Gender Quotas for European Parliament Elections

A study on factors influencing attitudes towards political gender quotas

by

Sterre Raterman

s.i.raterman@students.uu.nl

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Universiteit Utrecht

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1. Introduction

"Women make up more than half of the world population. Their participation and their contribution to the political process are both significant and necessary, not to say a fundamental right"

(European Parliament, 2017).

Over the past decades, women have made considerable progress in reaching equality with men. However, when looking at positions of leadership all over the world, women remain to be underrepresented. Whether we look at corporate boardrooms, country leaders, governments or parliaments, the majority of people in these positions of leadership are men. One third of global businesses did not have any women in senior management roles in 2017, a number which has remained consistent since 2011. There are 15 female world leaders currently in office and while this number of female leaders has doubled since around 2000, this still only represents fewer than 10% of 193 UN member states (Geiger & Kent, 2017). Women are also underrepresented in the vast majority of political decision-making bodies worldwide (Bauer and Tremblay 2011; Escobar-Lemmon & Taylor-Robinson 2005). Especially in the field of political representation, in order to achieve a representation that is as democratic and effective as possible, an equal representation of men and women should be the aim (Phillips, 1998).

The EU has embraced an agenda of gender-balanced representation of women in political decision-making already for quite some years. Initial steps to advance equality between women and men were taken in the EU in an all-male environment in the 1950s, but only with the formulation of the Equal Treatment Directive 1976, the first feminist actors were included in working groups (Hoskyns, 1996, p.26). Since then the EU outlook on the participation of women in political decision-making has changed dramatically (Kantola, 2009, p. 383). The European Parliament has also taken an outspoken stance in the matter, asserting that women's inclusion in decision-making strengthens democracy by taking account of the interests of the whole of society, and promotes its proper functioning and results in more efficient use of human resources (European Parliament, 2000, p.16; Kantola, 2009, p.383)

Notwithstanding the fact that the outspoken importance of gender equality has been underlined since 1976, still in 2017, 52 percent of all Europeans think gender equality has not been achieved in leadership positions (Eurobarometer, 2017). The current numbers of men

and women in political leadership positions in the EU, specifically the numbers of male and female Members of European Parliament (MEP), confirm the assessments of European citizens. In the current legislator there are 62.6% male MEP's compared to 37,4% female MEPs (European Parliament, 2017, p.5). These numbers show that more than sixty years after the Treaty of Rome, which established equality between women and men as one of the founding principles of the EU in 1957, there remains a persistent under-representation of women in political assemblies across Europe and in the European Parliament itself (Brodolini, Freidenvall, Stahre & Sansonetti, 2014, 14). This discrepancy in political leadership and tools to possibly tackle it will be the focus of this research. Because contrary to popular belief that filling the pipeline will eventually also produce parity up the ranks, at this rate if nothing happens, parity may not be reached until 2060 (Carter & Silva, 2010; Catalyst, 2017; Ely, Ibarra & Kolb, 2011, p.456).

1.2 Beyond descriptive representation

Women are underrepresented when it comes to their numbers in the European Parliament and many other parliaments and institutions in Europe and the world. This numerical underrepresentation of women is referred to as descriptive representation (Fransceschet, Krook & Piscopo, 2012, p.4). However, the discrepancy in parity in leadership positions, meaning the difference in numbers between male and female politicians, is not the only thing that is challenging women that are (aspiring to become) political leaders. Female leaders also face the issue of being treated differently from their male counterparts, caused by gender bias and stereotypes (Eagly & Carli, 2003, p.818). This is referred to as the symbolic representation of women in politics and leadership (Fransceschet et al., 2012, p.4). Women are for instance projected differently in the media, but also treated differently by their peers and given different tasks than men (Koch & Fulton, 2011; Wright & Holland, 2014). To understand the rationale behind this, a broader understanding of what gender means is required.

The concept of gender and the division into men and women can be seen as the institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly different categories - women and men - and organizing social relations of inequality on the basis of that difference (Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). It is shaped both by individuals belonging to one gender or the other, and by institutionalized organizational

practices in interaction. These institutionalized and widely shared, hegemonic cultural beliefs about gender and their effects in social relations are among the core components that maintain the gender system. Social relations contexts entail any situation in which individuals define themselves in relation to others in order to act. Gender is surrounded by a multilevel system of differences and inequality involving cultural beliefs and distribution of resources at the macro level, patterns of behaviour and organizational practices at the interactional level, and selves and identities at the individual level (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004, p.511). These processes lead to attitudes and beliefs about the different gender categories and gender roles.

At their core, gender beliefs are cultural beliefs that define the distinguishing characteristics of men and women and how they are expected to behave. Inequality relevant behaviours of individual men and women are socially constructed and constrained, although not fully determined, by gender beliefs (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004, p. 524). As gender beliefs write gender hierarchy into the interpersonal relations through which people create new social forms, the people in effect rewrite gender hierarchy into new social practices. In this way, gender beliefs and social relational contexts conserve gender hierarchy in the structure of society and cultural beliefs themselves despite ongoing economic and technological change (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004, p.523).

Gender thus influences social settings according to gender beliefs. Contemporary beliefs or stereotypes describe women as more communal and men as more agentic and instrumental (Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000). These differences as such do not necessarily indicate anything about leadership abilities. However, there is also a more hierarchical dimension of stereotypes, leading to status inequality. Men are viewed as more status worthy and competent overall, and specifically more competent at tasks that require instrumental rationality. Women are seen as less competent in general but 'nicer' and better at communal tasks which in themselves are valued less (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004, p. 513). These stereotypes result in prejudices against female leaders. Prejudice consists of unfair evaluation of a group of people based on stereotypical judgements of the group rather than the behaviour or qualifications of its individual members (Eagly & Carli, 2003, p.818). Prejudices potentially start to exist when social perceivers hold a stereotype about a social group that is incongruent with the attributes that are thought to be required for success in certain classes of social roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002, p.574). Prejudice toward female leaders may take two

forms. First of all, a less favourable evaluation of women's potential for leadership because leadership ability is more stereotypical of men than women and secondly, less favourable evaluation of the actual leadership behaviour of women than men because such behaviour is perceived as less desirable in women than men (Eagly & Karau, 2002, p.576). In the case of female leaders, incongruity between expectations about women and expectations about leaders thus underlies these prejudices. Prejudices lead to a disadvantage, discrimination and a bias against women as leaders (Eagly & Carli, 2003, p.818). Gender stereotypes may thus lead to prejudices and gender bias, which in turn influences how female leaders are viewed.

1.3 Gender quotas as a policy solution

From the analysis above, two problems can be distinguished. First of all, there is a factual underrepresentation of women in the actual numbers of representation, referred to in the literature as descriptive representation of women. Then there are assumptions and attitudes toward female leadership that result in gender bias and stereotypes that influence how female leaders are viewed. This results in various problems in symbolic representation of women.

These two problems are intertwined and therefore also have to be resolved together, creating the need to continue improving ways and strategies to promote gender equality. Not only to increase the actual numbers of women in politics, but also to try to change the persisting stereotypes and bias that surround female leadership. When reviewing the existing literature about gender equality in politics and instruments to realize inclusionary political institutions, one quickly arrives at a specific policy instrument that aims to tackle both of these issues; political gender quotas. The literature on quota use has demonstrated that these quotas are successful in increasing the number of women that are elected (O'Brien and Rickne 2016; Tripp and Kang 2008). Furthermore, quota have the power to change the way the public sees female politicians and improve trust and voter turnout amongst women (Burnet, 2012; Beaman, Chattopadhyay, Duflo, Pande & Topalova 2009; Clayton, 2015; Allen & Cutts, 2018).

However, the fact that people tend to display negative attitudes towards the use of gender quotas often prevents these positive effects from materializing. Quota policies, be it in political or business sectors, also lead to a vast amount of critical judgements mostly aimed at the fact that quota systems are by definition non-meritocratic (Murray, 2014, p.530). The problem with the use of gender quotas thus lies in the critical assessment of these kinds of

policies in the eyes of both the public and policy makers. As a result of this, the willingness to install a gender quota is limited by the fact that this type of policy is seen as giving preferential treatment to the minority group at the expense of majority members (Clayton, 2015, p. 335). Combining that with the fact that female political leaders already face a disadvantage because of gender stereotypes and bias, quotas as a policy measure can lead to negative reactions. However, women in the European Union are by no means a minority, nether in numbers nor in quality. For instance, European women outnumber men when it comes to higher educational levels than men (Murray, 2014, p.526).

Quotas are always about the underrepresentation of women, and never consider the overrepresentation of men. That raises the question whether the framing of quota as a way to help an underrepresented group is part of the problem. Perhaps quota have become so popular and at the same time so controversial because they set up an easily identifiable target by requiring a certain number of candidates of each sex or a certain number of women being elected (Dahlerup, 2012). Therefore, research into the attitudes toward the use of quota is highly relevant as it may help explain which factors influence such attitudes and how to change them in order for quota policies to reach their full potential.

1.4 Research question

Attitudes toward gender quotas are at the core of this study, which will be measured by an online experimental survey to test the relationship of three variables on the attitudes toward gender quotas. First of all, the influence of the importance put in to gender equality as a topic. Secondly, the relation between gender bias as described above and the attitudes of people towards a gender quota. Finally, the relation between the way gender quotas are framed and the attitudes people show towards them. This leads to the following research question;

"How does the perceived importance of gender equality, gender bias and the framing of a gender quota affect attitudes towards a proposed quota policy for European Parliament elections among Dutch respondents?"

To be able to answer this question, four sub questions have been formulated. First of all; *how does importance towards gender equality relate to attitudes towards gender quotas?* Secondly; *what is the impact of gender bias on the attitudes toward gender quotas?* Thirdly;

what is the effect of framing on attitudes toward gender quotas? The final sub question is; *what is the role for the fact that the quota policy is proposed on the EU level?*

In the case of the European Parliament, the member states of the EU are in charge of whether or not they want to use gender quota in the EP elections. This means that each country uses a different system in the EP elections. The case of the Netherlands was chosen to focus this experimental research on, because the Netherlands does not know a culture of quota use and Dutch citizens tend to show negative attitudes towards quotas. The data of as special Eurobarometer conducted in 2011 demonstrates that out of all EU nationalities, Dutch nationals have the least confidence in quota as an effective measure to increase gender balance (Special Eurobarometer 2011). This makes for a group of respondents that are expected to show interesting attitudes.

1.5 Academic relevance

There is a growing number of literature on gender quotas. This literature finds evidence for the fact that gender quotas can indeed change both symbolic and descriptive representation of women in political office (Fransceschet et al., 2012; Krook, 2010; Allen & Cutts, 2018). It also suggests that for quota policies to work optimally, attitudes of people towards the quota policy should be accepting (Clayton, 2015, p.334). However, there is a gap in the literature as to how different aspects could relate and influence these attitudes towards the use of quota policies. Therefore, this research aims at filling, at least a part, of this gap.

Analysing the factors which influence attitudes towards quota policies is a complex task, because of the difficulty of separating the effects of women's presence from the effects of quota (Franceschet et al., 2012, p.18). Prior research into attitudes towards quotas is typified by this overarching methodological challenge; detecting effects that can be attributed to the presence of women generally versus the adoption of a quota specifically. This problem of observational equivalence mostly presents itself when existing 'real life' situations and country comparisons are undertaken. Especially studying the impact of quotas on symbolic representation is complicated, as these effects are often the least tangible. Therefore, the current research takes the form of an experimental approach, allowing more control for the various variables (James, Jilke & van Ryzin, 2017, p.5). An online experimental survey was designed to test the influence of framing, perceived importance of gender equality and explicit

bias on attitudes toward gender quota. Researching the attitudes toward quota use in an experimental setting will also allow for a more control of the direction of the relationships between the variables tested. In previous research it is not always sure whether certain attitudes derive from the quota policy itself, or the fact that it has already attracted more female leaders, leading to changed attitudes. In other words, the direction of the relation is not always clear. This study aims to clarify this methodological challenge. In doing so, the research contributes to the developing field of research that uses experiments in European studies and political science. While the use of experiments in political science has increased, it is still not a common practice. Especially in the field of women's representation the examples of experimental designs are not used very often (Verge, Espirito-Santo & Wiesehomeier, 2015, p.4).

Considering the EU and gender equality there have been vast amounts of research on what is called the EU's approach to gender mainstreaming, meaning obtaining a gender neutral approach in all policies. However, less research has been conducted on policy measures that could change something about the actual underrepresentation of elected women both in the European Parliament and national parliaments. As gender quotas concern an often used and effective tool to create more equality, specifically this research into the attitudes toward gender quota is of specific relevance as it may provide insights for the EU and even separate member states to increase their knowledge about what works – and what does not - when implementing gender quotas. By choosing to focus on the possibilities of quota use, this study can provide new insights and tools for policy advise.

1.6 Societal relevance

At the core of this research lies the assumption and ideal that a gender equal society, and therefore also gender equality in political leadership, should be the norm. More specifically, gender equality in political representations leads to better decision-making and democracy (Phillips, 1998; Dovi, 2007). More female representation on the higher political levels can inspire 'ordinary' women to get more politically involved because it shows greater inclusiveness, providing opportunities to resolve gender issues not only on the highest level, but for society as a whole (Franceschet et al., 2012, p.12).

This is derived from multiple arguments to support women's political representation. First of all, women politicians act as role models for aspiring women candidates. Secondly

numerically equal representation of women and men in parliaments is a sign of justice. Thirdly, women can represent women's interests. Fourthly, women's political representation revitalises democracy (Phillips, 1998). Furthermore, women's political representation is necessary for women to put their confidence in political institutions and finally there is a legitimacy argument saying that the presence of women representatives increases the legitimacy of democratic institutions (Dovi 2007; Kantola, 2009, p.380). Women's presence in parliaments can be justified because it is normatively desirable that parliaments reflect the social composition of the society and include representatives of both sexes and from ethnic, racial, linguistic and religious minorities. In addition, women's political representation brings benefits by improving the deliberative process, reducing distrust and increasing democratic legitimacy (Mansbridge, 1999, p.654).

