UNTWIST Typology
Deliverable 1.1
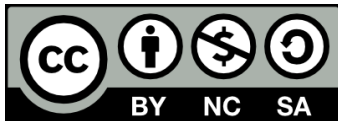
HOW TO CITE THIS WORK

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V.01	18 October 2023	Ann-Kathrin Rothermel (Text), Valentina Nerino (Figures)	Michèle Amacker, Leandra Bias, Natascha Flückiger	Section 6, clarifications
V.02	30 October 2023	Ann-Kathrin Rothermel, Valentina Nerino	Lidia Balogh, Louise Luxton, Antonia Ruiz, Mariana Sendra, Katalin Tardos	Abstract, Contextualization, stylistic/language edits, concretization on contributions by country teams

1. Executive Summary

This *Typology Report* is the main deliverable outcome of Work Package 1 of the UNTWIST project. It describes and contextualizes the *Typology* of gender-based needs. The *Typology* signifies the theoretical and conceptual baseline to achieve UNTWIST's General Objective (GO1) **to advance knowledge of how feminism, sex- and gender-based needs and demands are substantively represented by mainstream and extreme populist parties to test the idea that extreme populist parties are acting as niche parties in relation to sex- and gender-based demands.** It presents the baseline for the comparative analysis of demand and supply side by providing **a comprehensive overview of gender-based needs which can be contrasted with the coverage of gender-based needs by both mainstream and right-wing populist parties and politics.**

The report outlines and contextualizes the methodology and analytical process which led to the *Typology* based on an extensive **literature review of 406 academic articles from feminist, queer and masculinity studies.** The resulting *Typology* is thus rooted in the empirical collection of all gender-based needs discussed in the academic literature in the six UNTWIST country-contexts of Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom between 2007 and 2023. Drawing from the analysis of feminist literature and its resulting findings, the *Typology* identifies **four central dimensions of gender-based needs: gender concepts, gender interests, policy issues and policy solutions.**
By cross-tabulating these dimensions and analyzing clusters of their co-occurrence, **we expose how policy issues need to be approached through a combination of different gender perspectives to capture different types of gender-based needs, namely:**

- o **Feminism (Fem):** Through a focus on feminist thought and developments/shifts in feminist thinking about gender, power, agency, sexuality etc.,
- o **Gender Inequality (GI):** Through a focus on the material distribution of capabilities, resources, power, and opportunities etc.,
- o **Gender Norms (GN):** Through a focus on the naturalized construction of gender behavior in norms, roles, and stereotypes and how they perpetuate and reproduce gender orders, institutions and regimes,
- o **Intersectionality (I):** Through a focus on other categories and experiences of discrimination and how they impact the gendered experiences and demands in intersectional ways.

Based on the co-occurrence analysis, we identify **15 ideal types of gender-based needs**, which are relevant across all country contexts. The ideal types describe multidimensional perspectives that need to be considered to identify and address gender-based needs across different policy sectors. These can serve as technical tools/lenses, highlighting how the different perspectives should be applied to identify and locate gender-based needs in a variety of policy sectors. An overview of the results shows that:

- o A focus on norms and intersectionality is particularly salient for transnational politics.

- o Human rights/civil rights issues must be approached through all four gender perspectives to capture all gender-based needs.
- o For health policy, the most important perspective is that of material gender inequalities, whereas for education topics gender norms also must be taken into account.
- o For family and economic policy issues, in particular gender norms, inequality and intersectional perspectives reveal the most salient gender-based needs.
- o Characterizing the ideal types can help understand the nuances in how, where and which gender-based needs must be considered when designing policy recommendations.

The results of the analysis thus provide **a new technical toolbox to assess whether voters expose and endorse these gender-based needs and demands, whether public surveys accurately measure and reflect them, and whether political parties address and represent them**.

Both in and beyond the context of UNTWIST, the *Typology* dimensions can help to better understand which ideal types of gender-based needs are already represented – and which are missing – in policy design, implementation, and evaluation. The ideal types can serve to compare the expressions of needs and responses across country contexts and over time. A focus on dimensions can help uncover which dimensions and spaces are occupied, claimed, and subsequently twisted by right-wing populist actors.

The *Typology* thus serves as an asset for academics and practitioners, as it offers a toolbox/repertoire of distinct yet interlocking ways of thinking about, approaching, and treating gender-based needs.

2. Introduction

This *Typology Report* is the main deliverable of Work Package 1 of the UNTWIST project. It describes and contextualizes the *Typology* of gender-based needs as **a novel technical tool designed to measure parties' inclusiveness of gender-based needs and demands. It also aids in assessing voters' perception of these needs and their political representation, as well as the effectiveness of surveys in capturing them.**

As such, the *Typology* represents the theoretical and conceptual baseline to achieve UNTWIST's General Objective (GO1) **to advance knowledge of how feminism, sex- and gender-based needs and demands are substantively represented by mainstream and extreme populist parties to test the idea that extreme populist parties are acting as niche parties in relation to sex- and gender-based needs and demands.** The *Typology*, in particular, establishes the foundation for a comparative analysis by offering a comprehensive overview of how feminist literature theorizes, defines, and addresses gender-based needs (GBNs). This framework will be consistently applied throughout the project to assess the extent of 'feminist permeation' on both the demand side (voters) and the supply side (political parties). More specifically, it will serve as a tool to investigate the presence of these gender-based needs among voters who have recently chosen or switched to right-wing populist parties (demand), to assess which of these needs are captured by surveys that influence party politics, and, finally, which of these needs are addressed by political parties (supply), including both mainstream and right-wing populist parties.

The following section of this report provides detailed information on the rationale behind the *Typology* development and conceptualization and how it is embedded in both the EU HORIZON call as well as the overall UNTWIST project set-up (Section 3). Section 4 provides a brief overview of the two-fold research process of data collection through in-depth literature review in six country contexts and Section 5 details the consecutive data analysis process through abductive coding. The final *Typology* - including relevant dimensions (6.1) and identified clusters (6.2) as well as resulting ideal types (6.3) – is outlined in Section 6. This report concludes in Section 7 through a brief conclusion and outlook for the envisioned uses for the *Typology*.

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3. Conceptualization and background

As conceptualized within the project, the *Typology* is developed as a **tool** of UNTWIST with the intention to use it as a theoretical and conceptual baseline throughout the project to achieve UNTWIST's General Objective (GO1): **to advance knowledge of how feminism, sex- and gender-based needs and demands are substantively represented by mainstream and extreme populist parties to test the idea that extreme populist parties are acting as niche parties in relation to sex- and gender-based needs and demands.**

The *Typology* specifically relates to the following of UNTWIST's main research questions:

- **Which gender-based needs and demands have been neglected by mainstream traditional parties? In which areas and to what extent can we identify representational gaps?** (WP 3, 4)
- **Do extreme populist parties act as niche parties regarding gender-based needs**? (WP 2, 3, 4)
- **Which aspects/areas of gender-based needs are represented and twisted by far-right parties**? (WP 2, 4)
- **Can those needs and demands be disentangled from the right-wing populist rhetoric and integrated within a feminist framework?** (WP 7)
- **How can democratic actors untwist gender populist policies into productive reforms that respond to the representation gap left open by the established parties?** (WP 7)

Answering these questions will help us to achieve the General Objective 3 (GO3) to **define policy recommendations** which help mainstream parties improve their substantive representation and contribute to widening the horizon of gender expectations and overcome current 'gender fatigue' among citizens by co-creating alternative ways of addressing citizens. Based on these considerations, the *Typology* provides the theoretical and conceptual backdrop and baseline to UNTWISTS research questions and goals. The following sections outline the conceptual basis of the *Typology* and how it contributes to answering each of the questions above.

3.1 Gender-based needs (GBNs)

The *Typology* starts from the perspective that gender is of multifaceted importance to research and politics. **Gender** can be broadly defined as the "social meaning attached to the shape of our bodies"[1]. Feminist research has shown how this distinction between man/male/masculine and woman/female/feminine that is commonly referred to as gender is:

a. socially constructed, as evidenced by shifting meanings across time and space about what 'being a woman' and 'being a man' means[2].

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[1] Laura Shepherd, 'Sex or Gender? Bodies in Global Politics and Why Gender Matters', in *Gender Matters in Global Politics. A Feminist Introduction to International Relations*, 2014, 26.

[2] R.W. Connell, *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987); Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

b. inherent in all social relations, behaviors and representations and thereby informs political decision-making and policy implementation[3], and

c. often under-assessed and invisible, thereby perpetuating informal and naturalized gender inequalities and hierarchical gender orders[4].

These insights about gender as important to social and political relations have been transferred into policymaking under the umbrella of **gender mainstreaming**. Gender mainstreaming refers to "efforts to scrutinize and reinvent processes of policy formulation and implementation across all issue areas and at all levels from a gender-differentiated perspective to address and rectify persistent and emerging disparities between men and women"[5]. As gender equality has become a fundamental value of the European Union, the EU's **Gender Equality Strategy** 2020-2025 is an example of gender mainstreaming in that it strives to achieve a gender-equal Europe. Taking together these academic and political commitments towards gender equality, UNTWIST's *Typology* is rooted in **feminist research on gender-based needs (GBNs).**

The basis of the *Typology* relies on insights from gender-focused research, including feminist, queer and masculinity studies. This choice is rooted in the observation that these bodies of literature have a **long-standing tradition of analyzing policy issues through a 'gender lens'**, thus making visible the role of gender in politics and policy and aiming to understand and explain political and social events, behaviors, and dynamics through a focus on gender. The focus of feminist research on gender as an analytical category helps us to assess how gender factors into political and social needs and demands and to identify **'gender-based needs' (GBNs), i.e., those needs and demands that are discussed with specific reference to gender**. The theoretical assumption is here that such needs are rooted in (e.g., as the effect of certain configurations of) the social and political structures that have emerged around the social distinctions between woman/female/feminine and man/male/masculine. Based on insights on the invisible and informal nature of gender as political and social force, we further assume that their relationship with gender is often missed by those approaches that do not center a gender lens. This means that we define feminist, queer and masculinity studies as best suited to derive and assess relevant areas and types of GBNs.

To summarize, the *Typology* is rooted in an understanding that centers gender as an analytical category, which aligns with the commitment to gender equality by the EU as well as the approach and hypotheses taken by UNTWIST to investigate far-right mobilization through a focus on gender as explanatory variable. The *Typology* is therefore based on an in-depth analysis of discussions of gender-based needs (GBNs) in the feminist literature in the last 15 years in the six countries of interest

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[3] J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations. Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), https://doi.org/10.2307/2152026; Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases. Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014), https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520957282; Anne Sisson Runyan and V Spike Peterson, *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

[4] Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases. Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*; Louise Chappell and Georgina Waylen, 'Gender and the Hidden Life of Institutions', *Public Administration* 91, no. 3 (2013): 599–615, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2012.02104.x.

[5] Jacqui True, 'Mainstreaming Gender in Global Public Policy', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5, no. 3 (2003): 369, https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674032000122740.

to UNTWIST (Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom). The identified needs – while not exhaustive - are considered as indicative of important trends and needs that have emerged during this time across the six countries under investigation.

3.2 Feminist permeation

Through the identification and categorization of gender-based needs (GBNs) the *Typology* presents a tool to measure 'feminist permeation'. **Feminist permeation** signifies the degree to which those GBNs – that have been derived as relevant based on the feminist literature in the six country contexts in the last 15 years – are covered and meaningfully represented in different domains, including public opinion and political discourse (by both mainstream and right-wing populist parties). As such, the *Typology* is designed to be able to identify policy-relevant dimensions of GBNs which can be compared to policy documents and agendas.

This means that the *Typology* represents the baseline for the following analyses conducted in the analytical work packages of UNTWIST, which aim to answer the following questions regarding feminist permeation:

- **which gender-based needs and demands have been neglected by mainstream traditional parties? In which areas and to what extent can we identify representational gaps** (WP 3, 4)
- **whether extreme populist parties act as niche parties in regard to gender-based needs?** (WP 2, 3, 4)
- **which aspects/areas of gender-based needs are represented and twisted by far-right parties**? (WP 2, 4)

In each of the three Work Packages mentioned, the *Typology* serves to inform the theoretical and conceptual framework to analyze the degree to which policy actors and approaches substantively represent GBNs and to what extent they are reflected in voters' concerns:

- **WP2:** WP2 identifies which GBNs are mentioned by focus group participants (consisting of swing voters of right-wing populist parties). Categorizing these needs according to the types and dimensions of the *Typology* helps identify areas where right-wing parties are particularly active in mobilizing through gender and GBNs. By comparing the needs suggested by participants to those dimensions and ideal types outlined in the *Typology*, we can identify areas (in terms of both perspectives on gender as well as policy themes) that are particularly important to some right-wing swing voters. Comparing these areas with those captured as represented through surveys (in W3) and manifestos (in WP4) by democratic parties, we can assess whether these issues are already represented in democratic policies or have (yet) to be taken up by democratic parties. If we find selected neglected areas (idealtypes) of GBN, for which WP4 furthermore demonstrates that they are, indeed, currently represented by right-wing populist parties we are able to present some evidence for the hypothesis that right-wing populist parties act as niche parties by tapping into those GBN that are insufficiently represented by mainstream parties.

- **WP3:** WP3 identifies how GBNs are assessed in national and cross-national public surveys to understand the degree of feminist permeation in surveys as tools for policymakers to

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define policy-problems and demands. By comparing the spectrum of questions to the *Typology*, WP3 identifies areas of coverage and permeation as well as potential gaps within national and cross-national surveys to assess important dimensions and types of gender-based needs and demands. This helps to understand which and why particular GBNs have been neglected by mainstream parties and to identify areas that should in the future be covered.

- **WP4:** WP4 is concerned with feminist permeation in party manifestos. Analyzing to what extent the dimensions and types of the *Typology* are covered in both mainstream and right-wing populist manifestos helps understand areas of weak and strong / sufficient representation of GBNs of mainstream parties. In tandem with the results from WP3, this helps to explain and expose which GBNs have been neglected by mainstream politics and identify areas where representation can and should be increased. On the other hand, comparing the coverage of such dimensions and types of gender-based needs and demands from the *Typology* between mainstream and right-wing populist manifestos can expose areas where both are substantively covering needs but might have different 'twisted and untwisted' solutions. Moreover, it can also shed light onto those instances where right-wing parties act as 'niche parties' by addressing certain types and dimensions of needs that are still underrepresented by mainstream parties. By further comparing *Typology* solutions to those from right-wing populist parties, WP4 can help to identify 'twisting' moves thus indicating where and how GBNs become utilized to justify anti-democratic and anti-egalitarian right-wing politics and goals.

