For instance, gender can be institutionally repressed due to conceptual dilemmas or the way policy problems are constructed in institutional arenas. Within economic and equality regulating institutional sites in Scotland, there is evidence of conceptual dilemmas on the meanings of gender and equality, and different approaches to how they can be defined and promoted. The way that gender, as well as equality, is conceptualised in the law reflects the way it is interpreted within equality regulating institutional settings and influences the approach to incorporating gender in policy and political institutions.

For instance, within the Scottish Government, gender equality means women's issues and women's issues are conferred as synonymous with gender, with gender also being treated as synonymous with sex and in other instances women. For Scotland, the origins of these conceptual dilemmas arise in part from the way the equality Acts defined equality strands and recommended mechanisms for the treatment of equality issues as set out in the Public Sector Equality Duties. In the legal documents, sex means gender, equality means equal treatment and equality strands are more or less definitive of characteristics of disadvantaged people. Consequently, issues of unpaid care for instance, become obscured in policy since gender is treated as a fixed category and not indicative of social relations that are fluid and

changing. This implicitly represses the visibility of unpaid care as an equality issue and as a policy object within the economic policy domain.

These conceptual ambiguities in legislative and policy sites further link to how policy proposals are defined and the implication for the visibility of unpaid work or not. For instance, findings suggests a normalisation of the irrelevance of gender analysis given that gender is still treated as women or at other times men and women. Gender is not explicitly conceptualised as a structural issue or a social institution in the policy texts analysed. As such, unpaid care work is also rendered invisible. Moreover, equality strands are not explicitly treated in equality impact analysis as having gendered dimensions. These provide evidence for the normalisation of the irrelevance of gender in institutional settings, whether through routinized policy processes, in discourse or conversations (language), showing manifestations of the ‘genderedness’ of institutions, which become entrenched in policy practices and decision making processes.

Further, there is no formally institutionalised gendered economic policy process in Scotland. Rather, as prescribed in the Equality Acts, individuals and departments within government are only encouraged to take protected characteristics such as sex or women into account, or ethnicity or disability when planning policy. Without a formally institutionalised gendered process, the existing unequal power dynamics between policy stakeholders that are necessary to shape the organisation of the gendered policy processes that interest groups try to establish or make visible, and even the equality goals that policy actors try to achieve would continually exclude the focus of gender inequality from economic policy and political agendas. Though explanations for gender-blindness of policy by feminist economists usually include the subordination of women across public and private spheres due to gendered policy assumptions, invisibilities and macroeconomic forces, they often fail to explain how

this is reproduced through the institutional and organisational practices of policymakers themselves including the law. The analytical approach used here helps to begin to provide clarity on this.

We find that the type of economic and equality regulating institutions in a political system could determine the range of equality issues pursued and if unpaid care becomes one of them or not. Academic literature on multi-level governance questions the direction and degree of a government's responsiveness to policy development on sensitive issues like equality or gender equality with shared administrative duties (Vickers 2011). Here, it would seem the jurisdictional overlap in equality legislation and complex equality regulating configuration inhibits or enhances policy development on equality issues. For Scotland, the invisibility of unpaid care work and the unpaid economy is sustained or reinforced in economic policy as unpaid care is not included amongst the range of equality issues in the UK wide legislation. Additional institutional practices and conceptual misconceptions within equality regulating sites inhibit government's responsiveness to these issues.

Despite other institutional and legal changes that have taken place within the wider UK context post-devolution (see Walby et al. 2012), policy process, institutions and structures can sustain, exacerbate or mitigate gender inequality since political ideas of gender are also embedded within gendered actors found in institutions of power and decision-making. The way economic and social policy processes are designed to ensure that gender equality is an underpinning feature or not is a function of the range of actors and ideas that are dominant in the institutional settings that make up the necessary policy terrain. Significantly, the findings suggest that an institutional analysis of the economic policy context for gender equality strategies and policies is paramount to underscore the presence and quality of an institutional framework for fostering gender equality. This sets the tone for a theory of

feminist policy change with regards to changing norms and ideologies within a state by feminist actors.

The implication of this for labour market outcomes lies in the fact that the range of institutions and actors in addition to the range of equalities issues that are deemed as important and prioritised on political agendas impact on the degree of relevance given to gender equality in policymaking. This opens a window to examine the degree of government's responsiveness to citizens in policymaking and the type of policies citizens are likely to influence (Vickers 2011).

The above discussion also begins to shed light on the Scottish Government's approach to mainstreaming and how it has promoted gender equality or not. In addition to the (mis)treatment of equality and gender related concepts, the extent to which mainstreaming would have delivered in terms of promoting gender equality in economic policy depends on the presence of a gender equality policy or gender equality policy objective within this complex set up. In the Scottish context, there is neither an equality strategy nor clarity on what gender equality means and how to achieve it within policymaking institutional sites. What is obvious is that equality mainstreaming underpins the Scottish Government's strategy to promote equality, meaning it allows for the inclusion of a broad range of actors, domains and policies to promote gender equality.

Policy domains such as employment, childcare and violence against women are more visible in the Scottish context, but understanding of and processes to achieving gender equality through these remain characteristically weak and unclear. Analysis of social inequalities across domains and policies are still limited to the legislative equality strands or more recently protected characteristics. Hence, social objects such as unpaid care work which

have significant effects on inequalities owing to their expansion or reduction are not seen as policy fields or as economic institutions.

### **9.3. State Architecture and Feminist Engagement for Economic Policy Change**

In addition to the range of equality issues, the range of actors and institutions included in the equality architecture have significant consequences on the vision and strategy of gender equality pursued (Walby 2011). A rapidly growing literature posits that state structures affect women's politics by offering multiple sites and access points to influence political agendas and state ideologies (Hausman, Sawyer, and Vickers 2010). While there is a state structure for equality and economic policy making in Scotland, the quality of the infrastructure of gender equality within this institutional configuration is questionable. First, the gender composition both in terms of actors and issue representation on policy and political agenda is unequal. Secondly, the approach to gendering these institutions is by adding various actors and the voices of these actors in equality regulating institutions, which has been traditionally dominated by unequal gendered power dynamics. The evolution of an infrastructure for gender equality has been somewhat sluggish and only really started gaining momentum through women's presence in multiple institutional sites with differing implications.

In Scotland, the presence of the Scottish Women's Budget Group, a feminist group with feminist ideologies, has been significant in the economic policy context in fostering equality awareness and equality analysis relevance within policymaking institutions. However, attempts by this group to engage high level state structures and key politicians to foster the gender imperative in economic policy have not resulted in the incorporation of unpaid care work in economic policy formulation. This resonates with the point made by Vickers (2011) that the extent to which policy change happens depends on the policy area for which change

is sought. Although, the findings show incremental policy developments (see Cairney 2008) in policy areas of concern to women such as childcare, these developments do not appear to be underpinned by a gender equality agenda. Moreover, although childcare appears in economic policy discourse, unpaid childcare work remains invisible on political agendas despite the presence of feminists influencing the range of discussions on unpaid care work internally within the Scottish Government and relevant committees within the Scottish Parliament.

