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Vortrag und Diskussion

Gleichstellung. Ideen und wie sie sich auf die Politik auswirken. Ein europäischer Vergleich.

Texte

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**Prostitution in Österreich und Slowenien – Bedrohung für die
Öffentlichkeit, freiwillige Tätigkeit oder weibliche Opfer? Ergebnisse des
MAGEEQ-Projekts**

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**Dominant Frames in Organization of Intimacy and Gender Inequality in
Family Policy across Europe for the Period 1995-2004**

Graz, 21. September 2005

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Einführung

Welche Ideen und Vorstellungen über Gleichstellung, über Frauen und Männer, welche Rollenzuschreibungen finden sich in der politischen Praxis? Wie wirken diese Vorstellungen sich auf Politik aus?

Dies zu untersuchen ist Ziel des Forschungsprojektes MAGEEQ. Es ist ein von der Europäischen Kommission finanziertes internationales Forschungsprojekt (<http://www.mageeq.net>), an dem Österreich, Italien, die Niederlande, Slowenien, Spanien und Ungarn teilnehmen. Ziel dieses Projektes ist es, zu untersuchen, inwiefern Gender Mainstreaming auf jeweils nationaler und EU-Ebene Einzug in Politikfelder gefunden hat, in denen jeweils ganz unterschiedliche Ideen und Vorstellungen (sog. "Rahmen" oder "Frames") zu Gleichstellungspolitik existieren. Anders formuliert: welche Rolle spielt Gleichstellungspolitik selbst bei der Rollenzuschreibung für Frauen und Männer? Für alle teilnehmenden Staaten wurden als zentrale Politikfelder für Gleichstellungspolitik die Politikfelder Familienpolitik, Gewalt gegen Frauen/häusliche Gewalt sowie politische Repräsentation von Frauen analysiert. Zusätzlich wählte jedes Länderteam – Vlasta Jalusic und Majda Hrzenjak in Slowenien und Birgit Sauer und Karin Tertinegg in Österreich – ein Politikfeld, das in diesem Land spezifische Wichtigkeit für Vorstellungen um Gleichstellungspolitik hat und/oder das in der öffentlichen Debatte sehr präsent ist. Für Slowenien und Österreich war dies Prostitution. Beide Länder haben viele kulturelle, historische und religiöse Traditionen gemeinsam, während die politischen Systeme sich nach dem 2. Weltkrieg gänzlich unterschiedlich entwickelt haben. Prostitution ist nicht nur ein zentrales Thema für Gleichstellung und den Genderdiskurs seit den 1990ern, sondern ist auch in beiden Ländern ein "heiss" diskutiertes Thema in den Medien, der Öffentlichkeit und der Politik. Seit dem Fall des Eisernen Vorhangs durch die Öffnung der Grenzen zwischen mittel-, süd- und osteuropäischen Ländern wurden zudem die Themen Frauenhandel und das sogenannte Organisierte Verbrechen auf die politische Agenda gesetzt.

Die in MAGEEQ weiterentwickelte Methode der "Kritischen Rahmenanalyse/ Critical Frame Analysis" stellt folgende Fragen: Wie wird Prostitution präsentiert? Um dies zu beantworten, gibt es ein bestimmtes Schema an Fragen: Wer spricht? Was ist das Problem? Wer hat ein Problem? Wer ist dafür verantwortlich? Was soll getan werden, um das Problem zu lösen? Wer soll etwas tun, um das Problem zu lösen? Wer ist Zielgruppe für Lösungsvorschläge? Welche Normen und Geschlechterrollen sind in der Problemdefinition und den Lösungsvorschlägen enthalten?

Die slowenischen und österreichischen Projektteams untersuchten Politikdokumente, Medienartikel und ausgewählte Dokumente von NGOs zum Thema Prostitution im Zeitraum 1995-2004.¹

Dieser Vortrag versucht, die Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede herauszuarbeiten, die Vorstellungen über Prostitution in beiden Ländern seit 1995 gestaltet haben. Welche Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede in der Art, wie Prostitution dargestellt wird, gibt es? Welche Widersprüchlichkeiten? Welche Rollenzuschreibungen wurden für Frauen und Männer gefunden?

Wie wird Prostitution dargestellt?

Allgemeines über die rechtliche Ausgangssituation und involvierten AkteurInnen

Prostitutionspolitik und ihr Niederschlag im Recht sind in beiden untersuchten Ländern gänzlich verschieden. Während in Österreich Prostitution bereits durch die Strafrechtsreform der 1970er Jahre entkriminalisiert wurde, war sie in Slowenien bis zur Dekriminalisierung 2003 verboten und galt als Delikt gegen die öffentliche Ordnung. Im sozialistischen Slowenien war Prostitution kein Thema für die politischen Agenden. Während so in Slowenien die politische Diskussion um Prostitution erst 2001 in Zuge der Gesetzesreform zur Dekriminalisierung begann, gab es in Österreich seit den 1980ern immer wieder Diskussionen um Prostitution.