To sum up, this *Typology* as the main outcome/deliverable of WP1 acts as the comparative baseline to all following Work Packages. It represents the breadth of GBNs and thus acts as tool to measure feminist permeation by exposing which needs (dimensions and types) are covered substantively and which are neglected. Comparing those measurements of permeation across Work Packages as foreseen in WP5 in turn provides insights into

- whether and where right-wing populist parties act as niche parties by covering needs that are not substantively covered by mainstream actors;
- whether and how solutions provided have been 'twisted' to act as mobilizers towards anti-democratic, anti-egalitarian, and anti-feminist worldviews.

Based on these insights, the *Typology* will further inform and provide a cross-check for WP7 by offering insights into how needs and demands that are picked up by right-wing populist voters can be represented and addressed in pro-democratic, egalitarian ways by considering the solutions and approaches suggested in feminist, queer, and masculinity studies literature. It is therefore a vital resource to help identify theoretically and empirically substantiated policy recommendations for democratic actors about how to untwist gender populist policies into productive reforms that respond to the representation gap left open by the established parties, all while respecting the core democratic and egalitarian values of the EU.

4. Data Collection - Literature Review

In order to fulfill the demand to provide a baseline tool that sufficiently represents the bandwidth of relevant gender-based needs (GBNs) in the six country contexts and over the period of the last 15 years, the *Typology* is based on an extensive and comprehensive literature review of 406 research articles that were analyzed through an in-depth qualitative abductive and iterative classification process (see Section 5).

Due to the importance of covering the breadth of 'needs', the **data collection** was designed with the goal to reach saturation of areas and dimensions covered in each country context (see detailed explanation below). This means that the data should not be seen as representative in terms of the number of articles on each topic per country but rather as representing the total coverage of topics and approaches in feminist theory over the time horizon under analysis. In other words, we selected for breadth rather than amount by content. Thus, while the number of articles is referenced in the Table below, we refrain from making statistical and quantitative inferences that are based on the frequency of articles per country, but rather focus on deriving the comprehensive baseline entirety of GBNs.

Table 1: Responsibilities and partners for data collection process

PARTNER	TASK	CONTRIBUTORS	N# Articles
UBERN	WP LEAD	Ann-Kathrin Rothermel; Valentina Nerino	n/a
CSS	DATA HUNGARY	Judit Acsády; Lidia Balogh; Veronika Paksi; Alexandra Sipos; Katalin Tardos; Anna Ujlaki	69
RUC	DATA DENMARK	Colm Flaherty; Laura Horn	70
UBERN	DATA UK	Valentina Nerino; Valeria Pisani	66
UBERN	DATA SWITZERLAND	Ann-Kathrin Rothermel	84
UDEUSTO	DATA SPAIN	Edurne Bartolomé-Peral; Steffen Bay Rasmussen, Vincent Druliolle; Ayauzhan Kamatayeva; Carlos Nagore; Mariana Sendra	75
USAAR	DATA GERMANY	Giuseppe Carteny	42

To define the breadth of GBNs in each country context, the leading team of WP1 at UBERN developed a data collection Manual for all partners to ensure a systematic approach across countries. The approach followed a process based on three "Pillars" of data collection:

4.1 Pillar 1: Locating the Literature – Funnel Approach

To locate the relevant areas where GBNs are discussed in regard to the geographical location, the UBERN lead team developed a 'Funnel Approach', which guided contributors through a series of questions and suggestions based on a three-step loop:

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The main questions that guided partners in the identification process in **Step 1** were:

- Where is gender discussed *in* the local/national context?
- Where is gender discussed *by* local thinkers/scholars?
- Where is gender discussed *with regard to* the local context?

Through this set of questions, we worked with an encompassing conceptualization of *location* in the sense that the respective geographical context could be represented both as context in which the articles were developed as well as topics covered in the articles.

In **Step 2**, partners were advised to identify concrete web or physical spaces/locations of gender discussions. These could be both physical spaces (institutes, libraries (on- and offline)) and spaces of 'thoughts' (authors, networks, book series etc.) and their associated websites, archives or buildings. The country teams – in the following referred to through the ISO country codes CH (Switzerland), DE (Germany), DK (Denmark), ES (Spain), GB (United Kingdom), HU (Hungary) – conducting the literature reviews took various approaches to narrow down these locations through their own network of scholars (DE; HU; DK), previous meta-literature reviews both from within (DE) as well as beyond the team (DK), and systematic collection through search engines (Google Scholar) (DE, CH, ES), repositories and archives (GB, HU) and web scraping (DE). Searches were conducted in both the local languages and English to ensure relevant coverage across the different types of 'locations'.

In **Step 3**, country teams were advised to reconsider their results for completeness through circular procedures of iteration and triangulation across different types of locations of gender knowledge production (including institutions, outlets, and authors). For example, the DK team adopted an approach from the literature that defines a literature review as "a continuing, open-ended process through which increased understanding of the research area and better understanding of the research problem inform each other" (Boell & Cecez-Kecmanovic, 2010, p. 130). While the country teams chose different orders and priorities for this iterative funneling based on the availability of prior knowledge and resources (such as institutional overview websites, meta-analyses etc.), the encompassing definition of 'location' developed as part of the *Funnel Approach* served to systematize the different approaches to the best possible degree by making sure all types of locations were covered. This also helped to make sure not to overemphasize outliers or prioritize particular locations over others by also explicitly including untypical, potentially less influential locations, such as e.g., "grey" literature and working papers.

4.2 Pillar 2: Selecting the Literature – Venn Approach

The next step in the literature review was to identify from the locations of 'gender thought' those articles that were relevant to the discussion of GBNs. To do this, the lead team of WP1 developed a

Manual to help country teams narrow down the selection of articles in a systematic way with the goal to reach saturation and cover all relevant GBNs discussed in the local contexts.

Country teams defined first relevant search terms in both their local languages as well as English in order to identify all articles from the locations that explicitly focused on gender. To apply this, teams used the search function (or manually searched those articles that were not available in a digitalized format) for 'gender' (and its respective local translations: Geschlecht – DE, CH; Køn - DK; genre – CH; (társadalmi) nem – HU; género – ES). In addition, country teams could expand the keyword search in cases where the translation of gender did not sufficiently cover the relevant literature. Gender was here understood in line with the gender conceptualization outlined in Section 2 as extending beyond the use of the word as demographic or categorical variable to designate populations as 'men' or 'women'. To center gender in this way, teams were asked to focus on those contributions that consider gender as analytical and theoretical perspective to explain and understand political and social relations and/or phenomena rather than as (binary) variables to designate and disaggregate populations.

Once the initial lists of relevant articles were compiled, country teams followed three selection criteria, developed by the WP leaders through a three-fold focus on gender issues, feminist/masculinities literature, and country-context:

1. **Gender-based needs:**
   → Is the article focusing on gender as an issue that needs to be addressed from a normative/pragmatic perspective; illustrates aspects that are otherwise overlooked?
   → eliminate those that look at gender as a binary variable (male/female) without substantive discussion
2. **Country context:**
   → Does the article speak from/to a local audience OR cover the local context as a topic?
3. **Feminist/Masculinity studies/Gender concepts:**
   → Does the article draw on gender-related theoretical concepts (e.g., intersectionality, gender roles)?
   → Does the article problematize, engage with, or discuss gender hierarchies in a substantive way? (this indicates it being rooted in feminist theory/thought)

Figure 1: Graphical depiction of the 'VENN' approach to article selection, detailing the guiding principles and questions for teams to select relevant articles.
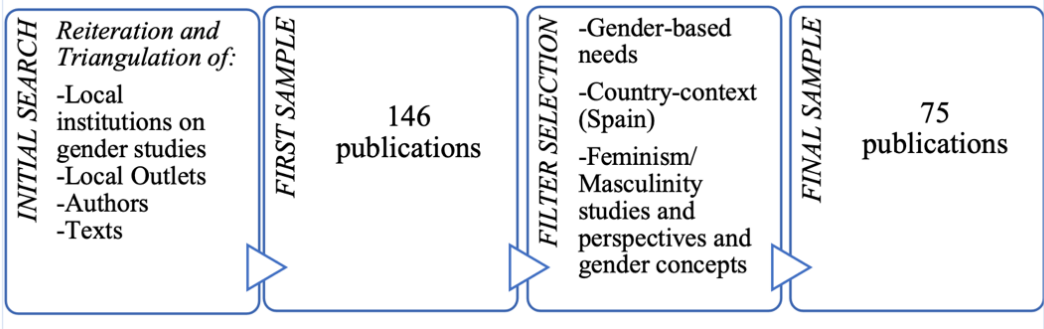
As a final step, country teams were again asked to reiterate and triangulate the approach to reach saturation. The figure below depicts an example designed by the WP leaders that models the iterative and triangulative move through a variety of relevant locations with the goal to reach saturation and avoid selection bias. Country team members reported that through the process of abductive and reiterative classification and expansion of the selection they were able to "obtain a clear overview of research focusing on gender structures and hierarchies […]" (DK) in their specific country contexts.

Source/Format Scope/Focus	Materials fully dedicated to gender studies (books/ journals)	Authors focusing on / prominent in gender literature	Non-gender specific locations (library repositories etc.) to identify gender content
country-based material (i.e., published in the country of interest)	Example: Gender studies journal published in Spain	Example: British / based in the UK author who is prominent in gender studies	Example: Special issue published in a German sociology journal addressing gender discrimination
International material (i.e., published elsewhere but focusing on the context of interest)	Example: Gender studies journal published in (e.g.) the US focusing on the Swiss system	Example: French author focusing on gender issues in Hungary	Example: Article published in an American economics journal focusing on the maternity leave issue in Denmark

Figure 3: Example triangulation process circling through locations for best saturation practice.

In total all partners collected and analyzed 406 papers. The **full literature list** is available as an annex to this deliverable (Annex 1).

4.3 Pillar 3: Summarizing the Literature

As the final central step of the literature review, the country teams were asked to summarize the articles by uploading the file and respective the meta-data for each selected article in Zotero and filling in a questionnaire about the content of the article in EUSurvey. In addition, the country teams also produced a working paper, which provided a more zoomed-out perspective of the literature review. In the working papers, the teams reflected on the literature review process and detailed their impressions about relevant background information on the local context and the themes that emerged during the collection process.

The lead team of WP1 provided a Manual (with templates and guidance) that guided the country teams through each of the three steps:

1. Upload and Metadata input in Zotero
2. Questionnaire in EU-Survey
3. Working Paper Summary

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Through this three-fold process, we were able to collect a rich information base about both the relevant information on each article as well as relevant background information on differences and overlaps between country selections.

The first two steps were on the article-level with the goal of gathering all relevant **information on each of the collected articles**. In order to systematize and streamline the process, as well as alleviate the burden on country teams, many of the information variables were collected through multiple choice options (e.g., method, type, theoretical approach, actors, etc.). However, since we did not want to presume some of the most central aspects for typology development, we decided to capture most of the article content through open questions, where teams could decide on their own framing depending on the close reading of the articles (gender concept, policy issues, storyline). This served to ensure that the collection process was able to cover the variance of articles across contexts without pre-defining the interpretation of the coders. In addition to the open-input fields, coders from the country teams were free to add information on the multiple-choice options to specify their input and explain if they felt the article's information was not sufficiently covered through the available options.

The variables collected for each article are the following:

Table 2: *Variables collected for each article divided by applicable type and software.*

	INFORMATION COLLECTED	Zotero	EUSurvey
METADATA	Title (in original language and translated to EN)	x	x
	Author(s)	x	x
	Year of Publication	x	
	Language	x	
	Unique ID (following the structure: ISO-Code + Number)	x	x
	Contact person (within country team)	x	x
	Item type (journal article, book, chapter, report etc.)	x	
RESEARCH APPROACH/ CONTEXT	Research (empirical, theoretical, mixed)	x	
	Method (qualitative, quantitative)	x	
	Discipline	x	
	Theoretical approach (Feminist, Masculinity studies, queer studies)		x
	Gender approach (essentialist, constructivist, poststructuralist)		x
ARTICLE CONTENT/ SUMMARY	Abstract (in original language and translated to EN, if not available provide own summary)	x	
	Gender concept		x
	Policy Issues/Themes		x
	Actors/Groups affected		x
	Storyline (root cause, consequences, solutions)		x

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The information from the EUSurvey and the paper title from Zotero has been extrapolated and combined into one single dataset will be openly accessible in a .csv file that will be uploaded to Zenodo in March 2024.

In the third step of the working papers, the country teams provided additional information that helped the lead team of WP1 to contextualize the results for all articles in each country context in two regards:

- First, each country team justified and contextualized their chosen selection and summary process in their working papers. This helped the lead team of WP1 to clearly identify areas where teams' approaches differed from one another to better contextualize the results and ensure transparency. For example, while all teams first identified the topics through a first round of collection, which was a necessary step to reach saturation and avoid overrepresentation of specific topics or theoretical approaches, some of the teams focused primarily on the broadest available variety of gender concepts and theoretical approaches (DK; GB; DE), while others prioritized policy issues/themes covered (CH; HU; ES; DE) as first aspects for saturation. Further, the ways in which teams included metadata and context as a focus of the collection process varied. For example, regarding the coverage over time, some prioritized representation of each year in the selection (CH) while others were more focused on varying across disciplines or authors (GB), theoretical traditions (DK, DE), or item type and location (HU).

- Second, in addition to the important contextualization of the selection process itself, teams used the working papers to document important patterns that they had observed throughout their data collection process. While the content-related patterns were further developed in the next step of the analysis, they were important to define the starting points for the subsequent analysis (see 5.2 and 6.1). Moreover, the contextual knowledge of the teams through which they embedded their findings in broader societal dynamics was vital for the WP1 team to better understand and interpret potential divergences between countries whose governments' policies and societal gender norms diverge substantively.

5. Data analysis – Typology Development

After the data collection was complete, the 406 selected articles and the information/ summaries developed by the country teams were analyzed qualitatively by the WP1 team in order to develop a **typology**. The literature on typologies defines them as "organized systems of types"[6] or "hierarchical system of categories used to organize objects according to their similarities and dissimilarities"[7]. As such, "[t]hey make crucial contributions to diverse analytic tasks: forming and refining concepts, drawing out underlying dimensions, creating categories for classification and measurement, and sorting cases"[8].

There are different 'types' of typologies that are elaborated in various ways. In the case of UNTWIST, the following characteristics are most relevant to identify the *Typology* **of gender-based needs** (GBNs) developed in WP1:

- **A conceptual typology**: Refining the concept of GBNs by mapping out its dimensions,
- **A descriptive typology**: "the cell types serve to identify and describe phenomena under analysis",
- **A multidimensional typology**: which deliberately captures "multiple dimensions and are constructed by cross-tabulating two or more variables"[9].

