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Global Governance as Neo-liberal Governmentality: Gender Mainstreaming in the European Employment Strategy

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Global governance encompasses political projects that set out to extend or deepen political cooperation between state and non-state actors on multiple levels: international, national, regional and local (see Rai, this volume). In addition to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and the UN, nation states or regional supranational institutions such as the European Union play a major decision-making role in this process. The influence of civil society and global social movements has also increased substantially in debates on international policies such as GATTs (Meyer and Prügl 1999; O'Brien et al. 2000). Women's movements or organizations have been present in this process and have achieved changes for women's rights in some cases, such as implementing the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) within the United Nations, or have even gained institutional access in leading international organizations such as the World Bank. Although progress has been made in advancing equality for some women globally and placing gender issues onto the political agenda through gender mainstreaming within all policies of the European Union, the effectiveness of these policies is still debatable.

While gender issues have been mainstreamed in many international policies, global restructuring of the market has affected the working and living conditions of women and men in different regions of the world, leading to exploitation and vulnerability affecting the personal well being of poor people, especially with regard to access to welfare services, water and other global goods (Cook et al. 2000; Kelly et al. 2001). A neo-liberal capitalist-orientated market system is restructuring national and regional economies and these policies are being "locked in" through the work of international institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and

the WTO (Gill 1995; Marchand and Runyan 2000). Neo-liberal ideas such as the freedom of the market combine a discourse of personal responsibility, individualism and market-orientated rationality with the withdrawal of the state from the function of ensuring certain welfare policies. Protection of workers rights through legislation, access to public goods and services or ensuring a state financed pension system are therefore currently in transition in this neo-liberal form of deregulation (Bakker 1999; Ruppert 2000; Gill 2003). This form of deregulation has not had the consequence of a full withdrawal of nation states from welfare policies, but it has redirected their former functions towards privatization of public services to some extent and has involved other actors from civil society to implement these changes. This has not only happened in different nation states across Western Europe, but also in Latin America, certain Asian countries and the United States. This form of “governance without government” (Rosenau and Czempel 2000), where the state is but one site of governance within a multi-level international system, has been a contested process (Commission 1995). The shifting conditions of regulating international trade, security, environment or human rights issues is described by some authors as in need of more transnational and supranational regulation (Held and McGrew 2002). But this perspective describes global governance as already somehow being the answer to the problems of government on a global scale.

In this chapter I analyse forms of global governance from a theoretical perspective following Foucault’s insights on power as governmentality, which investigates the ambivalent process of governing, describes the rationality or knowledge needed to govern and in doing so creates a powerful discourse of the process of governance. While sharing the assumption that governance takes place on multiple levels at multiple sites, governmentality draws particular attention to the ambivalent effects of technologies of power needed to govern (international) space. Possible achievements as well as failures can be explained within the governmentality perspective because political and economic power can take on ambivalent forms, repressive as well as enabling and empowering. Foucault’s insights on power as governmentality will provide the basis for my argument that social movements and critical civil society actors are often included in the process of global governance in the current phase of neo-liberal capitalism in ambivalent and limiting ways as part of multiple bases for restructuring global economic and political processes. I suggest that the theory of governmentality prompts us to view governance differently from the way mainstream international political economy constructs it; the focus is not on how an already existing problem can be

governed globally, but how particular modes of global governance came to be the preliminary answer to certain problems of governance within a historically specific geopolitical situation. Global governance can thus be interpreted as one of the rationalities as well as programmes and techniques of contemporary governance. Governmentality explains how the governing of a population and the regulation of markets may take place within certain boundaries and spaces, through particular rationalities and specific political techniques. Using the governmentality framework allows us to problematize the way spaces between, across or beyond states are defined, which problems of governance such as trade, famine, security or unemployment occur within or across them and how these areas are constructed and regulated. Until recently, studies in governmentality have focused on the nation state as their object of analysis. Questions about the construction of the global governance and how the governmentality perspective can contribute to its analyses have only just begun (Larner and Walters 2004a). This is quite astonishing because Foucault himself “investigated the ‘discourse of war’” going beyond the nation state in his own work (Larner and Walters 2004a: 6). While Foucault’s earlier work concentrated on power as a disciplinary technique directed at the individual (Foucault 1994b), Foucault widened the focus of analysis from certain state institutions such as the prison or psychiatry to state actions in the late 1970s. He assumed that within a certain territory (the state) certain problems of governing such as trade, famine or security issues would need certain techniques of government to resolve. For this reason he started to analyse power as governmentality, as an art of governing and rationality of the state. While both at the state and supra-state levels this framework remains insensitive to gendered readings of governance, it does allow us to analyse historical power formations such as states or supranational institutions across international spaces both as discursively constructed and as political institutions with abilities to use multiple techniques to address key areas of governance.

