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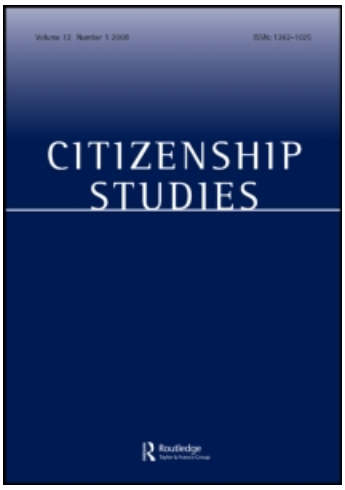

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Concepts of citizenship underlying EU gender equality policies

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This article assesses the framing of gender equality in the EU political discourse from 1995 to 2005 and the conceptualisations of citizenship that emerge from it. To assess the extent to which EU gender equality policies meet the aspirations of the concept of a gender equal citizenship, it develops an analysis of how different feminist approaches to citizenship are related to concepts of rights and responsibilities in EU gender equality policies. The frame analysis of a selection of EU policy documents in the areas of family policies, domestic violence, and gender inequality in politics reflects different configurations of the relation between feminist conceptualisations of citizenship and citizens' distribution of rights and responsibilities. Findings show that both gender-neutral and gender-differentiated conceptualisations of citizenship are present in EU policy documents, while a gender-pluralist approach tends to be absent. They also reveal that, while both men and women are formally treated as right-holders, women are framed as mainly responsible for eradicating the barriers to an equal enjoyment of citizenship rights. Moreover, men and women are constructed as different citizens. The article concludes that EU formal definitions of citizenship based on the concept of equality, while promoting legal gender equality and acknowledging the existence of gender obstacles to the enjoyment of an equal citizenship for women, are not by definition translated into policy initiatives transformative of traditional gender roles. In this respect they could hamper the achievement of a gender equal citizenship in the European Union.

Keywords: EU citizenship; gender equality policies; frame analysis; feminist concepts of citizenship

Introduction

In the past, the European Union (EU) founding treaties, legislation and policies have repeatedly been criticised for not delivering on an equal citizenship from a gender perspective (Hoskyns 1996, Vogel-Polsky 1997). European citizenship is interpreted here in a broad sense, that is, not only the strict reference to citizenship rights in Articles 20–24 of the Treaty of Lisbon (ex Article 8),[1] but more broadly also the existing legal and political provisions that enable citizens to fully participate in the life of a political community. In the last decade, gender issues mainly related to the organisation of intimacy and citizenship such as violence, family and politics have progressively acquired greater relevance in the EU policy agenda, in spite of the Union's predominant labour market focus (Walby 2004), due to a shift both in concepts and agendas of EU gender equality policy. The first shift appears from the progressive emergence of the concepts of equal opportunities, positive actions and gender mainstreaming in the EU policy

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documents on gender equality. The second shift is related to the concept of gender mainstreaming and shows in the broadening of the EU gender equality agenda to new issues, as compared to the usual employment-related ones, such as family policies, domestic violence and the position of men and women in political decision-making.

In this article we assess the implications of this evolution of gender equality policies for women's European citizenship, assuming that gender equality policies play a vital role in enhancing women's citizenship, as they address existing gender inequalities that hamper a more gender equal citizenship. By a gender equal citizenship we understand not only a formally equal legal status of men and women but also the elimination of barriers to a full participation in social life and of biases to an equal valorisation. Such equality can be achieved by different means, such as equality before the law, positive actions or other differentiating treatment, and so on. How then do gender equality policies address core issues of gender inequality that are obstacles to an equal citizenship such as the unequal sharing of family and work responsibilities between the sexes, violence against women, and gender inequalities in politics? What underlying concepts of citizenship do they reveal? And to what extent do gender equality policies deliver on a European citizenship for women?

To assess what concepts of citizenship emerge from under the label of a broader approach to gender equality in the EU we employ the methodology of frame analysis, studying the framing of gender equality in the EU political discourse and the conceptualisations of citizenship that emerge from it over the last decade. We selected the issues of family policies, domestic violence, and gender inequality in politics, because they challenge the main structures of gender inequality, the organisation of labour, intimacy, and citizenship. The findings on the different dimensions of a policy frame reveal a loose and sometimes contradictory concept of citizenship, ranging from a gender-neutral to a gender-differentiated one, the former focusing on rights, the latter being more based on responsibilities. Although both egalitarian and differentiating elements can be means for making an equal citizenship a reality, the frame analysis of EU gender equality policies reveals a conceptualisation of rights and a redistribution of responsibilities that may hamper the achievement of a gender equal European citizenship.

