

ESS Round 11 Question Module Design Template

Module Title: Gender in Contemporary Europe: Rethinking Equality and the Backlash

Module Authors: Susan Banducci, Amy Alexander, Hilde Coffe, Marta Fraile, Jessica Fortin-Rittberger

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SECTION A: Theoretical background

Describe the theoretical background of the module, its aims and objectives

Rationale

Decades of policy efforts and campaigns by governments, international organizations and social movements have brought significant progress in women's economic and political status. This transformation is most evident in Europe where the EU remains an exceptional driving force in its commitment to gender equality. The goal of gender equality, however, still remains largely out of reach, as illustrated by the recent wave of highly visible women's protests against sexual harassment, assault and gender violence such as the #MeToo movement. Case in point, we have witnessed worrisome

backsliding in gender equality performance in some European countries (e.g. Poland, Hungary and Lithuania) in recent years.

In parallel to calls for increased gender equality, a counter wave of mobilisation against gender equality has appeared in the public discourse. Conservative, authoritarian and populist voices in many democracies are now contesting the equal participation of men and women in society under the auspices of a “war on gender ideology” (Graff 2014). This backlash against women’s empowerment carries considerable implications for antidiscrimination laws, policies protecting women against domestic violence, reproductive health and the establishment of gender quotas, even fuelling an increase in hostility towards prominent female political figures (see for instance Krizsán and Roggeband 2018; Brescoll et al. 2018). We are facing a critical moment for capturing the attitudinal bases of support and resistance to these policies across Europe. Our proposed module would provide a gender perspective to illustrate and understand the recent illiberal turn in politics. We believe such a gendered lens provides a crucial perspective to examine the societal impacts of the ongoing COVID-19 crisis. The lockdown has impacted the day-to-day experiences of women and men in the home unequally, increasing caring responsibilities and domestic violence experienced by women since families are forced to hunker down together. Times of deep crisis are more likely to set the stage for a backlash against women’s progress. One hypothesis is that traditional gender roles are reinforced as a consequence of the lockdown coupled with school closures and the lack of availability of extended family members (due to the risk of exposure to the virus). The additional childcare burden is likely to be assumed by women, given the already unbalanced division of childcare duties between working mothers and fathers, not to speak of single mothers or one parent working households.

The seemingly opposing forces—for and against gender equality—provide a unique and timely setting to revisit and broaden our knowledge about gender attitudes. Existing research has relied on the implicit assumption that attitudes about gender equality would develop in a linear fashion; towards ever more gender equal societies, without setbacks. Consequently, we have been blind to a crucial societal development of anti-genderism. Ackerly et al. (2019) describe this anti-genderism, often invoked by the radical right, as “sexism, patriarchy, and misogyny in concert with other forms of bigotry based on citizenship status, ethnicity, religion, and sexual and gender identity” (p. 165). Based on system justification theory, Jost et al. (2017) conjecture a rise in reactionary, anti-feminist attitudes when patriarchal structures are threatened by increasing women’s presence in politics or the implementation of policies to remedy discrimination. So far, we still know little about the sources of these challenges to gender equality values many had assumed to be consensual. Given these recent developments, we believe that a module on gender is both timely and well-suited for the European Social Survey’s (ESS) cross-national approach, particularly given the inclusion of countries that differ in the degree of gender equality at the societal level.

Aims of the Proposed Module:

Our proposed module captures five dimensions of gender attitudes: feminine and masculine identities, sexism, perceptions of gender discrimination, salience of gender equality and attitudes toward policy responses to gender inequalities. While these dimensions have been fielded individually in single or multi-country studies, they have never been combined in a single instrument. We have three aims in proposing to combine these five dimensions. First, this module will allow drawing a comprehensive cross-national mapping of gender attitudes in Europe that contributes to identifying and explaining societal change. The second aim is to propose new and innovative ways of measuring gender identity and gender salience. Third, the module will provide measures of gender attitudes that can be used to explain cross-national variation in a range of policy relevant attitudes, behaviours and outcomes (e.g. health, happiness, life satisfaction, political attitudes and social values) regularly measured by the ESS in its core questionnaire.

First, our proposed module will allow a better understanding of contemporary gender attitudes in Europe through the mapping of feminine and masculine identities, sexist attitudes, and perceptions of gender-based discrimination. This module will make it possible to investigate how these attitudes are interconnected, and more interestingly, how they can lead to or act as a barrier to progressive attitudes about policies to improve gender equality. The five interconnected dimensions are: (i) feminine and masculine identities that indicate adherence to male and female role orientations and feminine and masculine social norms, including their salience; (ii) sexism—gauging benevolent, hostile and modern sexism as prejudice against women and against progress toward gender equality; (iii) perceptions of gender sex-based discrimination indicating the extent to which discrimination against women exists across various social institutions (e.g. work, family, politics); (iv) salience of gender equality as a social value; (v) preferences about policies to redress social inequalities driven by gender power differentials as expressed through traditionally gender roles.

Second, we suggest innovative and cross-culturally relevant measures of feminine and masculine identities. To date, cross-national studies of gender attitudes have relied on questions about appropriate gender roles focusing on women's roles as carers, reluctant labour force participants, and suitability for political office (e.g. World Values Survey). As societies adapt to increased women's participation in various public arenas, we need to shift our attention to the ways in which citizens see themselves in terms of masculine and feminine traits (see Gidengil and Stolle 2021). With this in mind, we propose to measure feminine and masculine traits, that is, beliefs and behaviours that capture underlying norm acceptance and rigidity in these beliefs. We also propose measures of sexism beyond hostile and benevolent that also capture "modern-sexism" — the denial of and resistance to evidence about the persistence of gender-based discrimination. Additionally, we suggest measuring "gender equality salience" — perceptions of the importance of gender equality as a human value. These indicators move the state of the art beyond conventional "gender equality scales" (such as the scale used by Inglehart and Norris 2003). They allow for a broader conception of gender and gender equality, account for contemporary expressions of sexism and are not solely focused on the traditional role of women in society.

Third, we aim to produce new opportunities to analyse how sexism, perceptions of discrimination and gender equality operate at the societal level, and how they shape broader social and political views. Our proposed module will also allow researchers to link outcomes of gender equality in different spheres at the societal level (contextual data) with distinct attitudes and experiences at the individual level. Moreover, our module will encourage the exploration of new avenues of research in the field such as cross-cultural variations in political attitudes, gender identity and sexism.

Research Context and Theoretical Background

What are the major social and political barriers to gender equality? Across European societies, which values and attitudes are linked to greater support for gender equality? To answer these questions, our theoretical approach links attitudes at the individual level (i.e. social psychological measures of identity and sexism) and experiences with gender discrimination, to perceptions and preferences about the role of gender equality in society. Theories on the motivations underlying the gender backlash, the rise of populism and the conservative turn in gender attitudes can be tested using items included in the proposed module. Linked to contextual indicators of gender equality in society, our module allows an updated account of the state of gender attitudes and the social, economic, political and policy conditions under which identities and attitudes are more likely to inhibit progress on gender equality in Europe.

The proposed set of indicators will make it possible to tackle a series of research questions of both scholarly and societal relevance: How do citizens perceive gender equality across countries? Are perceptions of the extent of gender (in)equalities in society linked to specific policy outcomes? Why is gender equality a focal issue for some people, but irrelevant for others? What are the determinants of people's opinions about gender equalities in their own societies? What is the role of gender identities, stereotypes and sexism in shaping public views about gender equality? Do these factors (e.g. sexism, discrimination, salience of gender equality) have equal explanatory power across countries? What are the political consequences of gender attitudes? Are gender attitudes linked to specific political attitudes or behaviours? How are gender attitudes linked to other characteristics such as health, wellbeing and socio-demographic characteristics?

Below we describe how our proposed module contributes to (1) theory building in social research on gender, (2) innovation in measuring gender attitudes, and (3) the comparative study of social attitudes, behaviours and outcomes across Europe.

2.1 Gender in Contemporary Europe: Generating and Improving Theory

This module brings together concepts and dimensions of gender attitudes, experiences of discrimination and gender identity. To the best of our knowledge, no single comparative survey collects systematic information about all these dimensions simultaneously. This will permit us to offer a general framework of potential motivators for policy attitudes linked to gender equality, including individual experiences of discrimination. The opportunity to theorize and test linkages between these dimensions of attitudes about gender, and to do so in a cross-national comparative perspective, can serve as a stepping stone for theory building in social science research on gender and gender identity and related attitudes, bridging the fields of psychology, sociology and political science.

