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Changing Welfare States and Labour Markets in the Context of European Gender Arrangements

1. Introduction

In the last decades of the millenium, women have in the long run increasingly been integrated into Western European labour markets. There were however considerable differences in the development paths of European labour markets concerning the structures of labour market integration and labour market exclusion indicated by the development of labour force participation rates of women. The differences also concern the forms in which women were integrated into waged work. In most countries, mainly part-time employment of women has increased during these changes¹. The proportion of women working part-time today varies to a high degree in the Euoprean Union, from 11% of the employed women in Finland to 67% of the employed women in The Netherlands (OECD, 2000).

Social integration and social exclusion of women on labour markets was in the last years often discussed in the framework of a broader debate on welfare state policies, social inequality and social citizenship.² This debate was inspired by T.H. Marshall's work on social citizenship, conceptualised as a means to measure the degree to which welfare states promote social integration of all citizens on the basis of equality (Marshall, 1950: 5f.). Feminists have criticized this approach for it was based on a male norm: on wage work as implicit basis of citizenship (Pateman, 1988). It was argued that women were for a long time excluded from paid work and are not yet fully included, and that they instead are responsible or unpaid domestic care work. (Orloff, 1993, Lewis and Ostner, 1994). Moreover, according to the argument citizenship rights which are based on domestic care work in Western societies are of minor quality, women are 'second class' social citizens (Orloff, 1993, Sainsbury, 1994).

¹ Part-time work has often been characterised as some kind of marginalised employment, though the findings of recent empirical research have outlined that this can only be said for some European countries and for certain fields of part-time employment. see the contributions to Fagan and O'Reilly 1998

² For an overview on concepts of citizenship see Lister, 1997 and in this volume, and Siim 1998, 2000

The question of which kind of social citizenship can contribute to comprehensive and full social integration of women into society is crucial for the analyses and The question of which kind of social citizenship can contribute to comprehensive and full social integration of women into society, for the improvement of gender equality and the gaining of “equal social worth” of women and men according to Marshall’s ideas (1950) is crucial for the analyses and interpretation of cross-national differences in the labour force participation of women in European countries, particularly also in relation to part-time work of mothers. In a majority of approaches to social citizenship in feminist discussion (i.e. Lewis, 1998, 1999; Orloff, 1993; Sainsbury, 1994), the full integration of women into waged work, and a full provision of public childcare, are seen as avenue to full citizenship of women and gender equality. Cross-national differences in labour force participation of women, and with respect to fulltime versus part-time integration, are accordingly mostoften seen as indicating a differing quality of social rights of women, of their right to be ‘re-commodified’ (Ostner, 1994).

This approach has been criticized by Knijn and Kremer (1997): they argue with a concept of ‘including’ citizenship, by which they mean, that social citizenship should include the right to care, as well as the right to be care for, guaranteed and promoted by the welfare state. This has far reaching consequences for the idea about the interrelations of labour market, gender and citizenship: it would mean that women (and men) can also gain full citizenship if they take the responsibility in the field of domestic care work.

I would argue that there in general some substantial problems connected to the way concepts of social citizenship, labour market and gender are discussed here: that way social citizenship is conceptualised is in part more one-sidedly a normative instead of an analytical approach, that it is implicitly based on the assumption of coherence between welfare state policies and labour market behaviour of women, that the dimension of ‘culture’ is not systematically integrated into analyses, and that social change is often not conceptualised.³

³ I would like to thank the editors who with their comments have supported me to clarify my arguments.

(1) Citizenship as normative approach

In the current debate, often abstract concepts of social citizenship are, from a theoretical feminist perspective, discussed without reflecting that different concepts may match different societal contexts. Ruth Lister (in this volume), in a more elaborated approach to the relationship of gender and social citizenship, points to the interrelation between citizenship and social agency. According to her argument, social citizenship rights can be subject to processes of re-negotiation and are in principle open to re-interpretation and re-negotiation of social actors. If we conceptualise citizenship in that way, we also should consider that it might be possible, that in different societies the question of, which concept of social citizenship is mostly adequate to promote full social integration and gender equality, might be answered in different ways by women and their representatives, mainly the feminist movement, because of differing cultural and institutional traditions in these countries.⁴ Therefore, the theoretical concept of social citizenship should not be used in a normative, essentialist way (see also Bang et al, 2001) but in the first line as a analytical concept, to analyse and compare welfare state policies.

