

Gender and the State

FROM DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TO DIFFERENCES WITHIN

JOHANNA KANTOLA AND HANNE MARLENE DAHL

University of Helsinki, Finland, and Roskilde University, Denmark

Abstract

The article argues from a Nordic, feminist and poststructuralist position that feminist state theories need to be developed methodologically. This claim is based on both theoretical arguments as well as empirical arguments arising from a case study on care politics in Denmark. In contrast to answering questions about the essence of the state, the aim of the article is to provide some analytical tools for studying the state. First, it focuses on two paradigms of feminist analyses of the state: differences between states (Nordic feminists), and differences within states (poststructural feminists). The article argues that each of the approaches has its merits and problems in terms of feminist engagements with the state. The second part explores an empirical case study on care politics in Denmark. The study illustrates the inadequacies of feminist approaches to the state to date. State discourses and policies on homehelpers are shown to have both empowering and disempowering effects on the women concerned. The third part of the article suggests a framework of three concepts believed to be helpful when analysing gender and the state: hegemony, contradictory effects and boundaries. The concepts are generated from the case study.

Keywords

care politics, Denmark, (dis)empowerment, Nordic feminism, poststructural feminism, state

INTRODUCTION

In this article, we wish to engage with the concept of the state in a Nordic context. We suggest that the project is timely and necessary because of three tendencies. The first is that, discourses on globalization and different governance debates tend to sideline the state and render the concept

unimportant. Second, 'state feminism' (Stetson and Mazur 1995) has gained in prominence in many countries, and debates about women's political representation in state legislatures proliferate (Krook forthcoming). Third, on a theoretical level, feminists are engaging with the state without necessarily providing sufficiently explicit analytical tools to study it.

Feminists have criticized male and mainstream theory for its false universalism and have argued, instead, in favour of particularity and situated knowledge (Haraway 1984). In line with Haraway, we believe in contextually based knowledge that necessitates thinking through locations of state theory where our location as theorists is considered in relation to the object of investigation. We place ourselves in the context of the Nordic welfare states and regard the Nordic feminist literature on the state as the primary literature to which we wish to contribute.

Our focus on the Nordic literature is also motivated by a wish to challenge the rosy image of the women-friendly welfare states. Scholarship on welfare states concludes that Scandinavian welfare states score high on equality, both between classes and genders (Borchorst and Siim 2002a: 68). However, the rosy picture emerging from feminist comparative studies neglects, first, the ways in which politically hegemonic projects of the Nordic welfare states tend to benefit some women as opposed to others. Second, it conceals contradictory effects of state discourses and, third, it hides the redrawing of boundaries between public and private. We will explore these points through a case study on Denmark.

In the first part of the article, we focus on some feminist theories of the state that are particularly relevant to our analysis. Our strategy is to point both to the contributions and the weaknesses of the theories. As a reflection of our location in Nordic feminism, we start the discussion with Nordic feminist approaches and, then, analyse poststructural feminist theories in relation to Nordic feminism. Our discussion is based on two theoretical paradigms (1) differences between states (Nordic feminists) and (2) differences within states (poststructural feminists). The aim is to capture the ways in which feminists treat difference in relation to the state, and we argue that a sophisticated understanding of difference (and contradictions) is pivotal for feminist analyses of the state. Our aim is a further development of the analytical and methodological tools available for analyses of the Nordic state(s).

In the second part of the article, we explore some of the results from a case study of a potentially women-friendly Danish welfare state (Dahl 2000). The case study illustrates the problems related to the two paradigms and points to preliminary analytical tools that can supplement existing theories on the state. Here we argue that feminist theory needs to move away from *a priori* claims to more empirically based claims about the state. The case study is based on the field of care politics, traditionally seen as the embodiment of the women-friendly nature of the Nordic welfare states. The analysis illustrates the contradictory nature of some Danish care policies. We believe that care politics can be considered generally empowering for women, enabling them

simultaneously to be mothers and/or daughters (to care for the elderly) and to have paid work. However, we argue that care policies cannot be interpreted as unilaterally empowering. By drawing on two different poststructuralist feminist positions, we argue that for some women they can be interpreted as potentially both empowering and disempowering.

Finally, we reflect on the concept of the state by using the notions of political hegemony, contradictory effects and boundaries, which emerge from the case study. Many feminist theories on the state try to answer questions about the essence of the state – ‘what is the state?’ Our aim, in contrast, is to provide tentative analytical tools to study the state. First, *hegemonic discourses* can shape the different sites and discursive forums of the state in important ways. Therefore, there is a need to analyse the state in terms of its potential overarching hegemonic projects. Second, while poststructural feminists highlight the heterogeneous and differentiated nature of the state, we want to draw attention to the contradictions and *contradictory effects* of the state, not just between different fields, but even within one policy field. Third, there is a need to focus on the fluid and changing *boundaries* of the state and the discourses that construct these boundaries. The suggested concepts: ‘hegemony’, ‘contradictory effects’ and ‘boundaries’ can usefully be combined with some of the insights of the two paradigms under discussion here.

STATE, GENDER AND DIFFERENCE

Our theoretical discussion on feminist approaches to the state draws upon two perspectives: (1) Nordic feminists representing ‘Differences between States’ and (2) poststructural feminists representing ‘Differences within States’. We have chosen to focus on the two approaches due to their treatment of difference in relation to both the state and gender. Our interest in prioritizing difference stems from our scrutiny of the strengths and weaknesses of the Nordic feminist approach. It will become evident that Nordic feminists have been effective in conceptualizing difference between states, but have been less successful in developing a notion of differentiated state, that is focusing upon difference within states. This is a contribution of poststructural feminism to the debates on the state.

We also analyse feminist approaches to the state in terms of their conceptualization of gender. Feminist analyses of gender developed from focusing on equality between women and men to celebrating gender differences and, more recently, to emphasizing gender diversity (Squires 1999).¹ First, the equality theorists believe that gender differences are created and perpetuated in the interests of men, and the project of these theorists is to advocate the transcendence of gender differences (Fraser 1997: 100). For equality theorists, gender ought to be politically non-pertinent and the aim is to achieve equality on the basis of women’s sameness to men (see, for example, Friedan 1962). Second, the difference theorists accept and even celebrate gender differences.

Men and women are different they argue, but difference should not be read as inferiority but needs to be recognized and valued (Ferguson 1993: 3–4).

