Packet for Preparing Draft Chapter Contribution and Presentation
for the GEPP Equal Pay Workshop
LIEPP-Sciences Po
November 23rd and 24th, 2023

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GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CHAPTER AND GUIDE FOR THE PACKET

The goal of this packet is to give you a general overview and specific guidelines for the research you are conducting for the equal pay project and for the draft chapter you will be producing for the workshop in November- draft chapters due by November 20th. After the workshop we will give you feedback on your chapter as well for you to produce a final chapter for the book- probably with one more round of comments before submitting the final manuscript.

We have set up a shared dropbox folder- PARIS WORKSHOP -
https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fo/cm64yym6vncax7ganwa1z/h?dl=0&rlkey=olls3xw8hzzxo8p3zxa20
3ed8

 with our 2018 article, our 2022 book on corporate boards, a special issue on French policy cases, a 2017 article by Amy on the turn towards the analysis of policy implementation as well as an excellent article by Krizsan and Lombard on the notion of policy empowerment. It also has a copy of this instruction packet and the notes from our Bielefeld workshop.

These sources along with this packet should help you with the focus of your chapter:

- the implementation and evaluation processes in equal pay policy;
- whether women were empowered in those processes;
- whether these post adoption processes achieved success in terms of addressing gender-pay gaps and gender transformation more broadly speaking.

Although there has been much attention recently on pay transparency and there is the new EU Directive, your chapters need to focus on a single formal policy decision – the "anchor policy" at the national level that has addressed gender pay equity that has had **at least 3 years** to be implemented, thus many of these newer policies cannot be the object of your chapters, since the GEPP project is about studying the politics of post adoption.   At the same time, you may discuss these newer policies in the context of the practice of post adoption – particular evaluation – either in the section of the chapter on evaluation or the conclusion.

We urge you to take your time in reviewing all of these materials before you dive into planning and conducting your research, in particular being clear about what you are selecting as your anchor policy/implementation case study; some of you have already selected it. You will need to identify a single policy decision on equal pay that has been implemented for at least three years or more- so something that was made a formal policy at the latest in 2019. As for what instrument/ type of policy you choose we leave it up to you and in many cases legislation – the formal policy has been implemented through a variety of different tools and instruments- what we call the "policy mix". As we have already discussed, there are many different equal pay policies and instruments- they can be on pay transparency, collective bargaining, comparative worth, etc. Please remember that your focus is on gender pay gaps in the private and not public sectors. Also you need to focus on national level policies although of course they are implemented at sub national and local levels. Federal countries may want to cover sub national policy in a summary way alongside the more detailed analysis of national policies.

In the rest of the packet, the analytical model for you to use to map out your policy implementation case and we use for the comparative analysis of all of your chapter in the conclusion is presented. The different components of the model correspond with sections of the chapter – see the general chapter outline as well as the detailed chapter outline – our 2018 article explains each component of the model as well. Next, the general chapter outline is presented with approximate word length for

