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State of the Art Study of Research on Women in Political Decision-Making

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DENMARK, NORWAY,
SWEDEN AND FINLAND,

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Reports on Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland

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Introduction
by Anette Borchorst

As the first in our report series, GEP publishes the four Nordic reports1 on women in political decision-making completed for the European Commission in 19972. The country reports were written on the basis of a common outline, distinguishing between political, social and economic decision-making and between quantitative and qualitative research.

We have chosen to publish the Nordic report since, in many respects, the Nordic countries are quite similar, and they are known to have reached a fairly high degree of gender equality. For some time, the four countries have had the world record in female political representation, and also with regard to women's activity rates, they have stood out. These similarities have been documented in books such as the *Unfinished Democracy* from 1983 and *Equal Democracies* from 1999 which also reveal considerable differences between the Nordic countries. The evidence of similar but different countries have stimulated a scholarly debate on how to explain changes in women's political, social and economic influence seen in relation to that of men. A debate, which is also nurtured by the linguistic similarity between the three Scandinavian countries. The four reports which are published here focus on each their country, but they reflect the common and ongoing discussion on how to explain and evaluate the development in women's role in decision-making. A leading theme has been whether the actual situation provides ground for optimism or pessimism in terms of women's position towards men, or put differently, whether one should claim that the bottle is half empty or half full. This ongoing national debate is also reflected in the reports, and for this reason we find it interesting to read and publish the four reports together. Add to this, that we expect the reports to be helpful in identifying research gaps in the area of women's political decision-making. We find that the bibliographies also provide a good point of

1 No report was made on Iceland.
2 Summaries of the reports and an executive Summary have been published in 1998 by the Commission: *Women in decision-making. Report on existing research in the European Union*, DGV, European Commission.

departure for scholars in this area, though it should be borne in mind that they were completed 4½ years ago.

The content of each contribution is the responsibility of the individual authors. We suggest that questions concerning the different countries should be directed to the different scholars, and we have provided a list of contact addresses, which serves to facilitate communication.

Since the publication of the reports a new Nordic book on gender and politics has been published. A Scandinavian version was published in 1999 with the title *Likestilte demokratier? Kjønn og politikk i Norden,* and an English version appeared in 2000, entitled *Equal Democracies? Gender and Politics in the Nordic Countries.* Scandinavian University Press in Oslo was the publisher. The book was edited by Anette Borchorst, Ann-Dorte Christensen, Viveca Ramstedt-Silén, Nina C. Raaum, Audur Styrkársdóttir and with Christina Bergqvist as the main editor.

State of the Art Study of Research on Women in Political Decision-Making

Report on Denmark
By Anette Borchorst

Introduction

Within the framework of the Studies programme on Equal opportunities, connected to the mid-term Community Programme on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men 1996-2000, the General Directorate V of the European Commission financed state of the art reports on research in five areas.

Women in decision making was one of these focus areas.[1] Professor Joni Lovenduski, Department of Politics, Southampton University, UK, was the co-ordinator of this project and has made the overview report on the basis of 17 expert studies. They cover the fifteen EU member states, Norway and the institutions of the EU.[2]

The reports and their bibliographies were made on the basis of a common matrix divided into political, economic and social decision making. Common guidelines for the definition of decision making were determined. Firstly, decision making processes should have a certain degree of publicness and involve persons other than the persons making the decisions; secondly, the decisions should fall within the purview of an institutional position; thirdly, the decision making function had to be performed over a certain period of time; and fourthly, the decisions had to produce changes in behaviour in the system of social norms, in legislation or in organisational procedures.

The studies concentrate on the period from 1980 till today.

This report focuses on Denmark. In a few instances, reference is made to Nordic literature, insofar as it also includes Denmark. On the theoretical level, certain hypotheses that have been discussed in a Nordic context are discussed, because they have had a certain influence on the Danish debate.

Some general information on Denmark has been added in the appendix for the benefit of readers with no or limited knowledge of Denmark.

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1.   The others were: a) reconciliation of family and working life, b) the image of women in the media, c) gender in work: general issues, entrepreneurship and migrant women, d) gender in work: segregation, different forms of work, unpaid work and gender pay gap.
2.   The reports will be available electronically.

0. General information

0.1. The Danish Political System

0.1.1. General

According to the Danish constitution, Denmark is a hereditary monarchy. Prior to 1953 there was only male succession. The Act of Succession from 1953 enacted female right of succession as well, but a son still takes precedence over a daughter.

The political system is based on representative democracy and parliamentarism in the negative form. A government can remain in power, unless the parliament passes a vote of no confidence of the Prime Minister.

Since 1953, the parliament has only one chamber, entitled Folketinget. It has 179 members of which 175 are elected in Denmark and two each from the Faroe Islands and Greenland.

Men got the vote in 1849 at the same time as the first written constitution. Women (and servants of both sexes) obtained the vote in local elections in 1908 and in national elections in 1915.

The Prime Minister may call a national election at any time, but elections must be held every four years. There have been 11 elections since 1971. Local and regional elections are held together every four years.

0.1.2. Central Government

Since the beginning of this century no single party has had majority. All governments since 1973 have been minority coalitions, with one exception in 1993-94. Since 1953, when the constitution was amended, there have been 19 governments.

The Social Democratic Party has headed several governments in the post-war period. In 1982, a right wing coalition took over and remained in power till 1993, with various parties participating. Since 1993, social democratic-led governments have been in power.

During the past 15 years, the number of ministers has been around 20. There are presently 19 ministers.

0.1.3. Local and Regional Government and Administration

Denmark has 275 municipalities and 14 counties. Mayors and elected councils govern at each level. Health is the most substantial task of the counties. The municipalities are responsible for much of the service and care provided to citizens (social welfare, child care, elder care), and they are also in charge of primary schooling, and they collect taxes of their own.

0.1.4. Electoral System in National Elections (Elklit, Pade, 1996)

The electoral system is based on proportional representation. Of the 175 proper Danish seats, ¾ are constituency seats, which are distributed among 17 multi-member constituencies. The remaining 40 seats are compensatory seats which are distributed among three electoral regions. Each constituency contains a number of districts.

The nomination system is basically a list system with provisions for effective preferential or personal voting within the party lists.

There are two forms of list organisation:

Standing by district: The parties decide the rank order of candidates in advance. They can choose between several ordering systems. One option is to place a candidate at the top of the party list in the nomination district. This person receives all the votes for the party in the district plus the preferential votes for her/himself. Another option is that parties indicate that they want to present the candidates in a fixed order, this is called party list.

The candidates stand in parallel: All the party's candidates in the multi-member constituency stand in each nomination district. Votes for the party as such are distributed among the party's candidates in exact proportion to the number of preferential votes they get.

The standing in parallel system has become more prevalent and is also the most widespread. Especially the left wing parties have been applying party lists.

Each voter can cast one vote, either for a party or a candidate among all the party's candidates on the ballot in the multi-member constituency. The effect of preferential voting is increased, when parties apply the standing in parallel nomination system.

The electoral system has three different thresholds of which the most important is that parties must acquire two percents of the votes.

Voting age is 18 (since 1979). Voting turnout is usually 80-85 percent, and men's turnout is a little higher than women's, but gender differences have been diminishing (Andersen et al, 1993: 49 f.).

0.1.5. Party System

The political parties are not mentioned in the constitution, but they play a crucial role in the political system. Their functions can be summarised as follows (Svensson, 1997):

They organise the elections

They organise the work in the parliament

They organise the formation of government

The classical party system that dominated Denmark from the late 19th century until the beginning of the 1970s consisted of four parties: The Liberal Party (agrarian), the Conservative Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Radical Liberal Party. These parties were closely tied to the main economic classes: peasants, business in the cities, workers, and

small farmers. A number of other small parties have been represented in the parliament at various times, but none of them as persistently as the four old parties. After the so-called landslide election in 1973, the number of parties in Folketinget increased by five, two of which had been in the parliament before. The landslide effect is reflected by the percentage of seats the four old parties occupied before and after this election. After the election in 1971, it was 84 percent, and after the election in 1973, it was 58 percent. Many scholars agree that the political parties in Denmark are in the process of changing from mass and class parties to media parties.

The number of political party members in Denmark has been declining like in many other countries, but the decline seems steeper than in the neighbouring countries (Bille, 1995). Party membership has been decreasing during the entire post-war period. In 1947, 26.6 percent of all voters were members of political parties, in 1971 this was only true of 13 percent of the voters. In 1981 the number was 8 percent, and in 1994 it was 6.7 percent (Elklit, 1991; 1996). The Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party have suffered the greatest losses (Elklit, 1991). There are particularly few members of parties among the young generations (Andersen et al, 1993: 169).

Elklit (1991) argues that the decline in party membership can be attributed to, on the hand, structural factors like the loosening ties between classes and political parties, and on the other hand, it may have been caused by rational calculations on the basis of cost-benefit calculations by the voters and by some of the political parties.

Togeby argues that the total decline in party membership can be explained by three factors:

The radical decline in people working in agriculture.

The weakening of the organization of the workers.

The political mobilization of the new middle class, the well-educated and women was channeled through grass-root organisation activities and did not benefit the political parties.

She emphasises that the decline in the number of party members does not signify a decrease in political participation, and she notes that the opportunity to revitalise the political parties was presented in the 1970s by the political mobilization of the new middle class and of women. However, the parties failed to take advantage of that opportunity (1992: 18).

0.1.6. Political Participation

The gender gap in political participation has diminished after the large scale entry of women into the labour force, and the political mobilization of women (Togeby; 1989; 1994; Andersen et al, 1993). However, women's political activities are different from men's, as indicated in table 1. Women's level of participation in trade union meetings is only slightly lower than

men's, and their grass-root participation is higher. Hence, their activities are more connected to the mass than to the elite level.

Women have voted to the left of men since the election in 1981, and men have not voted to the left of women since 1971. The gender gap is, however, modest, and it is most outspoken for the well-educated groups (Siim, 1994: 64). Since the gender gap in party choice among the younger generations is larger than among the older, there are that the gap will widen (Oskarson, 1995).

The gender gap in political attitudes is more outspoken than in voting behavior, for instance in the sense that women are more in favour of the welfare state (Togeby, 1989; 1994; Siim, 1994), and this is particularly outspoken among the younger generations (Christensen, 1994).

0.1.7. The Corporate Channel

The political system has, especially since the 1960s, involved the organisations of labour and capital in many areas of political decision making, and their influence has been formalised in the corporate channel, which implies an intersection between the state, organised interests and various forms of expertise. It consists of government committees, arrangement for public hearings, negotiations and various other informal forms of contact between public and private institutions and organisations. It has been alleged that corporatism has been on the decline, but there is evidence that the role of interest groups in political and administrative decision making on the contrary has been extending. On the basis of survey studies, it has been observed that the number of contacts between organisations and public authorities has been increasing during the last decade (Christiansen, Sidenius, 1995).

There is no tradition for formalised lobbies that seek to influence policy making in Denmark.

0.1.8. Public Administration

At the central level each minister is politically and legally responsible for his or her area of the state administration. Public administration in Denmark has no party-politically appointed civil servants.

0.2.   The Labour Market and the Commercial Structure

The activity rates of women have increased from 71 percent in 1981 to 76 percent in 1994. In 1994, men's activity rate was 80 percent, and women's 71 percent At this time there was only 7 percent units difference between the activity rates of women and men. In 1995, 2.9 mill people were in the labour force (registered unemployed included), and women made up 46 percent. The same year, 19 percent of all women in the labour force worked part time compared to eight percent of men (Ligestillingsrådet, 1997).

Denmark has had a high unemployment rate since 1974, but it has been on the decrease since 1993. Most years, the unemployment rate has been higher for women than for men. In 1996, female unemployment was 9.9 percent and male unemployment 7.8 percent.

Denmark has a large public sector, and the private sector of the economy is dominated by small and mid-size firms. In 1993, 64.2 percent of all public employees were women. Among the women in the public sector, 64.9 percent were employed by the municipalities (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Danmarks Statistik, Ligestillingsrådet, 1995: 44f.).

The labour market is highly gender segregated. One aspect is the public-private division, and additionally, further down in the occupational structure the horizontal division is very outspoken. Vertically, women are much more concentrated on positions in the lower part of the hierarchy, whereas men are more evenly distributed at different levels (Dahlerup, 1989). Women's hierarchical position became relatively worse during their period of large scale entry of into the labour force in the 1960s and early 1970s (Borchorst, 1984). However, the share of women in top positions seems to be increasing slowly (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Danmarks Statistik, Ligestillingsrådet, 1995; Ligestillingsrådet, 1997).

0.3. Unions and Employers' Organisations

Since 1899, with the historic September agreement, employer organisations and unions have co-operated. The agreement affirmed the right of employers to manage and discharge employees, but recognised the trade union movement and gave the two organisations the right to conclude collective agreements that were binding for all members. Today collective agreements are prevalent on most of the labour market. A formal system of conflict regulation between the parties has been institutionalised, for instance through the Industrial Court. The Government Conciliator also intermediates in conflicts. The workers have a relatively high degree of unionisation. Since 1901, Denmark has had a special union for unskilled female workers, Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund (The General Union of Women Workers).

0.4. Feminist Organisations

The major women's organisations that exist today were formed in the late 19th century. Dansk Kvindesamfund (Danish Women's Society) was established in 1871, and Danske Kvinders Nationalråd (the National Council of Women in Denmark) in 1899. The latter is an umbrella organisation which comprises a large number of women's organisations, political parties and unions. The new feminist movement, the Redstockings, emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was more leftist and anarchic than the old women's organisations.

0.5. Policies of Equal Opportunities

0.5.1. Legislation

There is one national agency for equal opportunities between the genders, the Danish Equal Status Council. It was formed in 1975, has 9 members, and the chair is appointed by the government. Three members represent the social partners (the employer organisation, and two different unions). Four members represent the women's organisations and one is a women's researcher, chosen by the rest of the council.

Five laws on equal opportunities are in operation:

The Equal Pay Act, passed in 1976

The Equal Treatment Act, passed in 1978

The Equal Status Act, passed in 1988

The Committees Act, passed in 1985

The Boards Act, passed in 1990

(The last two laws relate to the representation of women in public council committees and boards)

0.5.2. Government Action Plans

According to decisions in the parliament, all public authorities with more than 50 employees must make action plans for equality. These plans are evaluated every three years by the Council of Equal Status and discussed in the parliament. Until now, the Council of Equal Status has evaluated action plans from the following periods: I. 1987-1990 (Andersen, Carlsen, 1991), II. 1991-1993 (Ligestillingsrådet, 1993), and III. 1994-1996 (Ligestillingsrådet, 1996).

I.   Political Decision Making

1.1.   Government

1.1.1. National Level

Head of State:

Denmark has had a queen as head of state since 1971.

Prime Minister:

There has never been a female prime minister.

Cabinet:

Denmark was the second country in the world to get a female minister, Nina Bang, who was appointed Minister of Education 1924-26, but it took another 20 years to get the second female minister. Fanny Jensen was appointed as minister without portfolio in 1947, with special reference to the interest of families, children and women in paid work. During the following years, the number of female ministers increased very slowly (Haavio-Mannila et.al., 1985: 180), and reached 15 percent in 1981. In 1985, their share was 24 percent, and when the present government was formed in 1994, 35 percent of the ministers were women (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Danmarks Statistik, Ligestillingsrådet, 1995). This number corresponds for the first time ever to female representation in the parliament.

Women have mainly occupied positions as ministers related to reproductive matters such as social affairs, education, culture and church (Refsgaard, 1990: 132ff.). A woman has never been appointed minister of foreign affairs or finance. Presently, a woman is minister of economy, and until recently another woman was minister of commerce.

Legislature:

The percentage of female members of parliament,[3] compared to the percentage of female candidates has been as stated in figure 1.

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3.   Women's share of the elected candidates is calculated on the basis of the 175 proper Danish seats in parliament in official statistics. Another option would be to compare with all the 179 seats in the parliament, since the four North Atlantic members are full participants in the daily work of Folketinget. There has never been any female representatives among these seats, so the average share of women tends to become lower when the latter method is applied. During the past seven elections, women's share of the parliamentary seats would have been one percent unit lower in six cases, based on such a calculation. Female representation in the current parliamentary body is for instance 33 percent and not 34, which is stated in the official equal opportunity statistics (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Danmarks Statistik, Ligestillingsrådet, 1995: 60; Ligestillingsrsådet, 1997: 128).

Female representation in the parliament has been on the increase in the post-war period. At the landslide election in 1973,[4] there was a marked decrease in female representation, but since then no decline has occurred. At the national elections in 1981 and the latest in 1994, there was no increase. This representation is the lowest among the Nordic countries (minus Iceland), but until Sweden and Finland joined the EU, it was the highest of the EU member states.

In the 17 national elections since 1953, the chances of getting elected has been lower for women than for men in 11 elections. In one election in 1988, there was no difference between men and women.

The number of women nominated has been on the rise almost during the whole period. The number of "black spots" with no option to vote for a woman has been highest in rural areas and lowest around the capital (Wamberg, 1990a: 52f).

The percentage of women candidates has not been higher in the socialist bloc than in the right wing bloc, and as shown in table 1, there are distinct differences between parties. The Social Democratic Party had a below average share of women until 1977.

Women tend to vote more preferentially for women than men. According to a survey, 32 percent of all women who voted preferentially at the 1984 national election voted for a women, whereas only 14 percent of men did (Wamberg, 1990a: 56). In the same election, 11 percent of the voters could not vote for a woman, because none were nominated in their constituency (Ligetillingsrådet, 1984). Left wing voters and social democratic voters vote preferentially for a woman more often than right wing voters, but among some of the leftist parties, women are disfavoured by the party lists unless they are top candidates. Preferential vote is more widespread in urban rather than rural areas (Wamberg, 1990a).

Folketinget has been characterised by a horizontal and vertical gender division of work in the sense that women are concentrated in areas related to reproduction, and there are fewer women the higher up one moves in the power structure. This tendency weakened in the 1980s. However, in the 1980s, the average seniority of women in top posts in committees and party elites was not higher than men's, so it is not accurate to conclude that women have to be overqualified to obtain the same posts as men (Refsgaard, 1990). The parliament has never had a female chair, but often a female deputy chair (there are four of them).

The parliament has 24 standing committees. Since 1970, the female representation here has been at the same level, and since 1981, slightly higher than the female representation in the parliament. The number of committees where women have been represented has been continuously increasing since the beginning of the 1970s, and today, all committees have female members. Female representation is low in political-economical committees and particularly high in committees related to internal matters of the parliament (Refsgaard, 1990:

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4. See Appendix.

112f.). In 1994, 36 percent of all members of the standing committees were women. During the last 15 years, women have mainly chaired committees related to church, culture, education and commerce. In 1994, women chaired seven of the 24 committees and held positions as deputy chairmen in seven committees (Christensen, Damkjær, 1997).

Refsgaard argues on the basis of a number of interviews with female politicians that their primary loyalty lies with their political party and the ideological differences are greater than what unite them as women. Networks among female politicians do exist and have resulted in cross-party initiatives on equal opportunities. Networks with social aspects among female politicians (1990: 138) and female ministers (Wamberg, 1990b: 153f.) have also existed.

Dahlerup suggests on the basis of interviews with one female president and 28 female politicians (of which four are Danish) in the five Nordic countries at all levels of the political system that there are more profiles than the three types of female politicians often mentioned: the feminist, the traditional woman related to care and social affairs, and the politician who deliberately avoids feminist issues (1985: 23). Several of the female politicians who have been interviewed in various contexts contend that it has been an advantage for their political career to be a woman (Wamberg, 1990a), but some also talk about the patriarchal political life (Møller, 1987) or about sexual harassment and discrimination (Dahlerup, 1985).

Gender differences in drop-out rates have not been explored in a scholarly way in Denmark, neither as a quantitative phenomenon, nor qualitatively.

1.1.2. Regional Level

Leadership:

In 1985, no county mayors were women. In 1993, there were 21 percent. The same years, the percentage of female deputy mayors increased from 15 to 37.

Council and/or Assembly:

The number of women in county councils has been as follows: 1981: 20 percent; 1985: 29 percent; 1989: 29 percent; and 1993: 31 percent. Thus it is a little lower than at the central level.

In the county elections from 1970 to 1981, the share of women elected was lower than their share of the elected candidates. In the three following elections it was at the level or higher than the share of nominated candidates (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Danmarks Statistik, Ligestillingsrådet, 1995: 62).

1.1.3. Local Level

Leadership:

In 1985, four of the municipal mayors were women, in 1993 it was 10 percent. The number of deputy mayors in same years was 17 and 17 percent.

Council and/or Assembly:

The representation of women in municipal councils has been steadily increasing (Wamberg, 1980; Bentzon, 1981: 110; Sinkkonen, 1985: 83), but female representation here is the lowest of the three levels of elected assemblies. In recent years, the representation has been as follows: 1981: 21 percent; 1985: 24 percent; 1989: 26 percent; and 1993: 28 percent.

In the seven elections since 1970, the share of women candidates has been lower than their share of elected in six elections (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Danmarks Statistik, Ligestillingsrådet, 1995: 62). Relatively more women have been elected around the capital than in rural areas (Bentzon, 1981; Adrian et al, 1990). The number of areas without women has diminished (Dahlerup, 1985: 20; Raaum, 1995b: 255).

Kjær concludes in an analysis of the impact of the electoral system in the election in 1993 that even though the voters seek to favour women through preferential voting, women are disfavoured both by the standing in parallel lists and in particular the party lists (1997, ch. 22).

Women's role in local and regional decision making is very poorly investigated. In a unique study, Ketscher analysed the role of female politicians in municipal and county commissions in 1977 (1979). She noted that the influence of women in local politics greatly depends on their share of the committees and concluded that women fared better in terms of influence in the counties than in the municipalities. They were particularly few in the powerful economic committees and more numerous in the social committees.

In 1992, politicians from three municipalities participated in a study. They registered their time schedules and answered a questionnaire. The results revealed a remarkable difference between the time use of men and women. The men slept more, relaxed more, and engaged in paid work much more than the women, who spent more time on family activities and preparations for the meetings in the municipal assembly. Only five out of 19 women had children living at home, and 13 out of 34 men. More male than female politicians believed that their opinions were of importance in their political work. The men appeared more at ease, while women often felt uneasy. The analysis of the drop-outs revealed no clear gender patterns (Foged, 1992).

In a study of the language of female and male politicians during four council meetings in 1992, Gomard concludes that gender is negotiated and practised in the interactions. Her observations and analyses of questionnaires indicate that men more often used performance and approached the subjects broadly, and they were more negative towards their fellow

politicians than women. Women were more polite, modest and considerate (1996). In an analysis of the televised, so-called cross-fire debates with the political parties in the 1988 national electoral campaign, she found that female politicians obtain less time to speak than the male politicians, are often interrupted, and are not encouraged to the same extent as men (1990).

1.1.4. State of research (1.1.-1.1.3.)

Statistical information on candidates, elected representatives and cabinets broken down on gender is systematically supplied and published,[5] for instance in the annual reports from the Council of Equal Status.

A number of scholarly articles, analysing the political representation of women at all levels or one of them, have been published at various times (see for instance Haavio-Mannila et al, 1985; Wamberg, 1990a; Raaum, 1995a; Christensen, Damkjær, 1997), but most data is from the 1970s and 1980s. Recent studies of the local and in particular the regional level are scarce.

Studies of the effect of women in cabinets are also rare. Biographies (for instance Frastein, 1986; Detlefsen, Lopes, 1997), or various interviews or accounts of former and present female ministers and politicians provide some evidence of their experiences as women in a male dominated political world (for instance Dahlerup, 1985; Henriksen et al, eds., 1987; Rée, Philip, 1990a; 1990b; Refsgaard, 1990; Wamberg, 1990b; Junge 1994; Hansen, 1994), but no attempt has been made to analyse in a scholarly way which impact the presence or absence of women has on policies.

1.1.5. Main questions explored (1.1.-1.1.3.)

Which factors determine the level of female representation?

No clear conclusions on the impact of the electoral system in female representation can be generated, because it is relatively complicated and differentiated. The parties apply different list systems, and they differ according to which level of the party organisation is decisive for the nominations. Hence, the net result of women's share of the candidates stems from a number of different events (Dahl, Dahlerup, Milthers, 1989; Wamberg, 1990a).

On the basis of studies of different elections, it has been revealed that the share of women elected does not automatically increase if more are nominated; it can even split the votes and work to their disadvantage. One of the decisive factors is where women are nominated geographically, and if there is a party list, which priority they have (Dahlerup, Milthers and Dahl, 1989; Wamberg, 1990a). One may distinguish between "valgpladserne",

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5. Information on gender has been published since the 1908 local elections and the 1918 national election.

"kamppladserne" and "pyntepladserne", according to the likelihood that the position on the list leads to election, but it is a myth that women more often than men are relegated to "pyntepladserne" which are not likely to involve election (Dahlerup, 1988b: 33).The high re-election turnout implies that it is crucial for women to get nominated for the vacant spots when previous candidates withdraw or are not renominated (Dahl, Dahlerup, Milthers, 1989; Wamberg, 1990a). Other important factors are the number of preferential votes for women and the use of quotas in some periods (see below).

Some scholars argue that it no longer appears legitimate for the political parties not to have female candidates, and it is also acknowledged that women attract votes (Wamberg, 1990a).

At a more theoretical level, explanations in the 1970s related to the fact that women lagged behind men in terms of political representation, and factors such as women's fewer resources and structural barriers were suggested (Dahlerup, 1979b). Since the 1980s, scholars have been preoccupied with explaining why women's political representation did in fact increase. A number of scholars have pointed to the fundamental changes in the situation of Danish women since the 1960s as an important factor, highlighting women's large scale entry into the labour force, the higher level of education among women and decreasing fertility. Also the political mobilization of women, among other things reflected in the breakthrough of the new women's movement, has been considered of great impact (Skard, Haavio-Mannila, 1985b; Dahlerup, 1985; Wamberg, 1990a; Siim, 1991; 1993; Togeby, 1994; Christensen, Damkjær, 1997). Dahlerup argues that one of the achievements of this movement was that it succeeded in articulating the interest of women as a group (1997). Christensen and Damkjær also note that egalitarian ideals are embedded in the political culture as well as a high degree of openness to new demands, and this has consequences for gender, too. In this way the integration of gender in politics is explained by a combination of pressure from below and a positive political opportunity structure towards new groups and demands from above (1997).

The question remains why political representation of women in Denmark, which in many ways resembles the other Nordic countries, has been the lowest among these countries for some time (except for Iceland), and why the level of female representation has stabilised during the 1990s. One explanation might be the fact that the political parties in Denmark have no women's organisations within the political parties, and moreover none of them apply gender quotas (see below). Women's political activities also seem to be channelled through other arenas than the political parties, as observed by Togeby (1984; 1989; 1994). The fact that Denmark was the only Nordic EC member from 1972-1994 may also have caused relative optimism and passivity, since Denmark had the highest political representation of women in the Community in this period. Previously, the other Nordic countries were frequently applied as the frame of comparison, but increasingly comparisons and statistics have been related to the EC/EU member states.

Is the political system characterised by an iron law of power?

Among Nordic scholars, it has been argued that an iron law applies to politics in the sense that the higher one gets in hierarchies, the fewer women one finds, or where power is located, women are absent and vice versa. This phenomenon is also termed the law of decreasing proportion. Dahlerup and Haavio-Mannila conclude, on the basis of a major study of women in Nordic politics, that this phenomenon is not absolute or invariable and that there are exceptions (1985: 165). As indicated above, Refsgaard finds that this phenomenon has diminished in Folketinget, but there is a clear horizontal division of work, because women relate more to reproductive issues in a broad sense like social affairs, culture, education and church (1990). There is, however, some disagreement as to how this should be interpreted. Some scholars argue that this reflects women's relative powerlessness (Skard, Haavio-Mannila, 1985b). Others argue that the reproductive areas do indeed account for the bulk of public expenditures. Therefore this area is by no means non-influential. Women probably choose this area out of genuine interest (Dahlerup, 1988b: 170f). One may also conclude that women have been placed in ministries of strategic importance to them (Skjeie, 1992: 27ff.).

Is the theory of shrinking institutions valid?

The theory of shrinking institutions, which implies that women have gained influence in institutions of declining importance, has been advocated by Norwegian scholars in particular, for example, Holter (1981; 1996). Hernes and Hänninen-Salmelin (and many others) argue that there has been a shift from the parliamentary channel to the corporate, and that women have lost power during this process (1985; Hernes, 1987). This hypothesis has also been widely discussed in Denmark. The theory of shrinking institutions has been challenged by Karvonen and Selle (and others), who propose a time-lag hypothesis instead (1995a). This implies a shift from a more pessimistic to an optimistic view on gender equality, and a belief that the increasing female representation is largely an irreversible phenomenon (1995b: 7). Meanwhile, it is hardly a gain to replace one kind of automaticity with another (Borchorst, 1996a).

It is, however, also thought-provoking that comparatively, the shift in political power and decision making towards the EU also implies much less influence for Nordic women, measured by the differences in the level of women's representation in decision making institutions at the national and supra-national level.

Do women in politics constitute a critical mass?

In a predominantly theoretical article, Dahlerup discusses the significance of the relative size of a minority in the case of politics (1988a). The conclusion is borrowed from nuclear physics, and Kanter has applied it to women in corporations (1977). Dahlerup asks whether it causes

changes in the political system when women move from being a small to a large minority of about 30 percent, and suggests a number of different effects:

the stereotyping of women diminishes without being totally removed.

new role models of women in public life are created.

the social conventions are somewhat changed, even if the main feature of the political culture remains untouched.

the open resistance against women politicians is removed - now it seems hopeless to bring women back to the house.

She concludes that it is difficult to isolate the effects, and suggests looking for critical acts, like for instance when women politicians recruit other women, quotas for women or enactment of new legislation and new institutions (1988a: 296f.).

The hypothesis of possible changes when women move from being a small to a large minority in politics has not been thoroughly tested empirically.

Which barriers against women in politics can be identified?

Dahlerup summarises the barriers minorities face, like tokenism, high degree of visibility, stereotyping, role conflicts, exclusion from networks and lack of allies (1985: 256; 1988: 279).

Refsgaard concludes that today there is room for more different types of women in politics. Open resistance towards female politicians and open ridicule are rare, but interviews indicate that some women find that discrimination has become more indirect and unconscious (1990). Larsen points to examples where women in a municipal assembly complained in the press about open harassment (1990: 20). According to Dahlerup, female politicians respond in four different ways, when they are asked about possible discrimination (1985: 14)

They deny it exists.

They confirm that it exists, but give no account of personal experience with it.

They deny it exists, but later in the interview give examples of it.

They confirm it.

Some scholars find that the media often operates with stereotypes of women (Dahlerup, 1985; Larsen, 1990), and that they provide an opportunity structure which is less benevolent for women than for men (Gomard, 1990). However, systematic scholarly studies in this area are few.

1.1.6. Main methods used

A lot of the studies mentioned above contain analyses of the available statistical data. In addition, a number of questionnaire surveys have been carried through, and finally numerous

interviews have been collected. Only a few large in-depth studies of Danish politicians have been made and analysed so far.

1.2. Political Parties

1.2.1. Party Leadership

Of the nine political parties currently represented in Parliament, three are headed by women.

Women's position in the party elites has been improving (Dahlerup, 1979b), but there is evidence that the role of women in party leadership is more modest in Denmark than in Norway and Sweden (Skard, Haavio-Mannila, 1985a; Sundberg, 1995). Apart from one study which dates back to the 1970s, information on women's role in party leadership is restricted and outdated (Dahlerup, 1979b).

Gender quotas have rarely been applied internally in parties, but there are some examples. The Socialist People's Party was the first to introduce internal quotas in 1977, the Social Democratic Party was the next in 1983, followed by the Left Socialists which enacted quotas in 1985 (Dahlerup, 1985: 84ff; Wamberg, 1990a: 69ff). The use of quotas is, however, very controversial at any level in Denmark, and by 1996 all quotas in the Socialist People's Party and the Social Democratic Party were abandoned (the Left Socialists no longer exist as an independent party).

1.2.2. Candidates

There is systematic information on the percentage of female candidates, which can be compared to the percentage of those elected in each political party (see figure 1 for national elections).

Quota systems in nomination of candidates have been applied by the same three parties that had them for internal leadership. Presently, no political party in Denmark applies a gender quota system for nominations in national elections. The Socialist People's Party has only applied quotas in elections for the European Parliament. The first time was in 1983, when a man was favoured. The Social Democratic Party applied quotas for the first time in 1989 in municipal elections and has never had them in nominations for national elections. The remaining quotas were abandoned in 1996.

1.2.3. Activists

No information.

1.2.4. Members

Except for the Social Democratic Party from 1915-1969 (Dahlerup, 1979b: 122), political parties do not publish information on the gender composition of party members. Meanwhile,

some general information from survey data is available (as indicated in table 2). It shows that along with the decline in membership, gender differences have diminished.

Unlike parties in most of the other Nordic countries, only one Danish political party, the Conservative Party, has a separate a women's section today. The development of women's sections has been summarised by Dahlerup in four stages (1978):

Slow growth in the number of women's sections in the inter-war period. The main objective was recruitment of women as members.

Period of growth during and after the Second World War. The main objective was the increase in the political representation of women.

Crisis during the 1960s. The sections were dismantled.

After the breakthrough of the new feminist movement, examples of more informal women's groups and networks in the left wing parties and the Social Democratic Party. The main objective has been to work in the interest of women.

There are no recent investigations of women's activities in the political parties.

1.2.5. State of research

Scientific studies on political parties from a gendered point of view are very scarce. Basically, only figures for a few years are available. At the local and regional levels there is hardly any data.

1.3. The Corporate Channel

Statistical investigations of women's representation in government committees reveal that the corporate channel has been the most male dominated part of the political system (Hernes, Hänninen-Salmelin, 1985; Hernes, 1987).

In 1981, women were 10.4% of members of public committees, and they held 5% of committee chairs (Ligestillingsrådet, 1992). After 1985, when the Committees Act was enacted, the representation of women increased more visibly. The total share of *women in committees* increased from 16 percent in 1985 to 27 percent in 1996 (Ligestillingsrådet, 1997). In *boards covered by the Board Act* from 1990, women's share of the members increased from 24 percent in 1990 to 29 percent in 1994. Of the nominating agencies, the social partners and other organisations contribute with the lowest share of women. Of the committees established in 1995, only 21.4 of the representatives of the organisations were women, whereas 66.7 percent. of the representatives of the municipalities and 33.6 of the state representatives were women (Ligestillingsrådet, 1996).

Hernes and Hänninen-Salminen support a conclusion that the corporate channel is the least participant democratic, the most hierarchical, oligarchical and elitist of all the avenues of influence to decision making bodies (1985: 110), and moreover they note that it has little

constitutional foundation. They also argue that the under-representation of women in national committees is a structural phenomenon which reflects the weaker position and lack of elite status of women in economic life and in the public administration (1985).

1.4. Judiciary

Information on women at different levels of the judiciary is not systematically available. According to a report on the judiciary system, women made up 18 percent of the judges in the High Courts and 13 percent in the Supreme Court in 1993 (Justitsministeriet, 1996). In January 1997, 25 percent of all judges were women (Information from the Ministry of Justice).