The third, diversity approach, is increasingly prominent among feminists (Barrett and Phillips 1992: 8). This stresses gender diversity by drawing attention to differences among women and by emphasizing the ways in which gender identities are shaped by race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, age and disability. The gender diversity approach renders it problematic to argue in the name of a unified gender identity. If a difference approach wants to 'put women in the centre', the diversity approach, in contrast, aspires to 'deconstruct centres' (Ferguson 1993: 123; Grosz 1994). The diversity approach implies that, while both equality and difference feminisms seek to challenge the dominant patriarchal order, by adopting its categories and binary logics each might actually work to entrench further its underlying premises, perpetuate its logic and thereby prolong its dominance (Butler 1990; Grosz 1995; Scott 1997).

In asking how different gender theories inform feminist analyses of the state and how, in particular, feminist analyses of the state deal with gender diversity, this research is situated at the cross-sections of two different feminist literatures: gender and welfare (and to some extent comparative welfare state studies) and gender theory.²

Differences between States

The Nordic feminist perspectives on the state emphasize differences between states. They have developed a notion of women-friendly welfare states to differentiate Scandinavian states from more patriarchal states (Borchorst and Siim 1987: 128; Hernes 1989).³ Scandinavian feminist experience of the Nordic welfare state was not one of pervasive patriarchy. A women-friendly welfare state signifies that women's political and social empowerment has happened through the state with the support of state social policy (Anttonen 1994: 4). The tradition of social democratic citizenship resulted in an optimistic acceptance of the state as an instrument for social change. Helga Maria Hernes (1988: 208) argues: 'In no other part of the world has the state been used so consistently by all groups, including women and their organisations, to solve collectively felt problems.' Studies on the Nordic women-friendly welfare states are concerned with the roles of women as political actors. In Nordic feminism, it is argued that women become empowered as political subjects through the institutionalization of gender equality (Borchorst and Siim 2002b: 91). An exclusive focus on patriarchy, in contrast, risks reducing women to victims of patriarchal structures, which means that their contribution to maintain or change gender relations becomes invisible (Siim 1988).

However, Scandinavian feminism has also been more pessimistic in its analysis of gender and the state. Drude Dahlerup (1987) argues that the private dependency of women on individual men has been transformed to

public dependency on the state. The expansion of the public sector, even if it has benefited women, has been planned and executed by a male-dominated establishment and women have been objects of policies. It has been argued that the parameters for distribution and redistribution policies are increasingly determined within the framework of the corporate system, where women have had an even more marginal role to play than in the parliamentary system. Furthermore, the thesis of shrinking institutions argues that institutions that women enter are increasingly losing power or starting to do so (Holter 1976: 73; Hernes 1987: 83). This continues to be debated within Nordic research on women and politics (Raaum 1999; Halsaa 2001).

While usefully emphasizing the need to understand differences *between* the Nordic states and liberal or conservative welfare states, one problem with the women-friendly welfare state concept has perhaps been that it downplays differences among the five Nordic countries (Borchorst and Siim 2002b: 92). Scholars agree that it is possible to identify a Nordic gender model in terms of women's political representation and in relation to their participation in paid work (Borchorst and Siim 2002b: 92). However, studies have demonstrated that significantly different gender profiles exist in each country in other fields (Leira 1992; Bergqvist 1999: 3). For example, the Swedish gender profile is characterized with a high degree of institutionalization of gender equality, whereas the Danish gender profile is more bottom-up oriented with a strong role ascribed to social movements and a limited institutionalization of gender equality as a separate and explicit goal of public policy (Borchorst and Siim 2002b: 92). We would like to argue that the approaches have also failed to account for differences *within* the states, meaning different impacts of different institutions, policies and political processes on different groups of women. This will become clear through our discussion on poststructural feminism and our focus on the case study on Denmark.⁴

In relation to gender theory, it is notable that ideas of gender difference have not been prominent in the Nordic context. Valuing and celebrating gender difference is central to many radical feminist accounts against which Nordic feminist perspectives on the state are often defined (Mackinnon 1989). Radical feminist focus on the patriarchal character of the state helps us to understand the role of the state in perpetuating gender specific inequalities such as violence against women, pornography or women's equation with sexuality.⁵

By contrast, gender equality policies for example in Sweden, reflect the 'sameness route' – the idea of gender equality as a condition where men's and women's lives are uniform (Lindvert 2002: 100). Measures associated with civil rights, rather than social rights, and their importance have been neglected in the Scandinavian women-friendly welfare state literature (Lindvert 2002: 101). Such fundamental civil rights issues as the right to bodily integrity (freedom from violence against women) have been notoriously slow to arrive on the Scandinavian agenda, partly as a result of the minor role played by the gender difference approach to gender theory.

Furthermore, Scandinavian feminists can be criticized for resorting to a homogeneous notion of women and women's interests and for neglecting gender diversity. The concerns of, for example, lesbians and ethnic minorities have yet to enter the agenda of Nordic feminism and there is little analysis of the impact of the welfare state on ethnic minorities or, conversely, of the impact of the ethnic minorities on the welfare state (Christensen and Siim 2001). Gender equality has, first and foremost, signified equality for the white heterosexual working mother in the Scandinavian context (Kantola 2002; Lindvert 2002).

Differences within States

Poststructural feminists focus not only upon differences between states but also upon differences within states. One of the most significant contributions of poststructural feminism has been the destabilizing of the dichotomy of inside/outside and the argument that it fails to capture the multifaceted nature of the state (Franzway et al. 1989; Pringle and Watson 1990, 1992; Waylen 1998). Poststructural feminists see the patriarchal state not as a manifestation of a patriarchal essence, but as a centre of a reverberating set of power relations and political processes in which patriarchy is both constructed and contested (Connell 1987: 129–30). Poststructural feminism shifts the emphasis to state practices and discourses rather than to state institutions.

This understanding of the state draws on the work of Michel Foucault and his notion of power, where power is productive, dispersed and everywhere (Foucault 1980). The concept of 'governmentalization of the state', in turn, refers to the tendency for state power to be exercised and realized through a heterogeneous array of regulatory practices and technologies (Foucault 1991). Instead of asking what impact the state has on gender, it is now asked how politics based on redressing gender power imbalances can make use of the state (Randall 1998: 200).

