



Nordic Gender Regimes and Gender Equality Politics

Aniceta Aranzanso Chua^{1*}

¹*Department of Sociology and Social Work, Aalborg University, Aalborg, Denmark.*

Author's contribution

The sole author designed, analysed, interpreted and prepared the manuscript.

Article Information

DOI: 10.9734/AJESS/2018/43942

Editor(s):

(1) Dr. Ana Sofia Pedrosa Gomes dos Santos, Assistant Professor, Faculdade de Motricidade Humana, Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal.

Reviewers:

(1) Anna Odrowaz-Coates, The Maria Grzegorzewska University, Poland.

(2) Lawrence Okoye, University of Maiduguri, Nigeria.

(3) Bhaiseni Blessing, Zimbabwe.

Complete Peer review History: <http://prh.sdiarticle3.com/review-history/26970>

Review Article

Received 15 August 2018
Accepted 23 October 2018
Published 01 November 2018

ABSTRACT

The Nordic countries are generally known to be a strong force in the promotion of gender equality in comparison with non-Nordic countries. Although there are a number of arguments regarding the Nordic gender regimes, there is still very little understanding about the features of gender regimes of the Nordic countries and existing political measures targeting the gender regime. Drawing on a literature review of articles in scientific publications, this paper presents characteristics of Nordic gender regimes and important measures in Nordic gender equality politics. It is revealed that state involvement is a key factor of the Nordic gender regime. Important measures in Nordic gender equality politics are discussed.

Keywords: Gender equality; gender regimes; state policies; Nordic countries.

1. INTRODUCTION

Developed countries including the Americas and most especially Europe have over the years stabilised the desired social transition of women

and men being treated as equals devoid of discrimination based on age, gender, race, disability, or nationality. Focusing on the Nordic countries known for their ability to ensure good standards of equality for its citizens, while at the

*Corresponding author: Email: chuanovember7@gmail.com;

same time ensuring decent levels of economic growth the Nordic countries stand out due to strong adherence to the welfare model that operates on the principle of universalism and the egalitarian values. The high level of citizenry participation in the welfare state gives no room to deny citizen equal access to opportunities; education, job, social services and respect for the fundamental human right [1, p.8]. Hence, the Nordic welfare model underpins the known citizenship type called Socio-democratic welfare state that “prescribes the welfare of the individual to be the responsibility of the social collective; all citizens to be equally entitled to a decent standard of living; and full social citizenship, rights and status to be guaranteed unconditionally” [2, p.40].

However, as easy as it is to appreciate gender equality in the Nordic countries the road to achieving such status among Nordic countries was not easy. The work of the feminists and feminist movement groups working collaboratively as a formidable force across national borders seems to kindle the confidence of women amongst the Nordic countries up till today since the early 19th century. Thus, movements towards women’s acquisition of civil, political and social rights begun in Norway and Sweden between 1901-1921 [3]. Moreover, during this period achievement included a new marriage law that Sweden adopted in 1920, Norway in 1972, Denmark in 1925, Finland and Iceland in 1929 which paved the way for women’s right to own their property as was not formerly the case [4]. For instance, Sweden established the law that takes away men’s authority over their wives; hence women had full right to own properties and coupled with women’s suffrage entrenched between the 1901-1921 set the stage for today’s staunch gender equality amongst the Nordic countries [3,4]. Against this background, this paper will discuss the characteristics of the Nordic gender regimes, important political measures towards gender equality and current challenges for such policy-making.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORDIC GENDER REGIME

The Nordic countries demonstrate universalism, a social democratic welfare state and equality as common features. Other characteristics include “state-based; that the state has more vested interests in the provision and financing of social welfare and insurance services” [5, p.89].

Labour activation policies; ‘a wide range of policies targeted at people receiving government social welfare. Often, the aim is to encourage the target group to re-enter the labour market.’ [6, p.134-135]. But then, the Nordic countries’ ‘long-term investment in education and workers’ training had allowed the Nordic societies to adapt quickly to rapid technological changes and become world leaders in fields such as information and communications technology (ICT)’. According to Jieru, [3] by these features, it was necessary gender equality is ensured to promote and advance women status in the Nordic countries.