the chapter as a whole and for each section. At this point, this is just a guide; in the next draft we will be more strict about word limits and style- for now just use an intext style of referencing. There is a sample chapter outline from the French GEPP project included as well. The corporate board book will also help you better grasp the general and detailed chapter outlines as well as how the model is applied and the articles in the special issue in French Politics.
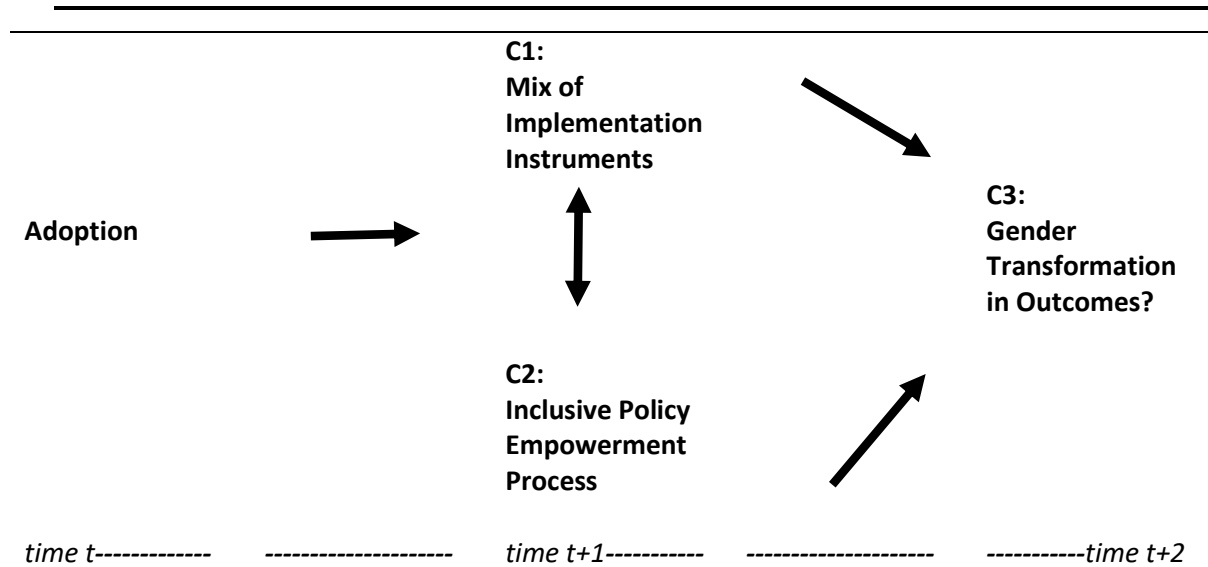
The detailed chapter outline indicates not just what is to be covered in your chapter but also what information you need to be gathering in your research and, once again, is explained in our 2018 article and in the introductory chapters of the corporate boards book. Note that the three policy implementation categorizations – approach, comprehensiveness and coercion- we have proposed for you to classify policy implementation in your country may be modified as you apply them in your analyses. This will be one of our tasks at the Paris workshop to make sure these classifications fit equal pay policy implementation across all of the countries in the study.

WE ASK THAT EACH PERSON CONDUCTS AT LEAST ONE ELITE INTERVIEW WITH A KEY POLICY ACTOR FOR YOUR RESEARCH PRIOR TO THE NOVEMBER WORKSHOP.

The last section of this packet will help you with your conclusion which is to assess whether implementation of your policy actually drove the outcomes of your policy – direct and indirect impacts and overall policy implementation or whether other forces were at work, for example reduction in gender pay gaps may simply just come from men's salaries going down, rather than women's salaries increasing- so this list of hypotheses are all of the different factors that can affect policy processes and outcomes.

GEPP ANALYTICAL MODEL: DO GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES MATTER?
RESEARCH QUESTION: DO GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES IN PIDs ACTUALLY PROMOTE
GENDER EQUALITY? IF SO HOW AND WHY? IF NOT, HOW AND WHY?

SUB-NATIONAL, SECTORAL, SECTORAL, AND EXTRA-NATIONAL CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

C1:
Mix of
Implementation
Instruments

Adoption

C3:
Gender
Transformation
in Outcomes?

C2:
Inclusive Policy
Empowerment
Process

time t------------   ---------------------   time t+1-----------   ----------------------   -----------time t+2

SUB-NATIONAL, SECTORAL, NATIONAL AND EXTR-NATIONAL CONTEXTUAL FACTORS
*T=Time

GENERAL CHAPTER OUTLINE
8000-9000 including bibliography and foot notes
Use an intext citation style
Specific style and format will be provided after the workshop for producing the final drafts for the book
Words Subtotals are a Guide for your Draft, Not Specific Targets at this Point

TITLE – NAME OF SPECIFIC POLICY DECISION , TIME PERIOD : ARGUMENT ABOUT EMPOWERMENT, OUTCOMES, LEVEL OF GT ETC.

INTRODUCTION 500 WORDS

SECTION 1 THE CONTEXT FOR EQUAL PAY POLICY SINCE THE 1970S 1000 WORDS

THE REST OF THE CHAPTER IS SPECIFICALL ABOUT YOUR SPECIFIC POLICY IMPLEMENTATION CASE YOU SELECT.

