2. Methodology

"Epistemology, methodology, method and ethical issues are all interrelated."[1]

In this chapter, I will present my key methodological choices, conceptual assumptions and theoretical research paradigm and their relationship to each other. In order to position myself in the field of research, it was important for me to note that paradigms and theories are: "Self-confirming in the sense that they instruct us to look at phenomena in particular ways. This means that they can never be disproved but only found to be more or less useful."[2]

I begin with locating the research in (self-)reflective, standpoint feminist and governance theories and how they pertain to the subject of research. I then explain the relevant gender and intersectionality concepts that pertain to analysis tools, before laying out my methodological approach. Here, I introduce the framework of Caroline Moser and Annalise Moser,[3] who have made suggestions for a beneficial implementation environment for gender mainstreaming in organisations, and convert their schema into one that enables gender analysis for the purposes of public policy making. The resulting analytical framework, as presented in the last section, is the first institutionalisation framework for gender analysis tools and served as the grid for my field studies.

2.1 Reflexive Standpoint Approach

The desire for change and a different way of providing policy advice brings me to a critical question: If all the necessary regulatory frameworks and institutionalised commitments to gender equality are in place, which is the case in the IA areas of my research,[4] then why do gender experts seem disillusioned with the practices and implementation of gender mainstreaming in governance structures and policy

1 | Lykke 2010, 144.

2 | Silverman 2000, 99.

3 | Moser/Moser 2005.

4 | For Canadian policy analysis frameworks and practices, see chapter 3; for EU impact assessment see chapter 4.

making in particular?[5] Is it really true that empiricist research as the basis for policy advice marginalises the gender perspective? What could be the cause(s)? Is it really the oft-lamented general disinterest in women's issues and academic marginalisation, aggravated by a focus on science within the IA research community?

In searching for answers to these questions, I found feminist standpoint theory helpful. Standpoint theory is by no means a "quaint relic of feminism's less sophisticated past"[6]; rather, its critique of the dominance of scientism, determinism and reformism in a process of revealing knowledge as politics is still "well worth the effort."[7] The situated contingency and the objectivity of epistemic practice are central topics of debate in the philosophy of science and social epistemology, but also within feminist standpoint theory for almost four decades.[8] The insights of feminist standpoint theory into these questions have been taken up by a new and growing movement of critical empiricists.[9]

Standpoint theory has achieved much success as a methodology, particularly in the social sciences.[10] A feminist epistemology, as initially developed by Sandra Harding or Dorothy Smith, has been said to have emerged from the large body of theorising around standpoint theory concepts.[11] In the following chapter, I first elaborate on central concepts of standpoint theory from their primary origins in the work of Smith and Harding. Based on these main concepts, I then distinguish standpoint perspectives from feminist empiricism in relation to the study of IA systems of knowledge creation. Finally, I explain how these theoretical underpinnings of feminist standpoint theory are useful for developing research questions, approaches and the evaluation of results.

2.1.1 Relevant Concepts of Feminist Standpoint Theory

Feminism put the methods of knowing rather than the content of the theory at the centre of inquiry. Feminism's methodological heritage is feminism itself, a perception that has been articulated first in 1981 by the U.S. political scientist Nancy Hartsock, who stated: "At bottom feminism is a mode of analysis, a method of approaching life and politics rather than a set of political conclusions about the oppression of women."[12]

In her 1987 book, The Everyday as Problematic, the Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith outlined a sociological method from standpoint perspectives.

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5 | Department of Justice Canada 1982b; Langevin 2009; Bakker/Brodie 2007; Brodie/Bakker 2008; Woodward 2003; Schmidt 2005; Roggeband/Verloo 2006; Verloo 2005a; Verloo 2008; Woodward 2008.

6 | Hekman 1997, 341.

7 | Kourany 2009, 216.

8 | Gruen/Wylie 2010, 728.

9 | Trubek/Esser 2011, 158.

10 | Intemann 2010. Contested by Crasnow (Crasnow 2009).

11 | Smith 1987a; Smith 1990; Harding/Hintikka 1983; Harding 1991; Harding 1998; Harding 2008; Harding 2010.

12 | Hartsock 1981, 35-36. Hartsock is yet another main contributor to the development of standpoint theory, rooted in historical materialism and a Marxist analysis of unequal societal power relations.

Smith distinguished between the categories of the academic discipline of sociology (the knower) and everyday life (the known). In sociology, this division is central to achieving objectivity, a dilemma that Smith criticised as causing women's experiences, which are always relational, engaged and situated, to be invisible within a masculinist disciplinary culture. The objectivity paradox has bifurcated the lived experience of female sociologists, since they have had to navigate between the abstract, "objective" world of (masculinist) sociology and their everyday experiences as women.[13] Smith concludes that to overcome the divide between the intangible, conceptual world of sociology and the experience of women, which is "material and local", a "sociology for women" is needed, one which recognises the standpoint of women as a point located outside of textually mediated discourses and anchored instead in contextual everyday life.[14] This amalgamation of the very different, particular experiences of women has been criticised as being homogenising. Smith's materialist dichotomy between the abstract world on the one side and lived experiences (of women) of the other has also received much epistemological criticism for negating the construction of everyday life, equating it with reality, and not acknowledging the interrelatedness of both.[15] Standpoint theory remains central in feminist theory, however, since Smith's insight into the masculinist position of the knower laid the groundwork for the feminist politics of difference, even influencing debates about intersectionality.[16]

Successive postmodernist and poststructuralist concepts and theories have demonstrated that reality is constructed and that any claim of truth is to be distrusted, thereby contradicting the privileged position of the material knowledge of women gained on the basis of their positional experiences.[17] Smith herself incorporates the debate about the many different lives that women lead in her later concept of a "primary narrative."[18] This narrative is supposed to group all differences together and rank them in opposition to a monolithically imagined abstract world of sociology. She also hints that in its origins, the concept was not meant to be a new theory, but rather was an attempt to design a radical alternative to the existing modes of knowledge and truth.[19] Smith's seemingly contradictory concept of the female primary narrative[20] was, however, the starting point for reflections on biased and experience-based perceptions of what constitutes knowledge, a path that was continued by Sandra Harding.

13 | Smith 1987b, 90. Also Smith's work is philosophically rooted in Marxist strands of feminist theory.

14 | Smith 1987a, 107.

15 | Hekman 1997.

16 | For the continued and still undecided scholarly discussion of the nature of social structure, commonly organised around the three pillars of institutional structure, relational structure and embodied structure, see (López/Scott 2000).

17 | Hennessy 1993; Butler 1990.

18 | Smith 1990, 157.

19 | Smith 1997.

20 | Smith was mostly criticised by Susan Hekman for homogenising women's experiences and issues (Hekman 1997); Hekman was criticised in turn for her "mis-interpretation" of Smith's, Harding's and other standpoint theorists' ideas (Smith 1997; Harding 1997; Hartsock 1997).

Sandra Harding confronts the epistemological issues raised by debates around the differences among women and challenges to reality by defining three possible strands of feminist epistemologies: Feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint theory and feminist postmodernism. Despite her proximity to standpoint theory, Harding's belief is that among all these different perspectives there cannot be one feminist standpoint, since the situations of women differ too greatly. She criticises postmodern positions as being too fractured and therefore apolitical. In her 1986 core text The Science Question of Feminism, she refuses to opt for one perspective or another and stresses the necessity for multiplicity in epistemologies, because "coherent theories in a coherent world are either silly, uninteresting, or oppressive."[21]

In a later text, however, she took up the challenge of developing a consistent theory of feminist science, without attempting to reconcile all tensions and contradictions within feminism.[22] She calls it the "postmodernist standpoint approach"[23] and describes how it is possible to avoid the essentialism versus relativism divide:[24] In a concept she calls strong objectivity, Harding recognises all social knowledge as being situated and calls for a critical evaluation "to determine which social situations tend to generate the most objective knowledge claims."[25] Referring to additive categories of oppression, Harding follows an epistemological paradigm, according to which higher levels of oppression can lay claim to more objective knowledge; these claims, however, should not be interpreted as some sort of superior trans-historical truth:

> "Starting research from women's lives leads to socially constructed claims that are less false—less partial and distorted—than are the (also socially constructed) claims that result if one starts from the lives of men in the dominant groups."[26]

Harding's strong objectivity attributes an epistemic advantage to the situated-knowledge of women in their diversity and results in a critical interrogation of the very foundation of epistemologies. In her large body of work, Harding identifies four sites or main dimensions of standpoint theory[27] that provide resources for understanding it as "a logic of inquiry"[28] and for healing such "hermeneutical injustice"[29]: First, standpoint theory draws from the experiences of the oppressed, and she is convinced that the differences in those lives will result in differences in standpoints. Second, the (productive) variance in standpoints engages challenging feminist questions in relation to the political or the epistemological and in relation to its context, given the convergence of these questions in a common equality project. Third, standpoint theory provides a model that might even be called a methodology

21 | Harding 1986.
22 | Harding 1991.
23 | Harding 1991, 49.
24 | Harding 1991, 106.
25 | Harding 1991, 140.
26 | Harding 1991, 185.
27 | Harding/Hintikka 1983; Harding 1991; Harding 1998; Harding 2004a; Harding 2004b; Harding 2006; Harding 2008.
28 | Crasnow 2009, 190.
29 | Fricker 2006.

for research across disciplines. It is therefore, not only trans-disciplinary but also anti-disciplinary, insofar as it challenges the complicity of each discipline in its engagement with the established social power nexus. Fourth, and paradoxically, standpoint theory can also be seen as disciplinary, because it attempts to transform the disciplines from within.

According to Harding, the ensuing multiplicity is itself a resource rather than a limitation, and she suggests using the plural, speaking of various discipline-specific standpoint theories rather than one coherent, uniform theory.[30] Harding's standpoint theories offer alternatives to positivism and types of knowledge that rest on all-encompassing meta-narratives abstracted from a perceived reality that can never be real, since it is just one point of view. Standpoints insert multiple, possibly endless, knower-positions.[31] With standpoint plurality, Harding arrived at an instrumental theory of research action that emphasises the "descriptions of reality, evaluative criteria, and valued ends,"[32] rather than taking reality, criteria and objectives of research at face value. Because she argues for a multiplicity of standpoints, she avoids essentialism, and because she still proposes to start from the position(s) of women as an objective position, she gets around postmodern relativist fears of being universalising, apolitical and arbitrary.[33] By posing the power question, Harding walks a middle ground, negotiating Smith's dichotomies without abandoning them, and thereby providing an inspiring method of ambivalence "addressing marginalisation of, and within."[34] Harding's feminist standpoint methodologies are as inherently critical as emancipatory—critical because they strive for "less false" representations of social relations, and emancipatory, because they try to improve them,[35] a parallel to the basic principles of evidence-based policy making.

2.1.2 Standpoint Theory between Feminist and Critical Empiricism

Science is not a neutral playground in the struggle for conducting the best possible IA. In their ground-breaking essay The Missing Feminist Revolution in Sociology, Judith Stacey and Barrie Thorne already described as early as 1985 a phenomenon in the discipline of social sciences that appears to be universal for modern, Western academic knowledge production:

"Feminist perspectives have been contained in sociology by functionalist conceptualizations of gender, by the inclusion of gender as a variable rather than a theoretical category, [...] by being ghettoized [...]. Feminist rethinking is also affected by underlying epistemologies (proceeding more rapidly in fields based on interpretive rather than positivist understanding), and by the status and nature of theory within a discipline."[36]

30 | Harding 1991; Harding 2004a; Harding 2006.
31 | Harding 1998.
32 | Trubek/Esser 2011, 149.
33 | Harding 1991, 134-142.
34 | Intemann et al. 2010, 932.
35 | Harding 1986.
36 | Stacey/Thorne 1985, 301.

According to Harding, the philosophical version of standpoint theory makes it a naturalised epistemology, insofar as it is engaged with the methods of studying knowledge, scrutinising the processes of scientific knowledge acquisition and objectivity itself, and how they are embedded in research disciplines and institutions.[37] Although standpoint theorists and empiricists "make competing claims about what is required for increasing scientific objectivity,"[38] Harding has been able to differentiate standpoint feminism methodologically from feminist empiricism, which she sees merely as the perspective that male bias in science constitutes ''bad science'' and could be avoided if scientists were strictly committed to empiricist norms and methods of research.[39] Feminist empiricism agrees with critical empiricism in rejecting "the view that science is ''value-free'.''[40] As such, feminist empiricism is context-specific with respect to the goals, values, and methods that dominate different research contexts. It is normative in the sense that those goals, values, methods, and other background assumptions are not independent of social, ethical, and political values: "Evidence should be construed holistically."[41]

Feminist empiricism and standpoint theory overlap in their acknowledgement that theory rationalisation depends on an abundance of "background assumptions."[42] They diverge, however, in the hypothesis that individual scientists are for the most part unaware of such background assumptions, ideologies or social categories and of how they affect their work, including their ethical and political values. Feminist empiricists, unlike standpoint theorists, doubt the possibility that individual scientists can identify or assess their own biases or defective suppositions: "For this reason, feminist empiricists take the locus of objectivity and justification to be scientific communities."[43] Hence, feminist empiricism considers itself to be a social epistemology, with social meaning, and considers the point of departure for achieving objectivity as being entrenched in scientific communities, rather than being located within individual scientists alone.[44] Feminist empiricists argue that reflection and attainment of "critical consciousness" as the basis for inhabiting a standpoint are accomplished by communities rather than individuals.[45]

Feminist standpoint theory takes feminist empiricism a step farther by introducing a (self-)reflexive element, the standpoint, which positions the researcher in the epistemological context of social background, education, academic discipline or field and intention of work. Standpoints need to be differentiated from merely having a particular, experienced-based perspective; instead: "Standpoints are said to be achieved through a critical, conscious reflection on the ways in which power structures and resulting social locations influence knowledge production."[46]

37 | Harding 2006.
38 | Intemann 2010, 778.
39 | Harding 1991, 111-120.
40 | Intemann 2010, 780.
41 | Intemann 2010, 779-780.
42 | Intemann 2010, 781.
43 | Intemann 2010, 781.
44 | Intemann 2010, 782.
45 | Intemann 2010, 786.
46 | Intemann 2010, 785.

Or, as Harding states, a standpoint is a distinctive insight about how hierarchical social structures work:

"A standpoint is an achievement, not an ascription. Moreover, it is a collective one, not an individual one. The term 'standpoint' is colloquially synonymous with 'perspective.' But it is a technical term in standpoint theory. Achieving a standpoint requires scientific work in order to see beneath the ideological surface of social relations that we all come to accept as natural."[47]

What makes standpoint perspectives on empiricism valuable is their critical intervention in "untroubled instrumentalism and determinism" in favour of an "interpretive turn."[48] Standpoint theory challenges conventional ideas of empiricism and combines them with a new subjectified model of scientism, critically interrogating the basic frameworks and paradigms of knowledge creation. Authors like Kristen Intemann call for standpoint-related "critical awareness," an appeal that has its origins in Harding's attempt to access "less false stories"[49] for science. Intemann raises questions pertaining to modes of acquisition and pertinence of knowledge:

"Within the context of scientific inquiry, this critical consciousness can be seen as a critical evaluation of how power structures (for example, patriarchy or racism) shape or limit research questions, methodological decisions, background assumptions, or interpretations of data. In this sense, standpoints do not automatically arise from occupying a particular social location. They are achieved only when there is sufficient scrutiny and critical awareness of how power structures shape or limit knowledge in a particular context. Nor do standpoints involve a universally shared perspective of all members of a particular social group. Individuals may contribute to the achievement of a critical consciousness within an epistemic community in different ways."[50]

Feminist empiricists like Intemann attempt to cross-pollinate social epistemology and its critical strands with feminist standpoints. According to two representatives of critical empiricism, David Trubek and John Esser, the instrumental angle and outlook in scientific research distinguishes between ontological assumptions made concerning the description of the (external) objects/behaviour and epistemological assumptions concerning the process through which these descriptions are constructed.[51] They argue that a transition from an instrumental to an interpretive theory is needed to transmute our perception of values, knowledge, evaluative criteria, and the manner in which these three phenomena are related within a "trans-individual web of meaning—an 'ideology'."[52] I argue in accordance with Trubek and Esser[53] that both epistemic communities, such as science communities, and

47 | Harding 2009, 195.
48 | Trubek/Esser 2011, 146-147.
49 | Harding 1991, 187.
50 | Intemann 2010, 785-786.
51 | Trubek/Esser 2011, 147.
52 | Trubek/Esser 2011, 151.
53 | Trubek/Esser 2011.

individual experience, enable one to find and inhabit a particular standpoint. The construction and then deconstruction of an internal (consciousness) and external standpoint (objects/behaviours/scientific communities/contexts) are necessary to make sense of the world. We locate our position in it through interaction between the two, bouncing from one to the other.

Standpoint theory posits that the perspectives we (can) inhabit are individual and infinite, and therefore cannot be perceived as universally valid contributions to any sort of meta-narrative or global theory. Consequently, standpoint theory's multiple positions undermine claims to universality as well as to the universal value of science.[54] It is an impossible sociological task to unravel, compare and judge concurring, possibly endless, perspectives on the basis of the accuracy of their description. When Intemann calls for a "system of checks and balances,"[55] she is aware of these manifold and often competing standpoints.

The answer to the problem of a multitude of (unrecognised) values and biases is to reflect on different options and approaches and to take a conscious, situated, partial stand—which again is constructed and subject to a certain value set. Feminists attempted to resolve the paradox by maintaining that partiality is negative when unchecked or unreflected upon, when invisible background assumptions are not scrutinised. Intemann's demand for a monitored balance consequently envisions a process of differentiating legitimate, reflected upon, conscious, visible standpoints from de-legitimate, unreflected, unconscious, hidden standpoints in the attempt to shield people from harm and to create social justice. Standpoint theory offers a solution to the dilemma by distinguishing values that are "justified" from those that are not: "Sexist values and androcentrism are bad for science [...] not because they are values that give rise to partiality. Rather, the problem is that they are unjustified value judgments."[56]

Louise Antony has described the concept of justified values and its conflicts as the bias paradox.[57] This concept postulates that inherent, non-reflected sexist values are at the core of androcentrism and have led to problematically partial, or biased, science. Androcentrism describes the (unconscious or conscious) practice of establishing men, their realities and masculinity as the norm, while everything else is perceived as the other[58] and defined against the masculine (overt or hidden) standard. Usually, this results in a masculine-feminine dualism.[59] While masculinity is the default and masculine traits like objectivity, rationality, thought etc. are accepted as the scientific norm,[60] women are allegedly: "the 'other', which has been equated [...] with 'femininity', with its emotionality, sensuousness, irrationality and chaos [...]."[61] As stated above, standpoint feminists have argued that the norm of scientific impartiality in itself is erroneous and unobtainable. On the

54 | Trubek/Esser 2011, 153-154.

55 | Intemann 2010, 790.

56 | Intemann 2010, 793.

57 | Antony 1993.

58 | For an engagement with othering concepts, see sub-chapter 2.3.2.

59 | Although not necessarily, as queer, transgender and intersex studies teach us.

60 | As opposed to subjectivity, irrationality, matter and body etc., which are connoted female (Harding 2010, 315-316).

61 | Osietzki 1991, 42.

other hand, while advocating for partiality on behalf of women, feminists criticise partiality on behalf of men, which creates another bias paradox.[62] At this point, standpoint feminism calls for a system of balanced partiality.[63] With the concept of balanced partiality, feminist standpoint theorists aim to counteract sexist and androcentric values by demanding a reflected diversification of values in order to minimise the influence of bias in all directions.[64]

2.1.3 Implications for Research

Standpoint theory is deeply rooted in the problems of the everyday world[65] and was developed to draw attention to a gendered perspective from the margins. A standpoint theoretical background sheds light on the underlying assumptions of policy analysis and the individuals conducting it—individuals with certain sets of values, scientific education and individual background—as well as on me as a researcher and my positioning in the research.[66] As standpoint feminism can be seen "as an empiricist philosophy of science,"[67] it fit my research interest and the design of this study, which was to investigate the integration of gendered knowledge in the policy advisory process. Harding calls this moment in history a "splendid opportunity" to create new kinds of research agendas for the "growth of knowledge and social justice"[68] that turn away from the scientific and political (economic growth-oriented) mainstream and reflect on the policy problem from marginalised and oppressed positions: "Standpoint projects are designed to identify, explain, and transform the conceptual and material practices, in ways that benefit those who are least advantaged by such institutions."[69]

Harding assumes that the least privileged, outsider standpoint is based on coping with one's daily life[70] and will inform a way of problem-framing and -solving that does not leave anybody behind. Her primary goal is the empowerment of women, but her latest publications refine her argument in that they include postcolonial standpoints and perspectives of women from the Global South. In delineating a matrix of oppression in an attempt to address the larger goal of (global) social justice,[71] Harding builds upon Patricia Hill Collins' matrix of domination, in which women can be simultaneously disadvantaged and privileged.[72] This discourse echoes almost simultaneous debates about intersectionality.[73] Later in her research

62 | Antony 1993, 189.
63 | Intemann 2010, 793.
64 | Intemann 2010, 793.
65 | Smith 1987a.
66 | As in chapter 2.4.1.
67 | Intemann 2010, 785.
68 | Harding 2008, 233.
69 | Harding 2008, 225.
70 | The daily life concept is represented in the German feminist research field "Alltägliche Lebensführung," which has evolved independently from Smith's concept of the everyday problematic (Diezinger 2010).
71 | Harding 2011.
72 | Collins 1991. Collin's primary goal was to empower black women (Colling 2000).
73 | Crenshaw 1989. See sub-chapter 2.3.1.

career and as a consequence of engaging with black feminism, Harding altered her concept of starting from women's lives to starting from marginal lives.[74] Thus, she finds herself aligned with other postcolonial critics of Western, white, male hegemonic science,[75] as well as with demands established by the concepts of diversity and representative bureaucracy.[76]

Transferred to the realm of IA, standpoint theory requires a wider perspective than "just" negotiating women's experiences though gender analysis. At the same time, it strengthens the position of the marginalised in IA. Standpoint projects, however, have a critical, reflexive distance to conventional (disciplinary) concepts, including IA tools, as they are regarded as conceptual practices of power serving the dominant institutions, as Smith suggests.[77] Which intra-active object-subject dynamic prevails? Is science from below really reconcilable with gender analysis tools? And are analysts and civil servants as the insider users equipped to implement such tools?