Based on the engagement with the literature, the WP1 lead team decided to derive the *Typology* by working with the 'ideal type' analysis as defined by Stapley, O'Keeffe, and Midgley:

> *"In a nutshell, it involves the systematic comparison of cases or participants within a qualitative dataset to form 'ideal types', or groupings of similar cases. Together, the ideal types form a typology.* [10]*"*

In our specific case, this involved a systematic analysis and comparison of scientific contributions from feminist literature and masculinity and queer studies. Our goal was to extract the primary dimensions addressed by this scholarship when discussing gender-based needs. Subsequently, we used these dimensions to identify patterns and clusters, which represent the ideal types of conceptualization for such needs.

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[6] David Collier, Jody LaPorte, and Jason Seawright, 'Putting Typologies to Work: Concept Formation, Measurement, and Analytic Rigor', *Political Research Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (March 2012): 217–32, https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912912437162.

[7] Jelani Mandara, 'The Typological Approach in Child and Family Psychology: A Review of Theory, Methods, and Research', *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review* 6, no. 2 (1 June 2003): 132, https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023734627624.

[8] Collier, LaPorte, and Seawright, 'Putting Typologies to Work'.

[9] Collier, LaPorte, and Seawright, 218.

[10] Emily Stapley, Sally O'Keeffe, and Nick Midgley, 'Developing Typologies in Qualitative Research: The Use of Ideal-Type Analysis', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 21 (1 April 2022): 16094069221100633, https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069221100633.

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Based on this analytical framework, the qualitative data analysis had several goals:

1. **To systematically compare the data gathered in the literature review process**
2. **To derive the core dimensions of GBNs**
3. **To identify patterns and cluster of GBNs**
4. **To derive "ideal types" of GBNs**

5.1 Methodology

To achieve these goals, the WP1 lead team developed a mixed method approach that combines the **theoretical deductive** conceptualization of GBNs based on existing classifications in theory and policymaking (see below) with **empirical inductive** analysis of dimensions that emerge from the literature review summaries. The inductive approach towards GBNs involves gathering data from the literature review process (see Section 4), whereby consortium partners collected relevant feminist literature on gender and compiled summaries that include a translated abstract, details about the approach taken by the authors, the policy issue covered, and the article's narrative about the causes, consequences, and solutions related to the specific 'gender issue' addressed.

The data analysis approaches the concept of 'gender-based needs' (GBNs) through four research questions, which overall assess how GBNs can be conceptualized by focusing on how and where they are identified. The questions are:

1. **How can GBNs be understood theoretically?**
2. **How are GBNs approached and conceptualized in the literature? What 'lenses' are used to identify them?**
3. **Where are GBNs emerging and in relation to whom are they vocalized/identified?**
4. **How should GBNs be addressed?**

5.2 Research Process

Throughout the analysis process, the data were continuously re-organized with the goal to identify and refine overarching patterns that help to develop dimensions of GBNs that relate to the four research questions outlined above. To do this, our interdisciplinary team of three researchers (one political scientist, one sociologist, and one social anthropologist) conducted an in-depth analysis in MAXQDA. The researchers assigned codes to different categories that were designed to address the above-mentioned questions.

As starting points for the coding process, we developed a variety of starting categories for each of the questions outlined in the following Table 3[11] .

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[11] The color for each sub-category relates to the corresponding color in the coding system (see below). Those categories that are listed in black were not part of the data analysis but were directly taken from the classifications provided by country teams as part of the data collection process.

Table 3: *Collected information divided by research questions and baseline used to determine dimension.*

QUESTION	THEORETICAL/POLICY-BASED	EMPIRICAL/DATA-BASED
How can GBNs be understood theoretically?	Gender Interests (based on theory) **Theoretical Approach** (based on theory)	**Theoretical Approach** (based on literature review)
How are GBNs approached and conceptualized in the literature? What 'lenses' are used to identify them?		Gender Concepts (based on literature review) Gender Approach (based on literature review)
Where are GBNs emerging and in relation to whom are they vocalized/identified?	Policy Issue (based on policy)	Focus (based on data) **Macro Actors** (based on literature review) Policy Issue (based on literature review)
How should GBNs be addressed?	Solution (based on policy)	

The relationship between question and category was conceptualized and applied as follows:

1. **How are GBNs theoretically understood on the continuum between structural (positional) goals and strategies of feminist emancipation and practical concerns arising from the particular (gendered) condition? (Gender Interests)**
   - **Conceptually** this relies on a notion of gender interests originally introduced by Molyneux in 1985 as part of an analysis of gender planning in development and adapted by other scholars later on.[12] The approach categorizes gender 'interest' based on the extent to which they are theorized as rooted in strategic systemic goals, or particular societal positions, between two opposite ends of a scale. On one hand, it considers as position/strategic those interests defined in alignment with feminist strategic goals for systemic emancipatory change in gender relations. On the other hand, it evaluates those interests as practical/conditional, which are primarily identified through a gender analysis of a specific situation and condition.[13] Since these concepts have been previously applied in policymaking, we also looked at existing policy approaches and classifications for gender policies to define the coding memos.
   - **Analytically** the assignment of qualitative coding labels is based on a qualitative analysis of the data derived from the answers given to the survey questions about the *problem, consequence, solution* as well as a reading of the *translated abstract* for each document in question. The goal was to locate each article on a scale between conditional and structural interests.

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[12] Maxine Molyneux, 'Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua', *Feminist Studies* 11, no. 2 (1985): 227–54, https://doi.org/10.2307/3177922.

[13] Carolyn Moser, 'Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs', *World Development* 17, no. 11 (1 November 1989): 1799–1825, https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(89)90201-5.

2. **How are GBNs approached and conceptualized? What 'lenses' are used to identify them? (Gender Concepts, Gender Approach and Theoretical Approach)**
    - **Conceptually** this refers to how the contributions are approached theoretically. This provides information on how the conceptualization of gender itself (epistemologically) impacts the understanding/visibility of GBNs.
    - **Analytically,** this information had already been supplied by the country partners and is captured through the responses to survey questions about *gender concepts, gender approach and theoretical approach*. The initial starting categories were taken from the working paper lists provided. As part of the final coding process, we systematized and cross-checked the information received by partners as response to the open question on gender concepts and built a higher-level code book that defines the central gender concepts derived from the data.

3. **Where are GBNs emerging and in relation to whom are they vocalized/identified? (Policy issue/themes, Focus, Actors)**
    - **Conceptually,** this serves to understand where needs are considered to emerge in terms of policy sectors and actors. This helps to understand where GBNs are considered to take shape and effect by the feminist literature.
    - **Analytically,** this is based on the data given in the survey answers about which *policy issue/themes* and *actors* are identified as relevant to the needs construction. The initial categories were taken from the working paper lists provided as well as from existing policy categorizations in policy practices on gender, in particular as practiced by the EU (EIGE). During the concluding coding phase, we re-organized and cross-checked the initial categories, and developed a higher-level code book based on the collected data.

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    - Emerging from the data we further identified an additional category called *'focus'*, which was coded based on information provided in *the abstract and summary* to capture whether the focus was on GBNs in the context of policies, discourses, actors, or theory, each of which we assumed to carry different types of GBNs.

4. **How should GBNs be addressed? (Solutions)**
    - **Conceptually,** this category is related to the broader approach of the project to identify *solutions/responses* to GBNs by already analyzing the suggested approaches as part of the how the need is conceptualized. This means that needs are not only defined through their 'need' as defined by the person that holds the need but also in terms of what is 'needed' from political actors in terms of addressing the need. While the categorization is largely based on the data provided, the starting categories are based on the literature about policy responses to gender equality needs in particular in discussions about a) gender mainstreaming, b) Women, Peace and Security Agenda and c) WID/GAD (Women in Development/Gender and Development) theories (the underlying literature is found in the folder methods and theory) and the resulting categories are outlined in more detail below (Step 5).
    - **Analytically,** this information is captured in the survey responses to the qualitative open fields of *'root causes', 'consequences' and 'solutions' as well as the abstract/summary*.

Throughout the analysis, the researchers continually met to discuss emerging categories and codes to ensure inter-coder reliability and jointly develop a codebook by:

1. Creation of new sub-categories and categories based on repeated occurrence of aspects that were not covered by existing codes (*e.g., interests: 'twisted interests', policy themes: 'care work', 'gender mainstreaming'; solutions: 'alliances/activism'; gender concepts: 'doing gender/gender binary'*);
2. Concretization of existing codes through memos (see Code Book in Annex 3);
3. Reorganization of codes and defining higher-level categories (e.g., re-systematize gender concepts into two broader categories of *gender (in)equalities and gender norms*);
4. Merging of codes based on occurrence in the data (e.g., submerging of *childcare into care work).*

Through this process, the initial categories and dimensions and the related sub-categories were thus revised, refined, or rejected, thus following an abductive, iterative research process of systematic comparison to arrive at a final code book that best captures the qualities of GBNs. The **final code book** can be accessed in Annex 3. In addition, all codes have been extrapolated from MaxQDA and will be uploaded as a .csv file to Zenodo in March 2024.

6. Findings

The *Typology* does not adhere to a strict theoretical or methodological school of thought to approach gender-based needs (GBNs). Rather, the research process was developed with the goal to capture the widest possible definition of GBNs as rooted in as broad a variety of political and theoretical conceptualizations of gender in feminist theory as possible. As such, we followed the above-mentioned iterative approach to derive the relevant dimensions, which we then used to identify clusters and ideal types of GBNs. This section presents the main results of the process.

6.1. Dimensions of gender-based needs

As outlined above, one central goal of the analysis was the identification of the most salient dimensions for a typology of GBNs. To provide a starting point for the analysis we abductively combined insights from both the data collection process (inductive, see Annex 2), as well as previous theorizations of GBNs (deductive, see 5.1). Throughout the analytical process described above, these dimensions as well as the categories within them were continuously updated and reworked until the team concluded that they were able to capture the literature in an encompassing way (see 5.2). In its final iteration, our coding scheme consisted of eight dimensions with a range of categories and sub-categories (for full coding scheme, see Annex 3). We identified four of those eight dimensions as the most useful to answer the questions posed in the analytical process. The following Table lists the final categories for those four dimensions that emerged through the analytical process.

Table 4: Final list of analytical findings of most salient categories and dimensions divided by research questions.

QUESTION	DIMENSION	CATEGORIES
How can GBNs be understood theoretically?	**Interests**	*(1) Conditional/Practical* *(2) Conditional/Hybrid* *(3) Hybrid Needs* *(4) Positional/Hybrid* *(5) Positional/Strategic* *(99) 'Twisted '*
How are GBNs approached and conceptualized? What 'lenses' are used to identify them?	**Gender concepts**	*Feminism* *Gender norms/values* *Intersectionality* *Gender inequality*
Where are GBNs emerging and in relation to whom are they vocalized/identified?	**Policy Theme/Issue**	*Economy/labor market* *Transnational politics* *Human/civil rights* *Health* *Education/Art* *Family*
How should GBNs be addressed?	**Solution**	*(0) Not specified* *(1) Relief/resources* *(2) (legal) Protection/anti-discrimination* *(3) Inclusion* *(4) Alliance/network/activism* *(5) Gender language/awareness*

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| | | *(6) Transformation* |
| | | *(99) Untwist* |

While the dimensions and categories are the precondition for the further identification of ideal types, they are also an important finding in themselves as they **represent the core dimensions that have emerged as important to categorize and typecast gender-based needs.** In other words, the categories by themselves already contribute to the future analysis of the project by providing insights into which aspects and categories should be taken into consideration when assessing gender-based needs in policy agendas and voter considerations. In the following, we therefore describe the categories emerging in the four dimensions in some detail:

Interests. As outlined above, the dimension of interests largely emerged from existing theorization of gender interests for policymaking. In the analytical process we found the dichotomous classification into positional and conditional interests to be of limited value and instead opted for a definition of interests on a scale from 1 (conditional) to 5 (positional) including more hybrid options.

We further formed a new category of 'twisted' interests based on the insight that some of the literature did not cover primarily an analysis of gender-based needs but rather was concerned with exposing the narratives with which far-right actors 'twist' gender-based needs into an antifeminist agenda. This was based on the observation that while all country teams had included at least one such article, these were of limited value for us to assess gender-based needs. Yet, we also did not want to exclude the articles altogether since a) the country teams had included them as important part of the feminist local literature and b) they could provide useful information for the future work packages. The corpus within this category encompassed 23 articles, which were excluded for the following steps of the analysis.

Gender concepts. The second category of gender concepts was initially populated with the concepts identified in the six working papers, which were continuously redeveloped into an encompassing coding scheme. The resulting scheme can be seen in Figure 4. The main finding was that most categories could be subsumed under four important segments of feminism, gender norms/values, gender (in-)equality, and intersectionality. The ways in which these approached the needs in question were sufficiently distinct to signify different categories, whereby:
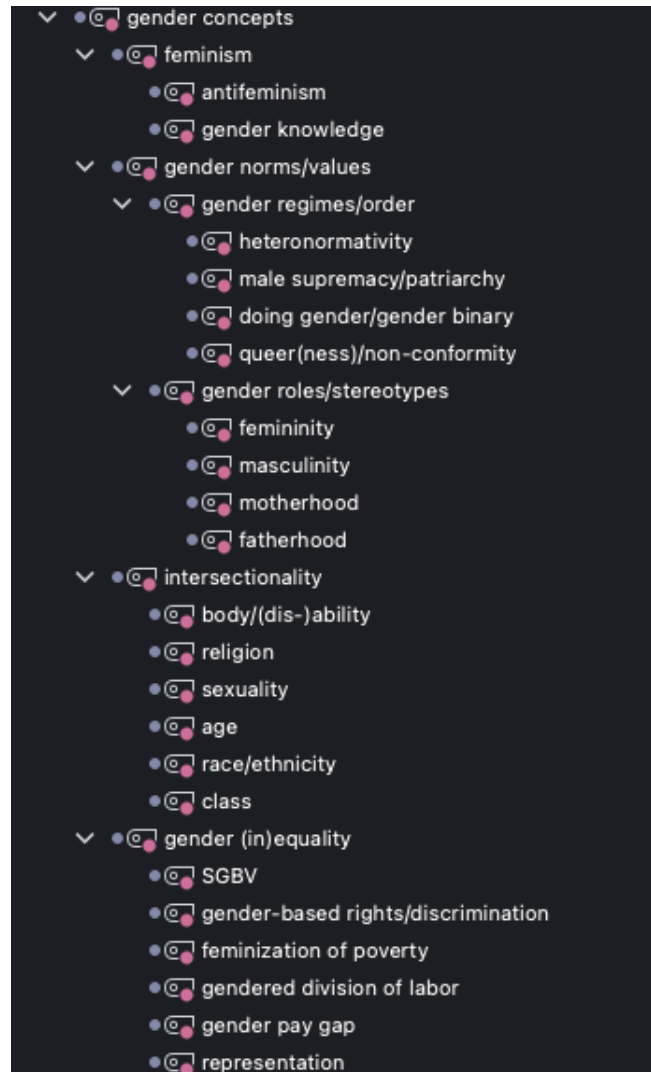
- intersectionality focused on the intersections between gender and other categories of discrimination;
- gender norms/values captured those lenses that focus on how normative values and institutionalized beliefs about gender relate to a particular set of needs;
- gender (in)equality concepts focused on the particular comparative angle of exposing unequal access, power, and resources in society based on gender needs;
- Feminism in turn was covered by those contributions which were explicitly concerned with the needs in the context of the (changing) concept and knowledge system of feminism.