We contend that deeply rooted sexism can contribute to preserving gender inequalities in societies, even in a subtle way. There has been much progress on gender equality with policies intended to reduce the inequalities in society, for instance, in work and access to education (Walby 2011). Backlash is a response to and reaction against progressive social change that challenges existing hierarchies of power. The presence of a backlash against women's progress in social and political spaces raises two questions about our existing understanding about the role of social attitudes in shaping gender equality. First, can existing theories linking economic modernisation or culture (Inglehart and Norris 2003) to the rise of gender equality properly account for the backlash? Second, what value does society place on gender equality and does valuing gender equality play a role in sustaining social change through support for gender equality policies?

In order to address these questions, we propose a model that brings together psychological constructs and attitudinal measures of gender identity, sexism, and perceptions of sex-based discrimination. We argue that these are inter-related but are also crucial to explain resistance to gender equality and the policies that lead to gender equal societies.

With this in mind, there are two major areas of research questions our module intends to address — the first is more descriptive and the second more explanatory. First, descriptively, what is the demand for change in society to reflect greater gender equality? Can we think of gender equality as a social value? Do citizens' values and policy preferences for gender equality vary across countries in systematic ways? Second, what are the antecedents, predispositions, experiences and motivations explaining and underpinning these values and preferences. For example, how far does sexism and perceptions of discrimination prove to be a barrier to recognition of the importance of gender equality and remedies for gender equality? To what extent are these relationships influenced by variations in identities and the salience of these identities?

There is a complex relationship between psychological constructs, attitudes and context that explain why progress toward gender equality has seemingly stalled and in some areas are experiencing backsliding. We argue that personal experiences of gender discrimination are crucially linked to gender identities. Social norms cover different aspects of citizens' identities (like gender or age). The experience of discriminatory social norms can potentially reinforce gender identities and shape women's and men's behaviours, perpetuating traditional social norms, those that in turn create specific expectations for socially acceptable masculine and feminine behaviour.

Both sexism and gender identity might create demand (or a lack of demand) for social change, that is, attitudes toward the salience of gender equality and gender policy. Or put it another way: all of these underlying attitudes would influence whether gender equality is seen as salient for democracy and ultimately influence attitudes towards specific policies addressing gender inequalities. Understanding how sexism, feminine and masculine identities, and experiences of gender discrimination are associated or contribute to predict other attitudes and outcomes is relevant because they shape public perceptions about the relevance of gender inequality at the societal level as well as attitudes towards women in the public sphere (Glick and Fiske 1996).

Research on values and value change has uncovered that attitudes on gender equality are linked to authoritarianism insofar these attitudes reflect support for conformity to rigid roles, or openness to diversity in role congruence (see for example Norris and Inglehart 2019). Whether individuals polarize in their conceptions of their own masculine and feminine traits (i.e., hypermasculinity and hyperfemininity, see Gidengil and Stolle 2021) is therefore likely to undergird their larger attachments and support for authoritarianism. Likewise, whether individuals are more fluid in conceptions of their own masculine or feminine traits is likely to be the basis on which their larger attachments and support for core social values such as openness, individualism and diversity rest.

We explicitly link citizens' social attitudes, measuring values and role orientations, to the salience they attach to gender equality and to their policy preferences. Social attitudes provide a criterion to evaluate the current context, leading to greater demands and salience. Whether these are translated into policy outcomes provides an important marker of democratic responsiveness. For instance, benevolent sexist and non-egalitarian gender role attitudes can generate harmful evaluations of female candidates for political office and, at the same time lower levels of support for gender equality (Lizzotte 2018). Understanding the sources and possible effects of attitudes toward women is relevant to public policy and scholars in gender studies, social psychology, sociology, and political science.

2.2 Innovation in Measures

Our understanding of this fundamental social issue has been helped by cross-national surveys but faces serious limitations which we intend to redress. First, the bulk of cross-national surveys have placed their focus on acceptance of equal participation of women in society, and in the workforce in particular (such as the items included in the ESS, International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) and World Values Survey (WVS)). Some of the more in-depth investigations have looked at family dynamics of women's entry in the labour market. While the existing projects capture an important aspect of cultural norms about the position of women, they are the tip of the iceberg, insofar as we are missing the attitudes and psychological predispositions underpinning these norms, namely identity, stereotypes and prejudices.

Second, studies tend to focus on gender equality and the role of women rather than the role of gender. They also tend to focus on how women balance dual roles as workers and mothers, or their public versus private roles. In other words, they reinforce socially constructed and gendered dilemmas (for example, who should get a job or who has the right to a job) or pit women against men. They also ask women and

the role of women to be evaluated in the context of motherhood. These questions presume gendered roles rather than asking more broadly about the underlying construction of gender roles in society linked to prejudice, the symbolic manifestations of these perceptions and the role of gender equality as a social good. By symbolic we mean the type of sexism measured in the ambivalent sexism inventory (e.g. Glick and Fiske 2001) where overt sexism is not evident. Hostile and benevolent sexism are two sides of the same coin: traditional gender relations. While benevolent sexism supports women who stick to traditional roles, hostile sexism penalizes women that break with gendered traditional norms.

Third, absent from cross-national surveys are measures of the salience and the experiences of discrimination in the everyday lives of men and women. The existing survey data have not allowed researchers an opportunity to evaluate in a systematic way the extent to which experience of discrimination shapes the salience of attitudes towards gender equality, or the strength of feelings people hold about gender and gender equality. Individuals might ascribe a more traditional role to women without feelings of hostility or accept women's equal position but, if salient, these may be held at the price of resentment.

Finally, by integrating norm orientations about both women and men our project proposes a more holistic view of how sexism and prejudice operate at the societal level rather than a one-sided view where women are the only targets.

2.3 Gender Based Explanations for Social Attitudes and Outcomes

Our suggested module is highly relevant for the ESS community and wider not just for scholars of gender. The module will be of broad interest to those working on cultural and social values as aligned to the human values scales and measures of populism. The module can also be leveraged to expand the analysis capabilities of the core questionnaire.

Specifically, this module would link to key variables in other existing modules: 1) Socioeconomic characteristics (e.g. household structure, socioeconomic conditions, or education) to explain individual variation in all five dimensions introduced above; 2) The Politics Core Module (e.g. political allegiances and engagement) can be linked to assess, for example, the relationship between hostile sexism and support for populist radical right/green parties or the political leanings of feminine/masculine identities; 3) Items included in the Human Values section (H) (e.g. importance to follow traditions and customs, important to do what is told and follow rules) and also religiosity (included in Section C) are expected to be connected to the dimensions of identity and salience; 4) Links between the dimension of identity and questions on gay rights (Politics Core Module). There is evidence for strong links between traditional gender roles and attitudes about LGBTQ+ in society (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Whitley 2001; Henry and Wetherell 2017); 5) Personal questions about happiness, subjective wellbeing, and mental health (included in Section B of the core ESS questionnaire). For example, links between the dimensions of identity and/or experiences of discrimination and well-being or mental illness are expected (e.g. Nadal and Haynes 2012).

The dimensions are also well suited for a cross-national comparative survey where contextual variations in social norms, economic conditions, family and labour market policies can be leveraged to understand fluctuations in these dimensions at the individual and country levels. The countries participating in the ESS offer interesting contextual differences to investigate the role of policy contexts, but also socioeconomic and historical environments on attitudes about gender and gender roles. Different historical, religious, social and political contexts influence the way people learn about gender roles and constrain their behaviour and are likely to relate to variations in the five proposed dimensions across countries. For example, we expect our dimensions to be linked to the cross-national variation in

authoritarianism and populist attitudes (Fish 2002; Donno and Russett 2004; Norris and Inglehart 2019); representation of women in legislatures (Alexander 2012); electoral success of radical right populist parties (Wodak 2015); family and labour market policies (Fortin 2005); and education policy (Brooks 2018).

SECTION B. Briefly describe all the concepts to be measured in the module and their expected relationships, either verbally or diagrammatically.