SECTION 2. GETTING POLITICAL ATTENTION (PRE ADOPTION) 1000 WORDS
SECTION 3. DECISION-MAKING PROCESS /(ADOPTION) 1000 WORDS

SECTION 4. TOOLS AND INSTRUMENTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION 1000 WORDS

SECTION 5. TELLING THE STORY OF IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION IN PRACTICE 1000 words

SECTION 6. ASSESSING EMPOWERMENT AND GENDER TRANSFORMATION BEFORE AND AFTER THE POLICY WAS ADOPTED 1000 WORDS

CONCLUSION 500 WORDS

REFERENCES 1000 WORDS

Sample Chapter Outline
USER'S NOTE: This title is way too long. Also see the chapter titles and outlines in the attached corporate gender equality book for a full range of helpful examples.

Party Penalties for Parity in National Assembly Elections Since 2000: Gender Accommodation Resists the State Feminist Lobby and Society-Wide Acceptance

1. **Introduction (Sectoral Set-up, Argument and Plan)**
2. **Getting Parity Sanctions on the Socialist Decision-Agenda in the 1990s: Problems, Proposals, Agendas and Policy Actors**
3. **The Politics of Legislating Soft Electoral Parity and Penalties Under Cohabitation, 1999-2000**
4. **The Mix of Implementation and Evaluation Instruments: Legislated Negative Incentives with Narrow Scope and Limited Authority**
5. **Parity Party Penalties Put Into Practice in the 2002, 2007, 2012 and 2017 Elections**
6. **Assessing Gender Transformation Before (in 2000) and After (in 2018) Implementation: Gender Accommodation over Transformation**
7. **Conclusions: Towards Real Parity and Gender Transformation in the Future?**

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RECOMMENDED DETAILED CHAPTER OUTLINE
FOR CONTRIBUTORS TO FOLLOW IN CONDUCTING THEIR POLICY CASE STUDIES AND WRITING THEIR FIRST DRAFT

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TITLE: SHOULD INCLUDE NAME OF SPECIFIC POLICY DECISION , TIME PERIOD AND THE CENTRAL ARGUMENT OF YOUR ANALYSIS OF EQUAL PAY POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND ITS OUTCOMES IN TERMS OF GT

INTRODUCTION (500 WORDS)

The introduction should present the puzzle of your case, clearly state what the anchor policy decision that constitutes your implementation case, situate your country comparatively, highlight the main features of your countries and present the outline of your chapter, indicating the general argument for the implementation and outcome of the policy

SECTION I. THE CONTEXT FOR EQUAL PAY SINCE THE 1970S (1000 WORDS)
THE GOAL OF THIS SECTION IS TO SET THE STAGE FOR UNDERSTANDING EQUAL PAY POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN YOUR COUNTRY.

> Provide an overview of women's labor force participation over the past 25 years or so as well as the gender pay gap. sing National Numbers for this are good.

> Brief discussion of your country's performance in gender pay gaps compared to other western PIDs- we will be doing something systematic in the introduction as well,

> What Is the major policy approach to equal pay as it fits into the salary process at the macro and micro -firm levels- collective bargaining, through the courts, etc how does it work? Who have been the major policy actors involved with Equal Pay, trade unions, women's groups, businesses, etc?

> What are the Major touch stone policies – prior to the one you are examining – this may be more appropriate for Section II.

SECTION II. GETTING POLITICAL ATTENTION (1000 WORDS) INDICATE DATES AND SUBSTANTIVE TITLE
Explain how the issue has emerged on the media, organizational and political agendas.

Who took the lead, who supported it, who opposed it? Have a thorough overview of the stakeholders. Look at political party positions, government and major State services, women policy machinery/equality services, main professional organizations (employers and trade unions), any major company who made public statement on this issue; feminist organization; and so on. Who said what, what solutions were advocated, who remained silent or invisible, who was made silent or invisible? Beware of ecological fallacy: do not automatically derive party position from individual party member positions. Mention the individual initiatives/positions but assess the level of party, feminist organization, business, trade union, etc support for the issue.