Signifikante Unterschiede zwischen beiden Ländern zeigen sich auch bei den in die Diskussion involvierten Akteurinnen und Akteuren. Während in Slowenien Prostituierte selbst fast gänzlich aus der Diskussion ausgeschlossen waren, gab es in Österreich von der Mitte der 1980er Jahre an zumindest zeitweilige Foren, in denen Prostituierte selbst ihre Forderungen präsentieren konnten: der Verband der Prostituierten Österreichs sowie die Plattform für die Rechte von Prostituierten. Beide Foren existieren 2005 nicht mehr.

¹ In Slowenien sind dies 17 Dokumente: 6 Politikdokumente, 4 Medientexte, zwei Expertentexte zum Thema Prostitution. Wegen des Mangels an relevanten Texten zu Prostitution wurden noch 5 weitere Texte hinzugefügt, die sich mit Menschenhandel beschäftigen. In Österreich sind dies 25 Dokumente: 6 parlamentarische Debatten im Nationalrat und Bundesrat zwischen 1996 und 2002, einen Gesetzestext (Wiener Prostitutionsgesetz 2003), 3 Dokumente politischer Parteien (SPÖ und Grüne), 14 Medienartikel und ein Dokument der feministischen Organisation LEFÖ.

Ein ähnliches Bild zeigt sich bei der Frage nach feministischen AkteurInnen: Während in Slowenien keine feministische Intervention in der Debatte um Prostitution stattfand, sind in Österreich feministische Beratungsgruppen wie LEFÖ in Wien, MAIZ und LENA in Linz und das Frauenservice Graz kontinuierlich in Diskussionen um Prostitution eingebunden. In Slowenien dominieren die politischen Parteien (Liberale Demokratie Sloweniens und die Vereinigte Liste der Sozialdemokraten) die Diskussion, während in Österreich politische Parteien die Diskussion weniger stark definieren. Hier thematisieren nur die Grünen sowie das LIF Prostitution als politische Frage. Dies könnte einerseits teilweise mit der Sichtbarkeit der oben genannten feministischen AkteurInnen erklärt werden. Andererseits könnte es auch mit einem scheinbar parteiübergreifenden Konsens erklärt werden, das Thema Prostitution im Zusammenhang mit Frauenhandel und öffentlicher Sicherheit zu sehen.

Unterschiede in den Darstellungen von Prostitution im Konkreten

1. 'Freiwillig' oder 'erzwungen'?

Der konzeptuelle Unterschied zwischen freiwilliger und unfreiwilliger Prostitution ist für die Diskussion in Slowenien sehr wichtig. Einen solchen Unterschied gibt es in der österreichischen Diskussion kaum. In Slowenien ist die dominierende Darstellung im untersuchten Zeitraum eine neo-liberale und nationalistische: Prostitution als völlig freiwillige, frei gewählte wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit *slowenischer* Frauen. Als erzwungen wird Prostitution nur im Zusammenhang mit Frauenhandel erwähnt, wobei dieser Zusammenhang nicht weiter vertieft wird. Dies kann dadurch erklärt werden, dass in Slowenien Prostitution und Frauenhandel getrennt diskutiert werden. In Slowenien wird keine wirkliche Verbindung hergestellt zwischen der Darstellung von (migrantischen, ausländischen) Frauen als Opfer von Frauenhandel und dem Bild von Prostitution als freiwilliger Tätigkeit auf hohem Niveau von (slowenischen) Frauen. In Österreich hingegen wird Prostitution in den meisten Fällen als erzwungene oder zumindest unfreiwillige Tätigkeit dargestellt, die sehr häufig in Zusammenhang mit Frauenhandel und Schlepperei gebracht wird. Die Vorstellung ‚Prostituierte sind Opfer von Frauenhandel‘ spielt hier eine sehr große Rolle und scheint in letzter Zeit an Bedeutung zu gewinnen.

Das Bild einer (freiwilligen) wirtschaftlichen Tätigkeit war in Österreich hauptsächlich in den 1990ern vorhanden. Betont wurde hier jedoch weniger die freie Wahl der Tätigkeit durch die Frauen selbst, als das Vorenthalten von sozialer Absicherung und sozialer Rechte durch den Staat, die mit dieser Tätigkeit verbunden sein sollten. Während in Österreich in den letzten Jahren die Diskussion um Frauenhandel und öffentliche Sicherheit jene um Prostitution mehr und mehr vereinnahmt, trifft dies für Slowenien nicht zu.

2. Ist Prostitution 'unmoralisch'?

Die Vorstellung, dass Prostitution etwas Unmoralisches sei, existiert in Slowenien nur als Teil des Erbes des ehemaligen sozialistischen Jugoslawien. In Österreich liegt die Vorstellung, dass Prostitution etwas Unmoralisches sei, eher versteckt allen Diskussionen zugrunde; nach geltendem Recht wird der Vertrag zwischen Prostituierte und ihrem Kunden als ‚sittenwidrig‘ und somit als rechtswidrig betrachtet. Die Begründung hierfür lautet, dass dieser Vertrag ‚die Triebe des Kunden in sittenwidriger Weise ausnütze‘.