The conceptual framework:

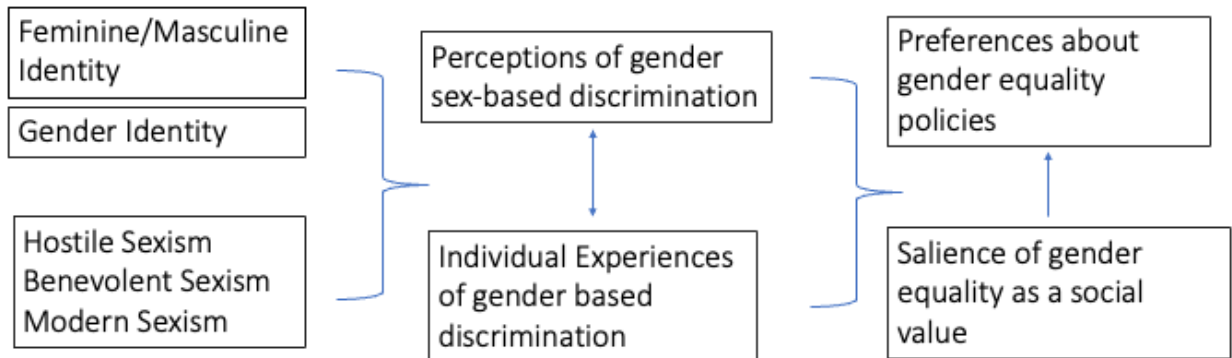


Figure 1: Measuring Gender Attitudes in Contemporary Europe: Identity, Saliency and Policy

Expected Relationship Among Concepts

The above conceptual framework describes the overarching themes we have identified in the Gender Attitudes Module. We have not illustrated every potential expected relationship in Figure 1 but we expect that predispositions such as sexist attitudes and gender identity will shape perceptions of experiences of discrimination. All of these concepts will shape attitudes on policy and the saliency of gender equality. We do not propose a linear framework to the development of these attitudes but recognise a complex and conditional relationship among them. The module will allow researchers to uncover these relationships and identify how they vary across cultural contexts. We provide further detail on the expected relationships among concepts in the below document.

Perceptions of gender-based discrimination may be shaped by personal experiences, as well as exposure to media and public discourse regarding gender issues. For example, individuals may perceive that women face systemic barriers in the workplace due to gender-based discrimination, or that transgender individuals face discrimination in accessing healthcare or public accommodations.

Perceptions of gender-based discrimination can have important implications for social and political action, as well as for individual well-being. When individuals perceive that gender-based discrimination is prevalent and harmful, they may be more likely to advocate for change, support policies that address gender-based inequalities, or seek out resources and support to address their own experiences of discrimination.

However, perceptions of gender-based discrimination can also be influenced by stereotypes and biases, and may not always accurately reflect the experiences of marginalized individuals. Therefore, it is

important to approach discussions of gender-based discrimination with sensitivity, openness, and a commitment to understanding diverse perspectives and experiences.

Summary of complex concepts and their subconcepts & working names	Brief Description of Concept
COMPLEX Feminine and Masculine Identities [FEMMASC]	Gender identity refers to a person's internal sense of their own gender, which may or may not align with the sex they were assigned at birth. This complex concept builds upon the development of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) and is intended to allow for a more fluid, non-binary gender identity.
SUBCONCEPT Feminine identity [FEMID]	Refers to a person identifying more strongly with feminine traits, characteristics, and behaviours traditionally associated with girls and women
SUBCONCEPT Masculine identity [MASCID]	Refers to a person identifying more strongly with masculine traits, characteristics, and behaviours traditionally associated with boys and men.
SUBCONCEPT Gender Role Traits – Risks [RISKS]	This refers to a person's a tendency to be adventurous, daring, and willing to take chances
SUBCONCEPT Gender Role Traits – Leader [LEADER]	A trait associated with assertiveness, confidence, and a willingness to take charge and lead others.
SUBCONCEPT Gender Role Traits – Sensitive [SENSIT]	Being empathetic, understanding, and attentive to the needs and emotions of others
SUBCONCEPT Gender Role Traits – Compassionate [COMPSN]	Caring for others who are experiencing pain, suffering, or hardship.
COMPLEX Experiences of Discrimination based on Gender [DISCEXP]	Experiences where individuals are treated unfairly or negatively due to their gender or gender identity. This can include discrimination based on gender stereotypes, such as assumptions about a person's abilities or preferences based on their gender. It can also include discrimination based on gender identity, such as being denied opportunities or subjected to harassment or violence because of one's gender expression or identity.
SUBCONCEPTS Experiences of discrimination in medical setting [MEDISC]	Treated unfairly based on gender when seeking medical attention.
SUBCONCEPT Experiences of discrimination at work [WRKDISC]	Treated unfairly based on gender at work, in hiring, pay or promotion.
SUBCONCEPT Experiences of discrimination when interacting with police [POLDISC]	Treated unfairly based on gender when interacting with police.

COMPLEX Perceptions of Discrimination against women in country [DISCRIM]	Perceptions of gender-based discrimination in society refer to individuals' attitudes regarding the existence of discrimination based on gender. The subconcepts are reflective, identifying domains of activity where respondents are asked to evaluate the existence of gender-based discrimination.
SUBCONCEPT Perceptions of discrimination – medical treatment [PERMED]	When seeking medical treatment
SUBCONCEPT Perceptions of discrimination - work [PERWORK]	At work, in hiring, pay or promotion.
SUBCONCEPT Perceptions of discrimination - police [PERPOL]	When interacting with police
COMPLEX Salience of gender equality GENDEREQ	Perceptions that gender equality is a desirable societal outcome. It is comprised by a series of reflective subconcepts identifying domains of gender equality. This complex concept is distinct from an individuals' attitudes regarding the extent to which men and women have equal opportunities, rights, and status in society.
SUBCONCEPT Salience of gender equality - family [FAMILY]	Gender Equality Good/Bad for Family Life
SUBCONCEPT Salience of gender equality - politics [POLITICS]	Gender Equality Good/Bad for Politics
SUBCONCEPT Salience of gender equality - business [BUSINESS]	Gender Equality Good/Bad for Business
SUBCONCEPT Salience of gender equality - economy [ECONOMY]	Gender Equality Good/Bad for Economy
COMPLEX Hostile Sexism [HOSTILE]	A form of sexism that involves negative attitudes toward women and is characterized by overtly negative and derogatory attitudes and behaviours towards women. It involves hostility, aggression, and an explicit belief in the inferiority of women. We measure hostile sexism with two formative subconcepts asking how frequently the statement take place.
SUBCONCEPT Hostile sexism - power [POWER]	Women seek to gain power
SUBCONCEPT Hostile sexism - offence [OFFENDED]	Women easily offended
COMPLEX Modern Sexism [MODERN]	Modern sexism is characterized by the denial of sexism, the belief that gender discrimination is no longer a problem and the lack of any systemic gender discrimination. We measure benevolent

	sexism with two formative subconcepts asking how frequently the statement take place.
SUBCONCEPT Modern sexism - pay [PAYLESS]	Women paid less
SUBCONCEPT Modern sexism - harassment [EXAHARAS]	Women exaggerate claims of sexual harassment
COMPLEX Benevolent sexism [BENEVO]	Type of sexism characterized by positive but patronizing attitudes towards women -- involves the belief that women are inherently weaker and more in need of men's protection and guidance. We measure benevolent sexism with two formative subconcepts asking whether respondents agree or disagree with the statements.
SUBCONCEPT Benevolent sexism - protection [PROTECT]	Women should be protected by men
SUBCONCEPT Benevolent sexism - morals [MORAL]	Women tend to have better sense of right and wrong
SIMPLE CONCEPTS	
Self-Reported Gender Identity [SELFGEND]	Rather than relying on interviewer identified gender of the respondent, we measure a respondent's gender identity referring to a person's internal and subjective sense of their own gender (as different from biological sex). We allow for expressions of genders that move beyond the binary categories of "man" and "woman".
Salience of Gender Identity [SALID]	Refers to the degree to which an individual's gender identity is a central and important aspect of their self-concept and personal identity. For some individuals, their gender identity may be an essential aspect of their identity.
Dividing seats in parliament [QUOTA]	An attitudinal concept whether someone favours or is against a measure to equality divide seats in Parliament.
Parental leave [EQLEAVE]	An attitudinal concept whether someone favours or is against a legal measure for equal periods of paid leave for parents
Firing employees for insults [FIREHAR]	An attitudinal concept whether someone favours or is against firing employees that make insulting comments to women
Fining companies for unequal pay [FINEPAY]	An attitudinal concept whether someone favours or is against fining companies when they pay men more than women for the same work

SECTION C: Complex Concepts.

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Feminine/Masculine Identity [FEMMASC]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

Self-ascribed adherence to traits typically seen as male and female and measuring flexibility in the ascription of these traits. We operationalise feminine and masculine identities in two ways that capture adherence to male and female role orientations and feminine and masculine norms: a) self-assessment of typical masculine and feminine traits and b) self-assessment of overall masculinity and femininity. Both measures can be used to assess to what extent the general self-assessment scale (b) is linked in a similar way to the self-assessment of typical masculine and feminine traits (a) among women and men and across different cultural contexts.