In contrast to Nordic feminists, poststructural feminists represent women as a heterogeneous group and emphasize gender diversity and women's multiple identities (Pringle and Watson 1992). If microcosmic power relations rather than a top-down patriarchal power construct women, it follows that the constructions are likely to differ greatly. It becomes deeply problematic to argue in the name of a unified gender identity. In other words, the state not only constitutes gender and race but also sex and sexuality and states' discourses solidify the binary opposites men/women, male/female and heterosexual/homosexual (Smith 1994). Nevertheless, as poststructuralists are quick to point out, this is a two-way street. The state can also be impacted upon. The feminist project is then to draw attention to the gendered diversity and multiple identities of women and men (Butler 1990) and, we suggest, to the role of the state in this process.

Dispersal of power also opens up space for the recognition of multiple levels of governance in relation to the state (see Cooper 1998). Foucault (1980: 122)

argues: 'I don't want to say that the State isn't important; what I want to say is that relations of power, and hence the analysis that must be made of them, necessarily extend beyond the limits of the State'. There is a proliferating literature on new forms of governance, which involve local, national and global levels, and reach beyond the traditional confines of the state and government (Newman 2002). A central concept in Foucault's later work 'governmentality' draws attention to the specific techniques employed by the state as it represents and intervenes in the domains it seeks to govern.⁶ Helpfully, therefore, post-structural approaches turn away from the theorization of relations between gender and the state in general terms, and focus instead on the construction of gender within specific state discourses and practices (Mottier 2004: 82).

Similar to the different perspectives within Nordic feminism as expressed by Dahlerup (1987) and Hernes (1989), two perspectives exist within poststructuralist feminism: those of Sandra Lee Bartky (1988) and Monique Devaux (1996). Both are to varying degrees critical of Foucault, but differences in their world views seem to result in different interpretations of the same reality. Devaux (1996) argues against Foucault's agonistic model of power and his neglect of processes of empowerment in favour of a more optimistic (and empowerment oriented) perspective of poststructuralist feminism. Bartky (1988) inspires another more pessimistic (disempowerment oriented) version, where new gendered forms of normalization and moralization emerge, due to the increasingly invasive apparatuses of power. Neither of them explicitly theorizes the state, but their different perspectives can illustrate contradictory effects as shown in the case study.

Poststructural feminist perspectives on the state have been criticized for their excessive and exclusive focus on discursive processes that, in turn, shifts attention away from institutions and policies. Poststructural feminists concern themselves with questions such as how the decision-making process works, what values it reflects and how it has come to work that way. Therefore, the policies, the outcomes of the decision-making process, are often neglected. Lack of institutional focus, in turn, can be argued to neglect linkages between state bodies, for example the influence central government exerts over local government, and to underestimate the difficulty of achieving change (Cooper 1994: 7).

As suggested earlier, poststructural feminists emphasize differences between different state bodies (for example, the different stands between the Treasury and the Ministry for Social Affairs). Davina Cooper (1995, 1998), for example, coins the notion 'fractured state' to capture the contingently articulated set of identities of the state and its different institutions. She also focuses upon boundaries and their functioning as discursive structuring devices and as objects of contestation and change. In the case study used, we will be suggesting that the notions of the fractured state and boundaries could be pushed further by focusing on differences within the state bodies, within particular policy fields and upon the way boundaries are reproduced and changed at various levels.

The most persistent counter-argument has been directed against poststructuralist deconstruction of women's subjectivity and identity (Walby 1992: 48).

Sylvia Walby (1992: 34) asserts that poststructuralism results in the notion of 'women' and 'men' being dissolved into shifting, variable social constructs which lack coherence and stability over time. This, in turn, is argued to disregard women's agency and to prevent women's struggle against multiple oppressions. Other commentators have pointed out convincingly that the recognition that we have multiple identities does not have to invalidate women's political agency (Lister 1997: 77). Feminist poststructuralists are now arguing that the discursive sphere is composed of conflicting values and resources, which may be actively and creatively appropriated by actors to institute new value systems and new forms of collective identity (McNay 1999: 187). Therefore, the theories do give a role to women's agency while also recognizing the constraints of the discursive contexts.

HEGEMONY, CONTRADICTIONARY EFFECTS AND BOUNDARIES IN DANISH CARE POLITICS

Supplementing these perspectives on the state and their conceptualizations of difference, the fractured state and contradictions, we want to explore a Danish case study of care politics.⁷ Care politics towards the elderly and handicapped is a core area of the Nordic Model. As mentioned, it is often supposed to be the embodiment of the women-friendliness of the Nordic welfare states and a result of the process of 'reproduction going public' (Hernes 1987). Whereas it might be empowering for a large group of women, we will show that the development of the policy field is truly contradictory from a feminist perspective for one group of women.

We examine care politics for the elderly and handicapped in their own homes and the effects upon the publicly employed home-helpers. The original case study material consisted of all relevant commission reports, memorandums, internal reviews, laws and instructions covering the period 1943–95. The results presented below are brief extracts from this case study (Dahl 2000, 2004), with a special emphasis on the most recent period, 1980–95.

The study applied a feminist discourse analysis with a deconstructive element. The object of investigation was the politico-administrative discourse that is understood both as a hegemonic discourse and a field of competing discourses. The national politico-administrative discourse is the horizon that politicians, civil servants, experts and representatives of various interest groups apply when they speak and write about the social and political world. We define a discourse as a horizon that delimits the possible, what can be said and done, and the legitimate positions to be held (Norval 1996; Dahl 2000: 129–30). The representatives of the state, the politicians and the civil servants articulate an elite (expert) discourse. For Foucault, there are privileged discursive sites (Prado 1995: 36), and the discourses stemming from these sites attain a particular authority often related to scientific discourses. For example, in the field of care politics, home-helpers are employed and

trained by the state and their occupation is regulated by the state. The state discourses construct the ideal home-helper as a particular subject that requires formal training/teaching. In other words, in training them the state articulates authoritative scientific discourses that construct and gender the subject positions of the home-helpers (Dahl 2000).

The development of state discourses for the state employed home-helpers can be interpreted as one of empowerment and one of disempowerment from two different poststructuralist feminist positions as described earlier. As an extension of Kathy Ferguson's (1987) concept of empowerment, we understand empowerment as the creation of new possibilities where new individual or collective identities arise or new understandings as well as values become visible. Empowerment implies more and/or better subject positions for the actors than previously available and/or a discontinuity with some traditional dichotomies such as feeling versus thinking and female versus male. Disempowerment refers to a situation where a discourse offers fewer and/or worse subject positions for women, and/or that caring qualifications are increasingly silenced or not recognized.