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Citizenship as a concept

There is not such thing as a single approach to the concept of citizenship. A way to distinguish between different approaches to the concept of citizenship is to differentiate between rights and responsibility-based approaches (Walzer 1989). Of the former Marshall's typology of civil, political and social rights is still a major one, notwithstanding the fact that it has a rather formal and universalistic character (Young 1989). Feminist political scientists have criticised the androcentric bias in the paradigms and concepts underlying the discipline, Marshall's concept of citizenship being an example of this (Pateman 1986, 1988, Vogel 1991). They underlined that women were in many cases excluded from the citizenship rights attributed to men, involving that the concept of citizenship and the rights attached to it were not universalistic but exclusively male (the right to possess property, the right to an unemployment allowance, the right to vote, to cite but a few). Feminists also emphasised that women not only obtained citizenship rights later than men but also in a different order, starting with social rights, to which civil and finally political rights were added (Bock and James 1992). Even more important was the fact that Marshall's concept of citizenship heavily relied on welfare state assumptions, with wage work as the basis for many rights, which de facto excluded women (Vogel 1991). As Lewis and Ostner (1994) or Sainsbury (1999) underlined, many of the European welfare states have been based on a gendered division between wage work and (unpaid) care work. Feminists thinking in terms of a rights-based approach of citizenship argue for a reconsideration of the different types

of citizenship rights, involving an emphasis on the interdependence between wage and care work and the loosening up of the ties between social rights and wage work in order to become truly inclusive (Siim 2000).

While rights-based approaches to citizenship look at what a state owes the citizen, responsibility or duty-based approaches focus on the public sphere and on the role and responsibilities of the individual with respect to the community. The underlying assumption of true equality is again tackled, mainly on the basis of the argument that the presumed homogeneity to be found in most of the mainstream conceptualisations of citizenship is a false one (Phillips 1995, Mossuz-Lavau 1998, Williams 1998, Young 2000). Critics build theoretical arguments for women's – and other groups' – participation in the public sphere (Phillips 1993, Young 1990, 2000). They stress the need for more active participation of citizens; rights should not only be formal but accessible in practice. Differences are brought into the public sphere, thereby recognising and taking into account its heterogeneity, and are no longer relegated to the private one, leading to a new theorisation of the public space (Benhabib 1992).

Their criticism of mainstream concepts of citizenship led feminist (amongst other) scholars to formulate alternatives. Judith Squires' analytical distinction between inclusion, reversal and displacement is helpful to clarify existing feminist approaches to citizenship, although the author recognises that current citizenship debates are more complex than the schema suggests (Squires 1999, p. 174). This (and other – see, for instance, Lister 2001) distinction sees three feminist approaches to citizenship, all differing in how they model gender rather than in their position on rights and responsibilities. Inclusion approaches to citizenship tend to proclaim a gender-neutral model of the citizen (Lister 2001). They contain emancipating elements for women as they grant equal civil, political and social rights to individual women and men (Vogel 1991). However, in their liberal or civic-republican forms, these approaches do not question how existing structures affect women and men differently to the disadvantage of women (Lister 1997). They aim at adding women into existing structures, thereby holding them more accountable to the ideals of universality and equity, but they do not act to change the structures themselves.

More marginal in contemporary feminist thinking is the concept of citizenship based on a strategy of reversal, also known as the gender-differentiated model of citizenship (Lister 2001). Born out of a radical feminist perspective, it opposes a maternal citizenship to the existing androcentric one. It is based on the values of the private sphere, the ethics of care, translating mothering/feminine values to the public sphere and recognising difference rather than striving for equality (Elshtain 1981, Ruddick 1990). While it challenges the male norm that is embedded in existing structures, it has been criticised for its biological essentialism that freezes the differences between women and men (Lister 2001).

Finally, a feminist conceptualisation of citizenship based on the strategy of displacement attempts to go beyond the equality versus difference dichotomy of the previous two conceptualisations by rethinking it in terms of a 'creative tension' (Lister 1997, p. 66 in Squires 1999, p. 186). A conceptualisation of citizenship that draws on displacement approaches reconsiders a liberal concept of citizenship, but from the point of view of a differentiated universalism. It criticises the universalistic assumption underlying a feminist concept of citizenship based on a strategy of inclusion, but does not suggest the abandoning of citizenship as a universal goal. It criticises the maternal assumption underlying a feminist concept of citizenship based on a strategy of reversal, but it sees the potential of a differentiated approach for challenging dominant norms in relation not only to gender but also to other inequalities. In this it comes close to what Lister (2001; see also Lister *et al.* 2007) labels as the gender-pluralist citizen, exploring the issue of diversities among women and how it would be possible to accommodate the complex inequalities of race, ethnicity, age, sexuality, or class that intersect with gender and structure citizenship for women and men.