The European Union is one of these modes of regional governance, where problems of security, trade, borders, identities and the market are continuously addressed across national state borders. The European integration process is a historically specific answer to the problems of governance in the post-war period. It is a contested geopolitical space where questions of governance include market competition, the construction of European citizenship and the outline and defense of its borders. The multi-level governance structures of the EU include the member states, supranational political institutions and a Single Market, which are embedded in the global political economy. As the former EU

Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamy suggested, the EU is thus a laboratory of global governance. In the first section of this chapter I briefly outline Foucault's framework on governmentality and suggest that to understand governance we need to focus on macro-political processes as well as on practices of the self to analyse neo-liberal governance. In the second section I examine the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) in the sector of employment in the EU as a new tool for gendered governance used to implement the goals of the Lisbon Strategy in the member states. I conclude that, once we engender the governmentality framework, it demonstrates that global governance is not only a contested terrain but also a political construct that offers opportunities for women and women's movements but, given the hegemonic "neo-liberal frame" (Runyan 1999) it situates them in unequal material positions within a neo-liberal consensus that is proving difficult to dismantle.

Governance as neo-liberal governmentality

Foucault's conception of governmentality can be understood as an art of governing and a way of thinking about the actions of the state or supranational state formations. The concept helps us understand the genealogy of the modern state and supranational state formations and the means of governance at their disposal. In doing so, we can grasp the micro- and macro practices of governmental actions, its neo-liberal technologies and subject formations. Foucault's term "governmentality" not only includes governance of state or state-like institutions through politics and policies, but also the scattered forms and techniques of self-guidance and leadership by others. Governmentality thus mediates between political power and subjectivity and can be understood as a certain way of problematizing political action within a geo-political boundary. This means examining specific geo-political situations, in which particular problems of governance appear and in which methodologies of governing people and things are simultaneously constructed as knowledge of the "best practices" of governing (Lemke 1997; Dean 1999). The term of governmentality also differentiates between more abstract power relations and concrete relations of domination, against which resistance can be established. Finally, governmentality also allows us to examine the validated forms of knowledge/power complexes (Foucault 2000b), and to assess whether these concern the production of particular truths about the governing of the self, the avoidance of certain risks such as unemployment or diseases, or the governing of certain geopolitical economic spaces.

Thus within the governmentality framework, the state or state formations are not only institutions of repression, but also institutions of productive knowledge/power complexes in which certain problems of governance have to be solved. On a theoretical level, this means that governmentality is not only a description of macro-political technologies and technologies of the self, but also analyses the construction of norms, representations, questions of sovereignty, of law, discipline and the technologies of security as different aspects of the technologies of power (Dean 1999; Foucault 2000a; Lemke 2000b). Thus, governmentality is a “new way of thinking about and exercising power whose historical emergence Foucault dates to the eighteenth century in Europe” (Larner and Walters 2004a: 2). This form of understanding governance encourages a more differentiated understanding of sovereign power and government. While sovereignty implies the subordination to law, government was traditionally designed to govern through the exercise of “power over” the population with different technologies of political power. The political technologies to govern a population on a macro-political level were only possible through bureaucratic administrations and the police and secured the mechanisms of government for the modern state (Foucault 1994a: 86 ff; 1999: 210 ff). Foucault noted that governing with the means of scientific statistics is the key element in this context, because for state regulation economic calculations and knowledge about certain problems of governance now provided the conditions for governing. Foucault describes this type of rationality of the state as reflexive. In this sense, a certain (scientific) knowledge which was established at universities in the form of the analysis of political economy was later transferred into epistemic communities and became the condition for political actions of the state. Foucault defines governmentality as “the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculation and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security” (Foucault 1991a).

Power is here not only focused on the level of institutions but also on the micro-level of subjects. Insofar the construction of the modern state and the rationality of government fall together with the construction of gendered subject positions, the governmentality framework provides key insights for a gendered analysis of governance. The contingent character of subjectivity and the dispersed forms of power that construct historical specific relations of domination can be retraced within the governmentality perspective. The governmentality of the state meant

that the individual could now be controlled, administrated, empowered or disciplined through certain governmental techniques (police, universities, schools, welfare policies), but would be guaranteed safety within the state territory. Meanwhile, the “governmentalisation” of the state followed the (theoretical) principles of economy or economic scaling. Liberalism was the main principle for this form of governing, because it needed security technologies to proliferate its idea of freedom. But while in the time of classical liberalism the economy still needed the state to govern, neo-liberal governmentality implies that it is the economy that now becomes the regulating and main principle of the state and its form of governance (Gordon 1991; Lemke 2000b). Neo-liberalism is then not only an ideological discourse or a political reality but most of all a political project which aims to establish a social reality that it presumes as already given (Bröckling et al. 2000: 9). It is not individual freedom any longer, but the freedom of economy that then determines human action or political agency and establishes this new form of economic rationality as sole criteria for governance.