What was/is the debate about? How was the issue framed, was it framed as a problem that should find its solution or as problem that will be "naturally" solved over time or was it not framed as a problem at all? What arguments were used to push, support and oppose and by whom? Is the debate only centered on gender or is diversity issue included, how is the relation between the 2 framed? Any coalition "pro" and "con", and with what form of collaboration?

What agendas did the particular policy issue reach – **media, organizational** -trade unions, political parties- womens' , groups, **government/political** – executive/ parliamenyary? In what terms, who took the lead, and what was featured the most?
Any similarities/variation across the three agendas to emphasize?

Any public opinion trend to report?

How was the problem and (its solutions) of gender pay inequity defined and by whom ? Present and describe the arguments that were presented by the various actors.
Was the major frame of the debate focused on women's rights or was there a broader frame presented- for example in terms of the 'gender dividend" that is achieving gender pau equity would promote improved productivity, better quality of life, reduced welfare payments. How were women and mean as a group defined in terms of dominant gender norms? Were there issues of intersectionality raised in the problem definition process?

SECTION III. DECISION-MAKING PROCESS/ ADOPTION (1000 WORDS) INDICATE DATES AND SUBSTANTIVE TITLE
In this part, explain the decision-making/adoption process and not the outputs (which are explained in Section IV).

Explain the process by which a final policy solution, with a formal policy statement was attached to the problem identified above, or how a different problem was eventually attached to the selected solution, or how no solution was attached to the problem, or how the problem was deemed not be a problem at the end of the day…

Sketch out the various solutions that were initially proposed to solve the problem (or the different constructions of the problem). Try to classify the solutions by type of regulatory approaches to equal pay – NOTE THAT THERE IS NO SELF REGULATORY APPROACH IN EQUAL PAY- most policy measures were forwarded through formal government regulatory processes. If any trade unions or businesses pursued self- regulation without any government involvement, identify it and discuss.

State Regulation through Legislation in three different areas (there may be a mix of all three):

1) Legal Definitions of equal pay/ equal value / comparable worth – burden of proof to be pursued eventually in litigation (would lead to legal precedent and jurisprudence in some countries)
2) Promoting Equal Pay through Collective Negotiations and Industrial Tribunals.
3) Promoting Equal Pay by requiring firms to evaluate and report pay inequalities.

Which formal policy solution was pushed forwards and with what justification? What types of arguments were used to legitimize the selected solution, what types of arguments were used to delegitimize other solutions/ regulatory approaches
What were the driving forces? Was that a consensus? A decision imposed by a group of actors or from the top?

If several solutions have been implemented over time, retrace the process and explain the changes across time. If only one solution is currently implemented, retrace the decision-making processes.

SECTION IV: OUTPUTS (1000 WORDS) SUBSTANTIVE TITLE

Describe in detail the policy instruments/tools that were adopted
Through the lens of the different regulatory approaches
State Regulation through Legislation in three different areas (there may be a mix of all three):

1) Legal Definitions of equal pay/ equal value / comparable worth – burden of proof to be pursued eventually in litigation (would lead to legal precedent and jurisprudence in some countries) in both industrial and civil courts.
2) Promoting Equal Pay through Collective Negotiations
3) Promoting Equal Pay by requiring firms to evaluate and report pay inequalities.

Look for the full range of policy tools and instruments that might have been in used to implement this policy across these three areas

List and describe every policy instrument included in the policy design. Classify them by the four types of policy instruments (Ingram and Schneider (1990) Cited in Engeli and Mazur (2018))

Authority instruments are the classic 'command-and-control' regulatory instruments. These tools aim at authorising, prescribing or banning particular behaviours. In the context of gender-related policies, one of the classic authority tools is the constitutional/legal prohibition of formal discrimination on the basis of sex or sexual orientation.

Incentive instruments aim at achieving policy goals by nudging behaviours. In contrast to the authority tools, incentives do not impose regulatory constraints on behaviour, but provide encouragements for target groups to adopt or change a particular behaviour. These incentives can be positive – for example, an extraordinary budget allocation to reward the appointment of female professors in departments where they are under-represented – or negative –sanctions for failing to reach a particular target of female members on boards, for example, automatic exclusion from public bids, as in France, or going as far as dissolving public listed companies, as in Denmark (Heidenreich, 2013).