Today, gender as a term in the political world of feminist draws attention to a shift from a more socially constructed idea of limited roles for men and women and as a fixated category, but to incorporate in the understanding of the term ‘gender’ a more broadening view of social relationship between men and women [7,8] and how both sexes become victims of its narrow understandings and consequences of culturally fixated category expectations for men and women. According to the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, gender is “a socially constructed definition of women and men...determined by the conception of task, functions and roles attributed to women and men in society and private life” [9]. However, gender equality is “achieved when women and men enjoy the same rights and opportunities across all sectors of the society, including economic participation and decision-making, and when the different behaviours, aspirations and needs of women and men are equally valued and favoured” [10]. Considering that, in the Nordic countries gender mainstreaming targeted men as well in ensuring that men work in sectors usually dominated by women. Laws against domestic violence were formulated to serve as a deterrent for potential abusers of human right particularly the men, parental leave arrangements to include men in-house care, and measures to combat marginalisation of women towards education and work sphere which in some cases quotas are implemented strictly.

A comprehensive illustration in this regard could be drawn from the Nordic gender regime and its characteristics. The Nordic gender regimes show a gradual but important transition in various roles and status of both men and women and the development of policies that sustained the regime.

3. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER EQUALITY IN THE NORDIC REGION

The Nordic gender regime between 1920-1960 prescribed a more caregiver model wherein family as a basic unit of socialisation was responsible for providing care for its members particularly in Norway and Finland [11,12]. Given the status of women and various roles they perform, one will agree that per comparison women today have far advanced in their status, rights and abilities within the society. The regime created a gap of inequality between men and women, in education, income, job position. Women were considered citizen carers, thus usually considered housewives whereas men were the breadwinners, [12] and earners of higher income, making decisions for the family, attaining the highest form of education preferably than women. An analytical concept termed Familization is used to describe the notion of families' responsibility towards caring for each other. However, the gender regime of this period and how it disfavored the advancement of women ignited the clamour for equality by feminist movements in the same period.

A universal breadwinner model became a pronounced feature of the Nordic gender regime between 1960-1975 for instance in Sweden and Denmark. At this point policies formulated gradually breached the inequality gap between men and women setting the tone for equality. During this regime, both men and women were both breadwinners with public defamiliarization policies making it possible for both parents to care for family and work at the same time [8]. Again, during this period, the analytical concept of decommodification- the degree to which individual or families can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independent of market forces [13, p.107] remained fundamental to the family policies to be implemented. And so, this regime recognised women entering the labour force to earn income, fairly wielding some amount of power as a woman, but a more and stronger equality status is witnessed in the last regime as described in the work of Fraser.

From the year 1975, the Nordic countries including Sweden, Norway, and Denmark entered into an equal-status contract regime. This was a regime that will long be celebrated with the institutionalisation of gender equality wherein women right would be entrenched because of their citizenship [8]. This regime in

Fraser's work categorised both men and women as a universal caregiver at the same time breadwinners, caring for citizens were both performed by the family and the public sector; hence adults were considered citizen parents. This regime was the most women-friendly regime affirmed by the assertion that "A woman-friendly state would not force harder choices on women than on men, or permit unjust treatment on the basis of sex... women will continue to have children, yet there will also be other roads to self-realisation open to them...women will not have to choose futures that demand greater sacrifices from them that are expected of men... injustice on the basis of gender would be largely eliminated without an increase in other forms of inequality, such as among groups of women." [14, p.15]. Decommodification as a principle surrounding state policy enhanced gender equality and formulation of equality policy, which had a strong impact in improving lives of women and men in the Nordic countries during this regime- universal cares and breadwinner.

4. IMPORTANT GENDER EQUALITY POLICIES

As part of efforts to promote gender equality in the Nordic countries, policies have been introduced to ensure that both men and women have equal to rights. The following section discusses family policies including fathers' quota, parental leave and child care policies that promote gender equality.

5. FAMILY POLICIES

Family policy is policies which "directly aimed at families with children, as well as services such as childcare, leave schemes, and income benefits such as family allowances. It would also address health care, labour market and social assistance policies. That affect family life and children's opportunities later in life. It could also include support for family members outside the nuclear family, such as a carers' allowance to care for an older relative [15, p.5]. Family policies support the dual-earner- career model. An objective of the family policy is to encourage equal access to share paid work among men and women equally.