Standpoint perspectives also rely both on structural and regulatory frameworks (epistemic communities) as well as on individual implementation and individual participation (standpoints). The result is the rise of certain implementation environments or cultures that are embodied and embedded at the same time:

> "Individuals from different social locations have, to some extent, different experiences. In this way, standpoint theorists take knowledge to be embodied rather than acquired through a universal, disembodied, rational mind. Different bodies are subjected to different material conditions and forces that can give rise to different experiences and thus different evidence and beliefs."[78]

The term embodied implies that individual experiences are not only cognitively, but also materially inscribed. Feminist standpoint theory suggests that the female body and experiences of women in a female gender role are inseparably intertwined and serve as basis for social cognition. Thus, a bodily mediated mental representation of the world is expressed in the recognition that individual experiences, emotions, feelings, normative pressures and experiences of discrimination and violence are processed and affect one's outlook onto the world[79] Or Lorraine Code expresses it: The Sex of the Knower[80] matters. For her, "taking subjectivity into account" requires "knowing people well, whether singly or in groups [...] knowing [...] their

74 | Harding 1992; Harding 1998.

75 | Cannella/Manuelito 2008.

76 | Representative bureaucracy as a concept is based on corporeal democracy. It requires public administration to incorporate and resemble most or all aspects of the served population in its diversity. The main social groups should have officeholders at all levels, at best according to the ratio in which they occur in the general population base, "because the characteristics of bureaucrats influence the nature, scope, and implementation of public policies" (Smith/Monaghan 2013, 50). It establishes the obligation to employ women at least as half of the staff, including in managerial positions (Kelly/Newman 2001). For diversity and diversity management, see chapter 2.3.1.

77 | Smith 1990.

78 | Intemann 2010, 785.

79 | For an engagement of feminism with corporeality, see (Coole 2013).

80 | As in her early, pioneering essay (Code 1981).

distinctness from and their commonalities with other" when choices are to be made in knowledge production.[81]

Race and disability theory contain other strands of embodiment of difference in organisation.[82] Transgender studies currently suggest that differently gendered embodied experiences as (transgender) men, women, and in-between transgender play a potentially vital role in organisational collaboration and decision making, because they provide insight into the manifold ways of being gendered and how these experiences shape perceptions of the world. As this is a reciprocal process, regulations governing bodies and social situatedness also shape gendered embodied experience.[83]

Embodied experiences (of difference) are thus central to standpoint theory and feminist empiricism, as a feminist philosophy of the marginalised.[84] They are reoccurring, for instance, in Karen Barad's later concept of "agential realism,"[85] which alleviates the boundaries between object and subject, the knower and what can be known, epistemology and ontology. For Barad, objects are material, but not pre-existing. They are formed by intra-actions between objects and intra-actions between objects and subjects. As such even objects, including scientific evidence and data, are created agentive and intra-active.[86] In Barad's theory, science is less descriptive and exerts agency in that it produces reality. Following Barad's logic and that of feminist empiricism, IA tools and the results they produce are shaped as much by the embodiment of their users as by the bureaucratic reality, that these users face.

Feminist standpoints also emphasise the subject as the agent, the potential inciter of change in administrative and/or research institutions, questions, practices and outcomes, embedded in a larger epistemological context. Here, the preceding standpoint and agentive-oriented considerations led me to the questions of bias in science and the micro-level influence that bureaucratic systems develop. More precisely, I was led to question the possible educational and disciplinary bias of policy analysts responsible for conducting IAs and of bureaucrats in charge of initiating IAs, in systems that on the macro-level are firmly committed to gender equality. Why do policy makers, "unintentionally" as Verloo claims,[87] (or maybe even consciously?) decide against or simply ignore gendered-policy analysis tools for their assessments? And if a gender perspective is integrated into the assessments, how mainstreamed and transformative is it? If it does not get picked up or is not demanded by the policy makers, why is that so? Are epistemic (IA research, policy maker) communities still largely ignoring the genderedness of the state—and why?

My study therefore explores which research the relevant actors trust and value to produce good evidence, and which methodologies, research questions and outlooks

81 | Code 2014, 22.

82 | Connell 2010; Thanem 2011.

83 | Whittle 2005; Sanger 2008; Schilt/Westbrook 2009; Stone 2009; Franzen/Sauer 2010. For example, in Canada as well as in most states of the EU (with the exception of Malta based on Act No. XI of 2015), only two sex markers (male/female) are officially recognised.

84 | Intemann et al. 2010, 928.

85 | Barad 1998, 89.

86 | Barad 2007.

87 | Verloo 2005b, 24.

are deemed appropriate and relevant for better regulation and good governance.[88] Public policy analysis is characterised by general epistemic competition. IA tools are supposed to regulate and channel knowledge of diverse epistemic communities. But Fox and Miller make an important observation, while theorising about public organisations:

"One does not ordinarily inhabit more than one paradigm, cannot see through the lenses of alternative paradigms. No argument developed in terms of one paradigm can be telling to those who argue in terms of an alternative one. Inhabitants of different paradigms are like ships passing on an moonless night without running lights."[89]

Transferred to the realm of IA, this statement is clearly pessimistic about the chances of successfully combining the different paradigms that underlie the rationales for social IA, environmental IA or economic IA in a balanced fashion in integrated IA. It poses yet another question: does implementing GIA or GBA, built as they are on feminist paradigms and representing feminist lenses, even make sense when another paradigm prevails in tools design and application? And if so, will analysts and researchers who have been trained in disciplines governed by a similar (male centred) neo-liberal (or another, e.g. environmental) paradigm and who do not adopt a feminist standpoint, be able to see anything through a gender lens? A relevant question in what Michéle Knodt sketches out as being a semi-permeable bureaucratic environment, permeable mostly by "big business," its (supra-national) players and (global) economic and political interests.[90] And lastly, is it even desirable to inhabit a feminist standpoint that simply creates new "subjugated knowledges"[91] in turn?

An important feature of standpoint theory is thus that it helps make sense of the scientific IA community within bureaucratic policy making structures. A standpoint is to some extent normative, as it "intends to map the practices of power, the ways the dominant institutions and their conceptual frameworks create and

88 | Authors from the environmental IA sector also point out the importance of trust in the researchers and their methods by senior bureaucrats and policy makers (Hickey et al. 2013, 540).

89 | Fox/Miller 2006, 636.

90 | Knodt 2013. As an example, Knodt criticises the role of the seconded national experts in the EC's bureaucracy. Such seconded experts remain on the payroll of local, regional or national public bodies or private companies, while performing temporary, specialised tasks for the EU's executive, including its legislative function. In addition to the vast number of outside lobby groups in Brussels, the seconded experts influence the EC's policy and programme initiatives from the inside, and are not compelled to make their motives transparent or open to scrutiny. Knodt is particularly critical of the role of privately paid experts hired by private companies. Another critical issue regarding the seconded national expert system in the EC is its temporary nature, as knowledge and expertise is lost after the contract is up. The European Institute for Gender Equality also staffs seconded national experts. This raises yet another question of how to secure the best available gender expertise when hiring practices in the administrative systems do not support it. For instance, in the case of Germany, only the Federal Environment Agency has so far created a position of a gender mainstreaming expert and researcher (Sauer 2014).

91 | Harding 1987, 188.

maintain oppressive social relations.'"[92] Adopting a feminist standpoint, e.g. in the scientific community or IA, would involve "making a normative commitment to revealing the ways in which gender, for example, shapes and limits scientific inquiry as well as what we take to be scientific knowledge."[93] For the field of gender analysis, a feminist standpoint could be regarded as an obtained and evidence-based gender competency that knows about the theories, structures and workings of gender inequality.[94]

In sum, feminist standpoint theory provides this research with three theoretical paradigms that frequently inform the analysis of the empirical data:[95] 1) Situated-knowledge, which describes our social location(s) and how it/they systematically influence our experiences, how they are shaping and limiting what we can and want to know, the underlying contention being that knowledge is achieved from a particular standpoint in context[96]; 2) epistemic advantage of marginalised perspectives, according to which some standpoints—in particular the standpoints of marginalised or oppressed groups—are considered to be more insightful due to their epistemically advantageous outsider position and are thus elevated above others.[97] Closely linked to these two paradigms are the concepts of embeddedness[98] and embodiment[99] in examining the institutionalisation of gender analysis.

2.2 Governance

The governance approach serves different functions in my research, as the perspective and a point of departure for analysis as well as the object of research.[100] Governance studies are occupied with modes of governance, posing questions about what is governed and how. In my study, I wish to focus on the operationalisation of governance from a gender perspective, inquiring further into the "how" by asking who and what is involved on the meso and micro level, who the actors are and how epistemic IA governance operates. The development of a critical feminist perspective on the governance of/with IA tools is particularly crucial if the later analysis of the expert interviews is to be placed in a wider theoretical and equally political context

92 | Harding 2004a, 31.

93 | Intemann 2010, 786.

94 | Harding 2004a, 31.

95 | By authors such as (Smith 1974; Smith 1987a; Hartsock 1983; Harding 1986; Collins 1991; Collins 2000).

96 | Haraway 1988.

97 | Intemann 2010, 783.

98 | Harding 2006. A concept further developed for the realm of gender mainstreaming by (Mackay 2014).

99 | For more details on the actor-centred approach, referring to the embodiment of knowledge, see also chapter 2.2.3.1.

100 | The German governance specialist Gunnar Folke Schuppert defines seven different governance functions that occurred within the "governance turn" (Schuppert 2011). For the specific functions of the governance concept attributed in this study, see chapter 2.4.3 on critical governance.

that mainstream governance theory usually does not address.[101] Only a critical and feminist approach to governance of/with IA in modern public administration will be able to pose the power question and to unravel the complex network of driving forces behind and obstacles to the steering of/with IA and the application of gender IA tools.[102]

An implementation analysis of gendered forms of IA tools in public administration takes place in a nexus of complex bureaucratic governance processes and structures, well described by Renate Mayntz.[103] In order to develop an understanding of the implementation of IA tools and practices, it is necessary in my opinion to assume a critical stance on the environment and mechanisms of public administration and bureaucratic action. I find that this position is best articulated in governance concepts, as IA rules and regulations are nestled between bureaucratic hierarchy and horizontal networks of cooperation and coordination with state and non-state actors,[104] because the state and its institutions can best be understood as a representation of "social relations."[105]

2.2.1 From Government to Governance

For the purpose of this study, I employ the concept of governance in an analytical way, as a "cognitive map"[106] to help me understand structures of regulation and coordination in public policy advice.[107] In its most general terms, governance relates to a diverse set of "theories and issues of social coordination and the nature of all patterns of rule."[108] Those mechanisms, in establishing patterns of rule, have become ever more complex and seem increasingly less explainable using traditional theories of the state or institutionalism.[109] The different levels of governance interact with each other and with a multiplicity of stakeholders outside, which blurs the boundary of the state and society.[110] Governance theories, therefore, have been developed as a response to those "phenomena that are hybrid and multijurisdictional with plural stakeholders coming together in networks."[111]

The main strands of governance research are located in political science and theory as well as law and market theories, which gave rise to governance studies[112]. Mayntz hints at two governance definitions: A wider market-oriented, sociological

101 | Mayntz 1993b, 46.

102 | According to Renate Mayntz, this is an essential question in every kind of governance research (Mayntz 1993b, 47).

103 | In her seminal essay "Governing Failures and the Problem of Governability" (Mayntz 1993a).

104 | Mayntz 1993b, 38.

105 | Sauer 2003.

106 | Schuppert 2011, 13.

107 | Schuppert 2011, 15-16; Baer 2009a.

108 | Bevir 2011b, 1.

109 | Mayntz 2009a, 8.

110 | For a discussion on limits and reach of the social on the one side, which is correlated to governance theories on the political "on the other side," see (López/Scott 2000).

111 | Bevir 2011b, 2.

112 | Benz et al. 2007; Bevir 2011a; Schuppert 2011; Levi-Faur 2012.

definition, and a narrower definition associated with political science, applicable to intentional regulation in a political realm defined by territory. Endless opportunity for overlap exists between these definitions.[113] My particular research interest in governance is based on its function as a multi-faceted umbrella term for new methods, means and modes of governing, in the sense of steering, decision making and organising democratic participation, following predominantly the political science-based approach.[114] Since I employ an actor-centred perspective by examining the collective behaviour of policy analysts in charge of or involved with policy impact assessments, however, I also follow the sociological strand.[115]

Europeanisation and globalisation have been deemed to be "challenges to governance theory"[116] insofar as they have called for an extension of its analytical framework to address various deficits of nation-state-based political steering or stewardship theory—among which Mayntz identified one shortfall: "The concentration on policy effectiveness, on the output and outcome of policy processes, neglect[s] the input side of policy formation and the relationship between both."[117]

Ex-ante policy IA plays a big role in the "input side" and is, as a system, related not only to the output or outcome side, but also and in a fundamental way to the surrounding governance contexts. Public policy and programme IA is just one of the many levels of exercising flexible forms of governance through interaction with multiple state and non-state elements (IA frameworks and tools, knowledge/science) and actors (experts, research institutions, private businesses and civil society), and negotiating multiplicity, tensions and decision making. In fact, the multiplicity of agents of knowledge, providing evidence-based policy advice[118] "have helped propel the shift from government to governance."[119]

2.2.2 Multilevel Governance and Comparability

Policy IA systems are complex units, relying on existing and/or especially created institutional configurations. Systems of policy advice are dependent on (multilevel) jurisdictions and on policy sectors and departments.[120] Michael Howlett found different behaviour of policy analysts and decision makers on different levels of multilevel systems, also depending on sectoral specificities.[121] His research is in alignment with prior research by Andrew Jordan, Rüdiger Andrew and Anthony

113 | Mayntz 2009a, 8.

114 | Although there are new critical strands in market oriented governance and management studies emphasising reflexive processes of thinking about plurality, identity, actor-networks, organizational knowledge, production and consumption (Hassard et al. 2008).

115 | Mayntz 2009b, 24.

116 | Mayntz 2009b, 18.

117 | Mayntz 2009b, 19.

118 | There is a whole body of research on conditions and consequences of knowledge production especially for the political process ("Politikberatung"), just to name a few from a governance perspective (Mayntz et al. 2008; de Schutter/Lenoble 2010; Stone 2012) and from a gender perspective (Smith 1990).

119 | Stone 2012, 339.

120 | Howlett/Wellstead 2012.

121 | Howlett/Wellstead 2012.

Zito, who attest to sectoral patterns in governance.[122] Bob Jessop emphasises the spatio-temporal character of governance arrangements.[123] The range of institutional variations of policy advice can therefore best be unveiled by means of comparison. The foci are core criteria of multilevel governance, proclaimed gains in efficiency and effectiveness through flexibility on the positive side, or the loss of state power (to an "expert oligarchy" removed from democratic control) on the negative side, which calls for new mechanisms of accountability.

In this complex setting, comparison allows for developing a multi-angle perspective and invites different voices from different contexts and (gender mainstreaming) traditions. Investigating GBA and GIA tool uptake in the various policy fields of the Canadian federal departments as compared to the Commission's Directorate Generals is at heart of this study and will make it possible to take stock of realities of application over 20 years after Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Women.[124] Before I move into a discussion of the concrete comparative method, I shall state why I regarded a comparison of the Canadian and EU gender (policy) analysis tools as especially promising, relevant and applicable from the perspective of multilevel governance.[125]

2.2.2.1 Multilevel Governance

Canada's federal structure with largely autonomous provinces and the central government in Ottawa is regarded as a form of multilevel governance,[126] with seemingly more stable authority, but nevertheless multiple levels of vertical and horizontal interaction and cooperation. The EU is widely acknowledged, however, to be the ground-breaking project leading to the origin and elaboration of multilevel governance theories that grapple with its blurry boundaries of membership and duties and complex systems of rights and regulations.[127]

Marian Sawer and Jill Vickers' notion of multilevel governance in the EU describes decision making in such supra-national organisations as increasingly complex and diffuse and more likely to involve non-state actors, such as scientists and NGOs, including the corporate and private sectors. Equally complex are the ways in which the architecture of governance is influencing participation in it. Where political interests diverge and the terrain is ever more complex, rule-making is increasingly based on seemingly neutral grounds of academic and technical expertise, with one of the main arenas being knowledge- and science-driven IA and policy analysis. In this complex web of knowledge as a power tool,

122 | Jordan et al. 2005, 453.

123 | Jessop 2011, 68.

124 | UN 1995.

125 | Beyond Brooke Ackerly and Jacqui True's generalised statement on how "questions related to gender differences in [...] institutional and state behavior [...] generally require exploration across contexts" (Ackerly/True 2013, 150).

126 | Combining features of Hooghe and Marks' type one (mainly applicable to federal states) and type two (mainly applicable to supra-national systems) multilevel governance definitions (Bache 2007, 581), subsumed under a third mixed-typology of both characteristics (Podhora 2010).

127 | Tömmel 2008a; Tömmel 2008b; Benz 2008; Tömmel/Verdun 2009b; Tömmel/Verdun 2009a; Heard-Lauréote 2010; Bevir 2011a.

the federal (Canadian departments) or supra-national (DGs of the Commission) administration occupy key positions and key functions, as they constitute the interface in multilevel governance structures. According to Marian Sawer and Jill Vickers, women's interests and issues also shape and are shaped by this federal, multilevel, and bureaucratic context.[128]

I am particularly interested in two aspects of multilevel governance: First, its typological definition as formulated by Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Mark[129], as a complex, fluid governance system consisting of many jurisdictions, which can be overlapping and flexible, with changing demands on governance.[130] In this concept, authority is not stable but rather originates from many loci or networks of power, and the focus of governing is more on specific issues and policy areas rather than institutions or governments.[131] Drawn from Ingeborg Tömmel, my second interest is in new creative, institutional procedural solutions, such as IA, that are often found "below the threshold of hierarchical governance modi"[132] and that determine multilevel governance and policy making across all (micro, meso and macro) levels[133]. Day-to-day interaction and collaboration between the Commission, other EU institutions and agencies as well as member state governments occurs on multiple levels, but my research focuses on the micro-level of "the lower echelons"[134] of public administration. On this level, governing processes can be seen as comparable with to those within the Canadian federal administration. Because—just like in Canada—in the EU ex-ante policy IA is conducted either in-house by civil servants, who are policy analysis experts, or it is contracted out by public servants to external experts, research institutions or think tanks, in the wider system of bureaucratic logic.

128 | Sawer/Vickers 2010.

129 | Especially their earlier non-state and actor-centred starting point for developing the multilevel governance concept (Marks 1996; Hooghe 1998).

130 | Hooghe/Marks 2001.

131 | Bache 2007, 581.

132 | Tömmel 2008a, 413.

133 | See sub-chapter 1.5.4.

134 | Trondal 2010, 257.

2.2.2.2 Travelling Instruments of Equality Governance

The transnational policy diffusion[135] of public service "innovation"[136] such as gender mainstreaming[137] and the "diffusion"[138] or "transfer"[139] of its implementation tools, among them gendered forms of policy analysis, makes them travelling instruments of equality governance. The notion of travelling is borrowed from "travelling concepts," originally referring to intra- or inter-disciplinary conceptual transfers.[140] Translating concepts into other contexts initiates a journey through space and time.[141] A comparative approach is an attempt to assess the dispersion and interrelatedness of policy innovations such as gender mainstreaming and its travelling tools, in their in-depth application on the ground, in order to control for "innovative equality policy outcomes."[142]

Both Canada and the EU are seen as beacons for the advancement of gender mainstreaming.[143] Gender mainstreaming is an international strategy, and its instruments, such as GIA and GBA, attempt identical things: To mainstream gender equality into policy and programme analysis and programme making. Although the implementation of gender mainstreaming and its instruments depends on local contexts, political traditions and systems, it lends itself to comparative research due to its initial, world-wide common origin in the document Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Women in 1995.[144] As such, this research can be seen as a comparative inquiry into the travelling strategy of gender mainstreaming and its instruments.[145]

Gender analysis tools are developed and implemented as innovations in yet another innovative environment of IA.[146] The regulatory frameworks for and practices of IA or policy analysis are diverse,[147] and gender analysis tools have also diversified,

135 | For an account on the policy diffusion of gender mainstreaming, see (True/Mintrom 2001).

136 | "Innovation" is understood as emergent or planned "newness" or a process of "discontinuous change" in public service research. Within the typology of innovation, gender mainstreaming would best be described as a form of "incremental innovation," as a "discontinuous change" under existing bureaucratic paradigms, but "affecting organisational skills and competencies" (Osborne/Brown 2013, 3-5). Whether it is justified to still speak of gender mainstreaming as an "innovation" in the public sector, almost 20 years after its introduction, depends on its sectoral uptake.

137 | Schmidt 2005; Müller 2007.

138 | Hartly 2013, 54-56.

139 | Operating according to uptake processes comparable to policy transfer (Lütz 2007, 132).

140 | Bal 2002.

141 | Lammert 2010.

142 | Lewalter 2011.

143 | Hakesworth 2012, 236; 241-245.

144 | UN 1995.

145 | Travelling is usually an enriching experience, but transposing concepts also poses risks due to semantic and epistemological shifts (Baumbach et al. 2012).

146 | De Francesco et al. 2012.

147 | As laid out in chapter 1.4.

which calls for a comparative governance perspective.[148] By conceptualising gender analysis tools, such as GBA/GIA, as globally "travelling instruments,"[149] their inherent Western notion of gender equality as governance innovation comes into focus. Their implementation needs to be examined in the context of Western feminism and its prevailing strategies and topics.[150] Despite their international dissemination, I have decided to explore the implementation of these instruments exclusively in Western[151], post-industrialised, democratic contexts, for reasons of comparability.[152] Regardless of the different systems of governance (federal-national in Canada vs. multilevel in the EU) and political systems (Westminster vs. supra-national democratic models), the democratic, administrative implementation environment of bureaucracies still renders them comparable. Recent feminist research on the state has confirmed the utility of this methodological approach, since it attests to an "absence of national and regional patterns," in advancing the state equality project in the Western context, emphasising the importance of the "sectoral level."[153]

2.2.2.3 Comparison

Comparative political science and also sociology have developed a variety of methods in order to enable a systematic comparison,[154] one of which is employing the method of qualitative, synchronic comparison based on a typology model.[155] In very general terms, the comparative method allows for concentration on contrasts, similarities and deviances through a systematic, close-up interrogation of a limited number of cases.[156] Synchronic comparison rests on the assumption that the cases are similar and therefore comparable in location, time and form. The case study choice is "indeed

148 | Tömmel/Verdun 2009a. For the detailed comparative method, see the following chapter 2.2.2.3.

149 | As an example, Canadian GBA travelled to South Africa (Hanson 2008) and visiting groups of South Korean civil servants informed themselves about GBA practise in Canadian federal administration.

150 | For an African critique of Western feminism, emphasising deviating African goals and issues, see i.e. (Haastrup 2014, 106-109).

151 | Researching public policy gender analysis in contexts of the Global South is yet another uncompleted, but promising task, since younger, more malleable democracies and favourable local contexts might make possible advancements in mainstreaming gender equality that are unthinkable in the West; i.e. in Korea, where success (Kim 2008; Korean Women's Development Institute 2008), but also contestation are nearby (Won 2007).