A Story of Empowerment

As (Nordic) feminists, we tend to believe that only through language (scientific and political) can care work become part of the public political sphere and potentially part of a more just distribution of resources and burdens. To be able to speak about 'something' becomes a pre-condition for visibility and recognition. In the period 1943–95, when care work and caring qualifications move from being ignored to being discussed, and a professional discourse on home-helpers' work is generated in the state, a story of empowerment can be told (Dahl 2000: 280–300). This perspective is inspired by Devaux and her focus upon aspects of empowerment as mentioned earlier.

The development is not linear, since a set-back occurs in 1954–68 where caring qualifications are naturalized (and silenced) and become misrecognized. In this period any woman is seen to be able to conduct the simple tasks assigned to the home-helper and the home-helper is de-professionalized in the discourse (Dahl 2000: 186–200). Such a non-professional view characteristic of the home-helper is visible in this quotation from the period 1954–68: 'It is often very simple tasks that are in demand, and they can therefore be provided by helpers without any prior education' (Det socialpolitiske udvalg, 1958: 1167). Prior to this period and afterwards caring qualifications become increasingly visible through new signifiers such as 'understanding', 'psychological insight', 'self-knowledge' and 'professional attitude' – signifiers that become associated with a discourse on the complexity of the work and no longer linked to a simple view of the housewife (Dahl 2000: 170–2).⁸ The field of care work itself expands as state discourses and policies proliferate. This is in effect a professionalization of

the home-helpers' job that amplifies its value in state discourses. Caring qualifications increasingly become recognized as learned and knowledge-based skills in contrast to something naturally done by women in the private sphere. This can be seen in the following quotation where care is seen to:

constitute a large area within the field of education and lead to a large number of possibilities in terms of jobs that there is a basis for a separate educational system parallel to other educational systems for the young, and likewise for the development of an independent, sustainable educational environment.

(Betænkning om Rammer for fremtiden bistands-, pleje- og omsorgsuddannelser 1989: 43)

State discourses now construct the ideal home-helpers as a subject that requires formal training/teaching in separate schools.

The field of care politics for the elderly in their own home and the qualifications required for this kind of care is also reconfigured, since the content changes as well. There occurs a change in the way home-helpers are described. The home-helper is increasingly becoming detached from the figure of the housewife and the image of her personal involvement, and is increasingly linked to the professional figure: 'with reference to limiting the personal engagement in the professional role as a helper' (Socialstyrelsen 1981: 16). This identification bestows status and recognition on home-helpers. However, an interesting change also takes place. The professional is re-articulated as a (specialized) generalist rather than a specialist (Dahl 2000: 290–6). Instead of two abstract figures there are three: the specialist, the specialized generalist and the housewife.⁹

The new construction of the home-helper/social and health-helper is epoch-making, since it represents elements of a new kind of professional. This professional, the specialized generalist, is described with broad, complex qualifications and a holistic view of the recipient in the discourse in contrast to traditional constructions of the professional as a specialist. This holistic view is articulated as an attempt to consider both the practical (mainly households needs), bodily and cognitive needs of the recipient in order to suggest or help the recipient to fulfil these needs.

Some of the new qualifications typical of the specialized generalist are described below in an extract from a teaching handbook. The aim of the teaching is to enable the student (being trained to become a home-helper) to:

develop abilities to understand, assess and adjust her/his own actions, reactions and attitudes . . . The required assignment in trainee service at the first level of education: the aim of the assignment is, that the pupil: can give an account of the key, holistic oriented tasks, and give an account of the considerations and the knowledge, which have been applied to the themes and problems which the assignment suggests.

(Vejledning om skole- og praktikuddannelserne i de grundlæggende social- og sundhedsuddannelser 1990: 1390)

The statement: 'understand, assess and adjust her/his actions, reactions and attitudes' contains two signified elements: that of self-knowledge and self-reflectivity.¹⁰ The social and health-helper is articulated as reflecting upon the kind of general knowledge applied to the situation of a particular citizen, and the student must substantiate her/his decision(s). Simultaneously, the social and health-helper is seen as needing self-knowledge in order to avoid inexpedient reactions or attitudes towards elderly people. Condensing the signified they point towards a new abstract figure: a generalist with holistic oriented tasks such as housework, cooking and cleaning, and others associated with the professional such as pre-emptive measures in relation to the health of the elderly person. This new figure is characterized by the signified's independence, self-knowledge and self-reflection. The figure embodies a new kind of professional identity where caring qualifications are de-gendered, since they become torn away from the abstract figure of the housewife. The result is a profession with an independent basis of knowledge constructed as broad and bridging traditional dichotomies of objective versus subjective knowledge.

The state discourse on the home-helper is reorganized. The criterion for empowerment is met, since caring qualifications are becoming increasingly discussed, a discourse of professionalism is articulated and some traditional dichotomies are challenged.¹¹ However, the same story can also be read as one of disempowerment rather than empowerment.

A Story of Disempowerment

The construction of a broader knowledge base and the focus upon professionalism can alternatively be interpreted as an increased subtle governance of publicly employed caregivers.¹² This assessment draws on a rigid interpretation of Foucault's thesis about a transformation of power (the increased prevalence of bio-power) and the emergence of a new kind of governing – governmentality – (Foucault 1991) and on Bartky's pessimistic perspective. Governmentality can be described as a new art of government, where expertise achieves a prime role in the governance of the population. Bio-power tries to bring life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculation and it makes knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life (Foucault 1978). This power of the social fabric seeks to discipline the body and its expressions and to regulate the health, happiness and life of the population (Sjørup 1997). The state seeks to regulate the relationships between human beings through scientific discourses and practices on care, tending and the treatment of patients (Sjørup 1997).

In the Danish state there is a new discourse on New Public Management (NPM). NPM originates in the OECD (Marcussen 2002) and contains a new understanding of leadership generated in the 1980s. Leadership is becoming leadership of oneself and others through motivation and commitment. The

aim of leadership is identified with development, and it becomes so prevalent that it turns into a self-referential term: development is beneficial, because development is beneficial. Development is described as a choice, but turns into an obligation for the subjects in the discourse. The obligation for the home-helper can be seen from the following phrase: 'learn to develop yourself through your work' which is typical of the latter period 1980–95. It is an obligation that is seen discursively as being achieved through a changed attitude to work (Dahl 2000: 244–78).