Family policies implemented in the Nordic countries established both men and women as caregivers in the family. Thus, promoting fathers' activeness in the family was absent in the early1970's, but in the early 1980's till today men's presence and role in the Nordic countries

is significantly felt [7]. Amongst significant initiatives to make feasible fathers involvement in child and home care were parental leave policy since 1970, the work of the committee on the male role in 1986, and fathers' quota introduced in 1993 [11,16]. Evidently, "Sweden has the longest parental leave period with an income-related parental benefit up to 70 weeks. Finland and Denmark both have 50 weeks. Iceland has the shortest with less than 40 weeks, and in Norway, parents can choose up to 57 weeks. Denmark is the only country with no father's quota, where Iceland has the highest father's quota of 13 weeks." [17, p.12]. The paid parental leave comprises paternity and maternity leave. The leave makes possible for both parents to take turns in caring for children when either of the partners is employed or studying.

Also, the possibility to transfer leave among partners was included in legislation [16]. By so doing both partners have an equal chance to pursue their lifetime objectives to improve their lives and become independent. Consequently, the labour activation policy that calls for all citizens participation in the labour force did not fail to meet its objectives. Instead of paid parental leave allowed women to have children anytime without losing their jobs [18]. For this reason, there is a significant poverty reduction and increasing income of Nordic women amongst other European women. Thus, after "even having children, a similar proportion of mothers with children aged 0–6 years are active in the labour market across the Scandinavian countries" [11, p.6].

Considering, fathers' quota, for instance, it is practised in all Nordic countries except for Denmark. Fathers quota it is a non-transferable leave that fathers must take [12], to help support women at home so that fathers fulfil their fatherly obligation towards children without excuses for having to work all throughout the year. This also builds the bond and love between children and parents to improve trust and healthy relationship among family members. Unlike early 1960's today "Men time spent at home on household work has increased in all the Nordic countries between 1990 and 2010. On the contrary, Women increasingly spend less time on household work [17]. Therefore, it is clear parental leave is premised on the principle of re-familisation; policy measures that support parental care for children at home by both parents [19, p.42, 20, p.50]. The initiative of fathers' quota introduction is a contributory

element in gender equality implementation such that Norway increased fathers' quota from 4 weeks to 12 weeks in 2011 and it's nontransferable. Fathers either use or lose it. Similarly, Sweden introduced a four weeks fathers' quota and later increased it to eight weeks, and clearly, this has had greater impact on parental leave take up by fathers which hitherto was not the case in the 1990s. thus in Norway parental leave rose from 1% to in 1993 to 17.8% in 2011, whereas Sweden had an increased access of parental leave by fathers from 10% in 1994 to 24.5% in 2011 [11]. And this demonstrates the increasing role of fathers at home to support women, the share paid work and equally care for a child.

6. CHILD CARE POLICY

Besides cash for care, subsidised preschool care or kindergarten was also pivotal in increasing women participation and equal access to job and education, hence gender equality [14, p.2]. Through is policy women were no longer tied down to care for children from birth until the child could walk or is 2 or 3 years before going back to work. So far Denmark, Norway and Sweden have established child care as the right of the child "which ensures that children can obtain a place in childcare regardless of their parents' labour market status". Therefore, irrespective of a parent's economic status children in the Scandinavia, for instance, have equal access to quality child care facility [11, p.2]. And this initiative made women live flexible, motivating them to work or never quit education if they so desire. According to Esping-Anderson, state support for childcare; kindergarten with increased labour participation for women became a hindrance to "social inheritance- inequality and disadvantages passed from parents to children" [20, p.13]. Since the labour activation initiative was introduced with the aim of de-commodifying individual rights to survival, women participation in the labour market did increase. It is in view that "Norwegians, in general, conceive de-famililasing policies as positive and have high expectations concerning public support for their family-related problems" [21, p.63]. The benefits of these policies are the fact that as of 1950 the percentage of women participating in the labour force was 26%, and 87% for men, but 2015 recorded an increase to 68 % for women and 74% for men [22, p.2], indicating an increase for women and decrease for men which means great improvement for women. Generally, Nordic countries, Iceland, Norway and Sweden have

already reached the target of 75% employment rate among the EU countries showing advancement in gender equality particularly favouring women.