152 | This is not intended to ignore the strides gender mainstreaming and its instruments seem to have taken in many parts of the world, such as in Africa (Mukabi Kabira/Masinjila 1997; Theobald et al. 2004; Mukhopadhyay 2007; Wendoh/Wallace 2006; Haastrup 2014) or Asia (Kim 2008; Korean Women's Development Institute 2008; United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia 2011).

153 | McBride/Mazur 2013, 672.

154 | Pickel et al 2009; Lauth et al. 2009; Laut/Winkler 2006.

155 | Knoepfel et al. 2011, 21.For gender analysis tool typology, see chapter 1.6.

156 | Rihoux 2009, 365-366. It is especially useful for the testing of hypotheses and meso theories. Comparative research in this study is employed more at the epistemological level as a form of research strategy than as a set of formal techniques.

very important."[157] In the context of this research, the synchronicity[158] of GBA/GIA being post-Beijing instruments of the travelling strategy gender mainstreaming,[159] combined with the fact that both Canada and the European Commission have long-term, internationally acknowledged practice with their respective gender policy analysis and policy impact assessment systems, lead me to hypothesise that GBA/GIA would be suitable case studies for comparison and enable me to describe the status quo for gender mainstreaming in impact assessment.[160]

In order to gather the broadest data and to allow for flexibility, I chose not only a comparative, but also a procedural analysis, progressing iteratively[161]: First, the design of the interview questionnaire and then the content analysis were triangulated with document analysis[162]. The analysis of the Canadian set of interviews on GBA practices built my coding baseline structure for the comparison with the GIA and gender in integrated IA realities in the EU. The modified analytical framework of Components and Facilitating Factors for Gender Analysis[163] served as the grid for assessing the governance structures of GBA implementation in Canada. For the purpose of a smoother and more logical interview dialogue, the framework and the semi-guided interview questionnaire were adapted to the European context.[164] Only when the content analysis on the EU data set was completed did a final coding structure emerge that enabled me to execute a synchronic comparison.

In sum, in my transnational comparative approach, I considered the content and genealogy of concepts, strategies and tools for achieving gender equality as both idiosyncratic and synchronic in the two multilevel environments—on the level of the Canadian national state and the supra-national level of the EU. These environments are idiosyncratic because of the different implementation of gender equality concerns through either integrated and/or separate tools; however, they are nevertheless comparable because GIA and GBA as we know them today are gender mainstreaming tools, synchronically situated in the post-Beijing process, succeeding from the milestone adoption of the gender mainstreaming strategy in the Declaration and Platform for Action at the 4th United Nation's (UN) World

157 | Ackerly/True 2013, 150.

158 | Knoepfel et al. 2011, 21.

159 | As elaborated in subsection 1.1.4.

160 | For engagement with the EU impact assessment system and policy learning based on it, see, e.g. (Renda 2006; Meuwese 2008; Radaelli/Meuwese 2008; Tömmel/Verdun 2009a; Radaelli 2009; Hensel et al. 2010b; De Francesco et al. 2012). For the success of (and disappointment with) GBA in gendering public policies, see, e.g. (Burke 2001; Boyd 2003; Hankivsky 2005b; Bakker 2006; Boucher 2007; Boscoe/Tudiver 2007; Abu-Laban 2008; Haussman et al. 2010; Grace 2011).

161 | Benoit Rihoux calls the qualitative comparative method "an iterative and creative process," "far from being a push-button-type technique" (Rihoux 2009, 368). This study followed a series of steps, breaking up the research process into sequences. It was thus inspired by the philosophy of grounded theory, being lead by the material and the progressing research process (Charmaz, Kathy 2006).

162 | Bowen 2009; Knoepfel et al. 2011. Document analysis of primary (tools) and secondary (academic) publications.

163 | Presented in table 5 in subsection 2.5.3.

164 | The semi-guided interview questionnaire can be consulted in Annex IV.

Conference on Women.[165] All of the above makes the examination of the role of gender analysis tools in the EU's IA system as compared to the Canadian policy analysis practices a worthwhile subject for my comparative inquiry.[166] Setting the comparative analysis before the backdrop of multilevel governance recognises the fact that each level of government is a significant policy actor in its own right and at the same time subjected to interwoven effects of the various levels. Applying a multilevel governance perspective to the empirical analysis highlights the fact that both policy advice through IA systems, while similar in many ways, contain different features which affect the nature of the processes followed.

2.2.3 Epistemic Governance and Gender

Governance and gender concepts are similar in their transcendence of state borders, economies, societies, governance levels, knowledge communities and actor involvement.[167] The context-specific malleability of gender and governance concepts, which disregard disciplinary borders,[168] has enabled researchers to link both concepts meaningfully and problem-specifically.

2.2.3.1 Insider/Outsider Actors and Third Way Governance Through Impact Assessment

Of particular concern with regards to fostering gender equality is the often disparaged aspect of multilevel governance structures, namely, their commonly weak development of democratic elements. The supranational institutions of the EU have been especially criticised for their democratic deficit since the late 1970s. In the rise of postdemocracy debates criticising the rule of the economic, political and media elites, democratic governments all over the world are facing challenges to their legitimacy.[169]

Governments are blamed for not being democratically accountable when they are seemingly losing control over important decisions that influence the realities of their citizens, or when the elected elite does not represent or cannot be made accountable by its electorate. In the realm of IA, authors such as Peter Biegelbauer have been occupied with solving the democracy paradox in IA and asking pertinent questions: What does democratic mean in the context of knowledge-based decision-making? What does that mean for research questions, instruments etc.? How democratic are the instruments themselves? What is the impact of different instruments, both participatory and expert-led, on regulatory activities? How can stakeholder participation have a meaningful impact on decision making in a

165 | UN 1995. See travelling instrument chapter 2.2.2.2. For typologies of assessment tools, see 1.6.1.

166 | Belgian Presidency of the Council of the European Union 2010.

167 | For a concrete study on engendering international macro-economic governance, e.g. see (Wichterich 2007).

168 | Botzem et al. 2009b.

169 | Crouch 2008; Crouch 2013. Colin Crouch introduced the term post-democracy in the early 2000s, describing democracies that are fully functioning in a formal sense, but in which the representatives of powerful interest groups, especially multinational companies, are more influential than the citizen majorities (Crouch 2008, 30).

knowledge-intensive policy field?[170] On this point, Gabriele Abels and Joyce Marie Mushaben have developed the hypothesis of the double democratic deficit of the EU and most other executives worldwide,[171] blaming them for their inability to provide gender-sensitive content for policy advice for policy making:

"Viewing the EU through a gender lens exposes its double democratic deficit—one involving women's underrepresentation across EU institutions and decision-making bodies, the other reflecting the lack of gender sensitivity in EU policy-making."[172]

Abel also addresses the issue of under-representation of women in policy research, here in the case of the EU IA system:

"Policy-oriented research sponsored by the Commission and conducted by independent experts exposes the over-representation of men at all levels of the research system and the manifold mechanisms working to the detriment of women scientists."[173]

Due to the multilevels of the EU, its various institutions and the many member states,[174] cooperative governance methods, such as the most well-known example of the open method of coordination, are intended to compensate for a lack of centralised state power and insufficient democracy,[175] and are called third-way governance. The term third-way governance is derived from the British Labour government's strategy of a third-way politics, which refers to a series of policy reforms that involve the target community and are based on increased citizen participation and principles of inclusion, devolution, and partnerships.[176] It was called a pragmatic approach and considered a response to social exclusion. Tim Reddel calls all "'Third Way' ideas" the "foundations of social governance" in light of the retreat from the state.[177] Accordingly, I understand third-way governance in the context of this study as the greater involvement of the third sector, civil society (non-state and non-business actors), in government, via an emphasis on its role in softer modes of governance.[178]

I would argue that ex-ante IA, especially when based on strong deliberation and consultative elements, represents one mode of third-way governance. Involving scientists in policy advice and policy making renders political decision making accountable to scientific data and realities. Specifically, gender analysis emphasises the democratic mandate of public policy IA and re-introduces democratic equality aspects into a multilevel environment: "Democratization should provide scope for both men and women to make public policy responsive to human needs in all their diversity [...]."[179] In fact, ex-ante IA could counter the double democratic deficit,

170 | Biegelbauer 2012, 2.
171 | Abels/Mushaben 2012a.
172 | Abels/Mushaben 2012b, 14.
173 | Abels 2012, 202.
174 | Mayntz 2009b, 20.
175 | Nohr 2002, 407.
176 | Temple 2000.
177 | Reddel 2004, 138.
178 | Reddel 2004.
179 | Sawer 2003, 364.

if deliberation is strengthened in IA methodology within an overall paradigm of democratisation, equality and inclusive policy making.

In the examination of who has agency within third-way governance, a consideration of horizontal governance of IA systems and processes is necessary.[180] It is useful to distinguish between what Karin Zimmermann and Sigrid Metz-Göckel call the "inner field of action" (analysts, scientists, NGOs, think tanks, research institutions, etc., contracted with IA studies) and the "outer field of action" (cooperating departments, committees, steering groups, networks, decision making bodies and social movements and society at large, that are involved in IA design and processes).[181] Whether conducted through in-house knowledge agents, such as statisticians, research officers, parliamentary researchers or policy analysts being public servants or by external knowledge brokers[182], such as private sector think tanks, private or public universities or expert networks, the governance of knowledge has become increasingly detrimental for public policy and programme making.

If IA is constituting this particular, third-way governance arena, marked by high levels of interaction, these (internal and external) actors and their epistemic regimes come into focus. According to Thomas Brante, Steve Fuller and William Lynch, an epistemic regime has both cognitive and social dimensions, and is constituted by a set of (implicit and explicit) norms, rules and decision making processes.[183] Within this framework, the inner bureaucratic actors initially decide which "regime of truth" will be adopted as IA knowledge from among the many competing "agents" and "modes" of knowledge.[184]

Margret Page offers an interesting insight into this multilevel network of competing actors and regimes of truth. Instead of the competition for leadership that might have been expected, Page observed more relational and procedural

180 | The vertical multilevel governance between Canadian provinces and the federal government or, respectively, the institutions of the European Union (Council, EP, EC) is not subject to analysis.

181 | Zimmermann/Metz-Göckel 2007, 37-38. Zimmermann and Metz-Göckel call the EC "bearer of knowledge" or "network architect" in order to emphasise its central role in the cooperative implementing of such cross-cutting topics as gender mainstreaming (Zimmermann/Metz-Göckel 2007, 78).

182 | A knowledge broker is a bridge or intermediary between disconnected knowledge systems. The concept of knowledge brokerage as applied in sustainability and environmental IA, addresses the observed gap between extensive supply of IA tools, and the "patchy demand" for them. It emphasises a reflexive approach and increased interaction at the science-policy interface in order to create persuasive demand for IA tools (Söderman et al. 2012; Lyytimäki et al. 2015).

183 | Brante et al. 1993, 140. For the authors, an epistemic regime is aligned with a particular epistemic community. The regime concept is originally derived from welfare state research, most importantly from Gøsta Esping-Andersen's welfare regime model (Esping-Andersen 1990). It was later also adopted by gender researchers such as Sylvia Walby, who developed a gender regime concept that describes a system of different, interconnected domains "not sealed into separate compartments of economic and noneconomic issues" (Walby 2004, 22). For an overview of the development of the gender regime concept see (Betzelt 2007).

184 | Stone 2012, 340.

practices in the evolution of gender mainstreaming. Her investigated actors from within the administration (such as gender equality experts, focal points or advisors) engaged other actors by means of giving up leadership in gender mainstreaming. Her findings indicated that:

"Equality advisors did not act in isolation but formed networks in which leadership was dispersed and emergent between actors in a variety of organizational contexts and roles. In these networks, equality advisors [...] seemed to be leading but unable or unwilling to own this fact. It was as if their leadership was hidden, creating the conditions in which other actors might bring content to gender mainstreaming processes that they had designed and put in place."[185]

Public administration operates the IA system as a third-way mode of epistemic governance, in which sometimes hidden leadership with regard to gender mainstreaming might be advisable. It avoids participating in competing epistemic regimes; instead, it could be a first step towards inscribing gender equality into dominant regimes of truth. As such, feminist actors from within are crucial in the governance of IA systems and practices. Their participation in IA advice and controlling already constitutes a more democratic reality for IA. In addition, I was interested in tracing their possible trajectory from epistemic outsiders to partners in the epistemic community, enabling gender equality concerns from the inside.

The outside scientific community, entrusted with IA studies and their methodologies, could function as a second entry-gate for democratisation as well as hidden leadership in gender equality. The gendering of knowledge[186] in IA processes and structures depends on a multilevel "mobilisation"[187] of knowledge in order to develop a policy recommendation as a "shared vision"[188] of the epistemic community. The transnational, successfully diffused strategy gender mainstreaming represents both, being both a result of as well as a starting point for developing such a "shared vision." One employee of the Commission's Directorate-General Research and Innovation (DG RDT) voiced her opinion about the implementation of gender mainstreaming within the EU's multilevel governance structures and the Commission's bureaucracy:

"If you're following the vision that gender mainstreaming is only to be realised as a cross-cutting task [...] then 'cooperative praxis' is the most important precondition. Then not only political and administrative action needed to be transformed fundamentally, but also the scientific action. Until then, scepticism about the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming should be seen as quite realistic."[189]

185 | Page 2011, 334.

186 | Brooks 2006.

187 | Cavaghan 2012b, 6. Rosalind Cavaghan defines gender knowledge as explicit and implicit representations concerning the differences between the sexes and the relations between them, the origins and normative significance of these, the rationale and evidence underpinning them and their material form (Cavaghan 2012b, 7).

188 | Cavaghan 2012b, 5.

189 | Original German citation: "Folgt man der Vision, dass Gender Mainstreaming nur als Querschnittsaufgabe zu realisieren ist, [...] dann ist die 'Kooperationspraxis' (B3) dafür

The citation illustrates the multiple levels of governance that exercise power over the realities of IA systems, which are placed between regulative complexities of supra-national or federal multilevel governance on the one hand and given relative flexibility in dealing with inner and outer fields of action as "endogenous and exogenous sources of change"[190] on the other. Science itself is targeted as an increasingly important political site and mode of knowledge production.

There was a need, therefore, to question participants on two levels: 1) Gender experts, who partake as network agents of knowledge on the input side, and 2) the other bureaucratic actors concerned with the outcome side, such as IA analysts, tool designers and academics.[191] I conducted the expert interviews[192], corresponding to an insider/outsider perspective, yet another crucial element of situated-knowledge. The idea behind situated-knowledge is to enable members of marginalised communities to enter epistemic communities; in this case, to enable gender experts to enter the IA community. Interviewing not only scientists or policy analysts, but also gender experts, would provoke increased critical consciousness from the inside and prompt inquiries about leadership on gender mainstreaming. It guarantees epistemic advantage also on an individual level, if in addition to a diversity of disciplines or epistemic scientific communities (who form epistemic regimes), each community includes members of marginalised groups—scholars in the case of the interview sets—who provide scrutiny based on their perspective as "outsiders".[193] The decision on my part to include IA and administrative insiders (such as public servants and policy analysts), as well as actual outsiders (such as academics) and outsiders from within (such as femocrats)[194] was derived from these theoretical considerations.[195] I wanted to test the assumption that, by becoming insiders of an epistemic community, outsiders from within (as femocrats) are equipped with the expertise needed to be better able to understand, identify and modify suppositions in a certain field. The various means of modification (networking, hidden leadership etc.) were also at the core of my research interest.

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die wichtigste Voraussetzung. Dann müsste sich jedoch nicht nur das politische und das Verwaltungshandeln, sondern auch das wissenschaftliche Handeln grundlegend verändern. Bis dahin dürfte die skeptische Einschätzung des transformativen Potenzials von Gender Mainstreaming ziemlich realitätsnah formuliert sein [...]." (Zimmermann/Metz-Göckel 2007, 85).

190 | Lodge/Wegrich 2005, 417.

191 | Whereby a "dualistic, representational view of gender as a relatively stable identity" (Tyler 2011, 13) is overcome by an understanding of gender as a pluralistic and provisional social, medical and legal practice (Beger 2000a; Brettel 2009b; Ezie 2010).

192 | Explained in methodology chapter in 2.4.3.

193 | Collins 1991. It is noteworthy in this context that according to black feminist scholar and standpoint theorist Patricia Hill Collins, groups go beyond the experiences of individuals within them, because they are constructed on "historically shared, group-based experiences" (Collins 1997, 375). The anti-categorical critique of groupism later challenged this concept (Baer et al. 2010), see chapter 2.3.1.

194 | The term femocrat is explained in chapter 2.2.3.2.

195 | For yet another perspective on epistemic insider/outsiders, see the engagement with the othering concept in sub-chapter 2.3.2.

2.2.3.2 Feminist Critical Governance and State Feminism

Critical governance studies employ a concept of state that reflects a neo-Gramscian conceptualisation of state and civil society[196]; that is, it reflects an enlarged notion of the state in which the role of civil society is included and emphasised, as well as horizontal rather than vertical modes of governance. The governance perspective is wider than a mere state theoretical approach. The interest in feminist critical governance in political science evolved from contemporary observations of changes in gender relations in the context of globalisation, sustainability[197] and stewardship of the state. Initially, feminist political and legal theory[198] altered the notion of the neutrality of the state.[199] The basic object of early feminist criticism was the constitution of the state[200] and the role of its institutions in reproducing gender inequality.[201] In the interaction of feminism with the state, the exclusion of women from its institutions and legal frameworks was manifest in equality and difference debates. Discussions about the public/private, legal protection and self-determination, violence, sexuality and reproduction followed and illustrated how seemingly neutral processes, institutions and legal frameworks were subjugating and excluding women. The feminist legal perspective particularly addresses the power of law, law as a normative means of governance that is shaping and being shaped by societal norms.[202] The conceptualisation of female citizenship[203] and androcentrism in state and regulatory structures has lead feminist theorists to "distrust the law as it is,"[204] including the processes and power structures that bring law and policy making into

196 | Dean 1999; Burchell/Foucault 2007; Collier 2009.

197 | In the understanding of lasting, see terminological clarification in sub-chapter 1.1.2.

198 | Baer 2008a. Starting with feminist jurisprudence in the late 1970s (Büchler/Cottier 2012, 17-18).

199 | MacKinnon 1983; MacKinnon 1987; MacKinnon 1989; Kreisky 1995b; Kreisky/Sauer 1998; Sauer 2001; Holzleithner 2002; Sauer 2003; Sauer 2005b; Sauer et al. 2007; Baer 2008c; Kreisky 2009; Ludwig et al. 2009.

200 | Especially relevant on this point is Carole Pateman's work on the social contract in fact being a sexual contract granting men patriarchal dominance over women and excluding women from the original contract, an analysis that reveals the patriarchal structures upon which modern democracies were built (Pateman 1988; reprinted as Pateman 2000).

201 | Susan Moller Okin revealed the patriarchal nature of the political philosophical thought upon which modern state theory is based (Okin 1980). As one of the first feminist analysts of bureaucracy, Kathy Ferguson drew a very bleak picture of a public administration increasingly controlling citizens in the form of bureaucratic capitalism (Ferguson 1984). While Ferguson predicts the incompatibility of bureaucracy with feminism, subsequent research has argued for a more nuanced analysis of the genderedness of public administration (Billing 1994). Kreisky reaffirms the "male-stream" of bureaucracy and calls the state a specific constellation of male interests (Kreisky 1989, 3). Like Pateman and Okin, she reiterates the subordinate and dependent role of women in patriarchal family structures that is mirrored by the state and its institutions; like Ferguson, she confirms the increased importance—even totalisation—of the bureaucratic phenomenon ("Bürokratiephänomen") (Kreisky 1989, 6).

202 | Baer 2008c, 547; Foljanty/Lembke 2006.

203 | Including the sexualisation of it, see e.g. (Ludwig 2011).

204 | Baer 2008a, 348. As already analysed by Okin (Okin 1979).

being.[205] The entanglement of law in the oppression of women has drawn attention to the processes of policy- and law-making,[206] and how the standpoints of women and a gender equality perspective are commonly ignored.[207]

In the 1990s, a critique of the (not at all monolithic) state transformed into a critique of stateness (the interaction between the state and society)[208], to a postmodern policy-network criticism, before finally arriving at feminist critical governance perspective. The topics evolved from bringing women into government[209] to gendering the nation state[210] to bringing gender into governance.[211] Rachel Simon-Kumar even envisions a "feminist state"—one that has fully absorbed gender equality and integrated it into all its structures and actions.[212] The aim of many studies was to analyse the gendered nature of political institutions in democracies, of welfare states and their actors, based on institutional approaches as well as regime typologies.[213] Feminist interventions in governance theory have focused on the foundations of gender inequality. For some feminist theorists, these foundations lie in gender schemas based on stereotyping, which fundamentally influence the structures of our society and its institutions and produce exclusionary effects.[214] For others, the structures of the state and its policies are at the root of and create the (pre-)conditions for those very unequal gender relations,[215] and they ask for:

"Moves [...] towards those [discourses of governance, A.S.] which highlight that the state signifies not government or institutions but a set of gendered social relations reflecting but also constitutive of capital/labour/market interaction."[216]

Feminist analysis of the state and its institutions reveal the androcentric nature of organisations and institutions[217]; they are gendered and cannot, as defined formerly by mainstream political science and institution theory, be regarded as "neutral".[218] Mary

205 | Sauer 2001; Kreisky 2009; Ludwig et al. 2009.

206 | Kreisky/Sauer 1998a, 16-17; Kreisky/Sauer 1998b.

207 | With her archaeology of institutions ("Institutionenarchäologie"), Kreisky aims to reveal the visible invisible ("sichtbar Unsichtbare"), referring thereby to the (in-)formal exclusion of women from bureaucracy as an association of men ("Männerbund") (Kreisky 1995a, 216; Kreisky 1994).

208 | Löffler 2005, 122.

209 | Whitman/Gomez 2009.

210 | Simon-Kumar 2011.

211 | Baer 2009a. Susanne Baer, who calls both gender and governance "travelling concepts," noted, for example, the change in the guiding function of the state, which is no longer a "lonely player" (the governor) and easily distinguished from society (the governed) (Baer 2009a, 103-105).

212 | Prügl 2010b.

213 | Sauer et al. 2007; Ludwig et al. 2009.

214 | Ilcan et al. 2007.

215 | Sauer 2001, 115; Wetterer 2002.

216 | Rai/Waylen 2008, 6.

217 | For an explanation of androcentrism, see sub-chapter 2.1.2.

218 | Henninger/Ostendorf 2005; Kantola 2010a; Kim 2008; Ludwig et al. 2009; Lovenduski 2008.