Within the higher-level category of gender norms two broader themes emerged where categories could be split up in gender regimes, which encompassed the more institutionalized systems and regimes that (re)produce gender expressions and inequalities, and gender roles, which foreground these expressions and their constructedness. Articles could – and often did – cover several of these themes and sub-themes, since these were not mutually exclusive, and the goal was to capture all important lenses used in order to also assess how they co-occur in regard to different policy topics and actor groups.

Policy themes/issues. The issues we identified were based on a mix of classifications of existing gender policies in EU policymaking as well as patterns derived and highlighted by the country teams during data collection (see Annex 2). Through the analytical refinement process, we identified six broad policy sectors/issues that were the most salient as locations of gender-based needs (see Figure 5). Like gender concepts, contributions could hold several relevant categories and sectors to assess clusters of co-occurrences both within and across articles.
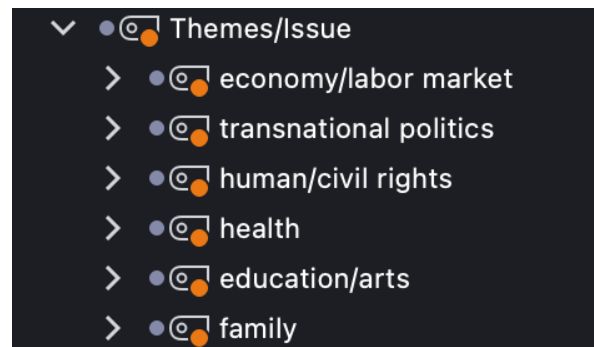

Figure 5: List of categories for dimension of 'policy issues/themes'.

Importantly, however, the analysis exposed that not all aspects within the broader policy sectors were equally important to the locations of GBNs. Instead, we were able to narrow down the list of policy issues relevant to the emergence of GBNs (full coding scheme see Annex 3).

- In the context of the economy, the labor market emerged as most relevant including a variety of sub-categories detailing both specific sectors (*sex work, care work*) as well as particular aspects of employment (*leadership, salaries, work/life balance*). Other less relevant areas of concern included *economic crisis,* as well as *finance, agriculture, and digitalization.*
- Regarding transnational politics, the focus was particularly on three aspects of security policy, migration policy and gender mainstreaming policies.
- In regard to human and civil rights, a lot of divergent relevant themes emerged including the issue of *violence* and violations of rights and integrity, s*exual rights, the right to social representation and activism for gendered rights*, policies with a specific focus on *gender-based rights*, and the *right to political representation and participation*. Another theme was

the civil right of *citizenship* including the issues of asylum, as well as immigration and integration processes.

- Health policy, while proportionally less present in the collection, encompassed the sub-categories of *mental health, obstetrics,* and *reproductive health* as locations where GBNs emerged.
- Education and the arts, as a relatively broad policy area relevant to GBNs emergence, encompassed the sub-categories of *art and sports*, as well as *civic education and media*. Within the broad field of education, we identified GBNs clusters in the areas of *research*, with an additional sub-category of gender studies, higher education (at universities) and education at *schools* in the primary and secondary levels.
- The final category of family is divided into the sub-locations of *work/life balance, marriage, and care work*, whereby care work is again separated into household labor, childcare, and elder care. While both work/life balance and care work appear as categories within both the broader arenas of the family and the labor market, we tried to categorize the contributions based on whether their focus was on discussing the roots and effects of the GBNs more in terms of/through a focus on the family or on the labor market – thus avoiding double-coding where possible.

Solutions. The category of solutions was added as part of the coding process. It is the least complete category as a lot of the contributions do not cover any suggested solutions. Nevertheless, we decided that the insights in this category could be useful for the projects' goal to derive policy recommendations in line with feminist goals to address gender-based needs. The categories in the solutions dimension were coded on a scale from relief/resources as the least and transformation as the most intrusive/systemic solution. As can be seen in Figure 6, there is a general tendency towards more gender- sensitive language and transformative solutions. While the solutions do not factor into the ideal type creation at this point, their intersections/co-occurrences within the ideal types can aid the later analysis and identification of policy recommendations in WP7.
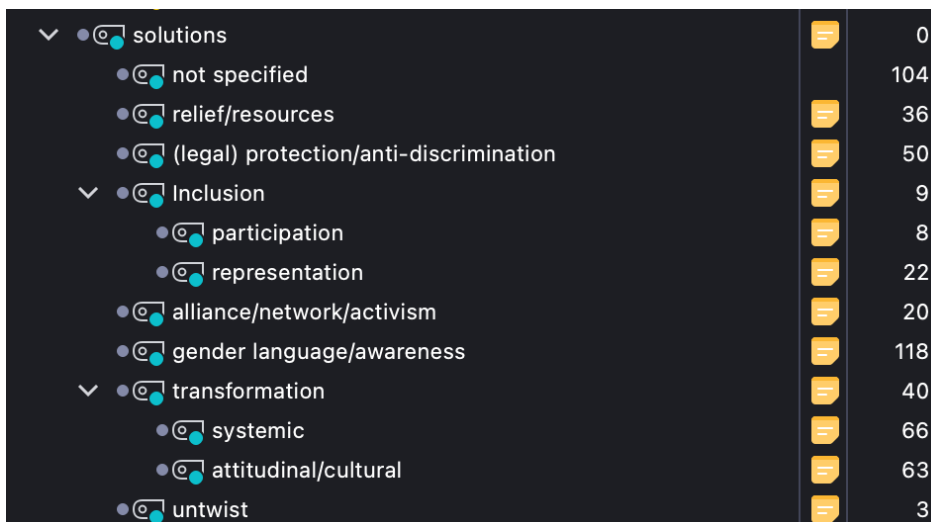
Figure 6: List of categories and sub-categories for dimension 'solutions'.

6.2. Clusters of gender-based needs

As the next step in deriving conclusions about the types of GBNs and further condensing the dimensions into more tangible types, Figure 7 presents an overview of the results from four intersecting dimensions **(policy themes, gender concepts, gender interests, and coverage)**[14]. The choice of the four dimensions was based on the above-mentioned insights that gender concepts, policy themes and interests were the most relevant to depict and categorize the breadth of GBNs. While we consider **solutions** important as well, as mentioned above, these were difficult to include due to missing values and were deemed more valuable for later stages in the project. The fourth variable that has been assessed and included in both the analysis and graphical representation of the *Typology* is the coverage of the three aforementioned dimensions across countries.

In Figure 7, each bubble represents the co-occurrences between the two main categories of **policy themes – Family (F), Health (H), Economy (EC), Human/Civil Rights (HR), Education (ED),** and **Transnational Politics (TP) –** and **gender concepts – Gender norms (GN), Gender inequality (GI), Intersectionality (I), and Feminism (Fem)**. The graph displays these co-occurrences at the highest dimension level (see 6.1) for each of the two categories, resulting in a 4 by 6 matrix. The size of the bubbles at each intersection between the dimensions represents the number of countries in which the respective co-occurrences were present at least once. In this regard, the graph shows that nearly all co-occurrences are found within at least five of the country selections, thus confirming the validity and salience of the identified dimensions. The only outliers are the intersections between 'family' and 'feminism,' which were only relevant in one country context (Spain), as well as 'feminism' and 'health' (Spain and Switzerland)[15].

The reason we focus on the number of countries, rather than the overall number of contributions when exploring coverage of co-occurrences, is twofold. First, during the data selection process (see Section 3), our objective was to identify the broadest possible range of GBNs addressed by the relevant literature, rather than capturing all contributions within that literature for each need. Therefore, we cannot extrapolate from our data the salience (operationalized as absolute frequency) of each particular dimension within each country. Second, due to variations in the number of contributions from one country to another, displaying absolute frequencies would potentially bias the *Typology* towards an overrepresentation of those countries with a higher number of total contributions.

The color of the bubbles represents the 'interests' variable, derived from the homonym dimension and calculated as the mean value between 1 (conditional) and 5 (positional) assigned to each relevant contribution (i.e., those for which co-occurrences were detected). The results indicate a general tendency toward a more positional understanding of gender interests, with the lowest mean being 3.3 (gender norms/economy) and none below 3. This is in line with the theoretical assumption that feminist literature tends to emphasize and consider GBNs in a strategic and somewhat normative manner, as embedded within systemic hierarchies and power structures.

Since most of the intersections were proven relevant for any analysis of gender-based needs, in the next Section, we zoom in into the sub-categories to provide more detail about the nature of the

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[14] Importantly, we excluded those contributions that we had identified to focus on 'twisted' needs (N=23) since these were not primarily concerned with the description and discussion of gender-based needs. This meant that the totality of contributions that fed into Figure 7 is 383 rather than 406.

[15] One reason for these outliers is probably the lower number of overall contributions coded as feminism across countries. The absolute number of frequencies per intersection are accessible in Annex 4.

intersections identified in Figure 7, which forms the basis for the development of ideal types of GBNs.

Co-occurrences of Gender Concepts and Policy Themes
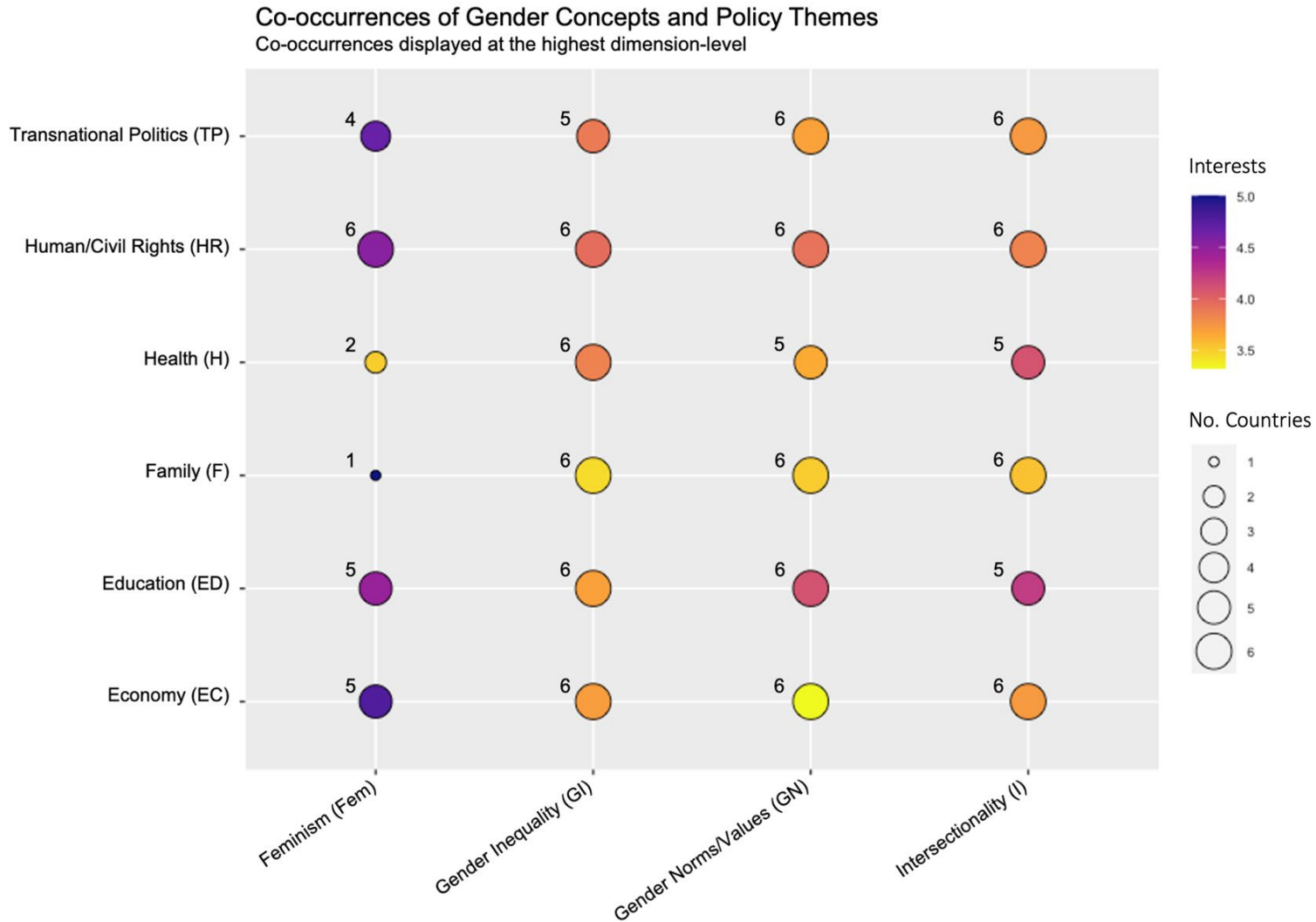Co-occurrences displayed at the highest dimension-level

Figure 7: Graphical representation of co-occurrences between the dimensions of policy issues and gender concepts, including the mean of the interests dimension on a scale from 1 (conditional) to 5 (positional) represented by color and the number of countries in which the intersection occurs (out of six) represented by size.

6.3. Ideal-types of gender-based needs

As outlined above, ideal types emerge out of the constant comparison of data and signify important patterns and intersections. In the previous sections, we have outlined both the most salient dimensions and their intersections that have emerged from the analysis. In particular the inductive analysis of dimensions and co-occurrences which has driven the typology development has led to a repertoire of six policy issues (**Family, Health, Economy, Human/Civil Rights, Education, and Transnational Politics**) and four gender perspectives (**Gender Norms (GN), Gender Inequality (GI), Intersectionality (I) and Feminism (Fem)**) that are particularly important to assess and identify GBNs. From the subsequent the analysis of clusters of intersections in Figure 7, we have identified 15 out of 24 possible intersections that occur across all our country contexts (see Table 5). In this section, we combine these insights for the formation of ideal types. Ideal types of GBNs should be understood not as detailed descriptions of specific GBNs. Instead, they can be viewed as technical tools for identifying and locating GBNs by focusing on different arenas and intersections across dimensions. We believe that such a repertoire of different ways of how and where GBNs emerge can help to provide policymakers and academics with a feminist-informed toolbox to identify, represent and address as broad as possible a variety of GBNs.