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These various feminist approaches to citizenship connect to mainstream discussions on rights rather than on responsibilities. Rights, in these conceptualisations, can be seen as the right of being the same (gender-neutral citizenship) or different, whereby difference refers to the interrelational category of gender (gender-differentiated citizenship) or to its intersectionality with other categories of social inequality (gender-pluralist citizenship). An explicit focus on responsibilities seems to be absent in these conceptualisations. In this article, we aim to connect these various feminist approaches of citizenship to the discussion on both rights and responsibilities since they seem to appear in specific constellations in EU gender equality policies.

The evolution of the EU principle of gender equality

Concepts of citizenship are not only analytical but also normative categories. They are shaped by underlying conceptualisations of the human nature and its aspirations as well as the role of the state and of the individual within it. In this they contain a position on the nature of and or relations between men and women, positions that are made explicit in what we called feminist approaches to citizenship in the previous section. It is their normative undertone that makes it interesting to study the conceptualisation of citizenship and especially in gender equality policies. Policy measures mirror concepts of citizenship. They aspire to meet the basic conceptualisation of citizenship as it is enshrined in constitutions or basic laws through its translation into concrete policy measures (Magnette 2001). Studying the conceptualisations of citizenship emerging from EU gender equality policy documents is therefore an exercise meant to find out on what premises these gender equality policies are based and how they aspire to a gender equal citizenship.

Although the EU gender policy has been predominantly based on the concept of equal opportunities in the labour market, in the 1990s, and partially also in the 1980s, other types of complementary political strategies such as positive action measures and gender mainstreaming have emerged that furthered and broadened the principle of equality of male and female EU citizens. Squires' inclusion, reversal and displacement approaches allow us to grasp these developments. The inclusion approach of equal opportunities was enshrined in Article 119 EC (now 141) on equal pay for equal work and in a number of legally binding directives in the areas of equal pay, equal treatment in employment and working conditions, and equal treatment in social security that were approved thank both to the supranational and domestic 'pincers' pressuring unwilling member states to legislate on gender equality (Van der Vleuten 2005), and to women's political activism inside and outside the European institutions (Hoskyns 1996, Reinalda 1997).

The debate on the limits of the concept of equal opportunities in bringing about equality of outcome entered in the EU arena as a result of litigation in the European Court of Justice on the principle of equal treatment between men and women in employment and working conditions and the legitimacy of positive action measures. The result of debates on positive action measures that followed two sentences on the issue (Kalanke 1995 and the Marschall 1997) was the approval of a Communication on positive actions, a Commission proposal for amending Directive 76/207/CEE and for including a new provision in the Amsterdam Treaty, in other words, Article 141. 4. This sets the goal of equality of outcome and allows member states to introduce positive actions as a compensatory or preventive measure, thus recognising the discrimination women face as a collective and the need for a strategy of reversal.

A displacement approach to citizenship and gender is often associated to the strategy of gender mainstreaming (Squires 2005). Gender mainstreaming is defined in the new Article 3.2 of the Amsterdam Treaty that introduces a broader concept of gender equality, by stating that in *all* its activities 'the Community shall aim to eliminate inequalities, and to promote equality,

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between men and women'. This shift towards an EU competence on gender equality in 'all areas' can also be found in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, which in its Article II-23 states that: 'equality between women and men must be ensured in *all areas*, including employment, work and pay'. So far, the rhetoric on gender mainstreaming has not been supported by legally binding measures such as directives, it has rather privileged soft tools such as the Commission's Action Programmes for Equal Opportunities between women and men, and the Commission Communication 96/67 on 'Incorporating equal opportunities for women and men into all Community policies and activities'. Scholars appreciate the positive elements embedded in this broader approach (Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000) but also denounce the lack of effective implementation of gender mainstreaming (Verloo 2001, 2005, Stratigaki 2005, Walby 2005).