Hawesworth, for instance, attested that "fundamental epistemological assumptions that inform policy studies contribute to the erasure of feminist knowledge as a form of sanctioned ignorance."[219] Eva Kreisky observed that the form and content of the state mirror societal power relations including dominant gender relations.[220] It has become evident that state institutions have been structured by power relations that lie inside as well as outside of their regulatory regimes and that cannot be ignored any longer.[221]

With regard to the gendered analysis of institutions and policies, feminist discussions of governance reiterate in particular the centrality of the state and its actors and their responsibility for transforming currently unjust and unequal gender relations. A feminist perspective in governance theory has thus not only managed to draw attention to the importance of the democratic value of gender equality in all areas of public action, but also to the necessity of inclusion and non-discrimination on representational levels.[222] Through race, post-colonial and disability interventions, additional critical, intersectional interventions in theorising the state, its constitutional value systems and its actors from more marginal perspectives, have become newly relevant; of these interventions, a feminist perspective on behalf of women, focussing on gender relations, is just one example (but perhaps the most visible).[223]

Developing gender mainstreaming and international strategies against trafficking and violence against women[224] has been one reaction to feminist demands on the state. Although a feminist state as imagined by Simon-Kumar does not (yet) exist, governments all over the world felt obliged not only to include more women into government, but also to create feminist institutions in their executive bodies. This so-called state feminism[225] has led to the formation of gender equality machineries (GEM) or women's policy agencies (WPA), or women's policy machineries (WPM), as they are also called. Due to the legal framework of the national gender equality law, the German GenderCompetencyCentre speaks of gender equality machineries.[226] Some authors also speak of gender mainstreaming or simply of gender or equality machineries.[227] All of these terminologies refer to inner-bureaucratic support bodies or units for gender equality and/or gender mainstreaming, "agencies dedicated to promoting gender equality and improving the status and conditions of women."[228] Dorothy McBride and Amy Mazur give a

219 | Hawkesworth 2010, 268.

220 | Kreisky 1995a, 207.

221 | Seemann 1996.

222 | For a definition of (in/direct) discrimination and inclusion, see chapter 2.2.3.3.

223 | Intersectionality, or an analysis of the interrelations of different systems of exclusion and power, such as gender and race, has lately formed the bedrock for this feminist critique of the state, its institutions and actors (Baer 2009a 103).

224 | Baer 2009a, 103.

225 | The Australian school would speak of "femocracy," instead of state feminism (McBride/Mazur 2013, 660).

226 | GenderKompetenzZentrum/Hoheisel n.d. Accordingly, the terminology will differ internationally, depending on the legal context.

227 | True/Mintrom 2001; Theobald et al. 2004; Bleijenbergh/Roggeband 2007.

228 | True/Mintrom 2001, 30.

similar definition: "We define women's policy agencies as state-based structures at all levels and across all formal government arenas assigned to promote the rights, status, and condition of women or strike down gender-based hierarchies."[229] I apply GEM, WPA or WPM interchangeably, in a general understanding as being institutionalised government agencies or departmental units, equipped with a formal mandate to foster gender equality.[230]

Such concrete state feminist institutions need to be differentiated from equality architecture or gender equality architecture, which are the composite whole of the political and administrative architecture, and the structures, instruments and processes in place that are utilised for furthering women's rights and gender equality.[231] Marian Sawer describes the political function of equality architecture as an "intergovernmental machinery"[232] and ascribes "the role of women's machineries in good governance"[233] as being all-encompassing, pertaining to all horizontal and vertical democratic, parliamentarian processes of gender equality goals. Birgit Sauer describes the role of political equality architecture in similar, but more ambivalent terms as the interplay of state institutions and political-administrative governance processes that "integrat[e] women into the state in paradoxical manner."[234]

Gender equality machineries or women's policy agencies certainly constitute a vital part of the overall (gender) equality architecture, but the workings of state feminism are not limited to such institutions.[235] This notion of gender equality architecture describes the shell, or complete set of bodies and mechanisms, as the "being"; whereas state feminism describes the manifold ways of filling this shell with content as the "doing"[236]—mostly executed by femocrats. The term femocrat was coined in the Australian context.[237] Femocrats, also sometimes called equality advisors,[238] gender focal points,[239] or simply gender experts,[240] are public servants working in women policy or gender equality agencies or elsewhere in public administration, who promote women's and gender equality through these structures, usually—but not necessarily—based on a feminist agenda.[241]

229 | McBride/Mazur 2013, 655.

230 | With a focus on the improvement of the situation of the most disenfranchised sex, still mainly women. For an evaluation of the effects of state feminism through gender equality machineries upon the state, see (Kantola 2010a; Findlay 2015)

231 | Sawer/Vickers 2010; Sawer 2011.

232 | Sawer 2011, 3.

233 | Sawer 2011, 1.

234 | German original: "paradoxe Integration von Frauen in den Staat" (Sauer 2003, 4).

235 | Haussman et al. 2010. Compare the example of the United Nations (Rao 2006).

236 | McBride/Mazur 2013, 657.

237 | McBride/Mazur 2013, 660; Findlay 2015, 6.

238 | Page 2011.

239 | Theobald et al. 2004; Moser/Moser 2005; Cavaghan 2012; Holvoet/Inberg 2014; Parpart 2014.

240 | Zippel 2008; Plantenga et al. 2008; Paterson 2010; Beveridge 2012.

241 | Chappell 2002; Findlay 2015.

2.2.3.3 The Equality Governance of and by Impact Assessment

In ex-ante IA studies on policies, including studies focusing on problem framing, choice of analysis tool, methodology, data, and recommendations about policy alternatives, the prior steps of tool choice will determine which answer will be given to a certain kind of problem, before the actual policy instrument is decided upon.[242] Ex-ante IA studies not only evaluate the content of a certain policy, but also suggest the appropriate implementation frame. We thus have to regard IAs as 1) political instruments of power; 2) relational means of negotiation between political actors and society, and 3) as institutions" defining the rules and resources of social action, [...] defining opportunity structures and constraints on behaviour, [...] shaping the way things are to be done,"[243] and realise the centrality and transformative power such policy analysis instruments possess.

Although ex-ante policy IAs in public administration are limited to an advisory role, and the final decisions about law making and implementation are still taken in the political sphere, IA tools and evidence-based policy making have gained such popularity and persuasiveness that it is unclear where administrative governance power ends and political power takes over. If we want to develop an understanding of the nature, causes and effects of the rationalities and technologies of governing within and by IA, therefore, we have to acknowledge first of all the importance and overlap of IA systems with the process of political decision making, and secondly, accept that the choice of the policy analysis instrument is as political as the resulting choice of policy instruments.[244] As we have seen in the current environment of increased IA usage, problem framing irrevocably relates to and influences the choice of ex-ante policy analysis instruments that are used to assess expected effects and risks. Consequently: "Translation of and through technical instruments is a constant process of relating information and actors, and of regularly reinterpreting the systems thus created."[245]

For conceptual research on the rationale for IA, the tool rationale also comes into focus. A rationale that from a gender and democratic perspective establishes the requirement to contribute to gender equality through IA tool application. Gender equality as a particular lens in policy and regulatory analysis represents yet another cipher (of many) for "better" policy and programme making and asks public administration to exercise equality governance. Gender equality was the dominant terminology in Beijing Platform for action, which introduced the gender mainstreaming strategy on a global level in 1995,[246] in an attempt to abolish inequality. International feminist legal theory recognises many, sometimes differing and competing concepts of gender "equality,"[247] juxtaposing it at times

242 | See chapter 1.4.
243 | Jessop 2001, 1216.
244 | Bevir 2011b, 6.
245 | Lascoumes/Le Galès 2007, 7.
246 | UN 1995. See also chapter 1.5.
247 | Squires 2013.

with "equity"[248] and "inequality."[249] There is formal versus substantive equality, equality of opportunity, of outcome, of condition, of power, leading to debates about difference. In the French language and legal traditions, various transnational understandings of "égalité" and "parité" also exist.[250] Individual countries retrace these contentions about the different understandings and inconclusiveness of the final goal of gender equality.[251]

Dominant in a Western context is the liberal-egalitarian understanding of equality, which focuses on the redistribution of resources. It was later broadened to a concept embracing the public as well as the private realm (i.e. paid and unpaid labour), and the influence of structural inequalities and social groups. Egalitarian movements combating other forms of discrimination than sexism (such as racism, heterosexism etc.) have then expanded the demand for material equality to include a demand for recognition of group-specific elements in the economic, social, political, and cultural fabric of society.[252] Notably, discrimination needs to be differentiated from inequality. While inequality is the product of discrimination, discrimination is the unequal or less favourable treatment of individuals on grounds of their sex,[253] also called direct discrimination in EU equality law.[254] Structural discrimination, also called indirect discrimination, in contrast, occurs when a seemingly neutral rule, policy or structure, applied or accessible to everyone, has an unfair, disparate effect on people who share a particular attribute (i.e. sex).[255]

In terms of policy making, there also is a lively feminist debate on the typologies of gender equality policy content and the possibilities of and limits to measuring gender equality as a policy outcome.[256] Depending on these various viewpoints and conceptualisations, the ultimate goal of gender equality[257] remains highly debated and context-specific. Attempting to summarise and systematise the large body of legal, philosophical, sociological and political interpretations of gender equality is a daunting, even unmanageable task. Although a highly fruitful exercise in terms

248 | Levit/Verchick 2006, 15-44; 215; Hunter 2008.

249 | Gender inequality refers to a difference or disparities between women and men, which is not accidental but rather the product of power and privilege on one side and disempowerment and precarity on the other (Dunford/Perrons 2014).

250 | Hunter 2008, 2.

251 | Such as i.e. the German debates on equality ("Gleichheit") and difference ("Differenz"), where gender equality can have three different connotations: equality before the law ("Gleichberechtigung"), de facto equality ("Gleichstellung") and equal treatment ("Gleichbehandlung") (Färber 2005; Foljanty/Lembke 2006; Knapp 2011). As Susanne Baer demonstrated for the European context alone, these are all embedded concepts, inseparable from and mutually influenced by the various national feminist and legal trajectories (Baer 2007a).

252 | Eisinga et al. 1999.

253 | Blofield/Haas 2013, 706.

254 | Based on the Race Equality Directive (2000/43/EC) (Council of the European Union 2000).

255 | Blofield/Haas 2013, 706. For the EU context, see again the Race Equality Directive (2000/43/EC) (Council of the European Union 2000)

256 | Blofield/Haas 2013.

257 | In combination with non-discrimination in the EU legal framework, see chapter 4.1.

of better understanding tool ontology, it needed to be of secondary concern in the realm of this study.

Overall, Western-oriented interpretations of what "equality for women" should entail dominate in global debates in the realm of feminist legal theory, although post-colonial critiques questioning universalist notions of equality and demanding multicultural perspectives are increasingly challenging Western interpretations.[258] The primary goal of this study was to examine the current status of the integration of gender mainstreaming in policy analysis or IA in terms of the structural and procedural implementation of a gender lens through policy and programme analysis tools—and not the evaluation of the (equality or equity) outcome of policies and programmes. The research furthers the understanding of the development of equality governance through IA tools, rendering gender mainstreaming in IA a "technique of power"[259] and "technology of government."[260]

In the Canadian context, the term equity inhabits a central position next to equality, since first GBA concepts were heavily influenced by health discourses that focussed on disadvantaged groups. For Status of Women Canada:

> "Gender Equity—moves beyond the importance of equal treatment to focus on equality of results. It requires the differential treatment of groups in order to end inequality and foster autonomy. Therefore, in order to level the playing field for men and women, measures may be necessary to compensate for the historical and social disadvantages that women have experienced.
> Gender Equality—means that women and men enjoy the same status, and experience equal conditions for fully realizing their human rights to contribute and benefit from participating in a range of political, economic, social and cultural endeavours."[261]

In its first GBA guide from 1996, Status of Women Canada states: "Equity leads to equality."[262] In 2011-2012, in its last GBA+ edition, SWC dropped equity as a term entirely.[263] The European Commission also does not mention equity in its GIA guide, referring only to gender equality, framed as "equality between women and men":

> "Equality between women and men (gender equality)
> By gender equality we mean that all human beings be free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by strict gender roles; that the different behaviour, aspirations and needs of women and men are equally valued and favoured. Formal (de jure) equality is only a first step towards material (de facto) equality. Unequal treatment and incentive measures (positive action) may be necessary to compensate for past and present discrimination. Gender differences may be influenced by other structural

258 | Squires 2013. Postcolonial theorists such as Chandra Talpade Mohanty or black U.S. feminists, such as Audre Lorde or bell hooks, Chicana or Latina feminists, such as Linda Alcoff, Maria Lugones, or Gloria Anzaldua, among others (Borren 2013, 199).
259 | Çaglar 2013, 341.
260 | In order to "conduct the conduct" (Prügl 2011, 71).
261 | SWC 2003a, 14. Emphasis as in original.
262 | SWC 1998, 3.
263 | SWC 2012a.

differences, such as race/ethnicity and class. These dimensions (and others, such as age, disability, marital status, sexual orientation) may also be relevant to your assessment."[264]

To summarise, the terminology and the definitions relevant to the main tools under investigation in this thesis vary immensely. Whereas Canada's focus is legalistic, rights-and outcome-based, the European GIA equality definition already points to the intersectional messiness of equality, but is less legalistic and more gender-role-oriented. A general and reoccurring critique is the lack of conceptual clarity with regard to gender equality as the goal of gender mainstreaming in general, and its instruments like GIA/GBA in particular. Is it equity in the sense of equal outcome for all, de facto equality?

2.2.4 Implications for Research

The multilevel third-way governance of epistemic IA regimes by insiders, outsiders and hidden leaders highlights the role of gender equality policy machineries[265] and the people working in them. Such governance structures were and are established in the post-Beijing process to support the implementation of gender mainstreaming in general and, in the case of Status of Women Canada, GBA in particular. The European Institute for Gender Equality also has the mandate to develop and foster GIA tools and methodologies.[266] Since these supporting governance structures and the internal diversification of their employees are vital to gain access to the situated-knowledge of the heterogeneous feminist standpoint community, they are at the core of my research. On the other hand, and in order to assure a routine and quality application of gendered IA tools, it is vital to employ individual policy analysts or scientists (who might be working alone or in a team on the IAs) with precisely such an insider-outsider background and perspective. Their membership in a professional, scientific and/or policy analyst community of practice (insider standpoints) in combination with their personal background and diverse social position(s) (outsider standpoints) increases the likelihood that gender equality tools will be implemented.

On a theoretical level, according to Emanuela Lombardo and Petra Meier, the diagnosis of a policy problem and the concurring prognosis of the suggested solution can be interpreted in different ways. Implicit or explicit representations emerge regarding "who is deemed to have the problem, who caused it and who should solve it."[267] The concept of critical frame analysis[268], which states how a problem is framed and the implications this framing will have on the trajectories of its solutions, addresses different ways of approaching and addressing policy

264 | European Commission, Directorate-General Employment, Equal Opportunities Unit DG 5 1997/1998, 3. Emphasis as in original.

265 | For a definition and alternative definitions, see also sub-chapter 2.2.3.2.

266 | Ahrens/Lewalter 2006; Zippel 2008.

267 | Lombardo/Meier 2008, 105-106.

268 | A policy frame is defined as an "organizing principle that transforms fragmentary or incidental information into a structured and meaningful problem, in which a solution is implicitly or explicitly included" (Verloo 2005b, 20). Based on the research results of the EU QUING project, Tamas Dombos differentiates between issue-, document- and meta-frames (Dombos 2012, 5-6).

problems. Since ex-ante gender analysis starts at an early stage of problem framing, implementation research is crucial[269]; however, comparative empirical research, as executed in this study, is scarce.

In the realm of implementation, this study sets out to highlight the importance of the executive[270] and taps into a research gap identified in 2010 by Claire Annesley and Francesca Gains.[271] They found that research conducted up to that point had mostly concentrated on links between women's representation in parliaments and the existence of policy machineries and state actions on behalf of women.[272] In the desire to increase "women's policy concerns and outcomes (substantive representation of women [SRW])," the two authors shifted focus to yet another area: "Our claim is that the substantive representation of women is more likely to follow from the presence of feminist actors in the core executive."[273]

The core executive can be understood in a formal sense, as Roderick Rhodes understands it: as the implementation authority for political governance and the totality of procedures and institutions that administer and coordinate government policies—in short, as a reference to the governmental machine as a whole.[274] Others emphasise its rights-based character.[275] Crucial for this study is that the site of the administrative-executive can also be regarded as an "institutional locus of power"[276] of tremendous importance, particularly with regard to its steering and governing character that exceeds merely administrative functions.[277] Bureaucratic institutions possess (political) agenda-setting powers,[278] especially under the Westminster system in states such as Great Britain or Canada, but also in other Western democracies.

Public administration plays a powerful part in the velvet triangle, as sketched out by Alison Woodward.[279] The velvet triangle describes the triangular interaction of policymakers, academics and the women's movement. Chief executives such as ministers or senior public servants might be setting the tone, but those actually executing impact assessment tend to be middle-management public servants and external experts and scientists. According to Martha Franken: "It is the task of civil servants to be the facilitator for the debate and preparing for the decision making, but also to create the channels for the different actors to be able to play their roles fully."[280]

All bureaucratic actors are thus part of a multilevel web of multiple sites of power and are equipped with forms of agency.[281] Annesley and Gains found

269 | Schmidt 2005.

270 | As noted in the various forms of studies of the state (German: "Staatswissenschaften") like administration studies, legal studies or political science studies.

271 | Annesley/Gains 2010.

272 | Annesley/Gains 2010, 911.

273 | Annesley/Gains 2010, 912.

274 | Rhodes 1997.

275 | Schuppert 2000, 41-42.

276 | Annesley/Gains 2010, 910.

277 | Bohne 2014, 165; Schuppert 2000, 76-79.

278 | Schuppert 2000, 79-80.

279 | Woodward 2004.

280 | Franken 2007, 5.

281 | For a critique and the limits of autonomy and agency in subjectivity construction, see (Meißner 2010).

network relationships, strategies and tactics especially to be the driving informal forces behind administrative agency.[282] Anne-Marie McGauran suggests, from her position as a researcher on the inside of public administration, the ways in which the "characteristics of public sector institutions" make gender mainstreaming implementation difficult.[283] For Claire Annesley and Francesca Gains, the executive is a deeply gendered institution concerning relationships, rules, recruitment and resource allocation, that shapes opportunities and constraints.[284] They also emphasise that, however, that although these structures and resources are gendered, they are available to femocrats for their attempt to influence public policy making from a gendered perspective.[285] In fact, they see the core executive as the "key venue" for feminist institutionalist research. Being a "dynamic rather than a static organisation," it is malleable and can contribute to policy change, if there is a significant representation of women and feminist actors from within.[286]

Following up on this questioning of "the capacity of the core executive to deliver the demands of feminist political actors,"[287] McGauran has clarified the ways in which context matters. My attention was focussed thereby on specific interactions in the context of multiple levels of administrative governance, between femocrat[288] actors, analysts and civil servants, and bureaucratic structures with regard to gender in IA. The governance perspective of this study draws attention to the actors in the institutional structure that are involved in the construction and reconstruction of public epistemic systems, in the iteration and reiteration of policy frames, and in the interpretation and reinterpretation of policy problems, through which they make room for change, adaption, and innovation.[289]

As a result, a guiding frame for the course of this study is the process-oriented and dynamic approach developed by the "Cross-cutting Group Governance" ("Querschnittsgruppe Governance") at the Berlin Centre of Science ("Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin").[290] This approach combines the actor-centred approach with three additional dimensions: 1) change or innovation of institutional arrangements and regulative structures, 2) the blurred or dissolving borders between national and international, public and private, formal and informal etc., and 3) newly developed or changing concepts of legitimising state action.[291] Gender IA and the wider strategy of gender mainstreaming fall within these three dimensions, in that they 1) constitute a transformative change or innovation to institutional structures, 2) are a transnational strategy or instrumentation, with an all-encompassing mandate to mainstream gender into all policies and programmes, and 3) thereby blur policy field and disciplinary boundaries and add legitimacy, transparency, accountability and quality management to public policies in the

282 | Annesley/Gains 2010.
283 | McGauran 2009, 218.
284 | Annesley/Gains 2010.
285 | Annesley/Gains 2010.
286 | Annesley/Gains 2010, 924-925.
287 | Annesley/Gains 2010, 909.
288 | The term femocrat and state feminism is explained in detail in sub-chapter 2.2.3.2.
289 | Botzem et al. 2009a; Tömmel/Verdun 2009a.
290 | Botzem et al. 2009b, 11.
291 | Botzem et al. 2009b; Schuppert 2011.

attempt to contribute to achieving gender equality. A process-oriented governance approach contributes to the understanding of tool choice by explaining when and when not, why and why not the GIA/GBA tools have been selected.

An actor- and process-focussed governance approach is also linked to different dimensions of instruments, such as visibility, directness, or automaticity of assessment tools, which play a role in hypothesising about the state of gender in IA.[292] The issue of visibility raises questions of exposure, training, and institutional and educational encouragement for gender analysis tools. Directness can refer to academic background and methodological training of policy analysts who are able to use familiar tools directly rather than having to figure out new methodologies and techniques.[293] It could also refer to resistance to using add-on-tools as yet another task in non-integrated IAs. Finally, automaticity addresses the regulative setting of the IA system as a whole and the application of the single GIA/GBA tools within ex-ante policy assessment, by asking how automated and relevant these tools are.

2.3 Gender

The gendered realities and power relations in society make gender analysis tools such as GBA/GIA inherently political, since GBA/GIA can potentially perpetuate or transform our understanding of gender relations and inequalities.[294] In order to explore this connection and gain a deeper insight into the tools, we first need to reflect on the theoretical basis for an understanding of sex and gender in its intersectionalities, its implications for our societies as well as our institutions and for its position in impact assessment in particular.

2.3.1 Sex, Gender and Intersectionality—Beyond the Binary?

Most gender-based policy analysis instruments include some definition of sex and gender in order to sharpen the analysts' eye for this crucial distinction. Usually, these concepts of sex and gender relate to the categories men or women.[295] The explicit distinction between these categories follows a Descartian dualistic nature/culture divide and articulates the social power nexus based on the social manifestations of a binary sex/gender system. In this system, gender roles and gender identity are commonly derived from an individual's biological sex and a binary society is constructed of women and men, where women's different experiences constitute a "subordination or hierarchy."[296]

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292 | Peters 2002, 559-561.

293 | Especially when they are institutionally encouraged to perform IA studies as much as possible in-house instead of contracting them out to specialists.

294 | See chapter 2.2.3.

295 | Baden/Goetz 1997.