On the other hand, women's public participation in governance and in the political sphere through feminist movements with feminist ideologies is vital in influencing ideational change in the mainstream. This corroborates with recent work by Newman (2014) but equally substantiate the case for a women's policy unit institutionalised within the machinery of government (Lovenduski 2005; MacKay 2004). Beyond serving for informational purposes, as it would seem in the Scottish context, the Scottish Women's Budget Group has facilitated gender issues on political or policy agendas and guide policy development on gender equality in mainstream policy areas. As the main feminist voice within the state structure, this feminist group plays a fundamental role in bringing women's voice and issues on wider gender issues and not just on women's issues on state agenda. Similarly, as a form of strategic engagement, the Scottish Women's Budget Group develops alliances with other policy networks such as trade unions, businesses and extra parliamentary sites as crucial informational institutions that can inform the government of the pervasive nature of gender on the wider economy.

The findings show a system of complex interaction between feminist actors and the different institutional sites for policymaking. This provides an analytical framework to underscore how policy change can come about without major demographic or economic rupture. Taking



a historical perspective in the case of Scotland the law and changes in equality commission, devolution brought about new institutions. In addition to these, the 2014 referendum and persistent feminist engagement at the state level plotted a trajectory shift to policymaking on childcare issues and gender equality in general. This exemplifies endogenous political processes whereby institutional and non-institutional policy stakeholders engaged to design change, rather than being forced into it by radical disjunctures in the external economic context alone (Lieberman 2002; Streeck and Thelen 2005). Historically, hegemonic policy ideas and political discourses from multi-level governance created a rhythm of continuity in equality and economic policymaking in Scotland. However, the ideational content of policy debates and the cultural meanings in terms of new gender claims promoted by feminist actors seem plausible to explicate the relatively divergent choices that policy actors in Scotland made to create a slightly gender sensitive economic policy approach rather than feminist policy change. The data revealed that progressively gender equality issues have featured in policy discourse due to the persistent feminist engagement in multiple political institutions. However, such discourses have not led to a gender policy change or spending shifts. Overall, feminist engagement seemed to have played a fundamental role in bringing ideational newness to equality and government budgeting.

In recent years, there has been a surge of academic work underscoring the impact of different state architects on the way women's movements engage the state apparatuses to influence public policy (Chappell 2003; Haussman 2005; Vickers 2010). As noted by Chappell (2003), different state architects offer different opportunities and constraints for feminists in the form of political opportunity structures and institutional dynamics which are both interactive and dynamic. Conversely, the range of institutions; type of institutional arrangements that make up the state architecture and the quality of the architecture are relevant variables for achieving both social and economic objectives of a state. In the

Scottish context, government commitment to and involvement with strategic stakeholders knowledgeable in gender issues brought about conceptual shifts in the policy processes. Although a neoliberal economic agenda prevails, and often justified as good for equality, there is an awareness of the relevance of embedding equality in the overall agenda. Since equality features as a goal of economic policy, though as a secondary but social and economic objective, it opens an avenue for feminists to challenge inequality as an important indicator of economic performance.

The above discussions set up a premise to advance ideas on the challenges to feminist policy change through feminist discursive strategies. Shore and Wright (2003) cited the work of Seidel and Vidal (1997) who argued that dominant policy discourses set up different parameters of thinking, ways of classifying people and defining problems and also have material consequences. This drills in the notion that inequality in policy outcomes amongst different constituency of people in society is as much a consequence of policy choices and a product of the political discourses in economic institutional structures. Within the context of economic policy, gender inequality in policy outcomes within a political system can be understood through power relations transmitted through the range of contesting discourses and the frames for claims-making or policy problem definition. First, for an economic policy process dominated by androcentric neoliberal ideas, power is manifest through the non-issue or non-decision on equality issues such as unpaid childcare work, which are relevant issues to women but equally fundamental to economic growth. Second, as with the Scottish context, evidence of power relations and resistance to gender equality is visible given that engagement with feminist organisations has not resulted in dominant economic ideological shifts and hegemonic projects still prevail.

On the other hand, the very existence of the Scottish Women's Budget Group as a legitimate actor in the budget process is an achievement. In Scotland, the Scottish Women's Budget Group amongst other feminist movements have accessed political institutions in various ways to influence a policy of gender analysis of the budget and government's economic policy. However, major institutional actors do not yet appear to have a commitment to a gender ideology and spending programs do not appear to have an explicit gender agenda. Despite the learning involved in bringing about a conceptual shift in terms of general equality issues, the government's overarching purpose and approach to economic policy and budget reveals management practices that stifle a focus on gender equality.

A lack of commitment to a gender ideology can be explained by evaluating how feminist state engagement through their presence in the Equality and Budget Advisory Group and Scottish Parliament has made a change to policy contents. Problematising and presenting women's issues at influential levels of government has not resulted in any policy or significant spending shift to provide the quantity and quality of care that allows women to genuinely make employment decisions without time constraints. Unpaid care does not explicitly feature as an equality strand within the protected characteristics and too often slips out of equality and economic policy discourse or is reframed within an economic efficiency discourse for government's recognition. Within these discursive spins or lack of, unpaid work and especially unpaid childcare work is obscured from mainstream policies.

#### **9.4. Policy Assumptions, Invisibilities and Gendered Labour Market Patterns in the Scottish Labour market**

Feminist economists maintain that dominant discourses in economic policy are noted to harbour a conceptual silence on the gendered terrain on which it is targeted (Bakker 1994). They argue that irrespective of the level of growth or state of economic development, economic analysis, in its fundamental theoretical assumptions, is rooted in a gender neutral

notion of markets (Elson 1992). However, markets are institutions infused with structural power relations and gender asymmetries.

Similar to this institutional conceptualisation of markets, feminist economists contend that the analytical foundations of macroeconomics are not linked to a gender relations analysis (Bakker 1994 p.8). In other words, macroeconomics is concerned with aggregate measures of economic change or performance variables such as output levels, inflation and unemployment, budget deficits/surplus, taxation or levels of government expenditure. As Elson (1992 p.3) pointed out “Women do not appear – but neither do men”. However, despite the absence of human beings at the macro level of theory and measurement, gendered assumptions are built-in about individuals, processes of production, and patterns of economic activity.

The Scottish context reveals gender assumptions, invisibilities and undervaluation of women’s unpaid work. For example, women’s unpaid work and in particular unpaid childcare work, which is located within the unpaid economy, is not seen as an economic contribution. In other words, in as much as domestic production and voluntary work carried out in households do not feature as part of the production process; the unpaid childcare work undertaken in households is not classified as economic output. Hirway (2015) elaborates that the unpaid care economy has economic benefits by how it subsidizes the macro-economy (care provisioning), government (by provisioning to households) and the private sector (lowers the cost of labour). However, as noted by Elson (1992), although the unpaid economy subsidises the public and private sector through social provisioning, governments rarely make a corresponding investment into this sector. This approach to economic policy that fails to invest in its social infrastructure squeezes a very productive sector of the economy -the household.