Therefore, society benefits from more equal political representation. As quotas are one of the most used tools to achieve more equal political representation, research into attitudes towards quotas may eventually contribute to the creation of a more gender equal society. Citizen support for quota policies has implications for the legitimacy of democratic regimes. If quota adoption is met with low approval, increases in women's numeric representation in parliament may ultimately come at the cost of political legitimacy (Meier 2008, p.249)

1.7 Readers' guide

This thesis poses the question of the influence of framing, gender bias and perceived importance of gender equality on the attitudes toward the use of gender quota in EP elections. Furthermore, it assesses the possibilities of regulating such a quota on the EU level as seen by Dutch citizens. In this way the study adds to the field of European studies but also fits, through the emphasis on the attitudes of citizens on a proposed policy, in the field of research focussing on political psychology.

In the first chapter a broad introduction to the problem and policy measure aiming to solve the problem has been given. In the second chapter gender quotas as a policy measure around the world and in the European Union specifically will be discussed. In the theoretical chapter, a more in-depth theoretical framework surrounding the attitudes towards quota policies and factors influencing them will be the focus. After an overview of the different aspects of political gender quotas as a policy, a model displaying relations between all

variables in this study will be proposed. Then the theoretical basis of the relations in the model are discussed in depth.

The main theories on which this research is built concern the ideas that quota policies are extremely effective in increasing the descriptive representation of women and changing the symbolic representation of women. However, these goals may not be achieved because attitudes towards quota policies tend to be negative. Three different strands of theory that include predictions about these attitudes and factors that influence them are used to do predictions about various factors influencing attitudes towards quota use. The first theoretical angle is about whether or not perceived importance of gender equality may influence attitudes. The second theoretical angle focusses on the irrevocable role of gender bias in the attitudes towards gender quotas and is tested by various questions in a survey.

The third theoretical angle concerns the importance of policy framing and leads to an experiment including different frames of gender quotas. More specifically, an examination of whether exposure to different framings of quota use has effect on citizen's attitudes toward female political leadership is conducted. Using a framing experiment to test this will also allow for testing about whether explaining the use and justifying quota for instance help in how people think about them. A survey experiment does not involve an intervention implemented outside of the questionnaire, such as a policy change in a community (James, Jilke & van Ryzin, 2017, p.120). Therefore, only the effect of certain wording on attitudes will be measured.

From these theoretical insights, four central hypotheses were formed. Through an online experimental survey where data of Dutch responded was collected, all four hypotheses were tested. In the method section of this thesis the specifics of the data collection and hypothesis testing is further explained. Eventually, the research comes to findings that provide answers to the sub questions and finally the main research question. After answering the questions there will be in-depth attention to the implications of this findings, possible policy recommendations and directions for future research.

2. Background on the use of political gender quotas

In this chapter political quota use will be explained, complemented by an overview of how they made their way in to being a much used policy instrument all over the world and in Europe. This will set the basis for going deeper into the possible effects of quota use and the role of attitudes of citizens toward quota policies in the third chapter.

2.1 Gender quotas as policy instrument

During the last decade, electoral gender quotas have been introduced in an increasing number of countries in order to achieve gender balance in elected decision-making bodies, for example in parliaments, governments, and local councils (Dahlerup, 2006; Krook, 2010 & Squires, 2007). Quotas in politics are a form of affirmative measures that establish a fixed percent or number for the nomination or representation of a specific group, most often in the form of a minimum percentage, which may be 20, 30, 40 or even 50 (Dahlerup, 2006, p.19). Electoral gender quotas hence, refer to the adoption of a fixed percentage or number for the nomination or representation of women in elected bodies (Brodolini et al., 2014, p. 19).

Different forms of gender quotas in politics exist. The three most used types are; reserved seats, party quotas and legislated quotas. The system of reserved seats uses either separate electoral rolls for women, designated districts for female candidates or distributes seats for women based on each party's proportion of the votes. Reserved seat measures are the only variety that mandate a minimum number of female legislators, rather than simply a percentage of women among political candidates (Krook, 2006, p.304). At the moment 23 countries in the world use a system of reserved seats political gender quotas on average the percentage for female representation in these systems is 22,1% (Gender Quotas Database, 2018). The system of reserved seat quotas is not used in EU member states.

Party quotas are the most common type of gender quotas. Party quotas are measures that are adopted voluntarily by individual parties that commit the party to aim for a certain proportion of women among its candidates to political office. Party quotas were first used by socialist and social democratic parties in Western Europe, from the 1970 onwards, but have evolved to other political ideologies and areas in the world. Party quotas have the power to alter party practices by setting out new criteria for candidate selection that requires elites to recognize existing biases and consider alternative spheres of political recruitment (Krook,

2006, p.304). Party quotas are used by at least one party in 54 countries, among which there are 13 EU member states (Gender Quotas Database, 2018; Brodolini et al., 2014).

The last variation of legislated quotas is the newest kind of quota policy. Legislated quotas were introduced around the 1990s when issues of women's representation reached the agenda of many international organizations and transnational non-governmental organizations. Legislative quotas address the party selection processes and are passed by national parliaments to require that all parties nominate a certain proportion of female candidates. This means they are mandatory provisions that apply to all political groupings (Krook, 2006, p.304). Legislated quotas are used all over the world and eight countries within the EU legislative quotas are used for either national or EP elections or both (Brodolini et al., 2014, p.)

Around the world, these different forms of quotas have become part of the electoral landscape. From 2006, more than 84 countries used one or more types of gender quotas to improve the selection of female candidates running for office (Tripp & Kang, 2008, p.339). Political transformations around the world have led to the widespread implementation of different kinds of quota in political life. Legislated gender quotas have been introduced in more than 60 countries in the world for national elections. This all mainly happened in the last 20 years after the UN Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Electoral gender quotas, therefore, represent one of the most innovative changes in national electoral legislation in recent times (Brodolini et al., 2014, p. 19).

Gender quota are an interesting policy invention, not in the least because of their swift implementation all over the world. In the last fifteen to twenty years, over one hundred countries have adopted some sort of quota system in their system of elections (Fransceschet et al., 2012, p.3). The adoption of quota as a policy measure can be attributed to different reasons. First of all, women have mobilized for quotas, usually when women's groups came to realize that quotas are an effective means for increasing women's political representation. These could for instance include women's organizations inside political parties, women's movements in civil society, women's groups in other countries, but also individual women close to powerful men. Secondly, political elites may adopt quotas for strategic reasons, for instance to compete with other parties. Case studies suggest that party elites often adopt quotas when rivalling parties have adopted them. (Caul, 2001; Meier, 2004). Thirdly, quotas

are adopted there are existing or emerging notions of equality and representation. Indicators exist that prove gender quotas are compatible in distinct ways with a number of normative frameworks. For instance; some scholars view quota adoption as consistent with ideas about equality and fair access. Others interpret quotas as a method to recognize difference and the need for proportional representation. In this view, quotas for women can be seen as a logical extension of guarantees given to other groups based on linguistic, religious, racial, and other cleavages (Meier, 2001). A fourth and last explanation of the use of quotas as instrument is the fact that they are supported by international norms and spread through transnational sharing. International organizations such as the UN, the Council of Europe and the European Union have issued declarations recommending that all member states aim for 30 percent women in all political bodies (Fransceschet et al., 2012, p.5).

2.2 Quota in European Parliament elections

The EU has committed to promote gender equality in decision-making and to raise awareness of the gender gap. However, there remains to be a persistent underrepresentation of women in political assemblies across Europe and in the European Parliament. In order to address women's underrepresentation in political assemblies and achieve gender balance, some member states have adopted quotas for their own national elections and EP elections (Brodolini et al., 2014, p.10).

Even though the European Parliament expresses importance for gender equality and measures to achieve it in various ways, specific tools or measures such as gender quotas have not been applied for all countries in European Parliament elections. This can be explained partly by the fact that European Parliament elections take place in every member state separately. This means a set number of MEPs is chosen in each country, nationals from one country do not have the possibility to vote for candidates from other countries. In this way most procedural aspects of the election procedure are also decided per member state.

However, there are some rules on the EU level. A 2002 Council Decision for instance states that all countries should use the system of proportional representation in the EP elections. Proportional representational systems tend to be more beneficial for women's political representation than plurality/majority systems or mixed systems (Decision 2002/722). The reason for this decision is that proportional systems tend to allow parties to nominate a list of candidates rather than an individual candidate, as is the case in

majority/plurality systems (Brodolini et al., p.18). Depending on the electoral system in use, quotas have different designs and are used in different steps of the selection process (Larserud & Taphorn, 2007). Generally, it is easier to construct a quota system that is compatible with a PR electoral system, since it is possible to introduce a greater number of candidates on party lists and since parties consciously try to balance their lists in order to win seats (Matland, 2005).

As opposed to the electoral system, there is no formal requirement for the use of gender quotas in EP elections. For the last elections in 2014, 7 of the 28 member states that used legislated quotas for the EP elections. These countries are Belgium, France, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia and Spain. In all countries where legislated quotas were used, the quotas are also implemented on party lists. The level of the adopted legislated quotas varies from 33 percent in Greece and Portugal to 50 percent in Belgium and France. It should be noted quota use does not necessarily translate into an increase in the proportion of elected women. For instance, although Poland has adopted a 35 percent national gender quota, only 20 percent of the top candidates in the party lists are women (Brodolini et al., 2014, p.19). If women candidates are not among the top candidates, they have few chances of being elected.

This illustrates the fact, placement rules or rank-ordering rules are sometimes also a part of a quota policy. This stems from the experience that only a quota could still result in placement of women on places on the list that will not lead to election. In the Spanish system for example there is the rule that quotas (40%) are both applied to the whole list and to every five posts. Another example is Belgium, where there is parity (50/50) of men and women for the total lists, and the two top candidates on the lists cannot be of the same sex. These double quotas are often used to prevent women from being placed at the bottom of the list with small chances for selection (Brodolini et al., 2014, p. 20).

In the European countries that do use legislated quotas in their national and European election systems, there are usually also sanctions for non-compliance included. Sanctions may come in two forms; legal sanctions and financial sanctions. The first option is used for instance in Belgium, Poland and Slovenia where rejection of the list is the sanction for non-compliance. In Portugal on the other hand, an incorrect list for national elections will be made public and the party will be punished with a fine. The experience over Europe is that the first option, rejection of the lists, is by far the most effective, provided that the Electoral Commission in

the country, is given the legal competence to reject the lists that break with the quota regulations and also makes use of this power (ibid).

Apart from legislated quotas, there were also party quotas adopted in various countries. These are thirteen countries in total where one or more parties use gender quotas during the EP elections. Then, there is also a number of eight countries that do not use any form of quotas for EP elections (ibid.). The specific countries and their quota use during EP elections are portrayed in table 1.

Table 1. Quota use in European Parliament elections

	Legislated quotas	**Party quotas**	**No quotas**
Countries	Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia and Spain	Austria, Croatia Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Romania, Sweden and the UK	Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Ireland, Latvia, Malta and Slovakia
Specifics	These countries also use quotas in national elections. Forms of sanction mechanisms differ.	Not all parties in these countries use quotas, they are voluntary and in some cases only one or two parties use quotas.	

After the European parliament elections of 2014, a research was conducted ordered by the European parliament FEMM committee. This study urges national governments and parliaments to address women's underrepresentation in political decision-making at all political levels more effectively through appropriate strategies and action plans with measurable targets. Under those recommendations also falls the adoption of structural measures, like gender quotas, as they have proven more effective to achieve gender balance in political decision-making in the short and medium term.

For the European institutions, the recommendation is that the EP should promote the adoption of gender quotas by political parties and through legislation of the member states. Furthermore, the Council should invite MS to adopt measures, in particular gender quotas, to encourage the achievement of equal representation in decision-making at all government levels (Brodolini et al., 2014, p. 13). However, no common approach for legislation has been found so far.

2.2.1 The Dutch case

As becomes clear from the overview in table 1, quotas are only used on the party level in the Netherlands, to be more specific, with two parties, the greens and the social democrats (Brodolini et al., 2014, p.24). The Dutch therefore are not familiar with quota systems in their elections and also tend to not agree with quota as a measure to create gender equality so much (Eurobarometer, 2011). This is interesting, specifically because Dutch citizens do state in various population surveys to be in favour of gender equality and the position of women in The Netherlands could not be described as the worst in Europe, on the contrary (Eurobarometer 2017). Therefore, it is interesting, next to assessing the effects of framing and gender bias, to assess how the current sample of Dutch citizen's importance of gender equality is linked to attitudes towards a proposed legislated quota policy and if the fact that they would be organized on the European level may be influential.

3. A theoretical framework for analysing attitudes toward quota use.

This chapter aims at proving theoretical background which forms a framework for analysis of and seeking relations between the various concepts that are studied in this research. This research aims at discovering whether changing the frame of a gender quota, perceived importance of gender equality and explicit gender bias may have an influence on these attitudes toward quota use. In the model below, the relationships between these factors are shown. The theoretical basis for each concept and relation is discussed in sub chapters. Finally, this leads to four hypotheses that will be tested in the study.
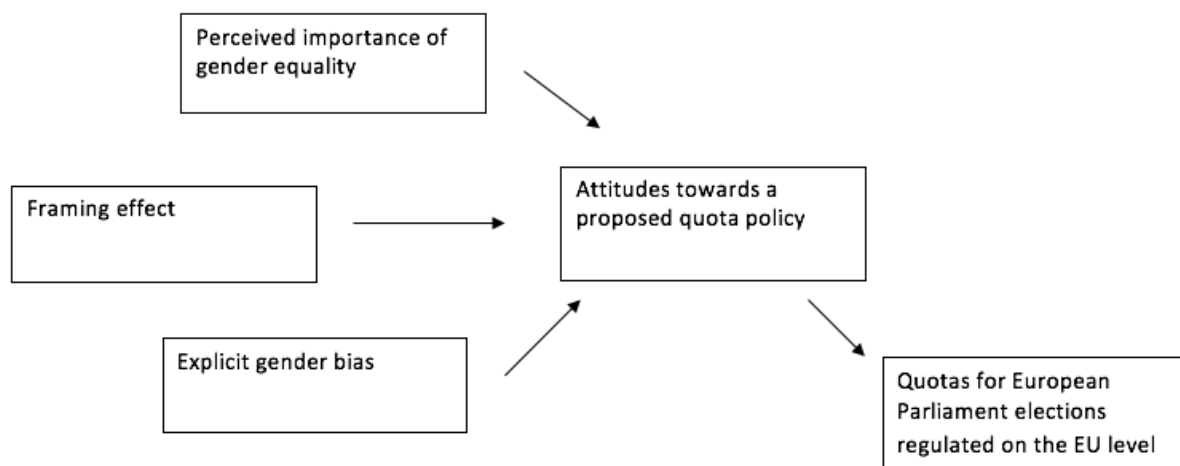
Figure 1: Model of relations between the variables

3.1 Attitudes toward quota use

To understand how various factors may influence attitudes towards quota use, first an understanding of what these attitudes towards quota use are is necessary. An attitude is defined as the evaluative dimension of a concept or an evaluative judgment about a given object (Fishbein & Raven, 1962, p.43; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, p. 6). The fields of public opinion and social psychology have produced large bodies of literature on attitudes toward affirmative action in employment and education. This body of work suggest that responses to affirmative action policies may be related to individual-level perceptions of the existence of discrimination, as this legitimizes the need for corrective policies that privilege one group over

the other (Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles & Goff, 2006; Martins & Parsons, 2007; Stoker, 1998). This suggests that when public attitudes are such that women do not constitute a group considered deserving of special treatment based on historic marginalization, affirmative action policies may produce a stigma around the policies' beneficiaries among both in-group and out-group members (Clayton, 2015, p. 339). The presumed positive effects of descriptive and symbolic representation due to quotas rest on the assumption that citizens respond to quotas in positive ways. However, it is also possible that quotas may trigger negative symbolic reactions (ibid). When quotas are perceived as an illegitimate form of representation in such a way that quota recipients are not seen as deserving their positions, they may discourage political engagement (Zetterberg, 2009, p.725).