In this discursive self-understanding, the social and health-helper has to interrogate herself on the importance of her/his personality (and former experiences) for the relationship to the elderly person in need of help. In teaching instructions, the newly employed home-helpers are requested to consider: 'How are you as a person?' The questions refer broadly to one's personality and how particular personalities function in relation to different contexts, tasks and different clients in the job. The question is one of a number of questions aimed at the student and intending to spur a process of reflection: 'How are the people the home-helpers visit? How are you as a person? What does it imply to become old? How do you relate to your own old age? Do your past experiences match the tasks?' (*Socialstyrelsen* 1980: 16). The personal, the self and self-responsibility are core values in state discourse on the professional qualifications needed by the home-helper. The texts are virtually crowded with references to the self, the personal and the body. An example is the following image of the proper conduct of the home-helper when taking care of patients with colostomy at home:¹³ 'The home-helper can provide an opportunity for the client to talk about his/her colostomy. Show a natural and positive attitude (remember that facial expressions and movements can disclose as much as words)' (*Socialstyrelsen* 1977: 31). This quotation illustrates the normative ideal for the home-helper – an ideal where the self is disciplined, and where bodily expressions like surprise and disgust are avoided. These potential, and unwanted reactions relate to a taboo in our western civilization, the emissions of the body.

A supposedly 'natural' behaviour is constructed as ideal and the ideal behaviour comes to signify a management of emotions.¹⁴ The new subject position is intensely regulated and disciplined by the state, and can be argued to constitute a form of disempowerment. The boundary between the private and the public is redrawn and what was once private (colostomy and the emotions of the home-helper) enter the public sphere of state regulation. State regulation is premised upon the concern for the 'Other' (the patient) and his/her need for self-expression. Simultaneously, however, the state discourse disregards the home-helpers' immediate emotions such as surprise and possibly disgust, and the discourse turns them into non-legitimate and inappropriate emotions.

Increased political management implies a moralization and normalization of the subject. It implies an ideal of qualifications and behaviour deemed useful and necessary. The more intense management mainly affects women since most of the home-helpers/social and health-helpers are female. Their

innermost emotions and thoughts become the object of political regulation and in a process where the boundary between the private and the public is redrawn their emotions enter the public sphere of control and regulation.

Signifiers such as 'leadership' and 'progress' related to NPM suffuse state discourses (Clarke and Newman 1997), but are also potentially re-negotiated within each policy field, as became evident in the case study. Within elderly policy, NPM is uncritically adopted and slightly rearticulated to meet the specificities of the field of elderly care and home-helpers. Better leadership, more development and formal training becomes defined as *the* solution to various political problems being identified within elderly care. A new hegemony is created stressing signifiers such as 'the professional' and 'quality' within this field.

The results from the case study present ethical ambiguities for women and feminists. The differences between states paradigm runs into trouble because Nordic feminists representing this paradigm tend to draw on the idea that the Nordic welfare states are women-friendly and empower women especially in the field of care politics. In their analyses, there is often little space for the contradictory effects of the state or differences between women. We suggest that the differences within states paradigm has some tools for dealing with the complexities of the case. The Danish welfare state was shown not to act as a unified actor but to have contradictory effects on women. However, we argue that the poststructural arguments concerning the fractured state and boundaries need to be pushed further. Our case study shows contradictory effects on the same group of women, the home-helpers. In the final section of this article, we consider the consequences of the argument.

POLITICAL HEGEMONY, CONTRADICTIONARY EFFECTS AND BOUNDARIES

We now turn our focus to three concepts that would be helpful in analysing the case study: hegemony, contradictory effects and boundaries. This preliminary analytical framework of the state does not claim to be a theory of the state. Instead, it attempts to outline some key notions that enable empirical analyses of contemporary western states and Nordic welfare states in particular. The position is a revision of the post-structuralist theories articulated so far in the differences within states paradigm. Our framework attempts to acknowledge the ways in which the existence of the state and its policies are constantly reproduced and (re)negotiated.

Within the paradigm of the differences within states, Rosemary Pringle and Sophie Watson (1992) stress that dispersion and the multiplicity of struggles need to be combined with an understanding of struggles as temporarily suspended with the genesis of a hegemonic situation. In our framework, the state consists of different sites, which correspond to different policy areas, and of a more general site where the struggle might be replaced by an overarching hegemonic project. In this sense, there are different levels of the

state to be studied, and the overall state hegemonic project shapes the different sites (of struggle) in important, historically and contextually specific ways. An example of the different levels of the state is the political hegemony of ideas stemming from New Public Management in the Danish state discourse and its particular negotiated version in elderly policies. In general, NPM can be defined as a rising body of managerial thought that in the overarching Danish political hegemonic project is articulated with signifiers such as 'progress', 'efficiency' and 'leadership' whereas within the discursive field of home-helpers' qualifications the hegemony is rearticulated with signifiers such as 'professional', 'quality' and 'efficiency'. The discursive field needs to be analysed in relation to the overarching hegemonic project of NPM in order to understand changes and struggles in elderly care.

Bringing these insights into our view of the state, the state must be understood as an ensemble of relations that constitute an institution. This ensemble can also be understood as a multiplicity of arenas where different dominant discourses are created and are sedimented over time. However, the hegemonic projects are created in potential spaces of struggle and resistance, where an ongoing war of positions takes place. We might logically (and ontologically) consider what keeps the state (and these various discursive forums) together, and here the concept of 'hegemony' developed by the Antonio Gramsci (1971) is useful.

Gramsci understands hegemony as a formation of a collective political consciousness and will, where a new kind of political, moral and intellectual leadership is created. Hegemony is like a Centaur since it embodies a dialectical unity of force and consent, where they become interdependent (Gramsci 1971: 169–70). Inspired by Gramsci Jakob Torfing (1999: 101) defines hegemony as 'the expansion of a discourse, or set of discourses, into a dominant horizon of social orientation and action'. A hegemony is often identified in the prevalent understandings that bring a certain order (and meaning) into being and where formerly subordinate forces are included in the political settlement that help the hegemonic situation to arise. Hegemonic projects are characterized by empty signifiers that are supposedly self-explanatory such as the before mentioned 'professional', 'quality' and 'efficiency' in the discursive field that due to their dominant status guide social orientation and action.

The discussion on poststructural feminism illustrated that feminists have come to theorize the state as a heterogeneous entity in contrast to some earlier accounts where the state was seen as a monolithic actor. Studies have revealed that the differentiated state can have both empowering and disempowering effects on different groups of women. This has drawn attention to both the heterogeneity of the state and also the diversity among women.