While the implications of these are numerous, the analysis undertaken in previous chapters equally reveal that in Scotland, the approach to economic policy is underpinned by a neo-classical ideology. This approach to economic growth is anchored on economic efficiency through the provision of free markets driven by private sector production. For Scotland, economic policy is based on capital investment. Drawing from the work of Palmer (1995), household production is not recognised within this economic framework. The other implication of this strategy is that it organises production within the economy in a way that does not make better use of women's potential in the labour market as it redirects public resources towards market activities that mainly support jobs in male dominated sectors. The effect is the creation of a large female intensive unpaid sector; the under-utilisation of women's labour, and under-investment in future human capital. This reinforces occupational segregation and distorts female labour market participation and is likely to result in macroeconomic inefficiency.

Academic scholarship that has expanded the frame of traditional neo-classical economic theory to households have been fundamental in illuminating women's position in the paid and unpaid<sup>24</sup> economy thus eliciting different policy perspectives (see Becker 1965, 1981; Shultz 1974; Wunderink-van Veen 1997). Gustafsson (1997) examined the structural and social constructs that are otherwise hidden from economic policy but are influential on gendered policy outcomes and create inefficiencies in the labour market. The work revealed the relative importance of investing in care work that allows women to participate in the labour market. This means the type of employment and patterns of work created for men and women in the market economy depended, in part, upon the priority areas for government expenditure. Therefore, who participates and contributes or benefits from the labour market depends on the sectors that are prioritised as growth stimulating sectors in

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<sup>24</sup> Becker's model typically classifies women as carers and domestic unpaid workers situated in households

policy proposals. This can be further reinforced by the prevailing economic climate (Annesley et al. 2013, 2014).

The analysis reveals that in Scotland, economic policy is focused on the paid economy and the sectors that are prioritised are manufacturing, construction, transport, carbon economy and renewal energy which are mostly male dominated sectors. The unpaid economy, or better yet households, is not economically viewed as an economic production sector (Waring 1999). It is neither prioritised nor does it feature in the range of economic policy preferences. As such, unpaid care work remains invisible and women tend to undertake the bulk of it. As such, in the Scottish policy context, work is defined by paid employment. Therefore, Scotland's economic policy strategy constructs participation in the paid economy as the main source of income and wellbeing. This means women's unpaid work is likely to prevent them from benefitting equally from existing policies and even if macroeconomic conditions improve, women will still be less likely to benefit equally as men. The Scottish macroeconomic model still repeatedly constructs women's unpaid work as 'social roles' and certainly not economic activities. These economic dynamics have implications for gender equality and economic efficiency as explained by Gustafsson (1997).

To put these into perspective, the analysis on distributional impact showed that generally, women have a higher propensity to be in part-time jobs, in public sector employment and to be 'inactive' due to unpaid care responsibilities. Even by worker characteristics, gender differences are pronounced across age groups, educational level and occupational class. Some academics argued that the profit-maximising decisions of firms explain the differential impact of economic conditions on different groups of workers by adjusting employment, wages and hours (Baussola et al. 2015; Cho and Newhouse 2013). These decisions are often driven by workers level of firm specific skills, labour market attachment

and labour market regulations (Baussola and Mussida 2014). From a feminist economics perspective, the disproportionate impacts revealed in the analysis are also informed by policy choices. An example is the high preference for growth over equality which normally leads to employment and public service retrenchment impacting differently on jobs for men and women, and structural factors such as the gendered differences in the division of paid and unpaid labour and differences in gendered behavioural responses to policy. This suggests the way a government responds to policies, especially given its role as an employer and policymaker, is crucial to different groups of workers.

Moving forward, feminists have shown that since governments design economic and social policies differently, they tend to ignore the unpaid economy in economic policy planning. This means unpaid work remains obscured and absent from government's agenda. Unpaid childcare work has often been ignored and impacts on women's labour market participation. The estimations from the multinomial logistic regressions show that those workers who reported having dependent children under the age of 2 are more significantly disadvantaged in the labour market than those who did not. Families with dependent children have a high propensity to transition from full-time employment into part-time employment or into 'inactive' due to unpaid and unemployment than those without. However, workers who reported having dependent children between the ages of 2 and 4 were significantly more likely to transition into unpaid care from full-time than those workers without dependent children between the ages of 2 and 4. This suggests, the most disadvantaged workers in the labour market are those with dependent children under age 2. In terms of changes in employment transition patterns, switches from part-time and full-time employment into unpaid care for parents with dependent children under the age of 2 can more confidently be interpreted as an indirect policy effect, largely because unpaid care tends to be severely insufficient.

Besides, the patterns in labour market transitions are consistent with Mincer and Polachek's (1974) argument that even in the absence of discrimination; women with children are unlikely to pursue a career development path similar to those of men or even those without dependent children. Drawing from Gustafsson (1997), this arguably illustrates male bias that is embedded in economic policy, but equally demonstrates mechanisms through which overall economic efficiency in the economy could be increased. Again, from a feminist economics perspective, the recommendation would be to invest in childcare services that allow women with childcare responsibilities and families with dependent children, especially those under age 2, genuine choices regarding their labour market participation. The implication for the data from the LFS is that an efficient and gender aware approach to economic policy must contribute to gender equality by reducing the burden of childcare and unpaid work on women and families with dependent children under the age of 2. As argued by Antonopolous and Kim (2011) such investments would mobilise underused and unused domestic resources in the economy yielding more economic benefits to the economy.

## **9.5. Conclusion**

Although macroeconomic forces influence gender outcomes of policies, it is also evident that disproportionate policy outcomes are not just a feature of macroeconomic forces. They are inherently products of political forces. The ideas and discursive frames used by policy actors at the agenda-setting stage within power institutions tended to sustain mainstream policy ideals (Beland 2009; Cox 2001; Foucault 1984; Fraser and Gordon 1994; Hall 1993; Jenson 2009; Williams 1976). Thus, even within the context of setting policy goals, ideational processes through problem construction influenced and sustained particular sets of ideas or ways of thinking in policymaking that were resistant to a gendered policy change as seen in the case of the Scottish Women's Budget Group's engagement with the state. Thus, employment patterns that show women persistently participating in part-time than in



full-time employment relative to men may be indicative of products of institutional resistance or neoliberal approach to social policy areas of childcare rather than free choice. To put this into perspective, gender inequality is still a main feature of the Scottish economy. Occupational segregation, low labour market participation rates for women, and uneven job patterns persists in the Scottish economy (see Scottish Government 2007; WiSE<sup>25</sup> 2012, 2013). The emphasis made here is that these policy outcomes are reflective of policy ideas that are rooted in gendered assumptions of women's roles entrenched in historical, institutional and hegemonic neoliberal ideologies.