Prior research has focussed on the relation between quotas and attitudes, but has trouble differentiating between the effect of quotas and the effect of female leadership. Beaman et al. (2009) for instance, use surveys and field experiments to determine how the reserved seats quota system for women at the local level in India have altered citizens' views regarding quota and women as leaders. The research on female Pradhans in Indian villages councils shows interesting results about the effect of quota use on attitudes towards female leaders because it seems that only repeated exposure to female Pradhans led to increased voter evaluations. Relative to Pradhans in councils where the Pradhan position has never been reserved, female Pradhans in councils reserved for a female Pradhan for the first time receive worse evaluations. However, this is not true for women elected Pradhan in councils reserved for a female Pradhan the second time. This improvement in leader evaluation provides an explanation for the election results; subsequent to the improved ratings of female leaders in the second electoral cycle, more women contest and win village council elections in the third electoral cycle (Beaman et al., 2009, p. 1499). Their results show that exposure to female leaders has caused constituents to update their implicit beliefs about women's ability to lead and has made villagers more willing to vote for women. However, this does not say much about the specific role of quota, only that through more visibility of female leaders the attitudes towards quota may change.

Zetterberg (2012) explores whether the legislative quota in Mexico has altered the attitudes and behaviours of citizens. Using secondary survey data, Zetterberg tests whether the newly introduced quota policy has increased women's political engagement or enhanced citizens' positive valuation of or confidence in democratic institutions. The findings of this

study however are inconclusive. While the analysis reveals that the period during which the quota has been implemented coincided with a decrease in rates of men's and women's political participation, this relationship may be invalid (Zetterberg, 2012, p.173). The absence of more conclusive findings in this case draws attention to a key methodological challenge, namely using secondary surveys to establish a direct, causal link between quotas and trends in women's political engagement and public attitudes (Franceschet et al., 2012, p.19).

Clayton (2015) tries to tackle the methodological issue of the direction of the relation between quota and attitudes by using the existence of two types of female representatives in Lesotho, namely quota mandated and non-quota mandated. The aim is to differentiate between a 'quota-effect' and a 'female-representation effect'. When quotas are viewed as an illegitimate form of representation, attitudinal and behavioural differences between citizens under these two female representative types should emerge (Clayton, 2015, 339). Women are significantly less engaged with politics in districts reserved for female representatives on several attitudinal dimensions (Clayton, 2015, p.357). This negative reaction against quota-mandated women holds when comparing this group with women elected via regular electoral rules. There is no evidence that women view their community councils as more open, accessible and legitimate when they have a female representative. There is also no evidence that the quota policy increases female constituents' political engagement because women perceive female councillors as better able to substantively represent their interests. These results seem to fit well with the theories of Norris (2008) and Kittilson & Schwindt-Bayer (2010) which claim that exclusionary political institutions, as compared to power-sharing and inclusionary institutions, cause citizens to view politics and political office holders with scepticism.

The most recent contribution to this overview of existing literature is the study by Allen & Cutts (2018). Through a cross-national dataset of 48 countries worldwide they examined the role of gender quotas in the generation of individual level attitudes to women as political leaders. It appears that gender quotas improve perceptions of women's ability as political leaders in countries where they are present. Allen & Cutts (2018) find this effect differs by sex. For women the presence of gender quotas alone increases their support for women's political leadership, theorized as the 'vote of confidence' effect. They also find that the effect is not dependent on the type of quota implemented and is the same for quotas adopted voluntarily by political parties and those that are brought about via a broader legal change. Again, from

this study it does not become clear whether the effects noted result from quota use as such, or from increased female representation.

Establishing causality between quotas and citizen's beliefs has been attempted in a research by Burnet (2012), who conducted a series of interviews and focus groups in Rwanda (Burnet, 2012, p.190) The aim here is to establish causality between quotas and changes in citizen's beliefs by asking citizens about quotas directly. The results of this fieldwork on reserved seats and legislative quotas indicates that quotas have encouraged women to participate more actively in community life, work outside the home, speak in public meetings, and demand greater equality in their intimate relationships. Yet these cultural shifts in women's roles have caused indignation among men whom resist the quotas' ability to redefine gender roles, leading them to express resentment as women become more empowered.

3.2 The importance of gender equality effect

The first aspect that may influence the attitudes towards quota as policy instrument is defined as the importance that is put on gender equality in general. The study by Meier (2012) seems to indicate that when politicians think gender equality is less important, measured by the fact that it is not included in their party documents, relates to also disapproving attitudes toward quota use. Male politicians' disapproval of quotas may be linked to the failure to incorporate greater commitments to women's equality into party documents (Meier, 2012).

Meier conducted interesting research to the extent to which party and legislative quotas in Belgium have altered the beliefs and actions of political elites. A survey was designed, asking specific questions about the importance of gender equality and recognizing a gender equal public space and quotas with party officials. Female politicians believe that the quotas coincide with and deepen the democratic foundations of the Belgian state. Male politicians however believe exactly the opposite. From this research it becomes clear that men and women think differently about underrepresentation and discrimination and it illustrates how the introduction of a quota may actually aggravate such disagreements (Meier, 2012, p.157).

Furthermore, Morgan and Buice (2013) also find, through their study conducted in Latin-American and Caribbean democracies, evidence of the fact that women are more likely than men to favour gender equality. That goes hand in hand with the fact that they are more

likely to support gender equality policies (Barnes & Cordoba, 2016, p.672). These findings thus complement the findings by Meier (2012) about male political elites in Belgium and show that quotas can be part of broad processes of cultural change and that men and women may experience these ideological transformations quite differently.

3.3 The influence of gender bias

One of the reasons for doubting the effectiveness of quotas is that voters may perceive gender quotas as violating social norms and potentially reducing the value of traditionally male activities. As a result of this, gender quota may precipitate a backlash against female leaders and strengthen taste-based discrimination (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). A counterargument is that mandated exposure to women leaders informs voters on women's ability to lead. In that case mandated exposure may reduce statistical discrimination and improve perceptions of female leaders' effectiveness (Beaman et al., 2009, p. 1498). Nonetheless, because quotas for women in leadership aim to benefit women, beliefs about women such as those captured in bias and gender stereotypes can be assumed to influence support for gender quotas that put women in leadership positions (Molders, Brosi, Bekk, Sporrle & Welpe, 2017, p.1).

Some research suggests that quotas pose a radical challenge to politics as usual because they involve fundamentally renegotiating the gendered nature of the public sphere with a set division between tasks which fit men others that fit women (Sgier, 2004). Evidence supports this claim by showing that exposure to female leaders as a result of quotas can weaken gender stereotypes and also eliminate negative bias in how the performance of female leaders is perceived among male constituents (Beaman et al., 2009). Other studies however show that outward acceptance of the legitimacy of quotas often masks continued resistance. This seems to be true especially for male elites who have the tendency to attribute women's underrepresentation to choices made by individual women, rather than to structural patterns of discrimination (Meier, 2008).

These studies thus indicate that there may be a relation between gender bias and support for gender quotas. Gender bias may be studied in two different ways, explicitly and implicitly. Hereby explicit bias is about self-report measures and implicit bias is usually based on reaction times in response compatibility tasks like the Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, & Schmitt, 2005, p. 1369). From the meta-analysis of Hofmann et al. (2005) it seems that the IAT and explicit self-reports are systematically related

to one another (p.1382). Therefore, in the current study explicit bias will be measured with the assumption that this will relate at least to some extent also to implicit bias.

3.4 Could changing the frame make a difference?

Framing is the construction of an interpretive scheme that simplifies and condenses situations, comparable for instance to the way in which journalists can frame a story by highlighting certain elements (Snow & Benford, 1992, p.137). It can also be defined as the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p.104). Framing thereby influences mental and social processes that shape how people perceive and act upon the world. In politics and policy, framing is an important tool for actors both on the state and sub-state level to gain support for their policy (Tarrow, 2011, p.32). Framing may for instance be used to convince people to believe in a certain point of view through presenting essentially identical information in different frames and thereby influencing people's choices, evaluation and opinions (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2007). That however does not mean that the framing or narrative of a situation changes anything about the inherent meaning of that situation, but with the social, political and cultural context (Van Hulst & Yanow, 2016, p.102).

A framing effect occurs when two logically equivalent, but not transparently equivalent, statements of a problem lead those presented with the problem to choose different options (Druckman, 2001, p.1042). Political scientists typically use framing in the sense that when during of describing an issue or event, a speaker's emphasis on a subset of potentially relevant considerations causes individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions (ibid). Framing effects work through a psychological process in which individuals consciously and deliberately think about the relative importance of different considerations suggested by a frame. Framing effects work by altering the importance individuals attach to particular beliefs. Prior research has shown that framing effects are omnipresent and can be reproduced by researchers in questions, vignettes or artificial news stories to influence citizens' attitudes (Druckman 2001; Jacoby, 2000; Verge et al., 2015; Zaller, 1992).

These theories about framing lead to the thought that also in the case of political gender quota use, changing the frame could possibly have an influence on citizen's attitudes towards quota. Opponents of the use of gender quota argue that quotas violate the liberal

principle of merit. Merit defines whether or not people are worthy or deserving of a certain position based on their accomplishments. Murray (2014) counters this argument by arguing that quota for men are necessary to achieve a merit based representation, because based on the current numbers of women and men in higher education the actual problem is that too many men are represented in political office. Statistically not the best people are chosen, and therefore the system is not meritocratic. Murray therefore proposes a 60% male quota, to ensure only the best males make it to the top (Murray, 2014, p.524).

In the case of quota use the framing of gender quota policies that usually place women as the 'underrepresented' or the 'problem area'. By doing so an undesirable consequence is the result, namely that women are framed as the 'other' or 'outsider' group (Clayton, 2015). Considering the fact that psychological theory shows that people inherently have certain beliefs about female leaders through gender bias and stereotypes, combined with the fact that attitudes toward the use of quota are often negative and influenced by the 'merit' argument, changing the frame could change those assumptions. The idea is that when the use of gender quota is reframed to highlight the overrepresentation of men, instead of the underrepresentation of women, people will respond more positively or understanding to the use of these quota.

In the current study a framing effect will be sought by presenting different frames of quota use. To do so, two frames are designed, one with the more traditional way of how quotas are framed, namely saying that because females in Europe are more highly educated than men but not represented as much, a quota that should have 50% women on the lists is introduced. The second frame turns around the argument and says men are overrepresented and therefore a maximum 50% men on political party lists will become the norm. In this way the only thing that is different in the frames is the focus on male overrepresentation or female underrepresentation. The argument that has been chosen is the one that says that women are more highly educated, which is true nowadays in Europe (Murray, 2014, p.521).

3.5 Hypotheses

Derived from the concepts as presented in the theoretical framework and the conceptual model in figure 1, four hypotheses that will be tested though this study are proposed. The first hypothesis is about the relation between importance of gender equality as perceived by Dutch citizens and the relation of this perceived importance to attitudes toward quota use. As found

in the previous literature, when attention to gender equality is low, attitudes toward gender quotas tend to be negative (Meier, 2012). As this especially counts for men, the following hypothesis regarding the relation between importance of gender equality and attitudes toward quota policies has been formed.

H1: If there is perceived importance of gender equality, then the attitudes toward the proposed quota policy will be more positive, with female participants showing more perceived importance than male participants

This hypothesis implicates that women are more prone to be in favour of using gender quota in general, which is supported by recent Eurobarometer research (Eurobarometer 2017).

The second expectation is that participants who express an outspoken favour for men in political office, measured as explicit gender bias, will be more likely to be against quota use. This derives from the basic psychological theories that prove traditional gender roles still play a role in the evaluation of men and women in leadership positions. As prior research shows, males have a tendency to show more explicit gender bias, resulting in the second hypothesis.

H2: If there is more explicit bias, then the attitudes toward the proposed quota policy will be more negative, with higher scores on explicit bias for male participants.

The third hypothesis refers to the possible effects of framing on the attitudes toward quota use. To test this, the participants will be randomly assigned to two differently framed articles, one which proposes a 'female quota' requiring all parties to put at least 50% of women on their lists for the next European elections and the other which proposes a 'male quota' which only accepts a maximum of 50% men on the lists. The argument in both cases is that women in Europe are at this moment in time more educated that men (Murray, 2014). Based on combining the literature of framing, gender bias and attitudes toward quota in general, the expectation is as follows.

H3: Participants faced with a 'male framed' quota policy are expected to score higher on positive attitudes toward the proposed quota than participants faced with a 'female framed' quota policy.

Deduced from the evidence from studies about the effectiveness of quota on attitudes of citizens, the expectation is that there will be a difference between women and men and their attitudes toward quota, unresponsive of the framing of the quota (Meier, 2012; Zetterberg, 2012)

Then finally there are some expectations about the role of the fact that this research is about gender quota regulated at the EU level, tested with respondents that do not know the system of quota in their own political system as explained in chapter 2. Contrary to the other variables little is studied about what the effects of proposing a quota on the EU level would be. However, as Barnes & Cordova (2016) show, there is a relation between citizen quota support and the preference for government involvement. Therefore, the assumption is that.