Our case study, in turn, suggests that this is not sufficient. Instead, the state needs to be conceptualized in terms of its contradictory effects also within one policy field in various ways. The case study showed that the state's politico-administrative discourse on home-helpers was both empowering and disempowering not just for women from different groups but for women from the

same group. In other words, the two stories show that heterogeneity (*between women*) is insufficient as a theoretical concept to describe the changed hegemony of state discourses framing policies and their effects. In this particular case study the notion of heterogeneity needs to be extended with the notion of contradictory effects, since the empirical case investigated showed empowering effects, such as an increased visibility and recognition of caring qualifications, as well as disempowering effects, such as an increased disciplining of the subjects (often female) exercising the care.¹⁵

We also wish to draw attention to the notion of boundaries of the state. Previously, this notion has been neglected in feminist analyses or mainly studied in terms of a public/private distinction that needs to be understood more broadly. The public/private distinction has recently been used to consider effects of contracting out often advocated by NPM, but we argue that boundaries are redrawn in more subtle ways as well, for instance in state regulation of the home-helpers' emotions. This points to a contradiction between the way that the private and public is rearticulated in relation to the market and the redrawing of the private and the public in relation to emotions in the training of home-helpers.

The case study illustrated how the state boundaries are fluid and constantly negotiated. In Danish care politics, the boundary between the private and the public was redrawn and what was once private (colostomy and the home-helpers' emotions) entered the public sphere of state regulation. The discussion on contradictory effects, in turn, shows that the boundary-drawing can be both empowering and disempowering. On the one hand, home-helpers entering the public sphere were empowered as a result of increased visibility and all the benefits that professionalization brings. On the other hand, the extension of the public sphere to the home led to disciplining of the subject and a state-led construction of the subject position of the home-helper. In sum, we suggest that there is a need for a renewed focus on both boundaries and boundary drawing mechanisms within states, and the plurality of boundaries in the politico-administrative discourses at various levels.

We would also like to highlight the ways in which boundaries of the state, and redrawing them, can be silenced. The promotion of the NPM concepts marketization, 'doing more with less' and ideas of a 'management of change' also impact on the boundaries of the state (Ashburner *et al.* 1996; Clarke and Newman 1997). These concepts redefine the field of legitimate state action by bringing market-based ideas of economic and political liberalism to the field of social policy. Services within social policy become best managed by methods of New Public Management, best left to production in the marketplace or in a market-like situation. As a result, there is an increased need for feminists to focus on the various ways that boundaries of the state are redrawn, since they are likely to have significant impacts on the state policies influencing gender relations. Generally there is a need for more research on the gendered implications of a politically hegemonic NPM in the Nordic welfare state(s) and its politico-administrative discourses.

CONCLUSION

In this article, we have evaluated some of the feminist literature on the concept of the state and aimed to push some of its arguments further in relation to results from an empirical case study on care politics in Denmark. The study further illustrated the inadequacies of feminist approaches to the Nordic state to date. State discourses and policies on home-helpers were shown to have both empowering and disempowering effects on the women concerned.

We suggested a framework of three tentatively developed concepts that we believe to be helpful when analysing gender and the state. These were hegemony, contradictory effects and boundaries. The concept of hegemony captures the ways in which the state, while being a plural site of discursive struggles, also exists as a more general site that is potentially informed by an overarching political hegemonic project. Here we referred to the example of the New Public Management discourse in Denmark. Contradictory effects, in turn, point to the ways in which state discourses in one policy field can have ambiguous impacts not only on different groups of women, but also on the same group of women. This was demonstrated by the simultaneously empowering and disempowering effects that Danish care politics had on home-helpers. Finally, the notion of boundaries highlighted the complexities of state action, both its discursive possibilities and its limits. Here, for example, the NPM discourse was tacitly redrawing the boundaries of state intervention in Danish care politics.

Johanna Kantola
University of Helsinki
Department of Political Science
PO Box 54 (Snellmaninkatu 14)
FIN-00014 University of Helsinki
Finland
E-mail: Johanna.Kantola@helsinki.fi

Hanne Marlene Dahl
Department of Social Sciences
Roskilde University, Bvld 25.3
Box 160
4000 Roskilde
Denmark
E-mail: hmdahl@ruc.dk

Notes

- 1 The contributions of the gender theory literature are wide-ranging. We focus only upon one aspect of these theories in relation to feminist analyses on the concept of state: their treatment of difference between women. Other questions that have

generated heated debates in gender theory include the sex/gender distinction, essentialism, bodies, corporeality, agency and masculinities (see, for example, Fuss 1989; Butler 1990; Benhabib 1992; Connell 1995; Grosz 1995; Prokhorovnik 1999).

- 2 The literature on gender and welfare has its roots in Scandinavian welfare state studies (Esping-Andersen 1990) and it focuses on women's social citizenship rights, for example childcare, or on policies enabling women's labour market participation (Leira 1992; Sainsbury 1996; Lewis 1998). The central question in the literature is what differences do welfare state variations make for women (Sainsbury 1996)? The comparative state feminist literature follows closely on from this work (Stetson and Mazur 1995; Mazur 2001; Stetson 2001).
- 3 Research done on the so-called 'femocrats' was illustrating similar issues in relation to Australia (see, for example, Franzway *et al.* 1989).
- 4 The notion of women-friendly welfare states can be challenged also by focusing upon the institutional context of the states. Jessica Lindvert (2002) argues that the in-depth achievements of the Swedish working mothers' policy and the relative weaknesses in other respects are better understood if we analyse Swedish gender policy from an institutional perspective. In other words, it is not just the welfare system (liberal, social democratic or conservative regime) or the character of agency (state feminism or feminism from below) that influences which policies are to be maintained. She suggests that the establishment of gender policies must also be understood in its institutional context – in the institutionalization of certain norms and courses of action over time into particular gender logics (Lindvert 2002: 102).
- 5 For brief discussions on radical feminist perspectives on the state see Barrett (1980), Mackinnon (1989), Watson (1990) and Waylen (1998).
- 6 On Foucault and governmentality see, for example, Burchell *et al.* (1991) and Rose (1999).
- 7 'Care politics' is a concept developed by Hege Skjeie (1992), but we apply it in a broader vein than she does.
- 8 'Signified' is defined here as the concept, that is a picture of the thing, and not the thing in-itself (de Saussure 1990: 67; Dahl 2000: 132). The signifier refers to the other part of the sign, that is the sound of the word. A signifier and a signified make up a sign, which is the unit of language.
- 9 An abstract figure is a tool developed by Dorte Marie Søndergaard (1994) and it attempts to condense meaning. An abstract figure makes it possible to condense and bring order into large amounts of meaning through superior structures of meaning that again can be related to concrete, historical figures (Dahl 2000). I have identified two abstract figures in the documents: the housewife and the specialist prior to 1972, and afterwards three figures: the housewife, the specialist and the specialized generalist. The textual figure of the home-helper is articulated in relation to the abstract figures either as identical with, different from or in opposition to them.
- 10 The quotations from the two periods stem from different kinds of material in the politico-administrative discourse. Prior to 1980 commission reports were preva-