Therefore in Scotland, gender equality is explicitly not and has not been an underpinning of mainstream economic policy and analysis. It has certainly not informed spending on current national programs. Extrapolating from the labour market patterns in Chapter Six, the government's policy processes and budgets sustained gendered participation in the public and private sector while also creating unpaid work in the invisible household sector.

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<sup>25</sup> See Women in Scotland's Economy report: WiSE Facts (2012, 2013). <http://www.gcu.ac.uk/wise/wisefacts/>

## CHAPTER TEN

### CONCLUSION

#### 10.1. Introduction

The purpose of this research has been to explore three key questions that are of fundamental importance to economic policy planning and the promotion of gender equality in Scotland. These were: 1) What is the relative position of men and women in the Scottish economy and how do childcare responsibilities influence relative positions?; 2) Which institutions, structures or processes have been instrumental in embedding gender in the Scottish economic policy terrain?; and 3) Is the Scottish Government's approach to economic and social policy gendered? To conclude, this thesis will now revisit these three research questions and highlight the major findings in each area of the study.

The research analysed the position of men and women in the Scottish labour market and afterwards modelled patterns of labour market transitions using multinomial logistic regression models. This was investigated in light of the feminist economics theories that sensitise the use of a feminist empiricism philosophy to show gender differences in policy outcomes, and how care responsibilities influence these differences. In relation to this, it further investigated if there were different patterns in the labour market transitions of families with dependent children and those without dependent children. Families with dependent children were separated into two categories of families with children under the age 2 and those families with children between the ages 2 and 4 to explore the effect of the presence of and the age of the child on patterns in labour market transitions.

The findings demonstrated that economic policy is a gendering process, and can positively or negatively influence societal processes depending on the economic strategy and policy

context of the state. For Scotland, from 2007, austerity measures and government's economic strategy for growth have arguably impacted negatively on patterns of transitions with more women transitioning into part-time employment from full-time employment than men. Similarly, the presence of children within a household or, more generally, caring responsibilities appear to be relevant determinants of market participation patterns. This shows that spending plans that exclude or lead to reductions in vital social services such as childcare renders economic policy and analysis not only gender blind but gender biased.

Furthermore, this thesis reveals the institutions, structures or processes that have been instrumental in embedding gender in the Scottish economic policy terrain. Data from the interviews and policy documents revealed that policymakers' perceptions and understanding of gender, equality, unpaid care work, and work significantly matter for policy outcomes. This is also significant for the institutionalisation of gender in the policymaking process. Drawing on the theoretical framework described in chapter 2, it is found that an institutional analysis of the economic policy context for gender equality strategies and policies is paramount to underscore the presence and quality of an institutional framework for gender equality and how this delivers on policy outcomes. The implication is that within a policy making arena, the range of actors and institutions regulating and promoting equality can significantly impact the relevance of unpaid care as an equality issue or not and the vision of gender equality pursued. Institutional political mechanisms are thus influential not only in terms of the range of actors, but equally regulate discourse reinforcing policy frames and the dominant ideas that empower what is feasible as actionable on a government's policy agenda. These have material consequences for men and women. Arguably, the institutionalisation of unpaid work and unpaid care units within government units dedicated to regulating issues of equality is a crucial aspect to the policymaking process.

Overall, findings suggest that there is a political commitment to gender equality, but a number of institutional factors have hindered progress on policy development of gender equality in economic policy terrain. There is ambiguity regarding who has responsibility for the gender equality strategy, although there appears to be willingness by the new polities to commit to and move the gender policy agenda forward through engagement with relevant equality stakeholders. Nevertheless, the mechanisms for applying recommendations on pressing equality issues for equality groups, for evaluating progress and reporting channels are absent. Progress is equally compromised by the fact that gender is subsumed within a wider equalities agenda.

## **10.2. Policy Recommendations & Emerging Research Agenda**

The following section summaries the findings in line with existing theories and new developments making recommendations for gender equitable economic policy development. It briefly discusses the link between gender, economic and social policy and the relevance of this for incorporating the paid and unpaid economy in economic policy planning. Thereafter, questions on childcare policy developments are advanced to provide a future research agenda. This is followed by recommendations on gendering the equality mainstreaming.

As an institution, the Equality Legislation plays an important role is determining the range of equality issues that are subsequently recognised as relevant in policymaking sites. Within the wider UK context, which includes Scotland, unpaid care is invisible as an equality issue in the range of equality issues defined in the Equality Act 2010. It is equally not considered in governmental units and in equality commissions as a significant equality issue despite impressive feminist campaigns on detrimental effects of unpaid care work on women's employment. This adds to existing feminist economists' explanations for gender bias in economic policy outcomes by making the argument that policy development on unpaid

work and, in this context, unpaid childcare work can be repressed or rendered invisible by complex institutional designs. Although central to promoting equality generally, unpaid care is absent from all institutional sites as a significant equality characteristic. Significantly, in the law (Equality Act), unpaid care is not recognised as an equality issue despite its degree of severity and scope of the government to develop policies on it. The recommendation made here is for unpaid care to be included in the range of equality characteristics both in the Equality Act and subsequently across institutions sites. This is useful to make visible women's unpaid work in policy and politics and further institutionalise its treatment in economic policy.

Another issue raised in this thesis is that gender as a social construct challenges the boundary between economic and social policy. The effects of economic policy can be traced outside the traditional economic domain as underpinned by the existence of gendered behavioural impacts of economic policy. This challenges the continued traditional logic of treating social policy and economic policy as distinct areas of policy. A holistic conceptualisation of the economy indicates an inextricable link between economic policy, social policy and gender when the paid and unpaid economies are taken into account. The next questions then become how can we design economic policies that invest in the quality, affordable and adequate supply of childcare? How would this impact on the national economy in terms of gender equality and economic efficiency? How can we build a social care economy that is capable of delivering on Scotland's overarching economic and equality goals?

Within the Scottish context, this would mean revising the existing budget in ways that would affect existing patterns in gender inequality in employment and unpaid care work. This means revisiting and challenging past and current ideas of government spending

decisions on childcare. It also involves evaluating how paid and unpaid care work is viewed in policy institutions. Such an approach effectively reconceptualises care as an industry such that spending in social services is seen as investments in a sector capable of contributing to the economic development of a nation in both the short and long term. By this, government's spending in care is seen as a productive investment in both human and physical capital for economic development.

This suggests a holistic approach to gender analysis of social and economic policy that challenges understanding of the mutually reinforcing gendered effects of both policies on society. This centralises gender in both social and economic policy configurations in order to secure greater gender equality irrespective of the economic environment of the welfare state. According to Jahan (1995), transformation starts from a gender analysis of inequalities between women and men. A further step is to understand that gender relations intersect with other equalities groups such as race and class, to create context-specific experiences of inequality.

Carrying out gender analysis in this way stimulates new priorities for policy to emerge naturally. The policy process then becomes informed by an awareness of the multiples causes of women's marginalisation, and a commitment to support social transformation by challenging gender inequality. For example, the practical problems of poverty faced by women and especially those that are lone parents are shown in gender analysis to be caused, in part, by unequal access to and participation in paid employment due to their caring and domestic roles in addition to lack of adequate and affordable childcare services.