In a recent news paper article it is asserted that the court system has acquired more female values during this process and that this has resulted in milder verdicts. It is noted that the politicians have intervened to make the judges punish harder in cases of crude violence and of drunk driving. A professor in sociology of law maintains that the judiciary has become less pompous and authoritarian and more down-to-earth and obliging. It is also argued that men prefer jobs in law firms, among other reasons because the salary is higher. Conversely, women are not attracted to the competitive atmosphere in the law firms (Jyllandsposten, 4. maj 1997). So far, these conclusions have not been tested empirically, and it is questionable whether it is precise to talk about a gender shift and female dominance when women make up 25 percent or less of the judges.

1.5. Public Administration (Senior Grades)

1.5.1. Main findings

Women still make up less than ten percent of the top managers in the central administration, but their share has been increasing since the early 1980s (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Ligestillingsrådet, Danmarks Statistik, 1995: 120). Top leaders in the municipalities (which include more than administration) increased from one percent in 1983 to six percent in 1993 (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Danmarks Statistik, Ligestillingsrådet, 1995: 68). Tables illustrating women's and men's position in the local and regional hierarchy reveal a clear pyramidal structure for women and an inverted structure for men (Pyndt, 1988: 7, Ligestillingsrådet, 1997: 122f). The share of women in top management tends to be higher in small municipalities than in the large ones (Schmidt, 1988). There is a modest trend toward a higher share of women in top positions (Grostøl, Pedersen, 1997).

From a cross-national point of view, it appears that Danish women lag behind women in many other countries in terms of their share of management positions. Relatively few women are self-employed, but their share of all self-employed has increased from 16 percent

in 1984 to 24 percent in 1994 (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Danmarks Statistik, Ligestillingsrådet, 1995: 41).

A survey focusing on top management at the local level demonstrated that female leaders tend to emphasise dialogue and interplay with politicians, colleagues and employees, whereas men above all stressed the counselling of politicians. Male and female top managers also appear to give priority to different subjects in management (Carlsen, 1995).

On the basis of an investigation in 1979, Torben Jensen concluded that in the central administration, women are promoted less and later than men (1981). Hanne Nexø Jensen questions the conclusion of Lægreid (1995) that a feminization of the public administration has occurred in the Nordic countries (1997a). She shows that it has taken 30 years, namely from 1965 to 1994, for women academics in the central administration to triple their share. During the same period, women's share as leaders in the central administration has risen from seven to 20 percent. Compared to other Nordic countries, this is more modest than in Finland and even more so than in Norway. More women have entered more areas, but men outnumber women the most in the largest ministries, i.e., Finance, Foreign Affairs and Economy. In the Ministry of Church and Energy, there are no female leaders, and in the Ministries of Finance, Fishing and Foreign Affairs, there are only 11 percent. Interestingly enough, women make up a much higher proportion of leaders in the two latter ministries in Norway (Lægreid, 1995: 234). This indicates that the areas as such are not necessarily connected to gender values, and gender cultures can be subject to changes.

Studies of the organisational structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicate that it is highly bureaucratic, old fashioned and competitive. Many jobs involve stationing in foreign countries which is difficult to reconcile with having families. The work culture in other areas also favours men without family responsibilities (Billing, Alveson, 1989a; Holt, 1995).

Today no women occupy the position as top administrative leader of a ministry in Denmark.

1.5.2. State of Research

Public administration has been the object of several scholarly studies, mainly at the central level. There are few scientific studies of women in management in local and regional administration.

1.5.3. Main questions asked

Apart from the question of how the female share of employees and leaders in public administration has developed, the main question discussed is, why the development is as it is. Torben Jensen summarises possible explanations as: discrimination, lack of interest on the part of the women, the tasks employees acquire when they are hired, and the problems for

women with combining family and work (1981). Hanne Nexø Jensen argues that the increasing number of women graduates within the relevant areas partly explains the increasing number of women in central administration. She precluded hypotheses that balance between "soft" and "hard" areas or the size of the growth within areas can explain variations in the number of female employees and leaders. She hypothesises, but does not test, that the share of economists and the possible alternative supply of jobs may explain gender differences (1997a).

A handful of organisational studies of specific areas conclude that the organisational culture of public (and private) units facilitates or impedes career opportunities of women (Højgaard, 1990; 1991a; Billing, Alveson, 1989a). In two qualitative studies of private and public organisations, Højgaard excludes systematic discrimination of women and the horizontal division of tasks as explanations for career differences between men and women. The same is true for additional training and criteria selection of promotions. The investigations conclude that male dominance in a broad sense reproduces itself and is embedded in the culture. Negotiations on the meaning of gender also tend to disfavour the promotion of women. One of the findings is that women reveal patterns of what is termed uneasiness. This implies that they do not wish to perceive themselves as women in their jobs, but are inclined towards gender neutral behavior (1990; 1991a; 1991b).

1.5.4. Methods used

Applied methods in this area range from analyses of available statistics to organisational studies and qualitative in depth interviews.

II. Economic Decision Making

2.1. The Social Partners

2.1.1. Employers' organisations

Statistics on women's position in the hierarchy of employers' organisations are not available, and these organisations have not been the object of scientific studies of decision making from a gendered point of view.

2.1.2. Professional Associations

Scholarly studies of the gender profile of associations are also few in number, but numerous pamphlets on the subject have been published during the years, for instance by women's groups within the associations. These publications typically provide statistics that illustrate the gender segregation within the associations, the position in the labour market and gender

differences in salaries. (See e.g. Nielsen, Rantorp, 1984, Overenskomstforeningen, 1987). These publications are not included in this overview.

2.1.3. Trade Unions

Today, the level of unionisation of women is at the same level as men (see figure 1). Figures on the number of men and women in various unions are available on an annual basis. Some of the major unions have from time to time charted the gender structure of their unions (LO, 1992a; 1992b; Specialarbejderforbundet i Danmark, 1993; HK, 1995), but apart from that, the knowledge is very limited.

Karvonen concludes that the unions in Scandinavian countries (in which he includes Norway, Finland, Sweden and Denmark) have undergone a dramatic feminization in terms of membership. He finds the level of women's representation in decision making bodies within the unions far less impressive (1995). Indeed, the case of the unions reflects that the time-lag hypothesis is inaccurate as a general conclusion, as asserted by Karvonen and Selle (1995a). The marked increase in the number of female union members has not resulted in any major improvement in their representation at higher levels of decision making within these organisations.

2.2.   Women in Management

At a general level, statistics (which must be applied with reservations) reveal that women make up less than ten percent of top leaders in the public as well as the private labour market, and that women fare much better in the public than in the private labour market. In all areas, modest increases can be traced in women's share of managerial positions (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Danmarks Statistik og Ligestillingsrådet, 1995: 64). The share of female entrepreneurs was 16 percent in 1980, and in 1994 it had increased to 24 percent (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Ligestillingsrådet, Danmarks Statistik, 1995: 41)

At the very top of private business, men are still totally dominant. Statistics on the share of women on the boards of directors of the 100 largest corporations in Denmark show that women in 1993 made up one percent of members of boards and 10 percent of the directors (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Ligestillingsrådet, Danmarks Statistik, 1995: 68f.).

The position of women in management has first of all been explored by scholars with a background in organisational sociology. Several studies include both the private and the public sector, and the findings on women's access to managerial positions mentioned in the sections on public administration to some degree apply to economic decision making as well.

In Carlsen and Toft's thesis, based on a questionnaire sent to women and men in managerial positions in the private and the public labour market in 1983, the social background of the women appeared to be better than for men. The women faced more choices

than men, for instance in terms of marriage, and more often than men they made a career at the expense of marriage and family life. Men in managerial positions in the private labour market had the most stable marriages, and they were frequently married to full-time housewives. Negative attitudes towards women in managerial positions were found more often in the private labour market than in the public. It was also observed that the more women in an organisation, the more positive attitudes towards women leaders. More female than male managers in the private sector found that they had not acquired the influence they expected from their position. It was concluded that private firms more frequently than public are managed by an "esprit de corps", built on masculine values. The respondents did not experience differences in female and male managerial style (1986).

Billing and Alveson, in a study of three different organisations at the private and public labour market, concluded that the situation of professional women differed vastly in the three organisations. In the welfare organisation of the central administration, the career opportunities of men and women were equal, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, women's chances of promotion were very modest, and the same applied for SAS (Scandinavian Airline Systems). The latter went through a radical restructuring during the 1980s, which brought about far reaching changes in traditional gender patterns (1989a).

We can add further information to Højgaard's conclusions, which were stated earlier. She found that the career and promotion opportunities of men and women emerge in a configuration of the structural framework of organisations, the work culture and the external understanding of gender. Men seemed much more at ease with the culture in the organisations examined, whereas women problematized the culture and their own role within it. Both men and women contributed to the reproduction of gender images in the culture (1990; 1991a; 1991b).

In a theoretical article, Rittenhofer argues that images of management are gendered, and prejudices and myths colour the perceptions of female managers. According to the cultural constructions of management, it is connected to values that are normally ascribed to men. Therefore women appear incompetent in terms of management. She reaches the rather pessimist conclusion that this is a persistent phenomenon over time and across countries, which implies that one cannot anticipate any changes in the near future in the share of female managers (1995).

The number of men and women who received a special benefit to start their own business in 1989 was almost the same (Høgelund et al., 1992: 50). A study of the effects of a project for female entrepreneurs in one county from 1978-89, revealed that the potential female entrepreneur is relatively well educated, married and/or cohabiting with children. This corresponds to results from other investigations. Less than one third of the women participating in the entrepreneurial classes started their own business, and they did it mainly as a small scale business with no or few employees. Their firms mainly related to retail trade and

manufacturing (Boolsen, Mærkedahl, 1990). Several other reports evaluate other projects and reach similar conclusions (e.g. Auring, 1985, Nielsen, 1987, Vestergaard, 1987).

In an investigation of the vertical sex segregation of banks from 1985, Humeniuk and Madsen conducted a questionnaire survey and undertook qualitative interviews. The report demonstrated that the promoting strategies for women and men were formally identical, but not informally, and men very early in their career attained tasks that turned out to be crucial for promotion later. The authors used the metaphor "glass ceiling", which originated in American research, to illustrate the barriers that women encounter. They concluded that women were handicapped by structural contradictions between work and family (1987; 1989).

Apart from these scientific studies, countless reports from conferences (e.g. Haslebo, 1986), collections of essays (e.g. Bistrup, Winge, 1984) or documentation from specific organisations deal with the question of women in management and how to enhance their opportunities. They are not included in this overview.

2.3. Women in the Professions
2.3.1. Members of the Danish Master of Science/Arts Trade Union

In 1984, a quantitative and qualitative investigation was conducted on the job and family situations of members of Dansk Magisterforening (the Danish Master of Science/Arts Trade Union). The members are mainly employed in universities, other institutions of higher education, training schools and upper secondary education. The quantitative study, which was based on a questionnaire, revealed gender differences in employment opportunities and concluded that it is a myth that education is the key to equality, which has been the general wisdom in Denmark for many years. 12 percent of the male members of the union held managing positions, compared to five percent of the female members. Women fared much worse than men with the same seniority, and they more often occupied irregular part time positions (Emerek, 1986). On the basis of the qualitative interviews and the quantitative data generated during the investigation, explanations such as parent background, patterns of education, current family type, and different attitudes of men and women towards family and career were rejected (Pedersen, 1986; Emerek, 1986).

2.3.2. Young Engineers

Kolmos, in co-operation with Ingeniørforeningen i Danmark (Danish Associations of Engineers) conducted a survey in 1993, which according to the author revealed surprisingly few gender differences. Women engineers occupied management positions in fewer numbers than men, and felt that they had less opportunities to make a career, but the differences were small. More pronounced differences were found in the share of housework and care

responsibilities that men and women had, and the much higher numbers of women than men who wished to be able to combine a family with their career (1996).

2.3.3. Doctors

A questionnaire from 1993, sent to all 1982 graduates in medicine in the Nordic countries, demonstrated that compared to female doctors, male doctors more frequently occupied management positions, worked more overtime, and more often had secondary employment. The men to a larger extent than the women engaged in research which serves as a point of departure for promotion. Female doctors lived alone more often than the male, and their partners were more often academics. They performed a larger share of housekeeping and child care. The women found that they were not as often expected to make a career and obtained less support to do so. The investigation points to three explanations for the gender differences in career patterns:

Women encounter barriers, and men are favoured in terms of career opportunities.

The female doctors do not wish to make a career to the same extent as the men, among other things because their family responsibilities are greater than their male colleagues'.

The male doctors exhibit a greater focus and effort towards career making than women, but gender differences were not found in relation to attitudes towards career and qualifications (Korreman, 1994)

2.3.4 Gynaecology

Sjørup analysed gynaecology as a profession through qualitative interviews and observations at a hospital with the same number of female and male gynaecologists. With reference to Foucault, she argued that the female gynaecologists underplayed and sought to neutralise their femininity because the scientific basis of their profession is considered objective and depersonalised. This is framed by the term "the medical gaze". The interviews demonstrated that the male doctors were much more family oriented than the female, and the essay concluded that a woman has to assume the male rationale to prove that she is professional, and the female rationale in order to prove that she is a women (1995).

2.3.5. Nursing

In an essay on nursing as a profession, Sjørup contends that the professional images of the nurses themselves and popular images are inconsistent. She contrasts images from an American television fiction series with scenes from a political action against sacking at a hospital in Copenhagen. She concludes that the gendered images of doctors and especially nurses are closely tied to the symbolic order of the genders. The rationality of care which is

supposed to be embedded in the profession of nurses is tied to female essentialism and to the sexualisation of the profession (1996).

2.4. Women in Decision Making in Educational Institutions

2.4.1. Universities

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the gender composition of scientific positions at the universities have increasingly been subject to debate. Three national reports published in 1992 showed that no progress had been made at the universities in terms of gender equity in scientific positions during the past decade (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1992; Borchorst et al., 1992; Ståhle, 1993). Women's share of full professors at the universities had remained at four percent, the share of associate professors increased from 16 to 17 percent, and among assistant professors it decreased from 24 to 22 percent (Borchorst, et al., 1992: 36). Recent analyses indicate that no major change can be traced yet. Women's share of full professors, associate professors and assistant professors were 6, 18 and 27 percent respectively (Jensen, 1997b). It can also be added that there are no female vice-chancellors in Denmark today.

In addition to counting numbers, Jensen approaches the question of gender and research from the point of formal organisation, legal framework and economy. She concludes that the formal rules do not discriminate against gender per se, and the same is true for the legal framework, but the way they are implemented may possibly lead to gender differentiation. Finally, she concludes that the economic resources are channelled to areas dominated by male scholars (1997b).

The major achievement of the reports from 1992-93 was to provide figures that reflected the gender profile of institutions of higher education and how they had changed during the last decade. The authors only to a limited extent engaged in scientific analysis of explanations. Meanwhile, some hypotheses have been generated: the persistent gender hierarchy has been characterised as homo-social reproduction, which implies that male dominated organisations tend to reproduce themselves without being openly oppressive or discriminating towards women. Other characteristic are the "Old Boy's Network", "the Buddy Club", or what is named the "Huey-Louie-and Dewey" effect. Hereby, it is signalled that male dominance is rooted in the tendency to hire employees that look like yourself. The analytical value of the terms is restricted and so far, organisational studies of scientific institutions have not been conducted, but some work is in progress (see below).

2.4.2. Gymnasier (Upper secondary Schools)

Upper secondary schools (gymnasier) also exhibit a horizontal gender division in subjects as well as unpaid supplementary tasks of the teachers, and a strong vertical segregation prevails,

too. Women's share of headmasters is low, but it has been increasing from four percent in 1980 to 11 percent in 1990 and 16 percent in 1993 (Damkjær, 1994). An explorative study of the reasons why women do not apply for positions as headmasters was conducted via questionnaire (with a relatively low share of respondents) and qualitative interviews with female headmasters. The study generated some hypothesises on why women do not often apply for jobs as headmasters, which included gender socialisation and gender images of management, work load and problems reconciling job and family.

2.5. State of Research

At a more general level, the studies of women in management have grown into quite a voluminous research field, but still only a restricted number of areas have been investigated empirically. The representation of women at the elite level of the economic organisations and their role in decision making are, however, very poorly depicted and constitute a serious research gap.

The gender composition in scientific positions at the universities also represents a major research gap, and many hypotheses generated in international research could be tested in order to explain why this part of the labour market, contrary to many others, exhibits such modest changes (Borchorst, 1995a).

2.6. Main Questions Explored

2.6.1. Why are women outnumbered by men in management?

The many different studies mentioned above reflect that it is by no means a simple question. Indeed, the strong gender hierarchy in management appears to be a complex, multifaceted and dynamic phenomenon. A short answer to the question would necessarily rest on oversimplifications. During some periods, there has been a tendency to locate explanations of gender differences in management either in the choices and qualifications of women, or in discrimination on the part of employers or male colleagues. This dualism seems to be utterly futile. Fortunately, the growing number of organisational studies to some extent moves beyond this stage by focusing on gender and management as a configuration of many different factors. The organisational approach has generated valuable insights in the way organisations are gendered. It has become obvious that organisations vary greatly with respect to the career opportunities they provide for women and men, but organisations themselves are very different, and they should also be considered as dynamic entities.

Billing and Alveson question the tendency of gender studies of management to simplify the ideas of gender and management, for instance by perceiving of women and men as homogeneous groups, or as very similar. In the first case, women are seen as better leaders.

In the second case, the gender differences are often explained by external factors (1989a; 1989b; Billing, 1991).

In recent years, the social constructivist approach to gender and management has become more widespread, and it contributes to a more multifaceted understanding on how and why gender hierarchies are negotiated and reproduced.

2.6.2. The impact of family on career opportunities

Billing finds that one of the most striking results in her investigation is that more than half of the female managers were single, whereas almost all men were married. This corresponds to international findings that family constitutes a resource for male managers, while it often represent an impediment for female managers. She distinguishes between three types of coping strategies of managers in terms of family and work orientation and applies the concepts "exit", "voice" and "loyalty" to characterise them. The exit strategy is applied to individuals who leave the family or the job, the voice strategy marks a quiet protest, and the loyalty involves loyalty towards the family or the organisation. The strategies are combined in various ways in the different organisations. Some women make a priority of children rather than a career, others express ambivalence in relation to managerial jobs. Finally some women have chosen not to have a family (1991).

Holt's study of work places and the flexibility towards family responsibilities is not focused on career opportunities, but it generates some interesting conclusions in this regard. The study, which used data from a questionnaire and qualitative interviews, compared different types of workplaces, such as a hospital and a police station. The main finding was that the space to adapt work life to the needs of practical care of parenthood is embedded in formal and informal structures at individual workplaces. She found that the space for adaptation was greater for men than for women, regardless of their numerical seize. Women, more than men, took advantage of the space available to manoeuvre, and when they co-operated they expanded the space for care. When men co-operated, they expanded the space for economical support, for instance by facilitating the engagement in extra jobs (1994).

2.7. Main Methods Used

The methods of the studies of economic decision making range from analysis of quantitative data, qualitative interviews to organisational studies and observations.

III.   Social Decision Making

3.1.   Voluntary Organisations and Charities

During the last decade, voluntary organisations have become the object of an increasing political interest, which has resulted in several empirical investigations of these organisations. The interest concentrates at the level of activism, and who engages in which kind of voluntary work. An example of this approach is a study by the Institute of Social Research which conducted a major survey in 1993, comparable to a previous one from 1987. Voluntary organisations were defined rather broadly as non-profit organisations. The survey revealed that gender differences in voluntary work had been levelled out since the 1987 study. Women's activities had increased, and they now participated at the same level as men. Likewise, their activities were similar to men's. The large majority of the voluntary workers worked for the benefit of children and young people. The activities primarily related to sports, leisure and culture (Anker, Nilsen, 1995).

There are very few scholarly studies of the role of women in decision making in voluntary organisations, but there are examples of case studies, such as a sports club (Borges, 1995).

3.2.   Churches and Religious Organisations

A quantitative and qualitative study of the position of female vicars in the National Church of Denmark from 1989 showed that the position of women was far from equal to men's in terms of positions. Women made up about a third of the vicars, but their share was increasing. The study mainly identified barriers against an increasing number of female vicars on the part of women. Structural barriers were also located in terms of discrimination and resistance in communities towards female vicars (Boolsen, 1990).

Some religious voluntary organisations operate in Denmark, particularly in the field of social work for the poor, the homeless and alcoholics, but they have not been studied from a gender approach.

3.3.   Social Movements

Women seem to be more actively engaged in grass root activities than in political parties (see table 1). Women's activity is at the same level, or a little higher than men's, especially among the younger generations. This has been documented in many different quantitative studies.

The role of women in the social movements is much less evident. An exception is Christensen's study of women's role in the peace movement, No to Nuclear Weapons (NNW) which she compared to the women's peace movement, Women for Peace (WP). The study was primarily based on qualitative interviews with activists.

The comparison between the two movements indicated significant differences in the organisational profile of the two organisations. WP had a more democratic, decentralised and segmented structure than the NNW, in which the central office was ascribed a central role. Christensen did, however, warn against equating decentralisation with democratic influence. Informal authorities and leaders were indeed more prominent in the WP than in NNW.

The women activists in the two movements differed significantly with regard to age and life cycle, and their mobilising efforts were closely tied to their different every day lives. The majority of the WP activists belonged to the parent generation (above 45 years), whereas the majority of the women in the NNW belonged to the adult generation (29-45 years). Most of the men in NNW belonged to the youth generation (17-28 years) (1991). Christensen identified three types of women engaged in the peace movement. One group that was inspired by ethical and moral values, mobilised on family orientation and motherhood. A second group with progressive technical expertise as a point of departure, aimed at influencing policy making. A third group, mobilised on the basis of radical feminist ideas, was connected to the new feminist movement (1989b; 1991). She also analysed how the three groups met and interacted in a women's peace camp inspired by the Greenham Common camp. The strategies of the women in the camp were conceptualised in terms of non-violence and civil disobedience (1989a).

3.4.   Women's Organisations

Women's organisations can be defined as organisations whose members and leaders are predominantly women, and feminist organisations as organisations which have been formed to oppose a patriarchal society. The borderlines between them are, however, somewhat blurred and historically changing. One can also distinguish between equal value, equal status and liberation as the basis of principal ideological differences. The housewives' associations are typical representatives of the first kind of ideology, the women's rights organisations of the second, and the new feminist liberation movement of the latter (Dahlerup, Gulli, 1985).

3.4.1. The women's rights organisations

The women's rights organisations work predominantly for political reforms by means of traditional pressure group tactics, which require a national organisation and a certain degree of professionalization (Dahlerup, 1986a: 9).

A substantial number of feminist scholarly studies have analysed the history of the women's rights organisations in Denmark in books, articles and theses. Also many aspects of the history of organisations have been dealt with in annivarsary publications, for example the 125th anniversary of the national organisation, Dansk Kvindesamfund (Kvinden og

Samfundet, 1996) and the 100 year anniversaries of local districts of the same organisation, like in Århus (Nielsen, Lous, 1986) and Aalborg (Algreen-Ussing, Ravn, 1988).

The role of the women's rights organisations in the establishment of a permanent agency for gender equality, The Equal Status Council, and adoption of policies of equal opportunities are also relatively well documented. A group of women organised in the women's rights organisations and in different political parties were quite influential in putting pressure on the political parties and the government (Borchorst, 1986; Dahlerup, 1990; Borchorst, 1995b; Borchorst, 1996b).

The women's rights organisations have not been the object of major studies during recent years.

3.4.2. The new feminist movement

In a major study of the rise and fall of the Redstockings, Dahlerup analyses a series of questions related to the emergence of the movement, its structure, its ideas and its impact. The study is inspired by the resource mobilisation school within the social movement research tradition and the new social constructionist approach (1997).

The movement was a radical and loosely organised movement which initially adopted a negative attitude towards the state, and it appeared more anarchical than the corresponding movements in the other Nordic countries (Dahlerup, Gulli, 1985).

Dahlerup divides the history of the Redstockings into three stages: The first from 1970 to about 1974 was a period of collective learning with direct actions. The second from 1974 to 1980, was characterised by multiplicity and creation of a feminist counterculture. In the third from 1980 to 1984 a specialisation took place, and the establishment of centres for battered women was the most important activity. Contrary to conclusions of social movement theories, she demonstrates that the Redstockings were mainly recruited by identification with new images of an independent women and not on the basis of personal contacts.

The question is raised, to which extent the movement created a flat non-hierarchical structure with no leaders, and it is concluded that there were many informal leaders. However, the consciousness-raising groups did occupy a central position in the movement, and the level of activity of the members was high.

The study is rather unique, in the sense that it documents what has happened to the former Redstockings through a questionnaire which was sent out in 1992 and returned by 1.296 former Redstockings. It turns out that only a minority of 16 percent still participate in feminist organisations or groups. In terms of feminist and left wing attitudes she divides the former Redstockings into three groups: firstly, the active feminists, who comprise 17 percent of her study; secondly, the passive feminists, who made up the bulk of the study at 74 percent; and thirdly, the drop-outs, who constituted only eight percent (1997).

3.4.3. The traditional women's organisations

Several historical studies of specific organisations have been conducted. The history of the organisations of housewives has been the object of a number of studies, and another example is a study of the cultural history of KFUK (YWCA) (Christensen, 1995). More recent studies of these organisations are scarce.

3.5. State of Research

There is a flowering feminist tradition, focusing on the feminist movement, but most studies are historical. Studies of the recent period are scarce. Gender sensitive analysis of other organisations and movements are few in number.

3.6. Main Questions Explored

3.6.1. What has been the impact of the feminist organisations?

It is of course difficult to measure the impact of organisations, and one has to be explicit about on what impact is traced. Gulli and Dahlerup concluded in 1985 that the women's organisations did not stand in a particularly strong position in relation to public authorities and they found that by and large they have not had a great influence on public policies (1985). It depends, however, on which policies are assessed. The women's rights organisations have undoubtedly had a great influence on policies of equal opportunities, but this area can be characterised as low politics, and in terms of the political system equal opportunities are located in a niche, separated from some of the vital policies for women, such as child care policies (Borchorst, 1995b).

In the case of the Redstockings, Dahlerup concludes that the movement changed the discursive opportunity structures of Danish politics and thereby contributed indirectly to the increase in women's representation. In terms of policies its role was mainly related to agenda setting and changing of the discourse. She formulates the interesting hypothesis that the movement gave new legitimacy to the more moderate feminism of the women's rights organisations. Hence, the strong, radical movement outside the institutions empowered the increasing number of women inside the formal political institutions (1997: 789).

3.6.2. Women's Interest?

Dahlerup asserts that one of the achievements of the new feminist movement was to articulate the idea of women as a politically relevant group (1997: 747). During the last decade there has been some discussion among feminist scholars in the US and Scandinavia on specific women's interests. The discussion has related to the question whether one can indeed determine women's interest beyond the "form aspect", i.e. to "be present" and be represented and also look at a "content aspect" in terms of specific policies. Borchorst found on the basis

of a study of conflicts within Dansk Kvindesamfund throughout its history that the form aspect or the objective of improving women's representation has united the organisation during its long history, whereas substantial issues, which are central to women, such as reproductive questions, have caused serious conflicts (1989).

3.6.3. Equality or difference as the strategy?

During the last decade, feminist scholarly studies have focused on how the feminist organisations have related to the contested issue of equality or difference in their strategies. Ravn analyses the means and ends of Dansk Kvindesamfund as expressed in their objects clauses. She found that the organisation moved through a cycle from highlighting essential sameness between the genders from 1871-1915, to underlining essential differences between 1915-1968, and then returning to the essential sameness today. A similar circle could be traced in the new feminist movement from the 1970s and onwards. Ravn agreed with the conclusion of the American historian, Joan Scott, who has suggested that feminists should insist on difference and claim gender equality. Ravn concluded that feminists should refuse to answer questions about essential sameness or difference by choosing between equality or difference (1989).

3.7. Main Methods Used

Applied methods in the analysis of social decision making have been historical analysis, questionnaires and qualitative interviews and some organisational studies.

IV. Policy Evaluation

4.1. Arrangements to Study, Audit and Monitor Policies to Increase the Presence of Women in Decision Making

There is no systematic evaluation of the representation of women in elected political bodies, apart from the statistics which are published after each election. The Equal Status Council published analysis of elections in 1979, 1981, 1984 and 1988 (Ligestillingsrådet 1980; 1982; 1984; 1987), but has not done it since this time.

The number of women in public committees and boards, covered by the two laws in this area, are systematically collected by the Prime Ministers Office, and they are published in the annual reports of the Equal Status Council.

In connection to the Government's Action Plans for gender equality, reports from the central public administration are evaluated. According to a decision in the parliament, every public institution with more than 50 employees shall make an action plan and set up goals for

gender equality. The results are evaluated every third year by the Equal Status Council (Andersen, Carlsen, 1991; Ligestillingsrådet, 1993; 1996) and submitted to the parliament. Notwithstanding the varying quality of the information from the ministries, these reports do give some impression of the gender composition at different level of public administration at the central level. Since 1995, the municipalities must also make action plans, and this may bring some more systematic information about the local and regional level in the coming years.

At the level of the EU, the network on women in decision-making has evaluated the role of women in decision making in several reports, where the situation in Denmark has also been subject to considerations (e.g., European Expert Network "Women in Decision-Making, 1995; 1996).

General statistics on women in management at the private and the public labour market, broken down on the national, regional and local level are published systematically at a very general level.

4.2. Assessment of the Scope of Laws and Policies on Equality Between Women and Men

It is quite difficult to measure the effects of policies on equality between women and men which cover a broad range of issues and are affected by factors other than policies. Therefore it can be difficult to isolate the effects of the legislation from other factors such as the market. For example, these problems arise when the effects of the equal pay and equal treatment acts are measured. It is, on the other hand, quite evident that the Equal Pay Act has not removed unequal pay, and likewise there are still pregnant women who get sacked, due to their pregnancy, even though the Equal treatment Act renders it illegal. The Committee's Act and the Board's Act are different cases, in the sense that their scope is much more restricted, and because their effect is easily measured. The two laws require that organisations or institutions which appoint members for these bodies, should suggest both men and women as representatives. The minister in charge decides the final appointments. The effects have been an increasing female representation, especially in the committees and boards which were formed after the laws were enacted. During later years, this development has, however, stopped.

As mentioned above, the access to perform affirmative action is very restricted in the Danish Equal Treatment Act, and the social partners have a veto to turn down requests for applying affirmative action. Relatively few requests are submitted to the Equal Status Council, and during the recent period, two requests to apply affirmative action for appointments in the university area have been turned down by the social partners.

It is a widely held view among feminist scholars that women's societal position was improved during the 1960s and 1970s due to the indirect effects of welfare state policies, like

for instance child care policies, and the extension and changes in education (Siim, 1991; Borchorst, 1994). However, these policies are formally outside the realm of gender equality which means that the remedies and tools for seeking gender equality are not applicable to them.

The general conclusion of scholarly studies of equal opportunity policies is that they constitute a low politics area in Danish politics, but they provide some remedies to prevent open gender discrimination (Eduards et.al., 19895; Dahlerup, 1990; Siim, 1991; Borchorst, 1986; 1995b). Studies of the implementation processes and effects of equal opportunity policies are however very few in number.

4.3. Assessment of the Machinery to Implement Laws and Policies of Equality Between Women and Men

The court system is crucial for the implementation of laws and policies of equality between men and women, since cases of violation are brought before the courts. There has been a tendency for the courts to sentence relatively low fines in cases of violation of these laws.

An implementation problem relates to the sometimes vague formulations in the laws of equality between women and men. An example of this is the Equal Status Act, according to which all public authorities must work for gender equality.

Within the different areas of policy, the implementation of equality depend greatly on the individual ministers in charge. Ministers who take the legislation seriously, have indeed contributed to an improvement in the representation of women. For example, this is true in the case of the representation of women in the corporate channel.

V.   Good Practice

5.1.   Research Strategies

Overcoming dualisms is a research strategy which should be highlighted. The unfortunate tendency in economic decision making to stress either the role of the women or of the employers and male colleagues is very unfruitful. To some extent the organisational and cultural approach has moved the studies some steps forward by stressing the interaction of many different factors.

In political decision making, the problem has been the tendency of stressing either very pessimistic or optimistic explanations and visions for the future, like the theory of shrinking institutions or the time-lag hypothesis. This tendency has not been especially prevalent in Danish research, but some elements of this can be traced in the discussions.

Finally, it is important to be aware of differences between women and between men, according to variables including age, class, race and ethnicity. When the role of women in

decision making is studied, it is important to decide whether an increase in the level of women's representation benefits all women, or whether it enhances differentiation between women.

5.2. Political Strategies

Suggestions of strategies for improving the political representation of women and for increasing the number of women in management are countless and cannot possibly be summarised in a sensible way for the whole area. Meanwhile, one important point is that political strategies are qualified by thorough scholarly studies of women's roles in decision making.

VI. Priorities

6.1. What are the Main Gaps in Research on Women in Decision Making?

Of the three areas of decision making covered by this study, the political is by far the most investigated and the economic the least.

6.1.1. Political decision making

This area has been subject to a number of studies, but a lot of the studies and their findings date back to the 1970s and 80s, and a lot of the analyses need to be updated. Studies of women's actual role in decision making are few.

The political parties constitute a major research gap in terms of members, activists and especially party leadership, and no studies have concluded on the effects of quota systems.

In the Danish case, *the impact of the increasing political representation of women on policies*, nationally and locally, remains to be explored.

It is widely accepted that, during the last 10 years, Denmark has witnessed *a shift in the locus of power and policy making*, on the one hand from the national to the supranational level of decision making in the form of EU and, on the other hand, from the national to the regional and local level. The implication for women of this shift has not been explored. Quantitatively, women have attained the highest representation at the national level, and this could lead to a hypothesis that the process will imply a relative loss of power. However, this has not been thoroughly explored.

The civil servants and the role of bureaucracy constitute another area which is poorly covered from the point of view of gender. Systematic statistics are available, and the question of how many is relatively well documented. The position of bureaucracy at the supranational,

regional and local levels, and between the corporate and numeric channel is very poorly illuminated. It has often been argued that the elected politicians have lost influence over the years. If this is valid, an important agenda for research would be what the implications are for women's role in decision making.

The role of the media in politics is also poorly covered. It is widely acknowledged that it is crucial. The focus on specific cases, scandals and individuals in policy making can largely be ascribed to the rationale of making good news and headlines. The question remains which implication this has for gender differences and how female and male politicians are portrayed in the media.

Women's position in *the corporate channel* in different policy areas is also an area in need of research.

6.1.2. Economic decision making

The power structure of the *unions and the employers' organisations* constitute one of the major black spots in the economic decision making. An interesting question is how the organisational restructuring of the unions during the last decade has affected women and their conditions of negotiating women's interests, bearing in mind that Denmark is one of the few countries in the world that has a large union solely for women.

The trend towards decentralisation of wage negotiations which has been witnessed during the last decade, should also be investigated from a gender point of view.

Gender and management in *private business* has been the object of a number of analyses, but there is still a lot to be done in terms of concrete empirical studies, and women's role at the very top of organisations, and *gender and economic power* constitutes a major gap. An interesting question is, why there are relatively few Danish women at the top of private business, compared to many other countries.