lent where the reports were based upon committees of inquiry as fact finding and policy forming bodies in a broader sense inhabiting a consultative space between the legislative and administrative branches of government. The commission reports often generated new understandings of social and political reality being examples of social engineering (Burton and Carlen 1979). In contrast teaching instructions and administrative reports became more typical after 1980, which signals a change towards a management of details (and of governmentality) and the provision of administrative tools rather than an attempt through the disinterested nature of commission reports to convince of particular ways of understanding and solving social problems.

- 11 For an explication of other dimensions of empowerment and disempowerment such as wages and work-related accidents see (Dahl 2004).
- 12 For another study combining Foucault's notion of governmentality with feminist concerns see Cooper (1998).
- 13 Colostomy is a medical device that removes stools from the stomach.
- 14 Arlie R. Hochschild (1983) has coined the term: 'emotional labour' that refers to the management of emotions done in various situations such as flight attendants on a plane.
- 15 We do not promote the use of the term 'contradictory effects' in a functionalist sense as done for example by Claus Offe (1984).

Acknowledgement

We would like to thank Birte Siim (University of Ålborg), Judith Squires (University of Bristol), Ann Towns (Göteborg University), Birgit Sauer (University of Vienna) and the anonymous reviewers of *International Feminist Journal of Politics* for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this article.

References

- Anttonen, A. 1994. 'Welfare Pluralism or Women-Friendly Welfare Politics?', in Anneli, A. (ed.) *Women and the Welfare State: Politics, Professions and Practices*, pp. 9–34. Department of Social Policy, The University of Jyväskylä, Working Papers No. 87.
- Ashburner, L., Ferlie, E., Fitzgerald, L. and Pettigrew, A. 1996. *The New Public Management in Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barrett, M. 1980. *Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis*. London: Verso.
- Barrett, M. and Phillips, A. (eds). 1992. *Destabilizing Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bartky, S. L. 1988. 'Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power', in Diamond, I. and Quinby, L. (eds) *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*, pp. 61–86. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Benhabib, S. 1992. *Situating the Self*. Oxford: Polity.

- Bergqvist, C. 1999. 'The Nordic Countries – One Model or Several', in Bergqvist, C., Borchorst, A., Christensen, A. -D., Ramsted-Silen, V., Raum, N. and Styrkårsdóttir, A. (eds) *Equal Democracies? Gender and Politics in the Nordic Countries*, pp. 3–13. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.
- Betønkning om Rammer for fremtiden bistands-, pleje-og omsorgsuddannelser. 1989. Copenhagen: Undervisningsministeriet.
- Borchorst, A. and Siim, B. 1987. 'Women and the Advanced Welfare State – a New Kind of Patriarchal Power', in Showstack Sassoon, A. (ed.) *Women and the State*, pp. 128–57. London: Hutchinson.
- Borchorst, A. and Siim, B. 2002a. 'Editorial', *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* 10 (2): 67–70.
- Borchorst, A. and Siim, B. 2002b. 'The Women-Friendly Welfare States Revisited', *NORA: Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* 10 (2): 90–8.
- Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (eds). 1991. *The Foucault Effect*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Burton, F. and Carlen, P. 1979. *Official Discourse*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Butler, J. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Christensen, A.-D. and Siim, B. 2001. *Køn, Demokrati og Modernitet*. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel.
- Clarke, J. and Newman, J. 1997. *The Managerial State*. London: Sage Publications.
- Connell, R. W. 1987. *Gender and Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Connell, R. W. 1995. *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cooper, D. 1994. *Sexing the City*. London: Rivers Oram Press.
- Cooper, D. 1995. *Power in Struggle*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Cooper, D. 1998. *Governing Out of Order*. London: Rivers Oram Press.
- Dahl, H. M. 2000. *Fra kitlet til eget tøj – diskurser om professionalisme, omsorg og køn*. Århus: Politica.
- Dahl, H. M. 2004: 'A View from the Inside: Recognition and Redistribution from a Gender Perspective', *Acta Sociologica* 47 (4): 325–37.
- Dahlerup, D. 1987. 'Confusing Concepts – Confusing Reality: A Theoretical Discussion of the Patriarchal State', in Showstack Sassoon, A. (ed.) *Women and the State*, pp. 93–127. London: Routledge.
- De Saussure, F. 1990. *Course in General Linguistics*. London: Duckworth.
- Det socialpolitiske udvalg. 1958. Indstilling om ydelse af hjemmehjælp til ældre, *Folketingstidende*, Tillæg A: 1164–84.
- Devaux, M. 1996. 'Feminism and Empowerment: A Critical Reading of Foucault', in Hekman, S. (ed.) *Feminist Interpretations of Michel Foucault*, pp. 211–40. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ferguson, K. 1987. 'Male-Ordered Politics: Feminism and Political Science', in Ball, T. (ed.) *Idioms of Inquiry: Critique and Renewal in Political Science*, pp. 209–29. Albany, NY: New York University Press.
- Ferguson, K. 1993. *The Man Question: Visions of Subjectivity in Feminist Theory*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Foucault, M. 1978. *The History of Sexuality*. London: Penguin.
- Foucault, M. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977* by Michel Foucault. London: Prentice Hall.
- Foucault, M. 1991. 'Governmentality', in Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (eds) *The Foucault Effect*, pp. 87–104. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Franzway, S., Court, D. and Connell, R. 1989. *Staking a Claim*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Fraser, N. 1997. 'Equality, Difference and Democracy: Recent Feminist Debates in the United States', in Dean, J. (ed.) *Feminism and the New Democracy: Resiting the Political*, pp. 98–110. London: Sage Publications.
- Friedan, B. 1962. *Feminine Mystique*. New York: Dell Publishing Co.
- Fuss, D. 1989. *Essentially Speaking*. London: Routledge.
- Gramsci, A. 1971. *Selections from Prison Notebooks*. Smith, H. G. N. (ed.). London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Grosz, E. 1994. 'Identity and Difference: A Response', in James, P. (ed.) *Critical Politics*, pp. 29–33. Melbourne: Arena Publications.
- Grosz, E. 1995. *Space, Time and Perversion*. London: Routledge.
- Halsaa, B. 2001. 'Kvinner og politikk I Norden – nogle historiografiske refleksjoner', *Kvinder, Køn & forskning* 10 (2): 20–32.
- Haraway, D. 1984. 'Situated Knowledges', *Feminist Studies* 14 (3): 575–99.
- Hernes, H. M. 1987. 'Women and the Welfare State: The Transition from Private to Public Dependence', in Showstack Sassoon, A. (ed.) *Women and the State*, pp. 72–92. London: Routledge.
- Hernes, H. M. 1988. 'Scandinavian Citizenship', *Acta Sociologica* 31 (3): 199–215.
- Hernes, H. M. 1989. *Welfare State and Woman Power*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.
- Hochschild, A. R. 1983. *The Managed Heart: The Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Holter, H. 1976. 'Om kvinneundertrykkelse, mannsundertrykkelse og hersketeknikker', in Thordis, S. and Wetlesen, T. S. (eds) *Kvinnekunnskap*, pp. 61–82. Oslo: Gyldendal.
- Kantola, J. 2002. 'Rooman valtakunnan tuho: Parisuhdelakikeskustelua eduskunnassa', in Holli, A. M. and Saarikoski, T. (eds) *Tasa-arvon haasteet*, pp. 287–304. Helsinki: WSOY.
- Krook, M. L. Forthcoming. 'Politicizing Representation: Campaigns for Candidate Gender Quotas Worldwide.' Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University.
- Leira, A. 1992. *Welfare States and Working Mothers: The Scandinavian Experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, J. (ed.). 1998. *Gender, Social Care and Welfare State Restructuring in Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Lindvert, J. 2002. 'A World Apart: Swedish and Australian Gender Equality Policy', *NORA* 2 (10): 99–107.
- Lister, R. 1997. *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*. London: Macmillan.
- Mackinnon, C. 1989. *Towards a Feminist Theory of the State*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Marcussen, M. 2002. *OECD og idéspillet – Game over?* Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Publishers.