(2) Citizenship as coherent unity of welfare state policies and labour market behaviour

A shortcoming of these approaches is moreover that they often conceptualise citizenship as a coherent unity of the way welfare states shape/construct social citizenship rights on one hand, the patterns of labour market behaviour of women on the other. They often do not adequately take into account the ways in which welfare state policies – and the ways they define social citizenship rights - are embedded into society. This means in particular that they do not respect adequately the complex interplay of welfare state policies, labour markets, culture and social agency which might be connected with tensions, contradictions and asynchronies between the way welfare states define social citizenship on one hand, and the way individuals use social rights on the other. Individuals do not simply react in their behaviour to state policies.

(3) The missing of culture as explanation for cross-national differences

The role of cultural values and ideals for the construction of social rights by the welfare state is usually neglected in these approaches. We must examine, as I would argue, the

⁴ There may even be discrepancies between innovative cultural ideals of the majority of women on one hand, the cultural ideas to which women refer who are active in the feminist movement, like for instance

idea the social practice of individuals is heavily influenced by predominant ideals and values concerning the "correct" division of labour between both genders. Individuals thus act within a complex framework of different kinds of institutions, cultural values and ideals and social structures. This is not in principle coherent but can be characterised by contradictions and asynchronies. The underlying cultural ideals and values for the construction of social citizenship by the state and the social practices of individuals are crucial to explain why social citizenship is defined in different ways in differing welfare states, and why also social practices of citizenship vary. Therefore it is also necessary to systematically include culture - the dimension of societal ideas, meanings and values - into any theoretical framework for the explanation of cross-national differences in the employment patterns of women and their links to social citizenship rights.

(4) Missing conceptualisation of social change

I would moreover argue that these approaches are static and do not really conceptualise change of welfare state policies, the way welfare states construct social citizenship, and this is interrelated with social and cultural change.

In sum I would argue that the theoretical framework for cross-national analyses should take into account the way welfare state policies, and the way they define social citizenship of workers and carers, are embedded into the respective societal context (see also Bang et al, 2001).

2. Cross-national analysis of gender policies of welfare states in the framework of gender arrangements

In the following section I present a proposal for analyses of welfare state policies and their impact on the labour market integration in a gender perspective in the framework of the theoretical approach of the 'gender arrangement' (Pfau-Effinger 1996, 1998a, 2000).

How can the 'societal context' of welfare state policies be conceptualised? In a very general understanding, it is on one hand formed by the interplay of welfare state policies with other institutions like the labour market or the family. These interrelations are the

in West Germany in part in the 1970s and 1980s (Pfau-Effinger 2000).

main subject of the 'effet sociétal' approach (Maurice et al 1986, Maurice 1995). They argue that these interrelations form a particular profile in each society. I would argue, that this profile is substantially influenced by the cultural basis to which they refer. The societal context is therefore on the other hand also formed by 'culture' i.e. constructions of sense like knowledge, ideals and values to which individuals and institutions refer, including ideas about what is 'good' and 'bad' (Neidhard, 1989). Welfare state policies and culture are mutually interrelated in very complex and maybe also contradictory ways, and they form a complex framework for social agency and social structures. Social actors contribute to the reproduction or, under certain conditions, change of elements of this framework, by conflicts, negotiation processes and compromises. These theoretical assumptions refer to the theories of Max Weber, David Lockwood (1964) and Margaret Archer (1996) (see Pfau-Effinger, 2000).