6.1.3. Social decision making

In social decision making voluntary organisation and social movements have only to a limited extent been analysed from a gendered point of view. A substantial number of studies have been conducted on the feminist organisations, but studies of the women's rights organisations have mainly been historical, leaving a gap in terms of the recent period.

6.1.4. The impact of women's representation on policies

The question of which difference women make in decision making is intriguing and important to explore in a scholarly way. One of the crucial issues is the relation between the welfare state policies adopted in the 1960s (and previously) and the gender neutral policies and agencies launched in the 1970s. Who were the political actors and why were policies on

gender equality separated from the policies that was decisive for the fundamental changes in women's situation?

6.1.5. The discourses related to women's role in decision making

What has been the substance of the discourses on women's role in decision making, who has influenced them, and how do they relate to different groups of women (ages, classes, races, ethnicity)? Why is affirmative action such a contested issue in Denmark when it comes to women, but appears much more legitimate when it comes to implying more men in child care institutions and primary schooling? How do discourses on gender balances emerge into a question of feminization and dominance of women, when areas with less than 50 percent women are in focus? (See for instance above under judiciary).

6.1.6. Theories

At the level of theories, it goes without saying that comparative work is extremely important. Many important results have been achieved on the basis of Nordic and international co-operation. Generating theories requires testing hypotheses in more than one country, and it is quite obvious that comparative studies, however demanding they can be, are of great value.

6.2. What are the Prospects for Filling the Gaps in Research on Women in Decision Making?

At least five major research projects are in progress at the moment.

Comparative Leadership (international project with a Danish case study) focuses on the career path of women in politics, among civil servants and in private business. A questionnaire was sent out and collected in 1995, and qualitative interviews are currently being conducted.

Parliamentarians and Parliaments (a Nordic study) has a section on gender. A questionnaire was collected in 1995.

Halva Makten (half the power), which is a follow-up book to "Unfinished Democracy", focuses on women's political representation and mobilisation and the institutionalisation of equal opportunities.

Barriers in Research, a Danish research program which includes four projects initiated in 1997. Analysis of various aspects of the gender profile in research.

Gender Empowerment and Politics, GEP, Danish research project, launched in 1997. Focuses on a) Citizenship and Democracy, c) The Welfare State, and c) State Feminism and Gender Equality.

Together, these project will fill some of the gaps mentioned above, but needless to say, they can only fill some of them.

VII. Funding

7.1. Main funding agencies of research on women in decision making

The main funders of research on women in decision making are:

the Danish Social Sciences Research Council

the Nordic Council of Ministers

The Danish Equal Status Council

Appendix

VIII.   General Information

8.1.   The Danish Political System

8.1.1. General

According to the Danish constitution, Denmark is a hereditary monarchy. Prior to 1953 there was only male succession. The Act of Succession from 1953 enacted female right of succession as well, but a son still takes precedence over a daughter.

The political system is based on representative democracy and parliamentarism in the negative form. A government can remain in power, unless the parliament passes a vote of no confidence in the Prime Minister.

Since 1953, the parliament has only one chamber, entitled Folketinget. It has 179 members of which 175 are elected in Denmark and two each from the Faeroe Islands and Greenland.

Men got the vote in 1849 at the same time as the first written constitution. Women (and servants of both sexes) obtained the vote in local elections in 1908 and in national elections in 1915.

The Prime Minister may call a national election at any time, but elections must be held every four years. There have been 11 elections since 1971. Local and regional elections are held together every four years.

8.1.2. Central Government

Since the beginning of this century no single party has had majority. All governments since 1973 have been minority coalitions, with one exception in 1993-94. Since 1953, when the constitution was amended, there have been 19 governments.

The Social Democratic Party has headed several governments in the post-war period. In 1982, a right wing coalition took over and remained in power till 1993, with various parties participating. Since 1993, social democratic-led governments have been in power .

During the past 15 years, the number of ministers has been around 20. There are presently 19 ministers.

8.1.3. Local and Regional Government and Administration

Denmark has 275 municipalities and 14 counties. Mayors and elected councils govern at each level. Health is the most substantial task of the counties. The municipalities are responsible

for much of the service and care provided to citizens (social welfare, child care, elder care), and they are also in charge of primary schooling, and they collect taxes of their own.

8.1.4. Electoral System in National Elections[6]

The electoral system is based on proportional representation. Of the 175 proper Danish seats, seventy five percent are constituency seats which are distributed among 17 multi-member constituencies. The remaining 40 seats are compensatory seats which are distributed among three electoral regions. Each constituency contains a number of districts.

The nomination system is basically a list system with provisions for effective preferential or personal voting within the party lists.

There are two forms of list organisation:

Standing by district: The parties decide the rank order of candidates in advance. They can choose between several ordering systems. One option is to place a candidate at the top of the party list in the nomination district. This person receives all the votes for the party in the district plus the preferential votes for her/himself. Another option is that parties indicate that they want to present the candidates in a fixed order, this is called party list.

The candidates stand in parallel: All the party's candidates in the multi-member constituency stand in each nomination district. Votes for the party as such are distributed among the party's candidates in exact proportion to the number of preferential votes they get.

The standing in parallel system has become more prevalent and is also the most widespread. The left wing parties in particular have applied party lists.

Each voter can cast one vote, either for a party or a candidate among all the party's candidates on the ballot in the multi-member constituency. The effect of preferential voting is increased, when parties apply the standing in parallel nomination system.

The electoral system has three different thresholds of which the most important is that parties must acquire two percent of the votes.

Voting age is 18 (since 1979). Voting turnout is usually 80-85 percent, and men's turnout is a little higher than women's, but gender differences have been diminishing (Andersen et al, 1993: 49 f.).

8.1.5. Party System

The political parties are not mentioned in the constitution, but they play a crucial role in the political system. Their functions can be summarised as follows (Svensson, 1997):

They organise the elections

They organise the work in the parliament

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6.   This section is mainly based on Elklit, Pade, 1996.

They organise the formation of government

The classical party system that dominated Denmark from the late 19th century until the beginning of the 1970s consisted of four parties: The Liberal Party (agrarian), the Conservative Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Radical Liberal Party. These parties were closely tied to the main economic classes: peasants, business in the cities, workers, and small farmers. A number of other small parties have been represented in the parliament at various times, but none of them as persistently as the four old parties. After the so-called landslide election in 1973, the number of parties in Folketinget increased by five, two of which had been in the parliament before. The landslide effect is reflected by the percentage of seats the four old parties occupied before and after this election. After the election in 1971, it was 84 percent, and after the election in 1973, it was 58 percent. Many scholars agree that the political parties in Denmark are in the process of changing from mass and class parties to media parties.

The number of political party members in Denmark has been declining like in many other countries, but the decline seems steeper than in the neighbouring countries (Bille, 1995). Party membership has been decreasing during the entire post-war period. In 1947, 26.6 percent of all voters were members of political parties, in 1971 this was only true of 13 percent of the voters. In 1981 the number was 8 percent, and in 1994 it was 6.7 percent (Elklit, 1991; 1996). The Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party have suffered the greatest losses. There are particularly few members of parties among the young generations (Andersen et al, 1993: 169).

Elklit (1991) argues that the decline in party membership can be attributed to, on the one hand, structural factors like the loosening ties between classes and political parties, and on the other hand, it may have been caused by rational calculations on the basis of cost-benefit calculations by the voters and by some of the political parties.

Togeby argues that the total decline in party membership can be explained by three factors:

The radical decline in people working in agriculture.

The weakening of the organization of the workers.

The political mobilization of the new middle class, the well-educated and women was channeled through grass-root organisation activities and did not benefit the political parties.

She emphasises that the decline in the number of party members does not signify a decrease in political participation, and she notes that the opportunity to revitalise the political parties was presented in the 1970s by the political mobilization of the new middle class and of women. However, the parties failed to take advantage of that opportunity (1992: 18).

8.1.6. Political Participation

The gender gap in political participation has diminished after the large scale entry of women into the labour force, and the political mobilization of women (Togeby; 1989; 1994; Andersen et al, 1993). However, women's political activities are different from men's, as indicated in table 2. Women's level of participation in trade union meetings is only slightly lower than men's, and their grass-root participation is higher. Hence, their activities are more connected to the mass than to the elite level.

Women have voted to the left of men since the election in 1981, and men have not voted to the left of women since 1971. The gender gap is, however, modest, and it is most marked among well-educated groups (Siim, 1994: 64). Since the gender gap in party choice among the younger generations is larger than among the older, there are indications that the gap will widen (Oskarson, 1995).

The gender gap in political attitudes is wider than in voting behavior, for instance in the sense that women are more in favour of the welfare state (Togeby, 1989; 1994; Siim, 1994), and this is particularly clear among the younger generations (Christensen, 1994).

8.1.7. The Corporate Channel

The political system has, especially since the 1960s, involved the organisations of labour and capital in many areas of political decision making, and their influence has been formalised in the corporate channel where the state, organised interests and various forms of expertise intersect. This corporate channel consists of government committees, arrangement for public hearings, negotiations and various other informal forms of contact between public and private institutions and organisations. It has been alleged that corporatism has been on the decline, but there is evidence that the role of interest groups in political and administrative decision making increased. On the basis of survey studies, it has been observed that the number of contacts between organisations and public authorities has increased during the last decade (Christiansen, Sidenius, 1995).

There is no tradition for formalised lobbies that seek to influence policy making in Denmark.

8.1.8. Public Administration

At the central level each minister is politically and legally responsible for his or her area of the state administration. Public administration in Denmark has no party-politically appointed civil servants.

8.2. The Labour Market and the Commercial Structure

The activity rates of women have increased from 65 percent in 1980 to 71 percent in 1994 (for the age group 15-69). In 1994 there was only a 9 percent difference between the activity rates of women and men. 19 percent of all women in the labour force worked part time in 1995, compared to eight percent of men (Ligestillingsrådet, 1997).

Denmark has had a high unemployment rate since 1974, but it has been on the decrease since 1993. In most years, the unemployment rate has been higher for women than for men. In 1996, female unemployment was 9.9 percent and male unemployment 7.8 percent.

Denmark has a large public sector, and the private sector of the economy is dominated by small and medium-size firms. In 1993, 64.2 percent of all public employees were women. Among the women in the public sector, 64.9 percent were employed by the municipalities (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Danmarks Statistik, Ligestillingsrådet, 1995: 44f.).

The labour market is highly gender segregated. One aspect is the public-private division, and additionally, further down in the occupational structure the horizontal division is very outspoken. Vertically, women are much more concentrated on positions in the lower part of the hierarchy, whereas men are more evenly distributed at different levels (Dahlerup, 1989). Women's hierarchical position became relatively worse during their period of large scale entry into the labour force in the 1960s and early 1970s (Borchorst, 1984). However, the share of women in top positions seems to be slowly increasing (Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen, Danmarks Statistik, Ligestillingsrådet, 1995; Ligestillingsrådet, 1997).

8.3. Unions and Employers´ Organisations

Since 1899, with the historic September agreement, employer organisations and unions have co-operated. The agreement affirmed the right of employers to manage and discharge employees, but recognised the trade union movement and gave the two organisations the right to conclude collective agreements that were binding for all members. Today collective agreements are prevalent on most of the labour market. A formal system of conflict regulation between the parties has been institutionalised, for instance through the Industrial Court. The Government Conciliator also intermediates in conflicts. The workers have a relatively high degree of unionisation. Since 1901, Denmark has had a special union for unskilled female workers, Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund (The General Union of Women Workers).

8.4. Feminist Organisations

The major women's organisations that exist today were formed in the late 19th century. Dansk Kvindesamfund (Danish Women's Society) was established in 1871, and Danske Kvinders Nationalråd (the National Council of Women in Denmark) in 1899. The latter is an umbrella organisation which comprises a large number of women's organisations, political parties and

unions. The new feminist movement, the Redstockings, emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was more leftist and anarchic than the old women's organisations.

8.5 Policies of Equal Opportunities

8.5.1 Legislation

There is one national agency for equal opportunities between the genders, the Danish Equal Status Council. It was formed in 1975, has 9 members, and the chair is appointed by the government. Three members represent the social partners (the employer organisation, and two different unions). Four members represent the women's organisations and one is a women's researcher, chosen by the rest of the council.

Five laws on equal opportunities are in operation:

The Equal Pay Act, passed in 1976

The Equal Treatment Act, passed in 1978

The Equal Status Act, passed in 1988

The Committees Act, passed in 1985

The Boards Act, passed in 1990

(The last two laws relate to the representation of women in public council committees and boards)

8.5.2 Government Action Plans and Plans for Municipalities.

According to decisions in the parliament, all public authorities with more than 50 employees must make action plans for equality. These plans are evaluated every three years by the Council of Equal Status and discussed in the parliament. Until now, the Council of Equal Status has evaluated action plans from the following periods: I. 1987-1990 (Andersen, Carlsen, 1991), II. 1991-1993 (Ligestillingsrådet, 1993), and III. 1994-1996 (Ligestillingsrådet, 1996).

According to a law, passed in 1995, municipalities shall make statements at least every other year on their policies of equal opportunities.

Figure 1. Women as percent of candidates[1] and elected[2] in national elections.
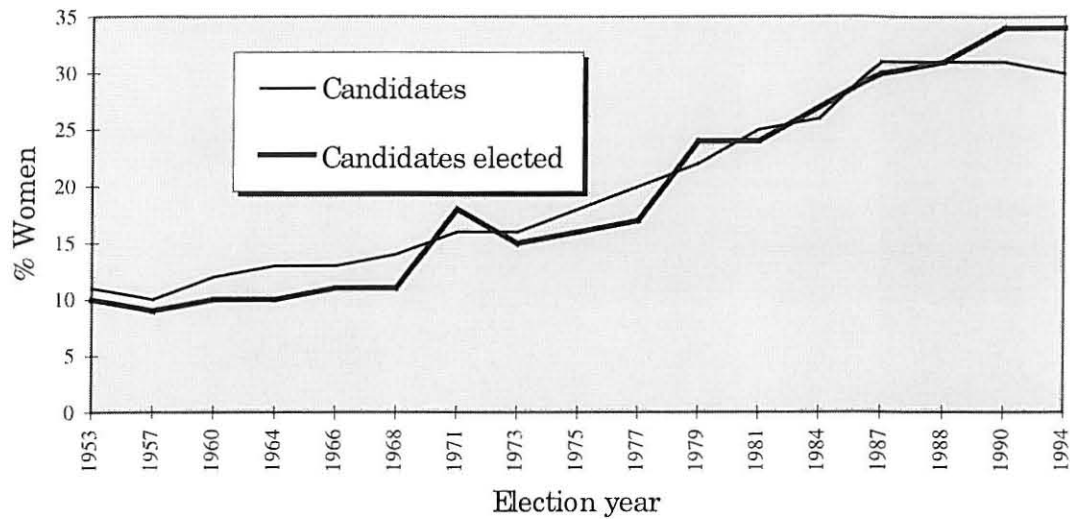
1. Nominations of the political parties in Denmark.
2. Of the 175 proper Danish seats.

Sources: Dahlerup, Drude, Kristian Hvidt (red.), *Kvinder på Tinge*, Rosinante, Herning 1990, pp. 234, 238; Danmarks Statistik, *Folketingsvalget den 10. januar 1984*, København 1984; Indenrigsministeriet, *Folketingsvalget den 21. september 1994*, København 1995.

Table 1. Women as percent of elected candidates in political parties

Party	66	68	71	73	75	77	79	81	84	87	88	90	94
All parties	11	11	17	15	16	17	24	24	27	30	31	34	34
Social Democrats	7	5	14	13	11	18	24	19	18	24	29	35	39
Radical Liberal	23	19	22	25	31	17	30	33	20	45	50	43	50
Common Course	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	0	♦♦	♦♦	•
Conservative	18	16	23	13	20	27	32	35	31	34	31	23	33
Center Democrats	•	•	•	14	0	18	33	40	38	44	44	56	40
Single Tax	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	0	♦♦	50	20	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	•	♦♦	•
Socialist People's	15	9	24	27	22	29	64	43	43	33	33	40	23
Communists	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	17	14	14	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	•	•
Christian People's	•	•	♦♦	29	33	33	20	25	20	25	25	25	♦♦
Liberal (Agrarian)	3	9	10	14	17	10	14	5	27	11	14	31	31
Left Socialists	♦♦	25	♦♦	♦♦	0	0	17	20	40	♦♦	♦♦	•	•
Progress	•	•	•	11	13	4	5	6	17	56	44	33	27
Unity List - Red Green	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	♦♦	17

Sources: Danmarks Statistik, *Folketingsvalget den 10. januar 1984*, København 1984; Indenrigsministeriet, *Folketingsvalget den 21. september 1994*, København 1995.

•   The party did not stand for election.

♦♦   The party did not obtain representation.

Table 2. Political Participation by Gender (percent)

Type of political participation	1971	1979	1987
Party membership:			
Men	21*	14*	12*
Women	13	10	9
Frequent participation in trade union meetings[a]:		26*	21
Men		17	19
Women			
High level of grass-roots participation:			
Men		15*	17
Women		9	19
Often reads about politics in the newspapers:			
Men	58*	53*	52*
Women	35	34	43
N: Men	639	893	1361
Women	693	876	1418

*   The relationship is significant at the 1 percent level.

a   Among wage-earners.

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State of the Art Study of Research on Women in Political, Economic and Social Decision-Making

Report on Norway
By Hege Skjeie

Introduction

This report provides an overview of Norwegian research on women in political, economic and social decision making, mainly focusing on empirically based studies. It is part of a European state of the art study, financed by the EU's European Economic Interest Group, which encompasses all EU countries plus Norway. This study also seeks to identify new areas of research - that is important themes not covered by existing decision-making studies.

Contents:
- The report presents available information in national data bases on the development of women's access to different institutional settings over, mainly, the past twenty years
- selected research on specific processes of recruitment and selection within different institutional settings, including research which particularly addresses questions of "the difference made" when women gain independent access to established institutions of decision making
- and finally, research on official gender equality apparatuses: analyses of laws, agencies and organisational innovations aimed to promote gender equality

Structure:
The report tries to identify what can currently be considered as major empirical works in each area of decision making. It moves on to address some major questions posed, and methods used, in selected academic research over, mainly, the last ten year period. This discussion is however more elaborated with regard to research on political decision making. In other arenas, the report comments on the main works only. The section on political decision making also concludes with a listing of research practises and themes, which could be extended to include comparative analyses, and provides a listing of main Norwegian funds for research in this area. A bibliography of research on women in political, social and economic decision making in Norway makes up the final part of the report.[1]

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1   Note that full references provided in report footnotes are to key studies which do not discuss gender

I.   Political Decision Making

1.1.   The national political level
Cabinet, parliament, political parties

1.1.1. A brief system description

The Constitution (1814) proclaims Norway a hereditary monarchy. In May 1990, the Constitution (§6) was changed to grant equal hereditary rights to women, with the temporal limitation that this should not affect already achieved hereditary rights. The principle of government - gradually developing from 1884 to 1905 - is *parliamentarianism*. The Norwegian Prime Minister is formally appointed by the King, but as advised by the president of the parliament after consultation with the parliamentary party groups. Norwegian cabinets need no formal vote of confidence in parliament - but individual members and /or the cabinet as such must leave office on a parliamentary vote of no confidence. For the past fifty years, *cabinet formations* in Norway have included only two actual alternatives: a Labour single party cabinet or a coalition cabinet of the conservative and centrist parties. In this same period Labour has moved from a majority to a minority position in parliament - yet it has held the cabinet over approx. forty of the past fifty years. Cabinet ministers are selected by the Prime Minister (PM), in consultation with party (-ies) leadership strata. The cabinet is fairly small, encompassing only about twenty cabinet ministers (CMs). Norwegian CMs need not be members of parliament. Party political appointments to ministries include, in addition to cabinet ministers, the positions of "state secretaries" and political advisors. Over the past twenty years, the number of political advisory appointments has clearly increased: as of today 100 - 150 persons fill such positions at the national government level.

During the 1990s, three of the major Norwegian parties have presented women Prime Ministerial candidates, but only Labour has so far delivered one; Gro Harlem Brundtland, who held the office of Prime Minister for close to ten years. From the end of the 1960s, informal norms guiding cabinet appointments seemed to set "two women CMs" as the minimum acceptable level. In 1981 the numbers doubled, and a new minimum of "four women CMs" was established. In 1986 the numbers doubled once more - and since then, none of the three following Norwegian cabinets has at its date of appointment included less than 40 % women. Motivating the 1986 appointments was the Labour Party's formal quota regulation (1983) for the composition of internal party bodies.

The *electoral system* is one of proportional representation from multi member districts. At the national level, electoral districts follow the county demarcations. In addition, 8 out of a total of 165 seats in *parliament* are located as national adjustment seats. As of present (1993-1997), eight parties are represented in parliament, with delegations varying from 1 to 67 members. The

issues. Consequently, these are not included in the bibliography.

parliamentary election period is four years, with no option for by-elections. Across parties women's representation rate (elected MPs) is presently 39 %. In the largest parliamentary party - the Labour Party - the gender balance is currently about 50 - 50. Through most of the 1970s, the differences in women's representation within the two largest parliamentary parties - Labour and the Conservatives - were rather small. Within the (medium-sized) Christian People's Party and Centre Party, representation rates varied from election to election. The general trend nevertheless was one of increasing integration continuing into the 1980s. Through this decade, however, differences grew between the left and the right parties. In the 1990s, the two largest parliamentary delegations are held by the Labour Party and the Centre Party - the same two parties which provide the highest total proportion of women parliamentarians. To a certain degree, these differentiated patterns also reflect the party specific decisions on quota policies.

The parliamentary party groups have their own internal organisation with parliamentary steering committees and regular group meetings. Otherwise, parliament is organised into working - or sector – committees, which largely follow the sector divisions of the ministries. Two types of leadership positions are here offered: the committee leadership and deputy leadership positions, and - for the larger parties - the party faction leadership within the committee. [2]

In Norway, recruitment to all major political offices is channelled through the system of *party organisations*. [3] Party organisational structures are largely similar: every party *branch* is hierarchically organised with a board and a chairperson. The organisational model follows similar patterns at the constituency level, in which all branches of the geographical area are included. At the national level, the party congress is formally the highest decision making unit of the party organisation. But congress meets at most annually or bi-annually. The smaller party council meets more frequently, but still less frequently than the party executive. The local party organisations control the nomination of candidates for municipality elections while the regional party organisations control the nomination for county and parliamentary elections. For cabinet appointments practices vary, yet new cabinet formations are often discussed - if not always decided - within both the national party executive bodies and within the parliamentary groups.

In parallel structures to the main party organisation, *separate organisations for women* have been operating within most Norwegian parties - the oldest ones dating back to the beginning of the century. At present, *gender quota regulations* have been adopted as part of internal party statutes by six of the eight parties now represented in parliament. These regulations often merely state that

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2   The parliamentary administration provides the commitee-based secretarial staff. In addition, each parliamentary party group is alotted a staff of political advisors, proportional to the parliamentary group size. For a detailed account of the organisation of the Norwegian parliament, see Knut Heidar:"Partigruppene på Stortinget", in *Norsk Statsvitenskapelig Tidsskrift*, vol.11, nr.4:277-297.
3   For a comprehensive overwiev of the organisation of political parties, see Lars Svaasand: "Norway", in Richard Katz and Peter Meir (eds): *Party Organizations. A Data Handbook*. London, Sage, 1992.

"each sex shall be represented by at least 40 %". Only the parties to the right, the Conservative Party and the Progress Party, lack such regulations. And available statistics on gender profiles at the national levels of party organisations simply confirm the over all picture of party based political integration: in all parties except the right wing Progress Party - and also to a lesser degree the Conservative Party - there are at present only small differences in women's and men's participation.

In both the Labour party, the Socialist Left Party and the Centre Party, women hold proportionally more positions at the leaderships levels than is their proportion of members. The parties at the political extremes, the Progress Party and the Socialist Left Party, also confirm their opposite positions in terms of the gender profile of member- and leaderships. The Progress Party has the lowest proportion of women; the Socialist Left Party the highest. As of present, three of the major Norwegian parties are led by women, the Centre Party, the Christian People's Party and the Socialist Left Party. In the course of the 1990s, both the Conservative Party and the Labour Party have also had women leaders.

1.1.2. Available data bases on women's participation in national political decision making

The Norwegian parliamentary administration provides four-annual reports which contain statistics and biographical information about all elected members of parliament and appointed cabinet ministers: *Olaf Chr. Torp (ed): Stortinget I navn og tall.* (Oslo, Universitetsforlaget) For the period 1945-1985 this information is also collected in *Trond Nordby: Storting og regjering 1945- 85.*(Oslo, Kunnskapsforlaget 1985). At the Norwegian Computer Centre for the Social Sciences in Bergen, information from these biographies regularly supplements the national *Politicians Archive*, which contains information on the national political elites dating back to 1814. The Norwegian Computer Centre also administers the *Parliamentary Votes Archive*, which currently contains a full registration of all parliamentary votes, by individual representatives, for the period 1989-1995. An extension of this register is first planned to cover the post-war area, followed by registration to make the archive fully inclusive. A 1991 survey among Norwegian *party members* contains information on background, attitudes and leadership positions. Finally, the Norwegian Computer Centre also administers a comprehensive free-text database which contains all Norwegian *party election programs* since the origination of political parties in the 1880s.

1.1.3. Overview: research on political decision making at the national level.

Three monographs and four anthologies can be identified as major, empirically oriented, works on women in political decision making at the national level. The monographs were all published at the beginning of a new decade, thus at the same time marking main periods of change in women's political participation in national politics. A pioneer study of Norwegian women politicians was done in the early 1970s. This book, by Ingunn Norderval Means: *Kvinner I norsk politikk* (Oslo,

Cappelen 1973), primarily concentrated on the parliamentary level, but also included information on women municipal councillors. The study was partly based on interviews with the then present women MPs, describing and analysing backgrounds, political careers and paths to parliament. (For an earlier article on women parliamentarians, see Aasland 1965).

This pioneer study on national and local decision making was followed by another study, by Beatrice Halsaa, addressing political involvement and local community work (Halsaa Albrektsen 1977, cfr. Halsaa 1978). In 1980, a new study of parliament was published by Torild Skard - a researcher who herself had been a parliamentarian: *Utvalgt til Stortinget* (Oslo, Gyldendal)(for a book on her personal experiences as MP, see Skard 1981). This study provided further valuable insight into political processes of recruitment and selection; following these processes from the nomination stage through the distributions of committee memberships within parliament. Skard also investigated both the parliamentarians' social background, and their activities within parliament. She based her research on the parliamentary/cabinet biographies and statistics regularly provided by the parliamentary administration (Torp, fourth annually); the parliamentary interviews conducted by the large scale research program set up to investigate power relationships within the Norwegian society (Maktutredningen 1973-1981) [4], selected interviews with women parliamentarians (done by Roalsø and Jahreie 1976), parliamentary committee reports, and the regularly published minutes of parliamentary meetings.

The next comprehensive study, from the early 1990s, addressed women's access to both parliamentary and cabinet postings within the framework of two broad research aims: to provide an explanation of the relative success of Norwegian women's claim to political power as compared to other important areas of decision making, and to address the further consequences of women's political integration, in terms of changes in both organisational cultures and political priorities. This study, by Hege Skjeie: *Den politiske betydningen av kjønn. En studie av norsk topp-politikk.* (Oslo, Institute for Social Research, 1992), made use of data sources similar to Skard's study: parliamentary/cabinet biographies and statistics; government white papers/ reports to parliament and parliamentary committee reports/ minutes, but also included all party election manifestos from the early 1970s to the early 1990s, and finally, a series of personal interviews with all members of both the Norwegian Parliament (1985-1989) and Cabinet (1986-1989).

In addition to these three monographs, four comprehensive anthologies on women and politics have included chapters, which specifically address women's participation in national political decision making. On a Nordic basis, the comparative work carried out on a publication grant from the Nordic Council of Ministers in the early 1980s:

Elina Haavio-Mannila et. al (eds:): *Det uferdige demokratiet.* (København, Nordisk Ministerråd,

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4   The results of the investigation are summerized in NOU 1982:3. Maktutredningens sluttrapport. For a feminist critique of this investigation, see Halsaa 1981 or Holter 1981.

1983); English version: *Unfinished Democracy* (London, Pergamon Press, 1985) has been particularly influential. In this book we find chapters on women in parliament (by Skard and Haavio-Mannila, cfr. also Skard and Haavio-Mannila 1986) and on women's organisations in political parties (by Dahlerup and Gulli). A follow up study to this comparative project - *"Half the Power"/ "Halva Makten"* (eds. Vivika Ramsted Salen et.al) - again financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers - has publication planned for early 1998. In both cases, these comparative projects are mainly based on reporting existing research.

In between these two projects, we find an anthology, edited by Lauri Karvonen and Per Selle: *Women in Nordic Politics - Closing the Gap* (Aldershot, Dartmouth, 1995), which also includes statistics and evaluations of changes in political representation (mainly Norway, by Raaum); party memberships (all Scandinavian countries, by Sundberg); a study of the impact of election systems on women's parliamentary representation (Norway, by Matland), and a study of the political language used by men and women parliamentarians (in Norway, by Karvonen, Djupsund and Carlson). A recent Norwegian anthology, edited by Nina Raaum: *Kjønn og politikk.* (Oslo, Tano, 1995) supplements this Nordic one, including also chapters on the historical developments in women's citizenship (Nagel), on party memberships and regional and national party elites (Heidar and Raaum) and on cabinet leadership (Skjeie).

1.1.4. Research on the leadership levels: the Prime Minister and the Cabinet

On both comparative and national levels, very little research exists - apart from historical studies - which specifically address the top leadership level of political decision making. [5] Only two Norwegian studies (Skjeie, Krogstad) have analyses of gender issues in connection with this level of political leadership as their main focus. Yet the fascination of more individually oriented leadership studies is not least that they bring to political science a certain "humanisation" - in such studies we might actually see the human beings of politics. Obviously, they might also address important research questions about the general bases for claims made to political authority and legitimacy.

Claims to authority:

A "political profile" investigation of Norway's former Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland - based on Labour party archives - in particular pays attention to her power basis within the party, her enduring alliance with Labour's women's organisation, and her handling of internal opposition. A

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5   The Norwegian investigation of power relationships (1973-1981)did however include some discussions also of cabinet government.See Johan P. Olsen: "Regjeringen som samordningsorgan - muligheter og begrensninger", in *Særtrykk av Nordisk Administrativt Tidsskrift 1981, Organized Democracy.* Oslo, Universitetsforlaget 1981 and; *Statsstyre og institusjonsutforming.* Oslo, Universitetsforlaget 1988.

theoretically based discussion of the actual possibility for, and the concrete framings of, gender-specific claims to political authority, uses Weber's ideal types of "legitimate domination" as a point of departure. Finally, political leadership ideals, assessments of opportunities, and actual political priorities are discussed as ongoing processes of gendering/degendering in cabinet decision making, based on a series of personal interviews with the Labour Cabinet of 1986-1989. The diverse images of "good leadership" projected by the politicians themselves, are then contrasted with the narrow "heroical" images projected through mass media evaluations of personal leadership capabilities (Skjeie 1992, 1993, 1993b, 1996). [6]

Media strategies:

A doctoral thesis in anthropology (Krogstad 1997) focuses more directly on top politicians' media strategies. Based on recordings of major television debates, one analysis compares men and women participants' own behaviour, and how they are treated by others during these debates. A second analysis investigates women party leaders' "presentation of self" in election campaigns. In both of these studies, women top politicians are shown effectively to master the media scene to a larger degree than their male colleagues, even when offered somewhat worse participation conditions. Finally, a third analysis investigates media strategies used by the English Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (cfr. Krogstad 1991, 1992, 1994 a, 1994 b, 1996).

Some of these topics are further addressed in a current Nordic project on image, gender and politics in the Nordic countries, with comparative analyses mainly based on the television debates proceeding the referenda on EU membership in the Nordic countries. This study is financed by NOS-S, with publication in English (ed. Krogstad) due in 1998.

1.1.5. Research on the parliamentary level

More research gaps have fortunately been filled when it comes to the level of parliamentary decision making. The first Norwegian studies on women in politics focused on this level, and later work has followed up on several of the main themes raised by the early studies; discussing structural constraints and the effects of nomination procedures; investigating paths to Parliament particularly in terms of social and political backgrounds; and also focusing on internal parliamentary divisions of work. More recently, these topics have been supplemented with analyses as to "the difference made" in party/ parliamentary decision making when women participate on close to equal footing with men.

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6   As concerns the top leadership level, note should also be taken of the ongoing Comparative Leadership Project, which includes interviews with both men and women members of cabinet.Norwegian participants are Elin Kvande, Bente Rasmussen, Kari Skrede and Bjørg Åse Sørensen.

Election systems and nomination procedures:

In the early 1970s, Means (1973, 1972, cfr. Skard 1980, Skard and Haavio-Mannila 1985, 1986) noted the importance of district/party magnitude on women's election chances - a theme which more recently has achieved considerable attention in comparative research on women's parliamentary representation. In the Norwegian context, Matland (1993, 1995) has furthermore shown how party magnitude - the number of seats that one party wins within one electoral unit - was a particularly important factor in explaining women's parliamentary access from the late 1950's to the early 1970s: in this period party magnitude clearly affected the proportion of women MPs within the party delegation. Within an electoral context of multi member districts, this finding thus echoes a more general observation of differences between PR systems and single member district systems in terms of women's electoral chances. Yet in the Norwegian case, once women were well established within parties, the effect of party magnitude also diminished, Matland observes, advising us to pay more attention to the specifics of internal party nomination processes. (For studies of gradual changes in nomination concerns, see Christensen 1976, Valen 1966, 1988, Narud 1988, Skare 1997.)

Other recent assessments of developments in women's parliamentary access have concentrated less on structural constraints, and more on changes in the informal norms, and formal rules, guiding party nominations: in particular the motivations that led to the introduction of party specific quota politics from the mid 1970s onwards. In a study which more generally seeks to explain the political integration of Norwegian women over the past twenty years, much weight is thus given to an argument which underscores the combined effect of a) a political recruitment tradition which strongly favours principles of interest/group representation, b) a series of concerted efforts by women's organisations campaigning on a cross party basis for women's increased representation from the early 1970s onwards, and c) the particular effects of gendered "interest"- arguments on party strategies/the competition for votes within a proportional representation system (Skjeie 1991, 1992, cfr. Skard and Haavio-Mannila 1986). In particular, this study focuses on how political legitimation is built on a gender specific basis. The "glue" that made these elements stick together, creating a new and unprecedented access structure for women politicians, was a political "rhetoric of difference" - a consistent stressing by women political activists that women's political interests and orientations could not, and should not, be viewed as merely equivalent to men's political interests and orientations.

Yet in actual elections, the structural theme of "party magnitude" still keeps returning. A more detailed analysis of variations in the gender composition of parliamentary party groups after the 1993 parliamentary election for instance shows how high proportions of women are still foremost guaranteed by large parties. On regionally based election lists, the smaller parties often get only one candidate elected within a given unit, while larger parties get two or more; thus the final gender distribution of the parliamentary groups clearly depends on the regional top nominations of each party. If smaller parties are to fulfil the quota obligation within their own parliamentary delegations, a nationally decided distribution scheme for top regional candidacies is thus needed

(Skjeie 1993 b). A similar observation on the current importance of delegation size has recently been made also by Matland (1995): For the 1993 election, only 25 percent of single member delegations were women, as compared to 46 percent of multi member delegations. This *"second among equals"* tendency is also demonstrated when even number delegations (2 - 4 - 6) are compared to odd number (1 -3 -5 -7) delegations: over the past fifteen years, the most significant gains in women's representation have clearly been made in even numbered delegations.