- Mazur, A. (ed.). 2001. *State Feminism, Women's Movements, and Job Training*. New York & London: Routledge.
- McNay, L. 1999. 'Subject, Psyche and Agency: The Work of Judith Butler', *Theory, Culture and Society* 16 (2): 175–93.
- Mottier, V. 2004. 'Feminist Political Theory', *European Political Science* 4 (3): 79–84.
- Newman, J. 2002. *Modernising Governance: New Labour, Policy and Society*. London: Sage Publications.
- Norval, A. 1996. *Deconstructing Apartheid Discourse*. London: Verso.
- Offe, C. 1984. *Contradictions of the Welfare State*. London: Hutchinson.
- Prado, C. G. 1995. *Starting with Foucault: An Introduction to Genealogy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Pringle, R. and Watson, S. 1990. 'Fathers, Brothers, Mates: The Fraternal State in Australia', in Watson, S. (ed.) *Playing the State*, pp. 229–43. London: Verso.
- Pringle, R. and Watson, S. 1992. "'Women's Interests" and the Post-Structuralist State', in Barrett, M. and Phillips, A. (eds) *Destabilizing Theory*, pp. 53–73. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Prokhovnik, R. 1999. *Rational Woman*. London: Routledge.
- Raaum, N. C. 1999. 'Women in Parliamentary Politics: Historical Lines of Development', in Bergqvist, C., Borchorst, A., Christensen, A.-D., Ramsted-Silen, V., Raun, N. and Styrkårsdóttir, A. (eds) *Equal Democracies? Gender and Politics in the Nordic Countries*, pp. 27–46. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.
- Randall, V. 1998. 'Gender and Power: Women Engage the State', in Randall, V. and Waylen, G. (eds) *Gender, Politics and the State*, pp. 185–205. London: Routledge.
- Rose, N. 1999. *The Powers of Freedom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sainsbury, D. 1996. *Gender, Equality and Welfare States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scott, J. 1997. 'Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism', in Tietjens Meyers, D. (ed.) *Feminist Social Thought: A Reader*, pp. 757–71. New York & London: Routledge.
- Siim, B. 1988. 'Towards a Feminist Rethinking of the Welfare State', in Jones, K. and Jonasdóttir, A. (eds) *The Political Interests of Gender*, pp. 160–86. London: Sage Publications.
- Sjørup, K. 1997. 'Velfærdsstaten som middel i kvinders magtspil', *Kvinder, Køn & Forskning* 6 (2): 6–15.
- Skjeie, H. 1992. *Den politiske betydningen av kjønn*. Oslo: Institutt for samfunnsforskning.
- Smith, A. M. 1994. *New Right Discourse on Race and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Socialstyrelsen. 1977. *Undervisningsvejledning for orergangskursus for hjemmehjælpere*. Copenhagen: Socialstyrelsen.
- Socialstyrelsen. 1980. *Undervisningsvejledning*. Copenhagen: Socialstyrelsen.
- Socialstyrelsen. 1981. *Syv ugers grundkursus*. Copenhagen: Socialstyrelsen.
- Søndergaard, D. M. 1994. 'Køn i formidlingsproces mellem kultur og individ: Nogle analytiske greb', *Psyke & Logos* 15 (1): 47–68.
- Squires, J. 1999. *Gender in Political Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Stetson, D. 2001. *Abortion Politics, Women's Movements and the Democratic State: A Comparative Study of State Feminism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stetson, D. and Mazur, A. (eds). 1995. *Comparative State Feminism*. London: Sage Publications.
- Torfin, J. 1999. *New Theories of Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Vejledning om skole- og praktikuddannelserne i de grundlæggende social- og sundhedsuddannelser. 1990. No. 223 (27 November). Copenhagen.
- Walby, S. 1992. 'Post-Post-Modernism? Theorizing Social Complexity', in Barrett, M. and Phillips, A. *Destabilizing Theory*, pp. 31–52. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Watson, S. 1990. 'The State of Play: An Introduction', in Watson, S. (ed.) *Playing the State*, pp. 3–20. London: Verso.
- Waylen, G. 1998. 'Gender, Feminism and the State', in Randall, V. and Waylen, G. (eds) *Gender, Politics and the State*, pp. 1–17. London: Routledge.

Copyright of International Feminist Journal of Politics is the property of Routledge, Ltd. and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.