These insights have been used to analyse different global political phenomena in the recent past. Development discourses, as Escobar has pointed out (1995), constructed abnormalities such as “the less developed”, “the illiterate”, “the underfed”. Important in this context is the knowledge about the constructed situation, creating a politics of “truth” through scientific acknowledgements and professionalism that reiterate these positions. The political and cultural conflicts are transformed into seemingly neutral scientific knowledge, which transfers its research back to specific institutions that are concerned with development programmes at the global level (Escobar 1995: 110; Rai 2002). Knowledge is also a key to govern “from a distance” (Rose 2000) by changing social benefit programmes into empowerment programmes, where each person is personally responsible for their loss of paid work and where the state no longer interferes. This has happened in the United States under Clinton with the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 (Cruikshank 1999; McBride Stetson 2003) as well as in Chile, where the knowledge of grassroots movements has been used to set different agents from civil society in competition with one another and has had the effect of a retreat of the state from systems of social welfare (Parpart et al. 2001; Schild 2003). In this way, progressive emancipative movements have been included in this rationality of governing, using their resources and knowledge as techniques and strategies for producing gendered, rational, entrepreneurial actors who are functional for the state (Schild 2003).

These “actions on other’s actions” (Gordon 1991) are forms of power that do not rule with the means of direct restriction but by creating new realms of belief in the self. Certain social groups are then discursively subjected to a new form of gendered subjectivity, which conceptualizes them as actively responsible for their own well-being. It no longer draws on the norm of social coherence, solidarity and other historical assumptions of welfare states (Wöhl 2003). This discursive shift releases the state from its unifying welfare function, drawing on neo-liberal individualistic ideas, which change the norms of society such as solidarity and transform, for example, western welfare states into workfare regimes (Jessop 2003). This discursive re-articulation of the concepts of need, and entitlements and ideas of empowerment has led to severe material inequalities for certain women who now work in new informal sectors of low-wage work and has had the effect of denying former feminist demands for gender equality (Prügl 1999; Wichterich 2000). These demands are not able to be fully articulated in hegemonic public discourse and are discursively included in the hegemonic project of neo-liberal governmentality. Secondly, social identities are no longer conceptualized as in need of solidarity and as collective actors, but are rearticulated as free individuals, seemingly free of care and household work, while at the same time conservative discourses on the family and the responsibility of citizens are becoming more and more popular again in the restructuring of welfare states (Bakker and Gill 2003; Brodie 2004). This form of governance calls on the responsible citizen to take over unpaid community work or activates the unemployed to work in homes for elderly people at 1 Euro per hour as in Germany at the moment. These politics are fostering changes in the welfare state systems which do not necessarily rely on a conservative gender identity. Different gender identities seem to go along well with the individualistic idea of personal responsibility of women in this neo-liberal rationality, whether it is a single mother working in a highly qualified job or a married migrant woman working in the low paid service sector (Pühl and Wöhl 2003).

These contradictions seem to be apparent in the current phase of capitalism and lead to the question of how different categories such as class, gender and ethnicity can be conceptualized to grasp the socio-economic changes of governance on a global scale (Brah 2002). The governmentality perspective can contribute to the analysis of global governance by highlighting the global creation of political truths and meanings perpetuated on a normative level as well analysing the material effects that these truths and means generate. Because its focus also lies on the construction and contingency of subjectivity, gender is no

external category, but can always be integrated in the analysis of global governance. Governmentality can then contribute towards analysing the construction of the global as a space for institutional or non-institutional agency and to our understanding of why certain policies and different governance tools are created to solve global problems (Larner and Walters 2004b).

In the next sections I demonstrate how a gendered reading of the governmentality framework can help us analyse the ambivalent nature (disciplinary and empowering) of policy making techniques by examining the EU's OMC as a technique of governance. The employment guidelines of the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997 include gender mainstreaming goals, which are intended to ensure that gender issues need to be reflected and considered in all policies on all levels of the EU. Analysing the EU's OMC and gender mainstreaming from a governmentality perspective will allow me to explain in what ways the knowledge about governing in the sense of governmentality re-establishes gendered subjectivities in ambivalent and contradictory ways in neo-liberal political economies.