296 | Baer 2009c, 420. For Germany, see Karin Hausen's historical analysis of the construction of gender differences (Hausen 1976). Nowadays, the feminist debates on sex/gender and the (re-)construction of both are highly diversified. They are closely linked to the theorisation of equality and difference and debates on the (re-)construction of the feminist subject "woman," which I cannot reproduce in this text. For overview articles about

The distinction between sex and gender originated in feminist and sociological theories concerning societal power relations. While Simone de Beauvoir famously recognised the difference between not merely being born a woman, but having been made into one,[297] second wave feminists such as Gayle Rubin in the 1970s introduced the concepts as we know them today.[298] Up till then, feminist theory had accepted mainstream opinion on the gender role of individuals as the reflection of natural differences rooted in biology, which thereby essentialised occurring differences as natural and therefore unchangeable. A dichotomously structured society thus equated gender with sex.[299]

By stating "we are not only oppressed as women, we are oppressed by having to be women, or man as the case may be,"[300] Rubin marked sex, biology, the physical as being different from gender, gender roles and the gendered expectations of society—a society that is largely built upon the gender difference. According to her, the division of labour even established a "sameness taboo," which: "Exacerbates the biological differences in the sexes and thereby creates gender [...]. Far from being the expression of natural differences, exclusive gender identity is the suppression of natural similarities."[301]

Central to these perspectives is the insight into the sex and gender system as a binary that is continuously being constructed—a binary that is not natural, but naturalised: "Subjects in all research on human behaviour are either females or males. [...] Before we can ask questions about gender differences, similarities, and development, gender must be attributed. [...] we must already have differentiated."[302] Suzanne Kessler and Wendy McKenna formulated a ground-breaking study in 1978, which introduced the concept of the "social construction of gender."[303] This constructivist concept has been thoroughly discussed, and it exceeds the purpose of this study to even attempt a complete genealogy of these concepts and theories and all their transnational, trans-disciplinary interrelations.[304] A decade later, Candace West and Don Zimmerman added a praxeology study, which built on Kessler's and McKenna's work and on the experiences of transgender people. As West and Zimmerman see it, rather than being the result of an essentialist sense of being, these differences reflect a social "doing"[305] of gender. Doing gender in binary ways has effects, since it results in differential treatment, access to resources, participation, etc.:

Anglophone, French and Italian "égalité" and difference debates, see (Galster 2010; Kahlert 2010; Gildemeister 2010; Wetterer 2010).

297 | "On ne naît pas femme, on le deviant" (Simone de Beauvoir 1949, 285-286).

298 | Rubin 1975; Rubin 2003.

299 | A reduced view, challenged in the (non-)discipline of gender studies; for a summary of the sex-gender debate see i.e. (Donat et al. 2009).

300 | Rubin 1975, 204. Italics as in original.

301 | Rubin 1975, 178-180.

302 | Kessler/McKenna 1978, ix.

303 | Kessler/McKenna 1978, xi; 19.

304 | For instance, from an intersex perspective emphasizing the multiplicity of sexes (Fausto-Sterling 2000). For an overview, see (Hesse-Biber 2007a; Becker/Kortendiek 2010; Wetterer 2010).

305 | West/Zimmerman 1987.

"We should emphasize that the oppressive character of gender rests not just on difference but the inferences from and the consequences of those differences. The inferences and attendant consequences are linked to and supported by historical and structural circumstances. Changes in those circumstances can facilitate inferential shifts in the terms of gender accountability and weaken its utility as a ground for men's hegemony [...]."[306]

West and Zimmermann, and later West and Sarah Fenstermaker, demonstrated in the mid-90s how gender differences are accomplished and constructed in routine social interactions. Drawing from transgender experiences, they extended the doing gender concept and the notion of constructivism of gender also to sex.[307] West and Zimmermann suggested greater differentiation via the triad of sex, sex-category and gender. According to West and Zimmerman, even the sex assigned at birth rests on socially agreed upon assumptions of biology and gender signifiers, which poses a challenge to biological determinism. The sex-assignment is continuously (re-) constructed by daily gendered interactions, and therefore is not a fixed state, but rather a process of doing gender. Doing gender in a binary system requires doing difference in order to differentiate oneself. Extending the understanding of doing difference as a doing of gender as well as of sex, and as a process for organising "the relations between individual and institutional practice, and among forms of domination"[308] beyond the binary, challenges the distinctions of all of these categories:

"These distinctions are not natural, normal, or essential to the incumbents in question. But once the distinctions have been created, they are used to affirm different category incumbents' 'essentially different natures' and the institutional arrangements based on these."[309]

One institutional arrangement based on a difference assumption, yet critical of difference essentialism, is gender analysis. As such, the tools created are in danger of sex-categorising, and therefore of re-essentialising gendered experiences. They could potentially be complicit in dramatising gender (differences) in a binary system of women and men.[310] But West and Zimmermann posit a means for giving players in the gender game their agency back by opening up a space for institutional change that will eventually alter gender roles. They emphasised the dynamics and interplay

306 | West/Zimmerman 2009, 117.

307 | West/Zimmerman 1987

308 | West/Fenstermaker 1995a, 19.

309 | West/Zimmerman 2009, 114.

310 | Angelika Wetterer calls for prudence in establishing the dichotomy between the men and the women, as this dichotomy risks dramatising sex and gender and negating everyday knowledge of gender relations. Instead of reproducing difference, she desires instruments that are able to address complex inequalities, their workings and the processes that call inequalities into being; she suggests that gender knowledge that exceeds the binary can be the source of transformative knowledge for sociological research (Wetterer 2008; Wetterer 2010).

of sex and gender—but also race and class (doing difference)—in how we conceive of and constitute society, all of which is open to reformulation and re-doing.[311]

Doing gender has been criticised for being a reifying theory. Some, like Francine Deutsch fear, it has turned into a signifier for gender persistence (rather than undoing the gender difference), rendering inequality almost inevitable.[312] Deutsch's intervention into the complicity of the un/doing concepts in light of the stagnation of gender relations, re-links the potentially rather individualistic question of un/doing to the systemic level—the level gender analysis operates on—by asking: How we can undo gender there? According to Deutsch, research should focus first on the "when and how of social interactions" that ought to become "less gendered," second, on "whether gender can be irrelevant in interaction," third, on "whether gendered interactions always underwrite inequality," fourth, on "how the institutional and interactional levels work together to produce change," and fifth, on identifying "interaction as the site of change."[313] Her critical assessment of the theoretical background of the un/doing gender debate intervenes directly into the policy tool environment and the un/doing of gender through and in IA insofar, as gender analysis tools pose exactly the same questions of relevance, individual and structural inequality and ways of change. In particular, the institutional and interactional actors within policy assessment systems are of interest here. Under investigation are the questions of whether and how they want and are enabled to produce change through implementing gender analysis and which interactions can be identified at which sites of change.[314]

The deconstructivist intervention in the constructivist vs. essentialist notion of the normalising categories of sex/gender, raises yet another question: Can sex and gender be at all categorised or formulated as analytical categories? One of the answers was "strategic essentialism,"[315] which conceptualises women and men as groups representing social realities that are always imaginary, never homogenous, yet (re-) constructed daily. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak argues for temporarily essentialising groups despite their inner-group differences, because bringing forward a group identity in a simplified way allows for greater resistance to a specific, commonly shared experience of oppression. This thought was developed in a postcolonial perspective, but translates to all categories. It pertains to sex discrimination as well and leads gender analysis tool designs to recent debates about intra-group differences, intersectionality and diversity.

Gender theory distinguishes between diversity considerations[316] and the sophisticated concept of intersectionality. Intersectionality as a concept goes back to and employs second wave feminist struggles of black women and also lesbian women

311 | West/Zimmerman 1987; West/Fenstermaker 1995a; West/Fenstermaker 1995b; West/Zimmerman 2009. For more recent and differentiated reflections on intersectional relations between gender and other dimensions, see (Francis 2008).

312 | Deutsch 2007. The engagement with the undoing gender concept is based on Stefan Hirschauer's cardinal considerations (Hirschauer 2001).

313 | Deutsch 2007, 106.

314 | See also chapter 2.2.3.

315 | A term coined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in the late 1980s (Spivak/Harasym 1990; Spivak et al. 2008).

316 | Sauer 2008c.

who described their experience of oppression as women as different from that of white, middle-class or heterosexual women.[317] As an academic term and as what is now a travelling concept, intersectionality dates back to the feminist legal scholar Kimberlé W. Crenshaw.[318] It describes the multiple and intertwined forms of oppression: i.e., that women are not only disenfranchised based on their sex and gender, but also simultaneously in manifold, enmeshed ways based on their race, class status, etc.

In Germany, intersectionality was reformulated as interdependency,[319] which as a concept is used to evoke the picture of intersecting, but different axes of power.[320] Interdependency stresses the situated, intra-categorical dependency of various oppression markers and questions the boundaries of (intersecting) categories as such. Thus, intersectionality as a concept does not manage to fully encompass the intra-categorial complexities of power relations, leaving out as it does the issue of the causes of inequality.[321] Katharina Walgenbach explicated gender as an interdependent category in and of itself,[322] integrating differences intra-categorically rather than externalising them as inter-categorical experiences.[323] This raises two main questions for the realm of governance, public administration and IA: How to operationalise the various interlocked intersections of inequality[324]? And to what extent do categories serve as useful analytical distinctions of power relations? Consequently, questions of the interrelatedness of diversity categories as interlocking systems[325] and their consequences for modes of governance comes into focus.

Intersectionality stresses that an additive understanding of discrimination falls short of conceptualising the complexity of power dynamics.[326] Gender mainstreaming, however, has been widely implemented as an "additive technical process" rather than a more integrated and intersectional approach, in the perception that sex discrimination is aggravated by additional factors such as race, age, disability

317 | Weathers 1969; Moraga/Anzaldúa 1983.

318 | Crenshaw 1988; Crenshaw 1989. A term made popular in Germany by the concept of axes of power (Knapp/Wetterer 2003). Intersectionality theory was later operationalised (McCall 2005; Klinger 2007; Baer et al. 2009; Bagilhole 2009; Winker/Degele 2009; Franken et al. 2009; Walby et al. 2009; Hankivsky/Cormier 2011; Knapp 2011; Verloo 2013; Cho et al. 2013).

319 | German original: "Interdependenz" (Walgenbach et al. 2007; Lorey 2008; Hornscheidt 2009; Hornscheidt/Baer 2011).

320 | Knapp/Wetterer 2003, Knapp 2011.

321 | Lorey 2008; Hark 2013.

322 | Walgenbach 2007.

323 | The edited volume by Walgenbach, Gabriele Dietze, Lann Hornscheidt and Kerstin Palm is dedicated to various intra-categorial foci (Walgenbach et al. 2007). The theoretical fine-tuning of intersectionality via the concept of interdependency has initiated a fruitful academic debate, mostly in the German speaking research area. For the purpose of my research, however, and in order to be legible for an international readership and public administration, I have decided to employ the internationally established intersectionality concept.

324 | Baer et al. 2010; Davis 2008; Hankivsky 2007b; Phoenix/Pattynama 2006.

325 | As posed i.e. in the curriculum of Gender Studies at Humboldt University in Berlin (Hornscheidt/Baer 2011, 171).

326 | Hankivsky 2007b.

or poor education or health.[327] An additive approach rests on the assumption that fixed and diverse groups[328] exist, and that it is possible to identify and distinguish them. An additive understanding of group- and identity-based inequality is shared by many, not all, diversity concepts.[329] Some bureaucracies have adopted diversity management[330] technologies, in order to address the discrimination of various groups and thereby fulfil their non-discrimination duties or protect otherwise so called "vulnerable"[331] groups.[332]

Yet, such additive framings have been criticised for being too simplistic and groupist. Although the black feminist scholar and standpoint theorist Patricia Hill Collins already stated that groups go beyond the experiences of individuals within them, because they are constructed on "historically shared, group-based experiences,"[333] the concept of groupism is commonly attributed to Roger Brubaker. He coined it originally as an anti-racist criticism of—largely imaginary—group rationality. He defines it as: "The tendency to take bounded groups as fundamental units of analysis (and basic constituents of the social world)."[334] He perceives so-called groups as mere "collective cultural representations"[335] of human variety and advocates moving beyond groupism in order to capture and resolve the complexity of struggles with inequality.

In doing so, Brubaker calls for a "cognitive turn,"[336] a call confirmed by Susanne Baer, who considers groupism an insufficient concept to resolve "multilevel sites of struggles over multi-dimensional equality."[337] She does not even believe in the common sense of groupism as a mode of parsing or making sense of social structures. On the contrary, she detects in it "a dangerous dynamic"[338] due to the tendency of opinion-leading elites to claim collective truths: By grouping, they attach problems of reification and exclusion to particular segments of the

327 | Squires 2007, 45. Some authors observe and demand a progression from gender mainstreaming, through multiple discrimination to intersectionality approaches (Bagilhole 2009).

328 | Depending on the respective equality and non-discrimination legislation, the protected groups can change. Usually, the triad of sex/gender, race and disability is regarded (Ben-Galim/Campbell 2007).

329 | Exceptions are Judith Squires' diversity mainstreaming (Squires 2007) or Julia Lepperhoff, Anneli Rüling and Alexandra Scheele's diversity politics concepts (Lepperhoff et al. 2007).

330 | Krell 2005.

331 | The vulnerability of groups is usually established against human rights violations or other empirical data that marks certain groups as under-performing in comparison to the average population. It is widely spread in health IA and social IA (Sauer 2010a; Amin et al. 2011). Especially in the development context, women are also often framed as a vulnerable group (Tiessen 2015).

332 | Hankivsky 2005a; Parken 2010; Prügl 2011; Rolandsen Agustín 2011.

333 | Collins 1997, 375.

334 | Brubaker 2004, 2.

335 | Brubaker 2004, 79.

336 | Brubaker 2004, 65.

337 | Baer 2010b, 56.

338 | Baer 2010b, 58.

population.[339] For Brubaker and Baer, groups are not pre-existing, but constructed; they result from perceptions, interpretations, and readings of the world. When the concept of groupism is enshrined in policy analysis tools, it plays a powerful role in reconstructing and reifying groups along artificial lines of gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, and ability, and increases the risk that crucial intersectional complexities will be overlooked.

In response to the latest intersectionality research and increased criticism of additive concepts and groupism, some applied research projects have engaged the potential of intersectionality for policy making. The interdisciplinary and international QUING project, for instance, was occupied with different policy frames of gender equality, which the project implementers considered "intentional and unintentional interpretations of the political reality and the policy issues under consideration."[340] The project sees the EU as: "A multilayered, multicultural democracy claiming to be based on mutual respect for its diverse peoples and cultures, introducing goals that value diversity and inclusion while counteracting hierarchies, inequalities and exclusion."[341]

The project thus conceptualised multiple forms of discrimination not as different inequalities or as sets of different, independent problems, but rather as related problems. At the same time, the project departed from the point of view that "gender equality policies are the most developed inequality policies,"[342] and recommended building on experiences of such policy practice. In an attempt to prevent (re-)production of inequalities in general, the project first set out to analyse the degree to which inequalities other than gender were relevant to gender equality policies. The QUING sub-project STRIQ then designed a conceptual framework of: "Theories on intersectionality, on the relationship between gender inequalities and inequalities originating in ethnicity, class, religion or sexuality."[343]

The project, acknowledging that a profound understanding of gender is intersectional in itself, arrived at the novel concept of "gender+"[344], where the plus sign represents the "attention to intersecting inequalities in a way that does not detract from attention to structural gender inequality."[345] Other structural inequalities are supposed to be incorporated into a gender equality frame.[346] The project recognised that the reality of policy practice is "less rational" and a site of "territorial struggles" between different inequalities."[347] QUING wanted to overcome these juxtapositions through this gender+ concept and a conceptual framework custom-tailored to the relationship between gender inequalities and other inequalities, which would

339 | Baer 2010b, 59; Brubaker 2004, 51-52.

340 | Lombardo/Forest 2012, 231. Quing was funded under the 6th EU framework programme and ran from 2006-2011. Quing's scientific director was Mieke Verloo (QUING 2006-2011).

341 | QUING 2006-2011.

342 | QUING 2006-2011.

343 | QUING et al. 2009; QUING 2011a; QUING 2011b.

344 | Walby et al. 2009; Lauwers/van der Wal 2008.

345 | QUING et al. 2009, 2.

346 | Dombos 2012.

347 | QUING et al. 2009.

address the needs of policy makers.[348] In 2012, Canada responded to the theoretical refinement of gender+ via intersectionality discourses and re-conceptualised and re-named GBA as GBA+.[349] The fully inclusionary character and practicability of the gender+ conceptual framework and other instruments will be crucial for their success and acceptance of gender(+) analysis tools.

As soon as gender analysis tools entered the stage of policy advice, a critique of the reductionist and binary understanding of the concept of gender was raised, in the case of GBA, by the first nations and Inuit communities in Canada. They proclaimed that GBA and Western concepts of women and men have no room for "two-spirited" identities, who inhabit sexual orientations and gender roles that go beyond the binary.[350] Gender+ concepts however, also assume a binary perception of sex and gender. In the general realm, sexual orientation is sometimes considered in IA,[351] but transgender, intersex and all people with non-normative gender expressions (commonly subsumed under the category of gender identity), who do not adhere to the sex/gender and women/men binaries, are left out.

In a series of conference publications and in a peer-review article, I made some first attempts to explore issues of sexual orientation and gender identity under a gender framework in IA.[352] I based these interventions on queer theory and transgender studies. They were linked in particular to the aforementioned debate about doing gender through discussions about creating its juxtaposition, an undoing of gender[353] or doing away with gender[354] or at least doing gender differently[355]. As mentioned before in Deutsch's critique, the representatives of the undoing perspective express doubts about whether the concept of doing gender itself would not contribute to more rather than less gendering of society through its tautological epistemology of the gender difference, because:

"The phrase 'doing gender' evokes conformity; 'undoing gender' evokes resistance. The prevalence of research on gender conformity that has grown out of the doing gender approach argues that gender researchers are also influenced by this linguistic frame. In fact, sometimes researchers explicitly use the phrase 'doing gender' to mean conformity to gendered norms."[356]

Accordingly, the design and implementation of gender-sensitive policy assessment instruments are often equally criticised for their supposed reaffirmation, rather than abolition, of binary gendered norms and the sex division of society and labour. The critique of essentialist re-enactments of gender also highlights the absence of transgender and intersex people in the binary sex/gender concept.

348 | QUING et al. 2009.
349 | SWC 2012. See also chapter 3.2.3.
350 | Stirbys 2008.
351 | Bendl/Walenta 2007; Franken et al. 2009, 34-36.
352 | Sauer 2010a; Sauer 2010b; Sauer/Vanclay 2011; Sauer/Podhora 2013
353 | Butler 2004; Deutsch 2007.
354 | Hirschauer 1993.
355 | Schirmer 2010.
356 | Deutsch 2007, 122.

It is no coincidence that Kessler and McKenna's theoretical reflections in the late 1970s on the constructed (non-)nature of sex and gender are based upon the cases of transgender and intersex individuals.[357] They live liminal lives at the gender frontiers, serve as the object of research for core elements of feminist and gender theory building, yet they are left out when it comes to practical solutions for abolishing inequality (like gender analysis). The interest in alternative sexes and genders, especially transgender and intersex gender identities, has not yet found expression in the strictly bi-sexed and bi-gendered conception of gender mainstreaming. The existence of binary gender analysis tools could indeed be read as a symbolic act of de-legitimising transgender and intersex lives and experiences.[358]

Only recently have a very few authors mentioned the importance of going beyond the binary in gender analysis,[359] and made the first attempts to do so.[360] An exceptional example of gender analysis transversing the binary is fairly recent and stems from a British evaluation of the national implementation of the EU's development and cooperation gender action plan: "Gender analysis examines how people's gender identity and expression (woman, man, trans and intersex) determine their opportunities, access to and control over resources and capacity to enjoy and exercise their rights."[361]

In sum, the latest theorising on sexuality in relation to constructionist views of gender and sex has not yet been transferred into analytic categories and models for IA research on policy or project drafts.[362] The dimension of desire/sexuality is most often still blank when it comes to policy advice, even in gender analysis.[363] Further research is needed to position alternative sexes and genders in the predominantly binary sex and gender frame of gender analysis and in the wider IA context.[364] It is evident, however, that a sophisticated intersectional gender+ concept needs to incorporate non-binary genders as much as it needs to reflect upon its inherent heteronormative assumptions.[365] It is equally evident that gender analysis tools have to navigate the (constructed) sex/gender divide very carefully, in order not to reify a binary gender difference and to really tackle multiple and intersecting forms of inequality.

2.3.2 Gender and the Othering of Knowledge

Gender analysis along with other IA tools and policy instruments used for governing can and are seen as tools of power. However, the centrality to governing processes of gender analysis is exactly in question in this study. Gauging gender

357 | Kessler/McKenna 1978.

358 | Hark 2007a.

359 | Walby/Armstrong 2010; Sauer/Vanclay 2011; O'Connell 2013.

360 | Sauer 2010a; Sauer 2010b; Sauer/Podhora 2013.

361 | O'Connell 2013, 4.

362 | I have made attempts to include the dimensions of sexual orientation and gender identity in IA tools and procedures and critique them for their simplistic sexual binaries (Sauer 2010b; Sauer 2010a; Sauer/Podhora 2013).

363 | Beger 2000a; Beger 2000b; Bendl/Walenta 2007; Ingraham 2006; Sauer 2010a; Danby 2007; Sauer 2010b; Hark 2010; Sauer/Podhora 2013.

364 | Lombardo et al. 2013, 693.

365 | Compare quality criteria for gender mainstreaming tools in sub-chapter 1.6.2.

as an analytical category, in it intersections with other structural inequalities, are to be examined and how "powerful" this IA tool in fact proves to be in day-to-day government. IA as a field of knowledge production for governing purposes is as much a field of power relations and struggles over dominant ways of knowledge creation, as gender and sex are fields of struggles for hegemonic interpretations in the light of intersectionality and diversity. In order to disentangle such questions of power, yet another theoretical outlook seems promising.

Patricia Hill Collins transferred the idea of the co-inhabitation of different positions of power and disempowerment to the area of women's studies by analysing the processes of subjugation, resistance, or consent under the "matrix of domination and subordination"[366]. Later, othering[367] was introduced as a concept, describing any action or line of thought by which an individual or group becomes classified as the other, the outsider, which enables the very formation of the inside[368]. Postcolonial thinkers such as Edward Said or Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak stressed the inherent negotiation of power through a devaluation of the outsider as inferior in order to elevate the insider (group, knowledge, culture etc.).[369] By making the subordinate aware of who holds the power (the master), and hence by producing the other as subordinate, othering can thus be seen as a technique of upholding that "the master is the subject of science or knowledge."[370] The Canadian health policy specialist Payne is occupied with similar questions in practice. She observes how gender analysis tools reproduce:

> "A focus on differences between women and men, and once again reproduces notions of essential 'otherness', without opening up questions of gender relations of power, and their implications for gender equity [...], for both women and men and for policy."[371]

Parallel to the concern about essentialist notions perpetuating androcentrism, the concept of othering can be equally applied to an epistemic group and knowledge base, feminism.[372] The introduction of separate tools and gender knowledge might enable the IA community to continue its general male-biased practices. Can GBA/GIA therefore be seen as othered IA instruments, because of their supposedly inferior knowledge base, or are even "other" mechanisms at work?

