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Citation for the original published paper (version of record):

Holli, A M., Stæhr Harder, M M. (2016)
Towards a Dual Approach: Comparing the Effects of Parliamentary Committees on Gender Equality in Denmark and Finland
Parliamentary Affairs, 69(4): 794-811
https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsw006

Access to the published version may require subscription.

N.B. When citing this work, cite the original published paper.

Permanent link to this version:
http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:kau:diva-87363

TOWARDS A DUAL APPROACH: COMPARING THE EFFECTS OF PARLIAMENTARY COM - MITTEES ON GENDER EQUALITY IN DENMARK AND FINLAND

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Abstract

Drawing on insights from state feminism and legislative studies on parliamentary committees, this article develops a dual approach for the comparative analysis of committees on gender equality. Empirically, it compares the standing committees on gender equality in Denmark and Finland, two Nordic countries acknowledged as forerunners in gender equality, which also have 'fairly strong' parliamentary standing committees. The results show that both committees on gender equality can be regarded as 'feminist' in character and both interact with relevant civil society organisations. Their impact as measured by legislative outputs and oversight differs, however, in line with differing committee system characteristics: the Finnish committee has more impact on legislative outputs while the Danish committee has more impact on overseeing government.

Keywords: comparative research, Denmark, Finland gender equality, legislatures, standing committees

1. Introduction

This article compares the standing parliamentary committees on gender equality in two Nordic countries, Denmark and Finland. The focus is on analysing the effects of these committees: does the existence of such parliamentary bodies advance the incorporation of gender equality into legislative scrutiny, and if so, how, and with what outcomes? Is their impact in the final analysis to be measured in terms of more feminist[1] legislation, for example, or something entirely else instead?

We concentrate on parliamentary committees on gender equality with a legislative purpose. The investigated countries, Denmark and Finland, are among the frontrunners in gender equality globally, for example, ranking fifth and second in the Global Gender Gap Index 2014 (Global Gender Gap Report 2014). This leads us to expect that their parliamentary bodies on gender equality would take their task seriously and organise their work effectively. Furthermore, these countries have relatively similar legislatures displaying 'fairly strong standing committees' combined with influential parliamentary party groups (Arter, 2008, p. 193–228; Esaiasson and Heidar 2000). The parliamentary committees for gender equality targeted by this study in a sense represent 'ideal' cases, and our results may serve to illustrate not only the effects of such parliamentary bodies, but also give some indication as to how far their impact can extend.

Theoretically, the article seeks to contribute to the study of parliamentary committees on gender equality, which, as a new field faces both empirical and theoretical challenges. One such is brought about by the location of the topic between two different approaches,

[1] For the purpose of this paper we define feminism as being concerned with the issues of gender equality, meaning situations in which one gender is systematically to be found in an inferior or disadvantageous position.

feminist studies of politics and its 'state feminism' tradition in particular, and legislative studies. The former is interested in the institutionalisation of gender equality in government and public administration, studying the characteristics and impacts of women's policy agencies (WPAs) and their interaction with women's movements and the state (e.g. Outshoorn 2004; Lovenduski et al. 2005; Haussman and Sauer 2007; MacBride and Mazur 2010). The latter focuses on the institutional characteristics and powers of parliamentary committees and their impact. An additional challenge is the dearth of systematic comparative analyses of parliamentary committees, which would contribute to theory-building and improved understanding of the factors contributing to the influence of parliamentary committees.

Our intent is to deal with these challenges. For this purpose, we draw up a research design that deploys elements from both state feminist and legislative traditions, in order to avoid the shortcomings that neglecting either of them might entail. This analytical framework is also among the first attempts to move the study of such committees towards cross-cultural comparisons that acknowledge the problematic of varying committee status and powers.

2. Parliamentary committees for equality: Between state feminism and legislative studies

Research on committees on gender equality has so far mostly attracted the attention of scholars specialising in gender and politics. It can be argued that the tradition of state feminism has profoundly affected the way in which pioneers have approached the new structures, as these studies tend to focus on the link between gender equality committees and women's non-government organisations (NGOs) (e.g. Green, 2013). Moreover, the fact that parliaments all over the world have begun to set up committees focusing on gender and

women is regarded as the logical next step in institutionalising feminism into the state (Sawer et al, 2013).