Regional governance in the EU: the open method of coordination

Economic and monetary integration have been the main political and economic projects in the integration process of the European Union (Young 2003b). Only since 1997 with the Treaty of Amsterdam have explicit gender concerns been framed in the polity of the EU and in the subsequent process of the Lisbon Strategy, which aims to make the European economy the most knowledge-based and most competitive worldwide until 2010 (Lisbon European Council 2000). Even though gender issues were considered in specific policy fields through directives in the 1980s and 1990s, a broader framework for gender equality has only been institutionalized through the implementation of gender mainstreaming and the introduction of the OMC to achieve the goals of the Lisbon Strategy: competitiveness, social cohesion and full employment.

The instrument for achieving this in the member states of the EU especially in the welfare sectors of employment and in the restructuring of pension systems is the OMC. This mode of governing is at the same time a weak mode of governance because it is not based on laws and contract but on mutual recognition and it offers framework guidelines rather than regulation by directives or uniform policies. The nature of the OMC is thus a new technology of European governance because it sets out to harmonize European space by letting the member states

design and regulate their resources in welfare policy fields by themselves. Thus, the OMC is also a new rationality of government because it is not designed to regulate from the supranational level in the usual way, but to conduct policy adjustment from a greater distance. The supranational level in the form of the European Commission and European Council is designated to conduct this by installing systematic annual monitoring to report on the progress made in the different policy fields by the member states. The methods for achieving this in the different member states may vary; therefore systematic comparisons between member states are monitored by peer review, analysing the different practices across member states and finding models of "best practice". In this way the OMC is designed to encourage the member states to compete with one another by using political benchmarking. Benchmarking is an economic indicator based system of comparing achievements, formerly used by international companies, and installing a model of "best" or "good practice". Benchmarking originates from economic theory and is used to compare achievements and financial growth of companies. It is oriented according to output and filters information so that the indicators (benchmarks) that seem to bring the most financial gain are used as cornerstones for further decisions as to how a company should compete successfully. The US company Xerox is the most famous example for best benchmarking. It has become the leading company in the photo industry because Xerox best practice has become standardized globally.

Political benchmarking, as used in the OMC, is such a *modus operandi* of "learning by comparing". Member states of the EU which seem to have successfully raised the percentage of the work force or which have partially privatized their pension systems can be seen as examples of good practice or good governance. This "peer-pressure" is supposed to stimulate other member states to adjust their welfare systems. This form of benchmarking is used as a political decision making process based on economic results in international comparison. Performance indicators as used in the OMC have already been used in the OECD countries for a longer time to compare education and health systems. The OMC has already been in use in other fields of policy making, and elements of the method have also been employed in the macroeconomic monitoring of the monetary union.¹ Learning by comparing (economic) standards is the method of changing the welfare state systems of the national states with the OMC and employing this strategy of competitiveness at the European level. In mainstream literature, this mode of comparing is seen as stimulating new processes of reflection and creating a new knowledge-based political culture (Devetzi and Schmitt 2002;

Rodrigues 2002). Political goals at the institutional level of the European Commission have formerly often been set in cooperation with powerful actors like the European Round Table of Industrialists (Tidow 1999). Therefore, it is highly contested how a competitive strategy like the OMC can acknowledge national welfare state specifications such as the rate and cause for unemployment, while assuming the unquestioned norm of economic competitiveness for all (Ostheim and Zohlnhöfer 2002; Haahr 2004). This political goal of competitiveness is introduced and validated by scientific experts who outline the indicators for benchmarking. In Germany for example, the so-called “Hartz-Commission” named after former Volkswagen chief executor for employees Peter Hartz was installed by the Social Democratic and Green government to restructure the whole employment sector. Scientific economic experts, managers and union members designed a policy programme called Hartz I–IV. Besides designing an activating employment sector that is based on supply-related employment policies [Angebotspolitik] and redesigning the federal employment agencies, unemployment payments were shortened to one year. After that year, if the person does not find a job within that time, the unemployment benefits are the same as the social welfare income. People who have been long term unemployed are also forced to take up jobs at 1 Euro per hour in addition to social welfare, if they do not want to lose these benefits. These methods are supposed to stimulate or activate especially the long-term unemployed to find a job. But given the high rate of unemployment, around 12 percent in Germany, finding a job is a structural problem and not just a personal responsibility.