Concerning kindergarten, for instance, differences regarding child take-up exist among the Nordic countries. The point here is that looking at the increasing number of child take-up from 1995-2010 a large portion of children in the Scandinavia age 1-5 years have had access to kindergarten. Denmark recorded 90% of children between ages 1-2 having access to kindergarten and 98% for ages between 3-5 years as of 2010. Norway recorded 79% for ages 1-2 years and 96% intake of children between 3-5 years as at 2010. Sweden had 70% take-up for children 1-2 years, and 97% for children age 3-5 years by 2010 [15]. The percent of children in kindergarten demonstrates mothers' engagement in the labour force as part-time worker or full-time worker which is good for the economy and women development. For instance, over 70% women age 16-64 in Denmark Norway and Sweden are active in the labour force of which those in part-time workers rates at 23% Denmark, 31.6% Norway, 19. % Sweden. Indicating just a minimal percent of women in that category. This is an evidence to poverty reduction amongst women in the Nordic countries. Also, the economic independence of women means women can take care of themselves and do not need to depend on husband which in most cases contributes to domestic violence, and abuses when the family is hard up. Again, the support of the state institutionalising child care consequently creates employment for more women who wish to work part-time. And with the help of caregivers in this institution's mothers' health is improved with the quality of care given to their children when they are away working because stress is reduced. Not only in work does this initiative impact, but also in education. For mothers who have given birth do have the opportunity to continue their education even up to tertiary level. For example, via childcare policy, Finland and Norway have the highest proportion in tertiary education for both women and men. Sweden has the highest share of women and men in upper and post-secondary education [17].

7. CASH FOR CARE

Cash for care policy is common with the Scandinavia welfare system. The introduction of this policy was to provide an alternative means for child care besides parental leave and

kindergarten. "Norway introduced this option in 1998, Denmark in 2002 and Sweden in 2008, but each with different intentions" [11, p.12]. Thus, Denmark use the medium to give the right to parents to decide where the child receive care either the family or institutionalised child care facility. Norway the intention is to create equality between women who access subsidised child care institutions and those who care for children at home without who earlier did not have financial support [23]. This is also a means of empowering women, alleviating poverty amongst women, and increasing women participation in the labour market. Cash for care draws attention to validating the work of women or hours women spent caring for children as a value worth some amount of wages because it's also a kind of work, only that it is strongly gendered to be woman's responsibility at home. cash for care is universal for all parents irrespective of parents' income end at the end of the month. the monetary benefits for cash for care are relatively good, and this varies with the number of children and age of children amongst Scandinavia countries within the Nordic regions. For example, single parents with one child from Sweden receives 1,103 euros yearly, the same condition in Norway and Denmark receives 1975 euros and 2192 euros respectively. Having two children meant as single parent qualifies you for 2363 euros per year in Sweden, and similar condition in Norway and Denmark qualifies parent for 2962 euros and 3917 euros respectively [11]. Similarly, the amount rises for 3 or more children but vary amongst the Scandinavia countries. Another dimension to the benefits of this policy is the bridging of the gendered income gap between women and men in the Nordic countries, but more especially in the Scandinavia, empowerment of single parents to provide a quality living standard for children coupled with their personal income. It also means that child poverty level in the Nordic countries is at the lowest level because couples increase the living standard of a child with their income and benefits so that children do not lack necessities of life.

Another dimension to the family policy to analyse is how via this policy the system created availability of work-related jobs that can be done on a part-time basis. Interestingly, there are a rising number of men and the decreasing number of women working part-time across the Nordic countries. For instance, among men, the "proportion of part-time workers increased in all the Nordic countries, except for Iceland where it

has fallen. The highest proportion of part-time working men can be found in Denmark and the lowest proportion in Finland" [13, p.30]. On the other hand, "women working part-time has decreased in Norway, Sweden and Iceland since 1995, but increased in Finland. In Finland, the proportion of part-time working women is significantly lower than in the other Nordic countries" [13, p.30]. This means that the possibility of part-time work and respect for jobs people do concerning the fair wages across the Nordic countries has supplanted the efforts of policies towards gender equality where men also could possibly work and contribute to housework and care for children. Moreover, working part-time promoted the possibility for both men and women to combine gainful employment with parenthood or studies [13, p.29], and this is good for the realisation of the gender equality so profound in the Nordic countries.