Typical of the state feminist tradition is to conceptualise WPAs as potential mediators between women's movement demands and the state. For example, the extensive RNGS (International Research Network on Gender Politics and the State) project analysed the characteristics of WPAs (as well as those of women's movements and the policy environment) in performing this function in different ways. The results show that WPAs embracing women's movement ideas can under some circumstances effectively insert gendered concerns in legislation, indicating their significance as strategic allies to feminism as well as a channel of realising reforms in practice (e.g. Outshoorn, 2004; Lovenduski et al, 2005). The RNGS project analysed, among other things, institutional characteristics such as WPA structure, leadership characteristics (feminist or not), powers and administrative resources. In a re-analysis of the data, McBride and Mazur (2010, p. 119, 246) however could not find evidence of a universal solution as to which organisational features make WPAs successful allies to women's movements across all policy sectors. Rather, they conclude that institutional factors linked to agencies' mediating function are context-dependent, on the specific arena of policy-making.

The state feminist tradition can lend the study of parliamentary committees on gender equality models, variables and a set of underlying assumptions (e.g. the importance of the women's movement). Transposing ideas from one arena to another however can also cause problems and misconceptualisations. For example, the study of parliamentary committees on gender equality moves the empirical focus from the executive and administrative arena of state feminism to the legislative branch. In the former, WPAs have often been seen as

marginal to power; but can we assume this is also the case with legislatures, which, in normative terms at least, are the central power-wielders in parliamentary democracies? Importantly, the RNGS results also remind us that seeking for *the* success recipe for the institutional organisation of parliamentary committees may be in vain as favourable factors may vary between types of parliament and between regions.

In seeking answers to these problems, we turn to the second research strand, namely legislative study of parliamentary committees. In the discussion to follow, we draw in particular from Mattson and Strøm's (1995; see also Strøm, 1998) study of the organisation and powers of parliamentary committees, which is one of the few existing studies utilising large-scale systematic comparison (N=18 countries).

According to Mattson and Strøm (1995), legislative committee power can be conceptualised as divided into two dimensions: *drafting authority* and *agenda control*. The scholars show that drafting authority links foremost to three committee powers: the authority to rewrite bills, initiate legislation and the right to summon information and documents from both public and private sources. A committee's agenda control on the other hand is best captured by its ability to control its own timetable and authority to summon and even compel witnesses (ibid., p. 298). This conceptualisation yields a two-dimensional model of committee power in Europe. United Kingdom and Ireland score low on both dimensions of committee power; Iceland and Sweden occupy the opposite corner with both high drafting authority and agenda control. Danish parliamentary committees, on the other hand, have high agenda control but negligible authority in drafting legislation; whereas Finnish ones

represent the opposite case in this respect, with high drafting authority, but modest agenda control.[2]

The researchers additionally show that both dimensions of committee power link to specific organisational features (Mattson & Strøm, 1995). For example, committees with higher drafting authority tend to have closed meetings. By contrast, the study of parliamentary committees on gender equality appears to emphasise the state feminist (and also more democratic…) ideal of committees interacting with civil society and especially women's movements in an *open* manner. Such successful interaction tends also be regarded as a major feminist achievement of such committees. The paradox here is that genuine committee power—potentially also the feminist power of these specialised committees—does not in reality conform with this ideal, but, rather, functions in a manner contrary to it. This also illustrates the problems we encounter if we do not take into account varying committee characteristics.

If we ignore the insights provided by the comparative study of parliamentary committees, we may well end up comparing apples and oranges cross-culturally. One researcher remarked on the significance of this problem to the new field of study as follows: 'a committee for equality in one parliament may well appear highly "feminist" and women-friendly—but if parliamentary committees in that system do not have much influence on legislation (or anything else), it hardly matters much apart from its symbolic value' (Holli, 2013). Failure to take into account committee power can lead to major problems in the reliability of comparisons and the usefulness of results.