The broadening of a gender equality perspective by the Charter of Fundamental Rights and the Amsterdam Treaty represents nonetheless a progress compared to an *acquis communautaire* mainly centred on equality at work, as it entails a more encompassing concept of gender equality. The latter underlines not only the principle of the equality of all EU citizens when it comes to women and men, but also their equality in all spheres of society. The question is how concrete policies aspire to incorporate this more encompassing principle of gender equality of citizens.

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Frame analysis of EU gender equality policy documents

Frame analysis identifies the ways in which policies are framed, and, in particular, grasps the nuances of a policy frame through an in-depth, detailed, analysis of its different dimensions. Drawing on the literature on social movements (Snow *et al.* 1986, Snow and Benford 1988, Tarrow 1998, McAdam *et al.* 1996), a policy frame is an 'organising principle that transforms fragmentary or incidental information into a structured and meaningful problem, in which a solution is implicitly or explicitly included' (Verloo 2005).[2] A policy problem usually includes a diagnosis (what is the problem) and a prognosis (solution/s) of the issue at stake, which can both be interpreted in many different ways. Within the dimensions of diagnosis and prognosis, there emerge implicit or explicit representations of who is deemed to hold the problem, who caused it and who should solve it, to what extent gender and intersectionality (in other words, gender intersections with race, class, sexual orientation, ability, ethnic origin, religion, ideology) are related to the problem and its solution and the spheres in which both are located (in other words, the sphere of citizenship, labour or intimacy).[3]

The analysis of how EU gender equality policy documents frame the issue of gender and of gender equality reveals the underlying concepts of citizenship enclosed in the frames. Information on the definition of the problems, their solutions, the spheres in which both are located, or target groups informs us on the extent to which women and men are seen as being and meant to be equal or different citizens, maternal elements are valued and supported, emphasis is put on rights or responsibilities, etcetera. While the concept of citizenship needs not necessarily to be addressed explicitly, the way in which issues of gender inequality get addressed, the final goal to be achieved, the way in which behaviour, roles, standards for women and men are tackled, all refer to underlying concepts of citizenship. Frame analysis brings these concepts to the surface and allows for their examination.

We analyse the framing of gender equality in EU policy documents from 1995 to 2005, taking the UN Beijing Conference on Women in 1995 as the starting point for the launching of a broader concept of gender equality such as that implied by the gender mainstreaming strategy. Thereby, the main focus is on policy document analysis as such and not for instance on the role of different actors in the debates or the outcome of policies. The selection of documents was based on the construction of a time-line that identified key moments throughout the period

of study, and texts were added until they did not include substantial new information.[4] Earlier policy discourses are sketched whenever necessary. Family policies, domestic violence, and gender inequality in politics are the selected policy areas for observing what concepts of citizenship can be found in EU gender equality policies. These policy areas have been chosen for the fact that they address different spheres of citizenship. Whereas gender inequality in politics mainly refers to civil and political dimensions of citizenship, addressing the participation of women in the public sphere, family policies and the issue of domestic violence also tackle the private sphere and its interdependence with the public one. The findings of the frame analysis are presented in the next three sections.

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Men and women as right-holders

Analysing the framing of the problems and goals defined in EU gender equality policies in the fields of family policies, domestic violence and gender inequality in politics, reveals a gender-neutral conceptualisation of citizenship focusing on rights. It is gender-neutral in that it puts forward the same rights for men and women. In some cases, the discourse on rights is framed in a gender-neutral language, as in the Council Directive 97/81/EC concerning the Framework Agreement on part-time work. It refers to the need to fight the discrimination of part-time workers. While most of them are women, they are not addressed as such.

In the area of political decision-making, documents refer to the need for an equal participation of men and women in all spheres of society. Women should have equal access to the process of decision-making and an equal share of power positions as men. In the field of family policies women should have access to the labour market and to a professional career to the same extent as men. In the area of domestic violence emerges that women should have an equal right to non-violent behaviour towards them and to personal integrity.