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366 | Collins 1991.

367 | The philosophical concept of othering, most notably coined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Spivak 1985).

368 | Compare sub-section 2.2.3.1.

369 | Said 1995; Spivak et al. 2008.

370 | Spivak 1985, 256.

371 | Payne 2014, 38.

372 | Andre Keet even calls the system of the Western, disciplinary organisation and creation of knowledge in universities "epistemic othering" and a form of "epistemic injustice." (Keet 2014).

2.3.3 Implications for Research

The risk is high that gender-sensitive analysis tools reaffirm in the realm of policy making a strategically essentialist notion of gender that already exists in dualistically gendered societies. As tools that examine and (re-)construct a gender binary, they are more often an expression and reaffirmation than a rejection of a "dualistic, representational view."[373] Such gendered forms of IA share a deterministic outlook and belief in positivist policy advice, and deliver only a somewhat more refined representation. The most central points for the application of gender analysis in IA is the distinction between sex (the physical body) and gender (the social role and gender expression), and an understanding that our assessment of the differences between the sexes and genders pre-supposes the existence of two sexes/genders and plays into a re-shaping and re-construction of this very construct—building on and lending it essentialist underpinnings at the same time.[374]

According to Melissa Tyler, questioning the practiced binary conceptualisation of gender as a relatively fixed category in favour of an emphasis on gender as a set of multiple, provisional social practices is one of the core assumptions of postmodern feminism.[375] Whether such insights should also be transferred to the realm of IA is a hotly debated issue. Martha Camallas, for instance, detects "deregulatory impulses" among postmodern feminists, who maintain that law and regulatory regimes serve "mainly to reinforce dominant ideologies."[376] Or in Audre Lord's words: The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.[377] So what can one expect from gender analysis tools in public policy making that are seemingly not in tune with postmodern, feminist theorising?

The doing gender concept provides us also with a movable apparatus for organising "the relations between individual and institutional practice, and among forms of domination,"[378] which is the prerequisite for an undoing of inequality (and not only of gender[379]). Entering and analysing the doing of the "symbolic order"[380] of the two-sex or two-gender system and acting upon it is seen as one of the foundations of gender mainstreaming and as necessary to the undoing of unequal gender/power relations and the achievement of equitable outcomes. The inequalities under investigation are also already specified in terms of where the difference done matters most:

"This 'analysis of the women's question' [...] is the analysis that redefined the problem as 'the structurally unequal power relations between women and men.' Two structures of these

373 | Tyler 2011, 13.

374 | As in chapter 2.3.1.

375 | Tyler 2011, 13.

376 | Chamallas 2013, 26.

377 | Lorde 2007.

378 | West/Fenstermaker 1995a, 19.

379 | The concept of doing gender portrays socialisation and structural processes as weak, whereas interaction is emphasised. Undoing gender is a later developed concept that criticises doing gender "despite its revolutionary potential for illuminating how to dismantle the gender system" (Deutsch 2007, 106); see also chapter 2.3.1.

380 | Kahlert 2010, 98.

unequal power relations were considered most important: the division of labour and the organization of sexuality in terms of masculinity and femininity."[381]

2.4 Methods and Research Design

Before going more into the methodological, qualitative detail of this research, I will reflect in this section upon my position as a researcher in the field, trained in political and social sciences as well as in transdisciplinarity.[382]

2.4.1 Positioning and Transdisciplinarity

Adopting a standpoint theory requires positioning oneself in the field as just another part of "the same messy and confused reality."[383] Amid that messiness of (re-) constructed reality, the reflexivity approach of feminist standpoint theory provided me my leading paradigm in my research. A research paradigm tells us "what reality is like and the basic elements it contains ('ontology') and what is the nature and status of knowledge ('epistemology')."[384] So I begin by naming this scholarly text as a subject "with agency"[385] and myself in the writing as "I," as someone "with an explicit aim for the book"[386] in the realm of policy and programme impact assessment. Or to express it in Catharine MacKinnon's words: "This book analyses how social power shapes the way we know and how the way we know shapes social power [...],"[387] an interrelation not often reflected upon in the field of ex-ante IA from a gender equality perspective.

As there are no fixed criteria for what makes a study transdisciplinary, I regard the intention of my research, as a critical and feminist intervention into IA, as one of the main aspects of what Sabine Hark calls the "politics of interdisciplinarity."[388] In focussing on gender analysis as a tool, and not on gender mainstreaming in general, the research draws attention to this specific instrument and contributes to its visibility. My expert interview method reflects yet another aspect of the politics of inter- or transdisciplinarity: In teasing out as many layers, readings, and opinions as possible without privileging one voice or silencing another, I was following the paths laid out by research traditions rooted in oral history,[389] which have been refined and transferred to the realm of interdisciplinary studies through feminist methodologies.[390]

381 | Verloo/Roggeband 1996, 6.
382 | Knoepfel et al. 2011, 31-34.
383 | Lykke 2010, 167.
384 | Silverman 2000, 97-98.
385 | Lykke 2010, 167.
386 | Lykke 2010, 173
387 | MacKinnon 1989, ix.
388 | Hark 2007b, 11.
389 | Charlton et al. 2006; Charlton et al. 2007; Perks/Thomson 2006.
390 | Harding/Hintikka 1983; Harding 1991; Smith 1987a; Smith 1990.

Last but not least, in its feminist hermeneutics and classic transdisciplinary design, elements of this study can even be interpreted as "postdisciplinary"[391] for two reasons. First, gender policy analysis is a tool with distinctive methods that transcend policy and impact areas as well as disciplinary modes of knowledge production. And secondly, the study not only renegotiates the content and extent of (gender) impact assessment as a "thinking technology,"[392] but also challenges the present IA infrastructure, the way it is used and organised within a landscape of hierarchical disciplines of science, and the modes of interrogation used in those disciplines:[393]

> "To perform as a postdisciplinary feminist researcher should not be the same as doing the god-trick, that is, to pretend to know all sorts of methods from all sorts of areas equally well. A postdisciplinary researcher can explore a variety of methods, but must carefully consider what she or he has in her or his own academic luggage."[394]

Heeding this advice, I chose to employ qualitative, comparative methods,[395] which lend themselves equally well to a feminist paradigm and to the study of governance systems. As an analysis of the governance of IA, this study is located between sociological, organisational and feminist critical governance research. In its transdisciplinary character,[396] the study is addressed to readerships in political science, sociology, governance and gender studies and the growing field of transdisciplinarity itself,[397] two of which are being specifically addressed: impact assessment research and public administration studies. The study incorporates elements from gender studies, organisational sociology, and the sociology of institutions, as well as from comparative political science, administration and management studies and the IA research community at large. My research subject and methods have been selected according to feminist standpoint perspectives and critical governance studies, which have provided the overarching frame and acted as the glue that holds all these various strands together.[398]

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391 | Lykke 2010, 18-19.

392 | Haraway 2004, 335.

393 | See conclusion in chapter 5.3.

394 | Lykke 2010, 200.

395 | See chapter 2.4.

396 | For an engagement with inter- and transdisciplinarity, its relevance, benefits and risks, see (Baer 2005d; Hark 2007b; Banse/Fleischer 2011). Through transdisciplinary engagement with a variety of disciplines and research approaches, I seek to produce not only more, but different, reflexive results beyond disciplinary questions, methods and theories (Baer 2010a). Whereas most transdisciplinary research takes place in a multi-participant researcher group of with researchers of different disciplinary backgrounds who inspire and challenge each other and stimulate collective thinking, the challenge for a single-researcher project is the development of a pragmatic-intuitive, problem-cantered methodology across disciplines, and enabling reflection (Pohl/Hirsch Hadorn 2008, 77-80).

397 | Baer 2005d; Hark 2007b; Hark 2013.

398 | In this study, I wish to live up to Ackerly and True's aspiration: "Research on gender and politics is largely carried out with humility, demonstrating awareness of the many challenges, methodological among them, in studying the social and political world, which is always changing and of which we are a part" (Ackerly/True 2013, 153).

2.4.2 Mixed-method Research

In my study, I adhere to one of the most widely used modes of empirical inquiry: A qualitative comparative, mixed-method[399] approach with data and theory triangulation.[400] New data was generated through one of the most common academic languages: The expert interview. The main empirical base of this study is a set of interviews with a total of 36 policy analysis and gender experts within Canadian departments of public administration and the DGs of the European Commission.[401] This collection of voices, all with first-hand experience of GIA/GBA, is supplemented by a collection of gender-sensitive tools for appraising programme and policy effects and expectations in the Canadian and European Union context. Together with the analysis of interdisciplinary and international academic literature, such triangulated data provided a depth of material. In interpreting the results, I performed a comparative[402], software-supported qualitative content analysis[403] of the interviews, followed by theory triangulation[404] of feminist standpoint and critical governance theories, which lent the study its depth.

It has been stated that mixed- or multi-method research "should be the industry standard in political science and is becoming the norm, particularly in the subfield of Comparative Politics."[405] It should be mentioned here that even the use of a standpoint theoretical underpinning, which is critical of seemingly all-encompassing research methods that promise reliable and transferable results that are viable and context-free, can never achieve complete viability in the sense of hard facts and universally valid results.[406] Nevertheless, the mixed-method approach became my method-box of choice: it provides for multi-angle perspectives on the field of research, with a variety of potentially corrective elements that contextualise the findings, yet is flexible enough to rise to the empirical challenge.

As a qualitative study[407] of the central challenges and progress in the implementation of gender analysis in ex-ante policy and programme assessment, this research employs the method of synchronic comparison, looking at similarities and differences in a transnational perspective.[408] Empirical material was collected from two sources: already existing secondary and primary document sources (tools and guidelines) and, for the central data set, the self-conducted expert interviews. For purposes of tool and literature research, the websites of the various institutions were

399 | Creswell/Plano Clark 2007.

400 | Pierce 2008.

401 | 17 Canadian and 19 European experts, see interview sample as in Annex I.

402 | See chapter 2.2.2.

403 | Mayring 2000; Mayring 2008a.

404 | Farmer et al. 2006. Triangulation is explained further in chapter 2.4.3.

405 | McBride/Mazur 2010, 35. It is often recommended to improve viability, robustness and validity (Pierce 2008).

406 | Ackerly/True 2013, 153.

407 | According to Mayring's method of qualitative content analysis of documents (Mayring 2012; Mayring 2008b; Mayring 2000) in combination with expert interview evaluation according to Meuser and Nagel (Meuser/Nagel 2010; Meuser/Nagel 2003; Meuser/Nagel 1991).

408 | Knoepfel et al. 2011, 21. See chapter 2.2.2.2 on the comparative method.

consulted. Most tools are publicly available online on the websites of the European Commission, Status of Women Canada and/or the individual departments.[409] Some, however, are internal tools that are only accessible to public servants working in the respective Canadian departments. They were made accessible to me during my research, mostly on the occasion of the individual interviews.[410] The emphasis is on qualitative data, although partially quantitative elements[411] were included as well. By combining semi-guided expert interviews with tool and literature analysis, as well as with multiple theoretical and data triangulations,[412] I hoped to reach a multidimensional understanding of the complex and widely variable implementation of gender equality tools.

2.4.3 Expert Interviews

The core body of my research consists of a series of semi-guided, recorded, face-to-face interviews with gender experts and policy planning experts. Accordingly, I applied the methods of expert interviews and content analysis in the evaluation. The methodological research process of the expert interviews is laid out in the following section. It also gives an overview about the composition of the interview sample and the acronyms used for individual interviews.[413]

2.4.3.1 Definitions of Experts

In Canada I interviewed public servants who either had hands-on experience with GBA and/or acted as departmental gender focal points, developed GBA guidelines themselves and/or established gender-disaggregated data and indicators for conducting GBA.[414] In the context of the European Commission, I either interviewed heads or employees of impact assessment and evaluation departments or the gender experts of the various DGs.[415] I have also included former or current public policy experts who have developed tools and guidelines or act as support units for conducting gender-sensitive forms of impact assessments. In selecting individuals for interviews, I followed the definition of "expert" or "key informant" laid out by Michael Meuser and Ulrike Nagel, who see the expert as someone who is primarily

409 | The responsibility for gender equality and equal opportunities in the Commission shifted between 2010 and 2011 from the DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities (now DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities—EMPL) to DG Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship (JUST); both websites now provide tools and information for research on equality strategies in addition to the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) website. International gender mainstreaming and/or impact assessment tool databases, such as DIGMA (Database of Instruments for Gender Mainstreaming), and LIAISE (Linking Impact Assessment Instruments to Sustainability Expertise) have also been consulted.

410 | At the same time that I was granted consent to use the individual interviews, I was granted permission to use these tools for the purpose of this study.

411 | In Annex V.

412 | Pierce 2008; Garz 1991. See also the following subsection 2.2.3 on triangulation.

413 | For a detailed introduction to the context-specific interview samples, see Annex I.

414 | Froschauer/Lueger 2003.

415 | An interview request with the European Institute for Gender Equality was declined.

functioning in a particular social role rather than as an individual, and who is equipped with special responsibility for implementation, design and/or control of information and/or decision making processes and has privileged access to these resources.[416] Thus, the interview participants were selected on the basis of their work with or advocacy for gender in impact assessment on the level of policy and/or programme development and implementation. Their gender expertise, experience with gender-based policy analysis tools and training in European integrated impact assessment validate their statements.[417]

All experts were chosen based on a research of academic literature, research of authorship of individual impact assessments and research within the European and Canadian public administration directories. More informal methods included the snowball system to identify other knowledgeable people from within the institutions. The pre-selection of experts in Canada took place in close collaboration with members of the Policy Directorate of Status of Women Canada, who helped me identify key people in departments with GBA activity.[418] In the European context, pre-selection took place mainly through online identification of impact assessment authors, evaluation unit employees and gender experts. Additionally, the heads of all DGs were contacted and asked to identify knowledgeable personnel with experience in GIA and gender in IA in their Directorate-General. Both processes fulfil Meuser and Nagel's requirement for extensive pre-study field research in the selection process in order to make the right decisions about a representative sample.[419] The position within the bureaucratic hierarchy was irrelevant insofar as the choice of experts depended solely on their potential knowledge about gender in impact assessment and/or experience with the planning and implementation of impact assessment. In fact, it is usually the second- or third-level staff in an organisation who prepare and implement decisions and who are knowledgeable about internal structures and discussions.[420]

In addition to interviewing government-employed experts from either federal Canadian or supra-national Commission bureaucracies, I opted to extend the selected group of GBA/GIA experts to include an Anglophone academic gender expert and a francophone scholar in Canada, due to their involvement in tool development and monitoring of implementation. Accordingly, for the European context, I arranged interviews with two people, an academic GIA expert and a national gender expert formerly working in the Commission, who had created the Commission's GIA instrument. Including these scholars and external experts helped both to balance the Anglophone/francophone mix for Canada and to complement reflexively the administrative insider perspective. Establishing links to francophone knowledge proved to be valuable later in the process, as the French title of GBA translates as "analyse comparative entre les sexes," which incorporates the sex/gender quandary

416 | Meuser/Nagel 1991; Meuser/Nagel 1997; Meuser/Nagel 2002; Meuser/Nagel 2003; Meuser/Nagel 2009; Meuser/Nagel 2010.

417 | Meuser/Nagel 1997, 484.

418 | Special thanks are extended to Suzanne Cooper, PhD (SWC).

419 | Meuser/Nagel 1997, 486.

420 | Meuser/Nagel 2002, 74.

and already highlights possible difficulties in the transferability of an Anglo-Saxon concept to other contexts and languages.[421]

2.4.3.2 Sampling Strategies and Saturation

I decided for a mix of pre-determined sampling in combination with continuous sampling that evolves in the course of the research (snowballing) and adapts to possible changes in research design and interest based on the on-going accumulation of material. The later approach, called theoretical sampling, is based on the work of Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, who developed it particularly for comparative studies involving different groups of actors who are linked with the research questions.[422] Flick suggests combining sample pre-determination with theoretical sampling in a process he calls "thematic coding."[423] Theoretical sampling and thematic coding are also a good fit with qualitative content analysis and are seamlessly compatible with its inductively generated coding system[424] developed via software-supported analysis.[425]

In these approaches, groups or persons are chosen based on the assumed value of their perspectives for the research question and subject and for theory development.[426] Pre-established selection criteria are continuously revised according to the progress of data collection, coding and analysis.[427] According to Glaser and Strauss, the saturation of the theoretical sample, also called theoretical saturation, is reached when no new cases or analysis will deliver new insights with regard to the research intent.[428] Or according to Flick, saturation is the point when no additional empirical material can generate new codes through which the researcher can further develop the properties and significance of the research categories:[429]

> "After the analyst has assigned codes to a number of documents in this way, and the feeling has grown that coding new material will not generate new insights in addition to the codes already used (i.e., the principle of saturation), the exploration phase can be finished."[430]

What is a clear definition in theory, however, is not always easy to translate into practice, and Glaser and Strauss quite accurately remark that possibilities for comparison in sampling are theoretically unlimited.[431] Transferring to the realm of sampling Anthony Onwuegbuzie and Nancy Leech's advice on becoming a "programmatic researcher"

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421 | Despite the fact that the author speaks and understands French, all interviews were conducted in English in order to guarantee comparability, see chapters on comparability 2.2.2 and 1.2 on the choice of language.

422 | Glaser/Strauss 1967; Strauss 1998. See also the German translation of Glaser and Strauss' 1967 text (Glaser/Strauss 2005).

423 | Flick 1998, 206-211.

424 | Mayring 2000; Mayring 2008b; Mayring 2008a.

425 | Peters/Wester 2007.

426 | Glaser/Strauss 2005, 53.

427 | Flick 2009, 93.

428 | Flick 2009, 94.

429 | Flick 1998, 82-83.

430 | Peters/Wester 2007, 648.

431 | Glaser/Strauss 2005, 55.

that "all distinctions between quantitative and qualitative research methods lie on continua"[432], I would argue that saturation is a continuous process rather than a finish line. The process of saturation cannot be explored endlessly, however, and at one point a pragmatic decision must be made. The pragmatic researcher needs to draw a line when no additional information can be retrieved from new data.

In my case, the line was drawn when suggested interview partners proved to have little or no new knowledge about gender in impact assessment in their institutions, or when I was referred to the same key people from several different sides. Data triangulation was achieved by including four different respondent groups: 1) Internal, departmental gender focal points, 2) internal policy analysts 3) external, non-departmental gender experts and analysts from e.g. the central gender equality machinery[433] and 4) external scholars.

2.4.3.3 Interview Participation

In Canada, participants were chosen on basis of their gender and GBA and/or general impact assessment and evaluation expertise. They were approached with the support of the Status of Women Canada's Policy Directorate, which played an extremely helpful role with regard to accessibility of participants.[434] In Canada, I interviewed total of 18 individuals from 12 different federal Canadian departments and/or agencies, plus two scholars, one from an Anglophone and one from a francophone Canadian university. However, due to an interview revocation later in the process, I was only able include 15 Canadian government informants from ten federal departments plus the two scholars in the final sample. For the European Commission, I interviewed 17 individuals from nine DGs. No interview was withdrawn, but all interviews needed to be conducted in a fully anonymous fashion, which prevented me from revealing any information about the participants such as name, position or Directorate-General.

In sum, I interviewed 34 public officials from 21 different governmental departments, of which 31 officials from a total of 19 administrative bodies (Canadian departments/Commission DGs) remained in the final sample.[435] Additionally, three scholars (two from Canada and one from the EU) as well as one external expert (from the EU), were interviewed, all of whom remained in the final sample. The detailed, separate and sex-disaggregated description of the Canadian and European interview samples can be found in Annex I. The following table 3 shows the overall interview statistics and confidentiality status, including number of respondents (with gender break-down and revoked interviews) according to departments (where admissible) and with their respective position (where admissible). Non-governmental, external experts and scholars are also already included. In the text, the Canadian interviews

432 | Onwuegbuzie/Leech 2005, 384.

433 | For a definition of gender equality machinery, see subsection 3.2.1.

434 | All Canadian interviewees were contacted in the same manner, via email and phone in 2008, through a French/English invitation letter (Annex II) that also presented them with a consent form for the project (Annex III). All European interviewees were either contacted directly according to their responsibility as stated in the Commission's directory or indirectly through a request to the heads of all DGs in 2011. They received a slightly altered, English invitation letter (Annex II) with an identical consent form as in Canada (Annex III).

435 | Due to the ex-post withdrawal of interviews.

are cited as "Interview CAN," followed either by the name of the interviewee or a numerical code for undisclosed interviewees. The interviews with Commission experts are cited as "Interview EU," followed either by the name of the interviewee or a numerical code for undisclosed interviewees.

Table 3: Interview Statistics of the Canadian and EU Interviews—Partially Anonymised

Department / Directorate General	Participants Name / Anonymised Code
Canadian Interviews	
Anonymous Federal Department	CAN1
Anonymous Federal Department	CAN2
Anonymous Federal Department	CAN3
Anonymous Federal Department	CAN4
Anonymous Federal Department	CAN5
Anonymous Federal Department	CAN6
Anonymous Federal Department	CAN7
Canadian International Development Agency	Diana Rivington
Health Canada	Jennifer Payne
Health Canada	Sari Tudiver
Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada	Monique Lucie Sauriol
Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada	Audrey Hanningan-Peterk
Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada	Marcel Williamson
Statistics Canada	Colin Lindsay
Status of Women Canada	Michéle Bougie
University of Toronto, Ontario Institute for Studies of Education/Tool Developer	Margrit Eichler
Université Laval, Faculté de droit	Louise Langevin

European Interviews	
Anonymous Directorate General	EU10
Anonymous Directorate General	EU11
Anonymous Directorate General	EU12
Anonymous Directorate General	EU13
Anonymous Directorate General	EU14
Anonymous Directorate General	EU15
Anonymous Directorate General	EU16
Anonymous Directorate General	EU17
Anonymous Directorate General	EU18
Anonymous Directorate General	EU19
Anonymous Directorate General	EU20
Anonymous Directorate General	EU21
Anonymous Directorate General	EU22
Anonymous Directorate General	EU23
Anonymous Directorate General	EU24
Anonymous Directorate General	EU25
Anonymous Directorate General	EU26
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Amsterdam	Conny Roggeband
Norwegian Delegate in Greece	Anne Havnør

Participation in the study was entirely voluntary, following standard academic practise for qualitative research, including ethical research management.[436] Generally accepted ethical procedures regarding anonymity, confidentiality, and informed consent were established in accordance with the standards of Concordia

436 | Dench et al. 2004.