This research suggests the adoption of an approach to gender mainstreaming similar to that proposed by Perrons (2005). According to Perrons (2005), effective gender mainstreaming requires a broader and an holistic conceptualisation of the economy for securing gender

equality. Within this context, market dynamics are also seen as relevant processes and tendencies towards widening social divisions – in labour markets, unpaid care work and welfare - which are in turn gendered. First, markets develop differently within different contexts, be it economic or geographical. Secondly, depending on the welfare state typology, market processes have a tendency towards widening social divisions (Quah 2003) in both the paid and unpaid economy. Third, these social divisions within the welfare state are gendered (Folbre and Nelson 2000), thus create tensions between the productive (economic) and reproductive sectors with significant impact on gender equality in employment. As such, effective gender mainstreaming would not only require an holistic view of the economy but must challenge the mainstream logic of economic analysis that focuses only on markets and not social reproduction.

Within the context of the above conceptualisation of the economy, in order to make the goal of gender mainstreaming attainable, this research argues that the Scottish economy satisfies the initial conditions of the model stipulating a knowledge economy. As a welfare state closely resembling a typical UK neoliberal welfare model, the supposition is that market processes would exhibit tendencies that widen social divisions between men and women in the economy. Another important point to note here is that market processes develop differently within different economic contexts. Equally, social location and outcomes in general are shaped by national processes and policies which may in turn sustain or exacerbate gender inequalities which would in turn make the goals of gender mainstreaming problematic to attain.

An effective gender mainstreaming approach for Scotland would need to take into account both the gendered impacts of economic and social policies. Gender mainstreaming in this case would consist of infusing gender analysis into mainstream social policy ideas of

work/life balance, childcare and occupational segregation and so on. It involves a holistic view of the interaction between social policy, economic policy and gender.

With regards to gendering institutions, the gender composition of Scottish Parliament Committees appears to be significant. With regards to the treatment of equality issues within parliament, the Equal Opportunities Committee is more focused on equality issues compared to the Finance Committee. The Finance Committee is male dominated in its membership and the core objective of the budget scrutiny process of this committee is value for money. In addition to the higher composition of men, the convenors in the Finance Committee have always been men. However, in the Equal Opportunities Committee, successive convenors have been women. The evidence that women politicians are more likely to be pro-equality than their male counterparts suggests that there is need for a gender balanced Finance Committee but especially the inclusion of MPs who are strong advocates of equality and gender equality in particular. This may also transform the range of ideas and discussions in this committee to include a focus on issues of equality.

### **10.3. Conclusion**

Post-devolution, although the Scottish government adopted an approach to policy making on equality issues based on equality mainstreaming, it does not yet recognise gender as an institution or as a key analytical variable even in analysing dimensions of inequalities. Unpaid care work remains invisible and unrecognised as an equality issue. Equality itself is a gendered concept in that it is experienced differently by men and women in society across different social locations. Failing to recognise gender even in the analysis of equality issues or as a social institution, which is a key variable in the policymaking process, is problematic even for equality mainstreaming. McKay and Gillespie (2007 p.192) make a related argument that Scottish institutions are still adopting an approach to policy that fails to



recognise gender as a key variable at all stages of the policy process. The mainstream analytical framework, they argue, is still gender blind as it does not recognise that men and women respond differently to policy interventions. Importantly, policy does not appear to have been viewed as a process designed to evoke areas where public policy and, in this case, economic and social policy are most likely to make a difference in solving gender inequality problems in Scottish society.

As shown above, a slowness in embedding gender analysis in policy and budgets rendered the process to be more equality relevant than the gender analysis relevance of equality issues. Despite the presence of the Scottish Women's Budget Group as connoisseurs of gender and equality issues with regards to economic policymaking, government showed political slackness in embedding gender analysis in economic policy and budget decisions. In practice, this has inhibited progressive policies on gender equality in Scotland coupled with the fact that the political institutional arrangements also provided an incentive for some policy actors to maintain dominant territorial identities in economic policy, which, in effect, limits state capacity for learning and policy experimentation. However, the policy making process is a political rather than a purely technocratic issue. This means political ideas of gender can serve as cognitive locks that are instrumental in institutionalising gender analysis of both economic and social policy thus, producing and reproducing gendered policy institutions.

A cautionary note is made here to the fact that even if policies became gender sensitive it is unlikely that people's lives and the material consequences of particular discursive constructs will automatically change. As noted by Annesley (2008 p.3) "*even though formal institutions may change, informal institutions are tenacious (North 1990). The norms and values which underpin a formal institutional framework take longer to alter and may even*

*persist after formal institutional structures have changed. Informal institutional legacies endure and new formal institutions do not operate on a clean slate”.*

This thesis therefore lays a solid foundation for studies seeking to approach issues of culture, ideas, and discourses as constitutive elements of economic policy, and in general policy development and analysis. These are useful to explain the content of policy choices and policy change. Overall, the study shows that both institutional and macroeconomic forces determine the gender structure of a society.