3. Prostitution und 'öffentliche Gesundheit'

Die Vorstellung von Prostitution als etwas, das Relevanz für die ‚öffentliche Gesundheit‘ hat, findet sich häufig in Österreich, aber nur selten in Slowenien. In Österreich wird die Ausübung von Prostitution durch Prostituierte häufig als potenzielle Gefahr für die öffentliche Gesundheit oder die Gesundheit des Kunden gesehen. Diese Gefahr soll durch verpflichtende medizinische Kontrollen der Prostituierten eingedämmt werden. Die Nachfrage nach unsicheren sexuellen Praktiken durch männliche Kunden hingegen wird nicht thematisiert – weder als Gefahr für die öffentliche Gesundheit, noch als Gefahr für die Gesundheit der Frauen, die als Prostituierte arbeiten.

4. 'Bestrafen' oder 'legalisieren'?

Die Vorstellung, dass Prostitution ein strafrechtlich relevantes Delikt sei und (wieder) verfolgt werden sollte, findet sich in Österreich in der parlamentarischen Debatte der späten 1990er und steht somit im Kontrast zur Vorstellung in Slowenien, dass es etwas sei, was nicht mehr strafrechtlich verfolgt werden soll (Debatten um Entkriminalisierung in Slowenien 2001). Weiters findet sich in Österreich ab 2003 im Gegensatz zu Slowenien die Vorstellung, dass Kunden bestraft werden sollen, wenn sie 'uninvolvierte Personen' bei der Anbahnung von Prostitution belästigen (Wiener Prostitutionsgesetz 2003). Die Diskussion in Slowenien hingegen stellt Prostitution als völlig freiwillige ökonomische (Dienstleistungs-)tätigkeit in den Vordergrund; Bestrafung von Kunden ist nicht Teil dieses Bildes.

Ähnlichkeiten in den Darstellungen von Prostitution im Konkreten

1. (K)ein Fall für Gleichberechtigung? Gender Mainstreaming?

In keinem der beiden Länder wird Prostitution als ein Thema der Gleichberechtigung zwischen Männern und Frauen, der Chancengleichheit oder des Gender Mainstreaming gesehen – zumindest nicht auf der Ebene parlamentarischer Debatten und Gesetzesentwürfe. In Österreich wird ein schwacher Bezug zu einer Gleichberechtigungsthematik hergestellt, allerdings ist diese Vorstellung selten und beschränkt auf Zeitungsartikel und ein Dokument der Grünen. Beide Länder verweisen im Zusammenhang mit Prostitution aber sehr wohl auf Menschenrechte.

2. '(Unfreiwillige) Prostituierte sind nicht von hier'

In beiden Ländern werden Prostituierte oft als 'Frauen aus dem Ausland' dargestellt und externalisiert. Die geographische Herkunft dieser Frauen variiert: In Österreich ist das Bild der 'jungen, naiven Mädchen aus Osteuropa' vorherrschend, die durch falsche Versprechungen in den goldenen Westen gelockt und als Opfer von Frauenhandel zur Prostitution gezwungen werden. Auch in Slowenien gibt es eine deutliche Vorstellung darüber, dass Opfer von Frauenhandel aus dem Ausland kommen – nur kommen sie hier aus Südosteuropa. Mit anderen Worten: Während in Österreich Prostituierte auch aus Slowenien kommen können, kommen Prostituierte in Slowenien noch weiter aus Südosten. In dieser nationalistischen Vorstellung wird Prostitution nun (vornehmend unter Zwang) von nicht-österreichischen Frauen und Migrantinnen ausgeübt. Während also in Slowenien 'slowenische Frauen freiwillig und auf hohem Standard Prostitution anbieten', werden in Österreich österreichische Frauen selten explizit als Prostituierte gesehen.

3. Prostitution und Armut sind 'geschlechtslos'

In beiden Ländern wird Prostitution in parlamentarischen Debatten im Allgemeinen als 'geschlechtsloses' Phänomen dargestellt. Trotzdem sind geschlechtsspezifische Vorurteile und Rollenzuschreibungen – vor allem im Bezug auf Frauen – häufig anzutreffen (z.B. Darstellungen von Frauen als schwache, willenlose Opfer). In Gesetzestexten beider Länder wird gänzlich geschlechtsneutrale Sprache verwendet. Erst die Gesetzesvorlagen und erklärenden Materialien machen deutlich, dass unter ‚Prostitution‘ sexuelle Dienstleistungen für männliche Kunden gemeint sind, die in der Regel von Frauen erbracht werden.

Armut in den Herkunftsländern von Prostituierten gilt in beiden Ländern als Ursache für Frauenhandel. Auch hier wird 'Armut' als geschlechtsloses Phänomen dargestellt. Ein Bezug zur 'Feminisierung' von Armut, also der Tatsache, dass Armut geschlechtsspezifische Formen annimmt und Frauen anders und stärker als Männer betrifft, wird nicht hergestellt. In Slowenien wird stark zwischen Prostituierten und Frauen als Opfer von Frauenhandel unterschieden. In dieser Vorstellung wird Armut als Ursache dafür gesehen, dass Frauen zu Opfern von Menschenhandel werden. Armut wird allerdings nicht als Ursache dafür gesehen, dass (slowenische) Frauen als Prostituierte der Prostitution nachgehen.