The approach of the '**gender arrangement**' which I have earlier introduced (see graph 1) refers to a certain part of this societal context, namely the interplay of culture, institutions, social structures and agency in relation to gender (Pfau-Effinger, 1996, 1998a, 2000). It is based on the assumption that, within the general cultural framework, on one hand in every modern society certain uniform ideas exist about the desirable, 'correct' form of gender relations and of the division of labour between women and men. These are institutionalized as norms and therefore remain relatively constant. Therefore there is in principle a 'longue durée' of these cultural values and ideals. I define these values and ideals as the **gender cultural system**. At different social levels the dominant values and norms form a main reference point for the gender discourses and gender practices of each new generation of actors - both at the level of institutions (like the welfare state and firms) and at the level of the everyday life. Cultural change may be caused by contradictions within the gender culture and/or by the development of new cultural ideals within particular social groups. The development of the gender culture is interrelated but is also relatively autonomous in relation to the **gender system (or: gender order)**. This comprises of the pertinent structures of gender relationships, as well as the relations between different societal institutions with reference to gender structures. Connell (1987) distinguishes three gender structures, which are interrelated, but in parts are also relatively autonomous from each other: (1) divisions of labour, (2) power and (3) 'carthexis' (that is the emotional and sexual relationships between genders). Three societal

institutions are of most importance for the gendered division of labour in modern industrial societies: the labour market, family/households and the state, also the education system is influential. The role of collective actors is important here too, particularly that of the feminist movement (Mósesdóttir, 1995).

The respective **gender arrangement** forms, as it were, the frame produced by the gender cultural system and the gender system (or **gender order**). By talking about an arrangement, I am stressing the overall binding contents of gender culture and the gender structures. In turn these are the result of social negotiations and struggles on the binding contents of the gender culture and on the gender structures.

The question of which ideals and values are dominant within the gender cultural system is the result of conflicts, negotiation processes and compromises of social actors with differing power at an earlier stage of historical development. It has a strong impact upon the gender discourses and practices of each new generation of actors. The gender cultural system also forms a main reference point for social action and policy formulation at the level of the welfare state, where it is implemented as norms and expectations of what is normal, and a central basis for the institutional construction of social citizenship; as well as in other institutions like the labour market and the family, as well as by collective actors and individuals themselves.

However, under certain circumstances individuals or groups of social actors develop new ideas, or adopt ideas from different contexts, and may try to negotiate a new dominant gender arrangement. This is particularly the case if tensions and contradictions inside the cultural or the social system, or between both systems have developed. A good example for such contradiction at the cultural level was the development in West Germany in the 1960s. During general processes of democratisation after the end of World War II, the idea of autonomous and equal citizens which are integrated into society by the labour market gained cultural importance, whereas the cultural foundation of social integration of married women was still based on the idea of personal dependency within marriage. This was the central cultural contradiction to which the new developing feminist movement in the 1960s and 1970s referred and which they took as a starting point for its policies which were mainly directed to implement cultural change (Pfau-Effinger, 2000).

Change at the level of gender culture can thereby contribute to change in welfare state policies. The outcome is influenced by the power relations between these actors like for instance between the feminist movement as a new social movement on one hand, the conservative political parties on the other. The cultural foundations of welfare state policies are thus mutually interrelated with the dominant cultural ideals about family and gender relations in the population and form a cultural reference point for other institutions like the labour market and the family (Pfau-Effinger, 2000).

The theoretical differentiation between gender cultural system and gender system is particularly important for analyses of change of gender arrangements. For change at the cultural and the institutional level can take place with differing speed and create various tensions, breakings and asynchronies between both levels. It therefore can also contribute to the emergence of contradictions and asynchronies in the relationship between gender policies of welfare states, cultural orientations, and labour market behaviour of women on the other, which we would not understand without analyses of the complex interplay of cultural and institutional change.

Classification of gender arrangements by the dominant gender cultural models

The 'profile' of gender arrangements can be described by the dominant gender cultural models. I have earlier (1998a, 1999a) suggested a classification of gender cultural models, based on the following criteria: (1) cultural ideals about the gender division of labour, the main spheres of work for women and men, the social valuation of these spheres, and the way dependencies between women and men are constructed.; (2) the cultural construction of the relationship between generations, that is the construction of childhood, motherhood and fatherhood.. Using this classification model it is possible to distinguish between at least six gender cultural models in Western Europe, which include more traditional and new cultural models: (1) the family economic gender model. (2) the male breadwinner/female home carer model, (3) The male breadwinner/female part-time carer model, (4) the dual breadwinner/state carer model, (5) the dual breadwinner/dual carer model, (6) the dual earner/marketized female carer).⁵ There also exist mixes between these models, as in Sweden, where a dual breadwinner/dual carer model