H4: If participants display positive attitudes toward the proposed quota policy, the level of acceptance of the implementation of the quota policy on the EU level will be higher.

4. Method

To test the hypotheses as formulated in the theoretical part of this study an experimental survey design was chosen. More specifically, an online experimental survey that was designed specifically for this study was used to collect data. In this chapter I will describe the survey, explain where I collected my data and refer to the reliability and validity of this study.

4.1. Research design and procedure

Data used for this study is collected through a self-designed online experimental survey. As already mentioned, the use of survey experiments is not common in European studies or more broadly, political science research, so the design is largely exploratory (Bozeman & Scott, 1992). However, because the goal of this research stems from a gap in prior research which is that it is hard to prove the direction of the relation between attitudes and quota, a survey with experimental component would be a solution because it is the most useful way to control for the direction and all the variables (James, Jilke & Van Ryzin, 2017, p.5).

The survey specifically was built up out of closed questions, using Likert type answer categories. Closed questions are easier and faster for respondents to answer than open ended questions. Furthermore, responses to closed questions are easier for researchers to code and analyse, and they provide consistent response categories (Julien, 2008 p. 847). This leads to a very practical way of gathering data, making it easy for respondents to fill out the survey because they do not have to type long answers. Naturally, there are also downsides about using a survey with closed questions. Closed questions force respondents to respond in a way, even when no knowledge or opinion is actually present. To minimize this risk, response categories to closed questions should be inclusive of all reasonably possible responses and are no overlapping (ibid.). Using Likert answer categories is with various options and a neutral mid-point is a useful way to ensure this (Allen & Seaman, 2007).

Next to the questions, the experimental part of the survey existed out of a fake newspaper article that introduced the use of quota in European Parliament elections. Two varieties of the newspaper article existed, one with a traditional 'female framed quota policy' and one with a 'male framed quota policy'. Except from this framing difference the text was the same, as is made visible in figure 2. Participants were randomly assigned to one of both texts, after which they were asked for their opinion on the use of gender quotas.

Female quota in European Parliament elections.	Male quota in European Parliament elections.
At this moment, women in Europe are more highly educated than men. This is not visible in the number of women in leadership positions in the EU. Therefore, the European Parliament wants to install a gender quota in which all parties in all countries have to have **50% female candidates** on their lists. In this manner it is guaranteed that the best candidates will be chosen.	At this moment, women in Europe are more highly educated than men This is not visible in the number of women in leadership positions in the EU. Therefore, the European Parliament wants to install a gender quota in which all parties in all countries can have a **maximum of 50% male candidates** on their lists. In this manner it is guaranteed that the best candidates will be chosen.

Figure 2: The framing experiment.

The survey was published online through social media channels and in the social network of the researcher for about a week. This method is described as convenience sampling. Convenience sampling is a type of non-random sampling where members of the target population that meet certain practical criteria. These criteria could be for instance geographical proximity or availability of the participants at a given time. It also refers to the researching subjects of the population that are easily accessible to the researcher, which is the case in this study (Saumure & Given, 2008, p. 125). Unfortunately, this means that the sample will not be completely representative, because people will be likely to be young and on a high educational level. However, it will be possible to say something about the attitudes of the people participating and test the hypotheses that were drawn up from the existing theories. The online administration of the survey may be seen as a strength because it helps to avoid social desirability problems. The survey was spread in Dutch, as the focus population of this study were Dutch citizens. In Appendix 1 the Dutch and in Appendix 2 the English version of the survey are included.

Filling in the online survey took participants between 5 and 10 minutes and could be done on computer, laptop, tablet or mobile phone. The survey was spread online, guaranteeing anonymity for the respondents. The survey was developed using Qualtrics. Qualtrics facilitates the online development, distribution and collection of data, making it the ideal tool for this study. Before starting the survey participants received some information about the purpose of the study and what was expected of them (see Appendix 2). After reading this, participant had to click 'yes' to confirm their participation. In this way informed consent was guaranteed. Informed consent ensures that research participants are informed

about the nature of the research project in which they are invited to participate (Fischman, 2000). It does so by asking participants to agree to the research before it starts. That consent should be informed and voluntary (Israel & Hay, 2008, p.432).

4.2. Sample

In the period in which the survey was published online, 188 people started the survey. Of those 188, 153 actually finished the survey. This means the sample that was used for analysis consisted out of 153 participants. This discrepancy between participants who started the survey and who finished it may be explained by two things. First of all, Qualtrics, the program that was used to spread the survey showed errors with some participants, causing them to close the survey. In some but not all cases they started it again, indicating that some of those 35 'lost' responses are actually represented in the 153. The other reason is that people may have thought the survey to be too long or not interesting and refrained from taking part.

Out of the sample of 153 participants, there were 73 females and 79 males. One participant reported 'different' as gender. This person has been taken into account in the analysis as a whole, but because it was only one, not for every question or scale the results of this one candidate will be analysed thoroughly as is done with the male and female categories. Furthermore, 46 % of the participants reported to be in the age category of 18 to 25, 16 % in the category of 26 to 35, 12% between 36 and 45, 10% between 46 and 55, 10% between 56 and 65 and 1% reported to be over 65, finally 5 % of the respondents reported to be under 18. The participants were also asked to report their educational level divided by common Dutch educational levels. Of the 153 participants, 4% reported to only have finished primary school, 2 % HAVO, 9% VWO, 1% MBO, 11 % HBO, 22% university bachelor's level, 43 % university masters level and 8% a postmaster level. From these percentages it becomes clear that the majority of the research sample was young and with a fairly high educational level.

4.3. Measures

With the survey, the different concepts relevant for this study were measured in scales consisting out of various questions. In figure 2 the complete overview and flow of questions is displayed. Likert type questions in the form of statements to which participants can agree or disagree are used on all questions in this survey. Likert type answer categories are a common way of measuring attitudes where respondents rank from high too low or best to

worse using a set number of levels (Allen & Seaman, 2007). Likert type answers can vary from having 3 to more than 9 options, but in the current study a 7-point scale was used. The argument for using 7 options is that prior research in to the upper limits of the scale's reliability has shown that as a general rule the 7-point scale is the widest while still being reliable possibility (Allen & Seaman, 2007). Sometimes Likert scales are narrowed down to an even number of options, for instance 4, to eliminate the neutral option on the scale. For the current research that would not be a very useful option because neutral option is necessary to establish for instance, no preference to voting either for women or men when measuring explicit bias.

Importance of gender equality is measured on a scale about 'perceived importance of gender equality'. This refers to the degree to which participants report to think about the topic of gender equality in politics, measures to address issues of underrepresentation and quota in particular. This is measured with Likert type statements on six items: 'I think about gender equality in politics often, 'women are less represented than men in European politics', 'It is a problem when women and men are not represented equally in European politics', 'It is important to have complete equality between men and women in politics and other leadership roles', 'It is important that more policy is made to make the position of women equal to that of man in politics and finally 'I am positive about the use of gender quota'. These six statements together form a scale that measures the one concept of perceived importance of gender equality. To ensure internal consistency of the scale and assess the extent to which the set of survey items tapping a single underlying construct covary, Chronbach's Alpha was calculated (Allen & Bennet, 2010, p.55). Chronbach's alpha for this six item scale was .83. Considering that Chronbach's alpha should ideally be around .9 but can be considered acceptable with any score above .7, we can assess this scale as reliable (ibid.).

Gender bias is measured in its explicit form, meaning the degree to which participants explicitly show bias toward men (or women) as leaders. The concept was measured on four Likert type statement questions that were taken from an already existing questionnaire used by Mo (2015). The concepts were measure through the following questions; 'if two candidates with the same qualities are on a party list, the one a woman and the other a man, I would be inclined to vote for the man', 'if two candidates with the same qualities are on a party list, the one a woman and the other a man, I would be inclined to vote for the woman, 'in general,

men are more competent to be a politician', 'in general women are more competent to be a politician'.

Attitudes towards the proposed quota system were measured through six Likert type questions forming a scale. The questions start with four questions specifically about the story the participants got to read, the second two are about quota in general. All six together measure attitudes toward quota use as defined by concepts that are recurrent in the literature. Those concepts are trust, fairness, appropriateness and merit (Burnet, 2012; Beaman et al, 2009; Clayton, 2015; Allen & Cutts, 2018; Meier, 2008; Murray, 2014). The questions are; 'the quota system as in the article is an appropriate way to create equality', 'the quota system as in the article is fair', 'I would have confidence in the politicians that are chosen through this quota system', 'this system will lead to the best members of parliament possible', 'the use of quota is appropriate for achieving gender equality in politics' and 'gender quota lead to more fair chances for women and men'. Chronbach's alpha is .9 making this scale optimally internally consistent.

The framing effect is measured through comparing the means of the attitudes toward quota, measured by the scale mentioned above, of participants faced with the first frame and participants faced with the second frame.

The role of regulating quota on the European level was measured through two statements. The first was 'gender quota should be regulated on the EU level, and the second one 'every member state should be able to decide for themselves if they want to use quotas'

The study controlled for gender, educational level and age. Research indicated that men would show more negative attitudes towards quota use than women (Meier, 2012; Zetterberg, 2009). Also the expectation is that with men explicit gender bias will be higher. Gender was coded as a dichotomous variable (1 = women, 2 = men, 3 = different). Educational level was coded as 1= primary education, 2 = VMBO, 3 = HAVO, 4 = VWO, 5 = MBO, 6 = HBO, 7 = university bachelor, 8 = university master and 9 = postmaster. Age was divided into six categories all containing a timespan of about ten years. Because the exact age of participants was asked, those ages were coded in the following categories before being used for analysis; 1 = 18-, 2 = 18 − 25, 3 = 26-35, 4 = 36 − 45, 5 = 46 − 55, 6 = 56 − 55, 7, 56 − 65 and 8 was 65+. Finally, the division in frames that were randomly assigned to the participants were coded as a dichotomous variable (1 = female frame, 2 = male frame). The survey also had the aim to

control for the profession of the respondents. However, this question was asked on an open-ended basis which lead to participants mostly filling out answers like; 'researcher', 'policymaker' or 'student' without specifying the field of research, policy or studies. As this data turned out too vague to add anything substantial to the findings, it was excluded from the analysis for the purpose of clarity. This is further explained in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

4.4. Data analysis

The answers for all the questions are presented and analysed based on the percentages per answer category. For the purpose of clarity, in the description of the findings often the percentages per answer category per question in many cases the categories on the agree side; strongly agree, agree and somewhat agree were taken together to analyse, just as the disagree categories. This method is referred to as the collapsing of responses in condensed categories and is considered appropriate for providing a clear analysis (Allen & Seaman, 2002). In some very interesting worthwhile cases also other interesting percentages were used.

Furthermore, the data was analysed in SPSS Statistics 24. No outliers or extreme values were found in the sample of 153 respondents. Descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) were obtained and analysed regarding perceived importance to gender equality and attitudes towards quota use. For both variables the means and standard deviations were obtained for the group as a whole, and for female and male participants separately. For attitudes towards quota use, means and standard deviations were also obtained for the two framing groups. Independent samples t-tests were conducted to measure differences between males and females regarding perceived importance towards gender equality and attitudes towards quota use. Cohen's *d* was used as follow-up to measure the effect size by providing the measure of the difference between two group means with d= .20 is small, d =.50 is medium and d = .80 is large (Allan & Bennet, 2010, p.56). The assumption of a normal distribution was slightly deviant with both variables, with a significant Shapiro-Wilk (.001) for the female group on perceived importance of gender equality and for the female group (.013) on attitudes towards quotas. Shapiro-Wilk is significant at any score smaller than .05 and thereby indicates non-normality in the distribution of the data. However, because the sample size is large enough and t-tests are considered robust against small deviations of normality,

the tests could be performed. Histograms for all variables tested through a t-test are shown in appendix 2.

An independent samples t-test was also conducted to measure difference between attitudes towards quota with participants faced with the first and second frame. Because Likert scales as wholes can be interpreted as interval level data, but individual Likert type questions only on ordinal level, Mann Whitney *U* tests, which are typically used two compare two independent samples of ordinal data, were used to find differences between the reactions by the two frames on the six individual items in the scale measuring attitudes towards quota use. The Mann-Whitney *U* test calculates Mean Ranks through merging and rank ordering of the data set. These Mean Ranks of independent samples can be compared to each other (Allen & Bennet, 2010, p.241). Spearman correlation coefficients were obtained to examine the relation between individual items in both scales and the Pearson correlation coefficient was obtained to measure the relation between the two scales. The assumptions for performing a linear regression test (i.e. linearity, homoscedasticity and normality in residues) were met and are shown in Appendix 2. Pearson's correlation coefficient (*r)* itself already provides an index of strength of the relationship between two variables, with an *r* of around .1 being small, *r* of around .3 medium in effect and *r* of .5 large in effect. However, to also calculate the percentage of variability in scores that can be explained by the correlation, r^2, known as the coefficient of determination was calculated (Allan & Bennet, 2010, p. 173).

To analyse the data on explicit gender bias, Mann Whitney U tests were used. For calculating the effect size of the Mann- Whitney *U* tests, *r,* was used. Furthermore, Spearman correlation coefficients were calculated to find relations between explicit bias and attitudes. The same analysis methods were used to compare the data on attitudes towards gender equality to the statements about quota use on the EU level. Depending on the scale of measurement, with perceived importance to gender equality and attitudes towards gender quotas a one-way ANOVA was used to compare means between the various age and educational groups. In the case of explicit bias and statements about quota use on the EU level the non-parametric Kruskall Wallis ANOVA was conducted to do the same.