For the self-assessed masculinity and self-assessed femininity, we draw on research that suggest these two scales that do not impose stereotypical definitions of femininity and masculinity (Nilsson and Holmberg 2006; Wängnerud et al. 2019). Respondents then assess their characteristics on two scales, one for masculine and another for feminine characteristics. In other words, respondents rate themselves on both masculine and feminine scales.

The two subconcepts of masculinity and femininity have previously been included in surveys, showing the validity of both measures. However, these measures have been mostly included in national surveys which has made it impossible to engage in cross-national comparisons. In addition, both measures have so far never been included simultaneously in one survey. Including these scales (self-assessed femininity/masculinity and the four characteristics of masculinity/femininity) will enable us to study the link between respondents' own assessments of the extent to which they have male and female characteristics and the degree to which they assess instrumental/masculine and expressive/feminine traits apply to their character. The addition of these items will make it possible to test, for example, whether respondents who identify as strongly male also tend to score high on strong personality and forceful, and whether this link is similar in different social and cultural contexts.

The other four subconcepts will measure respondents' self-assessment of typical masculine and feminine traits. In particular, we will present each respondent with four traits, of which two reflect qualities seen as stereotypical feminine traits (sensitive to others' needs and act compassionately towards others) and 2 as stereotypical masculine traits (like to take risks and like to be a leader) in contemporary Western societies. This format, which is in line with the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem 1974), allows these masculine and feminine traits to vary independently and as graduating concepts. Individuals can thus possess a certain degree of the expressive/feminine traits and some degree of the instrumental/masculine traits, rather than being uncompromisingly feminine or masculine.

Capturing feminine and masculine identity will allow us and other researchers to explicitly account for feminine and masculine traits and their impact on social and political attitudes. Relying on respondent sex as an operationalisation of these underlying traits essentialises gender, conflates sex and gender and reproduces the gendered practices in survey research and analysis. Westbrook and Saperstein (2015) recommended combining respondent sex with measures of masculinity and femininity. To the best of our knowledge, no comparative survey has gone beyond asking for the respondents' sex as a category. Our proposed module would represent an innovative step forward in the survey methodology to study gender differences in attitudes and behaviours.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

Prior research using masculine and feminine measures of identity shows that support for democrats in the US is driven by femininity, while citizens' engagement is driven by masculinity (McDermott 2016). We expect these measures to be relevant not only for the other dimensions in the proposed modules, but also to a number of political attitudes and social values. A deeper analysis of "gender gaps" in human values (a core component of ESS surveys) can be provided which examines how feminine and masculine traits are linked to these values rather than postulating links between social values and gender identity and relying on respondent sex (Schwartz and Rubel-Lifschitz 2009).

The published studies of data based on these scales demonstrate that this measurement of non-categorical gender is a strong correlate of categorical gender but also varies considerably among those identified or who identify as a woman or man (Wängnerud 2018). Scholars also show that this measurement is important for understanding variation in important social attitudes, such as those related to social anxiety, beyond categorical gender (Wängnerude et al. 2019). Similar items have been fielded successfully in the United States suggesting they are appropriate for cross-national studies and are not context dependent (Gidengil and Stolle 2021).

Feminine/masculine identity is comprised of six subconcepts detailed below: four characteristics from the BSRI, and self-placement on a feminine and a masculine scale. We treat these subconcepts as formative and the degree to which they are correlated will depend on the underlying gender identity. For example, for hypermasculine respondents there will be a strong positive correlation between the stereotypical male traits of MASCID, RISKS and LEADER which will then strongly negatively correlated with FEMID, SENSIT and COMPSN.

We expect this identity to be correlated with the importance attributed to a gender equality society and preferences for gender equal policies. We also expect this identity to be related to reporting perceptions of discrimination.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Feminine identity [FEMID]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This subconcept is the extent to which the respondent self-assesses themselves as feminine.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect the relationship between feminine identity and the other subconcepts to vary depending on gender identity. For hyperfeminine respondents we expect a high score on stereotypical feminine traits and the femininity and a low score on the masculine stereotyped traits. However, the relationship between these subconcepts will be more mixed for those with less fixed gender identities.

Question item wording

Regardless of whether they were born male or female, people sometimes differ in how masculine or feminine they feel.

[\[RANDOMISE ORDER OF E6 AND E7\]](#)

E7 CARD 53 / CARD 53M / CARD 53F¹ Overall, how feminine² would you say you feel³?
Please take your answer from this card.

Not at all feminine	0
	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
Very feminine	6
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Masculine identity [MASCID]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This subconcept is the extent to which the respondent self-assesses themselves as masculine.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect the relationship between feminine identity and the other subconcepts to vary depending on gender identity. For hyperfeminine respondents we expect a high score on stereotypical feminine traits and the femininity and a low score on the masculine stereotyped traits. However, these subconcepts will be more mixed for those with less fixed gender identities.

Question item wording

Regardless of whether they were born male or female, people sometimes differ in how masculine or feminine they feel.

[RANDOMISE ORDER OF E6 AND E7]

¹ Card 53 should be used in countries where the same showcard can be used for male and female respondents. For countries where there is a need to adapt the showcard for male and female respondents (i.e. to show words in grammatical feminine gender to women and words in grammatical masculine gender to men), two different showcards should be prepared: 53M for male respondents and 53F for female respondents. Interviewers should be instructed to use the relevant version based on the respondent's gender (as given at E1). For respondents who select 'other' or prefer not to say' at E1, the interviewer should allow the respondent to select between the two showcards.

² Feminine – this refers to behaviours and characteristics that are perceived to be expected from girls or women.

³ If 'you' or the adjective 'feminine' is gendered in your language, try using an adverb instead (e.g. "how femininely do you feel"). If 'you' or the adjective 'feminine' is gendered in your language, try using an adverb instead (e.g. "how femininely do you feel"). If you opt for this solution, please make sure that the words you use in the question stem are also on the showcard.

E6 **CARD 52 / CARD 52M / CARD 52F**⁴ Overall, how masculine⁵ would you say you feel⁶? Please take your answer from this card.

Not at all masculine	0
	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
Very masculine	6
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Likes to take risks [RISKS]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This subconcept is related to the respondents' self-assessment of typical masculine and feminine traits. This subconcept, which is in line with the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem 1974), allows these masculine and feminine traits to vary independently and as graduating concepts. Affinity for taking risks is one of four characteristics we ask respondent to indicate how well it describes them and it can be measured directly with a single item.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect that this subconcept will be correlated with other feminine subconcepts for those who have a strong feminine identity. The relationship will be more mixed for those who have a less fixed identity.

Question item wording

CARD 51 Using this card, please tell me to what extent the following statements describe you.

E2. CARD 51 I like to take risks.

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent does this describe you?)

⁴ Card 52 should be used in countries where the same showcard can be used for male and female respondents. For countries where there is a need to adapt the showcard for male and female respondents (i.e. to show words in grammatical feminine gender to women and words in grammatical masculine gender to men), two different showcards should be prepared: 52M for male respondents and 52F for female respondents. Interviewers should be instructed to use the relevant version based on the respondent's gender (as given at E1). For respondents who select 'other' or prefer not to say' at E1, the interviewer should allow the respondent to select between the two showcards.

⁵ Masculine – this refers to behaviours and characteristics that are perceived to be expected from boys or men.

⁶ If 'you' or the adjective 'masculine' is gendered in your language, try using an adverb instead (e.g. "how masculinely do you feel"). If you opt for this solution, please make sure that the words you use in the question stem are also on the showcard.

Not at all ⁷	0
	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
Completely	6
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Leader [LEADER]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This subconcept is related to the respondents' self-assessment of typical masculine and feminine traits. This subconcept, which is in line with the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI), allows these masculine and feminine traits to vary independently and as graduating concepts. Strong leader is one of four characteristics we ask respondent to indicate how well it describes them and it can be measured directly with a single item.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect that this subconcept will be correlated with other feminine subconcepts for those who have a feminine identity.

Question item wording

E3. STILL CARD 51 I like to be a leader⁸

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent does this describe you?)

Not at all	0
	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
Completely	6
(Refusal)	7

⁷ If 'not at all' is difficult to translate as a standalone phrase, you may use the verb 'describe' in the scale labels: 'Does not describe me at all' / 'Completely describes me'. That applies to all similar scales in this module.

⁸ 'leader' should be translated in a general sense (i.e. not referring to specific types of leaders). The meaning is equivalent to someone who takes leadership or acts with authority. If there are problems translating 'leader', this can be translated as 'I like to take the lead'.

(Don't know) 8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Sensitive [SENSIT]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This subconcept is related to the respondents' self-assessment of typical masculine and feminine traits. This subconcept, which is in line with the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI), allows these masculine and feminine traits to vary independently and as graduating concepts. Sensitive to others' need is one of four characteristics we ask respondent to indicate how well it describes them and it can be measured directly with a single item.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect that this subconcept will be correlated with other feminine subconcepts for those who have a feminine identity.