In this sense, the OMC is much more restrictive concerning its process than the former political monitoring, which gave the member states the freedom of designing their welfare policies by themselves and did not make them compete with one another. Even though competitiveness, social cohesion and employment are supposed to be in balance with each other (Article 125 EVG), the National Action Plans reporting on the national progress in employment of the member states have now been shortened to one annual report concerning all three topics. Formerly, there was one separate report for employment in the old Lisbon Strategy. But if the new Lisbon Strategy is to succeed, it would need to do more than just implement empowering or activating strategies for employment as outlined in the European employment guidelines. At the level of subjectivities and individual identities, the new Lisbon Strategy requires a more individualistic and self-monitored comprehension of one’s self; it needs individuals to take responsibility of their own welfare even as

states restructure the economic landscape. In studies on governmentality this form of governing the unemployed or the poor has been analysed as governing *through* the individual subjects instead of against them (Cruikshank 1999). Empowerment strategies and knowledge originating from social movements are decontextualized and used as governmental techniques to activate and empower the unemployed. In this way the unemployed are statistically registered as a group, and the knowledge and empowerment strategies from critical civil society actors are used as powerful techniques to govern this part of the population. This form of governance does not transfer power from the macro-level of government institutions to the micro-level of individuals; rather it uses the knowledge and techniques of empowerment to secure certain mechanisms of government. As Cruikshank notes,

(...) governmental interventions are designed to create the possibility for people to come together. To govern, then, means to first stir up the desire, the interest and the will to participate or act politically. To establish a relationship of governance, it is necessary to first re-constitute the poor and powerless as acting subjects. In short, according to the logic of empowerment, the poor have to be made to act.

(1994: 48)

At the same time non-state actors such as unions are also involved as collective actors to foster these activating strategies in the employment sector at the meso-level. Because the OMC attains its competence from setting the member states in competition with one another, without calling it that explicitly, in a certain sense this new mode of governance has a lot in common with the empowerment programmes which are, at the moment, fostered at the level of individuals. If rational, self-responsible subjects can be created like this and even critical collective actors from civil society are involved in the process, then there is no need to exert pressure and to limit freedoms, because it seems plausible to act and live like this as an individual or not to participate in this form of governance as a collective actor. What can be stated for the micro-level of subjects and at the meso-level of institutional actors in this context is programmatically installed in the OMC by generating best practices between the member states' welfare policy fields. The alignment of this form of policy making is not so much seen as pressure or coercion, but certainly has these effects in the long run, while at the same time stabilizing a neo-liberal consensus of individual responsibility. The effects of these

empowerment strategies are thus ambivalent: they may actually support long-term unemployed by activating their efforts to gain employment, and at the same time these techniques are an art of governing that redefines the norms and functions of welfare states into a neo-liberal framework and has the effect of a retreat of the state from ensuring welfare policies.

But restructuring a democratic process only along the lines of institutional reforms that are oriented according to market criteria also implies an undermining of democracy. Haahr notes that OMC is a form of governance that understands power “as dispersed and multifaceted and (...) governance as involving formalized, institutionalized and informal processes of co-coordination and will-formation” (Haahr 2004: 211). This “conduct of conduct” defines governance as a rational, calculative process to change policies. The question of how to govern and how we are being governed is thus combined with economic knowledge, which is used to govern over people and things. In this sense it is no longer individual freedom but the freedom of economy that becomes the main goal of governance. The OMC can be seen as a form of neo-liberal or advanced liberal governmentality which employs the knowledge and rational criteria of political benchmarking and does not interfere directly with state policies or actions, but steers institutional reforms and policies “from a distance” (Rose 2000). This has happened because the neo-liberal ideology of individualism has been successfully combined with empowerment strategies and has changed the norms and ideas of society. “The changing understanding of society in turn makes possible a government which is not the government of society in the welfarist sense: no longer that of securing a set of social, economic and demographic processes, the basic problem of government becomes securing governmental mechanisms.” (Haahr 2004: 215)

This can be seen as a strategy of repression of individuals and disciplining national actors as well as a process of empowerment because the OMC includes critical actors such as unions, NGOs and other social partners in the process of political deliberation and economic restructuring. This mode of governance is not only a disciplinary form of neo-liberalism (Gill 1995), but it is one that enables, activates and includes different actors. Cooperation and consent are explicitly sought after and are seen as the best form of governance and will at the same time not undermine the subsidiary principle prescribed in the welfare policy field. The OMC has been explicitly installed in the welfare policies of the EU, but not in other policy fields, such as the creation of the Single Market project, where the European Commission was much more restrictive and

regulating in its form of policy making. Especially in the employment sector more regulative forms of governance would be necessary though to improve the full-time employment of women and men. Although major differences exist between the Nordic and southern member states, women still represent the highest rate of low wage or part time workers across Europe (European Commission 2004). The rule of governmentality within the OMC consists of just this method of banking on the self-regulating market forces and letting the Member states regulate their resources according to the market principle in the employment sector.