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## Appendices

### 1. Appendix A: Table 6.9: Employment transitions for all workers

Status at wave 1	Model 1: All workers: Employment status at wave 5				Model 2: Male workers : Employment status at wave 5				Model 3: Female workers: Employment status at wave 5			
VARIABLES	Part-time	Unpaid Care	Unemployed	Inactive Other	Part-time	Unpaid Care	Unemployed	Inactive Other	Part-time	Unpaid Care	Unemployed	Inactive Other
<b>Ref: Full-time</b>												
Part-time	5.056*** (0.0876)	3.552*** (0.280)	2.600*** (0.194)	3.137*** (0.136)	4.783*** (0.168)	3.063*** (0.851)	2.514*** (0.310)	2.832*** (0.238)	4.657*** (0.106)	3.060*** (0.307)	2.918*** (0.296)	3.111*** (0.180)
Unpaid care	4.726*** (0.349)	9.543*** (0.384)	5.597*** (0.374)	6.337*** (0.350)	4.354*** (0.879)	10.21*** (0.873)	4.482*** (0.927)	5.804*** (0.783)	4.276*** (0.388)	8.845*** (0.431)	6.082*** (0.455)	6.362*** (0.403)
Unemployed	2.865*** (0.154)	4.697*** (0.286)	4.560*** (0.172)	3.472*** (0.189)	2.774*** (0.233)	4.525*** (0.608)	4.314*** (0.207)	3.295*** (0.240)	2.963*** (0.228)	4.830*** (0.349)	5.072*** (0.316)	3.709*** (0.306)
Inactive Other	3.639*** (0.151)	5.924*** (0.263)	4.455*** (0.190)	6.689*** (0.151)	3.704*** (0.219)	5.826*** (0.549)	4.247*** (0.241)	6.410*** (0.199)	3.425*** (0.219)	5.850*** (0.322)	4.894*** (0.328)	6.923*** (0.233)
<b>Female</b>												
	1.023*** (0.0790)	1.282*** (0.156)	-0.0479 (0.119)	0.538*** (0.0923)								
<b>Ref: 16 – 24 years</b>												
25 – 34 years	0.0744 (0.153)	1.664*** (0.267)	0.126 (0.204)	0.366* (0.201)	-1.046*** (0.273)	2.738** (1.155)	-0.176 (0.275)	-0.130 (0.292)	0.432** (0.202)	1.764*** (0.311)	0.441 (0.307)	0.722** (0.282)
35 – 49 years	0.0582 (0.128)	1.026*** (0.242)	-0.145 (0.172)	0.172 (0.163)	-0.793*** (0.209)	2.363** (1.108)	-0.411* (0.231)	-0.126 (0.236)	0.327* (0.175)	1.047*** (0.279)	0.146 (0.263)	0.423* (0.232)
50 – 64 years	0.349*** (0.131)	1.652*** (0.241)	-0.215 (0.182)	1.967*** (0.153)	0.0782 (0.186)	3.605*** (1.081)	-0.272 (0.230)	1.689*** (0.208)	0.480*** (0.182)	1.500*** (0.288)	-0.308 (0.300)	2.201*** (0.227)
<b>Ref: Degree</b>												
Secondary qualification	0.0956 (0.0829)	0.169 (0.159)	0.509*** (0.145)	0.113 (0.107)	-0.0260 (0.148)	0.00727 (0.390)	0.358* (0.194)	-0.0982 (0.158)	0.252** (0.104)	0.353* (0.184)	0.705*** (0.222)	0.377** (0.149)
Other qualification	0.120 (0.163)	0.142 (0.293)	0.958*** (0.239)	0.407** (0.187)	-0.169 (0.297)	-0.702 (0.749)	0.607* (0.324)	0.105 (0.277)	0.416** (0.210)	0.595* (0.340)	1.495*** (0.362)	0.786*** (0.261)
No qualification	0.275** (0.122)	0.764*** (0.191)	0.906*** (0.185)	0.667*** (0.135)	0.262 (0.210)	0.693 (0.461)	0.718*** (0.251)	0.650*** (0.198)	0.329** (0.158)	0.848*** (0.228)	1.190*** (0.277)	0.747*** (0.189)

<i>Ref: Work limiting disabled</i>												
DDA disabled	0.0698 (0.174)	0.307 (0.277)	0.00952 (0.248)	-0.778*** (0.182)	-0.215 (0.316)	0.0222 (0.676)	0.179 (0.349)	-0.595** (0.272)	-0.0540 (0.222)	0.0437 (0.327)	-0.0867 (0.361)	-1.061*** (0.253)
Not disabled	-0.147 (0.116)	-0.424** (0.170)	-0.704*** (0.155)	-1.481*** (0.115)	-0.274 (0.185)	-0.585 (0.370)	-0.559*** (0.208)	-1.300*** (0.161)	-0.227 (0.156)	-0.543*** (0.211)	-0.872*** (0.235)	-1.714*** (0.166)
<i>Ref: 2006</i>												
2007.year	0.0540 (0.122)	-0.00496 (0.224)	0.227 (0.211)	-0.0353 (0.154)	-0.0748 (0.219)	-0.634 (0.597)	0.179 (0.294)	0.0270 (0.222)	0.125 (0.153)	0.140 (0.259)	0.305 (0.306)	-0.102 (0.217)
2008.year	0.295** (0.124)	0.335 (0.221)	0.386* (0.217)	0.430*** (0.151)	0.215 (0.222)	-0.653 (0.655)	0.668** (0.290)	0.369 (0.225)	0.338** (0.156)	0.413 (0.254)	0.0435 (0.337)	0.462** (0.208)
2009.year	0.0967 (0.124)	0.168 (0.221)	0.819*** (0.196)	0.216 (0.151)	0.00674 (0.223)	0.386 (0.515)	0.867*** (0.270)	0.111 (0.224)	0.198 (0.157)	0.162 (0.260)	0.815*** (0.290)	0.333 (0.209)
2010.year	0.382*** (0.134)	0.340 (0.235)	0.758*** (0.214)	0.396** (0.162)	0.549** (0.225)	0.589 (0.529)	0.794*** (0.290)	0.442* (0.231)	0.347** (0.172)	0.311 (0.281)	0.726** (0.319)	0.389* (0.229)
2011.year	0.326** (0.138)	0.209 (0.240)	0.793*** (0.215)	0.390** (0.167)	0.262 (0.239)	0.271 (0.591)	0.783*** (0.295)	0.350 (0.242)	0.427** (0.175)	0.329 (0.280)	0.822** (0.319)	0.471** (0.232)
2012.year	0.131 (0.141)	0.247 (0.246)	0.671*** (0.220)	0.0702 (0.173)	0.287 (0.238)	0.429 (0.557)	0.711** (0.302)	0.0542 (0.252)	0.120 (0.180)	0.248 (0.291)	0.675** (0.325)	0.121 (0.240)
Constant	-3.235*** (0.200)	-6.993*** (0.395)	-4.541*** (0.305)	-4.014*** (0.232)	-3.118*** (0.324)	-9.376*** (1.323)	-4.257*** (0.402)	-3.788*** (0.331)	-2.908*** (0.264)	-6.224*** (0.459)	-5.077*** (0.487)	-4.141*** (0.333)
Observations	13,371	13,371	13,371	13,371	6,277	6,277	6,277	6,277	7,094	7,094	7,094	7,094

Indicated levels of significance are: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standard errors in parentheses

Source: UK Labour Force Survey 2006-2012.

**2. Appendix B: Table 6.10: Employment transitions for families with dependent children between the ages of 0-4 in full-time and part-time employment and inactive due to unpaid care**