[2] Notably, the committees on gender equality studied in this article have exactly the same institutional powers as any other normal standing committees.

In sum, this discussion of the challenges for the new field of research provides the background for our main proposition: namely, that the study of parliamentary committees for gender equality would benefit from a dual approach to the subject, combining tools and insights from both research traditions into a productive synthesis. For this we develop a new research design.

3. Research design, data and methods

Our research design combines insights from state feminist and legislative strands of research to construct a set of variables for a systematic comparison of our empirical cases. The independent variables are derived from literature on women's policy agencies (see above) and pioneering studies on specialised parliamentary bodies on gender (e.g. Sawer et al, 2015). They include the institutional and feminist characteristics of committees (such as the circumstances for setting up the committee, mandate, membership characteristics) and interaction of the committee with civil society groups concerned with gender issues. The dependent variable, that is, committee outputs, is derived from legislative studies and is measured on two different dimensions: impact on legislation and impact on oversight. The choice draws from Shaw's (1979, pp 370–377, 384–385) distinction between committee purposes and their relative significance as well as long-standing discussion concerning committee powers, influence and outcomes (e.g. Mattson and Strøm, 1995; 2004; Arter, 2006; Mezey, 1979; Tsebelis, 2002). Shepsle and Weingast 1987; cf.also e.g. Swers 2002 on women's influence in Congress). The committee variables investigated are listed below.

Committee Character: Does the committee have feminist characteristics?

- **Set up:** why was the committee established? Did feminist actors push for its existence?
- **Mandate:** what is the mandate of the committee (limited or broad)?

- **Actors**: How are women/feminists (or MPs concerned with gender issues) represented in its work? Is the leadership feminist?

Process: Does the committee interact with civil society groups concerned with gender?

Committee outputs: Does the committee add a gender equality perspective to parliamentary work?

- **Legislative outputs:** Does the committee (successfully/unsuccessfully) gender bills and add 'feminist value' to them?
- **Oversight:** Does the committee (successfully/unsuccessfully) advocate gender issues through its oversight powers?

Notably, the research design deviates from the majority of existing research into parliamentary committees on gender equality in two aspects: it lifts the committee outputs to the forefront in measuring impacts; and it transfers process characteristics (interaction) to explanatory factors instead of treating them as impacts, i.e. dependent variables.

The study is based on interviews, parliamentary data on committee actions and parliamentary documents. Also, in some cases secondary research is used. Interviews with Finnish MPs were conducted in 2008–2009, whereas interviews with Danish MPs and parliamentary officers were conducted in the period 2013–2015. In the following sections, we present a systematic analysis of the committees in Denmark and Finland respectively through the lens provided by the research design. The method used conforms to qualitative comparative analysis, and utilises a combination of 'most similar' and 'most different systems' design.

4. Denmark: The Gender Equality Committee

Set up. The idea of moving the mandate of gender equality from the Committee on Politics and Economics to a dedicated committee was initiated by MPs concerned with gender equality from left and centre parties within the *Folketing*.

The idea was debated several times in plenary because of right-wing resistance. Among the most eager proponents was MP Lone Dybkjær who had previously served as a member of FEMM Committee in the European Parliament (see Ahrens, this issue) and who thought that a similar institution within the Folketing would help advance gender equality in the Danish parliament as well. Equality rights NGOs also lobbied for this specialised committee. Finally, in May 2011, as part of a bigger change in its Rules of Procedure, the Folketing (led by a right-wing majority) decided to set up the Gender Equality Committee (LIU).

Mandate. According to its mandate, LIU is to concern itself with the issue of gender equality in Denmark and abroad. The description of LIU's tasks reads: 'LIU is to review bills concerning gender equality and monitor the government in this matter… the decision to set up LIU should been seen in the light of the fact that on several occasions it has been put forward that the Folketing is in need of a committee that could adopt an overall and across-the-board view of the area of gender equality' (Parliament decision, B 135 2011-12). [3]

The mandate may be interpreted so that LIU—besides looking into its own policy area—can look into the policy areas of other committees when appropriate. As far as the wording is concerned, the committee is to concern itself with the area of gender equality, not to promote it.