4.5. Validity and reliability

Validity of a study is explained as the extent to which the requirements of scientific research have been followed in the process of generating findings. Validity thereby also is about the

existence or non-existence of systematic distortions that can influence the research and is about the question whether if what is being researched is the same as what is actually measured, in this case by the survey. Put more to the point, validity refers to the 'goodness' or 'soundness' of a study (Miller, 2008, p.910). Internal validity of the current research is optimized by the fact that the various survey scales have been measured tested by Chronbach's Alpha. Furthermore, the concepts are all measured explicitly, leaving as little room for interpretation as possible. External validity is about the procedural aspects of the research and whether the study is generalizable to a particular population. The current sample of Dutch respondents is too small and too homogeneous to be able to make broader generalizations about the whole Dutch population. However, creating truly generalizable results is almost never possible in quantitative research (ibid,)

The concept of reliability is about the extent to which the same results would be obtained through using the same instrument for more than one time. Reliability is always a problem when a single observer is the source of data, because there is no certainty that there was no influence of that observer's subjectivity (Babbie, 2010, p.158). However, since the current study is a survey, part of this subjectivity is taken away because of the fact that the raw data which are all numbers, cannot be subject to the same level of subjectivity as for instance interview results. A study is considered most perfectly reliable when repeated measurement leads to the same conclusions. In that way coincidental measurement defects occurring during observations can be reduced (Miller, 2008, p.754). In an ideal situation therefore the experiment would be repeated a couple of times, but because of time constraints of this thesis that will not be possible. Ensuring as much reliability and possible replication of the research has been done by describing the methods, sample, procedure and measurements.

5. Findings

The data from the online experimental survey that was set out amongst Dutch respondents will be discussed in this chapter. Analysis of the survey data has been structured along the lines of the hypotheses as put forward in chapter three of this thesis. First the findings related to perceived importance and explicit bias will be discussed, after which the framing effect and influence of the EU level will be discussed. This chapter will conclude in a summary of the most relevant findings.

5.1 Perceived importance of gender equality

First of all, a short overview of the answers given to the questions that measure perceived importance will be given. Table 2 shows the percentages per answer category that were given by the respondents. On the first item that asks about whether participants think about gender equality often, more than half of the participants, namely 58,2% state to agree to some extent to this statement, with the biggest group in the 'somewhat agree' category. From the group of female respondents, a larger part is states to be on the agree side of the spectrum, namely 79,5% with female participants against 38% of the male participants.

Concerning the second item, asking whether participants agree or disagree to the fact that there is underrepresentation of women in European politics, the numbers are in all cases more to the agree side of the spectrum. 82,4% of the respondents fall somewhere in the agree spectrum, with the biggest group of 38,6% in the 'agree' section. Again there is a difference between men and women, with 90,4% of women strongly, normally or somewhat agreeing to the statement, against 74,6% of male participants. Not one female participant disagrees or strongly disagrees with the statement, and also only 1 (1,3%) of the male participants disagrees and no one disagrees strongly.

On the third item, stating the underrepresentation of women in politics is problematic, also the majority of respondents, 72,5% agree. The highest scores on the agree spectrum are in the strongly and normally agree section, respectively 28,1% and 29,4%, differing from the prior questions where strongly agree was usually the least big group. As concerns the differences between women and men, the largest group of women, 43,8% says to strongly agree to this statement, compared to 12,7% of male participants. In total, out of the female respondents 89% agrees, against 57% of male participants.

Table 2: Scores on perceived importance of gender equality

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Think about gender equality	5,9%	23,5%	28,8%	17,0%	7,2%	12,4%	4,6%
female	11%	35,6%	32,9%	9,6%	2,7%	4,1%	4,1%
male	1,3%	11,4%	25,3%	24,1%	11,4%	20,3%	5,1%
Think there is underrepresentation	18,3%	38,6%	25,5%	15,0%	2,0%	0,7%	
female	23,3%	47,9%	19,2%	8,2%	1,4%		
male	13,9%	29,1%	31,6%	21,5%	2,5%	1,3%	
Underrepresentation is problematic	28,1%	29,4%	15,0%	9,8%	3,9%	10,5%	3,3%
female	43,8%	30,1%	15,1%	5,5%	2,7%	2,7%	
male	12,7%	29,1%	15,2%	13,9%	5,1%	17,7%	6,3%
Creating gender equality is important	34,0%	22,9%	14,4%	7,8%	9,2%	8,5%	3,3%
female	43,8%	23,3%	20,5%	6,8%	5,5%		
male	25,3%	22,8%	7,6%	8,9%	12,7%	16,5%	6,3%
More policy to create gender equality is necessary	20,3%	34,0%	22,2%	9,2%	7,2%	4,6%	2,6%
female	30,1%	42,5%	16,4%	8,2%	1,4%	1,4%	
male	11,4%	25,3%	27,8%	10,1%	12,7%	7,6%	5,1%
Positive about quota use	4,6%	22,2%	25,5%	18,3%	11,1%	12,4%	5,9%
female	8,2%	32,9%	30,1%	16,4%	4,1%	6,8%	1,4%
male	1,3%	12,7%	20,3%	20,3%	17,7%	17,7%	10,1%

Regarding the fourth statement about the importance of creating gender equality, 71% of the respondents agree. Again, this group is bigger with female participants voting mostly to strongly agree with 43,8% of the participants, and on the whole scale of agreeing with the statement namely 87,6% against 55,7% of male respondents. Not one female participant states to disagree or strongly disagree to this statement, whereas respectively 16,5 and 6,3% of the male participants do.

The fifth item asks the respondents to agree or disagree to the statement that there should be more policy to create gender equality. To this statement, a total of 76,5% of the respondents agree. Divided between the gender categories there is a difference between men and women with 89% of female participants agreeing on the combined scales of agree against 64,5% of male participants.

The sixth and last item asks participants whether or not they are positive about quota use. On this question, 52,3% in total agreed, 18,3% neither agreed nor disagreed, and 29,4% disagreed. There was also a difference between men and women here, with female participants agreeing for 71,2% and male participants for 34,3%.

As becomes clear when looking at the percentages, females tend to vote in higher numbers for the 'agree' options, whereas men tend to go to the 'somewhat agree' option. Women report to be more positive about quota use, think there should be more policy to create gender equality and that underrepresentation is a problem. Women seemingly think more about gender equality in their daily life and tend to agree more on the statement that asks whether they think there is underrepresentation at all. However, these scores as such do not tell whether the difference in these answers is significant.

Therefore, an independent samples t-test on the mean differences between scores of men and women on the scale measuring perceived importance as a whole has been carried out. Table 3 shows the descriptive statistics belonging to these two independent samples. Levene's test was significant at F = 5.835, Sig < .05, meaning the assumption of homogeneity of variances has been violated. Therefore, a modified version of the t-test, the Welch's t-test has been used. Welch's t-test was statistically significant with a medium effect size, with the female group (M = 2.37, SD = .84) reporting attitudes some 1.19 points lower, meaning more positive, than the male group (M = 3.57, SD = 1.15), $t(150)$ = -7.34, p < .001, two tailed, d = .-51.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics of perceived importance to gender equality, disaggregated by gender.

	Women		Men		Total	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Perceived importance	2.37	.842	3.57	1.15	2.99	1.17

Note. Women (n=73); Men (n=79); Total (n=153).

A one-way between groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to control for differences between educational level (table 4) and age groups (table 5) on the perceived importance towards gender equality. The ANOVA test is used to test for statistically significant differences between three or more independent sample means.

Concerning differences by age groups, ANOVA was not significant, indicating that perceived importance of gender equality was not influenced by the various age categories, $F (6, 146) = .24$, $p = .961$.

ANOVA was also not significant when testing for differences between the various educational level groups, indicating that perceived importance of gender equality was not influenced by educational level, $F (7, 145) = 1.50$, $p = .171$.

However, as for both categories large differences exist between the sample size per age group and educational level, as becomes clear in table 4 and 5, these scores should be interpreted with care, as will be further discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics of Perceived importance, disaggregated by age group

	M	*SD*
18-	2.96	1.65
18-25	2.90	1.12
26-35	3.11	1.50
36-45	3.23	1.08
46-55	3.02	1.11
56- 65	2.92	.69
65+	2.92	2.00

Note. 18- (n=8), 18-25 (n=71), 26-35 (n=24), 36-45 (n=18), 46-55 (n=15), 56-65 (n=15), 65+ (n=2).

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics of Perceived importance, disaggregated by educational level

	M	*SD*
Primary education	3.19	1.88
HAVO	2.00	.58
VWO	3.54	.93
MBO	3.42	.12
HBO	3.50	1.19
University Bachelor	2.82	1.09
University Master	2.87	1.22
Postmaster	2.86	.79

Note. Primary education (n=6), HAVO (n=3), VWO (n=13), MBO (n=3), HBO (n=17), Bachelor (n=34), Master (n=66), Postmaster (n = 12).

5.1.1. The relation between perceived importance and attitudes

The data that was collected to measure perceived importance of gender equality was not collected only for the purpose of reporting about perceived importance of gender equality. It was mostly collected to find a relation between perceived importance of gender equality and attitudes towards gender quotas. Therefore, Spearman correlation coefficients between all the individual level questions have been calculated. As the overview in table 6 shows, almost every item measuring perceived importance to gender equality correlates positively to every item measuring attitudes towards quotas. The only items where this correlation is not significant are thinking about gender equality often and seeing quota as a fair measure, thinking about gender equality often and assessing quota as a good method of ensuring gender equality. Additionally, the relation between thinking women are underrepresented in politics and viewing quota as a good method to solve underrepresentation of women was also non-significant. All the other combinations were significant either on the .05 or .01 level.

Table 6

Spearman's rho from the items measuring perceived importance of gender equality and items measuring attitudes towards gender quotas (appropriate, fair, trust, best MEP, good method, fair chances)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
.Think about equality	-	.52**	.47**	.28**	.41**	.36**	.21**	.13	.34**	.19*	.08	.18*
2.Under-represented	.52**	-	.40**	.24**	.40**	.32**	.26**	.23**	.26**	.19*	.14	.16*
3. Problem	.47**	.40**	-	.61**	.68**	.55**	.46**	.44**	.38**	.46**	.34**	.40*
4. Importance	.28**	.24**	.61**	-	.58**	.50**	.33**	.34**	.32**	.30**	.22**	.32*
5. More policy	.41**	.40**	.68**	.58**	-	.58**	.51**	.46**	.36**	.43**	.43**	.45*
6.Positive quota	.36**	.32**	.55**	.50**	.58**	-	.56**	.49**	.38**	.53**	.51**	.53*
7. Appropriate	.21**	.26**	.46**	.33**	.51**	.56**	-	.75**	.58**	.71**	.67**	.59*
8. Fairness	.13	.23**	.44**	.34**	.46**	.49**	.75**	-	.53**	.69**	.58**	.59*
9. Trust	.34**	.26**	.38**	.31**	.36**	.38**	.58**	.53**.	-	.65**	.48**	.52*
10. Best MEP	.19*	.19*	.46**	.30**	.43**	.53**	.71**	.69**	.65**	-	.57**	.57*
11.Good	.08	.14	.34**	.21**	.43**	.51**	.67**	.58**	.48**	.57**	-	.60*
12. Fair chances	.18*	.16*	.40**	.32**	.45**	.53**	.59**	.59**	.52**	.57**	.60**	

Note. * p < .05, ** p < .01.

However, additionally to these individual level correlations, the influence of the mean scores of the whole scale of perceived importance were compared to the mean scores of the scale on attitudes towards gender quotas. As most single items from the two concept scales correlate positively to each other, a positive correlation for the scales as a whole may also be expected. The means and standard deviations of the two scales are displayed in table 7.

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics of Attitudes, Disaggregated by Sex.

	Women		Men		Total	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Perceived importance	2.37	.842	3.57	1.15	2.99	1.17
Attitude quota	3.81	1.81	4.52	1.23	4.17	1.34

Note. Women (n=73); Men (n=79); Total (n=153).

To analyse the size and direction of the linear relationship between perceived importance of gender equality and attitudes toward the proposed gender quota, a bivariate Pearson's product-movement correlation coefficient (*r*) was calculated. The bivariate correlation between the two variables was positive and strong, $r(151) = .573$, $p < .001$ This means more practically, that low scores on the scale of perceived importance a lead to low scores on the scale of attitudes as well. Prior to calculating *r*, the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity were assessed, and found to be supported. In appendix 2 the visual inspection of the normal Q-Q plots for each variable show the normal distribution per variable. Similarly, visible inspecting of a scatterplot of perceived importance against attitudes toward the proposed quota confirmed that the relationship between these variables was linear and heteroscedastic. Furthermore, after the confirmation that a correlation between perceived importance to gender equality and attitudes towards gender quotas exists, the coefficient of determination (r^2) was calculated to indicate how much of the variability in the scores on attitudes towards gender quotas can be predicted by scores on perceived importance. As r^2 is .328, 32,8% of the variability in attitudes towards quota use can be predicted by variability in scores on perceived importance towards gender equality.

To analyse differences between male and female participants on the correlation between perceived importance of gender equality, Pearson's correlation coefficient was also calculated for the two separate groups. The bivariate correlation between perceived importance and attitudes with female respondents was positive and strong, $r(71) = .468$, $p < .001$ with $r^2 = 0.219$. The bivariate correlation between perceived importance and attitudes with male respondents was positive and strong with, $r(77) = .575$, $p < .001$ and $r^2 = 0.33$.

5.2 Explicit bias

The first item in this category of questions asked whether, in the case of two equally qualified candidates, one a man and the other a woman, the participants would me more likely to vote for the male candidate. To this statement, 4,6% in total agree, whereas 79,7% disagree, with the biggest group of 41,8% of the respondents stating to strongly disagree (see table 8). There is a difference visible here between men and women, where 94,5% of the female participants disagrees against 67,1% of the male participants. The other part of the male participants seems to go mostly, 24,1%, for the neither agree nor disagree option. The Mann-Whitney U test indicated that the scores on preferring to vote for a man in the situation of two equal candidates with female participants (Mean Rank = 93,31, n = 73) were significantly higher than those of male participants (Mean Rank = 60, 97, n = 79), $U = 1656.50$, $z = -4.83$ (corrected for ties), $p < .001$, two tailed. This effect can be described as medium ($r = .39$).

The second item asked the same question but reversed. In this case the statement was that in a case of equal candidates, the tendency would be to vote for the woman. With this statement, 54,3% of the participants agrees. Again, there is a bigger percentage of women stating to agree, 79,5% then men, 31,6%. This difference is also significant. The scores on preferring to vote for a woman in the situation of two equal candidates with female participants (Mean Rank = 54,20, n = 73) was significantly lower than those of male participants (Mean Rank, 97,11, n = 79), $U = 1255.50$, $z = -6.11$ (corrected for ties), $p < .001$, two tailed. This effect can be described as large (.49).

The third statement about gender bias was asked whether the participants think men are more suited to be in politics. On the whole, 75,2% of the participants disagrees with this statement. For the female group this was 84,9% and for the male group it was 65,8%. Interesting about the results on this question is that no women stated to strongly agree, agree or somewhat agree, whereas in all these categories at least one man did.