Paths to parliament:

Mappings of political careers in terms of social and political background characteristics is right in the centre of mainstream recruitment studies, and most current research on careers now categorise also by gender. (For a pioneer work in this respect, see Hellevik 1969.) Contrary to claims made that women's political integration will contribute to distorting the social representativity of the Norwegian parliament - mostly recruiting women with an "elitist" background, women parliamentarians in Norway are instead found to contribute more to the social representativity of parliament than their male colleagues. Furthermore, the women MPs are shown to have an extensive political training, and have - as their male colleagues - largely worked their way through participation at the local political level. The importance of separate women's organisations within the parties in providing political experience for a national career is also noted, although a majority of women top politicians tend to leave these organisations behind as they move on to parliament (Skjeie and Teigen 1993, cfr. Skard 1980.)

Functional divisions

Apart from the three monographs on women in parliamentary politics, few studies have been conducted as to the organisation of parliament per se., for instance in terms of gender distributions of internal parliamentary member- and leadership positions. The monographs have, however, all identified tendencies towards lasting functional divisions of labour through the parliamentary committee memberships. The gender profile of the 1989 parliament showed that women were somewhat over-represented on committees dealing with social services, church and education, and consumer and administration affairs, while men were over represented on committees dealing with finance, transport, foreign affairs and agriculture. The expressed committee preferences of representatives also showed that men's wishes had been granted more often than were women's; that more senior members got their wishes granted more often than did the newcomers; that among the newcomers, men's wishes were granted more often than women's. Men also achieved either committee or party faction leadership positions to a higher degree than women (Skjeie 1991, 1992). The functional specialisations within Parliament can be followed through to the themes addressed in parliamentary debates: women are still "over represented" on welfare issues and "under represented" within the hard core of economic policies. The substantial increase of women has not

changed this pattern. Furthermore, what is called a "striking lack of activity" on the part of men in issues such as marriage and working life, sex roles, prostitution and pornography, indicates that the predominant attitude is still that these issues are the exclusive domain of women MP's (Karvonen, Djupsund and Carlson 1995, cfr. also Egenes 1985).

The lasting functional divisions within specific organisational contexts have in turn raised a crucial question of interpretation: do functional divisions also imply a functionally based *marginalisation* of women? (Cfr. Skard and Haavio-Mannila 1986) This question in turn ties in with large-scale interpretations of "women's access to shrinking institutions"(Holter 1976, 1996, 1996 b). To answer this, assessments must necessarily be made both of the relevance of linear power projections as such, and of methodological problems in addressing the relative influence /power of different policy segments, sectors and layers. (For a discussion of this, see Holter 1996 and Skjeie 1996 b) Yet one - relatively simple - option might be suggested through evaluations made by Norwegian MPs and Cabinet Ministers. In these politicians' own "status" evaluations of different policy sectors there was no systematic tendency to devaluate - in terms of "influence" or "importance" - those policy areas where women participate the most. Yet this particular result should obviously not merely be generalised - neither across time, institutional settings or political cultures.

The difference made:

Since the mid 1980s, the possible consequences of women's integration in terms of political outcomes has been a recurring theme in Scandinavian feminist scholarship in Scandinavia. The importance of numbers first addressed by Rosabeth Moss Kanter, has in the Scandinavian context been translated by Drude Dahlerup into a "critical mass" perspective (cfr. Haavio-Mannila et al 1983/85), followed by theoretically grounded expectations of institutional and societal change towards more "women friendly societies" (Hernes 1987).

The interview series with Norwegian political elites in 1989 revealed a remarkable consensus on "the rhetoric of difference": across both parties and sexes, members of both parliament and cabinet agree that gender does and should make a difference, thus confirming earlier findings among other groups of party elites (Heidar 1988, Hellevik and Skard 1985). Translated into areas of policy initiatives, politicians largely confirm familiar gender stereotypes by viewing women as particularly concerned with the politics of welfare, the environment, equality, education and disarmament, and men as more interested in economic issues, industry, energy and national security. Yet the politicians' examples of more specific agendas of change revealed that the singular most important area in this respect was the gradual building of "a politics of care"; which in particular has addressed the state's responsibilities to provide new opportunities for women to combine the obligations of motherhood with the right to economic independence.

Both cabinet and parliamentary decisions over the past decade, and analyses of party election programs largely confirms this pattern of stated concerns. Yet women on the left of the political

spectrum are more likely to interpret a politics of care in terms of measures which locate the sources of economic independence within the paid labour market, for instance in efforts to increase publicly sponsored child care provisions. Women in the parties to the right prefer policies that will raise the value and prestige of care work that women do in the home. What they thus more easily agree on, are reforms which for instance increase the period of paid parental leave. Otherwise, a familiar schism on concrete models for "a women friendly society " gets to be resolved more by party than by gender. While cross-party alliances are formed on particular issues, there is little evidence of women refusing the ultimate priorities of their parties (Skjeie 1991, 1992, 1993).

1.1.6. Research on political parties

Statistics on the distribution of party member- and leaderships have only recently been collected in Norway. More detailed time series have in many instances been hard to get, due to insufficient databases in the parties (see Sundberg 1995). The most comprehensive survey to date is the 1991 *survey among party members* now administered by the Norwegian Computer Centre for the Social Sciences in Bergen. This survey largely confirmed the over all picture of party based political integration: in all parties except the right wing Progress Party - and to a lesser degree also the Conservative Party - there are at present only small differences in women's and men's participation; in both the Labour party, the Socialist Left Party and the Centre Party women even hold proportionally *more* positions at the leaderships levels than is their proportion of members (Heidar and Raaum 1995, cfr. Heidar 1994).

Attitudinal differences

The 1991 survey revealed somewhat different patterns of dominant priorities among women and men party members - both across and within parties. Women were more sceptical towards welfare retrenchments and would rather see extended public services than reduced taxes, while men were more inclined towards support for market economies and individual merit systems (Heidar and Raaum 1995). Interestingly, this survey among party members produced results somewhat contrary to the conclusions drawn in an earlier survey among delegates to the national party congresses. This 1985 survey found the most pronounced gender gaps on issues relating to gender equality, generation gaps, and environmental policies, yet the overall conclusion was that "party" clearly remained a better indicator than "gender" on statements about political attitudes (Heidar 1988, 1997).

In a comparison, the authors thus note that "integration into the inner party circles make party conformists of men and women alike" (Heidar and Raaum 1995).

Support for quota regulations and effects on internal competition climates

The gradually increasing importance of "gender" within political parties from the early 1970's onwards has been documented through electoral nomination studies (Christensen 1976, Valen 1966, 1988, Skare 1997, cfr. Skjeie 1991, 1995, 1996). Little research has however been done on the effects of quota regulations in terms of internal competition climates. Heidar and Raaum (1995) however reveal clear majorities of support for quota policies among both women and men only within the left parties. Within these parties support is even more strongly expressed on leadership than on membership levels. In other parties, no such clear-cut pattern exist. While shown clearly effective in changing representation rates, quota politics has nevertheless - in public debate - been argued as counter effective in the sense that it also increases organisational hostility. An alternative hypothesis is that once adopted, quota regulations may rather *ease* internal competition climates, in the sense that women and men candidates to party offices are shielded from competition across gender lines. Sundberg (1995) interprets this as particularly beneficial to women newcomers: under such regulations women at least can expect more cooperation from, and less conflict with, male party colleagues.

Histories of "relative separatism":

The development of women's organisations operating within the party context, and the importance of parallel organising to political mobilisation, is still largely undocumented in Norway (but cfr. Hovdum 1991). We do know that these organisations have provided important training grounds for women parliamentarians, but we know much less about their impact on party priorities more generally. The women's organisations within the parties are briefly discussed by Dahlerup and Gulli (1983/1985, cfr. also Halsaa 1989), showing the varying organisational solutions of different Scandinavian parties. Based on Dahlerup's work on women's organising within the Danish social democratic party, general objectives of separate organising are described as follows: To gather votes; to recruit members; to train for political office; to pursue women's policies and to further international cooperation among women. No studies similar to Dahlerup's Danish study, or Gunnel Karlsson's study of Swedish social democratic organising, has been conducted in Norway (but cfr. Halvorsen 1994 for a historical review of the Labour party's women's secretariat) - thus the major histories of political parties largely remain what one labour historian himself has called "gender-neutral male history" (cfr. also Hagemann 1988).

Only one study has so far approached the theme of women organising into separate parties, in particular investigating the reasons stated, and the ideologies pursued, by the Oslo Women's Party of 1927, The Norwegian Women's Party of 1971-1973, and the women's party list in Oslo in 1988. While all three organising efforts were based on gender specific concerns, the parties were still found to be somewhat reluctant in explicating these concerns (Fosshaug 1989).

1.2. National political-administrative structures
State bureaucracy and governmental committees.
1.2.1. Available data bases on women's participation within national political -administrative structures

The Norwegian Ministry for Planning and Coordination has a comprehensive register on all employees of the state administration - *Statens sentrale tjenestemannsregister* - which contains computerised information, back to the early 1980s, on individual positions, wages, work hours, age, education etc. This register is however only open to research on special applications. Cruder registrations, but still also by gender, are contained within the Archive on Civil Servants - *Embetsmannsregisteret* - for the period 1814 - 1974, administered by the Norwegian Computer Centre for the Social Sciences. The Central Bureau of Statistics administers a register on all Norwegian employees - *Arbeidstakerregisteret* - containing information on education, age, occupation etc. The extensive survey among *central administration employees* first conducted as part of the Norwegian power investigation in 1976 has been repeated both in 1986 and in 1996. These surveys are also administered by the Norwegian Computer Centre. Finally, a four-annual report to Parliament - Stortingsmelding nr. 7 - contains information on all governmental committees. Since 1980, this information has been available through a database on governmental committees administered by the Norwegian Computer Centre - *Utvalgsarkivet.* Non-computerised information on governmental committees dates back to the 1950s. [7]

1.2.2. Research on central administration employees

So far, no single comprehensive study has been carried out explicitly addressing the gender structure/ culture of the Norwegian state bureaucracy. Mappings of women's positions at different levels of the state administration has been done by among others Lærgreid (1995) and Egeberg and Christensen (1996). A thorough evaluation of preferential treatment policies is currently undertaken by Teigen (1995, 1996), while Barth and Yin (1995, 1996) have investigated gender differences in careers and wages.

The central public administration in Norway employs about 12 000 persons, whereof approx. 4000 work in the ministries. Available empirical data on the gender profile of the central public administration show few surprising patterns. Over the past two decades, women have been integrated into the state bureaucracy by gaining new footholds in formerly male dominated institutions and positions, even if the proportion of women is still highest in the traditionally women dominated sectors, and even if the proportion declines as the level of positions rises (Lægreid 1995, analysis based on register data as outlined in 1.2.1). Yet at the top ministerial levels, the proportion

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7   For an extensive discussion of Norwegian corporate structures, and available information bases, see Trond Nordby: Korporatisme på norsk (Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1994)

of women is still no higher than between 10 and 20 percent; of close to 400 top managements' salary contracts within the governmental service in 1993, only 10 percent were with women.

According to what is called the general agreement between employers and employees within the public sector in Norway, an arrangement of *preferential treatment* is to be implemented through local agreements, that is on the level of the work cite. Since the mid 1980s, a series of local agreements have thus been negotiated. Those quota regulations which apply to party political bodies require that each specific, groupwise, set of appointments shall include at least 40 percent of each sex. The preferential treatment options, however, set no such fixed standard. Instead, they specify conditions under which preferential treatment may be used; most commonly in cases where male and female applicants are about equally well qualified. At the outset, they thus represent weaker recruitment measures than the political quota models (cfr. Skjeie 1988). Furthermore, the most senior positions within the ministries are explicitly excepted from these regulations.

Recruitment, careers and wages:

Responsibility for recruitment is thus decentralised, with immediate superiors playing a central role in appointments. Lægreid (1995) claims that this traditional autonomy in personal matters, and the weight given hiring on formal "merit" criteria, would suggest that new centrally introduced reforms will meet no automatic implementation at lower levels. And several studies of hiring processes within the central administration all conclude that formal preferential treatment policies rarely have come to actual use. In fact, it is virtually impossible to show that such preference arguments do prevail in appointments (Teigen and Wiers-Jenssen 1996, cfr. Skjeie 1986, Klokkeide 1986). A series of interviews with hiring personal in the Norwegian ministries (Teigen and Steen Jensen 1995, 1996) shows that while most were in favour of the existing set of regulations, they were so not because of their direct, but rather their indirect, effects. A survey among the main parties to the collective agreements regulating preferential treatment also showed that no information procedures on the implementation of such arrangements existed.

In a study of hiring processes from executive officer to top manager positions in three state bureaucracies, based on data on employment and internal hiring protocols, Teigen and Wiers-Jenssen (1996), nevertheless find *some* indications of gender preferences that benefit women. At executive officer levels there is generally a higher proportion of women among the preferred nominees than among the applicants. Women candidates are however not found to be better formally qualified compared to male candidates. Over time, considerations on gender equality may thus "seep into" organisational structures and cultures which do not openly embrace preferential treatment measures.

During the 1990's, the Ministry for Administration has financed a series of investigations of the gender employment and wage profile of the state bureaucracy. The researchers have studied the effects of decentralised wage systems for male and female employees' wages, and men and

women's career patterns within the state administration. Differences in career patterns are not found to increase wage gaps through the career course; wage differences occur mainly at the time of employment. (Barth and Yin 1995, 1996, analysis based on register data as outlined in 2.1., cfr. also Myrvoll 1990)

1.2.3. The corporate system of decision making

A third pioneer study on women and politics (cfr. Means 1973, Halsaa 1977), now addressing the Norwegian corporate system's gender profile, was done by Helga Hernes in the early 1980s: *Staten - kvinner ingen adgang?* (Oslo, Universitetsforlaget 1982). From a theoretical argument on the relevance of applying democratic principles to this extensive net of organised power over public policy making, Hernes proceeded to investigate the participation of both individual women, and women's organisations, in corporate decision making (cfr. Hernes and Voje 1980, Hernes 1982 b). The same theme was pursued on a Nordic level in the Unfinished Democracy project (by Hernes and Hanninen-Salmelin 1985/1983, cfr. also Halsaa 1989, 1997), but in a Norwegian context not followed up until recently, when Raaum (1995, 1995 b) has provided new mappings of changes in women's corporate participation (again based on analyses of register data as outlined in 1.2.1.)

Operating on either a permanent or an ad hoc basis these governmental committees prepare or administer public policies over a broad spectrum of areas. At any time, approx. 800 ministerial appointed boards and committees involve more than 5000 individuals in public policy making. Since the mid 1970s, the gender composition of these committees has been a stated governmental concern. Early interventions, in the form of royal decrees, demanded that all nominating agencies should propose both women and men candidates. In 1981, a new paragraph was added to the Norwegian Equal Status Act, stipulating that on each committee there should be at least two representatives of each sex. The law was amended in 1987, setting a new minimum limit of 40 % representation.

In the committee system considered as a whole, this requirement is now close to being met. Yet functional divisions are once more demonstrated through the ministries' varying profiles of recruitment. 1992 figures show that for *memberships*, only six ministries: Church, education and research -, Cultural affairs -, Social welfare -, Justice - and Labour and administration met the quota requirement. Only the office of the Prime Minister and the Ministry for Cultural Affairs had appointed more than 30 % women as *committee chairs*. Thus the corporate system is still characterised by gender based divisions which are both functional and hierarchical - even if both kinds of divisions diminish over time (Raaum 1995).

No studies have so far been conducted on the actual processes of recruitment to these ministerial appointed committees. In planning however, is a study of selection processes in relation to the implementation of the Gender Equality Act's quota regulation (§21). This study (Teigen, Solhøy) will in particular focus on the stated reasons behind the observed varying representation

patterns: the reasons stated by ministries which apply for exception from the quota regulation, and the reasons stated for granting/ rejecting such applications by the ministry in charge of implementation: the Ministry of Children and Family Affairs.

1.3.   The regional and local political levels:
County and municipality councils.

1.3.1. A brief system description:

The elective body at the regional level is the county council - the *Fylkesting*. The election period for county councils is four years. The first regional election was held in 1975. The council's executive committee is the *Fylkesutvalg*, elected by and among the members of the county council. The council is headed by the county mayor - *Fylkesordfører* - elected by and among the members of the county council. In a total of 19 counties approx. 1000 persons participate in these bodies. Similarly, the elective body at the local level is the municipal council - *Kommunestyre*; here also the election period is four years. County and municipal elections are held simultaneously, and biannually to the national elections. In local elections, as opposed to both national and county elections, voters are provided with opportunities to influence the range of individuals on the party lists. The municipal council's executive committee is the *Formannskap*, proportionally elected from among the members of the municipal council. In a few municipalities, including the capital Oslo, a reform of "ministerial/parliamentary government" is currently being tried out at the municipality level. The council is headed by the mayor - *Ordfører* - (while the reform municipalities accordingly are led by the head of the municipal "cabinet"), elected by and among the members of the municipal council. In more than 400 municipalities, approx. 13,000 persons participate in these bodies. Both regional and local government have sector committees - *Sektorutvalg* - which are responsible for specific policy areas. One such type of committee is the local gender equality committee (cfr. discussion in section 3). Members here are elected /appointed by the members of the local and regional counties. The over all number of people involved in such committees has decreased during the past ten years from a height of approx. 125.000 in 1983 to approx. 75.000 in 1991. The gender composition of these committees is again regulated by law, specifying a 40-60 % minimum representation (Kommunelovens § 92-94).

Women's representation is currently (1995-1999) about 41 percent at the regional level and about 33 percent on the local level of government. Currently, only 17 percent of county mayors are women; only 16 percent at the municipal level. Particularly at leadership levels, the representation of women in local political bodies thus differs dramatically from their representation at the national level. A parallel might here be drawn to comparative studies of national electoral systems: women's representation suffers in systems based on one candidate/ majority votes. Furthermore, the pattern of a gendered functional division of labour that was identified at both the parliamentary level and within the governmental committee system, can be identified also at local political levels: women

are better represented in sector committees responsible for education, health, social services and cultural affairs, while committees responsible for technical matters and public enterprises have relatively fewer women members.

1.3.2. Research on local and regional elective bodies

Apart from the election statistics regularly provided by the Central Bureau of Statistics, no publicly available, and comprehensive, data bases on local and regional political offices exist. Research on individual political backgrounds and careers is thus more elaborated on the national political level than on regional and local levels.

Following Means' local councillors study, and Halsaa's community study, a new comprehensive study was launched in the late 1970s - when Ottar Hellevik, Torild Skard and Janneke van der Ros Schive investigated recruitment to local offices, and barriers to women's participation at the municipal level: *Norske kommunestyrer - plass for kvinner?* (Oslo, Universitetsforlaget 1985)

Local political life

This project paid close attention to the different stages in the election process, investigating both the "supply" of women candidates, the party nomination processes and election system effects. Suggestions were made about political reforms to increase women's participation. The project was based on interviews with local politicians and members of nomination committees, and on observations at nomination meetings - all concentrated on municipalities within the county of Akershus. In addition, information was gathered through a national inquiry (Hellevik and Skard 1985, cfr. van der Ros Schive 1981, Skard 1982, Alexandersen 1981, Asland 1981. For an earlier article on women in local politics, cfr. Means 1972)

Skard also wrote a book on the so called "women's coup" in three Norwegian municipalities in the early 1970's, among them the capital Oslo. In 1971, the effect of this coup - a concerted action among women activists who systematically changed the party nominations at the elections - was to produce a majority of women councillors in all the municipalities - a truly dramatic event at this time (Skard 1979, cfr. Baklid and Bråten 1975, Bakken 1980). Furthermore, Norderval has addressed issues of participation in local politics, partly based on her own experience as regional council representative (1996), also paying particular attention to the role of provincial mayors (1993). In the *Unfinished Democracy* project, representation in local political bodies was addressed on a comparative Nordic basis (Sirkonnen 1985/83). But only by the mid 1990s have the historical developments in women's participation in local politics been systematically mapped in terms of regional and structural variations (Raaum 1995).

Election System effects

As of present, surveys show only small gender differences in willingness to stand as candidate for local political positions (19 % among men, as compared to 15 % among women. 1992 figures, provided by Hellevik and Bjørklund 1995). But in local elections, as opposed to both national and county elections, voters are provided with opportunities to influence the range of individuals on the party lists. In the early 1970s, this opportunity provided an important means for activists seeking to increase women's representation in the councils of several larger cities. More generally, however, it has been shown to work in women's disfavour. Hellevik and Bjørklund (1991, 1994, 1995) have done in depth studies of the effects of voter preferences on women's election chances, based on the election results in approx. 70 Norwegian municipalities. In all local elections since 1975, the party nominations have proposed a higher proportion of women candidates than the proportion actually elected. For the 1991 election, calculations show that if the effect of voters' changes in party lists had been gender neutral, the expected proportion of women was close to 40 percent. In actuality, it came closer to a 30 percent threshold (Hellevik and Bjørklund 1995). (For master theses addressing recruitment to municipal councils, see Haram 1995, Dahlheim 1996, Svanes 1996, Ulriksen 1996,

1.3. Recommendations on research themes
Listing of research funds

The following recommendations are largely based on documented research observations. They seek to propose a set of new research themes which in particular pay attention to organisational and institutional frameworks; to the (historically changing) meanings and interpretations of gender within organisationally defined structures and cultures. Gender systems/ orders might be perceived as "large patterns" of differentiation and stratification relating to distributions of tasks, rights and responsibilities. The following recommendations in particular suggest that more weight should be given to analyses of the role of norms and ideologies in constructing (more partial) gender regimes / contracts.

National leadership studies:

Research on national political leadership is far more elaborated in Norway than research on local political leadership. Empirical studies have investigated paths to, and careers in, parliament - identifying the major traits in social and political backgrounds as well as distributions of main areas of work in parliament. These studies might thus also provide "recipes" for comparative mappings of paths and careers. They mainly focus, however, on *individual* paths to political leadership, assessing for instance the importance of local and regional political engagement for careers at the national level. Studies of the actual distributions of sector specific memberships within different institutional settings furthermore draw attention to new patterns of *functionally based divisions* of

work. Largely, these functional patterns show that access for women is more easily achieved on policy areas compatible with dominant conceptualisations of "women's concerns". As of today, such studies would in Norway be further aided by extensive computerised data bases which in effect makes it possible to map the whole history of women's parliamentary representation. In some instances, mappings have been supplemented by studies of *party nomination processes*, and by "relative power" assessments. What might still be lacking however, are in depth studies which combine mappings of individual paths and careers with in depth studies of party specific authorisation processes on different levels of leadership, organisational as well as elective.

In general, we know more about individual careers, and less about the cultural and organisational meanings of "gender" within the main institutions of politics - in the every day political life of party groups and parliamentary assemblies. The increasing importance of conceptualisations which claim that gender constitutes a politically relevant category, have however been traced in party nomination processes as well as in party / parliamentary decisions. In these instances, the Norwegian studies show the importance to process oriented research of "totalizing" methodologies, combining different data sources such as in depth interviews, observations and questionnaires with written texts; time series of political documents as well as voting records. The methods used to address these questions in Norway might thus provide points of departures for similar studies in other national or cross national contexts.

But further consequences of the described transition - from a largely gender-blind political culture of the early post war period to the increased gender visibility of the last decades - has not been addressed. How does "gender" achieve and change meaning through institutional norms and practices; how are organisational rules defined and redefined as political assemblies grow more equal? How are (new) masculinities assessed when the "universality" of predominantly male politics is challenged? What representations of "ideal"/"proper"/"negligent" politics are built and maintained; dominating or challenged, in political organisations, in media portrayals, in popular opinion? The relevance of such themes might be more obvious to some national contexts than others. Yet they could possibly be pursued also on a comparative basis through more individually oriented analyses of top-level leadership - for instance focusing on political "life course" themes which address issues of gender visibility in statements and priorities as well as in claims to and maintenance of personal authority and power.

Party cultures and organisational histories:

The issue of women's access to established political institutions might be viewed as the combined effect of electoral systems; political recruitment traditions; the strength of concerted efforts by organisations and activists campaigning for participation, and, finally, the political relevance granted "gender" in representation / participation terms. All these factors draw our attention to the need for studies - preferably on a comparative basis - which could address organisationally defined

mobilisation and resistance strategies: the various meetings of activists and political establishments; the ideologies pursued, the rhetoric provided, the defences built - and possibly challenged.

Such studies are by no means overflowing. Yet recent efforts to develop, on a European basis, argumentations and strategies of "parity" may well provide for interesting comparisons across traditions and ideologies of political representation, and across party/ elite structures and cultures. They would then need to pay special attention also to the *histories* of different forms of women's collective political mobilisation, within and/or as separate from the main party contexts. In particular, such studies need to focus on the ongoing gendering /de-gendering of both party ideologies and practises in relation to mobilisation processes. Historical turning points in debates on gender; the shifting within equality - difference paradigms, or the conflicts and controversies over class/ gender /ethnicity-conceptualisations, might produce interesting comparisons between for instance suffragist/feminist rhetoric and strategies. With insufficient knowledge about these histories - as is the case at least in Norway - important gaps in our understanding of women's collective power gains - and losses - both past and present, remain.

Political vs. administrative recruitments
- institutionally bound norms and justifications:

The importance of institutional and organisational contexts is underlined through the different integration profiles of different leadership strata in Norway. While formal quota politics has been instrumental in promoting women's political careers, research shows that such politics has met clear resistance - and rule bending strategies - when applied for instance to hiring processes within the public administration. Compared to present day party political life, the relevance of gender in administrative recruitments thus achieves a dubious status indeed - being simultaneously both acknowledged and ignored.

The (historical) processes of individualisation have had a powerful impact in undermining general perceptions about women's "proper place". Yet new conceptualisations of collectivities - ethnic and/or gender based - have come to challenge norms and doctrines of individualism in new ways. Once again, liberal perceptions of fairness based on individualism is challenged by collective norms and perceptions of justice based on group solidarity. Research based observations on the differing interpretations of rules aimed to further justice/ fairness draw our attention to the "local" variations in organisational cultures. Research which focuses more directly on organisational norms and traditions, and on institutionally confined interpretations of what gender "is all about", should be relevant also to cross national comparative studies, although such analyses obviously have to be based on mainly "case study" approaches. Within this perspective, it would be important to know what kinds of distributive principles apply to different organisational contexts; how standards of "merit" and "justice" are perceived and argued, and how new justifications are being made when established distributive principles are challenged.

Local leadership studies:

On local levels of political office, two types of comprehensive studies have been conducted in Norway. One type addresses issues of recruitment through party nomination/ election system investigations, while the other has concentrated on the meanings and importance of local offices per se. As regards party nomination/ election system effects, Norwegian studies on both national and local levels have produced conclusions familiar to other national contexts, for instance on the impacts of proportional representation, party delegation sizes, degrees of voter influence etc. Local leadership studies are however hampered by the lack of available national data bases - information thus has to be collected ad hoc. Studies therefore tend to be either geographically limited or mainly based on one type of data - most commonly surveys/questionnaires. Within these limitations, we still have good examples of research, which combines analytical ambitions with suggestions on practical means to improve women's participation in local offices, research which also could provide guidelines for comparatively oriented studies.

The more limited research on local political offices does *not* reflect the actual importance of local democracy themes. On the contrary, with the increasing importance of *regionally based politics* in both Europe at large and within nationally drawn borders, issues of local democracy obviously gain weight - as do those which reflect on the *independencies /interdependencies* between local, regional and national levels. From a gender perspective, local politics is important not only in access/ recruitment terms, but also because of the major social and welfare responsibilities of local communities. The public sector arrangements at local levels, in terms of both services and jobs, are increasingly decisive elements in European women's lives. Studies which could address the topics of gendered interdependencies in regionally defined politics; between party based politics and administrations; between employers and employees; between clients and consumers; should be strongly recommended, not least on cross-national bases.

Research funds:

The main fund for independent academic research in Norway is the *National Research Fund.* This fund sponsors both disciplinary and interdisciplinary research, the latter mainly through defined, time limited, research programs. For the period 1997-2002 a new program: "Gender in Transition - institutions, norms, identities" - has been set up to finance research in both the social sciences and the humanities.

Several Norwegian *ministries* sponsor research on gender issues on special applications. Most important to research on women in political decision making would be the Ministry for Children and Family Affairs (sic) and the Ministry for Labour. For social and economic decision making these two ministries would still be relevant, but in addition also the Ministry for social affairs, and possibly, the Ministry for economic policies/trade. For all of these, the ministerial

research departments would have to be approached with specific research proposals. The same goes for the umbrella organisation for the Norwegian municipalities - *Kommunenes Sentralforbund* - which recently has initiated a large scale research and development program on local democracy themes.

The main economic interest organisations have been somewhat reluctant to sponsor independent research. Yet *trade unions* have funds and might be approached with trade union relevant /specific outlines. Within the main employer organisation - *NHO* - there is at present more acute embarrassment over the leadership profiles of private businesses, and possibly thus a greater willingness to investigate problems of women's access to positions of economic decision making.

Neither parliament nor parties have independent research funds. Yet parties might be convinced to allocate funds for issues particularly important to their own history/ development, as is currently being negotiated with the Norwegian Labour party for a project on the social democratic women's organisational history through this century.

On a Nordic basis, the research funds administered through *Nordisk Ministerråd/ Nordisk Råd*, would all be relevant - particularly as these often also encourage larger European projects.

II. Social and Economic Decision Making
Women's Participation within Trade Unions, Voluntary Organisations and the Leadership of Private Businesses

2.1. A brief system description

The strong Norwegian social democratic tradition is a tradition that depends heavily on the negotiation of conflicts; most importantly the negotiation of conflicts between labour and capital - which for the past fifty years have included a large degree of state intervention. In the mid 1960s, the Norwegian political scientist Stein Rokkan thus gave name to the "two channels of influence" - the two roads to political power - in the Norwegian society: the numerical channel of party votes, and the corporate channel of organisational memberships. And the Norwegian investigation of power relationships in the 1970's launched a whole set of concepts to describe the institutional mixes of power arenas, the interdependencies between different societal actors and organisations - like for instance "bargaining economy"; "mixed administration"; "cross-institutional segmentation".[8]

These mixes of private and public are foremostly institutionalised through the elaborate system of corporate decision making (cfr. part 1.2.) But it is also demonstrated in the main systemic traits of the Norwegian economy, where public budgets make up about half the GNP - in a heavily

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8   See NOU 1982:3: Maktutredningen. Sluttrapport.

oil dependent economy; where most of the growth in employment over the past twenty years has come within the public sector; and where women's entry into the labour market mainly has been as public sector employees. To a large degree, the expansion of the welfare state has meant that women's earlier voluntary and unpaid work has changed into paid professional work.

Over the past thirty years, we have witnessed in Norway a decisive break with the old provider ideology. As of today, girls are in majority among those who take higher education. The employment rate among women is more than 70 percent. While there still is a comparatively high degree of part time work among Norwegian women, a majority of mothers with small children now work full time hours. But the gender segregation of the labour market has changed little over for instance the last ten years. The large "women's occupations" are still within care and service work; the large "men's occupations" are still within industry production and administration. More than half of the employed women work within five occupations: in nursing, cleaning, hotels and restaurants, as shop- or office workers. Women now make up close to half the labour force, and consequently also close to half the members of the main trade unions. But the strong Norwegian division of labour markets by gender is reflected also in trade union memberships, with a large majority of women members concentrated in a few large organisations.

So far, women's integration into political elites has had no equivalent in either public or private sector leadership positions, nor in the leadership of large economic interest organisations. For a description of broad patterns of change in labour market participation, see Kjeldstad (1992), Skrede and Tornes (1986), Ellingsæter 1995 or Ellingsæter and Rubery (1997). For an overview of gender distributions within Norwegian leadership strata; political elites, labour organisations, private businesses, judicial and educational leadership positions etc, see Kjeldstad (1994). For other brief discussions, see also the contributions in the report from the "Backlash" conference in Oslo in 1993.

2.2. Research on trade union member- and leaderships

No comprehensive study of Norwegian women's participation within the main economic interest organisations - the trade unions' member- and umbrella organisations - exist, neither in terms of current activities or in terms of historical development (cfr. Hagemann 1988). The three main umbrella organisations - Landsorganisasjonen, Yrkesorganisasjonenes Sentralforbund and Akademikernes Fellesorganisasjon - also administers membership records by gender, but no centrally located data bases are available for mappings of memberships and representation in leadership positions.

A sketching of early labour history, and developments in women's union memberships, was done in the early 1980s (Holter and Sørensen 1984, cfr. also Ingebrigtsen 1983, 1984). More recently, detailed figures have been provided for developments in representation over the past 20 years for both YS (Hundvin 1994, Ellefsen 1993) and LO (Selfors 1997). Again, compared to

women's proportions of memberships, clear - and lasting - patterns of under representation in decision making bodies are demonstrated.

A recent investigation into the growth of union memberships in Scandinavia over the past twenty years shows that the present day level in all countries mainly are due to the entry of women into the labour force. At the same time, the concentration of women in jobs in the public sector has altered the numerical relationships of strength between traditional blue collar unions and unions representing municipal and other sector employees (Karvonen 1995). In the Norwegian context, this change in memberships profiles has also led to increased conflict over leadership positions within for instance the LO - partly tied to continuing debates over adoption of gender quota regulations, which the union so far largely has avoided. This reluctance can be understood partly against the background of established principles of representation - which those favoured do not want to change, and partly on the background of the labour organisations' competition structure as regards memberships (Skjeie 1989, 1991, cfr. Balas 1982). Consequently, while the growth of women's trade union membership over the last decades is impressive, their level of representation within the decision making bodies is clearly not so.

2.3. Research on private/public businesses

Still less impressive is the record of private businesses in promoting women for leadership positions. Based on data from the 200 largest Norwegian businesses, Kjeldstad (1994, cfr. Nordisk Ministeråd 1994) showed that none of these had a woman top administrative leader, and that - collectively - only 10 percent women were on the boards of these businesses (cfr. also Huse 1996). More recently, the main employers' organisation in Norway - NHO - has financed a series of training and mentor programs aimed at increasing women's leadership opportunities (for an overview see Raaum 1996). NHO has also financed a first comprehensive *mapping of women's access to leadership levels in NHO member businesses.* This mapping gave what might in the 1990s well be considered an incredible result: in close to 80 percent of the membership businesses, there were no women present at leadership levels beneath the administrative head position - i.e. in a recruitment position for top leadership. Yet the investigation also demonstrated cluster effects: The higher the proportion of women in top leadership positions, the higher the proportion of women in recruitment positions (Raaum 1996). And Wright, Baxter and Birkelund (1995) have concluded that women's problems in management and the professions at present are clearly more severe in Norway than in for instance the US.