A common point to most policy documents is that citizenship is incomplete when approached from a gender perspective. The understanding of this incompleteness goes that there are obstacles to equality that have to be eliminated. The issue at stake is the gendered access to rights, women not being able to enjoy their rights to the same extent as men, not a formal discrimination whereby certain citizens are awarded rights while others are not. For instance, the under-representation of women in politics is seen as a problem because a balanced participation is perceived as a condition for or a founding principle of the equality of all citizens.[5] No equality without equal participation. Similarly, the lack of childcare is framed as being an obstacle for women to achieve equality in employment, as hindering the equality of men and women citizens in the labour market.[6] Domestic violence is seen as an obstacle to equality, it hinders women to exercise their rights.[7] This framing turns the generally made relationship between violence and equality on its head, namely, that structural inequality leads to violence. Notwithstanding the direction of the causal relation, EU policy documents on domestic violence frame the same access of men and women to personal integrity as a right. Access to personal integrity becomes a constituting element of citizenship. Similarly, domestic violence is often condemned underlining that women's rights are human rights, which also underlines the recognition of the gendered character of rights. Gender is an obstacle to an equally inclusive citizenship. The cause of the problem is seen to reside in the organisation of citizenship. The major aim is to overcome gendered obstacles to an equal enjoyment of citizenship rights, not to tackle the fundaments of the organisation of citizenship. The everyday enjoyment of citizenship rights is not but should be the same, the ultimate goal is an inclusive 'gender non-specific' citizenship based on rights. EU gender equality policies, then, establish a discursive framework that grants women formal access to rights on an equal basis with male citizens, thus aiming at a formal legal inclusion of female and male citizens in the European polity.

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Women as problem-solvers

While gender as an interrelational category is addressed when it comes to the rights men and women should enjoy, gender equality policy documents are for the rest characterised by gender blindness, focusing on women rather than on gender. The issue of gender inequality in politics generally refers to the concept of quantitative representation, which mainly takes into account the lack of women, and the need to increase their number. The focus in diagnosis (and prognosis) is on women, not on gender as an interrelational category of men and women. It is not men's over-representation that is depicted as a problem, but female under-representation. The position of men, their dominance in politics is not addressed, nor are men ever treated as the target group of measures to solve the problem. Notwithstanding the fact that documents may criticise the subjective character of the universalistic concept of citizenship, the focus is on women.[8]

In family policies, too, the focus is on women. It is women who face a problem of reconciliation, which hinders them to participate in the labour market. The issue is not approached from a gender perspective, in the sense that reconciliation might be a problem for all parents, both men and women. Even more, reconciliation is a problem of a lack of infrastructure, not of the gendered distribution of tasks in the sphere of intimacy. Men and the gendered relations between men and women are no part of the diagnosis. Also, prevailing gender roles are not put into question but tend to be confirmed by a focus on how women could better reconcile work and care. In this respect, major frames on gender inequality in politics and family policies limit diagnosis and prognosis to a primary focus on women when going beyond the mere formulation of the principle of gender equality.[9] Finally, an ineffective reconciliation of work and care is not seen as a problem in itself but as an obstacle to women's higher participation in the labour market.[10] The problem of reconciliation is mentioned to have an impact on the sustainability of labour supply, given the concern about the demographic deficit Europe is facing. The citizenship model is not based on welfare state assumptions, wage work being the basis for welfare rights. Rather this labour market approach is concerned about the supply side problems of the labour market. Childcare provisions allow women to become flexible actors in the labour market. The location of both the problem and its solution in the organisation of labour and not in that of intimacy turns the right of women to an equal access to the labour market into a responsibility. Women citizens are not entitled to the same access to the labour market, they have to contribute to this labour market. Better reconciliation facilities are needed in order to make women play a role in the European economy. Again, this focus on duties is a unilateral one, it only targets women. While policy documents are very explicit when it comes to the roles women have to fulfil in the labour market, men are simply not addressed when it comes to sharing the reconciliation of paid labour and care work. Women have duties; men might – if anything – be encouraged to do some care work. But it never is their task.

Unlike the case of gender inequality in politics and family policies, documents on domestic violence tend to refer not only to women but also to men. The majority suggests a more structural treatment of the concept of gender than it is for the other two cases. However, the interrelational gender approach takes a stereotype form. Men only tend to be portrayed as perpetrators, while women (and children) are always reduced to victims, and power relations are addressed in a superficial way, mainly referring to physical force. Also, not all texts pay attention to gender or even sex. Part of the political discourse on domestic violence tends to leave men out of the picture. For instance, the Daphne Programmes, which are the major policy tools in the field of EU initiatives against domestic violence, tend to limit their attention to women and children in the role of victims. Men do not appear as perpetrators, let alone as victims or in any other role. An increased attention in the EU for the role of men and masculinity in relation to gender equality appears in the European Women's Lobby (2004), which has explored the pros and cons

of different strategies that address men with the aim of achieving gender equality in fields such as violence, care and domestic responsibilities, culture, education, the labour market, or sexuality. However, we did not find a particular focus on men in the EU policy fields we analysed.