Yet, regardless of whether the situation is one of the active involvement of citizens in community development or of the engagement of ministerial bureaucracies or “social partners” from different states in common process of deliberation, the technologies employed share certain characteristics: the presupposition that government is the employment of techniques for the release of resources found in a domain outside government itself.

(Haahr 2004: 218).

The OMC as multi-level governance technique is thus at the same time a weak mode of governance in the field of welfare policy because of the greater distance of rule from the supranational level. However, it powerfully sets economic market criteria as standards (benchmarks) to foster a competitive, neo-liberal market-oriented society on a collective and individual level. This governmental technique, which includes different actors (nation states, social partners from civil society) on different sites (European, national, local), is not only a technology of governance, but also a rationality of governance that is prescribed as the preliminary answer for solving European social problems and for governing Europe. While some of the implications of the OMC may seem to be a reasonable form of governance within the Union, the OMC is an example of securing the mechanisms of government at the supranational level with an economic rationality that now becomes the main principle of government. William Walters and Jens Henrik Haahr see the OMC as an advanced form of liberalism in which society is mobilized not only for reasons of self responsibility, but to proliferate “various technologies of power – including mechanisms of partnership, techniques of empowerment, procedures of benchmarking and methods of best practice” (Haahr and Walters 2005: 119). Installing these technologies across different spaces and within different subjects makes this governmental technique more than an ideology; it opens society to become a “field of

energies . . . capable of generating its own “solutions” to social and ethical problems” (ibid.). The OMC employs self-agency at different levels and by different actors to optimize political performance. In this way NGOs, social partners and other critical actors are not only seen as disturbing the political process of governance, but as resources for reaching the overall goal of a competitive knowledge-based economy in the European Union. Having this framework in mind, we can now look at how gender aspects are integrated into this form of multi-level governance at the European level.

The OMC and gender mainstreaming in the European employment guidelines

Taking into account that the dominant projects in the European integration process were configuring the Single Market and the economic and monetary union in the governance structures of the European Union in the 1990s (Bieling and Steinhilber 2001; Bieling and Deppe 2003), women organizations’ lobbying for gender mainstreaming had to make a strong case against dominant actors and their interventions to implement gender pillars and guidelines were only taken up in the supranational institutional contract of the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997 after a very long process of political bargaining (Young 2001; Hoskyns 2004 and this volume). This shows how, in this field of structural and strategic selectivity, powerful actors select and modify their interests to their advantage. Gender mainstreaming was then finally anchored in the employment guidelines of the Amsterdam Treaty. At the same time Article 105, in Chapter 2 of the Amsterdam Treaty still gives price stability the highest priority in the political goals of the union. Even though several binding legal directives have been installed during the 1980s and 1990s to foster gender equality in employment and to secure working conditions for women, these cannot be seen as a coordinated social policy (Ostner and Lewis 1995). With the OMC as an instrument to implement the employment guidelines, gender mainstreaming is now supported only by soft law, making it dependent on the willingness of the member states to further gender equality in the employment sector. The coordination in the employment guidelines is based on the national action plans of the member states. These were quite vague and focused largely on preventive measures against unemployment and enabling policies (employability) for individuals formulated in the first part of the employment chapter. The second goal of the employment chapter, which seeks to foster self-entrepreneurship and the creation of

new jobs focused mainly on the service sector and how to cut the costs of entrepreneurs (Ostheim and Zollnhofer 2002). The flexibility of work contracts and working hours is part of the third goal and has already had consequences for workers in Germany: collective wage agreements [Flächentarifverträge] are being allowed to expire and working hours are increased in the service sector and community hospitals, all sectors in which women represent a high percentage of the workforce. All in all, most member states have been able to neglect the recommendations of the Commission or to weaken them in the employment sector. This shows that European social policy is still underdeveloped and weak in comparison to other policy fields.