Research on gender structures/cultures in business organisations are however still rare in Norway. A large scale research program on Leadership, Organisation and Management - involving more than a hundred research projects over a ten year period - included only one comprehensive study on gender (Folgerø Johannessen). (For master theses on gender/leadership, see Baustad and Folgerø Johannessen 1984, Christensen 1988, Jordfald and Solberg 1990, Teigen 1990, Vigran

1992, Brandser 1993, Eek 1996, Myhre 1997. Cfr. also Waage 1982, the journal Nytt om Kvinneforskning nr. 5, 1986, Folgerø Johannessen 1991, Næss 1994, Solberg 1995). In a "state of the art" report to this research program, Kvande and Rasmussen (1992) nevertheless recommended a shift of research focus towards gender in / gendering of organisations rather than conventional "women in management" studies, where too much focus was claimed to be on individual women's "suitability", and to little focus on organisational cultures per se. This is the approach favoured in their own comprehensive study from the early 1990s, where career patterns and leadership ambitions among women engineers are analysed and discussed within the framework of organisational structures and cultures: *Nye kvinneliv. Kvinner I menns organisasjoner* (Oslo, Ad Notam 1990). In this study, non-hierarchical work organisations are clearly shown to be both preferred by, and beneficial to, women employees in terms of work opportunities (cfr. Kvande and Rasmussen 1989, 1993, 1994, 1995 and Kvande 1995). The gendered implications of a changing relationship between positionally and personally defined "competence" in (increasingly important) flexible work organisations is also discussed by Sørhaug (1996). And the framework for studies of gender/in/organisation recommended by Kvande and Rasmussen might be further applied in the Norwegian part of the Comparative Leadership Project, where these two researchers both participate (cfr. note 6).

A somewhat similar approach also guides Birthe Folgerø Johannesens doctoral thesis: *Det flytende kjønnet* (Bergen, LOS-senteret), conducted within the research program on leadership and organisation. In this study, in depth interviews with women in top management positions in both private and public sectors are primarily analysed as representing both ambivalent and contested understandings of what gender in leadership is all about. Yet representations of what is general and primary in ideals about leadership are controlled more by men than by women, and more by leaders than by non leaders, and the analysis demonstrates how meanings of "leadership" primarily connect to and develop notions of masculinity.

A large scale research project on career systems, advancement opportunities and wage distributions - *Gender differences in employment histories* - within six major Norwegian companies, among them the respectively private and public oil companies of Shell Norge and Statoil, has now been jointly financed by five Norwegian ministries and the trade union organisation LO. In depth organisation studies of the two oil companies show that gender differences are more pronounced in advancement options than in wage structures. The public company - Statoil - has developed recruitment and career systems specifically aimed to improve women's opportunities within the company. Yet the project could trace few direct beneficial effects of this program in advancement patterns within the company (Hoel 1997. Cfr. also Mastekaasa 1997).

2.4. Research on voluntary organisations

Voluntary work within the welfare organisations which make up an important part of civil society has traditionally accounted for much of women's organisational activity: While men organised around demands tied to work places and working conditions, women organised around interests of social welfare and well being (Blom 1997, cfr. Hernes 1982, also Fjær 1981). Based on historical data from one Norwegian county, Selle and Øymyr (1995) demonstrate the gradual overall decline of both teetotal and religious lay organisations and, from the mid 1970s, also the traditional social welfare organisations. Thus women are shown to be gradually losing their old organisational society, while at the same time not gaining equal participation within the new expanding society - the leisure organisations.

Dahlerup and Gulli (1985/83) classify "women's organisations" in Scandinavia into eight broad types. In addition to political parties' women's organisations (cfr. 1.4.) trade union organisations (cfr. 3.2.) and umbrella organisations, they distinguish between housewives' organisations; farming organisations for women; social and humanitarian organisations, religious and temperance societies and finally women's movement organisations (For other overviews, cfr. also Hernes 1982 b, Hernes and Voje 1980, Strømberg 1980, Halsaa 1986, 1989).

Since Anna Caspari Agerholt's book on the women's movements' history from the 1930s (new publication 1973), the histories of the *women's movement organisations* have been further documented in studies of conflicts and controversies between bourgeois and socialist organisations at the beginning of this century (Blom and Hagemann 1982, Blom 1987, Viestad 1994, Nagel 1995). A comprehensive study of the history of the oldest women's right organisation in Norway has quite recently been published, by Elisabeth Lønnå: *Norsk Kvinnesaksforenings historie* (Oslo, Gyldendal, 1996), updating an earlier study of the same organisation (Moksnes 1984, cfr. also Gulli 1982). The pre-war history of the Norwegian Housewives' organisation is extensively discussed by Kari Melby: *Kvinnelighet som strategi* (University of Trondheim, 1995), and the much shorter history of the new women's movement has similarly been discussed also in terms of internal controversies in a broad analysis of the movement's forms of organisation, main ideological perspectives and political strategies, by Runa Haukaa: *Bak Slagordene. Den nye kvinnebevegelsen I Norge* (Oslo, Pax. Cfr. also Gulli 1977, Gulli and Haukaa 1982, Rød 1995)

At present, not much remains of either type of movement: the umbrella organisation for the traditional women's organisations has closed down, as have several of the 1970s feminist groups. Several parties' women's organisations are in the process of reorganising; very few separate trade union organisations remain; single-issue-groups now dominate the organisational maps (cfr. Morken 1993). And comprehensive studies of the histories of women's organising are, with the three above mentioned exceptions, still non-existent in Norway. But hopefully, a newly developed Nordic network for research on women's movements - run by the Nordic Institute for Research on Gender,

will help promote more comprehensive research into these histories, which remain crucial to our understanding of women's collective power gains - and losses - both past and present.

III. National Agencies and Organisational Innovations to Promote Equality

3.1. The national level:
The equal status law and ombud, the equal status council and the ministry for children and family affairs.

3.1.1. A brief system description:

On the national level, the tri-partite system of gender equality agencies which was built during the 1970s has remained largely unchanged until today (for general reviews, see Halsaa, Eduards and Skjeie 1985/1983, Skjeie, Førde and Lorentzen 1989, NOU 1995:15, van der Ros 1996).

The Gender Equality Ombud's (GEO, established 1979) main task is to enforce the Act on Gender Equality (GEA). To do this, she relies on a secretarial staff of 4 lawyers, and a yearly budget of approx. 3.5 million NOK. In cases of dispute, binding decisions are made by an Appeals Board consisting of 7 members, where the chair also has formal competence as judge. The Norwegian Gender Equality Act was adopted by Parliament in 1978, after five years of preparation. Introduced as one of the ten major points in the Labour party's election programme in 1973, it was intended primarily as a regulation covering working life. In preparation, the scope of the law was extended to cover all areas of social life - with exception for "internal religious matters" and "family /personal matters" (§2). the law's general clause (§3) simply prohibits gender based discriminatory treatment. Excepted (§3.3) is however differential treatment which, in accordance with the purpose of the law, aims to promote equality, in particular by strengthening women's position (§1). In addition to clauses on non-discrimination with regard to job hiring (§4) and wages (§5), we find clauses on equal access to education (§6), on the use of non-discriminatory text books in teaching (§7), on equal access to associations (8), and on the composition of officially appointed boards and commissions (§21, adopted 1981, revised 1987).

The Gender Equality Council's (GEC, established 1972, reorganised 1979) main task is to serve as a consultative and advisory body to both the government and the general public, and as a link between government and organisations concerned with equality issues. The council also serves as advisor to gender equality councils on the municipality level. The seven members of the council are appointed by the government - yet the two major labour market organisations, the Norwegian Trade Union and the Norwegian Employer's Association, have formally established representation rights to the council. The council works largely through a secretariat of five executive positions, on a yearly budget of approx. 3. mill. NOK.

The Ministry for Children and Family Affairs (MCF) is in charge of supervision, coordination and implementation of governmental equality policies. Coordination tasks include, since the early 1980s, coordinating all ministries in the preparation and implementation of a series of national action plans for equality (1981-85, 1986-90, 1991-94). The section in charge of this work within the ministry (established 1977) holds eight executive positions. The ministry also administers the budget and staff of the GEC and the GEO.

3.1.2. Research based evaluations of gender equality agencies on the national level

The by now widely applied concept of "state feminism" originated within Scandinavian feminist scholarship in the mid 1980s (cfr. Hernes 1987). It coined a particular relationship - a strategic alliance - between women and the state; the political processes and structures where feminist agitation "from below" meets official responses in terms of integration politics "from above". The concept was partly introduced in an effort to overcome a dominant tradition of feminist thought highly suspicious of state action, thus stressing a more hopeful possibility of strategic alliances. One such strategic alliance can be claimed to exist between research on, and administration of, equality policies. All since the major controversies around the adoption of the Norwegian Gender Equality Act in the 1970s, where feminist Jurist academics - *Kvinneretten* - provided the base line critique of gender neutral regulations, the ministries in charge of gender equality issues have regularly commissioned academically based evaluations of existing equality policies. Often - if sometimes somewhat reluctantly - state ministries have also paid attention to the actual recommendations provided by researchers. Thus a tradition of "critical friendliness" marks much of the research based evaluations of official gender equality policies reported in this section.

The gender equality act and ombud

During the preparation of the GEA, one large controversy concerned the option for preferential treatment within the framework of a genderneutral ban on discrimination. Feminist organisations, and the juridical feminist milieu (cfr. Dahl 1984/1987) strongly argued the need for a specification of this general prohibition (§3) that could allow preferential treatment arrangements (cfr. § 3.3.), arrangements which in particular should benefit women (cfr. §1). It is these specifications which in Norway provide the general option for use of preferential treatment arrangements in different spheres of society.

In 1991, the MCF commissioned a project to investigate the actual uses of preferential treatment arrangements as a means of promoting equality, covering education, working life and political appointments. This project is still running (Teigen 1993-1998). In the public sector, formal agreements on preferential treatment applies at both state and municipality levels. Complaints about contraventions of these regulations are not addressed by the Ombud as they follow from collective

agreements (cfr. § 14). The research project on preferential treatment has however documented that such regulations very rarely come to decide actual appointments (Teigen and Steen Jensen 1995, Teigen and Wiers-Jenssen 1996). So far, the main parties to this agreement have not themselves addressed the shortcomings of preferential treatment regulations.

The general option for preferential treatment follows from GEA §3.3., cfr. §1. The Ombud's conclusion has consistently been that it is only the use of preferential treatment in male dominated sectors which is consistent with the aim of the GEA. In 1996 however, a new prescription to the GEA was added, allowing preferential treatment of men in connection with the care for and education of children (§3.4). The effect of this new regulation on general work and career opportunities within the care sectors remain to be seen. Research based warnings have however been given about the clear possibility that such practices will further restrict women's limited career opportunities within these sectors (Hoel 1997).

During preparation, another main controversy over the GEA concerned the specification and implementation of the *equal pay clause*. Due to trade union objections, this clause holds a limitation that the principle of "equal pay for work of equal value" only operates within the framework of "one employer/ business". Likewise, disputes within areas of working life covered by collective agreements cannot be decided by the GEA's appeals board, but is referred to the Labour Court (§14). An evaluation commissioned by the MCF in 1989 of the GEA and its enforcement in particular drew attention to enforcement problems in connection with the regulations covering working life (Skjeie, Førde and Lorentzen 1989, cfr. Skjeie 1982). For equal pay, legal evaluations have stressed that "the existing legislation only can address minor adjustments in a few individual cases", and furthermore that the Ombud's enforcement of this regulation mainly have been characterised by "strict interpretations" and "reluctance to use force" (Halvorsen 1988. For other legal evaluations, cfr. also Holgersen 1984). Since then, the Norwegian government has taken part in the financing of a large scale Nordic equal pay project. During the 1990s, both the MCF and the Ministry for labour and administration have also financed national research aimed at uncovering wage differentiating processes. And in 1996, the MCF appointed a work evaluation commission, which has recently delivered its recommendations (NOU 1997:10). The commission now proposes to change the phrasing of the equal pay clause to allow for wage comparisons across occupations; a majority also recommends negotiation of collective agreements on the use of work evaluation schemes.

A recent investigation of complaints in *appointment cases* (§4) brought to the GEO over the past ten years shows that in less than 40 percent of the cases, the ombud has concluded that appointments have been in contravention of the law. The overwhelming majority of cases have been brought forward by women (97%) applying for (mostly top or medium level) positions within the public sector (89%). Enforcement problems arise in particular when applicants are about approximately equally qualified. Provided that they seem "impartial", employer arguments on "personal suitability" are then generally accepted by the Ombud (Teigen 1997.) These cases of

complaint (mainly made by women) thus show how "personal suitability" arguments actually work in women's disfavour. Yet in other investigations (cfr. Teigen and Wiers Jenssen 1996), the same kinds of arguments are shown to work also the other way round. What "personal suitability" arguments thus largely demonstrate, are the actual choice options contained within apparently strictly regulated employment procedures.

The gender equality council

The Gender Equality Council's current mandate stems from 1979. An evaluation commissioned by the MCF in 1989 of the GEC (Skjeie, Førde and Lorentzen 1989) drew particular attention to inconsistencies connected with the current restrictions of organisationally based representation rights to the Norwegian Trade Union and the Norwegian Employers' Association. On labour market equality issues other organisations, particularly within the public sector, ought to be equally relevant participants within the GEC, the report maintained. The investigation also pointed to a gradual limiting of contacts with the Norwegian women's organisations. The council's governmental contacts were dominated by links to the ministries, while contacts with either parliament or political parties were largely ignored. The investigation thus recommended a sharper focus for the composition, organisation and tasks of the GEC, and a choice between three different models: a council for labour market issues, a council for equality work on local levels or, finally, a central agency for information, investigation and planning of new major efforts to promote equality.

This evaluation is thus at odds with Bystydzienski's (1995) conclusions about the work of the Norwegian GEC, made in connection with a large scale project on comparative state feminism. Here, the GEC was found to: "play a pivotal role in coordinating local, regional, and national equality offices, integrating gender issues into all areas of public policy, formulating and implementing equality legislation and programs, and increasing the number of women in the elected, bureaucratic and corporate sectors of the Norwegian state".

The GEC is presently (1997) in the process of reorganisation. A governmentally appointed commission has suggested that the council focuses its attention on information, documentation and planning of major new equality initiatives, much in line with the third option suggested in the 1989 evaluation. The representation rights of the two major labour market organisations are however upheld in this new proposal, and no new representation rights are granted other organisations. (For other reorganisation proposals, see the next sections).

The ministry for children and family affairs

The Equality Section of the MCF is the main coordinator of governmental equality policies. The MCF also enforces the GEA § 21 regarding appointments to governmental boards and commissions. Several other ministries have allocated executive positions with special responsibility for equality policies; such positions are found in both the Ministry for Church, education and research, the

Foreign Office, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Fisheries (NOU 1995:15). Furthermore, all ministries have been involved in the development of the four-annual national action plans for equality since the early 1980's onwards. The action plan for the period 1991-1994 is currently under evaluation (SINTEF 1996-1997) - but no research conclusions have so far been published.

The MCF's lack of formal instruction rights vs. other ministries has otherwise been a recurring theme in evaluations of the centrally initiated planning for equality (Skjeie, Førde and Lorentzen 1989, NOU 1995:15). So far, this problem has not been solved - although the governmental commission appointed to evaluate the equality apparatus (NOU 1995:15) did propose to establish an advisory council to the Cabinet as such. The commission also proposed that the Cabinet provides a yearly "Statement on Equality Policies" to Parliament.

3.2. The county and municipality levels: Research based evaluations of local and regional apparatuses and organisational innovations to promote equality

3.2.1. Evaluations of the local gender equality councils

The history of the municipality based gender equality councils dates back to local committees established during the UN International Women's Year in 1975. In 1977 the MCF encouraged all municipalities to set up permanent committees, and by 1993, 340 out of 439 municipalities had done so. The councils are appointed by local political authorities as part of the political-administrative structure at the local level. The current mandate instructs the GEC to act as "liaison" to the municipality level councils, and the GEC organises biannual conferences for the equal status councils at the municipality level. To reinforce equality work within the municipalities, the recent evaluation of the national equality apparatus (NOU 1995:15) proposed that equality councillors should be appointed in each of the 19 Norwegian counties, thus establishing a new link between the governmental and municipality level.

An extensive evaluation of the local equal status councils has been carried out by Beatrice Halsaa. Based on a combination of interviews, inquiries, observation and readings of official documents, this project provided a handbook in equality work for local councils: *Ingen heksekunst!* (Oslo, Likestillingsrådet, 1984). The study had reported large variations in the activities of councils. A 1989 evaluation showed only small signs of improvement; about 30 - 40 percent of the councils were now classified as having taken none, or very few, actual initiatives, as compared to the about 10 percent "actively working" councils (Halsaa and van der Ros 1989, cfr. Guldvik 1992). Most important for council activity were the motivation of the council chairs, and the assistance provided from municipality administrations.

3.2.2. Evaluations of administrative and project work at local levels

Since the mid 1980's, a series of centrally initiated equality projects has been implemented at local levels, mainly in the form of time-limited "pilot" or experimental projects. Most of these projects have been evaluated, and these evaluations are collectively presented and discussed by Halsaa (1995).

The National Fund for Regional Development (Distriktenes utbyggingsfond (DU)/Statens nærings- og distriktsutviklingsfond (SND)) has been in charge of three main - and step wise - project efforts: in 1987-1988, in 1988-90 and in 1989-1992. The total budget for these programs has been calculated to about 250 mill. NOK (van der Ros 1996).

The 1987-88 projects provided funding for 27 efforts in 5 counties, ranging from projects aimed to provide new jobs for women, via improvements in municipality services such as day care facilities, to "consciousness-raising" work vs. municipality administration and staff. The evaluation of these projects (Mathiesen et. al. 1990) recommended that the national fund concentrated new projects around regional development tasks and targeted job provisions.

Another experimental program (1987-1990) on regional planning was located to three northern municipalities. In the evaluation of these projects different level of "success" were pointed to depending on how many close ties/ strategic alliances the projects had been able to establish between the women taking part in the project and the municipality administrative staffs. Without such ties, the projects became both isolated and "top-down"-driven (Holmvik 1991, Wiborg 1992, Wiborg 1992 b).

The large scale 1989-92 program originally chose five counties for further projects - mainly concentrating on employment counselling, targeted job provision and development of child care facilities. The program was however extended to cover 13 of the total 19 Norwegian counties. The national fund provided one regional coordinator in each county, and investment subsidies for both new jobs and new child care provisions in local businesses. The evaluation (Lothrington et.al. 1992, cfr. Lothrington and Tommassen 1997) reports a series of innovations in education, business leadership training, product development and networking. Once more, conclusions pointed to the importance of administrative involvement and enthusiasm. Very few of these evaluations can however point to explicit efforts to link the political equality "expertise" - the local equal status councils - to the administratively based projects to promote equality on local levels.

In another major evaluation - *The organisation of municipal equality work in the 1990s* -, financed by the MCF and the Ministry for Labour, the particular challenges facing the coordinators of these projects are summed up in three possible threats of marginalisation: Being administrative "strangers" on time limited projects ; political "diffusionists" with many-faceted tasks, and femocrats in male dominated work environments. Yet the overall conclusion is nevertheless an optimistic one: the work of the coordinators involved in this program mainly demonstrates a gradual feminist-ation within the coordinator group (van der Ros 1996, see also van der Ros 1994).

The Ministry for environmental affairs has also initiated a large scale experimental program; "Municipality planning by and for women" (1989-1992). The program targeted six municipalities, with the aim of covering all sectors of municipality planning. Separate project administrations were set up, and a national coordination group established. In two of the municipalities, the project was chaired by the Mayor and involved both administrative section leaders and Municipality Council members. In all municipalities, participants were offered special planning education at one of the regional colleges.

The project was ambitious, and the evaluation favourable for the majority of municipalities (Amdam et al. 1989, 1993). But curiously, the ministry in charge has done very little to provide a systematic mitigation of project results to other municipalities - nor has the program been extended after 1992. Thus the evaluation team have also asked whether the program actually should be regarded mainly as belonging to the area of "symbolic policies".

Summing up these different project evaluations, Halsaa (1995) points out two important lessons from all the local experiments. Practical equality work means engaging in extensive development and learning processes more than relying on rule-oriented bureaucratic work. Equality work is not foremostly an area of politics that can be effectively regulated by laws and prescriptions. Yet administrative bases and leadership support is indeed helpful to implementation processes - if these are lacking, too much comes to depend on idiosyncrasies.

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1.0. Political decision making at the national level

The Prime Minister and the Cabinet, including work on individual top politicians/party leaders

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State of the Art Study of Research on Women in Political Decision-Making

Report on Sweden
By Christina Bergqvist
with help from Karin Fällman

Introduction

State of research on women
Economic decision making

The search for research on women in decision making in Sweden indicates that economic decision making is somewhat better covered than political decision making and that research on social decision making has been neglected. However, *quantitative* data on political decision-making is easier to define and find in public statistics. A plausible reason for the fairly high supply of research in the economic field is the high female participation in the labour market and the profile of Swedish gender equality policies. Swedish women were early on secured some basic rights in the labour market and women's participation in the labour market has for a long time been comparatively high. The public welfare policies and services, gender equality legislation, the tax system etc. has been supporting this development. Today the dual bread-winner family is the norm and the necessity for most families. Gender equality is a public goal, but there is a gap between the ideal of women and men sharing equally in caring for children and participating in the labour market, and the reality. The labour market is still very gender segregated and many women work part time and have the main responsibility for caring. Women rarely reach the top-level positions.

The gender segregation in the labour market and women's possibilities of reaching top level positions has been a prominent area of research. The problem here has been to define the research relevant for this report, that is research that deals with decision making. We have tried to find research that is strictly looking at women in economic decision making positions. It seems that over time there has been a growing interest in this area. Most of the relevant studies are found during the last ten years. The research trend has, generally speaking, been from women as workers and wage-earners to women as managers and decision makers.

In 1962 an extensive study called *Kvinnors liv och arbete (Women's life and work)* was published. Even though this study did not specifically study women in economic decision making, it focused on the conditions of working life and women's opportunities to combine family and a professional career. This report actually led to a wide spread debate about the new concept *sex roles* and influenced the public debate. The report also laid the ground for much of the research done later

on and also influenced the political decision making on taxes (individual taxation was introduced in 1970), child care, parental leave etc. In 1992 a follow up of the study was published, this time called *Kvinnors och mäns liv och arbete (Women's and men's life and work)*.

Today there is a growing field of research on women in management and organisations, which analyses the mechanisms that facilitate or prevent women from attaining managerial positions. The importance of research on women in economic decision making was acknowledged by the government when the Department of Social Affairs in 1994 initiated a large public investigation into Women and Economic Power. The investigation is lead by a county governor, but the research is mainly done by a great number of academic researchers from different universities in Sweden. (It seems that every feminist researcher from the social sciences plus some others are involved). The results will be published in several reports during autumn 1997 (Kvinno-maktutredningen, arbetsrapport februari 1997).

An interesting pattern can be seen, a pattern that we also find in other areas. That is the readiness of the politicians to use the research in political decision making. There is in Sweden an enormous amount of research done in public commissions. These commissions usually consist of academic expertise in the area, other experts and politicians.

Political decision making

Academic research (in political science departments) on women in political decision making started comparatively late in Sweden. The most likely explanation to this is the male dominance in the field and even open hostility towards feminism and gender perspectives.[1] At the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s a rather modest break through can be discerned when political scientist Maud L. Eduards published her first analysis of women and politics (Eduards 1977; 1980; Eduards 1981). Before that, there were only a few academic and qualified analyses done (for example *Kvinnors röst och rätt* 1969, Wieselgren 1969). There were actually more discussions and analyses of women and political decision making in some of the parties (especially from the parties' women's sections) and in reports from public commissions than in academia. In politics women's representation was put on the agenda at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. However, it was not put on the academic research agenda until almost ten years later.

The first doctoral thesis in political science with a feminist perspective came in 1991, when Anna G. Jónasdóttir's book *Love Power and Political Interests* was published. (Swedish PhD theses are often published and reach a wider circle of readers than their own department). Jònasdóttir's work is mainly theoretical. Also Eduards moved in a more theoretical direction and surprisingly few empirical studies of the development of women in political decision making were published in the

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1   This is my own experience

1980s. During the last five years or so there seems, however, to have been a new trend of empirical research on women in political decision making by political scientists (Bergqvist 1994; Oskarson & Wängnerud; Hedlund 1996) and by historians (Karlsson 1990; 1996). There is also a growing body of biographies of famous and influential women politicians like Alva Myrdal and Inga Thorsson (Lindskog 1981; 1990) and memoirs from women about their years in politics and the route there (Lindström 1969; 1970; Leijon 1991).

Social decision making

Not available

Note on quantitative and/or qualitative research

It is almost impossible to distinguish between purely quantitative and purely qualitative research when it comes to the subject of women in decision making. The academic research is rarely only quantitative, academic research is based in theory and primarily quantitative studies always have more or less of a qualitative analysis. We found that it is basically public statistics and databases that could be described as quantitative. In the text we do not distinguish between quantitative and qualitative research, but when relevant we make a comment or note about the nature of different sources.

I.   Research on Political Decision Making

1.1.   Government

1.1.1. National level:

Head of state

Sweden is a monarchy, where the monarch only has some formal duties but no power. Sweden has not had a female head of state in modern times. In 1980 gender equal succession to the throne was introduced. Now Sweden has a crown princess.

Prime Minister and cabinet

There has never been a female prime minister, even though it was close in 1994. On the other hand the increase of women cabinet members has been quite exceptional during the last 20 years. The first time a women cabinet minister was nominated was in 1947, and until the general elections in 1973 there had only been five women cabinet ministers altogether. When prime minister Olof Palme in 1973 nominated three women and seventeen men to form the cabinet it was the starting point for a new trend. Ever since, more or less every new cabinet has included a larger and larger share of

women (Eduards 1977; Sainsbury 1993; Bergqvist 1994). Finally in 1994 a social democratic cabinet of eleven women and eleven men was formed.

It is interesting to note that it seems that social democratic and bourgeois governments have competed with each other in showing a gender equal face. In 1976 when the social democrats lost governmental power for the first time in 44 years the new bourgeois coalition started out with five female cabinet ministers. Since then power has shifted between the social democrats and the bourgeois coalitions, but every time a new cabinet has been formed more women have been included (Bergqvist 1994).

There is only a rather small amount of research on women cabinet ministers. Usually it is part of a broader study of women and politics. The scattered information on recruitment processes shows that party office and/or membership in parliament are important for women as well as men for the possibility of recruitment (Sainsbury 1993; Bergqvist 1994).

Although the first female ministers were often found in junior positions and in 'traditional' women's sectors, the rather fast inclusion of women lately has led to a situation were almost all ministerial positions, except Prime Minister, have been held by a woman. Two of the five women in the 1976 Centre-lead government held such prestigious posts as the Foreign Affairs Minister and the Housing and Planning Minister. Nonetheless there have been more women ministers responsible for health, social welfare, education, labour market affairs and immigration than with the budget and economy. However, there is today no clear-cut pattern in governmental composition when it comes to which political sectors women can be found in (Bergqvist 1994).

Legislature

Women as members of parliament

The period after 1970 can be described as going from a slow, but stable increase, to some sharp increases, a sharp decline and then an increase again to today's level of around 40 percent women in the Parliament (Table 1). After the elections in 1973 women's representation rose to over 20 percent, about ten years later to 30 percent and then ten years on from there to 40 percent. The most surprising party is the Centre Party which almost doubled women's representation between 1970 and 1973, from 13 to 24 percent. Something which can partly be explained by the former agrarian party's new profile as an environmental and anti-nuclear party, which appealed to women. While the increase of Centre Party women has been substantial, women's representation of the Moderate Party's MPs has lately stagnated just beneath 30 percent. Even though the moderates have been very successful in the two latest elections, this has not resulted in an increased proportion of women in the party group. Two small parties, the Liberal and the Left, have shown some fluctuations over time according to electoral success or failure, when successful more women have been elected. However, both parties have generally speaking tried to advance women's positions. As during the earlier

period women's representation has increased to the highest degree in the Social Democratic Party's parliamentary group (Bergqvist 1997).

The general upward trend was broken in the 1991 elections, when women's representation decreased from 38 to 33 percent. This was an effect of a right-wing swing which, among other things, brought the new populist party, New Democracy into parliament. Also the Christian Democratic Party succeeded for the first time, since its establishment in the 1960s, to gain representation above the four percent threshold. The Bourgeois bloc won enough support to form a coalition government at the national level, including the Moderate, Liberal, Centre and Christian Democratic parties. The decline of women's representation can thus be understood in the light of more male dominated parties like the Moderates, the Christian Democrats and New Democracy gaining increased support. The more women friendly parties like the Centre Party, Social Democrats, the Liberal Party and the Left Party lost votes and the Green Party even fell out of Parliament. These events led to a severe critique of the Swedish political system for not being democratic, because women were not represented in accordance with their share of the votes (Bergqvist 1997).

Women mobilised in different organisations and net-works all over the country, and a non-partisan feminist net-work, calling itself the "Support-stockings", was formed by a large number of articulate and influential women with a capacity to attract the mass-media. The Support-stockings threatened to form a women's party if the traditional parties did not take women's interests seriously and make an effort to nominate more women. "The whole salary and half the power" was their slogan, implying that women's wages are lower than men's and that all positions of power should be shared by women and men. This lead women and men from all parties to declare their concern about getting more women into politics. Opinion-polls had shown that a sufficient number of voters, both female and male, would consider voting for a women's party (Eduards 1992).

Before the next general elections in 1994 the debates on a women's party and women's representation had forced most of the parties to promise to try nominating as many women as men on the party lists. The threat to form a women's party was not fulfilled, but the non-partisan pressure from feminist groups helped women inside the party system to strengthen their position and to put gender equality on top of the political agenda. Thus in the elections women won 40 percent of the seats in parliament. The rise in women's representation was partly an effect of women's mobilising and organising and partly an effect of a new left wing swing. The Social Democratic Party came back into power, the Green Party came back to parliament and New Democracy did not get enough support to keep its position in parliament. As I will discuss further later on, a conclusion to be drawn from this is that women's organising is important for making changes in the unequal representation between the sexes, but success or failure also depends on the general political context. However, one very important step is to illuminate how existing informal and formal rules and arrangements usually are gender biased in favour of men (Bergqvist 1997).

Table 1. *Women's representation in the Parliament by party 1971-1995*[a]

	1971	1974	1977	1980	1983	1986	1989	1992	1995
The Moderate Party									
Women/total	4/41	8/51	9/55	18/73	22/85	17/76	19/66	22/80	22/80
Women (%)	10	16	16	25	26	22	29	28	28
The Centre Party									
Women/total	9/71	22/90	24/86	22/64	19/57	14/44	16/42	10/31	10/27
Women (%)	13	24	28	34	33	32	38	32	37
The Liberal Party									
Women/total	5/58	5/34	9/39	10/38	2/20	20/51	19/44	12/33	9/26
Women (%)	9	15	23	26	10	39	43	36	35
The Social Democrats									
Women/total	28/163	35/156	33/152	42/154	57/167	54/159	60/156	56/138	77/161
Women (%)	17	22	22	27	34	34	38	41	48
The Left Party[b]									
Women/total	3/17	4/19	4/17	5/20	3/20	3/19	8/21	5/16	10/22
Women (%)	18	21	23	25	15	16	38	31	45
The Green Party									
Women/total	--	--	--	--	--	--	9/20	--	8/18
Women (%)	--	--	--	--	--	--	45	--	44
The Christian Democratic Party									
Women/total	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	7/26	5/15
Women (%)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	27	33
New Democracy									
Women/total	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3/25	--
Women (%)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	12	--
Women (%) in Parliament	14	21	23	28	30	31	38	33	40

Source: *Allmänna valen*. Del 3. Specialundersökning för respektive valår.

Women's positions in the Riksdag

Although women's representation in the Riksdag is relatively high, it has been claimed that women get a more marginalised position in the important Committees of Parliament and other power positions in parliament, where the actual decisions are made. Women are, according to this theses,

integrated into less influential and low status areas such as social issues, education and culture. Women are also said to be under represented in internal parliamentary power positions (Haavio-Mannila *et al*. 1983; Hirdman 1990). In recent research this thesis has been questioned and new empirical data from all the Nordic countries suggest that the above thesis of women's marginalisation does not fit today's reality (Skjeie 1992; Bergqvist 1994; Karvonen & Selle 1995; Raaum 1996).

Table 2 shows the change in the proportion of women between 1985 and 1995 in the 16 committees of parliament. The committees have members from all the parties represented in the Riksdag and they are one of the most important arenas for negotiations and preparing decisions. Not all members in the Riksdag get a place in a committee, so if women get a place in the committees in accordance with their overall proportion in parliament there is no general discrimination against women. As can be seen from the table there was a slightly lower share of women in the 1985 committees compared to the proportion of women in parliament as a whole, while in 1995 the share of women was slightly higher in the committees.

The committees have been categorised into three different dimensions, *basic functions of the state*, *infrastructure* and *social welfare*. Women have often been better represented in the dimension of social welfare, which according to the thesis of women's marginalisation can be seen as a sign of women's lower status and integration into less influential political sectors. Others say that the notion of the social welfare sector as a low status sector can be questioned. In Sweden, social welfare including education and labour market affairs, have for a long time been at the core of the Swedish model and can hardly be dismissed as of less interest in Swedish political life. The thesis of marginalisation does not take into account the relative autonomy of politics, being represented in a position of power responsible for issues of social welfare is not the same as doing traditional women's low status work at home or on the labour market. Women's higher presence in the social welfare dimension should rather be seen as resulting from women's strategic actions and positive choices. Many women consider welfare politics to be one of the most important sectors and at the heart of women's interests. As recent research shows, both women and men often sit in the committees of their first choice. Although it is somewhat harder for women to gain access to traditionally male-dominated committees where most men want to sit, women are not passively being marginalised (Oskarson & Wängnerud 1995).

As can be seen in the table, during the period between 1985 and 1995 there has been a strong influx of women in the former very male-dominated committees, while some of the former women-dominated committees today have a higher share of men than in 1985. This means that a more equal distribution of parliamentary seats between women and men also has led to new gender-patterns, where both women and men are involved in all political dimensions.

Table 2. *Women's representation in the Committees of Parliament*

The Committee on	Women/ total 1985	Women %	Women/ total 1995	Women %	% difference[1]
Basic functions					
Constitution	3/15	20	6/17	35	+15
Finance	3/15	20	6/17	35	+15
Defence	3/15	20	6/17	35	+15
Taxation	2/15	13	5/17	29	+16
Justice	4/15	27	10/17	59	+32
Civil Law Legislation	5/15	33	9/17	53	+20
Foreign Affairs	4/15	27	10/17	59	+32
Infrastructure					
Transport and Communications	2/15	13	7/17	41	+28
Agriculture	3/15	20	7/17	41	+21
Industry and Trade	3/15	20	7/17	41	+21
Housing	3/15	20	67/17	35	+15
Social Welfare					
Social Insurance	9/15	60	9/17	53	-7
Health and Welfare	7/15	47	7/17	41	-6
Culture Affairs	9/15	60	9/17	53	-7
Education	4/15	27	8/17	47	+20
Labour Market	4/15	27	6/17	35	+8
Total	68/240	28	118/272	43	+15
In Parliament	108/349	31	141/349	40	+11

[1] + means higher proportion of women and - lower proportion of women

Source: Riksdagen I siffror.