Due to the highly contextualized nature of both the data collection and analysis, the focus on these 15 ideal types as opposed to the other ideal types has to be understood as particular to the context – i.e., in a different country or year selection, different intersections might become more salient. This means that even beyond the ideal types described below, the *Typology* offers a valuable asset, since it provides a variety of separate yet interlocking ways of thinking about, approaching, and treating GBNs:

- **Feminism (Fem):** Through a focus on feminist thought and developments/shifts in feminist thinking about gender, power, agency, sexuality etc.,
- **Gender Inequality (GI):** Through a focus on the material distribution of capabilities, resources, power, and opportunities etc.,
- **Gender Norms (GN):** Through a focus on the naturalized construction of gender behavior in norms, roles, and stereotypes and how they perpetuate and reproduce particular gender orders, institutions and regimes,
- **Intersectionality (I):** Through a focus on other categories and experiences of discrimination and how they impact the gendered experiences and demands in intersectional ways.

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Table 5: *Depiction of the 15 ideal type arenas present across all six country contexts. Names of the intersections are based on an abbreviation of the intersecting policy theme and gender concept at their core.*

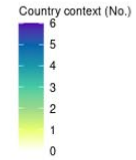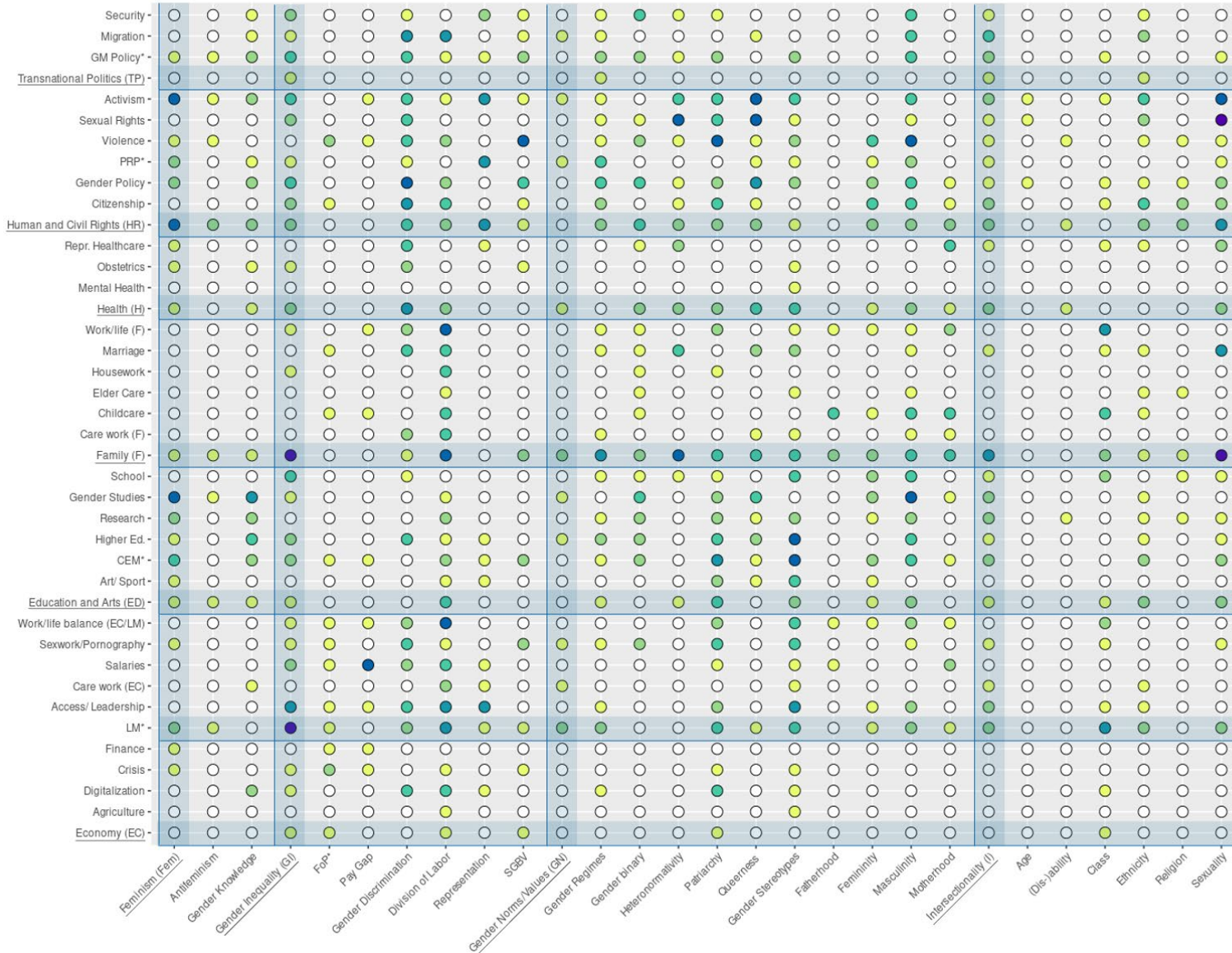|	FEMINISM (Fem)	GENDER IN-/ EQUALITY (GI)	GENDER NORMS (GN)	INTERSEC-TIONALITY (I)
TRANSNATIONAL POLITICS (TP)			TPGN *(Ideal Type 1)*	TPI *(Ideal Type 2)*
HUMAN/CIVIL RIGHTS (HR)	HRFem *(Ideal Type 3)*	HRGI *(Ideal Type 4)*	HRGN *(Ideal Type 5)*	HRI *(Ideal Type 6)*
HEALTH (H)		HGI *(Ideal Type 7)*		
FAMILY (F)		FGI *(Ideal Type 8)*	FGN *(Ideal Type 9)*	FI *(Ideal Type 10)*
EDUCATION (ED)		EDGI *(Ideal Type 11)*	EDGN *(Ideal Type 12)*	
ECONOMY (EC)		ECGI *(Ideal Type 13)*	ECGN *(Ideal Type 14)*	ECI *(Ideal Type 15)*

To better understand these arenas, Figure 8 depicts the sub-level categories that form the intersections of policy issues and gender concepts in Figure 7. Each intersecting bubble from Figure 7 is turned into a rectangle (arena) with more detailed information about the types of GBNs at its core. The color of the smaller, sub-category intersection bubbles in Figure 8 is determined by the number of countries between zero (white) and six (purple) in whose literature reviews this intersection of sub-categories occurred. In other words, by looking at which sub-level category bubbles are most salient across countries we can glean insights into which particular aspects of the gender concepts and sub-fields of policy themes are most relevant to the particular ideal type. From this, we can then move to a more detailed description of ideal types (below), by outlining their specificities and what they mean for the identification and analysis of GBNs. [16].

In the following section, we provide a detailed UNTWIST– 'toolbox' of all the 15 ideal types highlighted in Table 5.

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[16] It should be noted that the Figure 8 also includes the higher-level categories which are depicted with a light blue background. The values in their row represent those codings where we felt like no specific sub-category was overly represented, and thus the content was better captured by the higher-level category.

Co-occurrences of Gender Concepts and Policy Themes

Number of country contexts in which co-occurrences appear at least once

Country context (No.)
6
5
4
3
2
1
0

(*) Acronyms
LM = Labor Market
CEM = Civic Education and Media
PRP = Political Representation/Participation
GM = Gender Mainstreaming
FoP = Feminization of Poverty

Ideal type 1 (TPGN): Transnational Patriarchy

TPGN – *Transnational Politics and Gender Norms.* The first need intersection in Table 5 that is mentioned across country contexts is TPGN, thus the arena at the intersection of the policy area of Transnational Politics (TP) and the gender concept of Gender Norms (GN). This ideal type highlights the necessity to approach Transnational Politics through a focus on norms and values in order to locate and treat emerging GBNs. In particular, this perspective often prescribes to challenge those gendered norms that are considered as 'natural' and assess how they are implicated in the construction and reproduction of particular GBNs. Zooming into the more small-scale intersections reveals that one particular sub-category of norms that is relevant in regard to Transnational Politics is the lens of masculinity. Masculinity acts as an important, yet underutilized perspective regarding security, migration, and gender mainstreaming in transnational politics. Contributions explore how the different aspects of transnational politics factor into norms of masculinities, which in turn are connected to gender order including male supremacy/patriarchy, and prescriptions of a gender binary. **To access GBNs of this ideal type thus requires attention to how transnational policies are implicated within these naturalized gender norms and how they produce and potentially obscure certain GBNs.**

Ideal type 2 (TPI): Managing gender at the border/Gendered border management

TPI – *Transnational Politics and Intersectionality.* The TPI ideal type covers an arena of GBNs, which can be accessed by approaching transnational politics through a focus on multiple simultaneous and intersecting forms of discrimination. The focus on the sub-categories within the TPI ideal type shows how the TPI-GBNs is mostly located at the intersection of ethnicity and migration but also ethnicity and security. A lot of the contributions are indeed concerned with how gender and ethnicity work in intersecting ways in migration management by states. Here it is important to note that migration does not refer to immigration and integration debates but rather to how states manage their borders and/or how people manage their transnational journey between their home and destination country – and how those movements and barriers affect people in gendered and racialized ways, which must be considered together for policy design. **To access GBNs of this ideal type thus requires paying attention to how transnational events, policies and movements create and alleviate challenges which are both racialized and gendered.**

Ideal type 3 (HRFem): Feminism as and for Human Rights

HRFem – *Human/Civil Rights and Feminism.* This HRFem ideal type arena means that GBN emerge in instances where human and civil rights issues (with a particular emphasis on social representation, gender equality policies and practices, and political representation and participation) are approached through a focus on feminist theory. This encompasses changes in the meaning of feminism and gender across different groups and how these changes influence the construction and production of gender knowledge. **To address GBNs of this ideal type thus requires thinking human rights and feminist activism together with and approach them through a focus on feminist theorizing.**

Ideal type 4 (HRGI): Unequal distribution of rights

HRGI - *Human/Civil Rights and Gender (In-)equality.* The HRGI ideal type covers a relatively broad arena of GBNs within the policy field of human/civil rights. The GBNs in this arena become salient when approached through a focus on the material (unequal) distribution of power and access. When zooming into the sub-categories in this arena, it becomes clear that **GBNs** are emerging across all sub-categories of Human and Civil Rights, when approached through a focus on unequal distribution of labor, rights and treatment before the law, as well as representation and access, and

exposure to violence. **To access GBNs of this ideal type thus requires focusing on those specific material constellations in the field of human rights sub-sectors and their attached unequal conditions.**

Ideal type 5 (HRGN): Naturalizing inequality

HRGN - *Human/Civil Rights and Gender Norms.* This HRGN arena is connected to the previous arena, yet while the focus in GIHR is on the material distribution of rights and the resulting GBNs, HRGN GBNs emerge particularly through a focus on the norms and stereotypes that work to obscure and naturalize unequal treatment, in particular around sexual- and gender-based violence as well as sexual and gender rights policies. Contributions here specifically highlight the role of patriarchy, heteronormativity and stereotypes of masculinity and femininity in obscuring and creating GBNs and demands for equal treatment, and protection of rights. One other particularly salient location of GBNs is on the intersection of queerness and non-conformity and human rights activism, rights, and violence, thus highlighting how GBNs are expressed as well as obscured. **To access GBNs of this ideal type thus requires focusing on how existing gender norms and stereotypes work to entrench unequal rights thereby creating and sustaining GBNs and to foreground those areas where these norms are naturalized and challenged respectively to better understand and address HRGN-GBNs.**

Ideal type 6 (HRI): Rights for all

HRI – *Human/Civil Rights and Intersectionality.* Human Rights can also be approached through other marginalized experiences. The arena of HRI exposes that an intersectional focus on how individuals' rights are impacted by their position as either marginalized or privileged in terms of both gender as well as other intersecting categories matters for the identification of GBNs. Specifically, the intersections between gender and sexuality are relevant to the identification of rights-related GBNs. Ethnicity and religion in their intersection with gender also play a crucial role for the emergence of GBNs. This is particularly evident in relation to rights such as citizenship, asylum, and immigration, which become only when approached through an intersectional perspective. **To access GBNs of this ideal type thus requires focusing on how intersectional experiences of marginalization and privilege impact on individuals' ability to enjoy human and civil rights.**

Ideal type 7 (HGI): Access to Health Care

HGI – *Health and Gender (In-)equality.* In the sector of health, GBNs emerged through a perspective on material distribution of access and power. More than other arenas, this intersection is particularly driven by one particular focus on discrimination, thus exposing how GBNs emerge from and are located within the unequal treatment of individuals based on gender. This was relevant specifically in the context of reproductive health but also obstetrics, exposing a continuum of discrimination and violence. **To access GBNs of this ideal type thus requires foregrounding and focusing on the unequal treatment in terms of access, protection, and bodily integrity within health care provision.**

Ideal type 8 (FGI): Distribution of family labor

FGI - *Family and Gender (In-)equality.* In the first arena of relevance in the family policy field, GBNs emerge as salient when approached through a perspective on unequal distribution of power. Zooming into the intersection shows how GBNs are located in particular in the unequal division of labor in regard to housework, marriage, work/life balance, childcare and care work more broadly, as well as discriminatory treatment in society concerning marriage and work/life balance. **To access GBNs of this ideal type thus requires focusing on the gendered material distribution of labor and the treatment of this labor by society.**

Ideal type 9 (FGN): Normative structures of family life

FGN - Family and Gender Norms. Another arena regarding family related GBNs emerges through a different, yet interrelated focus on how gender norms and roles impact on/sustain and reproduce GBNs in the family. Zooming into the sub-categories within this ideal type exposes three major themes that are analyzed within a variety of countries: The first theme is about how roles concerning fatherhood, motherhood, masculinity impact on and (re)produce GBNs in the area of childcare. The second is on how norms of heteronormativity but also non-conforming identities impact and shape the field of marriage and the related GBNs. Lastly, GBNs related to work/life balance within the family emerge through a focus on patriarchal norms and motherhood. As such, there is a broad variety of GBNs, which can usefully be approached through a focus on different sub-sectors and with particular norms and orders in mind. **To access GBNs of this ideal type thus requires foregrounding how gender norms and orders are reproduced and challenged within the family and how this relates to reproduction and change of family-related GBNs.**

Ideal type 10 (FI): Family life at the intersection

FI - Family and Intersectionality. A last arena of family-related GBNs can be assessed through a focus on intersectional experiences and identities. This prescribes a focus on how family related experiences are not only gendered but also implicated with experiences based on status and treatment of marginalization and privilege rooted in one's intersecting position in terms of class and sexuality. These two intersecting categories emerged in particular in the areas of childcare and work/life balance where GBNs emerged at the intersection of gender and class, whereby particular needs result from experiences and conditions of marginalization and privilege along both of those identity categories. A focus on sexuality on the other hand brought other GBNs in the area of marriage. **To access GBNs of this ideal type thus requires being attentive to how family life and policies are not only gendered but also embedded in other identity-based experiences, at whose intersection with gender new previously invisible GBNs emerge.**