Question item wording

E4. STILL CARD 51 I am sensitive to others' needs⁹

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent does this describe you?)

Not at all	0
	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
Completely	6
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Compassionate [COMPSN]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This subconcept is related to the respondents' self-assessment of typical masculine and feminine traits. This subconcept, which is in line with the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI), allows these masculine and feminine traits to vary independently and as graduating concepts. Compassion is one of four characteristics we ask respondent to indicate how well it describes them and it can be measured directly with a single item.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

⁹ This should be translated in the sense of being understanding towards others' needs. It should not convey a sense of pitying others.

We expect that this subconcept will be correlated with other feminine subconcepts for those who have a feminine identity.

Question item wording

E5. STILL CARD 51 I act compassionately towards others¹⁰

(IF NECESSARY: To what extent does this describe you?)

Not at all	0
	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
Completely	6
	7
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Experiences of individual discrimination [DISCEXP]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

We consider experiences of discrimination a complex concept that is constituted of three reflective subconcepts asking about direct experiences of gender-based discrimination in three domains: medical care, work and interactions with police. This concept draws on the social psychology literature of discrimination and group theory. Personal (including significant others and family members) and societal (social and political institutions) discrimination are critical for understanding social attitudes. From group identity theory, discrimination occurs when members of an “ingroup” are rejected or devalued by members of a more powerful and privileged outgroup (Tajfel and Turner 1986).

Tajfel and Turner argue that discrimination can occur on two levels: intergroup discrimination and personal discrimination. Intergroup discrimination refers to discrimination based on the perceived differences between two or more groups, such as discrimination based on race or gender. Personal discrimination can occur even in situations where the target individual is not seen as different from the larger social group. For example, an individual may be discriminated against based on their membership in a specific ethnic or cultural group, even if that group is not seen as different from the larger society. Our concept does not differentiate between personal and intergroup but asks, more generally, respondents to report whether they have experienced discrimination on the basis of their gender. The phrasing of the question depends on the answer to the self-reported gender identity [SELFGEND] simple concept.

¹⁰ This could be translated as ‘I act with empathy’ in cases where ‘compassionately’ cannot be easily translated.

Theoretical frameworks such as system justification theory (Jost et al. 2017) suggest that individuals may defend existing social, economic, and political arrangements inequalities to reduce dissonance or anxiety. Even if they experience personal discrimination, beliefs about social structures can underlie passive acceptance of existing inequalities and prejudice, particularly when challenging the status quo can be costly. Personal-group discrimination discrepancy (e.g. Crosby 1982) suggests that individuals perceive themselves as less susceptible or vulnerable to discrimination than the members of their group.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

There are a number of theories that link personal and group-based experiences of discrimination. We expect that individual experiences of gender-based discrimination will affect general wellbeing (Schmitt et al. 2003) as well as mental and physical health (Pascoe and Smart Richman 2009). For example, we expect that the prevalence of these experiences will vary by cultural context and that in some countries they will be correlated with support for gender equality policies especially for those who identify as women or as more feminine. We expect sexist attitudes to be related to prevalence of reported gender discrimination for men and for this to be related to lower levels of support for gender equality policies and less importance attached to gender equality as a desirable social outcome.

SUBCONCEPT NAME: Experiences of discrimination in medical setting [MEDISC]

Describe the concept in detail

The first sub-concept is intended to capture experiences of individual discrimination based on gender in seeking medical treatment. This refers to unfair or unjust treatment in the process of seeking medical help or in being treated by a medical professional as perceived by the respondent. It can be measured directly with a single item.

Expected relationship with other subconcepts

We expect that this subconcept will be correlated with other subconcepts though the prevalence for some domains of discrimination will be lower.

Question item wording

ASK IF ‘A man’ at E1 (E1 = 1)

E9M The next questions are about your personal experiences.

CARD 55 Using this card, have you felt you have been unfairly treated¹¹ when visiting a doctor¹² or seeking medical treatment¹³ because you are a man?

- | | |
|---|---|
| Yes – once | 1 |
| Yes – more than once | 2 |
| No | 3 |
| Have never visited doctor or sought medical treatment | 4 |

¹¹ This is equivalent to unjust treatment.

¹² The translation of ‘doctor’ should cover both genders or be gender-neutral.

¹³ This refers to looking for/trying to get treatment rather than actually receiving the treatment. This applies to all instances where the verb “seek” (seeking / sought) is used in this context in this module.

(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

ASK IF 'A woman' at E1 (E1 = 2)

E9W The next questions are about your personal experiences.

CARD 55 Using this card, have you felt you have been unfairly treated when visiting a doctor or seeking medical treatment because you are a woman?

Yes – once	1
Yes – more than once	2
No	3
Have never visited doctor or sought medical treatment	4
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUBCONCEPT NAME: Experiences of discrimination at work [WRKDISC]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The second sub-concept is intended to capture experiences of individual discrimination based on gender at work in the hiring, promotion or pay. This discrimination can refer to unfair and unjust treatment as perceived by the respondent. This subconcept can be measured directly with a single item.

Expected relationship with other subconcepts

We expect that this subconcept will be correlated with other subconcepts though the prevalence for some domains of discrimination will be lower.

Question item wording

ASK IF 'A man' at E1 (E1 = 1)

E10M CARD 56 Using this card, have you felt you have been unfairly treated in hiring, pay or promotion at work because you are a man?

Yes – once	1
Yes – more than once	2
No	3
Have never had job or applied for a job	4
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

ASK IF 'A woman' at E1 (E1 = 2)

E10W CARD 56 Using this card, have you felt you have been unfairly treated in hiring, pay or promotion at work because you are a woman?

Yes – once	1
Yes – more than once	2

	No	3
Have never had job or applied for a job		4
	(Refusal)	7
	(Don't know)	8

SUBCONCEPT NAME: Experiences of discrimination when interacting with police
[POLDISC]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The third sub-concept is intended to capture experiences of individual discrimination based on gender in interacting with the police. These interactions could refer to unfair or unjust treatment when seeking the assistance of police initiated by the respondent or interactions that are initiated by the police. This subconcept can be measured directly with a single item.

Expected relationship with other subconcepts

We expect that this subconcept will be correlated with other subconcepts though the prevalence for some domains of discrimination will be lower.

Question item wording

ASK IF 'A man' at E1 (E1 = 1)

E11M CARD 57 Using this card, have you felt you have been unfairly treated by the police because you are a man?

	Yes – once	1
	Yes – more than once	2
	No	3
Have never had any contact with the police		4
	(Refusal)	7
	(Don't know)	8

ASK IF 'A woman' at E1 (E1 = 2)

E11W CARD 57 Using this card, have you felt you have been unfairly treated by the police because you are a woman?

	Yes – once	1
	Yes – more than once	2
	No	3
Have never had any contact with the police		4
	(Refusal)	7
	(Don't know)	8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Perceptions of discrimination against men/women in country [DISCRIM]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Perceptions of group discrimination refer to an individual's subjective beliefs about the ways in which members of a particular group are treated unfairly or unjustly in society. These perceptions can include awareness of historical and systemic discrimination against individuals based on their gender, as well as awareness of ongoing disparities and inequalities related to gender in various areas of society. These perceptions could be based on personal experiences, as well as broader social and cultural messages about the status and treatment of specific groups. For example, through exposure to media coverage or social messages about the status of particular groups in society. These messages could be about systemic discrimination that produces inequalities.

Perceptions of group discrimination may not always align with objective measures of bias or prejudice, and individuals may hold different perceptions of discrimination based on their personal experiences and cultural backgrounds.

Theoretical frameworks such as system justification theory (Jost et al. 2017) suggest that individuals may defend existing social, economic, and political arrangements inequalities to reduce dissonance or anxiety. Even if they experience personal discrimination, beliefs about social structures can underlie passive acceptance of existing inequalities and prejudice, particularly when challenging the status quo can be costly. Personal-group discrimination discrepancy (e.g. Crosby 1982) suggests that individuals perceive themselves as less susceptible or vulnerable to discrimination than the members of their group. We propose a question wording using gender-based discrimination as that more accurately captures the theme of the module and our focus on gender attitudes.

The item will ask respondents to compare treatment of men and women in society. Thus, rather than asking specifically about women the question will ask respondents to report on their perceptions of whether men and women are treated equally or whether one group is treated more fairly. We use three subconcepts that are reflective indicators of the complex concept of perceptions of group-based discrimination.