The electoral system

The Swedish case illustrates the fact that a proportional system can be used to advance women's representation, but this could not have been accomplished without other favourable factors such as a rather woman-friendly welfare state, mobilisation of women in political organisations and groups as well as in the labour market and parties responsive to women's demands. A proportional system is also easier to access for small and new parties. The establishment of a green party and the

potential threat of a women's party have forced the established parties to increase their efforts to attract more women both as representatives and voters (Bergqvist 1997).

Women's representation at the regional and local levels

At the local and regional levels a similar development of women's representation as at the national level has taken place. Table 3 shows that the representation of women in elected bodies in the regional County Councils has been higher than in the local Municipal Councils. A plausible reason for this is the more limited tasks dealt with by the County Councils, they are primarily concerned with the health care sector, while the Municipal Councils deal with a broader array of issues.

It is interesting to note the rather stable share of women in the Municipal Councils, at around 30 percent between 1979 to 1994, when women's representation for the first time reached over 40 percent. In 1994 women's representation, in the more than 270 municipalities, ranged from a low of 22 percent to a high of 53 percent. Six of the 10 municipalities with the lowest representation of women were found in the south of Sweden (Skåne) Municipalities with a socialist majority have a slightly higher average representation of women than municipalities with a bourgeois majority (Bergqvist 1997).

Table 3. *Women's representation in County Councils and Municipal Councils (%)*

	1976	1979	1982	1985	1988	1991	1994
County Councils	25	31	33	37	41	43	48
Municipal Councils	23	29	29	30	34	34	41

Source: *Nominated and elected candidates at the general elections.* Stockholm: SCB respective years.

Public Administration (Senior Grades)

See below on corporatist decision making

Political parties
National Level

When women had the right to vote for the first time in the general elections in 1921, the Swedish party system more or less looked the same as today. With some exceptions the same five parties still dominate the political scene. Many politically active women realised that the male-dominated political parties were hostile towards women and women's interests. After the experiences from the

elections in 1921, there were now and then discussions about women's party lists or building a women's party.[2] Another strategy women chose was to build their own organisations. Between the years 1920 to 1935 women from the social democrats, the conservatives, the liberals and the agrarians formed their own women's party organisations. Only the communists abstained from building a women's section in the party. In general, the party-men were against these women's organisations, but tolerated them because they were of strategic importance in attracting female voters to the party.

For a long time the party system consisted of five parties usually divided into two blocs, the socialist and the bourgeois. However, since the Green Party entered parliament in 1988, as the first new party for over 40 years, the former stability of the Swedish party system declined. There are general elections on three levels, national, regional and local, which since 1994 are held every fourth year. Before 1994 it was every third year. The Swedish voter only has a limited possibility of voting for a special candidate, she or he votes primarily for a party. It is the party which decides who will be represented on the party-list. In Sweden there has been a rather strong tradition of considering social criteria like profession, education, age and gender when composing the list. Although a party-list cannot be a mirror of each party's electorate, there is an ambition to give representation to the "relevant" social groups.

According to one investigation women members were more active than men in their local party organisations and had about the same amount of positions of trust. These positions are very important in the recruitment process to higher positions in the party, as one of the crucial criteria in the candidate selection is party office and active engagement in the party (Bäck & Möller 1994; Sainsbury 1993).

The process of including women into the top positions of the parties has been rather slow as can be seen in table 4. In the 1960s and the 1970s there were very few women as members of the national party boards. Women's share of the boards was far from corresponding to their membership, with the interesting exception of the Moderate Party (conservatives) who until 1964 requested that at least three members of the board had to be women. Today the Moderate Party is the party who is most reluctant to use any kind of quotas or affirmative action. During the mid-1970s and the 1980s there was a breakthrough for women in the parties' top positions as well, as we will see, in the Parliament. In 1988 when the Green Party for the first time entered the Parliament they introduced shared leadership with one woman and one man as spokespersons for the party and one woman and one man as convenor for the parliamentary party group. Before that there had never been a woman party leader, with the exception of a very short period of time in the mid-1980s. Today the Left Party has a woman leader and until recently the Liberal Party had a woman leader.

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2   In 1928 some liberal women stood for election with their own list and programme, however they did not get enough support to win a mandate

Table 4. *Women's representation in Swedish political parties 1960 - 1995 (%)*

	1960	1970	1975	1980	1985	1989	1991	1995
The Moderate Party								
- members	30	44	n.a.	40	n.a.	29	n.a.	n.a.
- board	30[a]	24	32	44	42	42	42	39
The Centre Party								
- members	23	29	n.a.	30	n.a.	54	n.a.	n.a.
- board	10	19	26	26	30	39	29	56
The Liberal Party								
- members	n.a.	40[b]	44.	45[b]	n.a.	47	44	46
- board	17	19	34	42	43	53	50	46
The Social Democratic Party								
- members	27	27	n.a.	34	n.a.	33	33	n.a.
- board	11	7	17	26	26	30	43	51
The Left Party								
- members	n.a.	25[b]	29	37	40	41	41	n.a.
- board	n.a.	11	24	28	38	50	46	52

n.a.= not available

[a]At least three members of the board had to be women. This was abolished in 1964.
estimations.

Sources: Data about membership comes from Sainsbury 1993 and reports from the parties. Other data from Pierre & Widfeldt 1992 and Statskalendern.

Regional party level

Lack of research

Local party level

Lack of research

The recruitment process

Joni Lovenduski talks about three categories of party strategies for increasing the proportion of women in political positions. The first set of strategies are *rhetorical* "whereby women's claims are accepted in campaign platforms and party spokespersons make frequent reference to the importance of getting more women into office". Second there are strategies of *positive* or *affirmative action* which includes special training and encouragement for women and targets for the inclusion of women in decision-making positions. Thirdly there are "strategies of *positive discrimination* in which places are reserved for women on decision-making bodies, on candidate slates, on short lists" (Lovenduski 1993, 8).

Contrary to what might be expected, the Swedish parties have not used positive discrimination, but have rather heavily relied on the first two categories of strategies. By the early 1970s all the parties had accepted the importance of giving some attention to women's issues and claimed that higher representation of women was a goal to work for. The Liberal Party was the first party to recommend that no sex should have less than 40 percent of the seats on district or constituency boards. In 1974 this recommendation was extended to include the nominations to the party lists in public elections. Since 1984 the Liberal Party has encouraged the local party districts to nominate a woman on every second seat on the lists. The other parties have, more or less, followed suit.3 As we have seen women's representation has increased substantially since the mid 1970s.

After the elections in 1991 the debate about affirmative action and quotas moved out of the internal party organisations and into the public arena. As a consequence of the decrease in women's representation, (see above) the parties selection processes were focused on and criticised. With the network, the Support-stockings, at the front line a lot of women and some men showed their discontent with the prevailing situation. If the parties did not implement the goal of equal representation a women's party might be the solution. The response from the parties showed that all main parties, except the Moderate Party, were willing to take steps to enforce the goals of equal representation of women and men on the lists. This was usually not done by introducing formal quotas, but by disciplining the local nomination committees to compose gender equal lists. The Social Democratic Party, however, did at least for this election go for a centralised quota policy. At the Congress, in September 1993, they decided that all tickets used in local, regional and national elections should be balanced with every second seat reserved for each sex (Bergqvist 1997).

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3   See Sainsbury 1993 for a more extensive discussion about women's party strategies.

Pressure groups and lobbies

No research found

Social movements

No research found

Corporatist decision making

Sweden has for a long time ranked high on the list of corporatist countries. Corporatism meaning an extensive participation of organised interests in the actual political decision making process. The main feature of the Swedish corporatist system is the large number of public bodies, committees, councils etc. which serve as a meeting place for the elite from political parties, interest organisations and state administration. The key interests in corporatist decision making are labour and capital and, in Sweden, also the farmers. The main players have been the Confederation of Swedish Trade Unions (LO) and Swedish Employers' Association (SAF), but also the Central Organisation of Salaried Employees (TCO), The Federation of Swedish Farmers (LRF) and to some degree the Association of Professional Employees and Civil Servants (SACO).

The corporatist circle has been much more closed than the parliamentary arena, the under representation of women has been more severe. During recent years Sweden has seen many changes in corporatist decision making, corporatism has actually declined. At the same time women's representation in public bodies has risen. A study of the development of the proportion of women in Commissions of Inquiry and the boards of central administration (public administration has to a large extent been led by lay boards which include representatives from organised interests) show that the proportion of women has increased substantially since the mid-eighties. In 1981 only 16 percent of the members (N=5 696) of public inquiry commissions were women, in 1992 it was 28 percent (N=3 203). In the lay boards of the central administration a rise from 18 percent (N=910) in 1986 to 36 percent (N=1 077) in 1992 has taken place. The study suggests that one of the main reasons for the increase in women's representation is a new gender sensitive policy in the recruitment process (Bergqvist 1995).

Economic decision making

Employers organisations

There is very little research in this area. The available statistics show that there are few women representatives in employers' organisations. In the Swedish Employers' Association (SAF) which is the central organisation for a vast number of private employers in Sweden has hardly had any women at all in its decision making bodies. One obvious reason is that SAF mainly organises "big business" and women are seldom among the leaders. SAF is not a democratic organisation, it does not organise individuals but companies and votes are given accordingly to the size of the company

(Bergqvist 1994). On SAF see also above section on corporatist decision making.

Professional associations

See trade unions

Trade unions and their 'peak' organisations

Strong unions have been a vital part of the Swedish model and although the role of the unions is changing they still have a vast membership. Union density is very high for both women and men. The high female employment rate and the fact that union rights for part-time work, today, are about the same as for full-time work explain the high organisation rate among women. The total membership in the three peak organisations consists of about half women and half men (Bergqvist 1994).

Considering the centrality of unions and the high female membership, the amount of research on women in leadership positions is not very impressive. Most has been done on the Confederation of Swedish Trade Unions (LO), like the pioneering work of the historian Gunnar Qvist. Qvist and other researchers to date have found that the structures of the unions generally are very male-dominated and work against a fair and equal representation of women and men. Even the unions which are female dominated in terms of membership, have usually had men in the decision making positions Qvist 1974; Waldemarson 1992).

The Central Organisation of Salaried Employees (TCO) and The Association of Professional Employees and Civil Servants (SACO) have sometimes been considered more women friendly than blue collar unions (Hernes 1987). However, other studies show that also these unions have organisational biases against women (Irlinger 1990; Bergqvist 1994).

Even though the picture is rather dark, recent data show that the trend is positive. More and more women are holding positions in decision making bodies and the number of female union leaders is growing (Bergqvist 1994).

Women in management

In 1992 the first comprehensive quantitative report on women in management was published (*Man är chef*). The report was done by Statistics Sweden and presents data on women's and men's location in the labour market, the professional levels at which they are active, and some characteristics of female and male executives such as occupational fields, age and education. The table below shows the small proportion of women in executive positions in the *private sector*.

Table 5: *Distribution by sex at the managerial level, in routine work and for all employees in various sectors in 1990*

	Women at executive level (%)	Women in routine work (%)	Women at all levels (%)
Manufacturing industry	7	80	35
Construction	3	81	9
Wholesale trade	11	65	31
Retail trade	16	68	64
Banking/financial institutions	8	73	61
Insurance companies	12	77	54
Real estate companies	11	80	39
Total	9	75	35

Statistics Sweden 1992:1

A report from the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs called *Men's perceptions of women and management* presents the most recent research on women as managers. The report gives both *quantitative* data on women in top-positions in different areas and *qualitative* data based on interviews with female and male executives. One result is that the perceptions of female and male executives differ, for example women regarded themselves and other women as competent while men regarded women as inadequate in various ways. Men thought there was a shortage of competent women, while women did not feel that men were able to assess their competence (Höök; Franzén; Wahl 1994).

Interviews with women who actively had worked with special programmes inside different organisations show positive results. The so called agents of change listed these improvements: "an increased number of women in managerial positions, women becoming more visible in the organisation, an increased awareness on the part of women, a newly-aroused interest among men for this field, and a changed approach in the organisation (Wahl 1994: 86).

All the above studies deal mainly with the private sector. In the *public sector* the situation is somewhat different, the proportion of women in leadership positions is much higher, altogether it is around 30 percent (Roman 1994).

Women in the professions

There is a growing amount of research on women in different professions and only a little can be

mentioned here. There is for example an in-depth study of the career development of female engineers and MBA's and their family situation in Sweden. The author Anna Wahl (1992) finds direct and indirect structural discrimination against women. An example is that 55 percent of the women in her survey had themselves experienced direct sex discrimination. She also found that women "who explicitly wanted to be promoted or to become mangers have more often experienced direct discrimination than others" (p 279).

Two recent sociological PhD theses about women in so called knowledge-intensive companies in the information sector, like computer businesses and advertising firms give a more optimistic view, than many previous studies, of the possibilities for a less sex segregated labour market. The information sector grew rapidly during the 1980s. The *quantitative* part of the studies states that women make up 32 percent of the professionals in advertising firms, 11 percent in hardware computer businesses, 22 percent in businesses producing both soft and hardware services and 27 percent in software businesses. (The studies included 165 firms in the Stockholm area) (Blomqvist 1994; Roman 1994).

These studies *qualitatively* investigate the possibilities of establishing new organisational patterns that do not discriminate against women. On one hand it is shown that the managing directors had a very favourable attitude toward employing women as managers, or as professionals with qualified tasks. A gender-balanced work force seems to give a competitive advantage to the company and contribute to an open corporate culture. Companies where the proportion of professional women is comparatively large typically practise a flexible model for recruitment. On the other hand the higher occupational levels are still male dominated and there are still mechanisms of sex segregation at work (Blomqvist 1994; Roman 1994).

Women in decision making in educational institutions

In the nine-year compulsory school the majority of teachers are women, around 70 percent, while in the 2-3 year gymnasium school around 45 percent of the teachers are women. Almost half of the head masters are women.

At university level there is severe dominance of men, especially in positions with high status. In Sweden the title professor is very exclusive and in 1993 only 7 percent of all full professors were women. Among the associate professors (lektorer) 21 percent were women and 24 percent of the researchers (forskarassistenter) were women.

The above numbers comes from a governmental proposition about gender equality in the educational area (Prop. 1994/95:164). In the proposition the minister of education has suggested some quite radical steps to improve gender equality, such as, for example, special professorships, post doc grants etc. for women. He also initiated a public commission led by a well-known feminist researcher into gender and power in higher education. The report consists of some examples of research on the academic recruitment process and the barriers for female applicants, the glass ceiling

in medical research, the status of women's research in Sweden etc. (SOU 1994:110).

Social Decision making
Voluntary organisations and charities, NGOs not covered elsewhere,
Churches and religious organisations
We could not find any research on women in this area.

Women's organisations
Many women's organisations in Sweden have a connection to a political party (see above) and very little is done on other women's organisations.

Policy Evaluation
If the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s can be described as the time when new policies and legislation to improve gender equality were introduced, the mid-1980s and 1990s is the time when these policies and legislation have been evaluated. The results of these evaluations have often shown that the optimistic goals of the 1970s have not been fulfilled.

The Equal Opportunities Act
At the beginning of the 1980s, after ten years of debate, a non-socialist government introduced a special gender equality law against sex discrimination in the labour market. An Equal Opportunity Ombudsman (Jämo) was established to secure compliance with the Equal Opportunities Act. Gender equality units were then more permanently established inside state structures. The Social Democrats as well as the strong organised interests in the labour market had argued against the law, seeing it as an attempt by the government to replace issues related to the class struggle that had dominated established corporatist decision-making circles with gender issues.

Ten years later, in 1990, the Equal Opportunities Act (henceforth referred to as the EqA) was evaluated in a Public Commission of Inquiry (SOU 1990:41 *Tio år med jämställdhetslagen - utvärdering och förslag*). The expectations which existed at the introduction of the EqA in 1980 had fallen short, except to a minor extent, and there was therefore cause to make the legislation more stringent. After having surveyed the application of the EqA the investigator rendered an account of the required alterations. The proposition entailed mainly the following points:

\# The prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of sex, in connection with employment and training for promotion, is to be supplemented by a stipulation, stating that discrimination shall be considered to exist, in a case where two or more applicants have qualifications of approximately equal value, and it can be presumed that the employer has a discriminating purpose, i.e. does not wish to employ persons of one sex.

On the application of the prohibition of pay discrimination it will be possible, on evaluating what is to be considered work of equal value, to use other means than an assessed work valuation agreed on.

In the text of the Act, it is explicitly stated that the prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of sex also includes sexual harassment and harassment of a person who has filed a complaint in accordance with the EqA.

A supplementary clause is to be entered, making it clear that the act applies to direct as well as indirect discrimination. The stipulations of the Act are thus to be applicable on proceedings leading to the effect that one sex is favoured in a disproportionate way.

The present clause, currently in force, stipulating that an employer is to pursue goal-oriented work, in order to actively promote equality in working life, is to be supplemented by an obligation for all employers to produce annually a scheme for the equality of work. The clause is furthermore to be made compulsory and non-interchangeable with collective agreements.

The stipulations for active measures are also to be made concrete in other respects. These are to be interchangeable with collective agreements. In order to achieve this effect, the agreements must, however, maintain at least the same standard as the Act.

Since the clause concerning the obligation for the employer to produce equality is made compulsory, it will rest on the Equal Opportunities Ombudsman to superintend the employer's execution of his/her duties. Hereby the field of superintendence of the Equal Opportunities Ombudsman will be extended.

Every other seat for a woman

Another important study was the Public Commission of Inquiry into women's representation in public bodies, called *Every Other Seat for a Woman*. This study came about on the initiative of cabinet minister Anita Gradin because the government was dissatisfied with the prevailing situation in which women's representation had increased in elected political institutions but not in the commissions and boards of public bodies.

The commission mapped out the gender patterns in Commissions of Inquiry and in the lay boards of the state administration during 1986. This mapping showed that women's share of the seats was much lower than for example in parliament. Only around 16 percent of the seats were held by women. In both commissions and in lay boards corporatist arrangements were common. Thus the commission on women's representation confirmed the picture that women were less represented at the top levels of unions, employer's organisations and other traditional interest organisations as these organisations rarely nominated a woman to the public boards.

The commission into women's representation was very successful (for details see Eduards & Åström, 1993; Bergqvist 1994, 1995). Apart from the quantitative analysis they also did a lot of interviews with the persons responsible for the recruitment of representatives, as Under-Secretaries

of State or other Heads of the Civil Service, the party secretaries and representatives of LO, TCO, SACO and SAF,on their nominating routines.

The evaluation led to a whole range of measures to improve the situation. First, every year the distribution of women and men in public bodies has to be reported to parliament and thus published in the public documents from parliament. Second, better co-ordination between the ministries was implemented. Third, instead of legislation (quotas) goals for the share of women were set up. The first goal was a female representation of at least 30 percent in 1992, then 40 percent by 1995 and then 50 percent by 1998. So far the goals have been fulfilled, thus women's representation has actually increased from around 16 to around 40 percent in ten years.

In Bergqvist's study of *The commission into women's representation* she writes:

"To conclude, this study illustrates how femocrats together with sympathising politicians at governmental level acted to carry through a policy in women's interest. First, there was an *alliance* between the commissioners and the responsible ministers, both parts strove towards the same goal: to increase women's representation. It is almost astonishing to see how quickly and efficiently the suggested measures were decided and implemented. In just a few years women's representation almost doubled in public commissions and boards. Women politicians from all the different parties, as well as women representatives from organised interests were in complete *agreement* over this goal. Was there no resistance? A substantial increase in the proportion of women means that the recruitment of men almost has to stop and that many men have to leave their positions earlier than expected. The resistance was shown in protests against legislation. The increase in women's representation had to be voluntary, it was said. The goal of equal distribution between women and men can hardly be questioned anymore in Swedish political culture. In the prevailing opinion all involved groups had to show that they were trying to live up to the goal of equality."

The *Commission on Women's Representation* made the *gender dimension* in corporatist arrangements visible. In the 1970s this had been done in political parties and elected bodies, which had led to a strong expansion of women in especially the more visible positions of political office. In the 1980s and 1990s many of these women have been involved in alliances to find strategies to change and enhance the conditions for women to be fully integrated in all areas of political decision-making" (Bergqvist 1995:225-226).

Good practice

A lot of research has actually been initiated by the government. Our impression is that this support has given women's research legitimacy and helped overcoming barriers in academic institutions.

Priorities

More empirical research that compare different decision making structures is needed. What do women friendly structures look like? Why is the variation of women's representation so large?

There is also a need for more research on women as political decision makers, when no longer in a minority.

Funding

Funding can mainly be obtained from the main research councils.

Research on women and gender made up 0.13 per cent of government research funding in the financial year of 1994/95. The Public Commission of Inquiry (SOU 1995:10) explains the modest share by referring to the scarce number of women professors, lecturers and research assistants at Swedish Universities. The main funder is FRN (Forskningsrådsnämnden).

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State of the Art Study of Research on Women in Political, Economic and Social Decision-Making

Report on Finland
By Anne Maria Holli

Introduction

"The political status of women has changed dramatically in the course of the past two decades. In the early 1970s women were virtually absent from Scandinavian politics, while at the end of the 1980's their political presence was very apparent. -- For some reason, however, there has been a striking lack of interest in studying this development empirically. -- With the exception of government statistics, which are somewhat general, we have little knowledge about women's position as decision-makers in the political institutions of today." (Raaum 1995b, 25-26)

In the citation above the Norwegian political scientist Nina Raaum succinctly summarises the situation as regards to Finland, too. In Finland, the number of women in formal positions of power is one of the highest in the world. The status of women is high compared with most other countries: UNDP listed Finland as rating second in the world after Sweden by Gender Development Index in 1995. The more surprising is the fact that the subject of women in decision-making has not attracted more research.

In the following state of the art study of research on women in political, economic and social decision-making in Finland, I will concentrate on presenting and reviewing research on the topic. It is my intention to investigate the state of the research on women in decision-making in Finland: what type of research has been done, what we actually know about the Finnish situation on the basis of this research and where the gaps in the coverage are. The aim of this report is to render a sufficiently detailed picture of the existing situation so that the report can be utilised for a further evaluation and analysis by the Co-ordinator of the project. My own evaluations and conclusions of the situation, as based on the materials presented as well as other available data, will be integrated in this report.

The report will follow the outline suggested by the Co-ordinator of the project, with the following modifications and clarifications:

The report and the annexed bibliography will mostly not[1] present purely statistical data sources published e.g. by Statistics Finland on women and decision-making. The focus is rather on *research,* defined as academic and published research on the topic. The reasons for this are as follows:

(a) In Finland, the official statistics on women's position, also in decision-making, are at a relatively high level by European standards. Basic gender statistics are available on most areas, such as the number and proportion of women in the parliament, in municipal councils and in committees. There are some gaps, for example, in the data on women in public administration and in the proportion of women in the organisational sector, as well as in the organisation of the data services (e.g. the lack of a centralised data service on existing statistics and materials). From a researcher's point of view, though, the problem lies more in the fact that the available data is not utilised for research, due to other factors.

(b) The mapping of the existence and availability of gender statistics on women in decision-making has already been started by an expert in the area, Eeva-Sisko Veikkola (Co-ordinator of Gender Statistics, Statistics Finland). Her report is due by the end of 1997.

This report and the bibliography will mostly not refer to research that is not published or available in public libraries.[2] This means that both researchers' conference papers and Finnish Master's theses are left outside the bibliography. This is a regrettable choice since quite a lot of the scarce new research on the topic has been written in these forms, but a necessary one. Since listing Master's theses in public databases is quite a new practice and not followed through everywhere, the manual compilation of information on these works would greatly exceed the resources reserved for this project.

I will follow the Co-ordinator's outline in dividing the report respectively to quantitative and qualitative research. By quantitative research I will refer to research that utilises some types of quantitative data or statistical analysis methods wholly or partially in its approach to the topic . By qualitative research I will refer to all types of research that do not fit the previous description for quantitative research. In order to keep the account coherent, I have sometimes found it necessary to refer to qualitative research under the quantitative subheading or vice versa When this is the case, I will indicate the deviancy from the subheading by marking the reference with (**QL**) for "qualitative" or (**QN**) for "quantitative" studies.

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1   I will make an exception when it comes to some research reports, mostly statistical in character, but in one way or another unique or important examples in their field.

2   I will make an exception when it comes to unpublished Licentiate's theses though. In the areas in question the number of these is quite scarce, and well manageable within the framework of the project.

The report and the bibliography are most complete when it comes to political decision-making and research from the two disciplines I am most familiar with, i.e. political science and gender research connected with it. Some of the sub-issues of this report (especially as it comes to social and economic decision-making), however, belong in Finland to other academic disciplines: e.g. sociology, history, and economics and management. There, especially as it comes to subheading 3.3 (Women in the professions) and 4.1 (Women's access to senior levels of employment in different economic sectors) I have seen it necessary to limit both the report and the annexed bibliography to just some relevant points with further references for the interested. This choice is very much influenced by the fact that women's studies in Finland have very much concentrated on the sociology of working life, and, subsequently, the field is much too vast to be reviewed as just a minor point, by a non-expert in the area.

I am grateful to Researcher Johanna Jääsaari (the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation), Associate Professor Anne Kovalainen (Turku School of Economics and Business Administration) and Co-ordinator of Gender Statistics, Eeva-Sisko Veikkola (Statistics Finland) who agreed to read the report in advance and to submit their comments on its contents to the author.

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Needless to say, the author accepts all responsibility for this final report.

I.   Political Decision Making

Of all the areas of social life, Finnish women are best represented in political decision-making and worst in economic decision-making arenas. In a quite recent research project on different types of Finnish elites, Ilkka Ruostetsaari (1992, 89-91) mapped about a thousand top decision-making positions in Finland and assessed the proportion of women occupying them. The political elites topped the list with a 33 % proportion of women. According to the researcher, almost half of the party elites were women. The proportion of women went down to 24 % in cultural elites, 12 % in organisations, 11 % in media, 8 % in science, 5 % in administration and 4 % in economic decision-making elites. In average, women were 13 % of all decision-making elites in Finland.

Jaana Kuusipalo, another political scientist working on top decision-making elites, has interpreted (1994) these figures as indicating a women's underrepresentation in strategic positions of power. She remarks upon the strong masculine dominance in areas such as science, administration and the media that represent expert power in society. The underrepresentation of women in these areas is also reflected in the composition of corporative mechanisms that are one of the major agenda-setting arenas in Finland.

The contradictions in women's political positions and roles in Finland have most often been described as displaying both a vertical and a horizontal division of labour. The horizontal division of politics is illustrated by different areas of activity for women and men: "soft" policy areas for women (social policy, education) and "hard" policy areas for men (finance, foreign politics, traffic, defence). The vertical division of labour, on the other hand, refers to the lessening number of women the higher up we go. (Haavio-Mannila et al. 1983)

A typical feature for Finnish politics is also the fact that the proportion of women is higher in positions that are filled by public and direct elections, whilst their number diminishes in positions that recruit via other channels, such as indirect elections or internal selection procedures. This feature indicates quite clearly the significance of organisational culture in the recruitment of women to top positions, as well as the necessity for "open" and "transparent" procedures. (E.g. Haavio-Mannila 1981c)

As a starting-point for this report, it suffices to say that the political arena, and especially the democratic numeric channel, has been the most responsive one to women in Finland. In all the other areas of decision-making, women are more or less worse off than in politics. However, within the political arena the representation of women varies quite a lot, too, mostly dependent on the status of the position, types of social tasks the position involves and the recruitment procedures for the position.

In spite of the internationally high proportion of women in political decision-making positions the topic seems not to have been subject to intensive academic study nationally. So far, there has not been any one doctoral thesis on the topic although the first ones are under preparation

and due quite shortly (e.g. Researcher Jaana Kuusipalo, Researcher Soile Kuitunen, Lecturer Helena Karento).

There has been few if any national research projects directly concerned with the topic either. To my knowledge, the gender aspect has so far been included in few mainstream research project within political science concerned with decision-making. Exceptions from the rule are e.g. the umbrella project "Power in Finland" by the University of Tampere in the beginning of the 1990's (E.g. Ruostetsaari's and Kuusipalo's projects were included in it), KuntaSuomi 2004 by several universities and co-ordinated by Suomen Kuntaliitto (Kuitunen and Pikkala's projects). A present research project on political parties led by Professor Jan Sundberg (University of Helsinki) seems to involve some regard to gender aspects as well.

The phenomenon of Finnish women's high representation in politics has most often been subject to study by Finnish (or foreign) contributors to international (e.g. Lovenduski 1986) or Scandinavian comparisons or anthologies on politics (e.g. Haavio-Mannila et. al (eds.) 1983; Dahlerup 1989; Karvonen - Selle (eds.) 1995), or in conference papers on international fora. It is also the three Scandinavian books that function as basic textbooks to Finnish readers interested in questions of gender and politics:

Haavio-Mannila, Elina et al. (eds.): *Unfinished Democracy. Women in Nordic Politics.* Pergamon Press, Oxford 1985. (Also published by the Nordic Minister Council in Finnish and in Scandinavian languages. In Finnish: *Keskeneräinen kansanvalta. Naiset Pohjoismaiden politiikassa.* Pohjoismainen Ministerineuvosto, Oslo 1983.)

Dahlerup, Drude: *Odotuksen aika on ohi. Naispolitiikan käsikirja.* Pohjoismaiden ministerineuvosto, Kööpenhamina 1989. (Published also in Scandinavian languages by the Nordic Minister Council.)

Karvonen, Lauri - Selle, Per (eds.): *Women in Nordic Politics. Closing the Gap.* Dartmouth, Aldershot 1995.

All of these books give a general introduction to the Finnish women's status in national and local politics and make attempts at explaining it. The first two are written to the general public, with the one edited by Dahlerup (1989) as the most populistic in tone. The *Unfinished Democracy*, edited by Haavio-Mannila and others (1983), was a more extensive and academically ambitious project, with a scope that extends from women's mobilisation and participation in politics and the corporative system to the development and role of equality policies in Scandinavian countries.

The latest Scandinavian endeavour, edited by Karvonen and Selle, is an anthology of articles by Scandinavian political scientists on the latest developments in women's political participation and representation in the Nordic countries, and somewhat more narrow in its scope than the *Unfinished Democracy*. This series of Scandinavian joint endeavours on women and

politics will continue in 1997/98 with a new book *Half the Power* (working title), the preparation of which has been financed by the Nordic Minister Council.

In spite of these international and comparative efforts, there seems to be only a very narrow foundation for basic research at home to back it up - if verily any at all. Lack of basic research on women and decision-making within political science seems very much due to the fact that women have been underrepresented within the researcher pool of political science in Finland. The topic of women's representation was not for a long time considered interesting or important enough by the majority of male researchers to attract many major (or minor) works, apart from some sociobiologically oriented attempts to explain women's political behaviour. The question is whether this trend is changing. E.g. the articles in Karvonen and Selle's work (eds. 1995) seem to indicate a rise of interest in the topic within the male research community as well - or a take-over by it, depending on the point of view adopted.

1.1. Quantitative
1.1.1. Government
National Level

Head of state

So far, Finland has not had a female head of state. The first female candidate, General Vice Secretary of the UN, Ms. Helvi Sipilä (for the Liberal Party) appeared in the presidential campaign of 1982. In 1994, there were two female candidates, the Minister for Defence (for the Swedish People's party) Elisabeth Rehn and the former Minister of Social Affairs and Health, Eeva Kuuskoski (own list). The latter election was the first two-round direct election in the country, and Ms. Rehn advanced to the second round, losing it to Mr. Ahtisaari with a division of votes of about 46-54.

When there has been female candidates in the presidential elections, these have been researched upon along with the other i.e. male candidates in electoral studies. In these studies, some considerations to gender may appear, but mainly in passing and seldom if ever with any in-depth analysis.

The low number of female presidential candidates in Finnish history can be related to the fact that the presidency is the highest political office in Finland, with a lot of power by international standards. The candidacies to this position are traditionally gifted by the parties to their "grand old men" (former or present prime ministers or party leaders), positions where women either never (prime minister) or very seldom (party leadership) have been selected. There is however no research on the general mechanisms that have hindered women in attaining the presidential candidacy or office.

An exception from the lack of gender-specific research is the presidential election of 1994, where Minister Rehn surprisingly advanced to the second round, but lost. The significance of gender in the election campaign was discussed in an anthology by Lammi-Taskula (ed.) (1994) which focused on the representations and images of the candidates in the media.

E.g. Holli (1994) showed that the electorate evaluated the male and the female candidate with different and possibly stereotypical criteria. The candidacy of Ms. Rehn also caused ideological cleavages within the female electorate as to the question whether Rehn's presidency would represent women's interests and if so, how (Ronkainen 1994 (**QL**)). As a consequence, Rehn's candidacy did not form a common platform for Finnish women, who voted for Rehn only with a balance of 55 %. Of men, 60 % voted for Ahtisaari. (Holli 1994) Thus, the election results showed a minor gender gap in the male candidate's favour.

Prime Minister and the cabinet

As far as the Cabinet is concerned, the number of women has grown from 6 % in 1972 to 41 % (=7/17) in 1992 Esko Aho's cabinet and to 39-33 % (=7-6/18) from 1995 onward in Paavo Lipponen's cabinet.

The first female Minister was elected in 1926. From the Second World War onward there were often one female minister in the Cabinet, usually in the area of Culture and Education or in Social Affairs and Health, considered as "women's portfolios". From 1968 the quota of one woman per cabinet became an unwritten rule. From 1970's onward it became usual to appoint two female ministers. In the 1980's the number of women ministers grew to 3-4, and the segregation between "male" and "female portfolios" diminished as women have entered new positions in every government in the 1980's and 1990's. (Haavio-Mannila et al. (eds.)1983, 125-126; Kuusipalo 1989b (**QL**), 1992 (**QL**).)

During the years from 1926 to 1992, a woman cabinet minister had been appointed 72 times. 53 of these appointments were to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health or to the Ministry of Education. There had been only 19 exceptions from the strict division between "women's or men's posts" within the Cabinet. (Kuusipalo 1994b, 64) This indicates a strong horizontal division of gendered power in Finnish top politics that only recently has shown any signs of a transformation.

Within the Cabinet, there are more or less prestigious ministerial positions. The first minister of finance, the prime minister, the minister of foreign affairs and the minister of trade and industry are considered as the "super ministers" within the Cabinet (Nousiainen 1992, 79). With one exception, all of these had been men before 1987. (Kuusipalo 1994b, 65) After that date, only the position of the minister of foreign affairs has been conquered by a woman (Tarja Halonen from 1995). The development of women's position in Finnish top politics has thus been very rapid, but also slightly lopsided as far as equal representation and equal political influence of the genders are concerned. The marginalisation of women ministers within the Cabinet became a topic of public debate in 1992 when the internal division of labour within the Cabinet was revealed in a news article: in spite of the high number of women, male ministers occupied all the important positions in the internal preparatory committees of the Cabinet. (Kuusipalo 1994b, 65)

The recruitment, careers and experiences of women ministers in the Cabinet have been studied qualitatively by Kuusipalo (see subheading 2.1).