University[437] and with the German Sociological Association[438]. In order to work with research subjects, I obtained ethical clearance before project start from the Ethics Committee of the Simone de Beauvoir Institute of Concordia University in Montreal, to which I submitted a research proposal, including a detailed methodology and ethical quality management plan.[439]

All participants were introduced beforehand to my overall research intent and methodology, as well as to the particular interview purpose, technique and process. They were also offered a choice in degree of confidentiality: 1) Fully confidential, which means the person and his/her position in the department and the department itself would be anonymous, 2) partially confidential, which means the department could be disclosed but not the participant's identity nor his/her position in the department, or 3) non-confidential, which means the participant consented to have his/her full name, position, and department made public. This non-standardised model of different levels of confidentiality was offered to protect participants from risk and to attract a wider base of interviewees.

"Fully confidential" was chosen by eight Canadian participants representing five federal departments. For Canada, nine government employees and the two academic experts agreed to participate on a non-confidential basis, which made this the most used category, with a total of eleven individuals representing five departments. All 17 Commission administration employees opted for fully confidential interviews. Only the two external experts allowed me to disclose their names and positions. No participant chose "partially confidential", because all interviewees obviously regarded themselves as easily identifiable.

My standard interview setup was one individual per Canadian department or Commission DG in a single, one-on-one, either face-to-face or phone interview. The number of participants per interview varied in a few instances. Because of the required overlap of gender and impact assessment expertise, some departmental or Directorate-General officials deemed it necessary to be supported by one to up to four additional interviewees in order to clarify issues and be able to answer all questions.[440] This raised the sample size of participants and indeed allowed for

437 | Code of Ethics of the Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University Montréal (Concordia University n.d.).

438 | Code of Ethics of the German Sociological Association (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie) (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie 1992).

439 | This so-called "Ethical Protocol Form for Research Involving Human Subjects" is on file with the author and the Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada. Ethical clearance was granted by Professor Viviane Namaste, then Acting Principal and head of the Simone de Beauvoir Institute, by email on Wednesday, August 20, 2008. For all questions concerning the ethical standards and clearance process, contact Prof. Viviane Namaste, formerly Acting Principal, now Concordia University Research Chair in HIV/AIDS and Sexual Health and on-going member of the Ethics Committee at the Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University, Montreal, by phone (+1 (514) 848-2424 x 2371) or by email (viviane.namaste@concordia.ca).

440 | I interviewed two individuals at the same time in two Canadian interviews, three individuals in one Canadian interview, two individuals in two interviews with EC experts and five individuals in one interview with EC experts.

more depth of discussion. Thus, in two cases, I interviewed two experts from the same department/DG in two separate interviews.

2.4.3.4 Limitations of Field Access

Although the method of selecting experts for interviews promised a high positive response rate,[441] this study did not realise the expected level of response, despite the use of the refined confidentiality model and systematic follow-up on interview requests.[442] Of the 24 Canadian government departments required to collaborate with SWC on GBA, 14 were contacted based on a first environmental scan, performed in collaboration with SWC that identified GBA activity and capacities within the department.[443] The 14 initially contacted Canadian departments were: Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada (AAFC), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), Department of Finance Canada (DOFC), Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT), Department of Justice Canada (DOJC), Department of National Defence and the Canadian Forces (DNDCF), Health Canada (HC), Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSDC), Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (DIAND), Privy Council Office (PCO), Statistics Canada (STATCAN), Treasury Board Secretariat (TBS) and SWC.[444]

Of those 14 departments, 12 consented to participate. Of the 18 public servants originally interviewed in Canada, three individuals from two departments withdrew their interviews completely in the revision phase and could not be included in the final sample. This outcome for Canada allowed me to include in the study a total of ten departments with the participation of 15 senior and lower level policy analysts, gender focal points, and gender unit managers in the study, which equalled an institutional positive response rate of 85 per cent before withdrawal and a final, slightly under-performing sample response rate of 71 per cent. The two Canadian academic participants from two different universities agreed immediately and increased the overall positive response rate to 75 per cent, which, however, still remained below expectations. Two of the central agencies were unable to participate in the study, one of which was the Privy Council (PCO). Industry Canada also did not consent to an interview. All non-participating Canadian departments explained their reluctance by citing a lack of staff with knowledge about GBA, a lack of GBA activity within the organisation or staff turnover and inexperienced new employees in the requested positions. Since five of the 10 participating departments preferred to be treated with full confidentiality, I decided not to reveal the names of any of the participating departments or individuals. This measure seemed appropriate in

441 | According to Janet Ruane, expert interviews generate an average response rate of 80 to 85 per cent, see (Ruane 2005, 147).

442 | One of the main obstacles in the research process, in particular with regard to the European Commission, but also with some Canadian federal departments, was field access and convincing potential participants to engage in the study. In the case of the European Commission, data collection was initiated in 2009 and concluded only in spring 2012.

443 | According to SWC and my own research, there was no GBA activity in the other 10 departments in 2008 or previous to 2008, a judgment that was confirmed one year later by the GBA report of the auditor general (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2009a).

444 | For the interview sample, see Annex I.

order to guarantee ethical research, since they would be very easily identifiable in the small sample.

The rate of positive response for the European Commission was even lower. I contacted all 32 DGs and the Secretariat General (SG), from which I received—as noted before—a positive response from only nine DGs, lowering the Commission response rate to 27 per cent and the overall sample response rate to 40 per cent. The lower EU success rate was also responsible for a delay in the research process, especially since many mitigation measures needed to be taken.[445] Of the three tool developers I approached, two of whom were currently or formerly employed within the Commission's DG administration and one of whom was an external academic expert, all were willing to be interviewed. The participating Directorates-General of the Commission in the sample were: EuropeAid Development & Cooperation (DEVCO); Translation (DGT); Education and Culture (EAC); Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion (EMPL); Enterprise and Industry (ENTR); Eurostat (ESTAT); Home Affairs (HOME); Justice (JUST); and Research and Innovation (RDT).[446]

One may only speculate about the reasons for the significantly lower response rate for the EU context, such as the severe time constraints of EC officials, who presumably receive research requests much more often than their Canadian counter-parts. Key to the higher rate in Canada was certainly the generous and engaged support from within government by the SWC, which I lacked—despite unsuccessful efforts to secure it—from the European Institute for Gender Equality for the EU context. As the EU's gender equality machinery[447], the European Institute for Gender Equality was also approached for an interview, but declined participation.[448]

The reasons for declining the interview request in the rest of EU sample ranged from no GIA activity, to no gender relevance of policies and programmes, to no actual responsibility for developing policies. Since I always contacted the head of each Directorate-General, its secretary and, where identifiable, the gender and impact assessment and/or evaluation units, I can state that my reach-out to the organisations was approached top-to-bottom as well as bottom-to-top. In three instances, DGs declined interview requests by referring to non-applicability because of no gender activity in their policies and programming and therefore non-relevance for gender in impact assessment. In other cases, I did not get a final answer or official non-participation note, despite email reminders and follow-up calls; therefore, no conclusions about gender impact assessment or gender-sensitive evaluation activity in the DGs absent from the sample can be drawn. A screening of key words of the published IA reports policy developing DGs on the

445 | Such as extensive email and phone reach-out, personal meetings in Ottawa and Brussels, attending relevant conferences and contacting key people, asking for support from within the system, snowballing, offering to conduct only parts of the interview, shortening of the semi-guided questionnaire, sending questionnaires in advance, the possibility for written response to the questionnaire, and intense follow-up of interview requests.

446 | For the interview sample, see Annex I.

447 | For a definition of gender equality machinery, see introductory remarks in subchapter 3.2.1.

448 | By email, dated 26th August and 2nd September 2011, on file with the author; see also Annex I.

Commission IA website, however, indicated that gender considerations do not play a role in the impact assessment systems of those non-participating DGs.[449] As such, it can be assumed that no possible GIA activity was overlooked due to limitations in field access in the case of the EU. In Canada, GBA activity in non-participating departments cannot be excluded.

2.4.3.5 Interview Questionnaire and Interrogation

The questionnaire[450] was based on prior research on gender mainstreaming in organisations and on theoretical considerations.[451] It was first used for the Canadian GBA interviews and developed in consultation with GBA experts. It followed the main procedural strands of organisational evaluation analysis, which examines the role of actors, resources and institutions within the particular political system and policy, in this case policy instrument, environment.[452] It consisted of fixed, formulated, and standardised, yet open-ended questions, and allowed for exhaustive answers and comparability in evaluation. It aimed at a macro-analysis of the sociology of the organisations[453] as well as a micro-analysis of individual input.[454] With a total of 26 questions, the guide encompassed all-important segments according to the analytical gender analysis implementation framework[455] in the following five blocks: 1) GBA/GIA Implementation, 2) GBA/GIA Monitoring, 3) GBA/GIA Data Collection, 4) GBA/GIA Communication, and 5) Personal Opinion and Additional Remarks.[456]

The first block (14 questions) emphasised implementation mechanisms through structural incorporation, case studies, tools and training. Data collection and indicators were covered in five questions each. Less emphasis was given to communication strategies, with two questions only, as they were not so central for this study. Block five contained a single open-ended question that added great value to the study by allowing respondents a high degree of freedom in their input. In this way, it was assured that department—or DG-specific aspects of GBA/GIA would be included if not already covered by the interview guide. A unique contribution of this study to the field of GBA/GIA, apart from its focus on implementation and accountability mechanisms, is its exploration of possibilities for a greater level of intersectionality in gendered policy analysis. The questionnaire addressed intersectionality by probing the interviewees' opinions on the notion of diversity within GBA/GIA tool design and implementation practice and by encouraging them to consider intersecting inequality markers.

In order to evoke genuine answers during the actual interviews, the interview questionnaire was not presented in advance to participants. The Canadian set of face-to-face interviews took place behind closed doors in office spaces at the participants' departments and lasted between 58 minutes and one hour 55 minutes. The average

449 | For the screening methodology see chapters 2.4.4, for the results 4.4.6.3 and Annex V.

450 | To consult the full questionnaire, see Annex IV.

451 | See especially subsections 2.4 and 2.5.

452 | Knoepfel et al. 2011, 268.

453 | Froschauer/Lueger 2003.

454 | Stockmann 2007; Stockmann/Meyer 2010.

455 | As explained in detail in chapter 2.5.

456 | See Annex IV.

interview length was one hour 25 minutes.[457] The interviews conducted with civil servants in the Commission's DGs were exclusively phone interviews, mainly due to the time constraints of the interviewees.[458] The individual European interviews lasted between 18 minutes and one hour 14 minutes. The average interview length was 47 minutes. The questionnaire served as basic grid for the notes[459] I took during each interview, which were extended to master notes in the half hour to an hour immediately after the interview.

All interviewees were sent or received personally the signed consent forms before the interview took place. All interviews were digitally recorded, and the audio files securely stored on a hard drive not accessible to others. The same privacy protection was exercised with the interview notes, which were securely stored in files inaccessible to others and used exclusively for double-checking meanings during the transcription phase, or as a general informational background informing the text analysis phase.[460] After the interviews, an exact and complete verbatim transcription of each audio file was made.[461] In the subsequent process of anonymization, in order to ensure confidentiality, personal and department names were abbreviated with first letters or entirely substituted where necessary.[462] Frequently used terms, such as gender impact assessment, were also substituted with their acronym after their first occurrence in the text. No other changes were

457 | This corresponded to the time commitment asked of participants in the invitation letter (one hour 30 minutes).

458 | I adhered to the recommendations given by Gabriela Christmann in preparing and executing the phone interviews versus face-to-face interviews (Christmann 2009, 211-218). I was also aware of potential problems in conducting and comparing the different kinds of interviews (lack of facial expressions, social cues etc.) (Christmann 2009, 207-208). Due to applying thematic comparison, I regarded these difficulties as negligible in the analytical phase.

459 | Meuser/Nagel 2010.

460 | The interview notes were not transcribed and therefore only informed the coding system indirectly, as background knowledge. They were consulted before analysing each interview and making coding decisions in order to refresh the interview situation.

461 | Since there is no transcription standard and a variety of systems in place, I fit the transcription to my research purposes (Kuckartz 2005, 43). I followed the transcription guidelines laid out by Udo Kuckartz (Kuckartz 2005, 40-50). I was deviating from them only in one instance: Very clear and long pauses were transcribed with "...". All other insertions in rectangular brackets "[...]" are ex-post remarks, explanations, abbreviations which are not part of the spoken text. Other non-verbal elements, such as raising or lowering the voice, very short hesitations or emphasis in pronunciation were not transcribed, since the method of text analysis of expert interviews focuses on the content of what has been said, and does not read between the lines of how it was said or what has not been said. In this verbatim transcription, no corrections were made, even when non-native English speaking participants made grammatical mistakes (although each interviewee later had the chance—and most made use of it—to correct faulty grammar during the review and authorisation process).

462 | Kuckartz 2005, 49.

made in transcribing the spoken word. After verbatim transcriptions were made, all interviews were validated[463] through a respondent checking process.[464]

2.4.3.6 Interview Evaluation

The evaluation of the interviews by employing content analysis and developing a taxonomy and code system were the next steps in the research process. For the evaluation, I followed Meuser and Nagel's six steps[465] for complete evaluation in combination with a triangulated coding system as a taxonomic framework: 1) Full verbatim transcription, 2) paraphrasing and coding of overarching topics, 3) thematic overview of single interviews and overarching issues relatively close in text and language, 4) thematic comparison of interviews and overarching issues, 5) conceptualisation and revision of code system with finalisation of key overarching issues, and 6) inclusion of core issues in theoretical discourses and triangulation.

All interview transcripts were imported into a word coding software[466] and thematically analysed by finding consistencies in meanings and establishing a

463 | Pierce 2008.

464 | From April to June 2008, the full scripts were sent back to the Canadian participants for final review and authorisation. From October 2011 to May 2012, the full scripts were sent back to the European participants for final review and authorisation. From April to July 2015, the interviewees in both interview sets had the opportunity to confirm citations in context, when the respective chapters of the final thesis were sent to the interview participants. These steps and the high level of process and result ownership was offered beforehand, in order to increase trust and the participation ratio. Participants had the chance to withdraw single answers, text parts, or even the entire interview. Since most of the participants were non-native English speakers and concerned about their English proficiency and professional habitus representing national or supranational government agencies, they also had the chance to revise the text linguistically and to re-work grammar, expressions or orthography. In order to preserve the original content, however, they were not allowed to alter or change the original meaning or content of phrases. This checking process proved necessary but difficult, and slowed the evaluation down considerably; it seemed even harder to get reviewed interviews back than to convince informants of the usefulness of their participation. Respondents took anywhere from two days to six months to send reviewed and validated interview scripts back, delaying the start of the next evaluation step. Qualitative research and interviewing techniques ask for a large time commitment that busy civil servants do not always have for an external independent study such as this one. Given the painstaking process of going through some 50-60 pages of transcript per interview on average, plus the participants' understandable concerns about accuracy of responses, I was not surprised at the late returns. I want to convey how deeply I appreciate the hard work and devotion to the cause that all the interviewees demonstrated, and I thank them for their support.

465 | First laid out in (Meuser/Nagel 1991). Further developed in (Meuser/Nagel 1997; Meuser/Nagel 2002; Meuser/Nagel 2003; Meuser/Nagel 2009). In their last update, inclusive language ("ExpertInnen" addressing female and male experts alike instead of the German generic masculinum), and the attention drawn to the potential influence gender relations can have on interview conditions (Meuser/Nagel 2010, 377) made the method gender-sensitive for the first time.

466 | MAX data text analysis MAXQDA 2007.

coding scheme to index, search, summarise, and evaluate the data.[467] The coding system was developed through inductive and deductive approaches,[468] based on the interview questionnaire, the master notes, and triangulation with primary and secondary sources. By using focused coding techniques[469] and placing the experts' answers in an institutional, organisational action framework, it was possible to identify themes and collectively shared knowledge, regardless of when the information was conveyed in the interview.[470] Discussion with and feedback from policy analysts from the SWC, independent scholars and peers contributed to the finalisation of the coding schemes and assurance of coding credibility. The final combined code system of the Canadian and EU interviews together had a total of 1.649 entries, grouped in 17 focused thematic codes,[471] according to their relevance for or challenges to GBA implementation. Given the project's multiple data sets and the need to generate integrated sets of findings, the review of the coding system and its sub-systems helped to ensure the weighing of particular perspectives, correct reporting of findings, and representation of all thematic areas and most frequent themes. The full coding tree can be found in Annex VII.

The qualitative content analysis was oriented along the lines of the coding system and followed Philipp Mayring's approach of first summarising the single methodological techniques, then explicating the findings and in a final step, structuring them.[472] Also Ulrike Froschauer and Manfred Lueger's fine-tuning of content analysis helped interrogate the interview text on the level of thematic analysis of the coding segments.[473]

2.4.4 Triangulation

Triangulation was used both as design strategy and as an analytical tool.[474] It allowed for clustering and (re-)organisation of disparate yet related data. Through an understanding of my own stance as a researcher, previously described[475], and the respective situatedness of the various actors in equality governance processes in the mirror of standpoint theory, research bias was reduced and the practice-theory link established.[476] Triangulation, defined in sociological terms as the combination of various methods, is often seen as essential for validation in a study based on rich qualitative data. Although I do not ascribe to such positivist understandings of triangulation, employing this research strategy enabled me to bring together not only multiple methods, but also multiple data and theoretical perspectives, thus weaving a denser fabric and generating a higher level of concision and gestalt.

467 | Patton 2002.
468 | Farmer et al. 2006, 381.
469 | Charmaz 2006, 58-59.
470 | Meuser/Nagel 1997, 487.
471 | See chapters three and four on Canada and the EU.
472 | Mayring 2000; Mayring 2008a; Mayring 2008b.
473 | Froschauer/Lueger 2003, 158-165; 226-227.
474 | Creswell/Plano Clark 2007.
475 | In chapter 2.4.1.
476 | Farmer et al. 2006.

I chose to use the following multiple forms of triangulation:[477] First, I provided methodological triangulation by using more than one research method (qualitative analysis as well as key word screening[478] of primary and secondary source documents plus expert interviews). Second, I triangulated my data through the examination of multiple interview sources, including civil servants, sub-grouped as policy analysts and gender focal points, and academic scholars. Third, I provided theoretical triangulation by focusing postmodern, feminist, and queer lenses on the data and resultant findings.[479]

The range of primary and secondary material, together with this wide theoretical angle, posed problems but also greatly enriched the study. Feminist methodologies and interpretations[480] have were particularly fruitful in the evaluation process. One of the most challenging and rewarding aspects of the study was the attempt to use and represent the data with a feminist approach, regarding them as "voices" or "interpretations," as lived experience. In order to make all the "voices" heard and to align the interview data with data from the document sources, I built two different data sets,[481] to compare the two, code-by-code, and to identify areas with common characteristics as well as discrepancies.[482] To find significance in the microcosm and discover large lessons in small worlds was both a reward and a challenge. It made me also realise the limitations of this study, but "given that no method, data set, or analysis is without flaws, it is important for qualitative researchers to be upfront in their acknowledgement and recognition of limitations of the sets of findings that they use as inputs into a triangulation process."[483]

The second step was to look for concurrences and disparities within theme areas and to converge the coding according to essence and eminence. I found full

477 | Creswell/Plano Clark 2007; Flick 2011.

478 | I employed a screening by key words of the EU Impact Assessment Board reports. For the results, see sub-section 4.4.6.3 and Annex V. I determined whether gender equality or fundamental rights/non-discrimination concerns were mentioned at all in the overall texts of these IAs and the corresponding Impact Assessment Board's opinions. In the case of gender equality issues, I also followed up on whether those aspects emerged again at the end of the assessment and whether they played a role in the final recommendations (see full chart in Annex V). It served as preparatory measure, in order to build up the requested quasi expert status for conducting the interviews. This exercise served merely the purpose of providing an insight into some practices of conducting IAs in the Commission today. It can be no more than anecdotal evidence, an indicator or point of orientation, and does not represent sound empirical evidence. It served primarily as background information about the occurrence of gender aspects in current EC IA studies and enabled me to improve my interview strategy. Before a more systematic review of IAs, stretching over a longer period of time, could be performed, future research would first need to identify a complete set of theory-induced and empirically-deducted equality concepts and translate them into useful keywords. Additionally, it would have to be complemented by a policy area specific contextualisation for each individual IA study, before creating a matrix of gender relevance.

479 | Pierce 2008.

480 | Eichler 1997; Harding/Hintikka 1983; Harding 1998; Smith 1987a; Smith 1990.

481 | Farmer et al. 2006, 382.

482 | See also comparative method in 2.2.2.

483 | Farmer et al. 2006, 391.

agreement between the two data sets in most areas, hardly any partial agreements, and only occasional dissonances, as future chapters show in detail. Areas of silence did not occur; all questions were answered by all participants. I finalised my convergence assessment by comparing the nature and scope of each topic area for each data source. The biggest hurdle for me, however, was not so much accurately representing the "voices" in the different data sets, but in coming to terms with the fact that the data from my interview transcripts was better suited to my analysis than the primary and secondary source material, since I obviously designed the semi-guided questionnaire and directed the interview interactions according to my feminist research interests[484].

2.5 The Analytic Framework

The main objective of this study is to examine the breadth and depth of gender mainstreaming implementation as exemplified through its gender analysis instrument application, GIA and GBA. Gender mainstreaming, and with it, its main implementation tools of ex-ante policy and programme assessment, such as GBA/GIA, have become central elements of intra-organisational governance.[485] Instrument uptake can serve as a meaningful indicator of the extent of the "integral dimension." Gender mainstreaming is only a lived practice insofar its instruments are actually used. Their application can (and should) be formalised—even institutionalised[486]—in intra-organisational standards and guidelines, including implementation recommendations (via gender action plans, for example); or they can remain dependent on the individual judgment of analysts, who are in charge of IAs or who design drafts of their organisation's policies and programmes.[487] But no coherent system for the organisational institutionalisation of gender mainstreaming in general or gender mainstreaming tools in particular has been developed to date. This subchapter therefore combines organisational theories with institutionalism and theories of gender mainstreaming in organisations. It concludes by proposing an analytical framework for the institutionalisation of gender analysis as a gender mainstreaming instrument.

484 | See also sub-chapter 2.4.1 on positioning.

485 | Schimank 2007, 200.

486 | I understand institutionalisation, in accordance with Roger Friedland and Robert Alford, as the integration of gender mainstreaming tools in the "central logic" and the "set of material practices" including routines, patterns, structures as well as the value systems that provide these with essence (Friedlang/Alford 1991, 248).

487 | This statement is not intended to negate that policy and programme making are also inherently political processes, as i.e. Jane Parpart states (Parpart 2014); this concern was not, however, at the centre of interest of this study..