Capacity and learning instruments are the tools that provide resources, knowledge and skills to catalyse and coordinate the actions of individual policy actors. Gender-mainstreaming training in public administration specifically aims at informing and training civil servants, particularly in policy sectors that have traditionally been considered as gender-neutral.

Symbolic and hortatory instruments are mostly communication tools that aim at emphasising positive aspects and values, and exposing negative aspects and values, linked to the targeted behaviour. Information campaigns about domestic violence and its consequences for women and children, for instance, aim at exhorting gender-related behavioural change.

Provide details about implementation/ evaluation timeframe if any, suspensory clause, and so forth.

Situate your country on the **comprehensiveness continuum** and explain why this specific approach was selected.

High: comprehensive coverage of all size of businesses in terms of number of employess and comparable worth is formally pursued.
Intermediate: Limited to medium and large size businesses and/or comparable worth is not the major principle to be pursued.
Low: loose/patchy/limited coverage (typically state-owned companies over a specific size only) and/or no formal treatment of equal work for pay of equal value.

Situate your country on the **coercion/voluntary continuum** and explain why this specific approach was selected. The continuum relies on the existence/absence of 3 features:

- Binding or voluntary regulation/self-regulation
- Monitoring and Reporting mandatory or optional
- Sanctions negative or positive incentives

Each category represents a combination of these 3 features, i.e. a policy tool set. The gradation in positive incentive/ sanction/monitoring or reporting will situate the specific location of your country between the 6 qualitative anchors described above. These three features and six categories may be adapted to better fit your case.

(1) **Full coercion**: regulation/self-regulation is binding. Monitoring and Reporting is mandatory. Non-compliance is sanctioned by penalties. Existence or non-existence of positive incentive

(2) **Intermediate coercion**: regulation/self-regulation is binding. Monitoring and Reporting is mandatory. Non-compliance is not sanctioned. Existence of positive incentive.

(3) **Light coercion**: regulation/self-regulation is binding. Monitoring and Reporting is optional or not required. Non-compliance is not sanctioned. Non-existence of positive incentive.

(4) **Light voluntary**: regulation/self-regulation is voluntary. Monitoring and/or Reporting is required. Existence of formal "comply or explain" mechanism. Existence of positive incentive .

(5) **Intermediate voluntary**: regulation/self-regulation is voluntary. Monitoring and/or Reporting is required <u>OR</u> Existence of formal "comply or explain" mechanism <u>OR</u> existence of positive incentive (1 or 2 options out 3).

(6) **Full voluntary**: regulation/self-regulation is voluntary OR there is no specific regulation, only vague/broad recommendation to look after the issue. No monitoring/reporting, no "comply or explain" mechanism, no positive incentive.

SECTION IV. IMPLEMENTATION PRACTICE AND EMPOWERMENT (1000 WORDS) INDICATE DATES AND SUBSTANTIVE TITLE

Explain first how the output is supposed to be implemented and evaluated: collaboration between what implementation agents, at what level, and with what supposed effect? Who is supposed to assess the implementation progress? Who can sanction? Pay specific attention to mixed collaboration (between public and private agents, between state agents at multiple levels, and so forth). Discuss any relevant stakeholder that should/could have been included in the implementation process but was actually excluded.

Explain the implementation goals/focus/: to what extent are they similar/different to the output goals/focus? check implementation decrees as they can frame-reframe policy goals quite substantially (by rephrasing, leaving out part of the output goals, postponing the application of some instruments, and so forth).

Describe the "practice of the implementation and evaluation processes. IDENTIFY THE TIME PERIOD BEING COVERED. The stage of the implementation process, any major issues, any milestones that are already completed or should have been already completed, any obstacles that have slowed down the implementation, any implementation failure, any implementation success (such as an unexpected fast progression, completion before deadline, and so forth).

For evaluation, discuss both formal programmatic evaluation set up by the policy and more informal evaluation – conducted by any actors –both summative and formative during the time period under

study- what were the conclusions of these evaluations- note that these could be used for your own assessment of impact and outcomes of the policy.