8. GENDER-SENSITIVE POLICY

Besides family policies, there have been work-related policies that are gender sensitive and necessary for bridging the gap between men and women domination in the industries and on boards and the breastfeeding policy is no exception. Another one is the women quotas, Norway begun with a quota of 40% comprising females on as board members and other Nordic countries including ice land, Finland, Sweden adopted a quota ranging from 25% to 40% [24]. Lately, in the largest public company within the Nordic regions about 3 of the 10 board members are women, with Iceland and Norway having the highest 46% and 40% respectively female share among Nordic countries [13]. Although the numbers are not encouraging, I could agree that it a stepping stone to overcoming such obstacle of a large number of women lacking on boards and as managers. On the contrary Nordic countries have a great share of women having a higher position in educational, health, and social services in the Nordic countries. This decision is important because not only do we want women's number rising on the boards or at the managerial level, but also to have their contribution towards the development of the country via their decisions. This also builds women confidence and brings out the creativity in them to contribute with for national development. In that regards, the workplace related significant labour market regulation gave entitlement to women to take a break for one hour or one and half hours to go home or have their children brought to work to be breastfed [25]. has been pivotal in the retention

of women back into the labour force. Thus, women no longer felt intimidated or attacked by bosses if they did that because the laws protected them.

9. CHALLENGES FOR IMPLEMENTING THE POLICIES

Nevertheless, as good as these policies are for Nordic countries' national development, promoting gender equality; equal access to resources, opportunities, employment and education for both women and men there are still challenges to be resolved. The challenges to these policies shall be examined via the following perspectives; financial, policy objective and institutional structural barriers that have to some extent or inevitably in future would affect the full attainment of gender equality in the Nordic countries.

10. POLICY OBJECTIVE

Firstly, a challenge to consider in relation to policy is that "the generous family policies and flexible labour conditions found especially in the public sector, where many Scandinavian women find employment, also seem to work against women's occupational and economic achievements by failing to challenge the traditional division of work between men and women" [11, p.6]. Nordic countries aim to fully attain gender equality and the manifest function of the policy which have been illustrated in the earlier discussions. But then, the latent function of some of the re-familising policies like cash for care, including generous leave schemes where for example women in Norway can take 42weeks off with paid full salary or 52weeks off with 80% paid salary have not encouraged the breakdown of division of labor work societal norms have long entrenched in society. As these policies encourage women to stay home for longer periods, the idea data suggests 'parental' leave is still largely 'maternal' leave - in 2013 in Sweden women used 75 percent of it, showing traditional expectations of gender roles are still kicking in post-childbirth [26] this affirms that the perception and traditional norm of women as housewives or caregiver is difficult to change. Because it is clear by these policies women continue to do the largest portion of care at home and therefore contributes a widening income gap between men and women [17]. For instance, due to entrenched traditional norms in Norway women do the bulk of childcare even after returning to work [11, p.6, 27]. A major effect is that women who are often out of the labour market "accumulate less work-

related human capital and suffer skill depreciation" [28].

Another challenge is the long leave periods. This is likely to discourage women to achieve full potential in their original workplaces to increase their skills and build capacity to take on new roles or apply for higher positions because there is a tendency for women to stick with part-time jobs if women feel their skill for a full time have diminished. Thus, "prevalence of part-time work may contribute to the relatively high degree of gendered occupational segregation and a low proportion of women in top positions" in the Nordic regions [15, p.5, 29]. Therefore, the latent function of the policies discussed becomes a set back to the intended goal of the policy- gender equality in the Nordic countries.

Also, new market regulation within the Nordic countries has been discussed in many research work as a possible influence on future gender equality policies in Nordic countries. The Nordic states provide financing of social services like education, healthcare and social care, but with new market regulations a question is raised towards the quality of these services in future and then how strong will the child care policy be in bridging equal access to resources and institution. Because there is a gradual developing trend of the Nordic countries where "services like education, healthcare and social care, are increasingly outsourced to private providers" regulations. For instance, Sweden allows private providers in school, hospitals and child care institutions to making profit setting the tone for competition and demand for quality that affect equality policies in future [25, p.32].

11. INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURAL BARRIERS

Gender mainstreaming policies have long suffered the challenge of institutional structures where more men are favoured for certain jobs and positions than women. The introduction of the quota system can be challenged in that, one would ask once if an institution meets the quota what then happens to women who are marginalised and not given the job opportunities even with their qualifications? One would ask what is wrong if a workplace has more women than men and that the law absolutely gives equal rights rather than quota? Therefore, is the quota system sufficient enough? The problem is that Nordic countries are highly segregated by sex as far as the labour market is a concern. The indicator shows the largest female-dominated

industries- Education and Human Health and Social activities, and the largest male-dominated industries- Manufacturing, Construction and Transportation and Storage. Therefore, until now 43% of all employed women work in these two industries, but just 11% cent of all employed men work in the health and social service sectors. Meaning for industries dominated by women particularly human health there is not enough encouragement for men through policy action to venture and the vice versa.