[3] Translation by the authors.

Actors. Previous parliamentary studies have shown that female MPs are often more concerned with the issue of gender equality (e.g. women's interests) than their male colleagues (Wängnerud, 2009, pp 61–65; Swers, 2002, pp 73– 96). Consequently, one would assume that more women than men would be members of the committee entrusted with this issue, and this is confirmed in the Danish case. Moreover, the share of female members rose considerably after the issue of gender equality was assigned its own committee (Figure 1). LIU thus created a forum for MPs interested in the issue of gender equality, which was not there before.

[Figure 1 here]

The question of the political parties' spokespersons on gender equality is interesting, since they are important political actors within the area of gender equality (especially within opposition parties) (Jensen, 2002). Before LIU was set up not all these spokespersons were members of the responsible committee, PØU. In contrast, the new committee is an arena where all these potential 'critical actors' come together on a regular basis.

So far, LIU has existed for two parliamentary terms and it has had three chairs, two of whom have been parliamentary freshmen from right-wing parties. However, within the Folketing committee chairs do not have parliamentary tools that are significantly different from those of their committee colleagues´, making this role mostly a symbolic one.

Process. In Denmark, interaction between committees and civil society may occur in different ways, however it is primarily initiated by civil society actors approaching the committee (Pedersen, Halpin and Rasmussen, 2015, p. 416).

In the period 2004–2011 before LIU was set up, the Committee on Politics and Economics on average received six approaches per year concerning gender equality. After LIU was set up, however, the number increased to 23 in the first three years of LIU's existence (2011–14) – an increase that seems to be primarily caused by the existence of the new committee.

As can be seen from Table 1, most of the approaches to LIU are from Danish NGOs and private persons. Most concern women's issues. However, quite a few individual men as well as the organisation 'Foreningen Far', which focuses on fathers' rights, also approach the committee. This shows that the committee is perceived as a committee devoted to the issue of gender equality (including both women and men), not only women's rights.

[Table 1 here]

Legislative output. The question of how to measure LIU's legislative effort is rather tricky. Formally, Danish committees cannot initiate nor rewrite bills (but individual MPs can). In reality, most bills as well as amendments come from the government itself (Damgaard and Jensen, 2006). Given these characteristics, the possible legislative impact of LIU will most likely not show itself by the degree to which the committee alters government bills, since bills are seldom changed much at the committee stage. Moreover, since LIU only receives

bills concerned with gender equality, investigating if the committee adds this perspective within the process of scrutinising is pointless.

Rather, this impact may be measured by the degree to which LIU tries to add the perspective of gender equality to bills that are scrutinised by other committees. A straightforward way to do this would be to ask the Folketing to write a shadow report on any given bill. Moreover, doing this would indeed be a way for LIU to activate its transversal mandate. However, in contrast to the Rural Districts and Islands Committee (ULØ), which has a quite similar transversal mandate, surprisingly, LIU does not do this. It should be pointed out, however, that cutting into the areas of other committees is probably considered a bit unusual within the Folketing, with its strong horizontal divisions. Since ULØ, contrary to most other standing committees, only has a cross-cutting mandate it may be more inclined to activate this—its reason d'etre.

Oversight. According to Mattson and Strøm, Danish committees are rather powerful when it comes to gaining information from ministers in relation to parliamentary legislative work (Mattson and Strøm, 1995 pp. 293-294). Via the mechanism of asking ministers questions for oral or written answers, the committees have a powerful tool for controlling ministers. Accordingly, they are often used by opposition parties. Committee questions posed to a minister under the so-called 'general part' (that is the part of the committee's work that is not concerned with bills) may serve as an indicator of the committee's scrutiny of government (Jensen, 1995, pp.48–49, 89). The degree to which a committee poses such questions is entirely up to its members.