Legislature, general remarks

Of the Nordic countries, Finland illustrates an early and stabile development in women's political status (Karvonen - Selle 1995a). Finland introduced women's suffrage as the first country in Europe and as the second one in the world in 1906. Up to the 1960's Finland could boast of the highest representation of women (6-15 %; Dahlerup 1990, 21) at the parliamentary level until the other Nordic countries caught up and later, surpassed Finland. The representation of women MPs was 22-26 % in 1970-1983; after 1983 the percentage has stayed over 30 %. Between 1991-95 it was 38,5 %, a world record at the time. For the time being (1997), there are 67 women in the Parliament, i.e. 33,5 %

Explanations offered by research to the high representation of Finnish women include:
- the form of Parliament and the existence of a proportional electoral system
- the existence of relatively strong women's organisations; and
- socio-economic (women's high participation in the labour market, their educational level) and ideological factors, not least a long tradition in women's equal political status
(Haavio-Mannila 1979a; Haavio-Mannila et. al. (eds.) 1983; Dahlerup 1989; Karvonen-Selle (eds.) 1995)

The interesting point here is that - as far as I can judge - within existing research these factors have most often been taken for granted or are treated quite generally, with little empirical groundwork or analysis. For example: an empirical, comparative analysis into the mechanisms of the Nordic countries' electoral systems from a gender perspective would probably reveal significant differences in the ways the high political representation of women in the Nordic countries is reached. Or: the degree of independence and strength of the women's political organisations varies significantly between the countries (cf. Dahlerup - Gulli 1983). The need is thus for in-depth empirical and comparative studies with an inductive orientation.

Electoral studies and voting behaviour

Elections and voting behaviour have been central areas of study in Finnish political science. Gender is very much utilised as a variable in those studies, in order to chart differences and similarities between male and female voters, candidates and representatives. In general, it can be noted that Finnish electoral research and political science have been criticised for stereotypical representations of women (Keränen 1993, 1996) as 'traditional, nurturing and passive', even when the actual data of the studies would indicate otherwise.

The gender perspective is seldom emphasised or studied intensively within this field. As an indicator of this, it can be mentioned that a recent 18-page bibliography on Finnish electoral

research (Wiberg 1995) listed 14 entries utilising a gender perspective. Of these 14 references, 13 were by women, and 8 entries by Elina Haavio-Mannila alone.

As to what is actually known about women's political activity in Finland: women were slightly less active at the polls up till the 1980's, a fact that very much could be explained by other background variables (age, social status etc.) (already remarked upon in Allardt 1956) although that was not always taken into consideration but seen as a sign of women's political passivity. On the other hand, Haavio-Mannila (1970b, 1978, 1979a) observed the effects on ideological factors, especially that of conformity pressures, on women's voting activity and orientation. Thus, along with socio-economic variables (see also Sinkkonen 1979) ideological variables led to more voting by and for women in urban areas and in Eastern Finland's more matriarchal culture.

After 1983, Finnish women vote more often than men. Women vote more often than men especially in younger age cohorts (Martikainen 1984), but, on the other hand, the politically most passive persons are to be found amongst aged women (Helander 1989).

An explanation given to women's present activity at the polls is that women more than men have internalised voting as a "civic duty", whilst men have a tendency not to participate due to lack of interest or as a protest (Borg 1996, 203). On the other hand, when measuring general political activity by different indicators, women have been adjudged as less active than men although slightly more inclined to protest (Pesonen et al. 1993, 190,192).

So far, these often contradictory research results about women's political behaviour that can be found in general mainstream electoral studies have not been compiled, compared or attempted to explain coherently.

There has been significant and interesting changes in the voters' gender preference patterns in Finland. In 1970 40 % of the female voters voted for the female candidate, whilst only 7 % of the male voters voted for a woman. (Haavio-Mannila 1979a) This pattern has been quite consistent in Finnish politics: the internationally high representation of women has been/is being realised by women voting for women. In the 1990's this pattern has slightly changed: even more women vote for women (58 % in 1991) but also more men vote for women candidates (25 %). (Pesonen et al. 1993, 74). The gender gap in this arena has thus lessened in a way that further favours women candidates.

The only research available on this area is almost 20 years old. In her study of 1979, Elina Haavio-Mannila discussed the nomination, support and success of female candidates in Finnish politics. She compared the votes given to female candidates with the number of them elected to office, and noted the effect of the sex role debate of the 1960's and 70's to women's success at elections. There had been a big change in parties' support for women as well. Whilst before the 1970's women were nominated, voted for and elected more often in socialist parties, especially the communist ones, after the 1970's there was no difference between them and the conservative and urban centre parties. Only the rural centre parties lagged behind.

Utilising a method of geographic comparison, Haavio-Mannila observed that in districts of mechanical solidarity (high pressure for uniformity, high level of division of work) people were least willing to vote for women. The pressure for uniformity especially affected bourgeois parties and their support for women politicians.

Amongst the population, support for women politicians was strongest in those women with a good education or a relatively high status, whilst middle class men supported them least, along with farmers in the countryside - the two groups that either felt threatened by women or were carriers of the patriarchal tradition.

As already mentioned, this study has not been followed up on the point of gender preference patterns, except in a minor way by Pesonen et. al. (1993, 190, 192; Pesonen 1991, 1995). Partly this may be due to the fact that official statistics do not yield information on who does vote for whom, because of the secrecy of an individual vote. The information has to be gathered by separate Gallup interviews. On the other hand, the combined type of party list and candidate selection system utilised in Finland gives an opportunity to the voter or a group of voters to voice their gender preferences. This is a phenomenon well worth investigating, especially in connection with the high level of women's representation that Finland displays.

As to the gender gap in relation to socialist - non-socialist voting, Finnish women in the 1990's were found to vote more for the right-wing parties whilst men vote more for socialists. In this, Finland differs from the other Nordic countries where the gender gap goes in the direction of women voting for the Left. (Oskarson 1995) The same result of "conservatism" in Finnish women was found at the beginning of the 1980's (Jennings - Farah 1990, original from 1982).

Outside Gallup questions about choice of candidates, there has not been studies on voters' perceptions of political candidates or their gender stereotypes except that of Holli (1994) mentioned before. Karvonen, Djupsund and Carlson (1995) focused on the political language and campaigns of male and female candidates and found their similarities to be larger than differences - the latter consisted mostly of women's overrepresentation in "soft policy areas" as well as a reflection of these interests in their campaigns. The role of the media and the representations of women politicians in the media has not been studied very much (see however e.g. Koski 1994; Lammi-Taskula (ed.) 1994; Esaiasson - Moring 1993).

A central area of interest for further research would be e.g. to study the ideological basis of support for gendered voting amongst Finnish women; the Finnish women's political organisations' electoral campaigns and the influence of women's magazines' and other types cultural fora that often rally for women candidates at elections. In short, questions that deal with the Finnish women's political culture which might be an important factor in explaining both the 'strategic partnerships' formed in different locations of the society and the high representation of women in elected offices.

Women MPs in parliament

The number of women MP candidates on party lists has risen considerably during the last 20 years. Prior to 1972 more than 80 % of the candidates had been male, whilst in 1991 parliamentary elections the proportion of female candidates was 41 % and in 1995 39 % (Women and Men in Finland 1995, 100).

Haavio-Mannila (1981a) observed a correlation between the number of women candidates and the votes they receive, and, subsequently, the number of women elected in office. Kuitunen (1997, 47) confirmed this and established a correlation of 0.92 between the proportion of women candidates and women elected to office between 1954-1995 in Finland.

An important election victory took place in 1970, when the number of elected women MPs for the first time exceeded their number of candidates and even votes, indicating thus the electorate's preferences and a successful concentration of votes to visible female candidates. Subsequently, the parties also increased the number of women on the electoral lists. This type of a "good circle" has given rise a continuous increase in the number of women MPs up to 1995, when the number of women MPs decreased for the first time since 1958.

The social background and activity of the women MP's along with their male colleagues has been researched upon in studies on the Finnish legislature and legislators. As far as I know, there has been no separate studies on women MPs recruitment, social background or activity apart from some Master's theses during the last 15 years.

The best guide to Finnish women MPs activity in the Parliament is still Skard and Haavio-Mannila's article in Haavio-Mannila et. al. (eds) (1983). The authors note upon two features that regulate women's activity within the Parliament. First, women tended to be active in areas and committees dealing with "women's issues". On the other hand, the more significant an organ was, the less was there of women. This could be seen e.g. in the leadership positions in internal committees. Here again, both the vertical and horizontal division of labour in politics was visible.

The horizontal division of labour within the Parliament was studied by Sinkkonen and Haavio-Mannila specifically a few years earlier (1981). They studied the legislative activity and contents of initiatives by male and female MPs during the 1907-1977. The authors concluded by pointing out the horizontal division of labour into "women's areas" and "men's areas" in legislative activity: women were active in areas of culture, education and social policy, whilst men focused on issues dealing with transportation, public utilities and economics. Women were also alone in initiating for reforms that would improve their own gender's position in some respect. This is a familiar pattern from international works on women's political activity as well.

Moreover, Sinkkonen and Haavio-Mannila (1981) indicated that the rise of the women's movement does have a positive effect on women's legislative activity. Women MP's had been most active at three periods in Finnish history: in the beginning of the century during the first wave of the women's movement; after the Second World War (due to increased activity during wartime) and in the 1960's

and 1970's during the second and third waves of Finnish women's movement. Thus, a stronger women's movement and the public awareness of women's problems it brings along also activates and empowers women MP's, not only by getting them more easily elected to office (see earlier), but also in their work as legislators.

As already noted, almost all of the mentioned works describe the situation almost 20 years ago. After that, there has been major changes in the Finnish women MPs' situation. Women have come to top positions as e.g. Speakers for the Parliament. There has been also new types of activity amongst women MPs in building networks and co-operation over party lines. Also, the Finnish women MPs have been crucial in voting against nuclear power and for reforms for a New Equality Act and for improvements in child care arrangements. As far as I know, there are no systematic studies on the issue within the field of political science and from a political point of view, although e.g. the child care reforms are often studied upon within the discipline of social policy.

1.1.2. Public administration
Women in administration

Finnish women received the right to hold public office in 1926, 20 years after suffrage at parliamentary elections. Of all state employees in 1994, 42 % were women. The proportion of women in senior appointments to the public service has risen very slowly: in 1970 their proportion was 5 %, in 1981 8 % and in 1991 16 %. (Implementation of the Nairobi Strategies 1995, 13.) The iron law of women's representation is visible here too: the higher the hierarchical status of the position, the fewer women there are. Ruostetsaari (1992) evaluated the proportion of women in administrative top elite to 5 %.

At municipal level, the trend is the same: women form a majority of personnel in municipal service, but they are fewer the higher in the administrative hierarchy we go.

The administrative personnel has not been studied very much in Finland, and studies on the municipal sector are even rarer. When it comes to women, gender has been utilised mostly as a background variable (see e.g. Ståhlberg 1983, 1984; Uusitalo 1980; Valtee 1986; Vartola - af Ursin 1987). Gender studies on the area most often focus on leadership (Salminen - Nieminen-Iilahti 1985; Sinkkonen - Hänninen-Salmelin 1989, 1991; Sinkkonen - Laitinen 1989).[3]

The only more extensive work on women in administration was written by Karento (1990, see also 1992) who studied the segregation of the genders in public service in 1984, by utilising a survey questionnaire. The researcher concluded that administrative service is a typically male employment where women have come in gradually and incompletely. The administration is regulated by a

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3   The account on existing studies is based on Karento 1990, 17-23.

weberian "male ethics" that typically separates the person and the work, the public and the private, and uphold the male individual as its norm. In these surroundings, women represent a deviancy. Their deviancy and status as new-comers is also reflected in the vertical and horizontal division of gendered work in administration. Ståhlberg (1984, 44) also observed the existence of some areas (as in social affairs and in education) that were most open to women.

Karento's study also charted women's and men's background, wages and satisfaction with their work. It will be followed up soon by the author's doctoral thesis that utilises self-biographies by female administrators as its source and charts women administrators' career paths and experiences in work.

Apart from the mentioned works, there seems to be no much research available on the topic. There are gaps e.g. in the following areas of research, according to Lecturer Helena Karento (University of Tampere):

1. Feminist evaluations on organisation theory and organisation research, as well as on studies on leadership.

2. Feminist critique on bureaucracy

3. Analyses of both private and public organisations, by including women empirically and by taking feminist theoretical insights into account. Especially the "internal life" of organisations should be focused.

4. The consequences of recent reforms in the public sector (privatisation etc.) from women's point of view is of current interest.

Women within the corporatist system

Different interest organisations as well as labour market organisations are integrated in the decision-making process in Finland via the corporatist system, i.e. committees and other organs. Traditionally, the number of women in these organs was quite small. In 1974 the percentage of women was 6.9 %; in 1984 it was 12 %. (Tuominen 1984b; Silfverberg 1988) As late as 1991-1994, the percentage of women members in public committees was about 30 %. After the obligatory quota rule was added to the Equality Act in 1995, the proportion of women appointed to the committees rose to 48 % during the time that followed. (Vähäsaari 1995; see also Kaasinen 1996)

The cited works above were all administratively commissioned reports by the Equality Council and concentrated on gathering information upon the situation in order to have a foundation for future policy proposals. There has been very little academic research on the corporatist system from a gender perspective, practically none since the 1980's.

Hernes and Hänninen-Salmelin (1983) studied the situation in the beginning of the 1980's and observed that the proportion of women was largest in committees under ministries dealing with reproduction (e.g. social affairs and health, education) and least in committees under ministries

dealing with system maintenance (e.g. defence). The same trend of horizontal division of labour in committees goes through all the accounts on the proportion of women up to the 1990's.

Hernes and Hänninen-Salmelin (1983, 192-193) explained the weak recruitment of women into the committee system by the following factors:

1. The increase in the power of expertise in the planning apparatus favours men, because the professional hierarchy (also a gendered hierarchy) is repeated in the corporatist arena.

2. The significance of political representatives is diminishing and that is why the increase in the number of women in the political arena is not reflected correspondingly in the corporatist arena.

3. Women are underrepresented in the administrative organs that co-ordinate the corporatist channel.

4. Women lack the informal networks that promote men's careers.

5. Women are underrepresented in the big economic organisations that form the backbone of organisational representation in the corporatist channel (see also Ramstedt-Silén 1988).

6. Organisations where women have a strong position in the leadership or as members, do not have very much influence in the corporatist channel (e.g. women's organisations).

1.1.3. Regional level

The only type of regional level representation utilised in Finland up to late 1990's has been in organs (councils and governments) of co-operating municipalities. The representatives to the councils were elected by indirect elections by the councils of the participating municipalities. In these regional councils, the proportion of women was constantly lower than in the municipal councils that elected them.

The only research available on this, as far as I know, was commissioned by the state Council for Equality between Men and Women between 1978-1987, when promoting gender equality at the municipal level was made one of its priorities. (See Sukupuolten välisen tasa-arvon edistäminen kunnissa 1979; Pekkola - Haataja 1983; see also Sinkkonen 1983, 136) In 1987 the responsibility for co-ordinating the work was transferred to the central organisations of the municipalities in Finland. In summer of 1992, a query to these organisations revealed that the statistical material is still being gathered and analysed, but not published.

In 1996/97 there has also come into being a provincial level of representation as the old provincial division was reformed. The provincial councils are also elected indirectly by the councils of municipalities, and the trend seems to be exactly the same: less women. (No research available so far).

1.1.4. Local level

Municipal elections

The highest legislative organ in Finnish municipalities is the municipal council. The Council is elected by popular elections every 4 years. In its turn, the Council elects the municipal government and municipal boards as its executives, as well as its representatives to the regional level.

Finnish women received universal suffrage in municipal elections in 1917, 11 years after the suffrage at parliamentary elections. Thus, the development in Finland differs from the succession of women's rights in many other countries. The first data available on the number of women representatives in municipal councils are from 1945: then women were 5 % of the councillors. (Sinkkonen 1983, 135) In 1996 the percentage of women was 31, 5 % of the elected councillors. It has been typical of the Finnish situation that the percentage of women in municipal councils lags behind the percentage of women MPs.

The same trend of women's higher activity at the polls that we saw at parliamentary elections has also occurred in municipal elections from 1980's on. The number of female candidates at municipal elections has risen from 19.5 % in 1972 to 33.5 % in 1992 and to 36.9% in 1996.

So far, the recruitment process of women and men candidates has not been paid very much attention to. The recruitment of political candidates will, however, be a part of the dissertation project by Researcher Soile Kuitunen (Åbo Akademi) on the 1996 municipal elections. Among others, she is studying men's and women's experiences of the recruitment process and their expectations upon a political career. Kuitunen's study also pays attention to the routines and practices of the agents of recruitment: parties and their members, from a neoinstitutionalist point of view.

The differences in women's representation at the municipal level compared with the national level can be explained by both political and socio-economic variables. Because its dominant position outside big cities, the Centre Party has typically been the great winner at municipal elections. The voters for rural centre parties have traditionally (Haavio-Mannila 1979a) also elected relatively few women councillors - in the Centre Party 25 % in 1992, the least of the four biggest parties and only better by its numbers than the Rural Party (12 %).

Socio-economic factors influence the election of women to municipal councils as well. In the 1970's, women were more often selected in economically and culturally developed municipalities. This means e.g. a large third sector and a relatively large employment in industry; the level of living standard is high; and the level of education of the population is high. (Sinkkonen 1978, 1983) Moreover, women were elected more often in the less conformist and less patriarchal culture of Eastern Finland (Haavio-Mannila 1970b, 1978, 1979a)

Gender is generally utilised as a variable in research on municipal elections. As far as I know, studies that problematise the gender aspect are all too rare, as it is easy to see from the previous account. (See though Pikkala 1997.)

Women in municipal decision-making

The existent, scarce research on gender in municipal decision-making suggests that the same phenomenon of vertical and horizontal division of labour was visible on the municipal level in the beginning of the 1980's (Sinkkonen 1983). Women were 30.6 % of the local councillors in 1992; every fourth member of local governments and every tenth chairperson was a woman. (Naiset ja miehet Suomessa 1994)

Public lay boards are important parts of local governments. Studies made in the 1980's (Pekkola - Haataja 1983; Haataja - Malin 1987; see also Sinkkonen 1983) showed an underrepresentation of women in the boards and the segregation of the lay boards to "women's and men's boards" according to issue it dealt with. The under-presentation of women in these indirectly elected organs was quite a persistent phenomenon: in 1993, only about a third of the members in the public boards was a woman. (Naiset ja miehet Suomessa 1994)

In 1995, according to the reformed Equality Act, all public organs, committees and alike shall have an equal representation of the genders.

The research on the subject has been very scarce. The subject was studied quantitatively in some administrative studies commissioned by the Equality Council in the 1980's (Pekkola-Haataja 1983; Haataja-Malin 1987). After that, the data was being gathered by the Central Organisation of Municipalities (Kunnallisliitto, later Suomen Kuntaliitto)

The topic has been taken up by Researcher Sari Pikkala (Åbo Akademi) in her present project on women in municipal decision-making, sponsored by the Central Organisation of Finnish Municipalities (Suomen Kuntaliitto).

Women in the decision-making of the central organisations of the municipalities

Sinkkonen (1983, 143) noted that there were few if any women in the apparatuses of the three then existing central organisations for the municipalities (today, one). After that, there is no research available, as far as I know.

1.1.5. Political Parties

In 1958 survey, only 6 % of Finnish women and 18 % of Finnish men told of a membership in a political party. That is, party membership was three times more common amongst men than among women. In 1991, the percentage of women of all party members was evaluated as 36%. According to Sundberg (1996, 113) the parties are nearing a gender balance since the turn of the 1980's. There seems to be some lacks in the data bases as far as the gender composition of the parties is concerned (Sundberg 1996, 113) which makes it difficult to evaluate the exact numbers.

The gender balance in membership was not reflected as much in the decision-making organs of the parties, where the number of women has been lower. Only the Left Wing Alliance (former Finnish People's Democratic League) had increased its percentage of women in leading

organs considerably (from 20% in the period of 1960-65 to 39 % in the period of 1986-90; Sundberg 1996, 114). The Left Wing Alliance Party was also the first party to introduce a gender quota ruling to the recruitment to its decision-making bodies. A gender quota has also been introduced by the Green Party and the Social Democratic Party.

The number of female candidates nominated by the parties has risen rapidly since the 1970's to 39 % in 1992, but there are still quite significant differences between the parties (see earlier subheading 1.11 (c)). Sundberg (1995b) notes that it seems to be relatively easy for women to get nominated within the internal procedures of the party. The party executive also has a right to diverge from the nomination result in the constituencies. In Finland, experiences show that the party executive most commonly diverges when the subnational party organ neglects to nominate a sufficient number of women candidates on the party list.

The problem is rather in the fact that there are fewer women (38 %) at a starting-post, willing to take up the campaign within the party to get nominated. In all other stages of the nominating process within the parties, women were more successful than their male counterparts - at least in the 1995 parliamentary elections, as Kuitunen's study (1997) shows.

The impact of women's initiatives within the parties has not been studied very much (see though Ramstedt-Silén 1982).

The first - and about only - studies on party programs from a gender perspective were written by Nupponen (1968, 1974) in the late 1960's. She showed how all the Finnish parties by that time represented at least a moderate point of view on gender roles, accepting a combination of waged work and caring for women (see also Holli 1991).

There also was founded a small Women's party in the beginning of the 1990's in Finland which has not been very successful and has failed to get any representatives elected so far. (No research.)

As a conclusion, it can be evaluated that there has been some research on the gender aspect so far, but it is quite scarce.

Women's political organisations

Another important arena for women has traditionally been women's political organisations, i.e. women's party sections. In Finland, all major parties have such sister organisations that are more or less organisationally separate and independent and also have their own financing. (Dahlerup - Gulli 1983) There are differences as to how ideologically independent those organisations are: e.g. the women's political organisations of the Left have since the 1940's often functioned as an opposition group within the party, or as a women's interest organisation within the party (Ruusala 1967, 1968; Kuusipalo 1993a)

Skard and Haavio-Mannila also note (1983, 80) that in Finland, the combined party-candidate list was introduced in 1954. Before that, and in the previous party list system, the women's

political organisations nominated their own candidates on their own combinations of lists, which made it possible for the voters to vote for women. As far as I know, the significance of this phenomenon to the high level of women's representation in the first half of this century has not been studied.

There has been practically no research on the political significance of women's political organisations since Ruusala's works in the 1960's and some historical studies by Elina Katainen on the women's organisation of the far Left (see also Kuusipalo 1989b, 1993c under subheading 2.1) The lack of research is surprising, taken into account the more prominent role of these organisations in the Finnish context than in many other countries. The reason probably is that these organisations have been regarded as appendices to the "real parties", with no independent role to fulfil. In the Finnish context at least, it would be useful to question this hypothesis.

In 1988, the women's political organisations together with the Alliance of women's organisations, the Unioni (representing feminists) and the Society for Women's Research established a co-operative forum in a form of an organisation called NYTKIS (=Women in co-operation). The co-operation is mostly political lobbying within the parties, via women MPs and via women's political organisations. The co-operation occurs on arenas where the participating organisations can reach a consensus; most prominently in areas concerning women's rights and gender equality.

This type of women's formal co-operation over the party lines is an interesting phenomenon internationally, but has not been researched upon except in a minor way by Holli (1992).

1.1.6. Pressure groups and lobbies

In Finland, the labour market organisations and different types of other organisations/NGOs form the most typical pressure groups and lobbies. Their participation in the decision-making process is organised mainly via the corporatist mechanism (see earlier subheading 1.11 and subheading 3.1).

1.1.7. Social Movements

The subject of social movements is in Finland situated somewhere between political science and sociology, nearer the latter. The research on social movements is mostly concentrated on the important periods of mobilisation in Finnish history. For example: there are historical studies on the workers' mobilisation in the late 1800's and during the 1900's; the fascist mobilisation of the 1920's and 1930's; and later on, sociological and political studies on the student movement in the 1960's; the Leftism of the 1970's; and the peace movements and the Green movements of the 1980's and 1990's.

Studies on the different forms of women's movement (in a wide sense) form an important and a relatively large part of this field of study, as indicated e.g. by the number of dissertations

written (e.g. Jallinoja 1983; Sulkunen 1986; Ollila 1993; Marakowitz 1993; Tyyskä 1993; see subheadings 5 and 6).

The "feminist movement" (i.e. the women's movement in the narrow sense) both in historical and in contemporary times has been studied e.g. by Jallinoja (1983), Saarinen (e.g. 1991), Sulkunen (1978, 1979), Bergman (1989, 1991) and others.

A typical feature to the Finnish feminist movements - as well as to other social movements - are their near relations to political parties and the establishment. E.g. some of the organisations of the first wave of women's movement integrated into the parties as their women's sections during the first decades of the century. The same trend was apparent during the second wave in the 1960's: the activists joined the Left parties and were recruited in the state administration for changing the society "from within". (Jallinoja 1983) Also the Danish Lise Togeby (1989) notes upon the scarcity of grassroot mobilisation in Finland in the 1980's: there is no place to it whilst strong organisations dominate the field.

The relatively strong position of studies on women's movement can be explained by the strong representation of women within the discipline of sociology (and partly history as well), already existing research and joint projects that recruit new-comers to the field and create productive networks for the exchange of ideas.

1.1.8. Other NGOs

1.1.9. Women in the judiciary

The proportion of women at professional levels in the judicial system increased considerably during the period 1978-90 (last statistics available). The overall proportion of women in the courts was 21 % in 1978 and 32 % in 1990. Among judges the proportion of women was about 13 % in 1978 and 23 % in 1990. At counsellor level in the court system there were 39 % women in 1978 and 54 % in 1990. Among heads of office, 8 % were women in 1990. The chairs of the two Supreme Courts and the six chairs of the Courts of Appeal were all men in 1990, and the members of the Supreme Courts about 90 % male. (Implementation of the Nairobi Strategies 1995, 96.)

The topic does not seem to have not been subject to very much academic research (see though studies on woman lawyers by Hänninen-Salmelin 1990; Silius 1992; Winter-Mäkinen 1995).

1.2. Qualitative
1.2.1. Methods of recruitment and promotion

As already mentioned, there has been relatively little gender-specific research on the different aspects of women's recruitment and promotion in the political field. The topic has specifically been studied upon where women Cabinet ministers (Kuusipalo); women in the administration (Karento); and the success of women in elections (Haavio-Mannila, Kuitunen, Pikkala) are concerned.

The careers and recruitment of women to the Cabinet have been studied by Kuusipalo (1989, 1990, 1992). In her qualitative study, Kuusipalo (1989, 1990) utilised a generational view on women Cabinet ministers.

The first generation of women cabinet ministers viewed themselves as representatives of women's organisations. They did not problematise the division of labour between the genders in politics, but saw it as necessary to bring forth the women's point of view, possible only by women representatives. The second generation of women cabinet ministers, those appointed in the 1970's, did not any more consider themselves as representatives for women or for women's organisations, but as "ordinary" politicians. Gender, for them, was a more or less irrelevant issue. The third generation of women cabinet ministers, those appointed in the 1980's, seemed again to be more gender-aware.

Kuusipalo analyses the different paths to top politics by women of different generations, and shows how the women's political organisations in Finland have especially earlier on functioned as recruitment channels for women politicians whilst after the 1970's the recruitment by and to the general party leadership replaced this mechanism.

She also shows e.g. the significance of a political family background and of informal networks as well as that of female examples for the political career of women Cabinet ministers. In earlier generations, the women ministers were often unmarried or at least without children, but that has changed: in the later generations, most are/have been married and have children, even little ones. The significance of everyday life was stressed upon especially by the younger women cabinet ministers.

Ruostetsaari (1992; **QN**), on the other hand, along with e.g. Haavio-Mannila (1981, **QN**) and Karento (1990, **QN**) have noted upon the effects of the marital status of women decision-makers: they are more often unmarried or divorced than their male colleagues. As to most other indicators, there seems to be no major differences between the social background of women and men in elite or decision-making positions.

Apart from Kuusipalo's study, there seems to be no major qualitative research on the recruitment and promotion of women into decision-making positions so far. Research combining quantitative and qualitative methods gives us some more information as to structural variables affecting women's recruitment to politics (see earlier chapters); e.g. type of electoral system and the proportion of candidates nominated, socio-economic factors, the effects of the women's movement etc. The quantitative studies firmly established the fact that there is a large, even growing demand on women politicians on the electorate's part - the supply-side is somewhat weaker, as e.g. Kuitunen (1997, **QN**) showed.

In Finland, women are best represented at lower levels of political representation and in "soft" policy areas, whilst their proportion diminishes the higher we go. The question is how to interpret this phenomenon and the changes that have occurred during the last 20 years. Previously,

the dominating view stressed the vertical and horizontal division of labour in politics, governed by an "iron law" (e.g. Haavio-Mannila et. al (eds.) 1983).

This type of critical and slightly pessimistic approach to women's representation has lately in the Scandinavian context been dubbed as representing "the dark view" (Raaum 1995a; also Karvonen - Selle (eds.) 1995). On the other hand, a more optimistic approach, the "light view" (ibid.) stresses the political accomplishments of Nordic women in a relatively short period of time, and presents the time lag hypothesis as the foremost explanation for the perceived problems in women's political position. The assumption seems to be that the rest of the "lag problems" will be cured as time passes by. The two contradictory views on women's status seem to have a different academic foothold: "the dark view" is more often expressed by those with a background in gender studies/sociology, whilst the "light view" represents the political scientists' approach.

As for women's recruitment and promotion in politics, these perspectives seem to lead to different political conclusions. The more pessimistic point of view stresses the male domination in the political field and its internal, often informal mechanisms that often exclude and discriminate women. "The light view", on the other hand, seems to regard the problems in women's position as relics of history, amendable by information, enlightenment and the further accumulation of political resources on women's part, especially on lower levels of political participation.

1.2.2. Cultures of organisations and institutions

There has been some, although quite few empirical, qualitative studies on the cultures of organisations and institutions in Finland. Most of these are from the field of history, and they describe and explain the development of a "woman's sphere" in Finnish politics.

Many historical studies indicate that there in Finland developed in the beginning of the century the idea of a double citizenship - one model for men and another for women. The model for female citizenship, although embracing the typical traditional values of femininity, also opened up for women's political participation through the concept of "social motherhood". Women were conceptualised as bringing some extra, "feminine" values to politics and thus acting for the good of the whole society. (E.g. Sulkunen 1987, 1989, 1990) Not only women's political organisations but also other social organisations, e.g. the Martha-movement (housewives' organisation) actively promoted women candidates (Kuusipalo 1993c-d; Ollila 1993).

This type of ideological legitimisation for women decision-makers has been seen both as a limiting factor as women reach positions only in "feminine areas" or due to their "feminine characteristics" - and as a women's path to power, as also international studies e.g. by Epstein (1981) have shown. (E.g. Kuusipalo 1993d.)

There seems to be only a few studies on the cultures of organisations or institutions within political science or in administrative studies. As we already saw, Karento (1990 (**QN**), see also 1987) showed how the masculinity of public administration excludes women by its male ethics and

male norms of behaviour and depicts them in an "deviant" role. Homogeneous and segregated organisational cultures generally are seen as favouring male leadership and the recruitment of more males (e.g. Haavio-Mannila 1981 (**QN**)).

Sociologists studying working life, on the other hand, have often produced interesting contributions to the study of bureaucratic cultures. E.g. Korvajärvi (1996) observed the gendering processes in everyday practices in a small administrative unit and concluded that the organisation was fundamentally gendered but in indirect, implicit and often symbolic manners that were not easy to discern or to explain. Direct observation was also utilised by Eräsaari (1995a-b) who in her studies concentrated on the gendering of street-level bureaucracies, especially from the point of view of relationships between officials and their clients. In the Finnish system, the officials are more often than not women, which also is reflected on the practices and informal norms of the street-level bureaucracies. She notes the problems the male clients meet in these bureaucratic encounters. Their behaviour is interpreted as incompetent or rebellious, while female clients seem to adapt better and be able to better negotiate their way through the red tape.

There seems to be no studies on political institutions from a neoinstitutionalist point of view, stressing the informal norms and behaviour in those institutions that affect both the women and men present. This lack will hopefully partly be remedied by Soile Kuitunen's doctoral thesis on the internal practices and norms of the political parties in the recruitment process.

The lack of research on organisational cultures is definitely a large gap in the coverage of Finnish research. The survey of available facts easily leads to a hypothesis that in spite of the high proportion of women, the practices of political institutions and organisations have changed relatively little - a fact revealed by the consistency of the pattern of the vertical division of power during the years. Whether this is the case and what are the causes leading to it, are important though unasked questions in Finnish political science.

II.   Economic Decision Making

2.1.   Quantitative

2.1.1.   Social partners

Finland along with Denmark and Sweden have for a long time had the highest unionisation level in the Western world (over 80 %). Whilst in the beginning of the century women's unionisation rate was about a third of men's, now the unionisation of men and women is nearing a balance. There has been a massive feminisation of the Finnish unions in the last two decades, mostly due to the growth of female-dominated unions (Karvonen 1995; Virta 1985).

In 1994/93, women made up between 46-65 % of the members of the three largest central employee organisations (SAK, AKAVA, STTK).

Women's share in the decision-making bodies of the labour market organisations nevertheless lags seriously behind their numeric share of the members. E.g. in the councils of the mentioned three organisations, there were about 40 % of women, and in boards, 14-33 % of women in 1993/94.

Before the 1980's the topic of women's position in unions had not been subject to research, except gender being used as a background variable in different kinds of organisational surveys. The pioneer in the field was Alakapee et. al.'s (1979) work on the position of women in the Central Organisation of Finnish Trade Unions (=SAK). The study was followed up by a series of case studies on women in different employee organisations in the 1980's and 1990's (E.g. Borg-Pehkonen 1983; Virta 1985; Holmila 1986, 1990; Mikkonen 1987; Erkkilä 1992), or e.g. on the strikes by women unions (e.g. Julkunen - Rantalaiho 1992). There seems to have been very few works with a more general or comprehensive perspective (see Haavio-Mannila 1984; Karvonen 1995), and practically nothing with theoretical aspirations.

It is difficult to tell why the situation is like this. Partly it may be due to the general disinterest in the study of civil society and the organisational field lately (see also subheadings 1.4 and III), partly to the fact that the topic falls between two disciplinary fields, i.e. political science and sociology, in Finland.

The feminisation of the unions and the influence of women in them is however a very important field to study, especially in a strong corporatist society like Finland and considering the proportionally lesser power of women in economic decision-making than in political decision-making. The role and influence of female-majority unions is an issue of interest here as well, as are the new networks of women trade union leaders established in the 1990's.

Many of the existing few studies refer to topics in need of further study. For example, in collective bargaining between the social partners also a lot of social policy issues are negotiated as a part of the overall package. Many of these issues have been of special interest to women, e.g. the realisation of long maternity leaves. Often "women's interests" are however down-prioritised by the pool of (almost) all-male negotiators, or women's and men's interests appear conflictual although the conflict-aspects are hidden at the negotiation tables (e.g. issues of part-time work vs. longer leaves). (Haavio-Mannila 1984; Martikainen 1990 (**QL**)).

Some of the earlier studies also refer to the fact that the problems in women's participation are created already at local level in work-places. Women experience a double time lag in their trade union participation: they join the union later than men and are recruited to shop steward positions at a later stage (and in fewer numbers) than men. Generally, women feel more alienated from unions than men (Mikkonen 1987), but younger women also expressed their willingness to be active if given the opportunity (Erkkilä 1992). This suggests that the problems at a central organisation level are created already at grass-root level, by institutional norms and recruitment practices to the trade union decision-making. Moreover, there seems to be few if any studies utilising qualitative interview methods in investigating women's experiences of participation and decision-making in trade unions.