Given personal experiences of discrimination and perceptions of group discrimination can be linked, it is important to measure both in the module. We suggest they may be important for understanding how gender identities may be made salient through both perceived discrimination at the individual level as well as the group level. Experiences of discrimination may also have an impact on identity formation and in turn influence perceptions of femininity and masculinity. These perceptions of discrimination are also pivotal in societal change.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

These perceptions play an important role in shaping individuals' attitudes and behaviours towards social and political issues, and can have significant impacts on group relations and social cohesion. Perceptions of group discrimination can have significant impacts on an individual's sense of identity and well-being, as well as their willingness to engage in social and political action to address systemic biases and inequalities. Individuals who perceive discrimination against their group may experience feelings of anger, frustration, or hopelessness, which can lead to decreased participation in social and political activities or increased stress and anxiety.

Our own analysis of the data from EB69.1 reveals that perceptions of group discrimination on the basis of sex are correlated with individual experiences. For example, in Spain almost 12

percent of the respondents report that discrimination on the basis of sex is very widespread and 3 percent report personal experience. Ireland has a similar level of reported individual experience of sex-based discrimination but only 3 percent report sex-based discrimination is very widespread. Measuring gender-based discrimination as relative to other types of discrimination, will allow us to better understand the relationship between discrimination and other attitudes we measure. Additionally, it will give us the ability to compare to ESS2004 measures in terms of individual experiences of discrimination (with the exception of gender as sex was used in 2004).

SUBCONCEPT NAME: Perceptions of discrimination – medical treatment [PERMED]

Describe the sub concept in detail

This subconcept is perceptions of gender-based discrimination – unfair treatment based on gender – in society when seeking medical treatment. Respondents will compare their perceptions of the treatment of men and women. This refers to unfair or unjust treatment in the process of seeking medical help or in being treated by a medical professional as perceived by the respondent. It can be measured directly with a single item.

Expected relationship with other subconcepts

We expect that this subconcept will be correlated with other subconcepts related to perception of discrimination as they are reflective indicators of the complex concept.

Question wording

ASK ALL

E12 CARD 58 Now think generally about how things are currently in [country]. Based on your impression, for the next two situations, would you say that women and men are treated equally fairly or not? Take your answer from this card.

First, when seeking medical treatment?

- | | |
|--|---|
| Women are treated less fairly than men | 1 |
| Men are treated less fairly than women | 2 |
| Women and men are treated equally fairly ¹⁴ | 3 |
| (Refusal) | 7 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

SUBCONCEPT NAME: Perceptions of discrimination - work [PERWORK]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This second subconcept is perceptions of gender-based discrimination – unfair treatment based on gender – at work in the hiring, promotion or pay. Respondents will compare their perceptions of the treatment of men and women. This discrimination can refer to unfair and unjust treatment as perceived by the respondent. This subconcept can be measured directly with a single item.

Expected relationship with other subconcepts

¹⁴ This response category should be translated in a way that conveys equal treatment in terms of fairness. It should cover cases where both women and men are treated fairly to an equal extent AND cases where they are both treated unfairly to an equal extent. It can be translated as “There is no difference in how fairly men and women are treated” if this makes the meaning easier to convey in your language.

We expect that this subconcept will be correlated with other subconcepts though the prevalence for some domains of discrimination will be lower.

Question wording

E13 STILL CARD 58 And what about in hiring, pay or promotions at work?

- | | |
|--|---|
| Women are treated less fairly than men | 1 |
| Men are treated less fairly than women | 2 |
| Women and men are treated equally fairly | 3 |
| (Refusal) | 7 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

SUBCONCEPT NAME: Perceptions of discrimination - police [PERPOL]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

The third sub-concept is perceptions of whether men and women are treated fairly by the police. These interactions could refer to unfair or unjust treatment when seeking the assistance of police initiated by the respondent or interactions that are initiated by the police. This subconcept can be measured directly with a single item.

Expected relationship with other subconcepts

We expect that this subconcept will be correlated with other subconcepts though the prevalence for some domains of discrimination will be lower.

Question wording

E14 CARD 59 Taking your answer from this card, generally speaking, would you say that the police¹⁵ in [country] treat women less fairly than men, treat men less fairly than women, or do they treat women and men equally fairly?

- | | |
|---|---|
| The police treat women less fairly than men | 1 |
| The police treat men less fairly than women | 2 |
| Women and men are treated equally fairly | 3 |
| (Refusal) | 7 |
| (Don't know) | 8 |

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Salience of gender equality [GENDEREQ]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

A gender equal society can be seen as a value, reflecting a commitment to creating a world in which people of all genders are treated fairly and equitably. The salience of this value refers to the degree to which individuals prioritize and emphasize gender equality as an important aspect of their personal beliefs and attitudes. Our concept assesses respondent beliefs about the positive or negative impact of gender equality – defined as equal outcomes for men and women – on society. Our subconcepts specify the domains of impact: family, politics, business and the economy.

¹⁵ When translating 'the police', please use the same term as used at B8.

We distinguish valuing a gender equal society from support for specific policies (see simple concepts). Support for a gender equal society is reflected in individuals' attitudes and behaviours towards policies and practices aimed at promoting gender equality.

A vast interdisciplinary literature by academics and key intergovernmental organizations evidences the importance of understanding gender roles and combating gender inequality for all major aspects of societal development (UN Women 2019), including that related to politics (Inglehart and Norris 2003; Esarey and Schwindt-Bayer 2019), economics (Klasen and Lamanna 2009; World Bank 2012), the environment (Kassinis et al. 2016; UNEP 2016), peace (Hudson et al. 2012), and disease (Raviglione and Maher 2017). Scholars and practitioners consider this understanding fundamental to efforts to identify the sources of sustainability challenges, grasp the scope of those challenges and design policy to combat those challenges. It is this understanding of gender and gender inequality that has merited its status as one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG no. 5).

However, to our knowledge, just one large-scale survey project made a limited attempt to measure public awareness of the importance of increasing gender equality for societal development. The Eurobarometer (EB 465) fielded just two questions asking respondents how important gender equality is 1) to ensure a fair and democratic society and 2) for companies and the economy. We propose a new battery of items that are more nuanced and varied to expand our measurement in this area. We will measure respondents' assessments of the importance of gender equality across key domains of development, covering family life, economics, politics, and business. We propose these indicators because they focus on domains that are highly relevant to contemporary sustainability debates and particularly applicable to Europe.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

This is a complex concept comprised of 4 subconcepts that are formative. Given their formative nature we expect them to be highly correlated.

SUBCONCEPT NAME: Salience of gender equality - family [FAMILY]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

In order to assess how citizens view the role of gender equality as a social value e.g. its salience in society, we ask whether women and men's equal participation in the workforce is good or bad for family life. This subconcept can be measured directly.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect this sub concept to be correlated positively with the other subconcepts.

Question item wording

E15 CARD 60 Using this card, in general, how bad or good is it for family life¹⁶ in [country] if equal numbers of women and men are in paid work?

Very bad for family life in [country]	0
	1
	2
	3
	4

¹⁶ This should be translated in the sense of 'for the lives of families in [country]' rather than referring to an individual family.

	5
Very good for family life in [country]	6
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUBCONCEPT NAME: Salience of gender equality - politics [POLITICS]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

In order to assess how citizens view the role of gender equality as a social value e.g. its salience in society, we ask whether women and men's equal participation in politics – holding equal positions of political leadership is good or bad for politics. This subconcept can be measured directly.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect this sub concept to be correlated positively with the other subconcepts.

Question item wording

E16 CARD 61 Using this card, in general, how bad or good is it for politics in [country] if equal numbers of women and men are in positions of political leadership¹⁷?

Very bad for politics in [country]	0
	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
Very good for politics in [country]	6
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUBCONCEPT NAME: Salience of gender equality - business [BUSINESS]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

In order to assess how citizens view the role of gender equality as a social value e.g. its salience in society, we ask whether women and men's equal participation in higher management is good or bad for business. This subconcept can be measured directly.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect this sub concept to be correlated positively with the other subconcepts.

Question item wording

E17 CARD 62 Using this card, in general, how bad or good is it for businesses¹⁸ in [country] if equal numbers of women and men are in higher management positions?

¹⁷ 'political leadership' covers leaders of political parties and government ministers.

¹⁸ 'Businesses' in the sense of private sector organisations or companies. This covers both large companies and small organisations/companies.