LIU is entrusted with the responsibility of overseeing the Minister for Gender Equality and it can be stated that LIU performs this job well. For example, in the term 2011–12, out of the 53 committee questions put to the Minister for Gender Equality 52 were put by LIU. Moreover, within the last few years, committee members from the far left political parties in particular have very actively used questions to highlight what they believed to be inaction on the issue of gender equality by government.

As when studying the legislative effort of LIU, the degree to which LIU enacts its horizontal mandate when controlling the government is not high. The degree to which a committee poses questions to be answered orally to ministers of different policy areas may act as an indicator of how horizontality works (Jensen, 2014, p. 73). As in the previous section, the effort of LIU may be compared to the Rural Districts and Islands Committee (ULØ). Table 2 illustrates that LIU does not try to control the gender equality efforts of governments ministers in general.

[Table 2 here]

5. Finland: The Committee for Employment and Equality

Set up. In the aftermath of a constitutional reform (1995–1999), the Finnish Parliament revised its Standing Orders (PNE 1/1999). During this process it was decided to explicitly include responsibility for gender equality legislation in the remit of the Committee for Employment, with a concomitant change of its name to Committee for Employment and Equality (henceforth: CEE) in 2000.

The inclusion of the gender equality mandate in the Committee's remit was a result of concerted feminist action by women MPs. The idea was developed in the Women MPs' Network in Parliament (a cross-party women's caucus active from 1991 onwards) and proposed to the Speakers' Council by female MPs within the Council (Interview, 27 February 2006[4]). The proposal met resistance from some male MPs, mostly right-wing, who regarded the new name to be 'ridiculously long' and this reform to be unnecessary, since equality was included in all committees' work anyway. Women MPs for their part pointed out that gender equality issues had sometimes been denigrated even in the Committee for Employment and the reform was necessary to better signal the significance of gender equality issues. The male MPs' proposal to cancel the reform met with rejection in the plenary, and the revision was accepted as it stood. (Protocols 123-124, 126, 1999)

Mandate. The mandate of CEE is dual. It includes mostly employment and working life related issues but also 'gender equality and equality and anti-discrimination legislation' (Valiokuntaopas, 2015, p. 25). The equality mandate is thus limited and formulated in very general terms, referring to the fact that bills dealing with gender equality legislation are to be reviewed by CEE. It also entails that any other law and issue, regarded by the Speakers' Council to require considerations from the viewpoint of gender equality, be sent to be co-reviewed by CEE along with the committee in charge.

Actors. In the 1990s the 17 members of Committee for Employment had been divided in a relatively gender-balanced manner, although male MPs tended to have a slight majority (Forstén, 2005, pp. 168-169, 177, 179). From 2003 elections onwards we witness a feminisation of CEE, from 59 % in 2005 to 71 % in the parliamentary period 2011–2015,

[4] Interview done by one of the authors for another project (Holli and Kantola, 2007).

which made CEE the second most female-dominated committee after the Social and Health Committee. The recent 2015 elections, however, were a turning point, as the victory of right-wing populist and Centre parties with fewer female MPs again shifted the gender composition of CEE slightly to women's disadvantage (41 %, see Figure 2.)

[Figure 2 here]

After the explicit equality mandate was added, CEE started especially to attract female MPs interested in gender issues. In 1995, only two of the members (12 %), both female, had had an affiliation to women's organisations or gender equality agencies. In 2013, altogether eight of the 17 members (47 %) could be identified as feminists on such indicators, six women (half of female members) and two men (a third of male members).

Committee chair positions are allocated after elections in negotiations between the parliamentary parties. CEE, situated in heart of contentious issues between the Left and the Right, used to be a Left-wing bastion (Forstén, 2005), this dominance disintegrating in the 2000s. Between 2003 and 2011, CEE chairs were male MPs from the right-wing National Coalition Party, with no discernible previous interest or background in equality affairs. From 2011 the chair has been MP Tarja Filatov, a Social-Democratic woman, who is simultaneously the vice-chair of the Council for Gender Equality.