Table 8. Explicit gender bias

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Vote man		0,7%	3,9%	15,7%	3,3%	34,6%	41,8%
female				5,5%	2,7%	32,9%	58,9%
male		1,3%	7,6%	24,1%	3,8%	36,7%	26,6%
Vote woman	20.3%	24,8%	9,2%	15,0%	3,9%	13,1%	13,7%
female	38,4%	32,9%	8,2%	5,5%		6,8%	8,2%
male	3,8%	17,7%	10,1%	22,8%	7,6%	19%	19%
Man more suitable	0,7%	0,7%	2,6%	20,9%	2,6%	31,4%	41,2%
female				15,1%	4,1%	30,1%	50,7%
male	1,3%	1,3%	5,1%	26,6%		32,9%	32,9%
Woman more suitable	1,3%	0.7%	1,3%	27,5%	2,0%	32,0%	35,3%
female		1,4%	2,7%	20,5%	1,4%	31,5%	42,5%
male	2,5%			32,9%	2,5%	32,9%	29,1%

The scores on thinking men are more suitable for politics for female participants (Mean Rank = 86,10, n = 73) were significantly higher than those of male participants (Mean Rank = 67. 63, n = 79), U = 2182.50, z = -2.74 (corrected for ties), p .006, two tailed. The effect size (r = .22) is between small and medium.

Then finally, the last question reversed the prior statement and asked whether participants thought women are more suited to be in politics than men. Here 69,5% disagrees, and a bigger group chose to neither agree nor disagree than with the prior question. The

difference between men and women on this scale is not significant in this case. Furthermore, no significant differences in age or educational level were found on the four items measuring explicit bias.

5.2.1 The relation between explicit bias and attitudes

For the items measuring explicit bias and attitudes towards quota use, Spearman' rho was calculated. From the overview in table 9 it becomes clear that there are no significant negative correlations between the tendency to vote for a man and either of the items measuring attitudes towards gender quotas. However, there are significant positive correlations between the tendency to vote for a woman and attitudes towards quotas on all items except thinking quota are a good method for creating gender equality. Thinking men are more suited to be in politics than women does however correlate negatively to thinking quotas are a good method for creating gender equality, r^s = .-16, p<.05, two tailed, N = 153.

Table 9.

Spearman's rho from items on explicit gender bias (VM, VW, MB, WB) and attitudes towards gender quotas (appropriate, fair, trust, best MEP, good method, fair chances)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
1. Vote man	-	-.21**	.48**	.39**	-.11	-.10	.12	-.07	-.07	.02	-.09	.55*
2. Votewoman	-.21**	-	-.08	.11	.28**	.24**	.30**	.20*	.13	19*	.28**	-.92*
3. Man better	.47**	-.07	-	-.85**	-.07	-.03	-.07	.04	-.16*	-.06	-.07	.23*
4.Womanbetter	.39**	.11	.85**	-	.02	.04	.02	.10	-.03	.07	.04	.05
5. Appropriate	-.11	.28**	-.07	.02	-	.75**	.59**	-71**	.67**	.59**	.88**	-.27*
6. Fairness	-.10	.24**	-.03	.04	.75**	-	.53**	.69**	.58**	.59**	.84**	-.24*
7. Trust	-.12	.30**	-.07	.02	.59**	.53**	-	.65**	.48**	.52**	.75**	-.32*
8. Best MEP	-.07	.20*	.04	.10	.71**	.69**	.65**	-	.57**	.57**	.84**	-.20*
9. Good method	-.07	.13	-.16*	-.03	.67**	.58**	.48**	.57**	-	.61**	.80**	-.13
10. Fair chances	.02	.19*	-.06	.07	.59**	.59**	.52**	.57**	.61**		.80**	-.15
11.Scale attitude	-.09	.28**	-.07	.04	.88**	.84**	.75**	.84**	.80**	.80**		-.27*
12. Combined	.55**	-.92**	.23**	.05	-.27**	-.24**	-.32**	-.20*	-.13	-.15	-.27**	

Note. * p < .05, ** p < .01.

Spearman's rho was also calculated for the total scale measuring attitudes next to the individual items. A positive correlation was found between tendency to vote for a women and attitudes towards quota use with r^s= .28, p < .01, two tailed, N = 153. Additionally, when the scores of the second item are transformed to fit the ones of the first item and taken together on a scale, Spearman's rho indicated the presence of a significant negative correlation between explicit bias measured by the tendency to vote for a man of 'not' vote for a woman, and attitudes toward quota use. r_s = .-26, p<.001, two tailed, N = 153.

5.3 The effect of the different frames on attitudes

The six items measuring attitudes towards gender quotas were already discussed individually and on basis of the scale they form in first two parts of this chapter. The influence of the two different frames that were part of the experimental part of this study will be discussed now. First the answers to the separate items with influence from the experiment will be analysed. Table 11 shows the percentages belonging to the individual questions and table 10 the Mean Ranks that were used to perform Mann-Whitney U tests.

On the first question about whether the proposed quota policy is an appropriate tool to create gender equality, participants faced with the female frame vote roughly more on the disagree side with 52% voting either somewhat disagree, disagree or strongly disagree and 40% voting either agree or somewhat disagree. With the male side this is 46,1% on the agree side and 46,2 on the disagree side, in both cases about 8 percent of the people saying neither to agree nor disagree. Already this difference in percentages is quite small and when comparing the Mean Ranks (see table 10) there is no evidence that those of the female frame (Mean Rank = 80,71, n = 75) were significantly higher than those of the male frame (Mean Rank = 73,43, n = 78), U = 2646.50, z = -1,04, p = .300, two tailed.

Table 10. Mean Ranks

	Female frame	Male frame
Appropriate	80,71	73,43
Fair	81,16	73,00
Trust	80,16	73,96
Best MEP's	87,61	65,96
Good method	79,91	74,21
Fair chances	82,51	71,71

Table 11. Attitudes towards quota use.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Appropriateness	1,3%	19,0%	22,9%	7,8%	13,7%	13,7%	10,5%
Female frame		20%	20%	8%	10,7%	29,3%	12%
Male frame	2,6%	17,9%	25,6%	7,7%	16,7%	20,5%	9.0%
Fairness	2,0%	15,0%	15,0%	14,4%	21,6%	22,9%	9,2%
Female frame	1,3%	17.3%	16%	6,7%	16%	33,3%	9,3%
Male frame	2,6%	12,8%	14,1%	21,8%	26,9%	12,8%	9%
Trust	3,9%	18,3%	17,6%	22,2%	15,7%	17,0%	5,2%
Female frame	1,3%	20%	14,7%	24%	16%	17,3%	6,7%
Male frame	6,4%	16,7%	20,5%	20,5%	15,4%	16,7%	3,8%
Best MEP's	0,7%	6,5%	10,5%	21,6%	16,3%	29,4%	14,4%
Female frame	1,3%	6,7%	4%	13,3%	20%	32%	21,3%
Male frame		6,4%	16,7%	29,5%	12,8%	26,9%	7,7%
Good method	5,9%	21,6%	29,4%	9,2%	10,5%	19,0%	4,6%
Female frame	5,3%	18,7%	33,3%	9,3%	4%	22,7%	6,7%
Male frame	6,4%	24,4%	25,6%	9%	16,7%	15,4%	2,6%
Fair chances	3,9%	26,8%	21,6%	16,3%	12,4%	15,0%	3,9%
Female frame	2,7%	21,3%	26,7%	16%	6,7%	21,3%	5,3%
Male frame	5,1%	32,2%	16,7%	16,7%	17,9%	9%	2,6%

On the second question about whether the proposed quota policy is a fair tool to create gender equality, participants faced with the female frame voted altogether about 34,6% on the agree side of the scale and 58,6% on the disagree side, with 6,7% not agreeing nor disagreeing. For the male frame with this statement 29,5% stated somewhere on the agree line and 48,7% on the disagree side. More participants faced with the male frame, 21,8%, stated to neither agree nor disagree compared to those faced with the female frame. It seems that the opinions on the female quota were therefore more outspoken. However, as

with the first example the difference does not hold up statistically. There is no confirmation that the scores of the female frame (Mean Rank = 81,16, n = 75), were significantly higher than the scores of the male frame (Mean Rank = 73,00, n = 78), U = 2613.00, z = -1,16, p = .379, two tailed.

The third question, asked about whether or not participants would have trust in the MEP's chosen through this system, in both cases, with the female as well as the male frame, the highest percentage of results lies in the neither agree nor disagree category, namely 24% for the female frame and 20,5% for the male frame. Furthermore, 36% of the participants faced with the female frame vote somewhere in the agree categories against 43,6% of the male frame participants. This means another 40% in the female frame group voted somewhere in the disagree group against 35,9% in the male frame group. The differences between these percentages is again not statistically significant, with scores on the female frame (Mean Rank = 80,16, n = 75) being only slightly higher than the male framed ones (Mean Rank = 73.96, n = 78), U = 2688.00, z = -.88, p = .379, two tailed.

The fourth question in the scale inquired about whether participants thought the proposed quota policy would lead to the best possible MEPs. On this statement the female framed participants only 12% stated to agree, whereas with the male frame this was 23,1%. The disagree scores were also higher, with 73,3% of the participants faced with the female frame stating to disagree with the statement, against 47,7% of the participants faced with the male frame. The main difference here seems to lie in the number of people stating to not agree nor disagree when they are faced with the male frame. Also interesting is the number of 'extremes', with the female frame 21,3% state to 'strongly disagree' against 7,7% with the male frame. These differences indicate that the participants faced with the female frame (Mean Rank = 87.61, n = 75) significantly disagreed more than participants faced with the male frame (Mean Rank = 65.96, n = 78), U = 2064.00, z = -3.10 (corrected for ties), p = .002, two tailed.

The fifth question asked the participants whether they thought this was a good method for creating gender equality, leading to 57,3% of the female frame to agree and 56,4% of the male frame. With this question the answers lie very close to each other, with the only difference being that still the participants faced with the female frame tend to vote more strongly, visible in the fact that here the highest percentages of disagreeing are in the disagree and strongly disagree category, whereas with the male frame they are mostly in somewhat

disagree and disagree. These differences are not statistically significant with scores of participants from the female frame (Mean Rank = 79.91, n = 75) not being much higher than those with the male frame (Mean Rank = 74.21, n = 78), U = 2707.00, z = -.81 (corrected for ties), p = .416, two tailed.

For the last item in the scale, measuring whether participants think the proposed system of quotas lead to more fair chances. 50,7% of the participants faced with the female quota agree, against 57,4% of the participants faced with the male frame. As expected, this difference is too small to be statistically significant. The scores of the female frame group (Mean Rank = 82,51, n = 75) are not significantly higher than the ones of the male framed group (Mean Rank = 71,71), U = 2512.00, z = -1.54 (corrected for ties), p = .124, two tailed.

From these test per item, only the item concerning whether people think there the proposed quota system leads to the best MEP's shows a significant difference in responses between participants faced with the male and female frame. However, these questions do not stand alone, they form a scale which can be analysed as well. For the scale as a whole, the means and standard deviations for the attitudes toward female frame, male frame and the two combined have been calculated as is shown in table 2. With these means and standard deviations a t-test has been performed. As Levene's test for equality is not significant (F = 1,314, sig > .05) we can assume equality of variances between the two experimental groups. The t-test was not statistically significant. The 'female' framed group (M = 4,35, SD = 1,399) did only show more negative attitudes of .3 on the scale than the 'male' framed group (M = 4.01, SD = 1.272), t (151) = 1.1573, p >.001, two tailed.

Table 12.

Descriptive Statistics of Attitudes per frame, Disaggregated by Sex

	Women		Men		Total	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Attitude female frame	3.99	1.51	4.60	1.27	4.35	1.40
Attitude male frame	3.67	1.27	4.43	1.17	4.01	1.27
Attitude quota total	3.81	1.38	4.52	1.23	4.17	1.34

Note. Women (n=73); Men (n=79); Total (n=153).

Finally, tests have been conducted to find differences between age groups, educational level and gender on the scale as a whole. These test have been conducted both for the total scores and controlled for the male and female group (see table 12).

An independent samples t-test was used to compare the scores by male and female participants on the scale of attitudes, not controlled for the different frames. The t test was statistically significant with a large effect size, with female participants (M = 3.81, SD = 1.38), stating scores that are 0.71 lower, meaning more positive, than those of male participants (M = 4.52, SD = 1.23), t (151) = -3.41, p = .001, two tailed, d = -1.03

Also, independent samples t-test checking for differences between man and women were run by the two experimental groups as well. That leads to the finding that taken separately, there is no significant difference in scores between men and women that both read the female framed proposal, with women scoring not statistically lower (M = 3.99, SD = 1.51) than men (M = 4.60, SD = 1.27) t(73) = -1.89, p = .063, two tailed. Whereas with the male frame there are significantly lower scores with female participants (M= 3.67, SD = 1.27) against male participants (M= 4.43, SD = 1.17), t (75) = -2.72, p = .008, two tailed. No differences between age groups or educational levels were found.

5.4 Quotas on the EU level

The two last questions of the survey focussed on the aspect of regulating a gender quota policy on the EU level. The opinions of participants about regulating quotas on the EU level were measured through two items. The responses are depicted in table 13. The first item stated that gender quotas for European elections should be regulated on the EU level. The responses to this question were mostly positive, with 49% of the respondents agreeing, 14,4% neither agreeing nor disagreeing and 36,6% disagreeing to some extent. With this question there was difference/no difference in gender, age and educational groups.

The second item asked the question the other way around, stating every country should be able to decide if it wants to use gender quotas during European election. 41,2% of the respondents did agree to this question. This comes close to the 36,6% that did not agree to the first statement, which will roughly be the same group. 45,7% did not agree to the statement.