Asess the level of policy empowerment – descriptive and substantive in the practice of policy implementation and evaluation. In your description of the practice of implementation and evaluation you should answer the following questions about empowerment-

Descriptive representation/empowerment : Who came forward during the implementation/ evaluation processes? Were there women involved in the process? Who did they speak for/ represent in terms of intersectionality – race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, class, age, disability etc.? What non state groups came forward?   What was said about implementation?
Substantive Representation/empowerment: Did policy implementation reflect the demands of the actors who claimed to be representing women who came forward?

And then from that identify the level of empowerment in the post adoption practices
> **descriptive empowerment**: Not at all/ or reversal, low, moderate, high – explain your assessment
> **substantive empowerment**: Not at all/ or reversal, low, moderate, high – explain your assessment

SECTION V. ASSESSING GENDER TRANSFORMATION (1000 WORDS) INDICATE SUBSTANTIVE TITLE

 For each, be explicit about the time period you are looking at for the achievement of goals. There are four dimensions your will be looking – GT in general and then the three different impacts for each you will be looking at changes from before the policy was adopted/ implemented to a significant amount of time after – at least 3 years (see the GEPP model above). You may want to put the summary dimensions of GT after you have looked at the three types of impacts since in a way they make up the summary measure. Here we put it first so you can see what you are working towards in your overall analysis for outcomes and impacts.

Gender Transformation

Select one of the following outcomes for GT in general from all evidence provided below. This should be presented in the introduction and possibly be in your title as a hook for your case (Engeli and Mazur 2018)
Outcome 1: Gender Neutral/Blind -- The policy has failed in transforming gender relations or has even not attempted to do so. It is unlikely that much money or resource was invested in the implementation. In other words, the policy was symbolic: "policy outputs, with no outcomes" No gender transformation has occurred following the adoption of these policies.

Outcome 2: Gender Rowback -- Equality policies working against the promotion of gender equality. It can take a variety of forms according to the type of resistance and opposition that has been mobilized against the implementation of gender-related policies. Gender-related policies can be largely derailed from their original intention, however laudable it might have been, to become a liability regarding the promotion of the gender and sexual equality.

Outcome 3: Gender Accommodation – A number of policy effects can be tangibly assessed but the policy has mostly targeted accommodating or compensating traditional gender relations instead of transforming them. Decision-makers, bureaucrats, and policy actors are known to lag behind social change and often continue to embrace long-held norms about masculine and feminine roles and reduce the diversity of gender identities to a female/male dichotomy Hence, "men" may be pictured in the minds of policymakers and officials in their public role as family

breadwinners, "women" may be thought of the primary family caretakers while rainbow families might remain largely ignored.

Outcome 4: Gender Transformation -- Such changes in gendered and sexualized norms tend to be slow moving at best and are not easily measured. In addition, the nature of gender transformation is complex and contested. a "transformation" in the dominant gender norms that drive public action needs to occur in order for gender equality policies that are formally on the books to be successful. Policy attempts at transforming gender and sexual relations may be more or less complex, more or less far-reaching.

A.   GT Direct Impacts – was the problem solved -

Assess implementation outcomes with similar figures presented in the context section of the chapter, if available (longitudinal data showing decrease in wage gaps) or whatever indicator that you think should be used – there are many for this- over aggregate wage gaps or something more specific by sector- which indicator you use will be a subject for discussion at our workshop in Paris.

Assess the success in regard to the policy goals and to your objective assessment of the problem ex: a policy may set modest goals that can be easily achieved in the implementation stage. Despite this achievement, the problem has not been entirely solved as the policy goals were too modest / underestimated / mischaracterized the problem at stake.

Pay attention to intended/direct effect of the policy and the unintended/indirect effect of the policy. Impact can be positive, negative or neutral. Ex: a policy can have the intended impact increase women's participation on corporate board but may have the untended impact to decrease diversity or can result into the concentration of board memberships into the hands of a very small number of women (the golden skirt problem).