In sum, the superficial recognition of the gendered character of obstacles in the exercise of citizenship rights is not extended to the understanding of the underlying mechanisms creating this gendered access and in the solutions meant to overcome it. No matter where the problems are situated, in structures, resources or male and female patterns of behaviour, overcoming and eliminating these obstacles is put on the shoulders of women. They are made liable for the enjoyment of rights. Into the neutral analysis of the access to rights slips a differentiated approach that focuses on women when it comes to making citizenship rights become effective. Achieving a gender equal citizenship has to come from women, not from men. While a gender-neutral concept of citizenship prevails with respect to the formal access to rights, and while gender is seen as an obstacle to an equal citizenship, women are expected to play an active role in making inclusion become a reality.

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Women as different citizens

This focus on women opens the door to a gender-differentiated construction of male and female citizens. Policy documents on gender inequality in politics are characterised by the recurrent argument that the needs and interests of the entire population may not fully be accounted for because of the under-representation of women in political decision-making. No matter whether the underlying argument is that women and men only tend to consider the needs and interests of their own sex or whether women are 'better' in considering common needs, in both cases a gender-differentiated citizen is presented. This is not expressed in the terms of the mentioned feminist concept of citizenship based on a strategy of reversal that emphasises women's caring capacities that stem from mothering. However, the attribution to both sexes of an essentialist representation of gender interests implies a dimension of identity in the construction of gender. Women are thought to be essentially different and hold different values than men. This accent on difference is derived from the more nuanced argument that interests and needs are gendered – and which generally tries to counter an essentialist interpretation of gender. However, even policy actors underlining the danger of essentialism, such as the European Women's Lobby, putting into question whether women have intrinsic qualities, underline the specific contribution women would make to politics.

The discussion of the example of family policies has also shown how women citizens are constructed as workers and mothers, while a similar double construction of male citizens is not be found in the analysed texts. Men are predominantly wage earners, and generally the main breadwinners. In policy documents on domestic violence, too, men and women are clearly portrayed in different – and stereotyped – roles.

While EU policy documents tend to stress existing gender specific citizenship features as problematic because they would hamper an equal enjoyment of rights, this attitude is ambivalent because the texts themselves (re)produce a norm involving a gender-differentiated citizenship of women as workers *and* mothers, as victims, and as citizens concerned about the needs and interests of others, while men are primarily workers and perpetrators. Under the surface of the gender-neutral and inclusive conceptualisation of citizenship found at the outset, emerges a gender-differentiated construction of citizens.

Conclusions

In this article we assessed the framing of gender equality in the EU political discourse over the last decade and the conceptualisations of citizenship that emerge from it. At the outset we argued that gender equality policies play a vital role in enhancing women's citizenship, as they address

existing gender inequalities that hamper a gender equal citizenship. We argued that the extended attention for equality to a broad spectrum of potential inequalities beyond those of the labour market should improve women's enjoyment of European citizenship. Studying the conceptualisations of citizenship emerging from EU gender equality policy documents over the period from 1995 until 2005 confirms a broadening of approach in terms of concepts and agenda. But a closer analysis of policy frames in a selection of EU policy documents in family policies, domestic violence, and gender inequality in politics shows that they do not fully meet the aspirations of the concept of an equal citizenship of men and women formally spelled out.

The analysis reveals that EU policy documents on gender equality policies reflect different conceptualisations of citizenship depending on the policy area studied and the level at which the documents are analysed. We find elements of a gender-neutral and of a gender-differentiated approach to citizenship. Other findings confirm that gender-pluralist conceptualisations of citizenship tend to be absent in EU policy documents (Lombardo and Meier 2008). Also, a focus on rights and responsibilities is tied differently to the two approaches of citizenship found in gender equality policy documents. While the gender-neutral conceptualisation of citizenship goes together with a focus on rights and the incomplete access to rights, the gender-differentiated conceptualisation puts the emphasis on responsibilities. Furthermore, while the focus on rights targets both sexes, the one on responsibilities only addresses women. A shift away from the goal of women's and men's equal enjoyment of citizenship rights to women's liability, transforming rights into the observation of duties takes place. As the critical frame analysis shows, this shift occurs where policy documents move from the statement of the general problem and goal to a more detailed description of solutions and target groups.