Table 13. Quota use on the EU level.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
EU level	3,9%	24,8%	20,3%	14,4%	9,8%	18,3%	8,5%
Decide MS	3,3%	25,5%	12,4%	13,1%	12,4%	26,8%	6,5%

A Mann-Whitney *U* tests indicated that male participants (Mean Rank = 83.80, n = 79) significantly disagreed more to having gender quotas for European Parliament elections regulated on the EU level than female participants (Mean Rank = 68.60, n = 73), *U* = 2306.50, *z* = -2.16 (corrected for ties), *p* = .03, two tailed. This is considered a small effect (r=.18). For the second item that reversed the statement of the first item, male participants significantly agreed more (Mean Rank = 69.04, n = 79) than female participants (Mean Rank = 84.58, n = 73), *U* = 2294.00, *z* = -2.22 (corrected for ties), *p* = .026 also with a small effect size (r=. -18). These result do not only show that female participants agree more to having quotas for EP elections regulated on the EU level, but also that participants are consistent in the way they answer on these two questions. Furthermore, there was a framing effect measured on the second item. Participants faced with the male frame disagreed more to the statement that gender quotas for EP elections should be regulated per member state (Mean Rank = 84.84, n = 78), than participants faced with the female frame (Mean Rank = 68.85, n = 75), *U* = 2313.50, *z* = -2.28 (corrected for ties), *p* = .02, two tailed, with a small effect size (r = .18). There was also a difference in scores between participants faced with the male and female frame on the first item, however, this effect was not significant. No differences between age groups or educational levels were found.

Finally, the relations between ideas about whether or not quota should be an EU competence and attitudes to quota use were analysed. Spearman's rho on the individual items shows positive correlations between the separate items on attitudes towards quota use quotas and the EU level item (see table 14). Significant negative correlations are visible between attitudes

and the MS level item. Spearman's rho is additionally indicated the presence of a strong positive correlation between regulating quotas on the EU level and the combined scale of attitudes, r_s = .65, p <.001, two tailed, N = 153. Correspondingly, a less strong but still significant negative correlation is present between viewing quotas as something that should be handles on the member state level and attitudes towards quota, r_s = -.24, p =.003, two tailed, N = 153.

Table 14.

Spearman's rho from attitudes towards gender quotas (appropriate, fair, trust, best MEP, good method, fair chances) and role of the EU level.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. EU level	-	-.50**	.58**	.55**	.37**	.55**	.59**	.60**	.65**
2. Decide MS	-.50**	-	-.16*	-.23**	-.06	-.21**	-.20**	-.28**	-.24**
3. *Appropriate*	.55**	-16*	-	.75**	.58**	.71**	.67**	.59**	.88**
4. Fairness	.55**	-.23**	.75**	-	.53**	.69**	.58**	.59**	.84**
5. Trust	.37**	-.06	.58**	.53**	-	.65**	.48**	.52**	.75**
6. Best MEP	.55**	-.21*	.71**	.69**	.65**	-	.57**	.57**	.84**
7. Good method	.59**	-.20*	.67**	.58**	.48**	.57**	-	.60**	.80**
8. Fair chances	.60**	-.28**	.59**	.59**	.52**	.57**	.60**	-	.79**
9. Scale attitude	.65**	-.24**	.88**	.84**	.75**	.84**	.80**	.79**	-

Note. * p < .05, ** p < .01.

5.5 Summary of findings

In this chapter, the responses that were collected from a sample of 153 Dutch respondents were summarized and analysed. Regarding the importance that the respondents report on gender equality, the analysis shows that female participants score higher on all individual items and the scale as a whole. Male participants do tend to agree to many of the statements, be it in smaller numbers. This leads to a significant difference on the scale measuring perceived importance. Women score significantly lower than men, meaning they agree more. Furthermore, a strong and positive correlation is found between perceived importance of gender equality and attitudes towards gender quotas. This correlation is significant with both male and female participants.

Considering the items measuring explicit gender bias, the same difference between men and women is visible on the first three items. Women score higher on the first and third

item, indicating they disagree to a larger extent to these items, and score lower on the second item, meaning they agree more than men on the statement; in the case of two equal candidates, one male and one female, I would be inclined to vote for the female candidate. This item was also positively correlated to the scale of attitudes towards gender quotas.

On this scale of attitudes towards gender quotas, no significant difference was observed for responses after reading the male or female frame. However, a significant difference was found on the one item asking whether respondents think the proposed quota system would lead to the best possible MEP's. With this item, participants that had read the male framed quota policy scored significantly lower, meaning they agreed more than participants faced with the female framed quota policy. Whereas there are significant differences between men and women without controlling for the different frames, indicating that women score lower than men on the scale measuring attitudes, meaning overall they agree more, this effect does not count when only looking at the group of respondents that read the female framed quota policy. With the male frame, women do score lower.

There was a significant and strong positive correlation between attitudes toward quotas and willingness to have quotas regulated on the EU level. A difference was observed in female and male participants, where females tend to agree more to regulating quotas on the EU level and male participants more to letting member states decide about their own quota policies. Furthermore, participants faced with the male frame disagreed more to the statement that gender quotas for EP elections should be regulated per member state than participants faced with the female frame.

Finally, there was no significant effect measured on any of the variables concerning differences in answers from participants in various age categories or educational levels. This could be attributed to large differences in sample size between the various age and educational groups, as will be elaborated further upon in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

5. Conclusion and discussion

The goal of this research was to answer the question of how perceived importance of gender equality, gender bias and the framing of a gender quota affect attitudes towards a proposed quota policy for European Parliament elections among Dutch respondents. As the use of gender quotas for EP elections is currently left to the discretion of each EU member state, and the Dutch do not use political gender quotas and additionally are not known for their enthusiasm towards the use of quota, this made for an interesting research population to test already existing theories and assumptions about attitudes towards political gender quotas. In order to test those assumptions, data was collected through an online survey with an experimental component. In this way the research adds to the still developing field of using experimental research methods in political science and European studies.

Furthermore, as political gender quotas have put themselves on the map by becoming one of the fastest growing and widely used tool to increase gender equality in political leadership around the world (Brodolini et al., 2014, p.19), the results of this study may contribute to the effective implementation of quota use, by analysing which factors could influence citizen's attitudes towards quota use. To be able to conclude in a well-founded manner, first the sub questions and hypotheses will be answered. These will provide an answer to the research question as a whole, after which recommendations for policy and further research may be done.

The first sub question asked how importance of gender equality relates to attitudes towards the use of gender quotas. The expectation was that if there is perceived importance of gender equality,

Perceived importance of gender equality

Attitudes towards a proposed quota policy
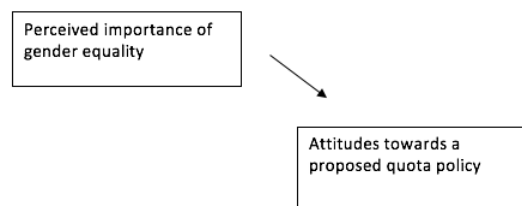
then the attitudes towards a proposed quota policy will be positive. The expectation was also that female participants would show more perceived importance than male participants. This hypothesis can be confirmed, as the data from the survey among Dutch respondents shows a positive relation between perceived importance of gender equality and attitudes towards gender quotas. Respondents who agree on statements about whether gender equality was important for them, also show positive attitudes towards quota use. Female respondents reported lower scores on the scale measuring perceived importance, meaning they, in line

with the expectation, show more importance towards gender equality as an issue. These findings are in line with prior findings by Meier (2012), Morgan and Buice (2013) and Barnes and Cordova (2016) who all through different methodologies showed a difference between men and women when it comes to the importance of gender equality and relations between importance of gender equality and supporting attitudes towards quota use. The current study however, is the first one in this list to prove the relation by using a survey among respondents which is not referring to already existing quota policy. Furthermore, previous evidence was found among respondents in Belgium and various Latin-American countries that already use legislated gender quotas. The findings among Dutch respondents who do not know a system of legislated gender quotas implicate that creating importance of gender equality could be a useful indicator and tool to increase positive attitudes and the willingness for the use of gender quotas.

Attitudes towards a
proposed quota policy

Explicit gender bias
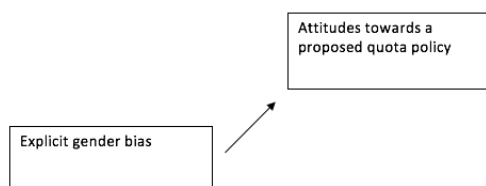
The second sub question was about the impact of gender bias on attitudes towards gender quotas. Gender bias was measured in the survey through explicit gender bias. The hypothesis, which indicated that if there is more explicit bias, the attitudes toward the proposed quota policy will be more negative, with higher scores on explicit bias for male participants, is partly confirmed. As participants who think men are more suited to be in politics also indicate quota are not a suitable method for creating gender equality, this indicates at least part of the impact of gender bias on attitudes towards gender quotas. However, an effect for the whole scale measuring attitudes was only found by combining scores of two questions and did not flow naturally from the all the answers. Also, the relation was proved the other way around meaning if there was less explicit bias the attitudes towards the quota were more possible. It also became clear that men do show more explicit bias than women amongst the research population of this study. In three of the four questions measuring explicit bias, men scored significantly higher than women. This again is in line with prior research that indicates gender bias can influence attitudes towards quota (Mölders et al., 2017) and that bias is more common among male participants (Beaman et al., 2009). Even though the current study did not succeed in irrevocably confirming the relation between

explicit bias and attitudes because the effect was not found for all questions measuring explicit bias, there is a strong ground for further research into this relation.

The third sub question was about the effect of different frames on attitudes towards quotas. To study this specific question, an experimental aspect was added to the survey. Respondents were randomly assigned to read one of two newspaper articles. One of the articles was about a gender quota framed in the 'traditional' way, highlighting the underrepresentation of women, whereas the other framed the quota as a male quota, highlighting the overrepresentation of men in politics. This framing experiment was based on theory about the fact that negative attitudes towards quota policies are at least partly based on the argument that quotas are non-meritocratic (Murray, 2014). This framing experiment tries to go around that merit argument while at the same time focussing on men instead of women as the 'out-group' targeted by a quota policy (Clayton, 2015). Therefore, the hypothesis was that participants faced with a male framed quota policy would show more positive attitudes toward the proposed quota policy than participants faced with a female frame quota policy.

Even though the hypothesis could not be confirmed completely (shown by a dotted arrow in the figure above) - as there was no significant difference between the experimental groups on the scale measuring attitudes as a whole - there was an interesting result concerning the single question in the scale about merit. Participants who had read the male framed article showed significantly lower scores, meaning they agreed more to the fact that this system would lead to the best possible MEP's than participants who had read the female framed article. It seems thus, that even if there is no difference on other indicators such as trust in elected politicians through the quota system, or fairness of the system, the merit argument could be tackled by changing the frame.

The fourth and final sub question was about the role of the fact that a quota is proposed on the EU level. The expectation was that if participants display positive attitudes towards quota use, they will also accept implementation of the quota policy on the EU level. This hypothesis

Attitudes towards a
proposed quota policy

Quotas for European
Parliament elections
regulated on the EU level
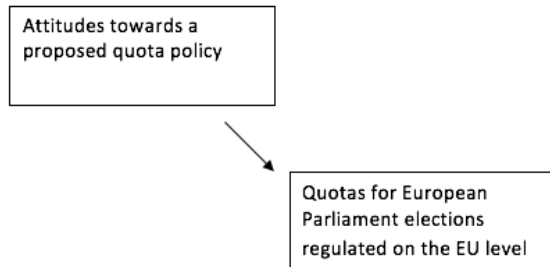
may be confirmed as there was a positive relation distinguished between attitudes towards quotas and agreeing with the statement that quotas for European parliament elections should be regulated on the EU level. Interestingly, also for this variable there was a difference between female and

male participants. Women agreed significantly more to quota regulated on the EU level whereas men agreed more to the exact opposite, letting member states decide whether or not to use quotas. This finding is interesting as little research exists concerning the attitudes of European citizens about the possibilities for regulating gender quotas for European parliament elections on the European level as opposed to letting each member state decide whether or not to use quotas. Considering that other aspects about the process of electing MEP's, such as the electoral system, are the same for each member state, this finding opens the gates for more research into the possibilities for doing the same in using legislated gender quotas.

The findings of this research indicate that of the three factors that were expected to influence attitudes towards quota use, the effect of using a different frame could not be confirmed completely whereas the effect of explicit gender bias and perceived importance towards gender equality were confirmed. For all variables that were measured, there was a significant difference in scores between male and female participants. Women score higher on perceived importance of gender equality, show less gender bias, are more positive towards quota use and even agree significantly more to regulating quotas on the EU level. These findings are complementary to prior research into attitudes towards quotas and can be explained by the fact that gender quotas and gender equality in general challenge the position of men in political life (Besley, Folke, Persson & Rickne, 2017). This realization leads to the importance of finding ways to make gender equality in politics something that concerns both men and women and leads to the most democratic processes for both.

The literature suggested that attitudes towards gender quotas may be influenced by the traditional frame which refers to women as the 'out-group' (Clayton, 2015). This relates to the fact that people who show more explicit bias gender bias for women in political leadership roles also oppose to the use of gender quotas more. Furthermore, the current study does confirm that changing the frame can influence how respondents judge the 'merit-argument' which claims that quotas are not meritocratic. This suggest that in this case, where the frame was focussed on the meritocracy argument, combined with a focus on male overrepresentation instead of female underrepresentation, there is an effect of changing to the male frame.

As concerns this framing effect, the conclusions of the study thus lead to the call for more research into different frames, that may vary in the aspects they highlight, as the current frames were only focussed on the meritocracy argument by highlighting women are more highly educated than men. Combining that with changing the frame from female underrepresentation to male overrepresentation, this leads to differences in the way people assess whether or not through this quota system the best possible members of parliament are chosen. This leads to the question of whether frames focussing more on trusts or fairness issues would also come to the same results on those aspects of the scale measuring attitudes towards quota use. Then, also the level of the quota would be interesting to study. For instance, would the attitudes matter when the quota is not as in the current example a 50% one, but a 40 vs. 60 % one. Further research that uses a combined design of more varieties in frames amongst a larger population of respondents would therefore be necessary to improve the knowledge about possible effects of different sorts of frames on attitudes towards gender quotas. This could lead to distinguishing the most ideal frame for informing about political gender quota policies.

More practical implications that may be retrieved from the theory and partly the findings in this study are that both the EU as national governments should be aware of the fact that with talking about gender quotas or underrepresentation of women in politics in general, there is an effect of the framing of the problem as indeed being about underrepresentation of women. Changing the way of thinking and accepting that there could indeed be another problem, namely the overrepresentation of men (Murray, 2014), could change the perspective that political gender quotas would lead to women in political office that are less capable than the men who would be there if the quota was not used. It could

turn the argument around by assuming that at least a small part of the men that are in political office would not belong there when assessing their capacities to those of some women, indicating that a cap should be installed to ensure only the best male candidates make it to political office.