Process. The main means whereby Finnish standing committees interact with civil society is via formal hearings behind closed doors. Expert hearings are exceptionally extensive and have been regarded as a primary example of 'post-liberalist', controlled and institutionalised

forms of lobbying (Liebert, 1995). The choice of experts is also a method for exerting influence on the information received on legislation (Helander and Pekonen, 2007).

CEE is the committee consulting most often with labour market partners—a third of the experts heard are from employers' unions or trade unions (Saari, 2010, p. 111). It is also the committee consulting most often with women's NGOs, state equality agencies and gender scholars (see Table 3; cf. Holli, 2012). Numerically, CEE consults with these actors roughly to the same extent as all the other standing committees put together. It also consults with men's NGOs, although this did not occur in the specific years investigated.

[Table 3 here]

Legislative outputs. Gender equality forms just a minor part of CEE's work. In 2005, only one of the 12 reports it submitted to the plenary explicitly concerned gender equality legislation; in 2009, one in 13. The questions to ask are whether CEE uses its powers to modify Government Bills and whether it gender mainstreams other bills under its jurisdiction. As there is no systematic research on these indicators so far, the following presentation is based on secondary sources.

A study (Hoppania and Holli, 2015) of the policy processes in the field of gender equality 2004–2008 observed that CEE did not water down bills, by contrast, it sometimes revised them in a more radical direction. Moreover, CEE 'supplemented' state feminist bodies, for example, by making sure that women's NGOs and gender equality agencies were consulted in the parliamentary process if the ministry in charge had neglected to consult them a priori.

State femocrats interviewed in the latter half of the 2000s (Holli and Kantola, 2007), too, unanimously regarded CEE as their strong feminist ally in the parliament.

CEE interviewees themselves believed that their working life bills were often considered from a gender viewpoint, too, and items concerning gender equality were taken up in CEE's statements to other committees (when so requested in the initial remit of the bill). Other standing committees can, however, also independently ask for CEE's opinion concerning legislation being reviewed. In the informants' opinion, this did not happen; other committees only asked CEE about working life issues, never about gender equality. The opportunity to exercise gender mainstreaming was thus not utilised, partly because it depends on the initiative of the other committees.

Finally, the significance of CEE's readiness to pass feminist legislation is enhanced by the fact that, in practice, the plenary's formal decision never deviates from the preceding committee report, *i.e*. the committee's modifications to bills are always accepted by the floor. Consequently, CEE is, or at least *can* at times be, very successful in pushing through feminist legislation when there is a large number of gender activists among the members.

Oversight. The Finnish committees have very few opportunities for governmental oversight, for example, they cannot pose questions to the Government in their own right. Research has shown, however, that informal meetings between parliamentary committees and ministries have become more common in the 2000s (Ahtonen et al., 2011), serving also as arenas for oversight, control and consensual decision-making. This is the main channel for CEE to exercise oversight. However, scholars point out that these meetings are rarer or non-existent in the process of planning or evaluation of legislation, a fact that indicates the marginal role of committee oversight and control within this activity (ibid., p. 50).

6. Conclusions and the way forward

As initially stated, given the 'ideal' characteristics of our empirical cases, the findings may indicate just how far the impact of such committees can reach and how an explicit gender mandate given to a committee may affect parliamentary efforts in the field of gender equality. Table 4 summarises our findings in a simplified format.

[Table 4 here]

Our analysis shows that both committees have feminist characteristics and high interaction with civil society groups concerned with gender equality. Had we been satisfied to look at only these variables, the conclusion would be a very positive one: surely, these characteristics testify to the feminist success of these committees? The addition of committee outputs as the dependent variables in this puzzle changes the picture to some degree, but the results are no less promising in terms of lessons learned for the benefit of future research in this field.

Namely, our results show that the Danish and the Finnish committees differ completely on the two dimensions of outputs, namely impact on legislation and on oversight. LIU does not add a gender equality perspective to the bills it receives (notably, this gender perspective is already there in some form, as is also the case with the gender equality bills the Finnish committee receives). CEE on the other hand has more opportunities to insert potential feminist concerns into legislation; there is also some evidence of it having done so during its existence. In contrast to the Finnish committee, the Danish committee has been successful

in overseeing the Gender Equality Minister's activities, although the oversight powers have not been extended to other branches of government.