With the advent of the OMC in the employment sector, European social policy has been extended by a political process of benchmarking that fits into the market rationality of the integration process. Problems of installing the European employment strategy can be recognized in this context: results and achievements of the member states' national action plans have mainly focused on the first part of the employment guidelines (employability) and results in the sector of entrepreneurship (Jacobsson and Schmid 2004). In most countries employability has been the main focus in restructuring the employment sector, while gender mainstreaming goals to foster gender equality have mainly been neglected (Bothfeld et al. 2002). The implementation deficit of the third (adjustment) and fourth goal (gender equality) is also due to the neglect of the relevance of macroeconomic indicators concerning employment (see Hoskyns in this volume). Since the macroeconomic goals of the integration process are very restrictive, the effects on national budgets are not considered in a way that would foster employment or shift more of the national budget to employment policy. Thus, the national action plans reflect more the already existing employment policies of the member states rather than follow the recommendations of the European Commission. In Denmark for example, where best practice in employment policies has been fostering employability since 1994, local and individual action plans seem to follow a bottom-up process rather than being influenced by the European employment guidelines.

"The degree of correspondence between the national action plan guidelines and the local planning documents is rather a matter of coincidence. Local priorities coincide with the European Employment Strategy." (Jacobsson and Schmid 2004: 81) This shows that the national action plans for employment are dependent on the political will of the responsible ministers at the national and local level and that the implementation is mainly dependent on the power of the social partners to

negotiate. The power of unions as negotiating actors plays a central role in this process, but especially women working in the service sector are often not adequately represented in this procedure. For the implementation of the fourth goal – gender equality – of the European employment strategy, a working group was installed in the women's ministry in Germany in 1999, which meant that the weakest ministry was now considered responsible for monitoring gender mainstreaming in the employment sector. At the same time a main bureaucratic reform to modernize the state was started in order to optimize performance, which had the effect that gender mainstreaming was delegated to the women's unit of the specific bureaucratic sectors and led to the fact that gender mainstreaming was not employed at all levels of bureaucracy. The idea and project of gender mainstreaming was thus not realized. Gender issues were mainly just shifted back to women's advocacy.

The advisory character of gender mainstreaming makes it a weak instrument in the employment sector. It cannot intervene directly on specific policies and has been too unspecific to change the gendered segregation of work in specific sectors until now. Insofar it is dependent on the political will of the different institutional actors to actually implement gender training measures, gender budgets or to realize gender sensitive statistics. The Hartz reforms in Germany have meanwhile had different material effects for different women: most new jobs for women were created in the low-paid service sector. These so called "mini-jobs" at 400 Euro per month allow women who formerly worked illegally in private households to receive social security for their services; women who became entrepreneurs profited the most from the reforms and the subsidies supplied by the federal employment agencies in this case. But the percentage of women who actually do become entrepreneurs is relatively small; for other women, who are not entrepreneurs, the dependency on their husbands or partners is increased because if these women become dependent on social welfare, the income of the partner is deducted from the social benefits. Even though gender mainstreaming has had a discursive effect in some state institutions in Germany by devoting attention to the needs of women, its implementation in the employment sector is minimal and in most sectors not a direct consequence of gender mainstreaming (Bothefeld et al. 2002). As a top-down model, gender mainstreaming was designed to create employment for women by eliminating unequal pay and unequal working conditions as well as to eliminate the gendered segregation of work. But the new paths to employment that are concentrated on employability have not led to equality between women and men. The neo-liberal

idea of “human resources” rather promotes the construction of difference between women and men and this construction is then used to employ those who are considered to be more efficient as workers (those who do not need maternity cover, for example) and to generate employability and an enabling employment policy (Schunter-Kleeman 2003). This has not led to the empowering of women in an emancipative sense, or to make them more economically independent. Rather it helps to limit the social welfare expenditure and the need for an active job-creating policy of the state. It also creates a market-based rationality of individual responsibility in the employment sector. While having some positive effects in the member states, gender mainstreaming is too vaguely designed to counteract against the enabling, supply-side policies in the employment sector. While progress can be seen especially in the southern European countries such as Greece, Italy and Spain where the rate of women’s employment has increased, the strategies remain ambivalent: in Great Britain women workers’ rights were strengthened in flexible and part time work, while directives on economic gender equality from the EU were blocked by the government in the past (Cook 1998; Rubery et al. 1998). These examples demonstrate how gender mainstreaming can be implemented within a neo-liberal market economy, which is based on deflationary politics resulting from the Maastricht criteria without actually changing the gender regime of states.