4. Das Schweigen der Kirche

Offizielle Meinungen der katholischen Kirche zum Thema Prostitution sind in keinem der beiden Länder vorhanden.

5. 'Genießen und das Schweigen – über Kunden wird nicht gesprochen'

In beiden Ländern wird meist das Verhalten von Prostituierten thematisiert - männliche Kunden jedoch bleiben aus diesem Bild ausgespart. Das Verhalten und die Verantwortlichkeiten von Prostituierten stehen im Mittelpunkt der Debatte.

Das Verhalten von Prostituierten kann entweder als völlig unproblematische, freiwillig gewählte Tätigkeit am freien Markt (Slowenien) dargestellt werden oder als riskantes und potenziell schädliches Verhalten für den Kunden und die öffentliche Gesundheit (Österreich). Verantwortlichkeit für die eigene Gesundheit, die des Kunden und der Öffentlichkeit, für den eigenen Lebensstandard und die Arbeitsbedingungen liegt in diesen Darstellungen bei den Prostituierten selbst. Auch können Prostituierte als (mit-) verantwortlich für Gewalt und schlechte Arbeitsbedingungen gesehen werden: Wäre sie nicht so naiv und leichtgläubig, wäre sie nicht in den Westen gelockt und zur Prostitution gezwungen worden. Wäre sie nicht so schwach und hilflos, könnte sie sich selbst aus erzwungener Prostitution befreien.

Das Verhalten männlicher Kunden wird im Allgemeinen kaum thematisiert – im Besonderen jedoch ist männliche Nachfrage nach Prostitution kein Thema, wenn Prostitution das Thema ist. Verhalten und die Verantwortlichkeiten von männlichen Kunden fehlen in der Diskussion meist völlig. Wenn in seltenen Fällen das Verhalten von männlichen Kunden thematisiert wird, so als Ausübung schwerer Gewalt gegen illegalisierte Prostituierte sowie im Verbot der 'aufdringlichen Anbahnung von Prostitution'.

Abschließend kann für beide Länder festgestellt werden, dass eine Vielzahl von miteinander konkurrierenden und auch widersprüchlichen Darstellungen über Prostitution im untersuchten Zeitraum gefunden wurde und diese sich auch deutlich verändert haben. Eines jedoch scheint über den gesamten Zeitraum gleich zu bleiben: Über Männer und deren Beteiligung an Prostitution schweigt man lieber.

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Dominant Frames in Organization of Intimacy and Gender Inequality in Family Policy across Europe for the Period 1995-2004

1. On the Mageeq project

Aims and participants

This presentation is the result of a first comparative analysis of frames in family policy across the Europe, which was conducting within the Mageeq research network. The overarching aim of the Mageeq project is to study divergences of policy frames around gender equality. The member states involved in the study were Austria, Greece, Hungary, the Netherlands, Slovenia and Spain. The criteria for this selection of member states were to gather a mix of countries from the north to the south, from the east to the west, as well as to include both old and new member states. EU policies in the field of family policy were also included in the project although family policy is no EU competence as such.

Method – frame analysis

In order to detect and analyze policy frames around gender equality, the Mageeq project relied on and further developed frame analysis as a methodology.² The main aim was to come to a form of frame analysis allowing for the comparison of frames and the mapping of their co-occurrences. A frame was defined as “*an organizing principle that transforms fragmentary or incidental information into a structured and meaningful policy problem, in which a solution is implicitly or explicitly enclosed*” (Verloo 2004: 6). The Mageeq project developed dimensions of frames along which they could be put in comparative perspective. The basic dimensions developed were the *diagnosis* of the policy problem, the *prognosis* suggested to solve it, and *the attribution of roles* in both diagnosis and prognosis, analyzing who caused the problem, who faces it and who is involved in its remedy. Two further dimensions were *balance*, analyzing the extent of balance between diagnosis and prognosis in a given frame, and *voice*, looking at the speaker expressing a given frame. All dimensions were further refined along set of standardized questions. Hence, the Mageeq project developed a methodology allowing for a detection of frames as entities, which could be put in a comparative perspective along the different dimensions.

² In this paper we very roughly sketch the basic methodological lines of the Mageeq project. For a detailed account of the logic behind and the development of the methodology used within the Mageeq project consult Verloo, Mieke, 2004, Mainstreaming Gender Equality in Europe. A Frame Analysis Approach. Paper delivered at the Conference of the Europeanists in Chicago, 11-13 March 2004. Available on www.mageeq.net.