B. GT at Decision-Maker/ Gatekeeper Level

Assess the extent to which the policy / policy implementation has transformed views/conceptualization/problematization of gender relations, roles, identities and stereotypes on the part of the stakeholders/ policy community/ implementing/ evaluating agents; how likely it is produce gender transformation in the future in state and corporate actions. For the implementing/ evaluating agents did their approach/ or frames with regards to gender change. Be explicit about the time period you are looking at for the achievement of goals, comparing before the policy was implemented to a significant enough time after.

Qualify your assessment with None/negative/positive: low/positive: medium/positive: high and explain your assessment.
Use a variety of sources for qualifying your assessment if available.

C. GT at Societal Level

Transformation at the societal level: Public opinion data that hints to a change or status quo in public attitude would be useful here if there is any available. Any individual assessment of the benefits of the policy can be mentioned here as long as taken with a grain of salt.

CONCLUSION (500 WORDS)

Summarize the success of the implementation of this policy to promote gender equality in this policy area, empower women and achieve gender transformation in terms of the value you selected – Gender Neutral ;Gender Rowback ;Gender Accommodation o r Gender Transformation (see definitions above). You argument should have already been made clear in the title and introduction. To what degree do you think this change or stagnation was a result of the outputs and practice of implementation/ evaluation on this policy decision. What other factors, influences do you think

were important in explaining the success/ failure of the policy. For a list potential factors see the next page.

Open up to future debate, solutions, how likely the situation will change/remain in the future

List of Potential Factors to Explain the Direct and Indirect Policy Outcomes and Level of Gender Transformation

H.1 The Content of the Original Policy Decision – An obvious factor for success is the actual content of the original policy decision that established post adoption. Both feminist and non feminist scholarship identify the formal content of policy as being a crucial factor in policy implementation and outcomes (Blofield and Haas 2013; O'Toole 2000). At the same time, studies show that much progress can be made in the implementation process and implementation politics can also be a formidable obstacle to achieving feminist goals; thus, the importance of policy content should be considered as a question for research and investigation rather than a given.

H2. Political Opportunity Structure, Veto Points, Institutional Design --A wide range of scholarship has pointed to the importance of the structure of the state and available access points for interests to influence policy as a factor in policy outcomes, sometimes referred to as "veto points (Stephens and Huber 2001)". Social movement research has also pinpointed the Political Opportunity Structure, usually at the national level, as an important constraint for social movement influence (e.g., McAdam et al. 1996). For specific studies of feminist policy dynamics, the structure of the sub system and access points has been a major factor; in sectors where the sub system is closed and hierarchical women's movement actors have a hard time influencing policy debates and outcomes, in areas where the sub system is open they have more success (McBride and Mazur 2010). The territorial division of power of a given country and the level of decision-making for a specific policy issue can make a difference as well (Haussman, Vickers and Sawer 2010). Studies have shown how changes in state configurations at different levels affect feminist activity too (Banaszak et al. 2003).

H3. Women's Movement Strength/Resources/ Characteristics -- First inspired by resource mobilization theorists in social movement research (e.g., McCarthy and Zald 1977), most studies of gender specific policy development assess whether a stronger, larger or more unified movement produces more women friendly policy. A major challenge has been to actually identify what the movement is and develop a valid and reliable measure of women's movement strength with a great deal of disagreement about whether fragmentation, activism or institutionalization should be the most important characteristic. Mazur, Hoard and McBride (2013) have developed a measure of women's movement strength, from the RNGS data, that combines activism and institutionalization.

H4. Party in Power/ Influence of the Left -- The political ideology of the party in power has been a favored explanation for policy outcomes. Both feminist and non feminist policy work have identified left-wing majorities as important factors in policy change (Kittilson 2008; Lombardo et al. 2013). However, recent FCP studies put into question how crucial the presence of left-wing governments are for feminist policy success- identifying cases of feminist policy failure under left-wing majorities and successes under the Right (Weldon and Htun 2012; Mazur 2002; McBride and Mazur 2010).