At the outset the concept of citizenship is interpreted as inclusive of rights and full membership for women and men. It also goes as far as to show an awareness of how gender differently shapes the enjoyment of citizenship rights. However, this awareness of the problem of structural obstacles hindering women's full membership in the EU, does not lead to policy solutions that actively foster a transformation of traditional gender roles between female and male citizens, but rather to a reproduction of existing roles. Indeed the concept of citizenship appearing at the surface of the official EU discourse changes when taking a closer look at the conceptualisation of policy solutions and roles addressed. The analysis of the policy documents reveals a shift from an inclusive, gender-neutral, rights-based approach of citizenship at the outset, to one that is focused on women and even gender-differentiated when a closer look is taken at the frames underlying EU gender equality policies. This focus on women and gender-differentiation takes a double form. First, women are made liable to eradicate the barriers to an equal enjoyment of citizenship rights. This liability on women leads in many cases to a shift in goal away from the equal enjoyment itself, which, especially in the case of family policies, involves a transformation of rights into duties. The second form of a gender-differentiated citizenship is that across the various policy areas men and women are constructed as different citizens. In this context specific norms and values are explicitly ascribed to women, while this is less clearly the case with male citizens.

While a gender equal citizenship might need equal rights, access or participation, as well as the consideration of differences, the current conceptualisation of a gender-differentiated citizenship with a unilateral focus on women and their responsibilities tends to confirm gender structures reproducing inequality. EU formal definitions of citizenship based on the concept of equality, while promoting legal gender equality and acknowledging the existence of gender obstacles to the enjoyment of an equal citizenship for women, are not by definition translated into policy initiatives transformative of traditional gender roles. This analysis of the interconnections between different feminist approaches to citizenship, on the one hand, and concepts of rights and responsibilities, on the other, was very helpful in assessing to what extent EU gender equality policies meet the aspirations of the concept of a gender equal citizenship. Further reflection

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is needed to explore the implications of the abovementioned theoretical connections for the development of an equal and inclusive citizenship in the European Union.

Notes

1. Articles 8-8e of the Maastricht Treaty define European citizenship as including the rights to move and reside freely in the EU territory, to vote and stand as a candidate at municipal and European elections in the member state in which a citizen resides in spite of not being a national, to receive consular protection by EU member states of which 'he' (sic!) is not a national, and to petition the European Parliament and apply the Ombudsman.
2. The data presented were gathered in the MAGEEQ project on 'Policy frames and implementation problems: the case of gender mainstreaming' (www.mageeq.net), which was funded under the Fifth Framework Programme. The project has developed the theoretical and methodological framework as well as the research data.
3. The frame analysis developed by the MAGEEQ project also related the analysis of diagnosis and prognosis to the mechanisms considered to reproduce or overcome the problem, and the norms and balance present in policy documents. It also identifies who is speaking and which actors or institutions are referred to in order to determine who has a voice in defining problem and solution. For a full list of questions guiding the analysis see Verloo (2005).
4. For a full list of analysed documents see Appendix 1.
5. This point can be found in the texts 2–9 and 12–16 of the documents on gender inequality in politics of the list of analysed documents. It cuts across all policy actors, both institutional and civil society actors.
6. This point can be found in the texts 1–3, 6–7, 9 and 11 of the documents on family policies of the list of analysed documents.
7. This point can be found especially in the texts 1–3 and 10–16 of the documents on domestic violence of the list of analysed documents.
8. This point can be traced especially in the texts 1–2, 4–7, 9, 12–14, and 16 of the documents on gender inequality in politics.
9. The focus on women is common to all documents analysed on family policies.
10. The labour market focus is especially present in texts 1–4, 6 and 11 of the documents analysed on family policies.

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Appendix 1. List of analysed texts

Documents on gender inequality in politics

(1) Speech by Padraig Flynn, European Commissioner for Social Affairs and Employment, 23 March 1995
(2) Council Resolution of 27 March 1995 on the balanced participation of men and women in decision-making, *OJ C168 4.7.1995*
(3) Charter of Rome on 'women for the renewal of politics and society', 17 May 1996
(4) Garcia Munoz, Victoria and Emily Carey (1997) *Differential impact of electoral systems on female political representation*. Women's Rights Series 10. Luxemburg: European Parliament
(5) Leyenaar, Monique (1997) *How to create a gender balance in political decision-making*. Luxembourg: OOPEC