Explanatory Variables	Model 1: Full-time employed in wave 1				Model 2: Part-time employed in wave 1				Model 3: In unpaid care in wave 1			
	Status in wave 5				Status in wave 5				Status in wave 5			
	Part-time	Unpaid Care	Unemployed	Inactive Other	Full-time	Unpaid Care	Unemployed	Inactive Other	Full-time	Part-time	Unemployed	Inactive Other
childage0_2	1.583*** (0.247)	1.868*** (0.713)	1.352*** (0.392)	-0.596 (1.043)	-0.179 (0.328)	0.700 (0.592)	-14.22 (977.8)	0.681 (0.550)	0.347 (0.759)	0.258 (0.350)	-0.785* (0.477)	-1.515*** (0.549)
childage2_4	0.100 (0.291)	1.511** (0.706)	-0.346 (0.500)	-0.248 (0.753)	-0.389 (0.264)	-0.406 (0.577)	-14.38 (740.5)	-0.0442 (0.540)	-0.0771 (0.716)	-0.0217 (0.332)	-0.0144 (0.375)	-1.755*** (0.446)
hourpay1	-0.0737*** (0.0158)	-0.0903 (0.0569)	-0.107*** (0.0326)	0.0176 (0.0134)	0.00355 (0.00794)	0.0170 (0.0194)	-0.0165 (0.0360)	0.00672 (0.00887)				
Female	1.253*** (0.159)	1.604*** (0.560)	-0.726** (0.301)	0.106 (0.190)	-0.547*** (0.206)	14.17 (738.6)	-0.782* (0.403)	-0.325 (0.260)	-1.021 (0.856)	0.416 (0.561)	0.358 (0.640)	0.410 (0.333)
<i>Ref: 16-24years</i>												
25 – 34 years	-0.318 (0.320)	-0.666 (0.912)	-0.430 (0.470)	-1.940*** (0.628)	-0.777** (0.309)	1.555 (1.113)	-1.054 (0.803)	-1.612*** (0.614)	15.50 (2,304)	-0.203 (0.586)	-0.604 (0.609)	-0.429 (0.664)
35 – 49 years	-0.324 (0.299)	-1.337 (0.919)	-0.512 (0.428)	-1.807*** (0.463)	-1.254*** (0.241)	-0.271 (1.106)	-1.943*** (0.537)	-1.847*** (0.413)	15.51 (2,304)	-0.302 (0.575)	-0.809 (0.596)	-0.926 (0.653)
50 – 64 years	0.0236 (0.303)	-0.233 (0.876)	-0.936* (0.481)	0.247 (0.392)	-1.672*** (0.254)	-0.309 (1.148)	-1.824*** (0.492)	-0.100 (0.326)	14.20 (2,304)	-0.298 (0.681)	-1.896** (0.799)	-0.167 (0.664)
<i>Ref: Degree</i>												
Secondary education	-0.413** (0.171)	-0.191 (0.595)	0.0429 (0.328)	-0.00846 (0.234)	-0.701*** (0.181)	0.0191 (0.506)	0.536 (0.502)	0.213 (0.268)	0.221 (0.756)	-0.307 (0.335)	0.771 (0.489)	0.382 (0.341)
Other qualification	-0.222 (0.304)	0.343 (0.871)	-0.384 (0.653)	0.180 (0.396)	-0.315 (0.422)	-13.95 (1,272)	1.375* (0.757)	1.067*** (0.389)	-14.73 (2,269)	0.262 (0.611)	1.146 (0.760)	0.995* (0.511)
No Qualification	-0.327 (0.267)	0.347 (0.794)	0.429 (0.452)	0.571* (0.300)	-0.511* (0.298)	0.900 (0.689)	0.157 (0.755)	0.454 (0.326)	0.124 (0.956)	-0.904* (0.470)	0.297 (0.573)	0.251 (0.347)

<i>Ref: Work limiting disabled</i>												
DDA disabled	-0.0328 (0.301)	1.405 (1.174)	1.119* (0.626)	-0.294 (0.323)	-0.0556 (0.392)	0.904 (1.246)	0.183 (0.613)	-0.665 (0.421)	15.77 (1,258)	2.078* (1.255)	1.015 (0.768)	-0.850 (0.563)
Not disabled	-0.564** (0.221)	0.331 (1.045)	0.165 (0.529)	-0.960*** (0.245)	-0.00521 (0.257)	0.855 (1.038)	-1.117** (0.465)	-0.850*** (0.261)	15.10 (1,258)	2.441** (1.021)	0.208 (0.476)	-0.786*** (0.251)
Constant	-2.192*** (0.397)	-5.627*** (1.472)	-2.730*** (0.721)	-2.686*** (0.487)	-0.0894 (0.348)	-19.64 (738.6)	-1.120 (0.741)	-1.402*** (0.455)	-33.22 (2,625)	- (1.310)	-2.469** (1.052)	-0.548 (0.792)
Observations	5,162	5,162	5,162	5,162	1,919	1,919	1,919	1,919	659	659	659	659

Indicated levels of significance are: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1. Standard errors in parentheses, Source: UK Labour Force Survey 2006-2013

### 3. Appendix C: Descriptive statistics Cross-sectional data (LFS 2004-2013)

Worker Characteristics	All (2004-2013)	Male		Female	
		N	%	N	%
<b>All</b>	<b>70420</b>	<b>33049</b>	<b>46.9</b>	<b>37371</b>	<b>53.1</b>
<b>Agegroup (years)</b>	<b>54928</b>	<b>26275</b>	<b>47.9</b>	<b>28653</b>	<b>52.1</b>
16-24	8957	4,496	50.2	4461	49.8
25-34	9826	4,617	47	5209	53
35-49	18796	8857	47.1	9939	53
50-64	17347	8305	47.9	9044	53.1
<b>Education</b>	<b>53407</b>	<b>25808</b>	<b>48.3</b>	<b>27599</b>	<b>51.6</b>
Higher	17030	7633	44.8	9397	55.2
Secondary	22315	11779	52.8	41536	47.2
Other	4240	2074	48.9	2166	51.1
no qualification	9822	4322	44	5500	56
<b>Soclase</b>	<b>67683</b>	<b>31656</b>	<b>46.6</b>	<b>36118</b>	<b>53.4</b>
Professional	16982	8503	50.1	8479	49.9
Intermediate & Small Employers	9887	4250	43	5637	57
Lower supervisory	4926	3499	71	1427	29
(Semi) Routine	14233	6731	47.3	7502	52.7
Never worked	21655	8582	39.6	13073	60.4
<b>Job Pattern</b>	<b>38819</b>	<b>19702</b>	<b>50.8</b>	<b>19117</b>	<b>49.2</b>
full time	28800	17593	61.1	11207	38.9
part time	10019	2109	21	7910	79
<b>Economic Activity</b>	<b>58681</b>	<b>27369</b>	<b>46.6</b>	<b>31312</b>	<b>53.4</b>
Active Employed	33031	16771	50.8	16260	49.2
Active unemployed	2408	1362	56.6	1046	43.4
Inactive: Unpaid Care	2272	248	10.9	2024	89.1
Inactive Other	20970	8988	42.8	11982	57



#### 4. Appendix D: Descriptive statistics LFS five-quarter data

	Male	Female	Couples dependent children 0-2	Couples dependent children 0-4
<i>Agegroup (years)</i>	%	%	%	%
16-24	53.1	46.9	5.3	5
25-34	44	56	20.4	26.3
35-49	45.3	54.7	6.6	13.6
50-64	45.7	54.3	0.1	0.3
<b><i>Education</i></b>				
Higher	44.1	55.9	7.3	11
Secondary	51.6	48.4	4.7	7.8
Other	48.9	51.1	4.1	6.1
no qualification	41	59	2.1	4.2
<b><i>Disability</i></b>				
Work Limiting Disabled	48.7	51.3	2.7	4.6
DDA disabled	38.2	61.8	1.2	2.5
Not disabled	46.6	53.4	5.8	9.1

## **5. Appendix E: Participant information sheet**

### **Project Title: Economic Policy, Childcare and the Unpaid Economy: Exploring Gender Equality in Scotland.**

My name is Jessie Azong, a PhD candidate at the School of Applied Social Science at the University of Stirling. I am currently undertaking a jointly funded ESRC/Scottish Government study on the above mentioned topic. As a key participant in the policy process, your input would be extremely valuable to this research study. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve.