Ideal type 11 (EDGI): Educating for gender inequality

EDGI - Education and Gender (In-)Equality. Similar to other policy sectors the material distribution of resources also provides an important perspective to assess GBNs in the field of education. A closer examination of the ideal type arena reveals that scholars of several country contexts locate GBNs through a focus on the uneven division of labor, and discriminatory and violent treatment. This is particularly true for the arenas of higher education, but also media and research. GBNs of this ideal type thus emerge through a focus on the uneven treatment of individuals in higher education and research as well as in and through media and civic education. **To access GBNs of this ideal type thus requires paying attention to how identities are treated differently in the field of education based on their gender and how this impacts their material position in terms of power, resources and access.**

Ideal type 12 (EDGN): Teaching patriarchy/teaching equality

EDGN – Education/arts and Gender norms. The second perspective that is essential for the identification of GBNs in the field of education is the arena of gender norms. There is a broad variety of intersections that are identified by researchers in several country contexts, including most saliently the role of gender stereotypes about masculinity, femininity in different arenas of education, ranging from primary and secondary school to higher education but also art and sports. This shows how GBNs are rooted in (and perpetuated by) the reproduction of gender stereotypes in societal areas of recreation and education alike. Similarly, gender orders of male supremacy,

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patriarchy and gender binary are seen as relevant lenses to identify GBNs across all levels of academia, including gender studies, research, and higher education. **To access GBNs in this ideal type thus requires foregrounding how education and arts are implicated in the reproduction of unequal gender norms, stereotypes, and orders, how they are being perpetuated and disrupted by the educational system, and how they reproduce unequal perspectives on education, knowledge and arts.**

Ideal type 13 (ECGI): Economic material status

ECGI – Economy and Gender (In-)Equality. As with most other policy areas also in the broad sector of economy and the labor market one important arena to identify GBNs emerges through a focus on material distribution of power. This is a particularly relevant intersection with several fields of sub-category intersections which prove salient across several country contexts. One particularly salient field in which GBNs can be located are through a focus on the division of labor in a variety of economic sub-sectors including care work and digitalization. Moreover, GBNs emerge through a focus on the distribution of salaries, access, leadership positions and time in the context of work/life balance. Closely interlinked are further GBNs that emerge through a focus on discriminatory treatment based on gender regarding the type of work (sex work, digitalization) as well as access to representation and power in the labor market. Other intersections emerge through a focus on how material conditions are affected in the context of economic crisis or in specific sectors, such as sex work and pornography. **To access GBNs in this ideal type thus requires focusing on the material distribution of power, access, representation in the economic sector, and assessing how they serve to perpetuate unequal economic status and capacities based on gender.**

Ideal type 14 (ECGN): Economic power and normative structures

ECGN – Economy and Gender Norms. The second arena of economy-based GBNs that is salient across country contexts emerges through a focus on gender norms in the economy. Zooming into the arena shows how this concerns particularly the role of stereotypes – with a specific focus around masculinity – which are implicated in GBNs regarding the access, leadership, and work/life balance. Focusing on how these stereotypes reproduce patriarchal orders within the economic system and the labor market can shed light on how they produce and obscure GBNs in the areas of sex work, digitalization, and the labor market more broadly. **To access GBNs in this ideal type thus requires focusing in on how economic structures, systems and status and values assigned based on merit and labor are embedded in and reproduce gendered naturalized orders and roles, which in turn relate to and host a variety of GBNs.**

Ideal type 15 (ECI): Class and the structure of the labor market

ECI – Economy and Intersectionality. The last ideal type delineates the arena of GBNs emerging at the intersection of the economy and intersectionality. This ideal type prescribes considering intersecting experiences of status and identities to identify GBNs which are only or differently emerging in their intersection with gender. Zooming into the sub-categories, the most salient intersection emerges between class and gender, in particular regarding the areas of work/life balance as well as the labor market more broadly. However, also ethnicity and sexuality emerge as locations of GBNs in regard to the labor market. **To access GBNs in this ideal type thus requires focusing on intersecting experiences and identities when analyzing and creating economic policies.**

UNTWIST

7. Conclusions for use in UNTWIST and beyond

This report has presented a *Typology* of gender-based needs. In the preceding sections, we have outlined how the *Typology* is embedded in the project logic of UNTWIST, how the underlying data was collected and analyzed. The previous section, finally, in turn has outlined the findings that make up the toolbox of the final *Typology*. The inductive analysis of dimensions and co-occurrences which has driven the typology development has led to a repertoire of six policy issues (**Family, Health, Economy, Human/Civil Rights, Education, and Transnational Politics**) and four gender perspectives (**gender norms (GN), gender inequality (GI), intersectionality (I) and feminism (Fem)**) that are particularly important to assess and identify GBNs. By assessing their intersections, we have further identified **15 particularly salient ideal type arenas of how and where gender-based needs emerge according to feminist literature**. These can serve as technical tools/lenses by highlighting which perspectives should be used to identify and represent gender-based needs – thus achieving feminist permeation - in a variety of policy sectors.

We have argued that the *Typology* represents a toolbox for use both within and beyond UNTWIST. For UNTWIST, we have outlined how it provides the theoretical baseline for the following work packages by providing a repertoire of knowledge on gender-based needs in the relevant country contexts. Following Work Packages shall use this repertoire to inform their theoretical and analytical lens and direct their methodological operationalization of gender-based needs. In other words, the Typology serves as comparative baseline against which the findings of gender-based needs in policymaking and analysis practices (WP3) and agenda-setting (WP4) as well as the citizen communication (WP2) can be assessed. This will help the project to determine **which dimensions and ideal types of needs are already present in policy design and implementation and which are missing. A focus on the identified categories and arenas of GBNs can further help uncover which spaces are occupied, claimed, and subsequently twisted by right-wing populist actors (WP2, WP4).**

Even beyond UNTWIST, the *Typology* dimensions can be used as a toolbox for academics and practitioners alike, as it **describes various ways of approaching gender-based needs.**

- o **Feminism (Fem):** Through a focus on feminist thought and developments/shifts in feminist thinking about gender, power, agency, sexuality etc.,
- o **Gender Inequality (GI):** Through a focus on the material distribution of capabilities, resources, power and opportunities etc.,
- o **Gender Norms (GN):** Through a focus on the naturalized construction of gender behavior in norms, roles and stereotypes and how they perpetuate and reproduce particular gender orders, institutions and regimes,
- o **Intersectionality (I):** Through a focus on other categories and experiences of discrimination and how they impact the gendered experiences and demands in intersectional ways.

The *Typology* thus provides a useful asset for academics and practitioners, since it provides a toolbox/repertoire of separate yet interlocking ways of thinking about, approaching, and treating gender-based needs. In this sense, additional outputs are planned in the form of infographics and an explanatory video that will be placed on UNTWIST's website as well as circulated among the national stakeholders and members of the External Expert Advisory Board in order to maximize the deliverable's dissemination and impact.

Within the consortium, the typology was presented by the WPL to those Work Package Leaders involved in the first phase of the project and who thus had to already draw from the typology (WP2, WP3 and WP4). The internal evaluation brought to the fore, however, that consortium partners who have so far not had to use the typology (RUC, CSS, UDEUSTO) might need additional explanation which the UBERN team will do in the form of an online workshop sometime in spring 2024.

8. Annexes

Annex 1: Full list of literature divided by country

<u>Denmark (DK):</u>

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Annex 2: Initial categories from working papers

TEAM	GENDER CONCEPTS MENTIONED IN WORKING PAPER	POLICY ISSUES/THEMES MENTIONED IN WORKING PAPER	SOLUTIONS
CH	Hegemonic masculinity, gender norms, fatherhood, femininity, gender equality/inequality, role expectations, patriarchy, homophobia, legal/human rights and gender, discrimination, gendered division of labor, reproductive rights, gender stereotypes, intersectionality, sexuality, political representation	Care work, family policies, immigration/citizenship, migrant communities, identity formation and group dynamics, higher education, career development, labor market access, gender wealth/wage gap, queer communities/activism, gender-based violence, women's right to vote, gender studies development	Anti-discrimination policy/law, changing societal structures/norms
DE	Masculinity, gender roles, gendered hierarchies, gender identity, doing gender, gender binary, queerness,	Political representation, labor market, family models	
DK	Intersectionality, hyper-masculinity, gender in institutions, gender equality, (state) feminism, gender norms/interactions, hegemonic masculinity, role expectations, gendered power dynamics, homosocial ties, affect, homonationalism, gendered citizenship	(Elder) care, gender quotas, gender gaps, gender mainstreaming, political representation, gender and religion, feminist activism, sex work, liberalism, knowledge production, STEM, parental leave, institutional gender policies, abortion, violence against women and sexual harassment	Tackling harassment in institutions, human rights monitoring, build inclusive gender norms and expectations
ES	Antifeminism, misogyny, gender inequality, gender roles, feminization of poverty, feminist economy, education, patriarchy, gender stereotypes, gender violence, gender gap, androcentrism, female empowerment, glass ceiling, hegemonic/new masculinities, femininity, gender and Islam, queerness, sexual hierarchy, female citizenship, distribution of care/labor, pornography, work-life-balance, multiculturalism	Economic crisis, representation of women among entrepreneurs, leadership, education on sexual diversity, sexuality-based discrimination in employment and health, care, Islamophobia, gender-based violence (intra-partner, symbolic, economic violence), immigration, COVID19 pandemic, family, parental leave, childcare, populism, antifeminist movements	Resources, changing legislation, education prevention programming, awareness-raising, legal sanctioning

GB	Gender violence, heteronormativity, feminization of poverty, feminism, anti-feminism, queerness, discrimination, gender and Islam, intersectionality (in particular, with class and ethnicity), hegemonic masculinity, gender gap, sex work, (trans and non-binary) health, stereotyping, (sexual and affective) education, gender studies, parenthood	Economic crises, austerity, Brexit, gender-based violence, gender inequality in the labor market (in terms of both pay and access), immigration, multiculturalism, antifeminist movement and politics, discrimination, schooling, academic research, youth, civil and human rights, healthcare (including abortion), care work, family, activism	Access to and ampliation of resources and services, enforcement of new legislations for protecting minorities rights, awareness-raising, activism, educational programs, policies designed to consider intersectionality
HU	Discrimination, sexism, anti-gender movement, employment, division of labor, work-life balance, gender wage gap, gender inequality, caring responsibilities, welfare, human rights, women's organizations, attitudes towards gender, masculinity, intersectionality, gender-based violence, childbearing	Labor market, civil society/NGOs, health care, social work, Women & Politics, gender-based violence, sex work, exploitation and violence through prostitution/sex trafficking, intersectional groups of women	Empowerment of women, clarification of gender concepts in public life and academic discourse, address discriminatory practices, raising awareness, support individuals in balancing work and personal lives,

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Coding Scheme

WP 1

Authors: Ann-Kathrin Rothermel, Valentina Nerino, Natascha Flückiger

Code system

1 focus
1.1 discourse-centered
1.2 theory-centered
1.3 policy-centered
1.4 actor-centered

2 solutions
2.1 not specified
2.2 relief/resources
2.3 (legal) protection/anti-discrimination
2.4 inclusion
2.4.1 participation
2.4.2 representation
2.5 alliance/network/activism
2.6 gender language/awareness
2.7 transformation
2.7.1 systemic
2.7.2 attitudinal/cultural
2.8 untwist

3 gender concepts
3.1 feminism
3.1.1 antifeminism
3.1.2 gender knowledge
3.2 gender norms/values
3.2.1 gender regimes/order
3.2.1.1 doing gender/gender binary
3.2.1.2 queer(ness)/non-conformity
3.2.1.3 male supremacy/patriarchy
3.2.1.4 heteronormativity
3.2.2 gender roles/stereotypes
3.2.2.1 femininity
3.2.2.2 masculinity
3.2.2.3 motherhood
3.2.2.4 fatherhood
3.3 intersectionality

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1 Focus

Conceptually, the category focus relates to questions about where the needs are located in regards to the contribution authors' empirical and analytical focus on understanding particular actors (experiences, behaviors, motivations), policies (proposals, histories, enactments), theories (debates, critiques, progress) or societal discourses.

1.1 Discourse-centered

This category captures contributions where the focus is on how a broader societal discourse (e.g., media, advanced by movements) is conducted/changing in relation to gender issues. Do Not choose this category if the focus is on either discourses linked to discussions about a particular policy (policy-centered), or on discursive strategies and choices by political actors, such as movements (actor-centered)

NB: this category was introduced after noticing a difficulty in regard to categorizing particularly those contributions focusing on 'twisted interests' as these articles focus on how particular discursive changes are driven by actors on the right and how they impact the societal and political landscape.

1.2 Theory-centered

Theory-centered contributions are not concerned with empirical focus areas of either policies or actor groups but rather conceptualize a need as grounded in theory. While this can entail occasional examples of how the 'need' occurs in "real life", the main focus is to develop it further/refine it/critique it mainly as a theoretical concept.

1.3 Policy-centered

This category refers to articles that focus on existing policies rather than on identifying and problematizing needs from the engagement with a particular group or condition. These contributions often take the need for granted and engage with how it has been addressed thus far, thereby developing more granular insights or updating and critiquing existing approaches as limited/insufficient to address the underlying need.

1.4 Actor-centered

Actor-centered contributions focus centrally on a particular reference group or a type of actor and their needs - these needs can be both structural/position as well as pragmatic/ condition. The importance is that the experiences, actions, strategies or behaviors of actors or actor groups are at the center of the engagement with the need in question.

NB: Actors can be social groups, individuals, or social movements, but also parties etc. If a text is concerned with how particular (groups of) actors behave on an individual organizational level rather than on the policy outcomes of this behavior this can also be coded actors.

Conceptually, this category is related to the broader approach of the project to identify solutions/responses to gender-based needs by already analyzing the suggested approaches as part of the how the need is conceptualized. This means that needs are not only defined through their 'need' as defined by the person that holds the need but also in terms of what is 'needed' from political actors in terms of addressing the need.

While the categorization is largely based on the data provided, the starting categories have been influenced by the literature on policy responses to gender equality needs in particular in discussions about a) gender mainstreaming, b) Women, Peace and Security Agenda and c) WID/GAD (Women in Development/Gender and Development).

2.1 Not specified

When no solution is discernably mentioned in abstract or as noted in the summaries (root causes, consequences, solutions, Extra) by survey respondents for the literature review.

2.2 Relief/resources

Relief and resources policy solutions are concerned with treating the symptoms of gender-based needs. These include most notably the provision of resources but also services in the sense of for example provisions for poor people to get subsidized healthcare appointments, women's shelters, but also crisis response in terms of humanitarian support. These are thus the most 'reactive' policy solutions as they are primarily concerned with 'fixing' particular disadvantages for individuals or groups rather than dealing with the reasons for why they occur (sometimes called Band-Aid policies).