⁵ for an explanation more in detail see section 4.

is combined with elements of private care for children, and mothers in the phase of active motherhood tend to work part-time (although mostly with long hours not much below the level of fulltime employment). In some countries different gender cultural models are dominant at the same time, as in Germany where in former West Germany the male breadwinner/female part-time carer model is dominant, while in the former GDR the dual breadwinner/dual carer model is the central model. A co-existence of two dominant models can also exist when the gender arrangement is in the transformation process from one dominant family model to another, like in the Netherlands, where at the cultural level the dual breadwinner/dual carer model is dominant, whereas in practice most couples still live in correspondence with the male breadwinner/female part-time carer model (Pfau-Effinger, 2000).

The explanation of welfare state policies is not restricted to the influence of cultural values and ideals alone. Welfare state policies also are the result of differing interests of social groups and some social groups have more power than others. Welfare state policies therefore contribute substantially to the development of social inequality, including gender inequality. In this view, gender culture, institutions, gender structures and social actors are mutually interrelated within the gender arrangement, and the concept therefore forms an appropriate framework for cross-national analyses of differing welfare state policies and their dynamics of change (Pfau-Effinger, 1998a,1999a).

Interrelations of welfare state policies and social practices of individuals within the gender arrangement

The interrelations between welfare state policies and social practices of individuals are a very complex matter. The social action of individuals is not a simple outcome and not determined by state policies, although this is often assumed when data on behaviour (such as the labour force participation rates of women) are used as an indicator for welfare state policies. Such an assumption does not reflect the fact that the social behaviour of individuals is a process which takes place in a very complex field of influences, where also cultural ideals and values play an important role. Thus Duncan and Edwards (1997, 1999) have criticized the assumption of 'rational economic man' on which analyses of the impact of welfare state policies on behaviour are often based. According to

their argument, individuals do not simply act according to principles of “economic rationality” but also with respect to principles of “moral rationality”. In turn these principles are related to cultural ideals and values. Similarly Pfau-Effinger (1998a, 2000) found that cross-national differences in the development of female labour force participation rates and part-time working in Finland, The Netherlands and West Germany cannot be explained by simply referring to welfare state policies, but by the complex interplay of culture, institutions, structures and social actors within the respective gender arrangements.

As long as the respective gender arrangement is coherent, the labour force participation rate of women may to a large degree conform with the aims of welfare state policies. This is because in such cases welfare state policies and behaviour refer to the same set of cultural values and ideals on gender relations, like for example in West Germany and The Netherlands in the 1950s and 1960s. Things can be different, however, in times of social and cultural change in the respective gender arrangement. Women may act according to new cultural orientations in spite of welfare state policies which are traditionally oriented and sanction their new behaviour negatively so that this even seems to be ‘irrational’⁶. For example in The Netherlands and West Germany in the 1970s it was possible that, according to cultural change, women became more oriented towards wage work and increasingly participated in the labour force, whereas welfare state policies were still conservative and promoted the housewife model of the family. Change may therefore take place at the level of culture and in the behaviour of individuals while welfare state policies still promote more traditional gender cultural models, particularly in those cases in which the power relations still favour traditional (usually male) elites (Pfau-Effinger, 2000).

Cross-national differences in the gender policies of welfare states, and in the ways they construct social citizenship, can therefore be substantially explained by differences in the gender cultural foundations to which welfare state policies refer, and by the interests of those social groups which are influential in the reconstruction of old compromises, or

⁶ For a critic of the idea about economic rationality of labour market behaviour of women see Edwards and Duncan 1996.