H5. Cultural Influence: Gender Norms and Religion -- Here, the factors under consideration are related to the cultural make-up of a given population and the dominant cultural traditions about gender relations, types of active religions and levels of religiosity, all factors which can be important impediments to the development of feminist policies. For example, research has looked to the salience of religion as an important explanation between reproductive rights policies in the USA compared to Europe (Outshoorn 1996). Dominant gender norms proved to be important in explaining the differences in equal employment policy formation in Germany and France as well (Mazur 2003). When dominant gender norms do not fit feminist approaches to gender relations feminist demands tend to be blocked.

H6. Gender Policy Regimes - The gender and welfare state literature categorizes welfare states according to the degree to which national-level social policy allows women and men to choose work and family options through the promotion of "... familialism versus women's employment" and "...the ways in which gender differentiation and gender ideologies are reflected in regime arrangements (Orloff 2002: 19). Typically, there are three categories of gender policy regimes forwarded: "dual-earner" regimes (Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden), "general family support" policy regimes (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain) and "market oriented" countries (Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States). The hypothesis is that patterns of feminist policy success will occur in countries that have more feminist oriented policy regimes; thus in the Scandinavian countries.

H7. Economic Climate   -- A healthy and growing economy has been identified as an important factor for favoring the adoption of feminist policies. In many countries, in periods of economic growth, governments have been more favorable to policies that bring women into the work force and help them reconcile family and work obligations (Jenson, Hagen and Reddy 1988). Similarly, more money may be available for specific programs and structures that promote women's rights. As Jenson (2008) shows, recent trends toward government downsizing have also been instrumental in shifting overall policy frames. The salience of economic climate can be determined by looking at the particular timing of feminist policy success. More recently Annesley et al. (forthcoming) have identified economic performance as a key issue in setting government agendas on gender equality.

H8. Public Opinion -- General public opinion on the issue at hand has also been identified by feminist and non feminist analysts as a potential factor in policy success (Kittilson 2008 and Soroka and Wlezien 2010) at least for the content of policies. Here, the hypothesis is that the policy actors will support the implementation of policies that have more favorable public support.

H.9. State Feminism/ Strategic Partnerships/ Feminist Advocacy Coalitions --The dynamics between the various actors that mobilize around a given sub area has also been identified as an important ingredient for feminist policy success. The RNGS study shows that women's movement-agency alliances are important. Other FCP studies have assessed whether a Triangle of Women's Empowerment (TOWE) (Vargas and Wieringa 1998) between femocrats in women's policy agencies, women in parliament and women's groups are a crucial force in feminist successes in policy scholarship on state feminism (e.g., Mazur 2002, Weldon 2011; Bego 2011). Woodward's development of the "velvet triangle" between femocrats, MEPs and experts at the EU level echoes this notion of strategic partnerships (2003). While the need for a strict three-way alliance has not shown to be salient, some form of strategic alliance between feminist actors in the state and society favors more feminist outcomes; thus, leading some feminist analysts to apply the notion of an "advocacy coalition (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999)" to understanding feminist policy success (e.g., Abrar et al. 2000). When the participants of a sub system share feminist values and understanding for a policy, there is more likely to be a positive feminist outcome

H.10 Critical Actors/ Policy Entrepreneurs/Male Allies -- Coming out of the work on women's representation which shows that individuals playing critical roles tend to be more important than a critical mass of female representatives in determining outcomes (Celis and Childs 2008), this hypothesis points to the importance of individual agency. Other policy research has also highlighted the pivotal role of individuals as "policy entrepreneurs (Kingdon 1995)" and "policy brokers (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999)". The FCP literature has found that support for feminist causes by powerful men and women who do not formally speak for women's interests, "male/female allies" has been an important ingredient for success as well (e.g., Mazur 2002, 2003). FCP research has also shown the

role of experts to be quite important as well in producing feminist policies (e.g., Woodward 2003 and Hoard 2012).

H. 11 The Rise of Populist/ Anti Gender/ Resistance Movements and Parties

H12. Influences Beyond the National Level -- Europeanization, the United Nations women's policy process, particularly the 1995 Beijing conference, and other policy initiatives from the UN like gender mainstreaming (True and Mintrom 2001) as well as the development of transnational social movements and advocacy networks (Tarrow 2005; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Ferree and Tripp 2006) have also been shown to be important catalysts, if not driving forces in compelling governments to take on feminist demands.