Material analyzed

The study of frames on gender equality in family policies included a total of 106 texts that have been produced during the last decade.³ Texts include formal policy documents from government and parliament, such as bills, acts, and recording of parliamentary debates. They also include less formal documents from these political institutions, such as speeches, press releases, research reports or awareness raising and documenting brochures. Finally, texts also include documents from other actors, such as political parties, but also civil society actors, experts, lobbying groups, the press, etc., if these documents or their producers are seen to have influence on policy debates.

2. Diagnostic and prognostic frames and their matching

On the whole, seven diagnostic and five prognostic frames can be identified. A first diagnostic frame considers the problem to be that family policies failed. A second diagnostic frame situates the problem in the weak access to and participation in the labor market of women. A third diagnostic frame considers that the reconciliation between work and family is problematic. A fourth diagnostic frame locates the problem in the demographic decline. A fifth diagnostic frame thinks that the problem is that families change or face changing conditions. A sixth diagnostic frame addresses the problem of poverty. A seventh and very weakly articulated frame addresses the lack of gender equality. Five prognostic frames have been defined. A first prognostic frames looks at to help or support the family. A second prognostic frame wants to solve the demographic deficit. A third prognostic frame addresses the reconciliation between work and family life. A fourth prognostic frame focuses on women enter the labor market and a fifth prognostic frame promotes gender equality. The matching of diagnostic and prognostic frames results in the sets of well-articulated and logically coherent master frames with definition of problem and with a proposal for solution.

Family policies frame

The diagnosis of this frame is that of failing family policies. Given the fact that this diagnostic frame is an empty signifier that addresses all sorts of aspects of family policy going wrong (families are not sufficient supported due to insufficient benefits and allowances; problem of reconciliation because there are not enough child care facilities or they lack flexibilities or are not affordable for all social groups; no fit between family policies and changes taking place in society; wrong linking of family policy to employment status and policy; no integral/comprehen-

³ The 1995 Beijing world conference on women was taken as a starting point because of its importance when it comes to the broader introduction of gender mainstreaming.

sive family policy but instead it embraces distinct policy fields like emancipation policy, labor and care policy, youth policy, social and demographic policy; no advances in gender equality, etc.) most prognostic frames fit in here. This goes mainly for the help or support the family frame, the reconcile work and family frame, the make women participate in the labor market frame and the equality frame. Since the last three prognostic frames will be described more in details later on, let's take a look on support the family prognostic frame. It contains a couple of subframes. In a first subframe families are being articulated as being a social value. The family support system should be based on a value that having children is a mission and should be treated as a central value. The underlying policy goal is to revalue or upgrade the value of family life. In a second subframe the need for support families is coupled to the need to help families in fulfilling their "natural task" to get and raise children. Having children is not presented as particular value, but as some sort of naturally given, intrinsic function of families. This subframe clearly fosters a heterosexual norm. The main goal becomes helping families in fulfilling their tasks or duties. In a third subframe the valorization of families is put in a less moral way. The focus is on a better provision of services to families that they need in every day life, with a focus on the combination of paid and unpaid work and how this can be regulated in the labor market (like breastfeeding facilities, part-time work etc.)

It is interesting with this frame that introduction of for example class or ethnic dimension makes that gender disappears. Some texts namely enhance the need to expand subsidies for maternity to excluded women. Vulnerable groups will thereby get the help they need. The focus lies on women but the issue is degendered. Through helping vulnerable groups of women, the most in need will be favored, not in the name of gender equality but rather related to tempering of class equalities. In certain cases the frame contains a family fallacy. Women's needs seem more or less interpreted as the same as family needs.

Demographic frame

The diagnosis of this frame is that women (or people) do not get enough children to reproduce the society. This can mean that our societies (the economy, the social security system, the pension system, etc.) do not receive enough input and support and cannot function well. In the Netherlands it is for instance underlined that the democratic trend implies an increased need for care provision. In Spain and the EU it is underlined that the demographic decline might imply a possible decrease of the labor supply and have an impact on future economic growth. The lack of children can also mean that it is a problem for the nation as an entity not to reproduce itself (strong in Greek and Hungary, also in Austria). The logical prognostic match is to stop the demographic decline frame. Solving the low birth rates problem requires a policy that helps families and the support of the care dependants. Need for better reconciliation of work and family life so that women more easily combine the two, men are mainly addressed as

encouraged to take up care tasks. The underlying idea is that women will have children when this has fewer implications for their participation in the labor market. In this respect the stop the demographic decline frame comes close to reconciliation frame. In Spain and Greece a way to improve the birth rate is to point at the fact that working mothers or families should be compensated for the cost of having children through tax reduction. The underlying idea is that women will have more children in case this has no or limited financial consequences for them. Another way of to stimulate the birth rate is by minimizing the expenses of families regarding children through an expansion of basic child-care. Here the focus is on reducing costs for those not able to afford having children. In this frame one of the exposing social category is young, which is always treated as degendered.