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(6) European Election Brochure 'Europe for women, women for Europe', European Commission DGV and European Parliament's Women's Rights Committee, 25 February 1999
(7) EWL Newsletter July 1999, special edition: New European Parliament, a new Commission – how much will women benefit?
(8) Finnish Presidency report to the Council on 'Women in the decision-making process' in the Member States and the European Institutions, 22 October 1999
(9) European Parliament resolution on women in decision-making, 2 March 2000 B5-0180/2000 *OJ C346/82*
(10) European Women Lobby recommendation on 'Women in decision-making', 22 May 2000
(11) Report from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee on the implementation of Council recommendation 96/694 on the balanced participation of women and men in the decision-making process *OJ L391*, COM(2000)120
(12) Communication from the Commission of 7 July 2000 addressed to Member States on the Commission Decision relating to a gender balance within the committees and expert groups established by it
(13) European Parliament Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities' report on the Commission report on the implementation of Council Recommendation 96/694 on the balanced participation of women and men in the decision-making process (COM(2000) 120–C5-0210/2000–2000/2117(COS)
(14) European Parliament plenary debate on balanced participation of women and men in the decision-making process (COM(2000) 120–C5-0210/2000–2000/2117(COS))
(15) EWL Lobbying Kit European Elections 2004. Have we got the balance right?, July 2003
(16) European Parliament Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities' report on Election 2004: how to ensure balanced representation of women and men A5-0333/2003, 7 October 2003

Documents on family policies

(1) Council recommendation on childcare (31 March 1992)
(2) Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the European Union (1996)
(3) Council Directive 96/34/EC on the framework agreement on parental leave concluded by UNICE, CEEP and the ETUC (3 June 1996)
(4) Council Directive 97/81/EC concerning the Framework Agreement on part-time work concluded by UNICE, CEEP and the ETUC (15 December 1997)
(5) Resolution on the protection of families and children (A4-0004/1999)
(6) Resolution of the Council and Ministers for Employment and Social Policy on the balanced participation of women and men in family and working life (29 June 2000)
(7) Council Decision December 2000 establishing a programme relating to the Community framework strategy on gender equality (2001–2005)
(8) Low fertility, families and public policies, Synthesis Report, Annual Seminar, Seville, Spain (15–16 September 2000)
(9) Young People and Children in EU Policies. Anna Diamantopoulou. Commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs, speech for the seminar on Family Forms and the Young generation in Europe, Milan, Italy (20–22 September 2001)
(10) Family Benefits and Family Policies in Europe (European Commission, Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs, Unit E.2) (June 2002)
(11) Family life in Europe, results of surveys on Quality of Life in Europe, speech of Hubert Krieger (13–14 May 2004)

Documents on domestic violence

(1) Resolution on the need to establish a European Union wide campaign for zero tolerance of violence against women (1997)
(2) EU ministerial conference campaign against violence towards women (Cologne, 19 March 1999)
(3) Brochure 'Breaking the silence' for the European Campaign 'zero tolerance of violence against women' (2000)
(4) Amended Proposal for a European Parliament and Council Decision adopting a programme of Community action (the Daphne Programme) (2000–2004) on measures aimed to prevent and protect against violence against children, young persons and women (1999)

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(5) Parliamentary debate Violence against Women (8 March 1999)
(6) Opinion of the Committee of the Regions on the 'communication from the Commission on violence against children, young persons and women' and on the 'Amended proposal for a European Parliament and Council Decision adopting a programme of community action' (the Daphne Programme) (2000–2004) on measures aimed to prevent violence against children, young persons and women (11 March 1999)
(7) Opinion of the Economic and Social Committee on the Amended proposal for a European parliament and Council decision adopting a programme of community action (the Daphne Programme) (2000–2004) on measures aimed to prevent violence against children, young persons and women (28 April 1999)
(8) Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council adopting a programme of community action (the Daphne Programme) (2000–2004) on preventive measures to fight violence against children, young persons and women (24 January 2000)
(9) Daphne External Evaluators' Report on the Daphne Programme year 2000 (November 2002)
(10) Anna Diamantopoulou speaks out against domestic violence (4 May 2000)
(11) Anna Diamantopoulou speech on tackling domestic violence and trafficking in human beings – the role of the European Union, member states and civil society (30 May 2003)
(12) EWL Resource papers. 'Capacity building for gender equality in view of European Union enlargement' and 'Violence against women and women's human rights in EU' (April 2003)
(13) EWL observatiore. Devoiler les données de la violence domestique dans l'Union Européenne (27 January 2000)
(14) Speech by MEP Maj Britt Theorin held at the meeting on violence against women – zero tolerance in Portugal (May 2000)
(15) WAVE Good Practices and Training Programme (15 November 2000)
(16) Report by the Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities on the proposal for a European Parliament and Council decision establishing a second phase of the Daphne Programme (24 July 2003)

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