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EXAMPLE CASE: in terms of a need for access to the labor market a resources solution would entail either unemployment benefits but also vouchers for classes for e.g., CV development or skillsets.

2.3 (legal) Protection/anti-discrimination

This concept is taken from the WPS agenda, where the protection of women is a main policy goal. This is conceptualized as arising from the special vulnerable position of women in the overall system (in terms of security in conflict and to a lesser extent peace). This can be extrapolated to other sectors (e.g., workplace harassment, but also legal protection mechanisms, or infrastructure changes etc.) and societal groups (queer people, migrants etc.). In the Hungarian working paper this comes up under anti-discrimination - as such this also encompasses anti-discrimination law. But it also encompasses non-legal protection aspects that involve regulations e.g., in a company or in policy institutions to overcome the vulnerability of specific groups (e.g., monitoring of gender equality policies; holding perpetrators accountable; etc.)

EXAMPLE CASE: in terms of a need for access to the labor market a legal protection solution would entail policies that prescribe legal and administrative regulations to e.g., protect individuals from sexual harassment in the workplace or to disclose standards for recruitment.

2.4 Inclusion

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This category encompasses solutions that focus on the inclusion of a social group in order to enhance gender equality and solve gender-based needs. This encompasses both inclusion into areas of underrepresentation (with the assumption of gender parity as beneficial for gender-based needs), which relates to representation as well as participation in the sense of an emphasis on active participation of the group in question. The distinction has been emphasized by policy analysts also in the context of WPS, whereby participation is often considered more important/meaningful since representation also encompasses a mere 'counting' that does not necessarily have to lead to policy change.

EXAMPLE CASE: in terms of a need for access to the labor market an inclusion solution would be school programs that specifically target female students with the goal to increase representation in STEM areas of study and employment.

2.4.1 Participation

According to the above-mentioned distinction participation refers to the active inclusion of representatives of the reference group in decision-making and implementation of a particular field or policy. For this, participants do not need to be officially recognized representatives but have to be pointed out as active in the design or implementation of particular policies/strategies/politics. Solutions for participation thus focus on making sure to seek out advise and involvement from particular underrepresented groups in policymaking (e.g., inclusion of women's activists into policy design or participation of women employees in the design of sexual harassment policies of a company)

2.4.2 Representation

According to the above-mentioned distinction, representation refers to the inclusion of representatives of the reference group in positions, regardless of their particular actions or influence in said positions. This includes both political positions as well as economic positions. Solutions for representation thus focus on getting individuals to join certain fields of employment or political office.

2.5 Alliance/network/activism

This category was inductively created from the data to capture suggestions to address needs by forming alliances between different societal groups, social movements etc. (often across particular ideological divides) with the assumption that a broader network can lead to more far-reaching or effective change.

EXAMPLE CASE: in terms of a need for access to the labor market an alliance solution would be to form joint union efforts across companies or sectors to increase pressure for changes in regulations.

2.6 Gender language/awareness

Gender language/perspective or gender awareness are commonly referred to as one aspect of gender mainstreaming. This is also represented in the Hungarian working paper as "clarification of gender concepts in public life and academic discourse". The idea is to raise awareness among a broader public of issues and overturn oppressive and silencing language structures.
We use this category when the idea of the suggested solution is to change the framing of a particular issue to be more aware of gender as analytical category, which in turn will lead to potential benefits regarding transformation.

EXAMPLE CASE: in terms of a need for access to the labor market, a gender awareness solution would be to launch a campaign to raise awareness about the lack of opportunities for women OR to actively dismantle gender norms that question women's abilities in the field of work.

2.7 Transformation

Transformation is often at the root of feminist advocacy. This category should be used for solutions that encompass a broad structural transformation of underlying systems, institutions, or discourses, which go beyond particular changes to inclusive language into institutions (which are covered under gender language/awareness raising). Instead of this as well as consciousness-raising, transformation does not aim to change people's awareness but address the underlying systems directly.

This also includes calls to address intersections of discriminatory structures (if they are indeed challenging the structure itself)

EXAMPLE CASE: in terms of a need for access to the labor market, a transformation solution would be to challenge the neoliberal patriarchal roots of capitalism (e.g., end of austerity measures (HU020)) and advocate for alternative conceptions of labor based on "increased social trust towards marginalized and vulnerable groups … rather than control and surveillance" (DK002)

2.7.1 Systemic

This includes structural, systemic and institutional changes of a transformative nature that actively challenge existing structures and orders. This can be both calls for entirely new systems as well as far-reaching reforms within the existing system.

2.7.2 Attitudinal/cultural

Internal transformation relates to attitudinal reconfigurations and transformations that change the internal gender conceptions, cultures and behaviors/mindsets. This includes solutions that focus on empowerment as the attitudinal process of awareness- or consciousness-raising which has a feminist history and refers to dynamics of questioning internalized oppression and "leading people to perceive themselves as able and entitled to occupy decision-making space". (Cornwall 2014). As such, it is more about a change in mind-sets and building critical consciousness and capacity (e.g., through activism and education) rather than providing material resources. In terms of policy this relates mostly to educational or activist policies with the goal to raise awareness about one's own positionality and privilege with the implication of change of behavior towards others.

The distinction to gender language is that the focus is not on providing changed language in policy and public discourse but more on the transformative outcome thereof in terms of changed attitude and culture.

2.8 Untwist

This category was created inductively to capture those contributions that problematize how gender issues become twisted and suggest as the only or major solution (not just by problematizing them but explicitly calling out as a countermeasure) to expose how the needs have become 'twisted' and to 'untwist' the underlying discourse.

We define gender concepts as those concepts that are the central theoretical concept defined by the authors and that serve as the central theoretical lens for the article (e.g., hegemonic masculinity). These concepts are most often defined in the introduction/theory and/or literature review section of the article.

Understanding which gender concepts are used to understand and frame a need is vital to understand how and why the need is understood as 'gendered/gender-related'. We expect that some of them/similar concepts are also used by the far-right to build on already established gender-concepts as well as to make needs into gender needs themselves by twisting both the meaning of concepts as well as the target groups (macro-actors) and the solutions that are associated with them.

3.1 Feminism

This category was created inductively to capture those contributions that are explicitly concerned with an analysis or discussion of feminism as a theory and or movement.

3.1.1 Antifeminism

Antifeminism refers to those articles that cover antifeminism as a discourse or movement. This also includes contributions that do not explicitly refer to 'antifeminism' but are explicitly concerned with developments/discourses that run counter/threaten to override feminist gains/stances etc. – e.g., anti-gender movements, anti-genderism, gender ideology, male supremacism and violent misogynist (if there is a focus on their antifeminist qualities) etc.

3.1.2 Gender knowledge

gender knowledge is a particular feminist analytical category "to capture tacit as well as explicit assumptions about gender relations". This means it relates to actively produced knowledge about gender relations (by epistemic communities such as academia, church etc.) but also gender knowledge processes that implicitly structure politics and society. Make sure to apply this code only when the focus is on the knowledge as such rather than on norms, roles or stereotypes (these do qualify as gender knowledge but are not what we're interested here).

3.2 Gender norms/values

Gender norms/values is a category that is derived from the Hungarian working paper and which captures an analytical focus on how normative ascriptions and value-based representations such as in stereotypes and gender roles impact on particular issues and result in particular needs. The category also includes gender regimes, as well as analytical theorizations of patriarchal structures as structural and/or institutional incarnations of gender norms.

3.2.1 Gender regimes/order

Gender regimes are the structural and institutionalized phenomenon of gender norms and unequal relations. Articles with this focus center on how gender norms are entrenched in institutions and reproduce a gendered logic that recreates inequality and a specific unequal gender order.

3.2.1.1 Doing gender/gender binary

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Doing gender is a concept that describes how social processes reproduce gender as a binary of men and women/male and female/masculine and feminine.

Articles whose central focus is on how individuals/groups within gender orders (re)produce this binary by conforming to their assigned gender identity fall into that category.

3.2.1.2 Queer(ness)/non-conformity

This is the flipside of the gender binary, which captures nonconforming behavior within a gender order of male and female. This can include queer identities as well as gender trouble in the sense of breaking open and troubling the gender norms. Articles that focus on such behaviors rather than on the forces that oppress it fall into this category.

While both binary and non-conformity are likely to appear together, make sure ideally to only code either 3.2.1.1 or 3.2.1.2 depending on the focus of the article.

3.2.1.3 Male supremacy/patriarchy

Male supremacy is a "cultural, political, economic, and social system in which cisgender men disproportionately control status, power, and resources, and women, trans men, and nonbinary people are subordinated" (Carian, DiBranco, and Ebin, 2022, p. vii).

This means that male supremacy is a particular systemic manifestation of patriarchal gender orders. Articles that focus on this will focus on the systemic or radicalizing aspects of this system. This should be coded when the focus of the articles is specifically on the hierarchical ordering and the exclusionary dynamics of privilege and subordination. Such articles will most likely mention the concepts of male supremacy, patriarchy, privilege explicitly, or focus on their underbelly of misogyny and antifeminism that support these systems

3.2.1.4 Heteronormativity

Heteronormativity can be understood as an aspect of a binary gender order that interlinks gender with sexuality, resulting in a normative system of prescribed heterosexuality. Thus, this category will appear often in articles with a focus on intersectionality and sexuality themes.

3.2.2 Gender roles/stereotypes

This category captures those articles that are concerned with gender roles and stereotypes in society. This is different from gender orders in so far as they often focus on a particular stereotypes or particular fields/arenas in which they occur or change, rather than on the overall order they uphold.

Please try to assign an individual contribution either to gender order or gender stereotypes depending on which more aptly captures the article's focus.

3.2.2.1 Femininity

This captures articles that focus on particular expressions/constructions of femininity in society. Femininity is here considered as a normative concept that influences self-perception and behavior according to gender norms.

3.2.2.2 Masculinity

This captures articles that focus on particular expressions/constructions of masculinity in society. Masculinity is here considered as a normative concept that influences self-perception and behavior according to gender norms. This includes concepts such as hegemonic masculinity, violent/militarized masculinities, but also hybrid/new masculinities unless they are actively breaking with the gender order (and that is the main focus of the authors).

3.2.2.3 Motherhood

While motherhood can be understood as a particular expression of femininity, this code was created to capture how common the concern around gender norms in relation to motherhood are. This captures articles whose main concern are exploring the status quo, impacts, roots, or changes in expressions of motherhood.

3.2.2.4 Fatherhood

While fatherhood can be understood as a particular expression of masculinity, this code was created to capture how common the concern around gender norms in relation to fatherhood are – especially in contrast to motherhood. This captures articles whose main concern are exploring the status quo, impacts, roots, or changes in expressions of fatherhood.

3.3 Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a common theoretical perspective originally from Black Feminist Theory that focuses on multiple axes of discrimination and the roots and effects of their 'intersections'.
We code this when the article relates to intersectionality and/or focuses specifically on the intersection of gender discriminations and experiences with other hierarchies (such as race, age, etc.)

Often articles that assess privilege in some way through this lens as they are most likely occupied with how the intersection of privileges and discrimination creates different categories and experiences.

3.3.1 Religion

This category captures those articles that are occupied with the intersection between gender and religion as discriminatory categories. They assess how this intersection is treated by policies and politics and/or what the intersection means for individual's and groups' experiences.

3.3.2 Sexuality

This category captures those articles that are occupied with the intersection between gender and sexuality as discriminatory categories. They assess how this intersection is treated by policies and politics and/or what the intersection means for individual's and groups' experiences. When related to the particular gender/sexuality order as a prescriptive system this should (also) be coded in heteronormativity.

3.3.3 Age
This category captures those articles that are occupied with the intersection between gender and age as discriminatory categories. They assess how this intersection is treated by policies and politics and/or what the intersection means for individual's and groups' experiences.

3.3.4 Race/ethnicity

This category captures those articles that are occupied with the intersection between gender and race/ethnicity as discriminatory categories. They assess how this intersection is treated by policies and politics and/or what the intersection means for individual's and groups' experiences.

3.3.5 Class

This category captures those articles that are occupied with the intersection between gender and class as discriminatory categories. They assess how this intersection is treated by policies and politics and/or what the intersection means for individual's and groups' experiences.

3.3.6 Body/disability

This category captures those articles that are occupied with the intersection between gender and dis/ability as discriminatory categories. They assess how this intersection is treated by policies and politics and/or what the intersection means for individual's and groups' experiences.

3.4 Gender (in)equality

This category is derived from the data as well as the working papers that subsumed a variety of gender concepts under the overall header of gender inequality and/or gender equality. Concepts that fall into the category focus on describing and conceptualizing particular inequalities such as the gendered division of labor and gender-equal political representation as well as the feminization of poverty as a concept about how inequalities and crises tend to have gendered roots and/or impacts.

3.4.1 SGBV

sexual and gender-based violence. We use this as an umbrella term encompassing different types of violence based on gender, including the older category of violence against women, but also more specific types of violence such as structural or intimate partner violence. Contributions with a focus on SGBV often refer to either the theoretical or legal perspectives that cover this type of violence.

3.4.2 Gender-based rights/discrimination

This includes both legal discrimination as well as societal or political discrimination of human right based on gender.

3.4.3 Feminization of poverty

Feminization of poverty is a concept from Gender and Development literature that refers to increasing inequality and a gender gap in poverty between men and women. We use this category to describe those contributions that are explicitly concerned with how poverty and socio-economic inequality and crisis is structured along gendered lines. This also includes contributions that focus on the gendered impact of (economic) crisis.

3.4.4 Gendered division of labor

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Gendered division of labor is a term for the unequal distribution of labor based on gender differences. This refers to the distinction between public/private and the double or triple burden for women who have been found to do the majority of unpaid labor in the household and related to care responsibilities. We use this code to capture those contributions that are concerned with the gendered roots and impacts of inequality in regard to the distribution of tasks, labor and time.

3.4.5 Gender pay gap

The gender pay gap is a relatively well-known concept and phenomenon that captures the unequal payment structures whereby income and salaries is disproportionately influenced by gender. Contributions coded with this concept cover the roots and effects of unequal monetary compensation of work along gender lines.

3.4.6 Representation

This category captures the unequal representation along gender lines whereby cis-hetero men disproportionately occupy positions of power. Contributions in this category cover the roots and effects of this unequal representation from a perspective of how and to what effect they are unequal. While these are likely to overlap with codes of gender order, there should be a focus on the specific representational system rather than the overall order (patriarchy) that underlines it.

For this category we are concerned with how gender 'interests' understood on the continuum between structural (position) interests and gender strategies and practical interests arising from the particular (gendered) condition. This means the category is coded as an ordinal variable from 1 to 5.