12. FINANCIAL BURDEN

The increasing number of refugees occupying Nordic countries seeking asylum is likely to place a financial burden on the Nordic countries. The last ten years in Norway has witnessed increase unaccompanied asylum-seeking children (UASC) varying between 322 (in 2005) and 2500 (in 2009) seeking refuge [23]. And more than 35000 unaccompanied children sought asylum in Sweden by 2015 [24]. Talk about the general population of refugees about "18,500 migrants applied for asylum in Denmark in 2015, more than 35,000 asylum seekers arrived in Norway last year, compared with 11,500 in 2014" [28]. The point here is that policies are financed and the fact that Nordic countries have adopted the Convention on the Rights of a Child means extra expenditure on children refugees found in their territories regarding education, health, social services, because it requires expansion of more facilities, in the kindergarten employment of teachers. Moreover, the question often asked is with the increasing population of the Nordic countries how possible is it that the generous social policies and family policies could be sustained and if yes would still be of quality? financial challenge seems evident today for instance in Sweden due to "decommodification attached to the social benefits: since the 1990s in Sweden the levels of income compensation relating to sickness and unemployment insurance have been drastically reduced and are now far below the formally agreed levels" [22, p.32].

13. CONCLUSION

The Nordic countries have treated gender as a "constellation of ideas and social practices that are historically situated and that mutually construct multiple systems of oppression" Hill Collins 1999: 263. The emerging need for labour activation policies and the concept of decommodification and feminist movement have

been forces behind the rally for gender equality in the Nordic countries even until now. Universalism and equality are the foundation of the family policies in the Nordic countries. The policies' latent functions operate on de-familiasation such that government partake in the care of children so that parents especially women could work. Example include kindergarten, whiles policies such as parental leave (paternity/maternity), cash for care, re-familise the family for procreation and universal care of children by parents. The Nordic gender equality policies have achieved gendered equality for both men and women, particularly in education and employment. Today men's housework has increased because of good initiatives of fathers' quota, paternity leave and parental leave to help do away with the perception of woman's duty being to care for home and children. Moreover, Odrowaz-Coates [29] argues that the Nordic countries represent a picture of gender neutrality, using Sweden as a case study. This shows the importance attached to gender equality in this country. Nevertheless, challenges persist for which reason there is still an income gap between men and women because women continue to do largest portion of care at home. Again, some of the policies like cash for care, long parental leave reinforces women staying home which defeats the aim to achieve absolute gender equality in the Nordic countries. Furthermore, future challenges regarding increasing population, the current issues of increasing migration of refugees and unaccompanied refugee minors are likely to take a toll on the financial capacity of the Nordic countries. Considering the increasing migration into these countries, it is recommended that Nordic policies should acknowledge diversity and ethnicity by including the needs of minority populations in its policies.

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

REFERENCES

1. Diane S. Gender and making of welfare state: Norway and Sweden social politics. *International Study in Gender, State & Society*. 2001;8(1):113-143.
2. Máwe I. *Nordic Information Gender*; 2008. (Retrieved 02 19, 2018)
Available:<http://www.nikk.no/en/news/joint-feminist-struggle-changed-society-nordic-region/>
3. Jieru X. Learning from the Nordic welfare model: What and how? EU Working Paper No. 16; 2013.
(Retrieved 2 19, 2018)
Available:aei.pitt.edu/47668/1/WP16-Nordic-welfare-model
4. Eveline CB. Gender mainstreaming or diversity mainstreaming? The politics of "doing". *NORA—Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*. 2009;17 (1):2–17.
DOI: 10.1080/08038740802689133
5. Cooperation SA. What is the gender? 2018.
(Retrieved 2 23, 2018)
Available:http://www.gender.cawater-info.net/what_is/index_e.htm
6. UN. COMHIONANNAS INSCNE IN ÉIRINN; 2018.
(Retrieved 2 23, 2018) from what is Gender Equality?
Available:<http://genderequality.ie/en/GE/Pages/WhatisGE>
7. Hirdman Y. Key concepts in feminist theory: Analyzing gender and welfare paper 34. Aalborg University: FREIA; 1996.
8. Fraser N. After the family wage –a postindustrial thought experiment, in fraser, Nancy Justice Interruptus: Critical reflections on the "postsocialist" condition. New York and London: Routledge; 1997.
9. Saunders P. Welfare to work in practice: Social security and participation in economics. New York: Routledge; 2017.
10. Hernes H. Welfare state and woman power. *Essays in State Feminism*. London: Norwegian University Press; 1987.
11. Rostgaard T. Family policies in Scandinavia. Aalborg: Aalborg University; 2014.
12. Haataja A. Fathers' use of paternity and parental leave in the Nordic countries; 2009.
(Retrieved 2 22, 2018)
Available:https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10250/8370/FathersLeaves_Nordic_pdf?sequence=1
13. Council N. Nordic gender equality in figures. Copenhagen: Nordisk Ministerråd; 2015.
(Retrieved 2 22, 2018)
Available:<https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:790696/FULLTEXT02.pdf>
14. Juliana J. Nordic family policy and maternal employment. University of