Success or failure should not be assigned primarily to a lack of effort or the (non) feminist characteristics of committee membership or processes, but rather to the very nature of committee powers within each parliament. As the Folketing scores low on drafting authority and high on agenda control, which includes powers and tools for controlling government, LIU uses these tools in order to fulfill its core task of overseeing the Minister of Gender Equality. The Eduskunta has completely different powers, high drafting authority and low agenda control, and hence CEE's impacts are found on legislative outputs. However, neither the Danish or the Finnish committee works very actively to add an equality perspective to bills or to oversight implementation linked to other committees (see also Harder 2015). This indicates the limits of these bodies in regard to gender mainstreaming parliamentary work in a broader sense.

What is significant in both these cases, is the fact that, despite the different ways of organising these bodies within national parliaments, the committees on gender equality actually seem to have some effect on committee outputs. It is here that structures with a gender equality mandate offer a way forward for parliaments committed to integrating gender equality in their work. Additionally, as our study attempts to demonstrate, a two-pronged approach which integrates elements both from state feminism and legislative studies into its theoretical and methodological design, is a productive way to do comparative research on these new bodies.

Tables

Table 1 Number of approaches concerning gender equality made to LIU from civil society actors

	2011–12	**2012–13**	**2013–14**
Private persons	6	9	9
Labour market partners	1	0	1
NGOs	9	8	8
International Organisations	6	6	2
Other	1	1	2
Total*	*23*	*24*	*22*

*The actual amount of consultations may be slightly higher since some approaches are classified as secret. These do not figure in the table.

Table 2 Number of ministers to whom LIU and ULØ pose questions for oral answers at 'general part'

	2011–12		**2012–13**		**2013–14**	
	LIU	**ULØ**	**LIU**	**ULØ**	**LIU**	**ULØ**
Numbers of ministers	2	11	3	8	2	6

Table 3 Number and percentage of consultations with gender actors by CEE and the other committees, 2005 and 2009

	Committee for Employment and Equality N consultations (percent of all its expert consultations)	**All the other committees** N consultations (percent of all their expert consultations)
2005		
Women's NGO	4 (1.1 %)	2 (0.0 %)
Gender Equality Agency	9 (2.5 %)	3 (0.1%)
Gender researcher	6 (1.6 %)	14 (0.3 %)
*Representatives of women's interests in total**	*19* *(5.2 %)*	*19* *(0.4 %)*
2009		
Women's NGO	5 (1.1%)	4 (0.1 %)
Gender Equality Agency	7 (1.6 %)	4 (0.1 %)
Gender researcher	14 (3.2 %)	24 (0.4 %)
*Representatives of women's interests in total**	*20* *(4.5 %)*	*28* *(0.5 %)*

*Note that some experts are categorised as both gender experts (personal background category) and e.g. representatives of a gender equality agency.

Table 4 Results concerning characteristics and effects of committees on gender equality in Denmark and Finland

Type of variable	Variable name	Finland	Denmark
Independent variables	**Set up**	Feminist initiative	Feminist initiative
	Mandate	Mandate narrow Multi-portfolio	Mandate broad(er) Single-portfolio
	Actors	Increasing female membership (in periods) Partially and at times actors concerned with gender equality Mostly non-feminist leadership, at times feminist leadership	Increasing female membership Actors concerned with gender equality *(Leadership not relevant)*
	Process (interaction with civil society concerned with gender equality)	High	High
Dependent variables	**Committee outputs** **Legislative outputs** (contributes with the perspective of gender equality to legislative outputs) **Oversight** (contributes with the perspective of gender equality to oversight of government)	Gender equality legislation: yes Working life legislation: yes Statements to other committees (from plenary): yes Statements to other committees (on their initiative): no No	Gender equality legislation: no Bills of other committees: no Gender equality minister: yes Other ministers: no

Figures

Figure 1 Share of female members in the committee responsible for gender equality before and after the explicit gender mandate, Denmark