Conceptually this distinction relies on Molyneux' gender strategies as follows:

"Gender interests are those that women (or men, for that matter) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes. Gender interests can be either strategic or practical, each being derived in a different way and each involving differing implications for women's subjectivity" (Molyneux 1985)[17].

"Condition is related to practical needs, because it refers to the material state in which women find themselves, while position is related to strategic interests, since it attends to their social and economic situation in relation to men" (Young 1988).

Analytically this assessment is based on the data derived from the answers given to the survey questions about the problem, consequence, solution as well as a reading of the translated abstract for each document in question.

4.1 Condition/practical (1)

The interests should be coded as condition/practical if the focus is on a particular situation and experience of the identified reference group. "Practical interests are usually a response to an immediate perceived need, and they do not generally entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality" (Molyneux).

Condition is related to practical needs because it refers to the material state in which women find themselves (Young)

We code this category when the authors of the text do not start from the assumption of a broader overarching (feminist) goal such as gender equality but rather take as their starting point of inquiry a particular experience which illustrates/exposes particular interests (e.g., the financial crisis shows how women are confronting very specific problems).

4.2 2 Condition/hybrid (2)

Denotes hybrid needs that are closer to condition/practical but include a strategic aspect.

4.3 3 Hybrid needs (3)

This category captures those articles where we were not able to identify a clear category of either position or condition but rather felt like both might apply. This is particularly the case for contributions that focus on very specific conditions to derive their gendered interests but also draw broader implications either in terms of their roots or their effects and explicitly focus on the feminist strategic goals attached to them.

4.4 4 Position-hybrid (4)

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[17] Maxine Molyneux, 'Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua', *Feminist Studies* 11, no. 2 (1985): 227–54, https://doi.org/10.2307/3177922

Denotes hybrid interests that are closer to position/strategic but include a conditional aspect (such as e.g., a particular crisis/situation that brings the needs to bear)

4.5 5 Position/strategic (5)

The need can be coded as position/strategic if the issue is considered as rooted in/emerging from the broader gender-based position in society (in gender-based hierarchies/patriarchal structures).

Strategic interests are derived in the first instance deductively, that is, from the analysis of women's subordination and from the formulation of an alternative, more satisfactory set of arrangements to those which exist. These ethical and theoretical criteria assist in the formulation of strategic objectives to overcome women's subordination, such as the abolition of the sexual division of labor, the alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare, the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination, the attainment of political equality, the establishment of freedom of choice over childbearing, and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women" (Molyneux)

...position is related to strategic interests, since it attends to their social and economic situation in relation to men (Young)

The category is coded when we can identify that the authors of the text assume a broader value as generally applicable (i.e., gender equality) and that this value served as the initial impetus for the text (e.g., because gender equality is a global goal/strategic goal we look at a specific policy to see if it actually helps with achieving this broader goal or not!)

4.6 'Twisted interests' (99)

Twisted interests are an additional category which was created to capture those interests that are explicitly framed by the authors as enacting twisted alternatives to the feminist goals. They are thus starting from the opposite of a feminist (strategic) goal and are using gender as a vehicle to get there (manipulating gender for the purpose of other goals).

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5 gender approach

This category was coded as part of the EU-Survey. However, research participants from the country teams have communicated that they had a hard time defining this by themselves because of a lack of understanding of gender literature for those who come from different backgrounds. We are therefore recoding the gender approach if it was coded as 'uncertain' in order to increase the availability of data on this category.

5.1 Uncertain

5.2 Essentialist

We follow the definition from the survey, which is based on theoretical and conceptual literature about gender:

essentialist (gender and sex are the same and are inseparable as analytical categories, often they are also binary)

5.3 Constructivist

We follow the definition from the survey, which is based on theoretical and conceptual literature about gender:

constructivist (biological sex exists is mediated through social construction of femininity and masculinity, meaning that the focus of the analysis often is on 'gender roles'

5.4 Poststructuralist/relational

We follow the definition from the survey, which is based on theoretical and conceptual literature about gender:

poststructuralist/relational (sex and gender are constituted in discourse; analytical focus is often on discourse, either does not exist or is impossible to analyze outside of discourse)

This category is supposed to capture WHERE gender-based needs are located in terms of concrete areas of life. Since this is particularly relevant to inform policy makers about the areas where needs are identified, we use policy-relevant categorizations that mirror common political practices of assigning policy issues into particular sectors.

The categories identified below are therefore based on clustering process that combined inductively emerging categories from working papers and codes assigned during the EU-Survey process with policy sectors as defined by EIGE (https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/policy-areas) to make this more relevant and applicably to existing EU structures.

6.1 Economy

We define the category economy as comprised of a variety of economic sub-areas, including the sectors of finance, agriculture and the labor market. Issues falling under these broad areas as covering the interaction of individuals with the market are to be coded here.

6.1.1 Economic crisis

This category captures contributions concerned with needs emerging in the context of economic crises and cover their gendered roots, development and impacts.

6.1.2 Finance

This category captures contributions concerned with needs emerging in the context of the financial sector.

6.1.3 Agriculture

The category captures those contributions that are concerned with needs arising in the context of agriculture.

6.1.4 Labor market

The category captures those contributions that are concerned with needs arising in the context of the labor market. The labor market here refers to the system that regulates and structures the relationships between employers and employees including salaries, working conditions, as well as access and availability of employment more broadly.

6.1.4.1 Care work

This category captures those contributions that are concerned with needs arising in the context of care work. As care work emerged during the coding process as a particularly relevant category, it is separated into a variety of sub-codes. Care work in the labor market category is to be coded as separate from care work under family and captures those contributions which focus on paid and professional care and domestic work as conducted by someone from outside the family.

6.1.4.1.1 Nursing

Captures those contributions explicitly referring to nursing as sub-category of paid care work.

6.1.4.1.2 Housework

Captures those contributions explicitly referring to housework/domestic work as paid care work.

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6.1.4.1.3 Childcare

Captures those contributions explicitly referring to professional/paid childcare.

6.1.4.1.4 Elder care

Captures those contributions explicitly referring to professional/paid elder care (both in-home and in other institutions)

6.1.4.2 Sex work/pornography

Sex work emerged as a gendered category of work in the labor market. This category captures those contributions that are concerned with needs arising in the context of sex work as well as those concerned with pornography.

6.1.4.3 Salaries/pay gap

Different from the categories of sex and care work, this category is not concerned with a particular sector within the labor market but rather categorizes the type of issue that is discussed. Salaries/pay gap here refers to contributions that focus on the organization and allocation of payment in employment/labor market.

6.1.4.4 Work/life balance

Different from the categories of sex and care work, this category is not concerned with a particular sector within the labor market but rather categorizes the type of issue that is discussed. Work/life here refers to contributions that focus on the organization and allocation of time in employment/labor market between work hours and out-of-work tasks. This overlaps with the category of work-life balance in family. It should be coded if the article's focus is on the impacts/roots of this allocation in regard to the labor market (e.g., in regard to unequal representation, shifts, salaries) rather than issues such as personal stress/mental health or family distribution of labor.

6.1.4.5 Access/leadership

Different from the categories of sex and care work, this category is not concerned with a particular sector within the labor market but rather categorizes the type of issue that is discussed. Access/leadership here refers to contributions that focus on the organization and allocation of positions in employment/labor market. This refers to both access to particular areas of work in general as well as to higher-level positions within these areas.

6.1.5 Digitalization

This category captures those contributions that are concerned with needs arising in the context of digitalization.

6.2 Transnational politics

This category refers to those areas of concern that are often considered under a foreign policy authority and include some level of cross-country relevance/perspective.

6.2.1 Migration

This captures contributions where migration is treated as a cross-border issue of movements of people. This includes for example migration regulations with other countries but also trafficking or migration routes.

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6.2.2 Security

This captures contributions with a focus on security politics. This includes both (inter-) national and human security concepts, thereby applying a widened security framework as relating to the analysis of conflicts and peace on the transnational level, including peacekeeping missions/international interventions and cross-border security frameworks such as by the EU (Frontex).

6.2.3 Gender mainstreaming/CEDAW

The category captures those contributions that are concerned with gender mainstreaming policies as a transnational policy approach advanced by International Organizations. It is used when articles are explicitly concerned with the transnational aspects of gender policies or use gender mainstreaming as a lens to see how the concept is translated into the national context.

Importantly, this also includes policies and guidelines falling under the category of SGBV if they are on the transnational level. This includes e.g., CEDAW related/inspired policies or approaches when they are being transferred to the national level (if they explicitly mention the relevance of CEDAW or the Istanbul convention or EU/UN gender mainstreaming)

6.3 Human/civil rights

This category is concerned with those contributions that cover human and civil rights. While the contributions within do not necessarily follow a legal perspective, the articles in this category cover all areas of life that relate to the rights of free expression, movement, opinion and bodily integrity.

6.3.1 Gender

While all our contributions are by design concerned with gender issues in one way or another, this category captures those in which explicitly gender policies are advocated for and/or implemented as 'gender policies'.

6.3.2 Sexuality

This category captures those contributions concerned with issues of sexuality – including as a legal right, as well as how it is treated by policy and experienced by individuals.

6.3.3 Citizenship/immigration/asylum

This category captures those contributions that treat issues of migration policy through a focus on citizenship or integration. This is then about the individual or group's rights and discrimination in the country they immigrated into, rather than about migratory routes and cross-border politics which are captured under transnational politics - migration.

6.3.4 Social representation/activism

This category captures those contributions concerned with activism. This does not necessarily have to be from a legal perspective on the freedom of assembly or freedom of speech but can cover articles that focus on particular movements and their politics or activism in regard to gender more broadly.

6.3.5 Political representation/participation

This category captures those contributions concerned with political representation as well as participation. This covers e.g. articles that focus on parliamentary or institutional parity and their roots/impacts as well as those concerned with voting.

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6.3.6 Security/violence

This category captures those contributions concerned with violence and security as an issue area where needs occur. This covers e.g., articles that focus on domestic violence or sexual harassment as an issue of human rights.

6.4 Health

This category concerns those aspects/contributions that cover aspects of health policy.

6.4.1 Mental health

This category captures articles covering mental health issues and policy.

6.4.2 Obstetrics

This category captures articles covering obstetrics and related policy.

6.4.3 Reproductive healthcare

This category captures articles covering reproductive healthcare and related policy.

6.5 Education/arts

This category refers to those areas that are often considered under an education policy perspective.

6.5.1 Research/science

As part of education policy, this category covers research/science aspects covered in the articles. This includes research in all areas including medicine (if focused more on research advances rather than applications in health policy), natural, social sciences and humanities if they outline the state of research and the implications for policy-making.

6.5.1.1 Gender studies

This sub-code captures explicitly those contributions that focus on the state of the art of research in gender studies.

6.5.2 Art/sport

While not strictly education-focused necessarily, this code captures those contributions concerned with arts and sports.

6.5.3 School (primary/middle education)

This category captures those contributions concerned with school education as a particular sub-area of education.

6.5.4 Higher education

This category captures those contributions concerned with higher education as a particular sub-area of education. This does not refer to contributions that focus on the research side of academia but rather on the teaching and administrative aspects of higher education institutions and policies.

6.5.5 Civic education/media

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This category captures those contributions concerned with civic education thus addressing a broad societal target group. It also includes those focused on media and advertising as areas influencing public opinion and public discourse.

6.6 Family

This category refers to those areas that are often considered under a family policy perspective.

6.6.1 Work/life balance

This category refers to those contributions that focus on how family duties have to be balanced with duties in the labor market. It mirrors the category work/life balance in the labor market. It should be coded if the article's focus is on issues such as personal stress/mental health or family distribution of labor rather than on the impacts for the labor market (e.g., in regard to unequal representation, shifts, salaries).

6.6.2 Care work

This category captures those contributions that are concerned with needs arising in the context of care work in the home and as part of family work. Care work in the family is to be coded as separate from care work in the labor market and captures those contributions which focus on unpaid and in-family 'private' care and domestic work.

6.6.2.1 Household/housework

Captures those contributions explicitly referring to housework/domestic work as part of the 'private' and unpaid work in the family.

6.6.2.2 Childcare

Captures those contributions explicitly referring to childcare as part of the 'private' and unpaid work in the family.

6.6.2.3 Elder care

Captures those contributions explicitly referring to elder care as part of the 'private' and unpaid work in the family.

6.6.3 Marriage

This category captures those contributions concerned with marriage in the form of both legal regulations in policy and administration as well as informal arrangements of married couples.

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Annex 4: Results with absolute frequencies overall and by country

Overall sample (frequency) N= 383	Feminism	Inequality	Gender norms	Intersectionality
Economy	9	91	56	25
Education	30	36	63	26
Family	3	56	65	33
Health	2	19	22	11
Human and civil rights	28	98	99	60
Transnational politics	6	25	25	18

Denmark (frequency)	Feminism	Inequality	Gender norms	Intersectionality
Economy	0	11	5	3
Education	3	7	8	4
Family	0	4	7	5
Health	0	4	0	1
Human and civil rights	5	31	16	13
Transnational politics	2	3	4	3

Germany (frequency)	Feminism	Inequality	Gender norms	Intersectionality
Economy	1	8	7	2
Education	0	2	7	0
Family	0	3	5	3
Health	0	1	1	1
Human and civil rights	1	6	13	4
Transnational politics	0	0	1	1

Hungary (frequency)	Feminism	Inequality	Gender norms	Intersectionality
Economy	1	18	11	7
Education	5	5	6	2
Family	0	14	14	4
Health	0	4	2	2
Human and civil rights	3	14	11	3
Transnational politics	1	6	3	1

Spain (frequency)	Feminism	Inequality	Gender norms	Intersectionality

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	Feminism	Inequality	Gender norms	Intersectionality
Economy	4	26	16	4
Education	9	11	17	6
Family	3	13	12	4
Health	1	3	5	0
Human and civil rights	7	14	17	8
Transnational politics	0	3	4	1

Switzerland (frequency)				
	Feminism	Inequality	Gender norms	Intersectionality
Economy	1	12	9	6
Education	6	8	14	8
Family	0	11	14	11
Health	1	3	8	5
Human and civil rights	5	23	22	19
Transnational politics	1	6	9	7

The UK (frequency)				
	Feminism	Inequality	Gender norms	Intersectionality
Economy	2	16	8	3
Education	7	3	11	6
Family	0	11	12	6
Health	0	4	6	2
Human and civil rights	7	10	20	13
Transnational politics	2	7	4	5

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RUC Roskilde University

ecsa European Citizen Science Association

MANCHESTER 1824
The University of Manchester

Deusto
Universidad de Deusto
University of Deusto

u^b UNIVERSITÄT BERN

PABLO de OLAVIDE

ViT Visualization for Transparency Foundation

UNIVERSITÄT DES SAARLANDES

Fachrichtung
Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche
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