Reconciliation frame

This frame has three subheadings, one focusing on women, one focusing on people (degendered), one focusing on the division of care tasks between women and men. The frame articulates that mainly women cannot combine paid labor and caring tasks or personal life in general well. It refers mainly to the distribution of caring tasks among male and female partners in the intimate sphere and less to flexible labor market. The needs of single parents are not exposed. The issue is gendered: care is represented as a women responsibility. This is recognized to be a problem, but not a problem of social organization of care but a problem of women's labor participation. Three different subframes could be found in prognosis. In a first subframe the emphasis is mainly on how the labor market should look like in order to make it possible for women to reconcile work and family through family friendly workplaces, flexibility of employment, atypical forms of employment etc.

In a second subframe the accent is on development of facilities taking over care functions, such as sufficient and payable nurseries, the operation of centers for children's creative activities and day-long public schools, care for elderly, etc. so that people can focus more on the labor market. These social services to facilitate reconciliation are conceptualized as helping women (and not families or men). Facilities for caring for children do not always have to be organized by the state or by private enterprisers. In Hungary a lot of attention is paid to how grandparents can help in this.

A third subframe is a typically and exclusively Dutch one. The underlying aim is to upgrade unpaid care work but simultaneously downgrade paid labor. The focus is not only on upgrading care facilities and on making the labor market more flexible and accessible for people doing care work. Rather the weight of paid labor in terms of social estimation should diminish. The full/time job should simply no longer be the norm. Attached to this subframe is the notion of free choice. This goes for women, as they should have the free choice to stay at home because they wish so and not because there are no attractive alternatives.

We should therefore note that this subframe does not necessarily imply that women take up paid work. Attached to this Dutch subframe is also the notion of a better quality of life. More time for care work, less stress regarding paid work and the free choice to opt for the solution adapted to individual needs should improve the quality of life. Attached to this subframe is finally also the notion of a more equal redistribution of paid and unpaid tasks between the sexes. The idea is that the downgrading of paid labor and the simultaneous upgrading of unpaid labor will lead to more similar working patterns of men and women.

Reconciliation frame is mainly constructed as a women's issue where women are addressed particular in their social role being mother. Women are encouraged to fulfill their roles as both mothers and workers. The working mother is the ideal and women are depicted as an undifferentiated category. In some cases the redefinition of gender roles in families and the redistribution of family obligations are mentioned, for instance a greater participation of men in family duties. If men are involved they are mainly stimulated to take up care tasks or to take up a greater part in domestic work or to take up parental leave.

Labor market frame

Labor market frame refers to women's long-term unemployment, high inactivity rate of women on one hand and to women's increased labor market participation and promotion on the other hand. The disadvantageous position of women on the labor market shows in unreasonable income differences, vertical and horizontal job segregation; labor patterns that are not attuned to care needs are also addressed in diagnosis. The make the women participate in the labor market frame contains a similar discourse as the previous frame on reconciliation, but with the underlying idea that women should above all participate in the labor market. Women are presented as having to catch up on the labor market. One of the underlying ideas is of a macro-economic nature, namely to increase productivity, to develop or optimize social capital etc. Compared to the reconciliation frame the emphasis is on the requirements of the labor market and eventually on how women's participation in the labor market is favorable to women's emancipation, rather than allowing women to combine various tasks in daily life. Part of the measures suggested in this frame put the accent on the need to increase the employment rate, to help the self-employed, to create jobs, to provide for more flexible employment opportunities for women. Men are not called upon to take up flexible work such as part-time jobs, work from home etc. Flexible work is one-sidedly regarded as good for women, precarious work conditions are a non-problem.

Gender equality frame

An equality frame as a diagnostic frame is very weak and unarticulated. We can nonetheless detect two subframes, a gendered one and a non-gendered one. The gendered subframe sees progress in gender equality as endangered or too slow.

Typical codes found are resistance against gender change, stereotypes, lack of gender perspective, gender order persist, lack of anti-discrimination measures etc. The non-gendered subframe is very rare and it refers to social and educational inequality (Greece), the problem of discriminations of part-time workers as compared to full-time workers (EU), discrimination towards same sex parents (AU), and young couples and unemployed citizens, especially student families (SLO).

In the prognosis part three different subframes have been identified. A first one looks at "liberal equal opportunities" for women and men, but could be called equal opportunities for women frame since in the end men are not very much part of the picture. At a rhetoric level it means to ensure equal treatment, achieve equal opportunities, fight discrimination, eliminate or mitigate gender inequalities, enhance gender equality. However the underlying idea is very much to raise women to the level of men, not to raise men to the level of women. Men are not addressed, the total attention is directed to women: women have to be encouraged, they have to be helped to enter the labor market, to combine work and family etc. The other prognostic subframe is a "gender equality" frame or a "feminist frame". The focus is on socially constructed gender roles and greater attention is paid to the private sphere than in the first subframe. Finally the equality frame contains a third prognostic subframe, which can be labeled as treat all children or parents or families equal. This subframe is generally gender neutral, focusing on the equality of or equal opportunities for children, parents or families. The underlying question is who is entitled to childcare support.