#### **Purpose of the Study**

The thesis is set within the context of promoting both economic growth and equality but focuses on investigating the extent to which this is playing out in terms of promoting equal opportunities for men and women in Scotland. The objective is to investigate the channels through which the government's approach to economic policy impacts on men and women in Scottish society and how it can influence the position of men and women in the economy. It also seeks to find out how equality mainstreaming could deliver more in terms of promoting gender equality, your views about the role of gender in economic and social policymaking processes, its wider purpose and finally, explore any feasible approaches to policymaking that promote both gender equality and economic growth.

#### **Length of Interview**

Your assistance is being sought to provide answers to six sets of questions which will be forwarded to you prior to the interview date. This would take the form of an interview session which will last between 40-55 minutes.

#### **What will participation involve?**

The interview would be recorded using an audio recording device. You have a choice of determining if you are comfortable with the recording of the session. Once recorded however, I would make every effort to ensure that you remain anonymous. You are free to withdraw from the study or any part of the study at any time you wish. The findings from this study would be published as part of my PhD thesis. However, the information provided would be kept strictly confidential and no names or particulars of individuals would be used in the final report. Where necessary, only a pseudonym would be used to protect your anonymity or that of your organisation.

This study has undergone full ethical review and has been cleared by the head of the ethics committee at the School of Applied Social Science in accordance with ESRC guidelines and the University's ethical procedures. Thank you for your time.

If you have any questions or problems, please speak to Jecynta (Jessie) Azong using the contact information below.

Contact address: School of Applied Social Sciences,  
University of Stirling,  
Stirling,  
FK9 4LA

Contact telephone: 01786 467701

Contact email: [j.a.azong@stir.ac.uk](mailto:j.a.azong@stir.ac.uk)

You can also contact my supervisor, Professor Kirstein Rummery, on 01786 467693 or at [kirstein.rummery@stir.ac.uk](mailto:kirstein.rummery@stir.ac.uk), or Scottish Government Supervisor on 01312 147472 or at [Ian.Spencer@scotland.gsi.gov.uk](mailto:Ian.Spencer@scotland.gsi.gov.uk)

## 6. Appendix F: Sample interview questions

### Scottish Government

#### **Equality and Budget Advisory Group**

- How do you envisage the work of EBAG within the overall framework of promoting gender equality?
- How do you perceive the government's budget to impact differently on men and women in the society?
- What are government's actions through its annual budget to reduce gender inequalities in the market and non-market economy?
- How has the equality budget strategy played out in terms of informing budget allocations capable of promoting gender equality?
- Progressively, women issues are beginning to feature in the EBS, how did this happen?

#### **Equality Unit**

- How do you perceive the Scottish government's broad policies to impact on gender equality in society?
- Where does gender equality sit within the equality framework?
- What are your views about unpaid care as an equality issue?
- How has the equality mainstreaming strategy played out in terms of promoting gender equality?
- How do gender issues enter the policymaking process?
- How has devolution created a space for economic and social policymaking with particular reference to promoting gender equality?

#### **OCEA & Finance**

- How do you perceive the government's broad policies to impact on men and women in the economy?
- Men and women respond differently to policy, are these differences taken into account when designing and formulating policies?
- What are your views on public spending and/or provision of childcare?
- How has the equality mainstreaming strategy played out in terms of promoting gender equality?
- How do spending decisions take into account the removal of gender barriers to economic participation?
- Who has responsibility for setting priority areas on the economic/social policy agenda?
- How do gender issues enter the policymaking process?

### **Analytical Services**

- How important are equality issues to your work?
- Do you think policies have gendered impacts? Which policy areas?
- In the EBS, the FSED portfolio has responsibility for equity, to what extent has equity been taken in consideration when informing priority areas of spend within this portfolio to ensure that men and women benefit equality?
- How have the gendered impacts of spending decisions in the FSED portfolio been taken into account?

### **Scottish Parliament**

#### **Equal Opportunities Committee and Finance Committee**

- Equality issues are central to your work, how do you envisage this within the overall framework of promoting gender equality?
- How do you perceive the government's broad policies to impact on men and women in the society?
- Men and women respond differently to policy, are these differences taken into account when scrutinising the government's policies and budgets?
- Where does gender equality sit within the equality framework?
- How are issues of gender equality addressed as part of the EOC's commitment to promote equal opportunities for all?
- How you perceive the government's equality mainstreaming strategy within the context of promoting gender equality in public and private life?
- How has devolution created a space for economic and social policymaking with particular reference to promoting both economic growth and gender equality?

### **Women's Groups & Policy networks**

- How do you perceive the government's broad policies to impact on men and women in the economy?
- In the government's economic policy, how visible is the unpaid economy to policymakers?
- Progressively, women issues are beginning to feature in the EBS, how did this happen?
- What are the formal links between women's groups and economic policy planners in the mainstream budget process?
- How has devolution created a space for economic and social policymaking with particular reference to promoting both economic growth and gender equality?

## 7. Appendix G: Informed Consent form

### **Informed Consent**

*“Economic Policy, Childcare and the Unpaid Economy: Exploring Gender Equality in Scotland”*

Lead Researcher: Jecynta Azong (University of Stirling)

This form describes the conditions of participating in the study. Please read this carefully and do not hesitate to ask Jessie if you have any questions. It is very important you understand everything written here so you can make an informed decision about participating. It is important to emphasise that you can withdraw from this study at any point without personal consequence, all you need to do is let Jessie know you no longer want to participate. If you are happy with the conditions set out below, please place a tick in the right hand box.

	Tick
I confirm that I have read, discussed and understand the information supplied for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask for more information.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving an explanation.	
I understand that Jessie will do everything to ensure confidentiality. This includes the following:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My identifying details will be anonymised in any written or verbal data collected from me</li> <li>• One-to-one interviews will be conducted in a location that minimises the likelihood of someone else overhearing</li> <li>• Jessie will not report to members of staff/authorities what will be discussed without my permission</li> <li>• Any data held about me will be stored in a secure location</li> <li>• Data held on me is subject to the Data Protection Act 1998</li> </ul>	
I accept that the final thesis, which may include my anonymised data, may be published	
I understand that Jessie will use a tape recorder to record interviews but that she will always seek my permission before she does this. I have the right to refuse to be tape recorded and will tell Jessie if I do not want her to use the recorder.	

Please print and sign your name along with the date below. Please note that this consent form will be stored separately from any data held on you so that it will not be possible to match your identifying details with what you have said or done.

Name of participant (print): .....

Signed: .....

Date: .....

Name of researcher (print): Jecynta Azong

Signed: .....

Date: .....