From a governmentality perspective, gender mainstreaming can be seen as a framework, which may bring advantages for highly qualified women and men by opening paths to higher employment or creating a market for “gender experts”. But the evidence provided here also underlines the fact that gender mainstreaming can be compatible with neo-liberal market criteria and with a bureaucratic reform in Germany that is oriented towards economic efficiency. While knowledge about gender has increased in the field of gender studies at universities, this knowledge is now used as a governmental technique and as expertise in an ambivalent way: gender mainstreaming is generated from the same governmental techniques that it actually seeks to transform. This may be seen as a process of empowerment, but at the same time it has lost its former emancipative meaning. What has been described as “governing at a distance” in the studies on governmentality has now found its way to govern the knowledge about gender including the formerly emancipative meanings and technologies of empowerment by grass-roots and women’s movements into multi-level governance structures. In this sense the critical intention of gender mainstreaming formulated

by women's movements at the Women's World Conference in Beijing in 1995 has to show its effectiveness within neo-liberal market criteria to be compatible with the broader goals of the European Union. This does not imply that gender mainstreaming will not have any positive effects at all, but that the hegemonic neo-liberal frame and the main policy outline of the Lisbon strategy weaken its critical emancipative intention to change existing forms of domination. The transformative potential of gender mainstreaming will depend on the actors engaged in implementing it, on the power of different social forces at the local level and finally on how much of the budget is spent for gender sensitive analysis. As a top-down model, gender mainstreaming will be dependent on men in higher positions in bureaucratic institutions to promote a change not only in policy but institutional mentality towards gender equality. This will only happen, as examples of femocrats in institutions have shown in the past, if non-institutional activists support the implementation process at the local level. The problem of gender mainstreaming as a concept lies not only in local predicaments, but also in the very different welfare state arrangements of the member states and the different gender regimes that go along with them. Thus, gender mainstreaming will have to be translated into the different gender regimes of the member states to actually focus the specific forms of the gendered segregation of work and the gendered political culture of the member states.

Conclusions

Global governance within the neo-liberal framework in the sense of neo-liberal governmentality does not only offer many opportunities for women's lobby groups, but settles them in a terrain of power relations, in which they can also actively redefine policies but in a contested hegemonic space of action (see Waylen, this volume). Global governance is then not only a space for the permanent democratic inclusion of civil society actors and global social movements as other authors have argued (Weiss 2000), but an ambivalent field of power on different levels: international, regional and local. Governance itself involves knowledge and other technologies of power to stabilize the global forms of rule. Global governance also reflects political arrangements, which may favor the ideas and strategies of powerful civil society groups, powerful states or supranational state actors, such as the European Round Table of Industrialists in the EU while at the same time involving and using the knowledge and actions of other political

actors (NGOs, trade unions and grassroots movements). The European Union is for sure one of the most aggregated forms of cooperation in international politics, but as such not necessarily the best example for good governance and for democratic inclusion of civil society. The inclusion and cooperation with civil society actors and NGOs does not necessarily imply a democratic *modus operandi* of (global) governance or more accountability in global governance (Keohane 2005), but reflects the ambivalence of global governance as a technology of power: the technologies employed can empower individual and collective actors, relying on their own energies and resources to restructure the state, society or international space *while* establishing a neo-liberal consensus.

In this hegemonic arena of discourse, different interest groups articulate their ideas of the global, society, and how the public and private should be (re-)organized. This struggle over meaning in global governance is the performative discursive aspect, in which women's "interests" are produced and accounted for in institutional settings and where their personal responsibility, dependency or difference can be constructed, modernized or be maintained. These identities can then be actively involved for the stabilization of certain capitalist modes of production and for assuring mechanisms of governance on a global scale. The governmentality perspective can focus more accurately on this combination of power and knowledge as a governmental technique, and as a discourse and strategy of power in and of global governance than approaches previously engaged in analysing global governance.² As we have noted above, empowering the individual, specific groups or projects is then a gendered governmental technique, which governs "at a distance", but employs neo-liberal rationality of free markets on the individual gendered subject, institutions from civil society and welfare state institutions. On the European level this knowledge-based rationality of governing is now creating a space of economic action that makes its neo-liberal rationality difficult to circumscribe and difficult to injure. In conclusion, therefore, it is necessary to take a closer look at the hegemonic projects fostered in the European Union and at the global level of institutions at the moment to study in what way they are able to stabilize consent in multi-level global governance and can discursively and materially reproduce different forms of inequality along the axes of gender, class and ethnicity. When these subtle mechanisms of power become visible, the struggle for equality can respond to the challenges posed by neo-liberal capitalism today.

Notes

1. But while the European Commission was much more restrictive regarding the economic and monetary union because the deficit spending of the member states should not exceed 3 percent of the GDP, the OMC has no such restrictions right from the outset.
2. International Political Economy scholars who have focused on hegemony usually also do not include the construction of gendered subjects in their analysis (exceptions are Bakker and Gill 2003 as well as Young 2003).

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