The article dissertation analysed Finnish discourse and politics for gender equality from the late 1960s to the late 1990s. Three questions were investigated: How was the discourse on gender equality organised and how did it change over time? What were the strategies and impact of women's policy offices and women's movements? What are the possibilities for women to pursue change via gender equality, public policies and the state in more general terms?

The study outlined a more post-structuralist inspired version of the feminist-discursive approach to gender equality, which analyses gender equality as part of social discourse and pays attention to its political consequences and implications. The data consisted of statements by women's policy offices and women's movements, policy documents, press materials and interviews. The study applied various text analysis methods to the data.

The study described changes in the Finnish concept and discourse of gender equality from 1970s to 1990s. The masculine normativity of gender equality was in the 1980s replaced by a more radical conceptualisation, partly thanks to the activity of the Council for Gender Equality between Men and Women. The new version could be utilised by women for change without them giving up their sexual difference. Simultaneously, support of gender equality as a norm expanded in Finnish society. In the 1990s, the tide turned: the potential for change diminished as gender equality was conceptualised as an already 'present' characteristic in Finnish society, which also legitimised the idea that there was nothing left to do.

The analysis also shows that, comparatively speaking, the policy success of Finnish women's movements in gendering public policies has been above average. In the context of moderately closed policy sub-systems and left-wing governmental power, women's movements tended to be successful, if they only managed to mobilise to a sufficient degree on an issue. However, in the Finnish context, the characteristics of the political environment also seem to affect the possibility of movement mobilisation. Women's policy agencies were very effective linkages between the women's movements and the state. The prominent role played by these agencies can be understood by their participation in the "strategic partnerships" typical to Finnish women's activity.

However, the analysis of the actual policy change modified to some degree the results concerning women's policy success and the responsiveness of the state. Women's demands met an invisible barrier in both job training and prostitution policy. However, in job training women's substantive impact was more limited, due to the closed sub-system and the strong vested interests that excluded women.

On the basis of the empirical analyses, the study also aimed at providing partial and situated answers to the questions concerning the nature of the concept of gender equality and the relation between women and the state, which have been prominent in feminist theory. The results can be condensed into the notion that feminist studies should avoid too simplistic viewpoints and start paying more attention to the multifaceted and contextualised character of both gender equality and the state.