Very bad for businesses in [country]	0
	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
Very good for businesses in [country]	6
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUBCONCEPT NAME: Salience of gender equality - economy [ECONOMY]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

In order to assess how citizens view the role of gender equality as a social value e.g. its salience in society, we ask how important gender equality is to social, economic and political domains. In this subconcept we ask about the impact of gender equality in pay on the economic sphere.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

We expect this sub concept to be correlated positively with the other subconcepts

Question item wording

E18 CARD 63 Using this card, in general, how bad or good is it for the strength¹⁹ of the economy in [country] if women and men receive equal pay for doing the same work?

Very bad for the strength of the economy in [country]	0
	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
Very good for the strength of the economy in [country]	6
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Hostile Sexism [HOSTILE]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises

Sexism can be defined as "... a special case of prejudice marked by a deep ambivalence, rather than uniform antipathy, toward women" (Glick and Fiske, 1996, 491). It defines

¹⁹ 'strength' may be translated as 'performance' if preferred.

gender-based discrimination, stereotypes and prejudice; it is also a property underpinning patriarchal social systems (Manne 2017). Burns and Gallagher (2010) argue that sexism has been overlooked as a predisposition in explaining attitudes about women and gender equality because it did not seem relevant. Recently, however, the backlash against women, the increase in misogyny in the public sphere and stalled progress on women’s issues has renewed interest in sexism as an explanation for attitudes and behaviours. For instance, hostile sexism is related to support for President Trump (Ratliff et al. 2019) as well as to the acceptance of gender income inequality (Connor and Fisk 2019).

Our intent is to capture sexism as expressed through individual attitudes denoting negativity toward women based on the perception that they are subordinate. Rather than treating gender attitudes as unidimensional, ranging from negative to positive attitudes towards women in society, we propose to systematically consider the existence of different conceptual dimensions that characterize gender attitudes.

The concept of hostile sexism is one of the main dimensions of ambivalent sexism index (ASI). Hostile sexism captures the perception that men and women’s relationship is competitive and a zero-sum, whereby if women gain power, it is at men’s expense. It involves antagonism toward women obtaining special favours in the workplace, the belief that women are exaggeratedly susceptible to potential sexist statements, and that women use their sexuality to “control” or “dominate” men.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

This complex concept is measured with two formative subconcepts. We expect that these items will be highly correlated.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Hostile sexism - power [POWER]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This subconcept assesses the perception that when women seek to get ahead in life, or improve their situation, what they are really trying to do is gain power over men. It is a negative expression about women. The subconcept can be measured directly.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

Combines with OFFENDED to create well known scale of hostile sexism.

Question item wording

Next a series of questions concerning men and women in society today.

E23 CARD 65 Using this card, in your opinion, how often do women seek to gain power by getting control over men²⁰?

Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5

²⁰ When translating this item, please differentiate between ‘gain power’ and ‘getting control’: gaining power is general (in society) whereas getting control applies to women’s control over men. ‘Getting control over men’ can be translated as ‘manipulating men’ if this is preferred or felt to be more appropriate in your language.

(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Hostile sexism - offence [OFFENDED]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly	
The subconcept assesses hostile sexism by asking how often respondents think women are easily offended indicating that they are overly sensitive – a negative gender stereotype. The subconcept can be measured directly.	
Expected relationship with other sub concepts	
Combines with POWER sexism to create scale of hostile sexism	
Question item wording	
E24 STILL CARD 65 Still using this card, in your opinion, how often do women get easily offended ²¹ ?	
Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Modern sexism [MODERN]

Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises
<p>Many studies have found overt sexism to be declining and supplanted by more subtle or modern forms of sexism (e.g. benevolent sexism) (Swim et al. 1995). The same way scholars now recognize that measures capturing overt racism are no longer appropriate to depict how racism is currently expressed (Valentino et al. 2005), the conventional Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence and Helmreich 1972) started to lose analytical relevance to predict gender-relevant policy attitudes in the 1990s (Spence and Hahn 1997). Valentino et al. (2018) highlight the differences between old and new sexism. For this reason, we find it important to include this modern component in conjunction with the ASI. Elements of this contemporary expression of sexism are: ascribes to innate gender differences, denial of discrimination against women, see remedies for gender inequality as “special favours” and are angry about complaints about sex-based discrimination (Lewis 2018).</p> <p>This complex concept captures the denial of discrimination dimension and includes items that measure the extent to which individuals deny that gender discrimination is a problem or that women continue to experience sexism in contemporary society. The concept is concerned with the rejection of the idea that discrimination against women is still a pervasive issue in modern society. Individuals who score high on this dimension are likely to deny the</p>

²¹ “offended” should be translated in the sense of feeling annoyed or irritated, typically because of a perceived insult.

existence of gender discrimination and believe that women are now treated fairly and have equal opportunities. Overall, the denial of discrimination dimension reflects a resistance to acknowledging the ongoing struggles faced by women in achieving gender equality.

Deployed in the American National Election study, the MSS is based on a series of questions that, unlike the ASI scale, ask respondents about women without making comparisons to men. We argue that questions asking about women directly will capture antagonism toward women as a group without making that relative to men. We therefore propose including three items of the MSS as a third dimension to the ASI. Our selection of 4 items from the ASI is based on a personal exchange with Peter Glick [May 7 2020] supplemented by an exploratory factor analysis on available cross-national data.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

We expect that modern sexism will be somewhat correlated with the other sexism scales but it will form its own dimension. We expect that the subconcepts are formative.

Sexist attitudes are expected to underpin the other complex and simple concepts in the module and are seen as deeply held attitudes that are culturally bound.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Modern sexism - pay [PAYLESS]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

This first subconcept measures how often respondents think that women are still paid less for the same work than men. Despite gender pay equity laws in many countries it is still a fundamental feature of the labour sector that women are paid less than men for the same work. Denial of this well documented structural feature of the labour market denotes denial of discrimination.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

This subconcept will form an index of modern sexism along with EXAHARAS.

Question item wording

E25 STILL CARD 65 Still using this card, in your opinion, how often are women paid less than men for the same work in [country]?

Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Modern sexism - harassment [EXHARAS]

Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly

Sexual misconduct is a problem in the workplace. This item assesses how often respondents think women exaggerate claims of sexual harassment. In general, women tend to underreport harassment than overreport.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

This subconcept will form an index of modern sexism along with PAYLESS.

Question item wording

E26 CARD 66 Now using this card, in your opinion, how often do women exaggerate²² claims of sexual harassment²³ in the workplace?

Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

COMPLEX CONCEPT NAME: Benevolent sexism [BENEVO]**Describe the concept in detail, outlining the various sub concepts it comprises**

The second dimension of the ASI is benevolent sexism. Benevolent sexism is intended to capture positive attitudes about women but attitudes that are potentially harmful as they position women as "special" and "different" and in need of protection by men. In this way they serve to maintain gender power hierarchies and patriarchal societies. It can be expressed as compliments about or adoration of women but it serves to undermine their authority and autonomy in society. For those who hold benevolent sexist attitudes they believe that women should be "put on a pedestal". For more explanation of how it is different from hostile sexism see the complex concept HOSTILE.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

We expect that benevolent sexism will be somewhat correlated with the other sexism scales but it will form its own dimension. We expect that the subconcepts for benevolent sexism are formative.

Sexist attitudes are expected to underpin the other complex and simple concepts in the module and are seen as deeply held attitudes that are culturally bound.

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Benevolent sexism - protection [PROTECT]**Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly**

This first subconcept captures the aspect of benevolent sexism that refers to women being special and in need of protection by men. It can be measured directly with a single item.

²² 'exaggerate claims' means they generally exaggerate when it comes to sexual harassment (e.g. claim that it happened rather than not, claim that it was more serious than it was, etc.). This can be translated in the sense of "make exaggerated claims". "Claim" could be translated in the sense of "report" / "statement".

²³ A definition of sexual harassment is included on the showcard for the respondent.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

This subconcept will form an index of benevolent sexism along with MORAL.

Question item wording

E27 CARD 67 Now using this card, how much do you agree or disagree that women should be protected²⁴ by men?

Agree strongly	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Disagree strongly	5
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SUB CONCEPT NAME: Benevolent sexism - morals [MORAL]**Describe the first sub concept in detail outlining any further sub concepts or specifying that it can be measured directly**

This second subconcept captures the aspect of benevolent sexism that refers to women being “more pure” and having a superior moral sensibility to men. It could imply the lack of morals is essentialised for men and cannot be reversed excusing their immoral behaviour. It is important to note these are generalised stereotypes and asking the questions does not imply endorsement of the views. It can be measured directly with a single item.

Expected relationship with other sub concepts

This subconcept will form an index of benevolent sexism along with PROTECT.

Question item wording

E28 STILL CARD 67 Still using this card, how much do you agree or disagree that women tend to have a better sense of what is right and wrong²⁵ compared with men?