Families frame

This frame is of a more patchy nature when it comes to matching prognosis and diagnosis. The diagnosis is that families change, which leads to a lot of problems both for families and for societies at large. Changes in the family are described as a decrease in the number of childbirths, an increase in the number of divorces, a weakening of family cohesion, a growing number of single parent families, women postponing childbirths, an individualization of family activities, an increasing number of co-habitations, problems related to role of women, a going down of the reproduction of labor power in families, violence in the family, child abuse, non-consideration of the needs of older generations, etc. The main concern in this frame is often with children and their living conditions. Much of the analysis is rather implicit, containing a strong normative undertone. The Netherlands is the only country where a subframe can be found asking attention for diversity in relationships, for the problem of reproducing the old role models in families. In the other countries it seems that the traditional family is not considered to be a problem but it represents the (implicit) norm.

The prognostic match is that of helping or supporting families, but it can also be that of reconciling work and family or of providing for a sustainable social development, including a more adequate social security system, the provision of

welfare turn, the elimination and prevention of social exclusion, a greater redistribution of resources etc. The prognostic frame depends on particular accent put in diagnosis (material or immaterial problems of the families, concerning the relation between parents and children or also that between family members in a larger context, the extent to which society at large is supposed to be affected).

Poverty frame

The diagnostic part of this frame is the concern for the widening of the divide between rich and poor, between classes. It formulates the costs of services or the differential impact of costs of having children on various categories of citizens as being problematic. In some cases the frame contains reference to foreigners (Roma) or to other groups (single parents, families with handicapped children, elderly, youth, disabled). The frame can be found in Hungary and Austria but is not very strong in those countries. Its prognostic match is a sustainable development and the equal treating of all children, parents and families (subframe of equality prognosis frame).

Next to these master frames a couple of minor frames or loose bits can be found and some attitudes to take frame in which we are not going deeper.

3. Frames in an European comparative context

In Austria, *family policies* and *reconciliation* frames receive most attention in the Austrian texts and they seem to be well matched in both sections. *Labour market* frame is quite strong in diagnosis even though it is a secondary frame in prognosis. *Poverty* is another secondary frame in diagnosis along with the demographic frame, however, it is almost absent from prognosis whereas the *demographic* frame seems to receive some attention as well in this section. Finally, *families* and *gender equality* frames are almost non-existent.

In the Netherlands, *reconciliation* is the dominant frame in both diagnosis and prognosis while the *labour market* frame is of central importance in prognosis. *Family policies* frame is relatively strong in diagnosis whereas it appears only once in the prognosis. *Demographic* and *families* frames emerge merely in diagnosis. The *gender equality* frame is rather weak in both diagnosis and prognosis while the *poverty* frame does not show up in the texts. At first glance, *reconciliation* is the only frame corresponding to diagnosis and prognosis.

Regarding Greece, *demographic* and *family policies* are central and equally matching frames in diagnosis and prognosis. *Reconciliation* and *labour market* frames are also dominant in both sections. *Families* frame is relatively strong in diagnosis whereas in prognosis its significance seems to be minimised. Although *gender equality* appears a couple of times in diagnosis, it does not show up in prognosis. The frame of *poverty* does not exist in either section of the Greek texts.

Regarding Spain, *reconciliation* is the strongest frame in both sections of the Spanish texts. *Labour market* frame is equally dominant in diagnosis whilst in prognosis it becomes less strong compared to that of *reconciliation*. Likewise, the Spanish diagnosis pays attention to *demographic* issues whereas prognosis gives less emphasis on the relevant frame. On the contrary, *gender equality* is a feeble frame in diagnosis but alongside with *reconciliation* it becomes one of the two leading frames in prognosis. Further, *family policies* frame is excluded from diagnosis, nevertheless, it is to a large extent apparent in prognosis. In contrast, *families* frame is less important in diagnosis and also excluded from prognosis. *Poverty* frame is absent from both sections.

In the Hungarian samples, *demographic* frame is apparently the most predominant of all frames in diagnosis whereas in prognosis its significance seems to be undermined. Also dominant in diagnosis are the *labour market* and *family policies* frames. In prognosis the *labour market* frame is comparatively weak while the *family policies* frame is one of the key frames of this section together with *reconciliation*. In particular, *reconciliation* receives almost no attention in the diagnostic section, nonetheless, as it is already noted, it becomes primarily strong in prognosis. Moreover, *gender equality* is a minor frame in both sections while *families* and *poverty* frames appear only in diagnosis.

In Slovenia, *family policies* and to a lesser extent *gender equality* are the main frames in both diagnosis and prognosis. What is more, *gender equality* becomes even stronger in prognosis. There is a slight shift towards *reconciliation* in prognosis while *labour market* frame seems to be missing from prognosis. However, it is present in the diagnostic part of 2 out of the 20 Slovenian texts.

In the observed EU texts, *labour market*, *demographic* and *family policies* are frequently occurring frames in the diagnostic part of the EU texts whereas *reconciliation* frame is the leading frame in both diagnosis and prognosis. Although, *gender equality* shows up in both diagnosis and prognosis it does not seem to be the guiding theme of the EU family policy discourse. *Families* and *poverty* frames were found to be of minor significance in EU texts.