Women also may use the political and institutional framework of the welfare state in new ways which deviate from the original aims of these policies.

in the struggle for new compromises. It should be noted that the gender policies of welfare states overlap in a specific way with those policies of welfare states which refer more closely to the differing class interests of capital and labour, the varying outcome of which has conceptualised by Esping-Anderson (1990) as 'welfare regimes'. The respective combination of gender culture with the class based welfare regime contributes substantially to cross-national differences of social policy between societies with similar gender cultures (Pfau-Effinger, 1999b,d).⁷

3. Analyses of changes of welfare state policies within European gender arrangements

To understand changes of welfare state policies, the differentiation between both dimensions of welfare state policies - policies which are directed towards the capital-labour arrangement, and policies which are directed to the gender arrangement - is important. Both can develop in different ways. In The Netherlands for example, in the 1950s and 1960s welfare state was organised on the basis of more or less social democratic ideas about the capital-labour arrangement, in combination with a gender policy which was based on the gender cultural model of housewife marriage. As a consequence of a modernisation of the gender arrangement, labour force participation rates of women have been – and are – increasing with a strong dynamic since the 1970s.

Labour force participation rates of women in countries which have been classified by Esping-Andersen as 'conservative' welfare regimes for example are changing in part with such a dynamic that they soon might adapt to the Scandinavian level, though the development of these welfare regimes took a different direction with respect to other central features which are related with the capital-labour arrangement and distinguish them from each other. Already today, the labour force participation rates of women in Finland, a social democratic welfare regime, and Germany, a conservative welfare re-

⁷ Simon Duncan and Ros Edwards (1999) have introduced a framework for the classification of social policy which uses such a combination, and which they call the 'genderfare' model. This is based on the assumption that policy variations reflect variations both in the capital-labour contract and the gender contract (or gender culture), and that these are mutually interrelated. According to this model, welfare states vary according to the specific way both kinds of contracts are shaped.

gime, are similar. Therefore, it does not make so much sense to discuss the issue of 'path dependency' of welfare state policies without distinguishing both dimensions.

Modernisation paths of gender arrangements

It is possible to distinguish at least three different modernisation paths of gender arrangements in western European countries in which the form and degree of women's labour force participation developed in different ways (Pfau-Effinger, 1998a, 1999b, 2000). I characterise these modernisation paths by the change in the dominant gender cultural model. They started with distinctly different gender cultural models and ended (for now) with different models. Change of welfare state policies did not always correspond to cultural change but there were partly substantial time lags and discrepancies..

The first modernisation path characterises development in West Germany and in The Netherlands. It started with the traditional male breadwinner/female carer model and developed towards a modernised version in West Germany and a dual breadwinner/dual carer model in The Netherlands. The traditional male breadwinner/female carer model is a cultural model which represents the 'Parsonian' model of the gendered division of labour. This conforms to the idea of the basic differentiation of society into public and private spheres. Men are regarded as breadwinners who earn the income for the family in the public sphere with waged work, whereas women are primarily regarded as being responsible for the work in the private household including childcare, and thus become dependent on the income of 'their' breadwinners. This is also based on a social construction of childhood according to which children need special care by their mother at home to be supported comprehensively as an individual being. The male breadwinner/female part-time carer model is a modernised version of the male breadwinner model. Here, the cultural construction of motherhood is in principle based on the idea of a parallel combination of unpaid caring and part-time paid employment. The dual breadwinner/dual carer model in contrast reflects the notion of a symmetrical and equitable integration of both genders into society. Childrearing is to a large extent the responsibility of both parents. The basic idea is that the family economy consists of an equal distribution of domestic work - in particular child care - and waged labour between a female and male household member where there is mutual dependency of both spouses.

While the gender arrangements of these countries were characterised by a relatively high degree of coherence in the 1950s and 1960, change since the 1970s in part took place with different speed at different levels and led to manifold discrepancies, contradictions and asynchronies between (and inside) the cultural and the institutional level and at the level of social agency of women. Cultural change often preceded change of welfare state policies and was a main cause for change of the labour market behaviour of women, whereas welfare state policies in part reacted with a considerable delay to cultural change and change in the employment behaviour of women.