Research on women's position and attitudes to gender questions in employer organisations seems to be a virtual blank, barring possibly some reports by EVA, a mutual research institute for employer organisations (see *Varavoimasta voimavaraksi* 1994).

2.2. Women in management

In 1970, the proportion of women at managerial level was 8 % (Kauppinen-Toropainen 1994, 56), in 1995 it was 22 % (Veikkola-Hänninen-Salmelin- Sinkkonen 1996, 78). Thus, in a little more than 25 years, the proportion of women has increased significantly, although mostly at the middle managerial level positions. According to Ruostetsaari (1992, 89-91) the percentage of women in economic elites was 4 %. Other studies (Veikkola - Hänninen-Salmelin - Sinkkonen 1996) let us know that the proportion of women in the leadership of the 200 biggest businesses in Finland during 1978-92 had doubled - to 2 %!

Over half of Finnish wage-earners work in homogeneous sectors of labour, working mostly with others of the same sex. Nevertheless, men have a female superior seldom (6 %), whilst 52 % of women have a female superior. E.g. in such female areas of labour as in teaching or banking those in managerial positions are often male. (Kauppinen-Toropainen 1993) The managerial job market has traditionally been segregated into a women's and men's sector: male managers are to be found in male sectors of the labour market as well as in the leadership of big businesses. Male managers tend to be in general management, in technical fields and marketing, whilst the profile of women managers is broader. The wage difference of male and female leaders is even greater than elsewhere: women managers get on the average only 66 % of men's salary. (Vanhala 1996)

Research on women and management in Finland is a topic of interest to both sociology (see subheading 3.3), administrative studies (see subheadings 1.1 (e) and 2.2) and economics and management. Studies on women in management started in the 1980's in Finland, and research has often concentrated on the differences between male and female managers, e.g. in their leadership style, sometime in a slightly normative or idealistic manner. Of results, we can mention e.g. the differences in the marital status of male and female managers (Keinänen 1994); the non-authoritarian, open leadership style of women managers (Haavio-Mannila et. al 1991) and the perceived high ethics of women leaders (Kivistö 1989).

Generally speaking, the research on the topic, especially as far the private sector is concerned, has been quite scarce and disintegrated, although there are researchers active in this area, concludes Associate Professor Anne Kovalainen from Turku School of Economics and Business Administration.

Recently, there was published a report *Huipulla tuulee* (ed. by Eeva-Sisko Veikkola 1996) that gave an overall view of the recent developments as far as Finnish women's position in economic decision-making is concerned.

Associate Professor Kovalainen evaluates that there has not been very much studies (especially qualitative ones) on the recruitment of women managers, nor on the organisational cultures of firms and their impact on women's advancement. Another big gap in research is in the area of the actual experiences of women managers: how do they construct their own strategies and what kinds of support do they have , e.g. in women's networks. Also the impacts of the recent economic depression on women's position in the labour market should be investigated more fully.

2.3.   Women in the professions

The majority of female wage-earners in Finland in 1994 were employed as lower-level salaried employees (56 %) and most of the males as workers (53 %). Men constitute 56 % of the upper-level salaried employees and women 44 %, while less than one fourth of those in managerial position are women (Women and Men in Finland 1995, 70). Finnish women are both well educated and have been well integrated in the working life longer than in most other Western societies, although the wage difference between the genders has not disappeared. The labour market is also divided by gender, with different professions and sectors for women and men.

Women's studies have had most impact in Finland in sociology and in humanities. Because working life has also ideologically been in focus in the equality strivings since the 1960's, this has been reflected upon the choice of issues for research. Sociology of working life can be said to be the single most productive area of study in Finland as far as gender aspects are concerned, maybe only comparable to studies on welfare policies and on the welfare state - which, on the other hand, make up the other side of the formula of women being able to combine full-time paid work with family life.

The central position of working life studies in Finnish women's studies can be documented e.g. by a look into a recent 67-page bibliography listing over 2000 entries of gender research published during 1980-1995 - in international languages, *not* in Finnish (*Research on Women and Gender from Finland 1980-1995*). Of the 67 pages of the bibliography, between a fourth and a third can be listed as sociological working life research. A lot of these studies deal with women in different professions, the segregation of the labour market or the working life conditions of women. There are studies of women in most professions, e.g. as lawyers, doctors, nurses, police, office workers, etc.

Raija Julkunen (1984) reviewed the state of art of gender studies in working life sociology in the beginning of the 1980's and concluded the following: Seen from a relative point of view and considering the international situation, women and gender were not discriminated in the topics and perspectives of the Finnish working life sociology. This, she suggested, was due to the large proportion of women amongst professional researchers of sociology. However, there were still many problems: e.g. the insufficient overall amount of working life research, the theoretical weakness of it, time lags as to international research, the effects of current political interests on the choice and relative importance of research topics, and, lastly, the lack of empirical field work.

Seen from an outsider position, it seems that most of the problems mentioned by Julkunen have been cured since. Gender studies in Finnish working life sociology seem to prosper both by quantitative (amount) and qualitative indicators (theory and methods). As Julkunen did, I would like to assign this to both the proportion of women researchers in the area, leading to productive joint research projects and networks stimulating further research and theory-building as well as recruitment into the field.

This field of study will not be reviewed in detail in this report, due to its vastness. Those interested in this field of study are referred to said bibliography as well as bibliographies on Finnish sociology.

2.4.   Women in decision-making in educational institutions

In Finland, women made in 1996 more than half of university students, about 40 % of doctoral aspirants, 17 % of associate professors and 10 % of full professors (The KOTA- database of the Ministry of Education). In education, there is also visible a division of women's areas (e.g. nursing science, humanities) and men's areas of education (technology and science). The same divisions are visible at lower levels of education.

The data on the area seems to be easily available as well as well updated. The subject was taken up especially by sociologists in the beginning of the 1980's at the rise of women's studies in Finland, as many women researchers became more conscious of and interested in their own position in the academies. Subsequently, women's position at universities has been subject to studies (e.g. Luukkanen-Gronow 1987; Stolte-Heiskanen 1991; Husu 1995) as well as women researchers' conceptualisations of self and work (Wager 1994). E.g. Husu's works chart the discriminating mechanisms and informal norms that make advancement in the academic hierarchy, or even recruitment into it, more difficult for women.

At lower levels of education, women make up the majority of teachers (Implementation of the Nairobi Strategies 1995, 65). Their proportion of school principals is nevertheless only 10 %. Studies on the gendered practices of schools also seem to be more focused on pedagogics than on the gendered hierarchies of the school as a working place, although the latter has been discussed in studies on working-life.

For further references on this topic, see e.g. the bibliography *Research on Women and Gender from Finland 1980-1995.*

2.5. Qualitative

2.5.1. Women's access to senior levels of employment in different economic sectors

As far as I can judge, qualitative studies on the area of women's access to senior levels of employment in different economic sectors have been quite scarce.

Generally speaking, it is easier for women to get access to senior levels of employment/managerial level on female-dominated sectors in the labour market. In a masculine line of work, women are required to balance between job requirements and expectations of femininity, which make the task harder. Women also adapt to this: according to some studies (Haavio-Mannila et. al. 1991) women are perceived as non-authoritarian managers, encouraging and aimed at open communication.

Attitudes to women managers is one of the factors that influence women's access to senior positions. Also women's own expectations are a factor: women often seek jobs that they feel are emotionally rewarding, and allow them to combine a career with a family. That may exclude some managerial positions. Moreover, women's exclusion from the informal networks of power is a factor. (Kauppinen-Toropainen 1994)

The research project "The gendered practices of working life" (see Kinnunen-Korvajärvi (eds.) 1996; Rantalaiho - Heiskanen (eds.) 1997) also pays attention to the informal, everyday practices of working life that reproduce and uphold gender segregation and gendered hierarchies, often via textually mediated practices (see subheading 2.2 as well).

2.5.2. Programmes of training for women in decision-making

In the area of economic decision-making, there have since the 1980's been different types of policies aimed at improving women's position as entrepreneurs and managers, in the form of special loans, stipends and courses. There is also private educational institutes that arrange special courses for women managers (e.g. the International WoMan Institute).

2.5.3. Gender biases in cultures of firms, professional groups and social partner organisations

As far as I can judge, there are not very much studies on the topic, apart from the gender biases of professional groups that has been often included in case studies on professional groups in working-life sociology (see subheading 3.3) and are defined as outside of the task at hand. Apart from that, there have been few studies on either the cultures of firms or social partner organisations. I will shortly present one of the most interesting studies on the topic.

Martikainen (1989, 1990, 1992) has studied the gender bias in collective bargaining in Finland, e.g. by direct observation at working places, studying the collective labour contracts and by interviewing central labour market negotiators. Typically, collective contracts and the negotiating

process are presented as genderless or gender-neutral. Martikainen, however, shows the deep-rooted gendering of both the process and its results.

What is at stake at wage negotiations, is how different tasks in the labour market are evaluated and rewarded. The criteria for rewards are influenced by taken-for-granted masculine norms and practices: e.g. hazardous work is rewarded as long it is found in a masculine area of work. Often these gendering practices are mediated by different textual practices: e.g. in instructions for interpreting what "hazardous work" means. Moreover, job titles tend to be discriminating as well: in Finland, most job titles bearing a reference to "assistance" are women's jobs, whilst men's job titles are more likely to indicate "leadership". In collective bargaining negotiations, these types of practices are reproduced by the (almost) all-male negotiators on both sides of the table.

The repression of women's interests in the collective bargaining process is exacerbated further by the fact that all parties tend to avoid taking it up: the employers because the issue definitely is not in their interest, and the (male) unions because they rather regard their members as a collective, not torn apart by conflictual gender interests. (Martikainen 1990)

III.   Social Decision Making

3.1.   Quantitative/ 3.2.Qualitative

As already mentioned under subheading 1.4, women's studies in the fields of sociology and history are relatively strong, as are studies on women's movements in the wide sense. These studies include e.g.:

- the mobilisation of Finnish women (e.g. Saarinen 1991; Sulkunen 1987)
- women's participation in e.g. the abstinence movement in the beginning of the century (Sulkunen 1986) and in philantropical organisations (Ramsay 1993)
- the role of women and women's organisations during the Second World War
- the role of women and the women's organisations in the creation of the contemporary welfare state

The research has concentrated on making visible women's role as actors in the Finnish society, and has succeeded in this well. Reasons for the productive state of the art can be listed as the same as before: a relatively strong position of both women and women's studies within the fields concerned (mostly history, sociology and social policy); prolific networks and contacts and a good recruitment.

As far as other, contemporary organisations are concerned, there has been very little academic research, outside of some case studies. Subsequently, there is also little research on women's roles in the organisations.

There may be several reasons for the general lack of research, concludes Professor Veikko Helander of Åbo Akademi in Finland. One is connected to the problems in the database on organisations where the inadequate organisation register is about the only data source available.

Another reason may be the fact of the topic falling between several disciplinary fields: political science, sociology and social policy, as well as lack of political interest in studies on civil society.

Åbo Akademi is, however, preparing a research project on the third sector, motivated by a recently arisen political interest in the subject due to high unemployment and the possibilities of solving some of the problems via the voluntary sector.

IV.   Policy Evaluation

4.1.   Arrangements to study, audit and monitor policies to increase the presence of women in decision-making

The national policies for increasing the presence of women in decision-making arenas are regulated by the Equality Act, reformed in 1995.

The Equality Act of 1995 decrees that the minimum percentage of both women and men in government committees, advisory boards and other corresponding bodies, as well as municipal bodies (excluding municipal councils which are selected by a general poll) shall be 40 percent. This applies also to different kinds of administrative boards and to boards of directors in public institutions and state-majority companies. Exceptions to the regulations can only be made on special grounds, such as if there are no women in those executive positions where the organ is recruited from.

According to the Section 4 in the Equality Act, all public authorities have an obligation to promote gender equality purposefully and systematically, especially by changing circumstances that prevent the achievement of the goal. The obligation means that the authorities should develop their activities so that the objective of equality is attended to. Moreover, the authorities are to attend to that the organs they appoint consist of both men and women (40 % each).

The employer (and the public authorities in their role as employers) has also the obligation to promote equality in the working-life, e.g. by promoting equitable recruitment of women and men; by developing working-conditions, by creating equal opportunities for promotion; and by preventing sexual harassment in the work-place. If the employer regularly employs a staff of at least 30 persons, s/he has to include measures for promoting equality in the annual personnel and training plan or other documents.

Thus, the recruitment of women in positions of political decision-making (i.e. positions that are not elected by general polls) are in Finland regulated by law and monitored by the authorities for the purpose (the Equality Office). In other types of positions, e.g. in the private sector and in public employment, the employers are obliged to promote gender equality. There is so far no practices e.g. for the monitoring of the preparation or implementation of equality plans, except those of the employer him/herself. So far, it is not known how the employers fulfil the obligations of the Act.

As far as I know, there have been no arrangements to study the development in these areas excepting the work done by the Equality Office staff, mostly in form of short, administrative reports. The Equality Office has during the years also every now and then commissioned reports by academic researchers on topics of interest to it.

4.2. Assessments of the scope of laws and policies on equality between women and men

Finland passed an Equality Act in 1986, supplemented in 1988 and in 1992 and reformed in 1995. The Act prohibits gender discrimination and provides for the promotion of gender equality.

Since the Act became part of the existing laws in the country, it has been described and taught in an appropriate manner in judicial literature. Assessments of the Act were more usual in the preparatory stage of it, now the subject seems to be somewhat *passé a*mong the academic jurists. A comparison of the laws in the Nordic countries will, however, appear in the book *Half the Power* (forthcoming).

Assessments of the policies on equality are quite rare, apart of administrative reports or white papers that usually are not very analytical in character.

Leila Räsänen (1984) however charted the development of Finnish equality policies from 1970's to 1980's and pointed out some factors that bear upon the realisation of the proposed reforms. She showed the effects of the economic situation on equality reforms: in a period of depression, the reforms were put off or rejected. A second central factor was the assignment of the financial burden for the reforms: it has been easier to implement reforms financed by the public sector than by the private sector. A third factor lies in the political motivation and argumentation for the reform: the approved reforms have typically had considerations towards other social groups (labour, children) than women as well, or other motives in the background. Reforms that solely have had an objective of improving women's position have typically been difficult to realise in Finland.

Holli's studies (1991, 1996, 1997) on the topic have mostly concentrated on charting the ideological development of the Council for Equality from the 1970's to 1980's, showing the feministisation of the organ and its reconceptualisation of the concept of equality to more 'women-friendly' forms. She however also shows that the work for equality has in Finland been accommodated within the field of 'women's sphere' in politics: equality policies have been initiated mostly in 'soft policy areas' and by ministries dealing with reproduction. (Holli 1991) The typically male ministries dealing with 'system-maintenance' and 'resource administration' had by the end of 1980's been quite resistant to demands for initiating gender equality policies.

From the 1980's, the joint Nordic project in educating for equality BRYT - AVAA was monitored and studied in a series of reports (see e.g. Räsänen 1996). There was also some other projects for gender equality by the Ministry of Education, monitored and followed up by case

studies, as well as projects in equal pay, by e.g. the Espoo municipality. Apart from a few exceptions like these, there has not been praxis in initiating social projects or action research in the area.

There has not been studies on the implementation of gender equality reforms or policies either, apart from the ones mentioned earlier under subheadings 1.12 and 1.13.

On the other hand, there are quite a lot of studies within the fields of sociology and social policy concerning different policy areas that more indirectly affect women's participation (e.g. day-care reforms, family law, labour market policies etc.). Here again, we see how the divisions and boundaries between academic disciplines affect the state of the research.

As a point of interest, it can be mentioned that the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health is formally responsible for co-ordinating gender equality policies in the country. The Ministry has a research institute called STAKES the staff of which researches on subjects and policy areas of interest to the Ministry. Although there have been several research projects concerned with gender equality in this institute (e.g. problems in combining paid work and family obligations), there has not ever been any projects on either women in political decision-making or on assessments of equality policies, as far as I know.

4.3. Assessments of the machinery to implement laws and policies on equality between women and men

On national level, there are three major institutions on gender equality in Finland: The Council for Equality between Men and Women for the political preparation of the issues; and the Equality Ombud and the Equality Board for the judicial supervision of the Equality Act. In addition, there are several more institutions and authorities who have responsibilities in the field, both at the national and the local level.

Descriptions and assessments of the national machinery to implement laws and policies on gender equality are available in studies by Eduards et al. (1983) and Holli (1991, 1995a, 1996, 1997). As to institutional arrangements, the unclear division of responsibility and the lack of an organ with executive and co-ordinating powers has been seen as a problem (Holli 1995a).

A further assessment of the equality apparatus in Finland from a comparative point of view will be published in the Nordic book *Half the Power* (forthcoming)

Apart of the mentioned, there are available mostly administrative papers and reports on the assessments of equality machinery.

On the local level, Sinkkonen (1982) studied in which types of municipalities there was established a municipal equality board. She established the influence of women councillors on the establishment of the organs. These types of voluntary boards were most often established in municipalities with a high level of woman councillors; in cities; and in municipalities of a liberalist or socialist orientation.

The existence, development and problems of the municipal equality boards was studied in a series of reports commissioned by the Equality Council in the 1980's, when the topic of municipal equality was one of its prioritised areas (e.g. Tasa-arvotyö kunnissa 1981; Haataja 1984, 1987). The municipal equality boards met with a lot of problems in the municipalities, the main ones of which were the lack of resources, the lack of influence and the insufficient support from the leadership of the municipality. Little by little, this form for equality work was put down. In a follow-up study in the beginning of the 1990's, Holli (1992) established that there were only 11 such boards left, i.e. about a fourth of all those ever established. Some of those too showed signs of near death, although there also existed some good examples of equality work at the local level.

V.   Good Practice

5.1.   What have been the most productive strategies and methods or research on women in political, economic and social decision making and why?

Generally speaking, the most productive research on women in political, economic and social decision-making in Finland have been empirical studies, regardless of methods or perspectives utilised. Insights in empirical data have formed a productive basis for further, theoretically more advanced analysis and theories, although the latter i.e. theory-building has not been very common in the area.

As my report suggests, good practices in Finnish research are to be found especially in gender studies in history and sociology/social policy. There we see the phenomenon of "quantity (co)produces quality" in action: e.g. careful empirical historical/sociological research has succeeded in painting a more coherent picture of the development of women's social mobilisation and activity in the first half of the century. Although experts in the area would probably find a bag of gaps to fill in the area, the broad outlines are getting clear - far from "passive", Finnish women have always participated actively in society in many ways, dependent on the historical context. Women's activity has also been crucial e.g. in the establishment and development of the contemporary welfare state.

In these ways and from a political point of view, historical and sociological studies give a contextual and theoretical background for studying women in political decision-making today. Women's internationally high level of political representation is not only today's occurrence, but must be seen in its historical and cultural context.

There, Kuusipalo's studies are excellent examples on how to combine the historical and cultural context to a political study of elite women. Taking into account e.g. changing historical gender ideologies and the role of women's organisations, she explains her interviewees' different paths to power in different periods of time. The method of life histories and qualitative interviews seems to be a productive method of analysis to be adopted in other types of elite studies, too.

In political science and apart from Kuusipalo, especially Elina Haavio-Mannila's and Sirkka Sinkkonen's quantitative studies on women's representation can be seen as productive and illuminating, in that they carefully analysed the available data and provided analytical explanations of it. In this way, they set a good foundation for further research on women in decision-making in Finland although this pioneer work has not been followed up. Especially Haavio-Mannila in her early works on elections and political representation first presented and empirically validated some of the culturally and contextually sensitive hypotheses that the later generations - the author included - have taken as "self-evident truths" of Finnish women and politics.

Sinkkonen and Haavio-Mannila were also active in the *Unfinished Democracy*, which is not only the best (and for a long time, the only) presentation on Finnish women in political decision-making, but also a good example of a best way to utilise scarce resources by combining them. Generally, it can be said that this Nordic project along with other similar book projects have given a boost to the art of study in Finland.

Also Karento's studies on administration, Kuitunen's forthcoming work on the parties and Martikainen's study on the internal mechanisms of collective bargaining can be mentioned as good examples of a focus on the internal life and culture of organisations and their significance from a gender perspective.

Within the field of political science, it is necessary to mention the productive role of the Equality Office, too. Although the administrative and statistical reports prepared by its staff during the years do not often keep up with academic standards, the work has been important in compiling often the only available data or information in the area, especially in the 1970's and 1980's. Much of the research commissioned by the Council for Equality also fill the criteria of pioneer work in its field.

5.2. What are the most promising areas of future research?

As this report indicates, promising areas of research abound in the field of women in decision-making in Finland, since the area is an almost unexplored continent. Generally speaking, we can however sketch some promising areas of research:

1. The updating of the quantitative analysis of women's position of political, economic and social decision-making would give the area of study some of the background needed.

In the Finnish case, it would be useful to analyse the developments in Finnish women's position in its context, considering the recent dismantling of the welfare state, the increased unemployment, the membership in the EU and other structural variables and their overall effect to changes in women's position.

2. These quantitative studies should be accompanied by qualitative studies on women in different elites, by utilising e.g. life histories, autobiographies and interview methods, on their recruitment

and experiences. Also studies on "exits" e.g. those who voluntarily or involuntarily exited from the political or economic arena would be useful in analysing these areas.

3. Studies on the cultures of institutions and organisations in political, economic and social decision-making, accompanied by qualitative studies on women's experiences in those institutions.

4. The impact of women and women's collective organising on the agenda-setting and policy-making. These types of studies should also consider e.g. women's political organisations, networks etc. that typically are excluded from analysis.

Here, the international Research Network on Gender and the State has started a comparative endeavour on women's impact on policy-making, involving most of the European countries, as well as Canada and the U.S.

6. Action research e.g. in the area of equality policies, or on other policies aimed at increasing women's proportion in decision-making.

7. Generally speaking, both comparative endeavours, research strategies utilising a combination of perspectives and insights from mainstream research and gender studies as well as interdisciplinary endeavours seem to give added value to the research. There should also be more attention to the interaction between different sectors of decision-making (political, economic and social) and levels of participation (subnational, national, transnational, international).

E.g. a proposal by Associate Professor Anne Kovalainen (Turku School of Economics and Business Administration) for a promising area of research seems to fulfil most of the listed criteria. She suggests a comparative study on the equality planning or policies aimed at women employees by multinational corporations in different countries. This type of study would give useful insights into the mechanisms by which politics and economy interact as far as women's position is concerned.

5.3.   What are the main difficulties in conducting research on women
   and decision-making? (Practical and theoretical)

The main difficulties in conducting research on women and decision-making involve both practical and theoretical problems closely relating to each other.

As this report shows, the main problem in conducting research on women and political decision-making seem to be the marginality of both the topic and the women researchers studying it.

The field of study in political decision-making from a gender-sensitive point of view is full of gaps; most of the research available written is in the form of single articles and other short works; and it is not followed up or kept up systematically. The existing studies are often quite descriptive and superficial, and there is not much own theoretising on the subjects concerned.

Theoretical explanations and models adopted from abroad can sometimes be problematic when adapted to the Finnish situation that in some aspects *re* women's situation is generally seen as exceptional. An example of this is served by Keränen (1993) who shows that the American

theories on women's general political passivity adopted by Finnish political scientists in the 1950's were not validated by Finnish data - but nevertheless reigned and partially still reign mainstream political science in Finland.

The nationally and culturally sensitive contextual explanations do not get an opportunity to develop in a field of study as disintegrated as this. This can often lead to situations where the wheel is invented again at 5-10 years' intervals, every new generation doing some of the groundwork anew but unable to get into the depth of things, due to e.g. problems of getting an academic tenure or resources for research.

Finnish political science has long been notorious for its non-recruitment of women. In the beginning of the 1980's, only 4 % of the Licentiates were women and no woman had ever disputed in Finland in political science, nor got tenure even as a junior lecturer within the field. This led to a situation where women political scientists existed on a fringe of the academia, in temporary positions, on scholarships etc. Lack of opportunities led to a quite large fall-out rate of possible recruits. During the last 5 years the situation as to new recruits is somewhat better: there are women political scientists both as doctoral aspirants and in junior lecturer positions in academia, especially in international politics.

The marginality of the topics and researchers on gender and decision-making in political science is reflected in the fact that more often than not there is only an expert in her (quite seldom his) area of speciality. The dependency of the state of the art on individual researchers is very apparent. After Professors Haavio- Mannila and Sinkkonen in the mid-1980's more or less gave up electoral research from a gender perspective, there has been practically no studies on the field since. After that, there have been about 5 women political scientists in the field women in decision-making, each covering a speciality of their own, but with no common points of interest outside that of the general theme "gender and politics". This means that there has been few possibilities of creating productive fora for the exchange of ideas or joint projects within the field - the networking has often to be done across disciplines or across national borders. Due to the women researchers' precarious academic situation, the latter may often have proved difficult.

In political science, moreover, there seems to be quite a gap between gender-sensitive research and the mainstream. This can be discerned not only by the non-existence of gender aspects in mainstream works but also by the non-communication over the division: gender research is neither known nor referred to, nor are researchers specialising in these questions very often invited to attend mainstream projects or to write to mainstream anthologies. Especially the challenges and critiques offered by feminist theory to the topics and basic assumptions of the discipline seem to meet with strong resistance and suspicion.

Because of the problems mentioned, the subject of women in decision-making has been quite a marginal area of study in Finland. It has not attracted any special funding or projects, nor

have the relevant topics been often included in mainstream research projects either. (See also subheadings I and VII).

Data sources are also lacking in some respects, as I already tried to indicate in other places of this report. For example, the gender-blindness of the field is reflected on the lack of gender-specific questions in data collection. These problems concerning data, in my opinion, are however not reasons for the lack of research.

The situation of management studies and economic decision-making seem in many respects similar to that of political science, although maybe not as exacerbated where the position of women researchers is concerned. There the field of study is quite disintegrated and carried by single individuals, too, with little or no funding for special projects that would give a boost to this field of study.

As far as social decision-making is concerned, the problems seem to be in the lack of political and academic interest in the field.

A general problem for Finnish research are the rigid divisions between different disciplines which also affect the state of the art especially on the fringes and borders of the disciplines. This can be seen affecting e.g. the weak state of research observed in areas of social decision-making (the third sector) and research on social partners.

VI.   Priorities

6.1.   What are the main gaps in research on women in decision-making? (Practical and theoretical)

As already mentioned, there are serious gaps in research on women in decision-making in Finland in almost all areas. More specifically, there are gaps in:

Political decision-making

1. Empirical, updated information and analysis on the development of women' position in political decision-making at all levels, from national decision-making to municipal decision-making. The topics concerning the corporatist system and women in decision-making positions in municipalities are especially blank, as is the phenomenon of gendered voting in Finland.

2. Information and analysis of the experiences of women in different arenas of political decision-making arenas.

3. The recruitment of women into politics.

4. The cultures of political institutions from a gender perspective.

5. Women's political culture, e.g. women's political organisations and networks, and the impact of these on women's political representation.

6. The impact of media representation on women's recruitment to and position in political decision-making.

7. The impact of women on the political agenda-setting and policy-making.

8. The impacts of current economic problems on women's position as citizens, employees and clients of the welfare state.

9. The effects that Finland's membership in the EU has had on women's position in political (as well as economic and social) decision-making nationally.

Economic decision-making

1. Empirical information and analysis on women's position in the labour market organisations and their impact on economic and political decision-making via this channel.

2. The recruitment, experiences and situation of women in leadership and in managerial positions.

3. The cultures of organisations and institutions in economic decision-making and their significance on women's position.

4. The impact of current economic problems as well as the impacts of the membership in the EU on women's position in economic decision-making.

Social decision-making

1. Practically the whole area is unresearched.

Generally, and as far as I can gather, there is nothing or extremely little research done in the position of minorities or minority women e.g. handicapped persons, immigrants or native minority groups (the Sami people, the Romani people) in the areas of decision-making.

6.2. What are the prospects for filling the gaps in research on women in decision-making in Finland

As far as I can judge, the prospects for filling the gaps in research on women in decision-making are not very promising, due to the precarious situation of the subject in at least two of the disciplines concerned: political science and economics and management. That is to say, I am not very optimistic to remedying the situation without involving some special measures or pressures from the outside.

As far as political science is concerned, both women and the subject of gender has been excluded from the field for such a long time - about 50 years - that the situation seems difficult to remedy in spite of a modest recruitment of women researchers to junior positions in the academia. The internal, often discriminating practices and norms of the discipline are not likely to evolve very much by a marginal inclusion of women. Moreover, the development of general research policies affects the situation in novel ways.

From the beginning of the 1995, there was in Finland established graduate schools for Ph.D. candidates to replace the old system. Simultaneously, there were also changes in the general research policy, stressing the financing of big projects and the central position of Ph.D.'s as leaders of the projects etc. For marginal areas of study (e.g. women in political decision-making) and marginal groups (women researching in that) in male-dominated disciplines, these changes mean an increased dependency on the acceptance and inclusion in the male/mainstream community. The responsiveness and the internal culture of the scientific community becomes the decisive factor.

Taking into account the history and the later development of the discipline of political science, I am somewhat pessimistic as to the outcome of this challenge. Unfortunately, the alternative - e.g. the total exclusion of feminist researchers - seems more probable, at least in some academic communities, whilst in some others they may be welcome.

A more optimistic viewer might stress the light points: the appearance of the first women Ph.D.'s in political science from the late 1980's onward; and the prospects of having a few new ones specifically in the field of women and decision-making in a few years' time. It is possible, although in my opinion not very likely, that via the activity of these human factors the field of study will get rid of its problems and receive the boost it needs: institutional backing in form of tenured positions and support from academia; new research projects; financing; and a recruitment of new-comers to the field. Here, too, the responsiveness of the main stream research community is decisive - and as long as women make up just a small fraction, I would not expect much change in the community.

Political science is nevertheless an extreme example on its field. E.g. in sociology the situation is much better:

(a) Women make up a considerable proportion of the researcher pool, and thus, do not form a marginal group. On the contrary, researchers on various aspects of decision-making seem to form productive networks. They also have a better institutional situation and resources.

(b) Both gender issues and feminist perspectives are more often accepted and integrated in the mainstream sociology.

In sociology, the prospects for filling the gaps in research seem to me much more promising. As I have tried to indicate, the state of the art there seems to be quite blooming, as far as sociology as a discipline is concerned. If there are minor problems, the community seems to be quite willing to pick up new themes and outbroaden its horizons to other disciplines and perspectives when alerted to them. In most cases discussed in this report, the task for sociology is mostly that of being aware of the political aspects involved, e.g. in working life research.

Recommendations

1. As far as I can see, the first priority for at least researchers from political science and economics and management is to join scarce resources, both by networking internally within the discipline and over disciplinary boundaries, preferably with backing from sociologists.

2. Both international (the Nordic Minister Council, the EU, other international founders of research) and national decision-makers in the field of academic research (e.g. the Ministry of Education, the Academy of Finland, the universities and the biggest public and private founders of research) should be alerted to the problems of marginal areas of research, as in the study of women and decision-making. These problems are related to other problems e.g. in the gender imbalance in some disciplines and in the whole academic culture.

At the national level in Finland, the gendered effects of the new research policies should be investigated. A special attention should be paid to disciplines with a gender imbalance, both as far as research and funding policies are concerned and e.g. in internal gender plan monitoring at universities.

A possible solution to some of the problems mentioned would be e.g. to alert mainstream research projects for the consideration of gender perspectives when relevant via a preparation of general guidelines. For example, the Academy of Finland, but also international funders, should consider including some requirements concerning gender perspectives to the contents of any large research projects where gender may be relevant.

There is also need for specially funded projects on nationally and internationally important themes like in the area of women in decision-making that are not being researched upon in an sufficient amount because of the internal problems in the academia.

VII. Funding

Research on any subject in Finland is funded mainly via the following mechanisms:

1. *Suomen Akatemia* (the Academy of Finland) funds big and nationally important projects.

There have so far not been any special research projects on any aspects of women and decision-making funded by the Academy of Finland, apart of the Ruostetsaari's and Kuusipalo's project on elites in the beginning of the 1990's. Such special projects were established on other gender issues within the fields of sociology and social policy, e.g. Women and the Welfare State, and they have been very productive as far the quantity and quality of research are concerned.

The gender aspect has not been included seriously in many mainstream projects either.

2. *Private foundations* fund smaller projects, often the doctoral theses of private individuals

3. *Institutions in the public or private sector* can commission and fund research on a topic interesting or useful to it, either by buying services from Academia or by own researchers or institutions.

Most of the research originating this way was written by the staff of the Equality Council or was commissioned by the said Council. Apart from it, there have not been many public (or private) institutions interested in initiating or funding research on women in decision-making. As already

mentioned (see subheading 7.2) not even STAKES (the research institute serving the Ministry responsible for equality policies) has initiated projects on women in decision-making.

4. *International funding.* Most of the large joint international projects on women and decision-making so far have been funded by the Nordic Minister Council in the form of different book-projects.

5. *Other, not specifically funded research* - by academic staff, doctoral aspirants or others has been a quite typical 'unpaid' form of research in the area of women in decision-making. The existence of this type of research is also very much dependent of the number and status of women researchers in the disciplines in question.

Recommendation

The area of study is changing very rapidly due to economic, social and political restructuring processes that have taken place during the last decade. These processes are to a large extent unexplored and unstudied.

Since the core academic disciplines have not been able to invest in the research area of women in decision-making e.g. in the form of adding the relevant research positions in the academia, the funding for research has to come elsewhere, either from the international or the national level.

Therefore, I recommend that funders of research either/both at the international (the EU, the Nordic Council) or/and the national (the Academy of Finland, STAKES) level should initiate specially funded projects in the area of women in political, economic and social decision-making.

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4   In this list of references I will indicate the incidental/additional literature referred to in the report ie. literature that is not specifically concerned with women and decision-making (in Finland) and is not included in the actual bibliography for that reason.

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GEP

GEP - THE RESEARCH PROGRAMME GENDER, EMPOWERMENT AND POLITICS

THE RESEARCH PROGRAMME GENDER, EMPOWERMENT AND POLITICS (GEP) deals with the changing political importance of gender in modern societies. During the last 30 years, women have moved from a position of political powerlessness to political presence and influence in the Danish democracy. Women's new role in politics has had deepgoing consequences - not only for women but also for men.

The aim of the programme is to analyse the interplay between gender relations and discources of gender on the one hand and changes in the European welfare states and models of democracy on the other. The basic hypothesis is that politics is a determining factor for the construction of gender - and conversely that gender relations influence the political discources and the political institutions. From this double assumption, new questions concerning the interconnection between civil, political, and social citizenship are analysed.

The programme emphasises two factors: First analysing processes and patterns behind the double tendencies toward empowerment and social exclusion of social groups in terms of gender and class. Secondly, the differentiation within the group of women and men analysing the interplay between gender and class. Maintaining the perspective of gender, these differentiations will make visible the differences of generations as well as the differences between the educated/employed and the marginalized groups.

Questions connected with public equality politics, the increasing representation of women, women's participation in the local political communities and the political elite, as well as strategies against marginalization and poverty will be discussed through projects and case studies.

The project is carried out by six scientists from four different institutions.

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