Summing up the overall dominant master frame across diagnosis and prognosis in the most of the countries studied is reconciliation frame. The labour market frame occupies a second position; the demographic frame and the gender equality frame share a third position. A much weaker position is occupied by the families frame and to an even larger extent by the poverty frame.

The EU shares the importance it attaches to the reconciliation with all the other countries studied, except for the two most recent member states, Slovenia and Hungary. Namely both countries have traditionally long paid maternity leave facilities and a network of public nurseries and kindergartens at their disposal and it is mainly there that we found a discourse defining the problem in the opposite way, as one where long maternity leave make it difficult for women to

enter or re-enter the labor market. The EU also shares the importance it attaches to the labor market frame with a couple of countries studied such as the Netherlands, Austria and Hungary. In Spain and Greece, this frame is of primary importance, not surprisingly countries with a relatively low labor market participation of women.

A difference between the EU and the other countries studied can be found in the relative importance it attaches to the gender equality frame, which can further only be found in Hungary and Spain.

The dominance of the reconciliation frame and the secondary importance attached to the gender equality frame and the labor market frame at the EU level is no surprise. First, family policy in the strict sense of the term is no EU competences. However, the EU historically and still very much concentrates on labor market policies, especially its supply side. Family policies primarily seem to be regarded as an issue of building bridges between requirements of family life on the one hand and those of the labor market on the other hand by most of the countries, including EU. Or put it differently, family policy issues are concerned about labor market issues, namely how to make mothers work or how to make women both have children and be available for the labor market.

In the case of EU family policies reconciliation problems are mainly addressed as a shortage of affordable childcare. However, an ineffective reconciliation is not seen as a problem in itself but as an obstacle to women's higher participation in the labor market. The concept of reconciling work and family mainly addressed the gendered division of labor and not so much the gendered organization of intimacy. In order to facilitate the participation of women on the labor market its implementation often mainly consists of creating possibilities for women to combine care for children and paid labor, while it involves only minor options for stimulating fathers to take care of their children. This focus reproduces the norm that it is women's responsibility to take care of children, while this is optional for fathers. There is no recognition of the fact that inequality in the sphere of intimacy results in the inequality in the sphere of labor.

From this perspective it could be stated that EU family policy is more concerned about macroeconomic issues than about gender equality issues. Or put it differently, in the framework of EU family policy gender equality is at the service of macroeconomic needs to consistently involve women in the labor market. The gender equality frame contains two subframes in prognosis. A first focuses on equal opportunities and mainly addresses gender relations in the organization of the sphere of labor, the second addresses gender equality in a feminist understanding and is concerned about gender relations in the organization of the sphere of intimacy. While the feminist reading of gender equality can be found in mainly Spanish family policy texts, but also in Hungarian and Austrian one, EU family policies focus on equal opportunities. Much of the EU gender equality frame is actually limited to an equal opportunities approach in the labor market, which facilitates a prominent focus on a non-feminist perception of the reconciliation issue.

4. Conclusion

Family policies and particularly reconciliation measures as the most dominant frames within family policies across Europe are often thought as fostering gender equality. The frame analysis of MAGEEQ project showed up that in fact family policies are mainly concerned about economic growth and demographic issues rather than fostering gender equality per se. While attention for family policy can be found in texts focusing on gender equality, texts focusing on family policies pay attention to gender more rarely.

At both EU and national state level, several domains of family matters are perceived as a strictly private matter that should not be subject to state intervention. Income problems, childcare, even reproductive decision could be and should be influenced by state policies but relations between spouses, including their share in domestic unpaid labor, seem to constitute a forbidden area. Across the European policy scene, policy texts thus accept dominant patterns of women's and men's behavior in the family as "natural" and unquestionable foundation of family policies. In other words, almost all policy texts observed reproduce a normative image of women as "caregivers". What is more, essentialist thinking of motherhood appears even in texts that are presented as about gender equality.

If state intervention in the division of domestic labor and care is not seen as possible, reconciling family and work is seen as women's problem. Men are very rarely presented in their capacities to help women fulfill their caring role. From another angle, which is seemingly not saliently different from certain feminist consideration, most policy texts indicate that women's paid work is conducive to gender equality in addition to economic growth. Hence there is a double foundation for the idea that women could achieve equality between men and women through the reconciliation of work and family life. Furthermore, the common talk on an enlarged Europe as primarily a free economic space helps develop policy convictions in which issues of labor and care are discussed in purely economic terms, inviting labor market measures. In other words, several policy texts epitomize an economization of gender issues. This phenomenon may go beyond labor market dominance and could be situated in a neo-liberal economic context where the state withdraws its responsibilities and care is considered a private issue with privatized solutions.

As a general lesson, the MAGEEQ research uncovered that family policy frames are different in their susceptibility towards gender (in)equality. Frames are combined in actual policy debates, which may have different influences on gender regimes. In their mainstream manifestations, even the most gender sensitive frames pursue a limited equal opportunity approach, hardly ever trying to conceptualize gender equality in family matter in a more structural and comprehensive way.