The second modernisation path of gender arrangements is a certain variant of the first one in that it equally started with a male breadwinner/female carer model and was modernised in the direction of a male breadwinner/female part-time carer model. It ended however with a male breadwinner/female marketized carer model. This model is based on the idea of full integration of women and men into full-time waged work. The family is seen as responsible to organise and to pay for marketized childcare, by using commercial childcare facilities or by employing childminders in the household. This is a new model which has gained increasing importance in countries like Britain (and the USA), where welfare state interventions are much less seen as a solution to problems of labour market exclusion than in other welfare regimes (Crompton, 1998, Yeandle, 1999). The welfare states of these countries in the 1990s started an 'activation' policy to integrate the whole population into the labour market, without however providing complementarily a comprehensive social citizenship right to care or to be cared for and providing a comprehensive infrastructure for childcare. As a consequence, manifold tensions and contradictions emerged at the cultural level, between the cultural recognition of a need of children to be cared for, the cultural ideas about the working mother and the liberal, non-interventionist welfare state on the other. The market solutions for childcare provision, which are culturally seen as the main alternative, are mainly available for middle class families. Therefore, the chances to combine waged work and care differ considerably for women of different social classes.

The third modernisation path of gender arrangements started with a family economic model and ended with a dual breadwinner/state carer model as in Finland. The family economic model is in principle based on the co-operation of women and men in their own family business (farm or craft work), in which both genders contribute substan-

tially, and in mutual dependence, to the survival of the family economy. Children were treated as members of the family economic unit, that is as workers, as soon as they are physically able to contribute. There may have existed a strong sexual division of labour within the family economy, which in fact varies in time and space (Honegger and Heintz, 1981). The dual breadwinner/state carer model is based on the idea of the full-time integration of both sexes into the employment system. Women and men are seen as individuals, who in marriage are both breadwinners who earn income for their own living and for that of their children. The task of caring for children is substantially seen as the task of the welfare state, not only of the family. The welfare state played a crucial role for the modernisation processes within this development path.

Welfare state policies to promote gender equality

As I have described above, within European countries different cultural ideas about the interrelationship of labour market integration and social inclusion of women (and men) prevail, which are not all based on full labour market integration of women. Therefore there is not one unique conception of social citizenship that would be the 'best', 'most womenfriendly' one and would create 'equal social worth' (according to T.H. Marshall, 1950) for women and men.

I would argue that welfare states promote the aim of gender equality best if they refer to the innovative, egalitarian elements within the respective gender cultural models which are shared by the majority of women. The Netherlands gives a good example of the importance of the analysis of the interrelations between welfare state policies and the cultural ideals of women. Part-time work by women (and also by men) has been substantially promoted by the state, in a relatively protected form and with of similar quality to full-time jobs (Plantenga, 1996). One could draw the simple conclusion that this promotion of part-time work for women was a more traditional gender policy, based on the exclusion of women from full-time employment. However, this would be a misleading interpretation. An analysis of change in cultural orientations in the attitudes and behaviour of women (and men) towards waged work helps to understand and interpret this development more adequately. The modernisation path of the gender arrangement was based on cultural change as it is described in path 1 above and ended up in the cultural

dominance of a new and more egalitarian model which can be classified as dual breadwinner/dual carer model. It is based on the idea that fathers as well as mothers work temporarily part-time, which is also indicated by the results of the ISSP (see Haller and Höllinger 1994). The promotion of part-time work by the state can be seen here as element of an equalising gender policy, and is also supported by the feminist movement as a contribution to greater gender equality (Plantenga, 1996) In social practice this model had been realised only to a rather limited degree by the millennium. Even though the rate of men working part-time was the highest in Europe by 1998 (67%, OECD, 1998: 192), it is still mainly women who work part-time, and this means that they are dependent on the income of their male breadwinner as long as they are partnered. To adequately empower women with respect to the dominant cultural model of gender equality, a stronger promotion of part-time work for men would be needed. Moreover, some kind of substitute for the loss of full-time income would also be necessary to free part-time working individuals from dependency on a breadwinner. There is however a strong pressure for change towards more equal family and employment patterns. Moreover, past-divorce social protection for carers is relatively high. A universal retirement scheme with a minimum retirement pension which is above the subsistence level also minimises the risk of poverty for workers who previously combined employment and care by working part-time. (Knijn, 1994b, Bussemaker and van Kersbergen, 1994, Plantenga, 1996). This is different for instance to Germany where no minimum pensions exist (Veil, 1996, Ginn and Arber, 1998).