Agree strongly	1
Agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Disagree	4
Disagree strongly	5
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

²⁴ This covers both physical and psychological protection.

²⁵ “right or wrong” should be translated in the moral sense.

SECTION D: Simple Concepts

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Self-reported gender identity [SELFGEND]

Describe the concept in detail

The concept of gender identity is a construct that refers to an individual's subjective sense of their own gender, which may or may not align with the sex they were assigned at birth. These categories include man, woman, non-binary, genderqueer, genderfluid, or agender among others. These categories are not seen as mutually exclusive, and individuals may identify with multiple or overlapping gender identities. Additionally, the use of these categories may not fully capture the complexity and diversity of gender identity, as some individuals may identify with other terms or descriptors that are not included in these categories. Self-identified gender can give insights into the experiences and attitudes of individuals across a range of gender identities. Rather than list all potential options, respondents are invited to fill in when not identifying as a man or women allowing for multiple identities as well. We also allow an opt out of the question.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

This is a core concept that we expect to be related to most other concepts in the module.

Question item wording

E1 **CARD 50** Which of the options on this card best describes you²⁶?

	A man ²⁷	1
	A woman	2
Other (TYPE IN) _____		3
	Prefer not to answer	7
	(Don't know)	8

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Salience of one's gender identity [SALIENCE]

Describe the concept in detail

Because we are interested in how these identities shape attitudes and behaviour, we also propose to include a measure of the salience of these identities for the respondent. Salience identity is intended to capture the prominence respondents give to defining themselves as a member of a group. The salience of gender identity might condition the relationships between gender identity and attitudes (see Randel 2002). For example, Bittner and Goodyear-Grant (2017) find that the gender gap in political attitudes across a range of topics is non-existent for women who do not have salient gender identities. To measure gender identity salience, we propose an item that has previously been fielded, see for example Gustaffson Sendén et al. (2015).

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

We expect this item to condition the relationship between gender identity, and feminine and masculine identities and attitudes and beliefs (e.g., gender equality values and policy preferences). We do not hypothesise necessarily a relationship between gender identity and

²⁶ If the pronoun 'you' in this question is gendered in your language, please translate this question in a gender-neutral way (avoid using 'you'), for instance: "Which of the options on this card is most applicable?" or "Please select the most applicable option on this card."

²⁷ 'I am' can be added before 'A man' and 'A woman' if preferred.

the salience of that identity – such as women are more likely to have a more salient gender identity. However, we would expect those who had experienced gender-based discrimination to have a great gender identity salience.

Question item wording

ASK IF ‘A man’ or ‘A woman’ at E1 (E1 = 1 or 2)

Many things can influence how people think about themselves. These may include where they are born, their profession, their age, or whether they are a man or a woman.

ASK IF ‘A man’ at E1 (E1 = 1)

E8M CARD 54 Using this card, how important is being a man to the way you²⁸ think about yourself²⁹?

Not at all important	0
	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
Extremely important	6
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

ASK IF ‘A woman’ at E1 (E1 = 2)

E8W CARD 54 Using this card, how important is being a woman to the way you³⁰ think about yourself?

Not at all important	0
	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
Extremely important	6
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

²⁸ Please take into account that because of the routing, only people identifying as a man will be asked this item – so the masculine form of “you” should be used here, if applicable in your language.

²⁹ The meaning of ‘the way you think about yourself’ is equivalent to ‘how you perceive yourself’. It can also be translated as ‘your identity’ if preferred, but please consider whether ‘identity’ would be understood by the broad public in your country.

³⁰ Please take into account that because of the routing, only people identifying as a woman will be asked this item – so the feminine form of “you” should be used here, if applicable in your language.

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Gender Quotas [QUOTA]

Describe the concept in detail															
<p>This simple concept measures attitudes (for or against) toward policy responses intended to remedy gender inequalities. Gender quotas for parliamentary seats are measures designed to increase the representation of women in national legislatures. They typically involve setting a target percentage of seats that must be filled by women, either through mandates or incentives. Here we ask about equal representation as a legal measure.</p>															
<p>Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts We expect that sexist attitudes will be negatively correlated with support while support for a gender equal society will be positively correlated with this simple concept.</p>															
<p>Question item wording E19 CARD 64 Using this card, to what extent are you in favour or against a legal measure³¹ that requires dividing the number of seats in Parliament³² equally between women and men³³?</p> <table><tbody><tr><td>Strongly in favour</td><td>1</td></tr><tr><td>Somewhat in favour</td><td>2</td></tr><tr><td>Neither in favour nor against</td><td>3</td></tr><tr><td>Somewhat against</td><td>4</td></tr><tr><td>Strongly against</td><td>5</td></tr><tr><td>(Refusal)</td><td>7</td></tr><tr><td>(Don't know)</td><td>8</td></tr></tbody></table>		Strongly in favour	1	Somewhat in favour	2	Neither in favour nor against	3	Somewhat against	4	Strongly against	5	(Refusal)	7	(Don't know)	8
Strongly in favour	1														
Somewhat in favour	2														
Neither in favour nor against	3														
Somewhat against	4														
Strongly against	5														
(Refusal)	7														
(Don't know)	8														

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Parental Leave [EQLEAVE]

Describe the concept in detail	
<p>This simple concept measures attitudes (for or against) toward policy responses intended to remedy gender inequalities. Here we ask about paid parental leave. Parental leave is a type of leave from work that allows parents to take time off from their jobs to care for their newborn or newly adopted child. It is usually granted by employers or governments to help support families during the early stages of a child's life. Parental leave can be taken by either parent or, in some cases, shared between. Here we ask support for a measure that mandates both parents take equal time.</p>	
<p>Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts We expect that sexist attitudes will be negatively correlated with support while support for a gender equal society will be positively correlated with this simple concept.</p>	
<p>Question item wording E20 STILL CARD 64 Imagine a couple who both work full-time and earn roughly the same amount, and now have a newborn child. Both are eligible for paid leave³⁴ if they stop working for some time to care for their child.</p>	

³¹ 'legal measure' in the sense of 'act of law' or 'piece of legislation'. This also applies to E20.

³² If 'Parliament' is not a meaningful term in your country, an alternative national equivalent can be used.

³³ This can be translated in the sense of having an equal number of women and men MPs.

³⁴ If there is an official national term for paid parental leave, this can be used here.

Still using this card, to what extent are you in favour or against a legal measure that **requires** both parents to take **equal** periods³⁵ of paid leave to care for their child?

Strongly in favour	1
Somewhat in favour	2
Neither in favour nor against	3
Somewhat against	4
Strongly against	5
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Gender Harassment [FIREHAR]

Describe the concept in detail

Making insulting and unwelcome comments to women in the workplace could be considered a type of gender-based harassment. In the workplace there could be formal guidelines and procedures that employers implement to prevent and address incidents of sexual harassment and have particular consequences for those engaging in the behaviour.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

We expect that sexist attitudes will be negatively correlated with support while support for a gender equal society will be positively correlated with this simple concept. Though this is seen as an extreme response to harassment so the support may be lower and the correlations weaker.

Question item wording

E21 STILL CARD 64 Still using this card, to what extent are you in favour or against firing employees³⁶ who make insulting comments to women in the workplace?

Strongly in favour	1
Somewhat in favour	2
Neither in favour nor against	3
Somewhat against	4
Strongly against	5
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

SIMPLE CONCEPT NAME: Gender Pay [FINEPAY]

Describe the concept in detail

Gender pay equity is focused on ensuring that there is not gender pay disparities on the basis of gender. There are a number of policies in the workplace that are designed to ensure that men and women are paid fairly for their work, regardless of their gender. There can also

³⁵ 'equal periods' can be translated as the same length of time.

³⁶ 'firing employees' in the sense of sacking them or terminating their employment contract.

be legal measures that require the reporting of the gender pay gap or a more extreme policy may involve fining companies where there is a significant gender pay gap. This simple concept asks whether respondents are in favour or against fining companies where there is a gender pay gap.

Expected relationship with other complex and simple concepts

We expect that sexist attitudes will be negatively correlated with support while support for a gender equal society will be positively correlated with this simple concept. Though fining companies may be seen as an extreme response to a gender pay gap so the support may be lower and the correlations weaker.

Question item wording

E22 STILL CARD 64 Still using this card, to what extent are you in favour or against making businesses pay a fine³⁷ when they pay men more than women for doing the same work?

Strongly in favour	1
Somewhat in favour	2
Neither in favour nor against	3
Somewhat against	4
Strongly against	5
(Refusal)	7
(Don't know)	8

³⁷ Fine in the sense of paying a monetary penalty if found to be paying women less.

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