- Stavanger: MEN-270, Canvas; Lecture Files; 2017.
15. Leira. Working parents and the welfare state: Family change and policy reform in Scandinavia: Cambridge University Press; 2002.
 16. Summer S. European gender regime and policies: Comparative perspective, Farnham: Ashgate; 2009.
 17. Llona OA. Family policies in the context of family change; the Nordic Countries; 2008. Available:<https://books.google.no/books?isbn=3531145649>
 18. Hellstrand IF. Nordic Models- equality, welfare and politics. University of Stavanger: Canvas: Lecture Slid. 2017;6.
 19. Margarethe WA. Harvard Business Review; 2016. (Retrieved 02 24, 2018) Available:<https://hbr.org/2016/11/what-board-directors-really-think-of-gender-quotas>
 20. Ellen W. Promotion, protection and support of breastfeeding in Norway. Charles University; 2010. (Retrieved 02 25, 2018) Available:https://dspace.cuni.cz/bitstream/handle/20.500.11956/29769/DPTX_2008_1_11120_0_45018_0_65276.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
 21. Mia-Shanley GF. Reuters. Retrieved from There's A Gaping Hole In The Nordic Example Of Gender Equality; 2014. Available:<http://www.businessinsider.com/r-what-opportunity-nordic-equality-fails-to-infiltrate-corporate-club-2014-10?r=US&IR=T&IR=T>
 22. Finch N. Gender equity and time use: How do mothers and fathers spend their time? In Bradshaw J, Hatland H. (eds.) Social policy, employment and family change in comparative perspective. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. 2006;255–282.
 23. Drange NA. Drange, Trapped at Home: The effect of Mothers' temporary Labor Market Exits on Their Subsequent Work Career. Labour Economics. 2013;24:125-136.
 24. Mandel H. A welfare state paradox: State interventions and women's employment opportunities in 22 countries. American Journal of Sociology. 2006;111(6):1910–1949.
 25. Ulla B. Challenges for future family policies in the Nordic countries. Copenhagen. ResearchGate; 2013. Available:[///C:/Users/HP/Downloads/Bjrnbe rgUOttosenMH2013Challenges for future family policies%20\(1\).pdf](///C:/Users/HP/Downloads/Bjrnbe rgUOttosenMH2013Challenges for future family policies%20(1).pdf)
 26. Marianne-Jakobsen MA. Prevalence of psychiatric disorders among unaccompanied asylum-seeking adolescents in Norway. Clinical Practice Epidemiol Mental Health. 2014;10:53–58. DOI: 10.2174/174501790141001005
 27. Gall L. Seeking refuge; 2016. (Retrieved 2 12, 2018) Available:<https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/06/09/seeking-refuge/unaccompanied-children-sweden>
 28. David C. The Guradian; 2016. (Retrieved 02 26, 2018) Available:<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/03/sweden-to-impose-id-checks-on-travellers-from-denmark>
 29. Odrowaz-Coates A. Is gender neutrality a post-human phenomenon? The concept of "gender neutral" in Swedish education. Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM; 2015.

© 2018 Chua; This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Peer-review history:

*The peer review history for this paper can be accessed here:
<http://prh.sdiarticle3.com/review-history/26970>*