In other words, the promotion of part-time work in this particular context of time and space was an important step towards greater gender equality (Plantenga, 1996, Pfau-Effinger, 1998b). In contrast in Finland, a cultural model of full-time employment for all adults and comprehensive public childcare is dominant (Anttonen, 1997, Haavio-Mannila, 1985). Here, the traditional gender cultural model of both partners contributing to agricultural work was transformed, during the transition to an industrial and service society, into a dual breadwinner/state carer model. The tradition of full participation of all women in employment was maintained during this process, but adapted to the new situation of work outside the home by a strong expansion of the public social service sector and of comprehensive public childcare provision. The gender cultural tradition of the housewife family, and the idea of private, individualised childhood in

the family, was never dominant in Finnish history. Therefore part-time work by mothers does not have any cultural basis, and does not match the employment orientations of women. Instead, women in Finland usually are oriented here to continuous fulltime employment (Pfau-Effinger, 1994, 1998a, 1999a). The social practice of women fit to this orientation and the share of women working part-time was always about 10%-11% since the beginning of the 1970s (OECD, 1996, 1992 and OECD, 1998, 1992). In this societal context, any promotion of part-time work by the state would not contribute to the empowerment of women.

Dynamics of change

The role of social actors is crucial to explain change of welfare state policies and labour markets in the framework of changes of gender arrangements. Gender arrangements can change because of contradictions which have developed in the gender cultural system or within the gender system (resp. the gender order). Change does however only take place if some groups of social actors refer to these contradictions and struggle for changes at the cultural or institutional level. In that case the existing gender arrangement can be subject of discourses, conflicts and negotiation processes which aim to implement an innovative type of gender arrangement. Mósesdóttir (1995, 1999) has analysed how the social powers can be identified which influence the nature of the welfare state as a regulator of gender relations. According to her argument particularly the role of the feminist movement in history was important for the way in which the welfare state refers to gender relations. This was also one main findings of a cross-national study of the author on the change of gender arrangements in The Netherlands, Finland and West Germany from the middle to the end of the twentieth century. It turned out that the role of the feminist movement is an important explanatory factor for the way in which welfare state policies reacted to the development of new cultural models of the family (Pfau-Effinger, 2000).

It cannot be expected however that feminists in different countries always have the same political aims. Differences can be explained by the differing gender cultural context, or else by the social class of the activists and the way these referred to the cultural orientations and interests of the majority of women. I would therefore argue that it is important to analyse in which way the feminist movement in the context of time and

space refers to cultural change at the level of the majority of women, and in which way it mediates these changes into the political arena. A feminist movement whose policy is based more or less on a consensus among feminists and whose aim is to integrate women into the decision making process of welfare state institutions, as in the Netherlands and Finland, seems to be more successful in promoting the realisation of new cultural models of motherhood than a feminist movement which is split by conflict and remains a social movement instead of integrating women into welfare state institutions like in West Germany. According to the findings, the way in which the feminist movement is related to the cultural orientations of the social groups it represents also plays a major role. In Finland and the Netherlands feminists stressed the societal importance of maternity and used it as a cultural resource to improve the situation of women. In the Netherlands feminists used maternity to promote a state policy favouring the dual breadwinner/dual child-care provider model, whereas Finnish feminists used it as a central value for promoting the dual breadwinner/state child-care provider model with its principle of 'public motherhood' and significant state responsibility for children. West German feminists, by contrast, did without this concept, they even contributed substantially to the cultural devaluation of motherhood. In sum, they were less successful than their European neighbours (Pfau-Effinger, 1998a, 2000).

4. Conclusions

To conclude: Cross-national analyses of welfare state policies, the way these construct social citizenship, and of the patterns of change in labour market integration of women should be based on a theoretical approach which takes into account that these processes in each society are embedded into a specific context and should be analysed in relation to this context. Therefore the issue of which conception of social citizenship is the best way to gender equality and can contribute to realise "equal social worth" (according to T.H. Marshall's ideas) among women and men cannot be answered in a general, abstract way; but the answers can be different in different societies. Full labour market integration of women does in certain context, but not per se lead to full citizenship for women, and the other way round: in some countries, a dual integration into waged work and care responsibilities at home of women and men is seen as the 'best' combination of

social integration with the idea of gender equality.

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