2.5.1 Institutional Mechanisms for Gender Mainstreaming

In area H of the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA), the United Nations (UN) call for institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women and defines the following three strategic objectives, targeted at supporting governments in their work of promoting gender equality:

"H1) Create or strengthen national machineries and other governmental bodies;
H2) Integrate gender perspectives into legislation, public policies, programmes and projects;
H3) Generate and disseminate gender disaggregated data and information for planning and evaluation."[488]

It was during the Finnish Council presidency that the EU first started to pay attention to the realities of the BPfA institutional mechanisms for gender mainstreaming on the Commission as well as on the member state level, which happened as late as 2006.[489] To assess the progress in institutionalisation, the Council of the European Union (Council) established a set of strategic objectives, first for areas H1 and H2 in 2006 and adding area H3 later in 2013 during the Lithuanian Council presidency:[490]

"1 Status of governmental responsibility in promoting gender equality;
2a Personnel resources of the governmental gender equality body;
2b Personnel resources of the designated body or bodies for the promotion of equal treatment of women and men."[491]

"H3. Generate and disseminate gender-disaggregated data and information for planning and evaluation"[492]

Additionally, the Council stressed that for an effective national institutional structure for gender equality, the following conditions must be ensured: the placement of the mechanisms at the highest possible level in the government, the involvement of civil society organisations, sufficient resources, and the possibility of influencing the development of all government policies.[493]

488 | See institutional mechanisms on the BPfA website (UN 1995).

489 | For a historical account of the earlier gender mainstreaming developments, see (Fuhrmann 2005, 181-193).

490 | Following up on the requirements of the Beijing Platform for Action, in 2006 the Finnish Council presidency picked the topic of institutional mechanisms, for which it prepared a report and suggested a set of three indicators to monitor the successful implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (The Council of the European Union 2006a; Smith 2005).

491 | European Institute for Gender Equality 2014b, 8. Emphasis as in the original.

492 | The Council of the European Union 2013.

493 | European Institute for Gender Equality 2014b, 3.

2.5.2 Gender Mainstreaming in Organisations: The Moser and Moser Framework

In order to develop an understanding of gender mainstreaming mechanisms, Sally Theobald, Rachel Tolhurst, Hellen Elsey and Hilary Standing recommend that "we need to understand the institutional contexts that stakeholders come from."[494] As a framework for institutional analysis of the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy analysis tools, I would like to suggest to build on the one developed by Caroline Moser and Annalise Moser. They evaluated the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies in 14 international organisations and derived Components and Associated Activities of Gender Mainstreaming Policy.[495] Although the framework originated in the context of development cooperation organisations and is targeted at the overarching gender mainstreaming strategy, it seems highly appropriate as an analytical framework to evaluate the application of gender analysis in a bureaucratic environment: It captures how the strategy is "specified in particular gender mainstreaming policies and strategies."[496] Derived from empirical experience in those 14 organisations, it looks at how gender mainstreaming is conveyed in their internal policies.[497]

It supports my analysis of the particular gender mainstreaming tools GBA/GIA and their implementation status in the federal Canadian bureaucracy and the Commission's IA system in two ways: 1) Synchronicity of instruments/travelling instruments: As tools, GBA/GIA foster implementation of gender mainstreaming and, as such, fall under the processes for achieving gender equality worldwide outlined in the Beijing Declaration for Action. Gender equality impact assessment tools are travelling and part of the world polity process for gender mainstreaming. 2) Synchronicity of organisational environment: Moser and Moser analysed the implementation of gender mainstreaming in a variety of organisational environments. They looked at bilateral agencies (UK Government Department for International Development—DFID, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency—SIDA, Canadian International Development Agency—CIDA), international financial institutions (International Development Bank—IDB, World Bank—WB, Asian Development Bank—ADB), UN agencies (UNIFEM, UNICEF, Habitat, UNDP) and NGOs (HIVOS, ActionAid, Oxfam GB, ACORD).[498] Moser and Moser found policy and project IA systems to be part of these bilateral agencies, as well as of international financial institutions, UN agencies and some of the examined NGOs, which allows for a similar comparison in my work.

Moser and Moser categorised three stages of gender mainstreaming implementation: "Adoption of terminology, followed by putting a policy into place, and finally implementation"[499]—which Pollack and Hafner call the process and output.[500] In their article, Moser and Moser argue that "while most institutions

494 | Theobald et al. 2004, 147.
495 | Moser/Moser 2005, 13.
496 | Moser/Moser 2005, 20.
497 | Moser/Moser 2005, 13.
498 | Moser/Moser 2005, 13.
499 | Moser/Moser 2005, 11.
500 | Pollack/Hafner-Burton 2010.

have put gender mainstreaming policies in place, implementation remains inconsistent."[501] They admit that despite their investigation into many international organisations, the "outcomes and impact of the implementation of gender mainstreaming"[502] remained largely unknown, with implications for strategies over the next decade. Two further aspects are central to their analysis of the degree and progress of gender mainstreaming implementation, in what is commonly subsumed in the twin strategy or double approach: The institutionalisation of gender concerns within the organisation itself, and gender empowerment, promoting women's participation in decision making.[503] These paradigmatic expectations resulted in a framework that incorporated aspects central to the institutional implementation of gender mainstreaming, which were shared in most organisations examined by Moser and Moser:

"A dual strategy of mainstreaming gender combined with targeted actions for gender equality; gender analysis; a combined approach to responsibilities, where all staff share responsibility, but are supported by gender specialists; gender training; support to women's decision making and empowerment; monitoring and evaluation."[504]

The following table 4shows the categories used in my questionnaire design and document analysis based on the Moser and Moser framework and altered only insofar as gender analysis, as the centre of my research interest, was ranked first. The following original gender mainstreaming components were examined in relation to the creation of a beneficial and informed organisational environment for the implementation of gender equality tools. The interview questionnaire also touched on three additional components, which according to Moser and Moser's study were shared only by a smaller number of institutions, but which I consider crucial success factors for knowledge-based instruments:

- Working with other organisations (collaboration or support for GBA/GIA).
- Budgets (including financial resources for GBA/GIA and gender staffing).
- Knowledge resources (sex-disaggregated data, qualitative and quantitative studies, expert networks).

501 | Moser/Moser 2005, 11.
502 | Moser/Moser 2005, 11.
503 | Moser/Moser 2005, 11.
504 | Moser/Moser 2005, 12.

Table 4: Components and Associated Activities of Gender Mainstreaming in Organisations (Moser & Moser Framework)[505]

Components	*Activities*
Dual strategy of mainstreaming and targeting gender equality	Mainstreaming into policies, projects and programmes
	Actions targeting gender equality
Gender analysis	Sex-disaggregated data and gender info
	Analysis at all programme cycle stages
	Gender-sensitive budget analysis
Internal responsibility	Responsibilities shared between all staff and gender specialists/focal points
Gender training	Understanding and implementation of gender policy for staff and counterparts
	Staff/counterpart gender sensitisation
	Staff/counterpart gender training/skills
	Manuals, tool kits
Support to women's decision making and empowerment	Strengthening women's organisations through capacity building and training
	Support to women's participation in decision making/empowerment
	Working with men for gender equality
Monitoring and evaluation	Effective systems and tools for M&E
	Gender-sensitive indicators
Work with other organisations	Strengthening gender equality in work with government, donors, UN, private sector and NGOs
	Capacity building of civil society
	Support to national women's machineries
Budgets	Allocation of financial resources for staff to carry out gender policy
Knowledge resources	Publications/knowledge base on best practice and effective strategies
	Networks
	Online databases

The Moser and Moser framework helped me identify central areas of inquiry when approaching middle management and individual policy analysts.[506] The fact that these actors in the governance of GIA hold individual power central to the advancement of gender mainstreaming and to the implementation of its tools

505 | Moser/Moser 2005, 13.

506 | For the final analytical framework applied in this thesis, see chapter 2.5.

has already been recognised by Kyoko Kusakabe[507]: "I have argued that one of the barriers to mainstreaming a concern for gender equality in the government bureaucracies studied is that the realities of middle- and lower-level government officers are often neglected."[508] By investigating through the eyes of the lower and middle management the acceptance and use of gender mainstreaming instruments, I investigated whether gender mainstreaming—almost 20 years after its introduction—was advancing and whether the gender perspective has managed to seep into routines at all levels and in all procedures: "It is important that other concrete activities for gender mainstreaming (especially routine activities) are introduced in the middle and lower levels of government. [...]."[509]

2.5.3 Institutionalisation of Gender Analysis: The Analytic Framework

Institutional capacity for gender analysis is different in the EU context than in the Canadian context. In Canada, the SWC developed an organisational self-assessment tool[510] for GBA implementation from which the government-wide GBA departmental framework resulted.[511] Core elements for GBA capacity are: 1) a GBA departmental statement of intent or policy; 2) a responsibility centre (either within the IA or in the equality unit) to monitor the implementation of a GBA framework and the practice of GBA; 3) the provision of policy field specific guides, manuals, or other appropriate information for promoting GBA; 4) mandatory GBA training for all senior departmental officials and analysts and other appropriate staff; 5) identification of GBA frameworks in departmental reports on plans and priorities and an accounting of their implementation in departmental performance reports or similar documents; and 6) yearly self-evaluation and reporting to the central equality machinery SWC on departmental GBA practices, employing SWC's Organizational Capacity Assessment tool[512].

At the EU level, no comparable capacity exists. Institutional capacity is very generally defined as "the set of characteristics related to **human capital** in the public sector and to the **performance and success of public policies**."[513] According to the EP, the EU is interested in improving its institutional capacity also with regard to policy programming with a gender perspective and to the application of appropriate assessment tools (like GIA), but it does not spell out precisely its desired capacity nor its specific commitment.[514] We can, however, get a general idea of what the international community once envisioned as enabling structures for gender mainstreaming. In 1995, with the BPfA, the UN established a set of indicators to foster the progress of gender mainstreaming on a state level, although not on the

507 | Kusakabe 2005.
508 | Kusakabe 2005, 51.
509 | Kusakabe 2005, 53.
510 | SWC; Cooper n.d.. For adherence to the framework, see chapter 3.4.1.5.
511 | Privy Council Office et al. 2009.
512 | SWC; Cooper n.d.
513 | European Parliament 2014, 22. Emphasis as in original.
514 | European Parliament et al. 2014, 22.

level of individual organisations.[515] In Chapter IV, section under H., Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women,[516] the UN formulated strategic objective H.2. to integrate gender perspectives into legislation, public policies, programmes and projects, thereby addressing the duties of governments (no. 204) as well as their national equality bodies (no. 205). Among these duties is the responsibility for conducting ex-ante gender assessments at an early stage "before policy decisions are taken" and to promote a gender perspective "in all national policies."[517] These requirements resonate with and translate to an organisational level of individual government agencies and institutions; however, they are not specific and need to be broken down into ministerial responsibilities in the environment of public administration.

Due to the fact that these UN requirements exist in the absence of an EU framework, and that the Canadian GBA capacity framework is designed for both GBA as a policy analysis tool and GBA as an equivalent to the overarching gender mainstreaming strategy, there was a need for my study to come up with a more specific, tool-focused framework that would at the same time be transferable to other organisational contexts. I thus decided to adapt the Moser and Moser framework[518], because it is the closest organisational frame of reference to the BPfA demands by putting gender analysis in the centre. From this starting point, I focused on the status quo of gender analysis tool implementation and its connection to institutionalisation of gender mainstreaming in organisations. In their study, Moser and Moser attested that for all organisations, "some form of gender analysis is identified by 86 per cent [...]."[519] The existence of tools, however, does not automatically guarantee their implementation, and in their study Moser and Moser did not control for the actual application.[520] Moser and Moser, as well as the BPfA, stress the centrality of gender equality machineries for the implementation of gender mainstreaming and policy analysis, in accordance with the original mandate as stipulated in the BPfA in 1995:

> "201. A national machinery for the advancement of women is the central policy-coordinating unit inside government. Its main task is to support government-wide mainstreaming of a gender-equality perspective in all policy areas. The necessary conditions for an effective functioning of such national machineries include: [...] (d) Opportunity to influence development of all government policies."[521]

Investigating the existence and role of the relevant gender equality machineries and the actors within them therefore became central to my investigation of the

515 | Explained in detail for the context of the EU in subchapter 4.1.2.

516 | UN 1995.

517 | See chapter IV, "H. Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women" (UN 1995).

518 | See subchapter 2.3.2 (Moser/Moser 2005).

519 | Moser/Moser 2005, 14; Moser 2005, 580.

520 | In another publication, based on the same empirical evidence and for the purpose of a Gender Audit Score Card, Moser established as a target indicator that "all programmes [should, A.S.] include gender analysis; in 50% this is extensive" (Moser 2005, 586).

521 | UN 1995, 79.

development and institutionalisation of gender policy analysis. With gender analysis as its pivotal point, my study intersected with the velvet triangle of state feminism in its "bureaucratic positionality"[522]. From there, and based on the theoretical governance and feminist considerations described earlier, I condensed the wider Moser and Moser structure[523] to six main components and facilitating factors for gender analysis in public administration (see following table 5).

Table 5: Components and Facilitating Factors for the Institutionalisation of Gender Analysis

Components	***Facilitating Factors***
1. Tools	Tool design and fit
	Analysis preferably ex-ante, but also parallel at all programme/policy cycle stages
2. Responsi-bilities	Responsibilities laid out in overarching strategies (gender equality plans *and* IA procedures/roadmaps)
	Responsibilities clear and shared between all staff/analysts and gender specialists/focal points
3. Training	Understanding of gender analysis (incl. basic sex/gender/intersectionality concepts) by staff/analysts
	Staff/analysts gender sensitisation (disciplinary knowledge)
	Staff/analysts gender training/skills (advanced education)
	Implementation of manuals, tool kits by staff/analysts (experience)
4. Resources	Allocation of financial resources, staffing and time to carry out gender analysis
5. Knowledge	Sex-disaggregated data, indicators, statistics
	Publications, studies, knowledge (policy field specific)
	Availability and accessibility (online databases, best practices etc.)
6. Accounta-bility	Effective systems for establishing accountability for gender analysis
	Quality criteria and quality management (QM) for gender analysis (IA QM, audits etc.)

522 | I focus on the bureaucratic actors as facilitators of both, research and politics (Franken 2007). Due to the extensive literature review as well as interviews conducted with scholarly tool designers, I also take "academic positionality" into account (Theobald et al. 2004, 144).

523 | Moser and Moser originally suggested a total of nine components and 22 associated activities for the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies in organisations (Moser/Moser 2005, 13), see table 4 in subchapter 2.3.2.

These six components incorporate the BPfA strategic objective H.2 (no. 204 and 205) requirements and delineate an enabling institutional structure for increased sustainability[524] and quality of gender in IA. This framework sees the dual strategy of mainstreaming gender into policies, projects and programmes and positive action as the backdrop against which gender analysis tools and practices are read.[525] As a circumstantial factor, however, the Moser and Moser framework did not lend itself to distinctive inquiry.[526] The framework, furthermore, regards supporting equality architecture and machinery as well as bureaucratic IA specific gender expertise as central and enabling factors that play a role in all six main components, as will be highlighted in my examination.[527] I applied this analytic framework to the empirical part of my study, as the basis for my questionnaire design and evaluation of the interviews.

To date, tool design and tool fit have not been examined in relation to existing, commonly applied IA tools or with regard to their potential for enabling intersectional analysis. With regard to institutional inputs and internal departmental/bureaucratic and actor specific responsibilities, Moser and Moser raised concerns that influenced my hypotheses and research approach; for instance, they had concerns about policy analysts carrying out GIA or GBA:

> "Although most organisations have promoted a combined approach, where all staff share responsibility but are supported by gender specialists, success in gender mainstreaming is still highly reliant on the commitment and skills of key individuals [...] NGOs with gender specialists have made the most progress on gender issues. [...] At the same time, when gender mainstreaming is the responsibility of all staff, gender issues can be diluted or disappear altogether, through non-committed decision makers and male resistance, while specialised gender focal points can be marginalised from mainstream activities [...]. Equally a gender unit at head office can be regarded by field staff as top-down or culturally coercive."[528]

My inquiry bears such problems in mind when applying the framework. Another hypothesis supported by my literature research was that it is beneficial to have gender units or gender focal points with policy and programme IA experience in each individual department or Directorate-General and at the overarching federal or the Commission level. Mechanisms for monitoring and accountability, including "greater transparency in terms of documentation,"[529] and the education, value and hierarchical positionality and role of individual staff members, also seem to play a vital role in the depth and sustainability of GIA/GBA implementation and hence have also been included in my analysis:

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524 | In the sense of routine and lasting integration, see sub-chapter 1.1.2.

525 | Represented in the original Moser and Moser component "Dual strategy of mainstreaming and targeting gender equality" (Moser/Moser 2005, 13).

526 | For distinguishing equality-specific policies or programmes from mainstreaming by integrating a gender perspective in analysis, see introductory remarks in section 3.4.1.

527 | Represented in the original Moser and Moser component "Work with other organisations—i.e. Support to national women's machineries" (Moser/Moser 2005, 13).

528 | Moser/Moser 2005, 16.

529 | Moser/Moser 2005, 19.

"There is a widely acknowledged need for specific mechanisms of accountability, rather than simply the general guidelines provided in the policy statements. These include incentives for positive behaviour as well as appropriate sanctions [...]. Related to this is the fact that gender experts, including focal points, advisers and others, are often junior staff/or consultants who have little power to influence or advice [...]. There are few specific guidelines or requirements, such as minimum standards, in order to move beyond the deterrence of an all-or-nothing approach, and few specific gender equality goals and targets in programme or project planning and design [...]. There has also been a call for systems of monitoring and evaluation to be applied to organisation-level issues."[530]

The question of how the GIA process and the actors involved can be monitored and evaluated within the wider policy cycle thus became another central element of analysis. Preparedness for conducting GIA depends on many factors, including the ability to agree on indicators, to generate data and define goals—and to answer the basic questions of what constitutes gender impact, what the benchmark is and how it can be measured. As acknowledged by Moser and Moser:

"One of the challenges here involves identifying criteria for assessment, including appropriate indicators. Assessments often focus on the input indicators such as the number and proportion of female beneficiaries, and number of activities, rather than addressing impacts or outcomes [...]. The development of indicators on gender concerns presents several challenges. One is the need for uniform criteria, determined by consensus. Another is the difficulty of measuring changes in power and status. Such challenges make impact assessment a lengthy, difficult, and costly process."[531]

In the realm of GIA, several authors emphasise the ambiguity of evidence-based policymaking as closely related to quantitative indicators and research methods.[532] Feminist research methodologies have traditionally leaned heavily toward qualitative research.[533] For this reason, my questionnaire raised issues such as data availability and access to support for GIA in order to address the need for multiple indicators, for triangulation, and for the combination of qualitative and quantitative indicators, which would expose IA policies to a dominant discourse of quantification and measurability.[534]

The importance of gender training, its existence, its particular support and usefulness for GIA implementation, its frequency and the level of satisfaction by participants were also evaluated in my study, especially since Moser and Moser identified training as one of the weakest links in the chain. Gender training, including awareness raising and capacity building for GIA and GBA, was part of

530 | Moser/Moser 2005, 17.

531 | Moser/Moser 2005, 18.

532 | Lombardo/Verloo 2009b; McBride/Mazur 2010; Torriti 2007.

533 | Ramazanoglu/Holland 2002; Smith 1990.

534 | In the social science methodology dispute between quantitative and qualitative methods, the argument has long arrived at a tie, with mixed-methods being the new quality marker and "gold standard" of viable and robust research, see, e.g. (Onwuegbuzie/Leech 2005; Bryman et al. 2008). This discourse has entered the field of IA only from the periphery and has not yet inhabited its core.

the questionnaire, along with the quality criteria that contribute to its effectiveness. According to Moser and Moser:

> "Interestingly, there was a consistently reported need for further and improved gender training at all levels. [...] Gender training therefore needs to be not a one-off event, but ongoing and consistently refreshed. It needs to be made more specific or tailored to operational activities, clearly demonstrating its relevance to the work people do. There needs to be a follow-up in terms of 'trying out' the new skills. Gender training also needs to be more culturally sensitive [...]."[535]

Women's participation in the process of data and methodology appraisal in IA via consultation was yet another important area considered. Moser and Moser express expectations that go beyond the simple consultation with women (and their respective organisations); for them, it is necessary to ensure that their consultation actually has an impact: "Requiring that women are represented or consulted is necessary but not sufficient: are their voices actually heard?"[536] Since the quality of consultation and its influence on the actual IA outcome and recommendations were impossible for me to assess, I decided not to include consultations as an independent component in the analytical frameworks, and my study focused mainly on whether consultation occurred. I treat the provision for and occurrence of consultations as a matter of quality of tool design and a plus in external accountability for IA, which is the reason consultation is subsumed under the respective components.[537] The value of consultations per se to the IA process and outcome is viewed according to the opinion of the respective policy analyst. It was up to him/her to judge the "conceptual clarity, appropriate and consistent methodologies, and organisational support and institutional consistency"[538] of consultations.

In sum, the empirical findings are questioned from a feminist, critical governance perspective, in order to reveal the multiple and interwoven workings and power mechanisms within and exercised through IA in public administration. Because of my interest in attesting to the realities of an (intersectional) gender perspective in public policy and programme IA, I have employed feminist, neo-institutionalist, actor- and process-oriented governance perspectives, captured in the adapted Moser and Moser framework (Table 5). As a first attempt to systematise a facilitating environment for the implementation of gender analysis in public administration, the six components of this framework target a multiplicity of roles, actors and aspects. It is important to note the hybrid character of each component within the institution and the various modes of governance exercised from all these factorial "standpoints," which almost always have multiple functions. With its necessarily reduced complexity, it serves as an outline for exploring how gender equality may be anchored and sustained in policy analysis/IA in public administration.[539]

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535 | Moser/Moser 2005, 17.

536 | Moser/Moser 2005, 19. Represented in the original component "Support to women's decision making and empowerment" (Moser/Moser 2005 13).

537 | And not i.e. treated as data or knowledge for gender analysis.

538 | Moser/Moser 2005, 19.

539 | Its transferability to other organisational contexts requires further testing.

2.5.4 Summary

In this chapter, organisational theories and institutionalism were used to determine the institutionalisation of gender mainstreaming in organisations. As Christine Färber states, gender mainstreaming can only be implemented and bring about change in organisations when their structures, processes, regulatory frameworks, power relations and actors are addressed[540]; thus the chapter formulated institutional necessities for a sustainable implementation of gender mainstreaming tools. In doing so, it was first essential to focus on the institutional mechanisms of gender mainstreaming, as already laid out in the BPfA in 1995. The chapter then referred to a framework for implementing gender mainstreaming in (civil society) organisations: The Moser and Moser framework. Adapting the framework to the administrative context and keeping in mind the BPfA demands, I finally derived my own analytical framework for a beneficial implementation environment for gender analysis as a gender mainstreaming tool in public programme and policy making. The adapted framework informed my questionnaire design[541] and coding structure[542].

540 | Färber 2005, 200.

541 | See Annex IV.

542 | See Annex VII.