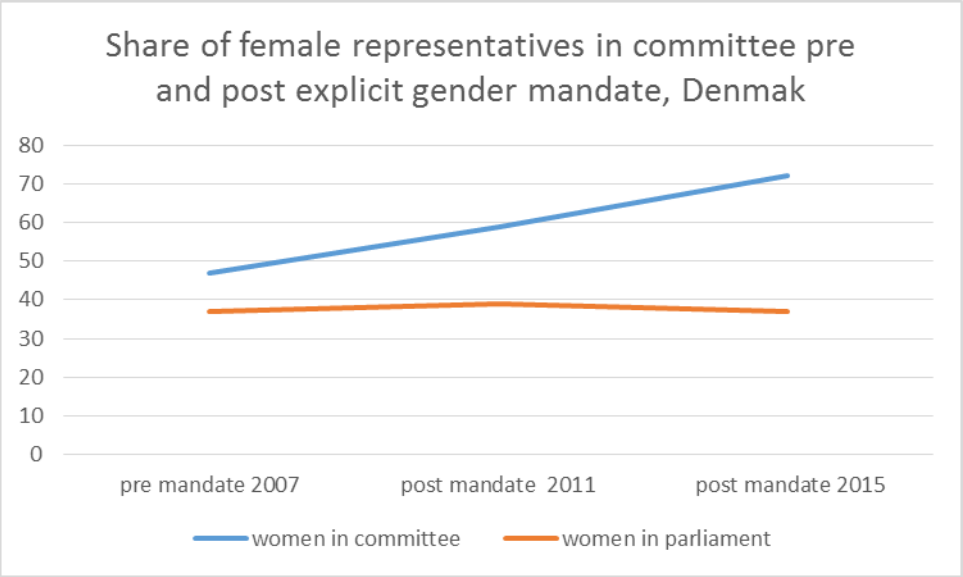
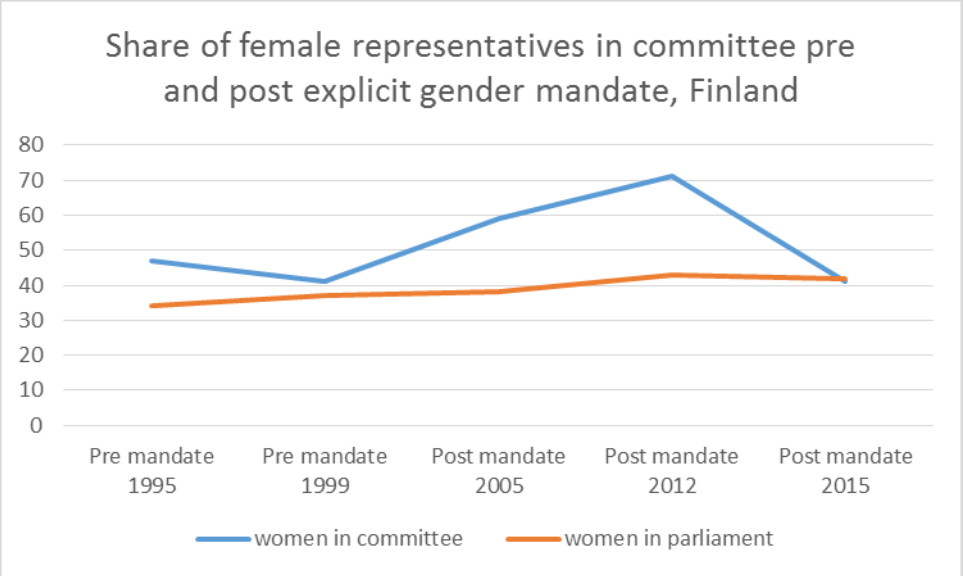


Figure 2 Share of female members in the committee before and after the explicit gender mandate, Finland



Acknowledgments

We thank the two anonymous referees of Parliamentary Affairs as well as Prof. Amy G. Mazur (Washington State University) for their valuable comments.

Funding

The article was written in the framework of a project (no.130478) funded by the Academy of Finland.

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