These conclusions are related to the importance of realizing the role that gender bias and stereotypes play in political life and evaluation of male and female politicians (Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000). As contemporary stereotypes of men and women continue to lead to a preference for male leaders, this bias is also related to whether or not people see gender quotas as a necessary tool. When people see male leaders, at least explicitly as was measured by this research, as better fit for politics it is only natural that they do not view gender quotas as necessary measure. Further research could also focus on implicit bias and assess whether there is also an effect of implicit bias and whether that differs from the effect of explicit bias. However, as implicit gender bias is a complex concept that may not be changed easily through awareness or policy measures, there needs to be care when using this concept (Bohnet, 2012).

Furthermore, there is a relation between the way people perceive importance of creating gender equality in politics and their ideas about quota use. People who are more aware of the importance of gender equality will also be more accepting of a policy measure as gender quotas. These realizations lead to the highly relevant practical realization that a proposal for a quota policy should never stand alone in solving issues of gender equality. Even though quotas have proven to be an effective tool, in order to really create gender equality there has to be awareness of the fact that gender equality is relevant for everyone in society and that women are in fact capable of qualitative political leadership. Specific and general policies towards awareness for gender equality and equal opportunities combined with the use of gender quotas would be most effective in reaching both goals of increasing descriptive and symbolic representation of women in politics.

When doing recommendations about the possible introduction of legislated gender quotas for all parties in all EU member states, the advice would thus be to focus less on female underrepresentation when presenting a quota policy, combined with presenting quotas together with other tools and policies to increase awareness of gender equality and decrease explicit bias towards male leaders as being more capable. Any specific measure to increase

gender equality should go hand in hand with measures that increase broader societal awareness of the problem. Prior literature shows that then in turn the quota policy may contribute again to these issues, making for a circular relation between the effect of quotas and perceived importance of gender equality and gender bias.

Further research would be necessary to test also the differences between attitudes towards quota on the EU or the national level. The current study focussed on the EU level and showed that positive attitudes towards quota use are related to positive attitudes of regulating quota on the EU level. As voter turnout at European elections is usually very low, it has to be considered that this effect could be related to the fact that citizens do not care about European elections and therefore do not care about whether or not quotas are used. On the other hand, it may also be the other way around and Euroscepticism could be an indicator of regulating attitudes on the EU level as well. More research therefore is necessary to test whether either of these assumptions is valid and whether there would be a difference between attitudes towards EU level quotas and national quotas.

The findings of this research should be taken with care, as there were some limitations in the design and execution of the research. First of all, the fact that the survey which was the basis for the data leading to the conclusions, was spread in the personal network of the researcher. This convenience sample led to a research population of mostly young people of under 25 with in most cases at least a university bachelor degree. All conclusions described above thus very explicitly only account for the current research population and cannot be generalized to a wider population. However, the findings did not stand alone. They confirmed and added to already existing theories.

Unfortunately, because of this limitation concerning the research population it was not possible to find differences between either age or educational levels. Furthermore, in the survey there was a question about profession of the respondents, this question was included to control whether respondents working on EU issues would show differences than respondents who were not. As a large part of the researcher's network is either working in Brussels or studying European politics, this could have led to interesting results. However, this question was asked on an open-ended basis which lead to participants mostly filling out answers like; 'researcher', 'policymaker' or 'student' without specifying the field of research,

policy or studies. As this data was too vague to add anything significant to the findings, it was excluded from the analysis leading to a limitation because of the design of the survey.

Furthermore, the fact that a survey was used may also be seen as a limitation in itself. All the other questions in the survey were asked on a closed basis. This is very useful for analysis of the data, but may be seen as a limitation because it forces participants to choose an option when in reality they may not really have a strong opinion on the topic (Julien, 2008 p. 847). Furthermore, participants had no possibility to explain their answers. In future research it would be interesting to additionally add closed-ended questions that give a clear indication of the attitudes. Another option would be to organize focus groups to discuss the questions more in depth and find out more about where attitudes towards quota use may come from and which factors influence them.

Summarizing, the findings of this thesis contribute to the literature on attitudes towards quota use by showing a relation between thinking gender equality is important and attitudes towards quota use, by showing a relation between explicit gender bias and attitudes towards quota use, by showing at least partly an effect of changing the frame of gender quotas on attitudes towards gender quotas, and by showing that when respondents tend to be positive about quota use, they also tend to be more positive towards regulating quota for European Parliament elections on the EU level. The findings indicate that these factor together influence the attitudes of Dutch citizens towards political gender quotas which could in turn contribute to more gender equal representation in European politics, leading to a more democratic and inclusive European Union.

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Appendix 1 – The survey

The survey in Dutch

Bedankt dat u wilt deelnemen aan dit onderzoek over diversiteit in politiek leiderschap!

Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd in het kader van de masterscriptie European Governance aan de Universiteit Utrecht. U kunt deelnemen aan dit onderzoek via uw computer, laptop, tablet of telefoon.

Het onderzoek bestaat uit een korte vragenlijst en het lezen van een kort krantenbericht. In totaal neemt het onderzoek 5-10 minuten in beslag. Vul alstublieft alle vragen zo eerlijk mogelijk in, er bestaan geen goede of foute antwoorden. Neem niet te veel tijd maar antwoord op basis van uw eerste ingeving.

Deelname aan dit onderzoek is volledig vrijwillig en u kunt daarom op ieder moment stoppen. Alle resultaten van het onderzoek worden anoniem verwerkt en alle gegevens worden volledig vertrouwelijk behandeld.

U kunt niet terug gaan naar de vorige vraag. Vul de vragen dus zorgvuldig in, maar denk er niet te lang over na. Nogmaals, er zijn geen goede of foute antwoorden, het gaat om uw mening.

Door hieronder op ''ja'' te klikken geeft u aan geïnformeerd te zijn over dit onderzoek en akkoord te gaan met deelname.

Ja

Hoe oud bent u?

Wat is uw geslacht?

Vrouw

Man

Anders

Wat is uw hoogst afgeronde opleiding?

Basisonderwijs

Middelbaar onderwijs - VMBO

Middelbaar onderwijs - HAVO

Middelbaar onderwijs - VWO

MBO

HBO

Universitaire Bachelor

Universitaire Master

Postmaster

Beschrijf kort uw huidige functie of studie

De volgende vragen gaan over hoe u denkt over gendergelijkheid in de Europese politiek

Helemaal mee eens	Mee eens	Een beetje mee eens	Niet mee eens, niet mee oneens	Een beetje mee oneens	Mee oneens	Helemaal mee oneens

Ik denk vaak na over gendergelijkheid

Vrouwen zijn minder vertegenwoordigd dan mannen in de Europese politiek

Het is een probleem als vrouwen en mannen niet gelijk zijn vertegenwoordigd in de Europese politiek

Het is belangrijk dat er totale gelijkheid is tussen mannen en vrouwen in de politiek en leiderschapsfuncties in het algemeen

Het is belangrijk dat er meer beleid wordt gemaakt om de positie van vrouwen in de politiek gelijk te trekken aan die van mannen

Ik ben positief over het gebruik van gender quota

De volgende vragen gaan over geschiktheid van mannen en vrouwen in de politiek

Helemaal mee eens	Mee eens	Een beetje mee eens	Niet mee eens, niet mee oneens	Een beetje mee oneens	Mee oneens	Helemaal mee oneens

Als er twee kandidaten met precies dezelfde kwaliteiten, de één man en de ander vrouw op een lijst staan, ben ik geneigd op de man te stemmen

Als er twee kandidaten met precies dezelfde kwaliteiten, de één man en de ander vrouw op een lijst staan, ben ik geneigd op de vrouw te stemmen

Mannen zijn meer geschikt dan vrouwen voor de politiek

Vrouwen zijn meer geschikt dan mannen voor de politiek

Nu krijgt u een kort krantenartikel te lezen. Lees het goed door want de vragen hierna gaan over het artikel.

Vrouwenquotum in Europese Verkiezingen
28-05-2018

Op dit moment zijn vrouwen in Europa hoger opgeleid dan mannen. Dit is echter niet te zien in het aantal vrouwen in leiderschapsfuncties in de EU. Daarom wil de Europese Unie bij de volgende verkiezingen voor het Europees Parlement een gender quotum instellen waarbij op de lijsten van alle partijen minimaal 50% vrouwelijke kandidaten moeten staan. Op deze manier wordt gegarandeerd dat de beste kandidaten gekozen kunnen worden.

Mannenquotum in Europese Verkiezingen
28-05-2018

Op dit moment zijn mannen in Europa minder hoog opgeleid dan vrouwen. Dit is echter niet te zien in het aantal vrouwen in leiderschapsfuncties in de EU. Daarom wil de Europese Unie bij de volgende verkiezingen voor het Europees Parlement een gender quotum instellen waarbij op de lijsten van alle partijen maximaal 50% mannelijke kandidaten mogen staan. Op deze manier wordt gegarandeerd dat alleen de beste kandidaten gekozen kunnen worden.

Geef uw mening over de onderstaande stellingen

Helemaal mee eens	Mee eens	Een beetje mee eens	Niet mee eens, niet mee oneens	Een beetje mee oneens	Mee oneens	Helemaal mee oneens

Het quotasysteem zoals in het artikel is een geschikte manier om gelijkheid te creëren

Het quotasysteem zoals in het artikel is eerlijk

Ik zou vertrouwen hebben in de politici die door dit quotasysteem gekozen worden

Dit systeem zal leiden tot de best mogelijke parlementsleden

Geef hier uw mening over het gebruik van gender quota in het algemeen

Het gebruik van quota is geschikt is om gendergelijkheid in de politiek te behalen

Gender quota leiden tot meer eerlijke kansen voor mannen en vrouwen

Geef hier uw mening over de geschiktheid van het gebruik van quota op Europees niveau

Helemaal mee eens	Mee eens	Een beetje mee eens	Niet mee eens, niet mee oneens	Een beetje mee oneens	Mee oneens	Helemaal mee oneens

Gender quota voor Europese verkiezingen zouden op Europees niveau vastgelegd moeten worden

Elk land moet zelf kunnen bepalen of het wel of geen gender quota wil gebruiken tijdens Europese verkiezingen

---

Dit was de laatste vraag. Hartelijk bedankt voor uw deelname aan het onderzoek.

Ter informatie is het goed om te weten dat het krantenartikel dat u heeft gelezen niet echt is en niet voor alle participanten hetzelfde. Mocht u met anderen over dit onderzoek praten die nog niet hebben deelgenomen, deel dan alstublieft niet te veel over de inhoud van het artikel.

Bij interesse in de resultaten, of vragen over het onderzoek kunt u een e-mail sturen naar: s.i.raterman@students.uu.nl

The survey in English

Thank you for taking part in this study about diversity in political leadership.

This study is conducted fort he purpose of my masters thesis in European Governance at Utrecht University. You can participate in this survey through your computer, laptop, tablet or mobile phone.

The survey consitst out of a short questionairre and the reading of a short newspaper article. All together, the survey will take 5 to 10 minutes. Please answer all the questions as honest as possible, there are no wrong or right answers. Do not take too much time, but answer on the basis of you first thought.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and therefore you can stop the survey at any moment. All results of the study will be used anonimously and all data will be treated confidentially.

During the survey there is no possibility to go back tot he previous question so please read and answer each question with care, without thinking about it too long. Again, there are no wrong or right answers, I am interested solely in your opinion.

By ticking the 'yes' box below you confirm to have been informed about this research and agree to participate.

Yes

What is your age?

Please state your gender.

Female

Male

Different

What is the highest level of education you have obtained?

Primary education

Secondary education - VMBO

Secondary education - HAVO

Secondary education - VWO

MBO

HBO

University Bachelor

University Master

Postmaster

Please describe shortly your current line of work or studies

The following questions are about your ideas about gender equality in European politics

Strongly agree	Agree	Some what agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Some what disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

I think about gender equality often.

Women are underrepresented compared to men in EU politics.

~~Europese politiek~~

Unequal representation between men and women in European politics is problematic.

Complete equality between men and women in politics and leadership positions in general is important.

More policy should be made to create equality between men and women.

I am positive about the use of quotas.

The following questions are about whether men and/or women are suited to be in politics.

Strongly agree	Agree	Some what agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Some what disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

If two candidates with the same qualities are on a party list, the one a woman and the other a man, I would be inclined to vote for the man.

If two candidates with the same qualities are on a party list, the one a woman and the other a man, I would be inclined to vote for the woman.

In general, men are more competent to be in politics.

In general, women are more competent to be in politics.

You will now read a short newspaper article. Please read the article carefully before answering the next questions.

Female quota in European Parliament elections.

At this moment, women in Europe are more highly educated than men. This is not visible in the number of women in leadership positions in the EU. Therefore, the European Parliament wants to install a gender quota in which all parties in all countries have to have 50% female candidates on their lists. In this manner it is guaranteed that the best candidates will be chosen.

Male quota in European Parliament Elections.

At this moment, women in Europe are more highly educated than men This is not visible in the number of women in leadership positions in the EU. Therefore, the European Parliament wants to install a gender quota in which all parties in all countries can have a maximum of 50% male candidates on their lists. In this manner it is guaranteed that the best candidates will be chosen.

Please give your opinion on the following statements.

Strongly agree	Agree	Some what agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Some what disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The quota system in the article is an appropriate way to create equality.						

The quota system as in the article is fair.

I would have confidence in the politicians that are chosen through this quota system

This system will lead to the best members of parliament possible.

Please give your opinion on the use of gender quota in general.

The use of quota is appropriate for achieving gender equality in politics

Gender quotas lead to more fair chances for women and men

Please state your opinion on the use of gender quota on the European Union level.

Strongly agree	Agree	Some what agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Some what disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

Gender quotas for European Parliament elections should be regulated on the EU level.

Every member state should be able to decide for themselves if they want to use quotas

---

This was the last question. Thank you very much for your participation in the study.

For you information, it is good to know that the newspaper article you read was not real and not the same for every participant. If you talk to other people that have not participated yet but are planning to do so, please do not share too much about the content of the study and this explanation.

If you are interested in the results, or if you have questions about the study please contact me at s.i.raterman@students.uu.nl

Appendix 2 – Graphs and plots confirming assumptions necessary for parametric tests

Histograms showing the distributions of scores on perceived importance of gender equality with male and female participants.
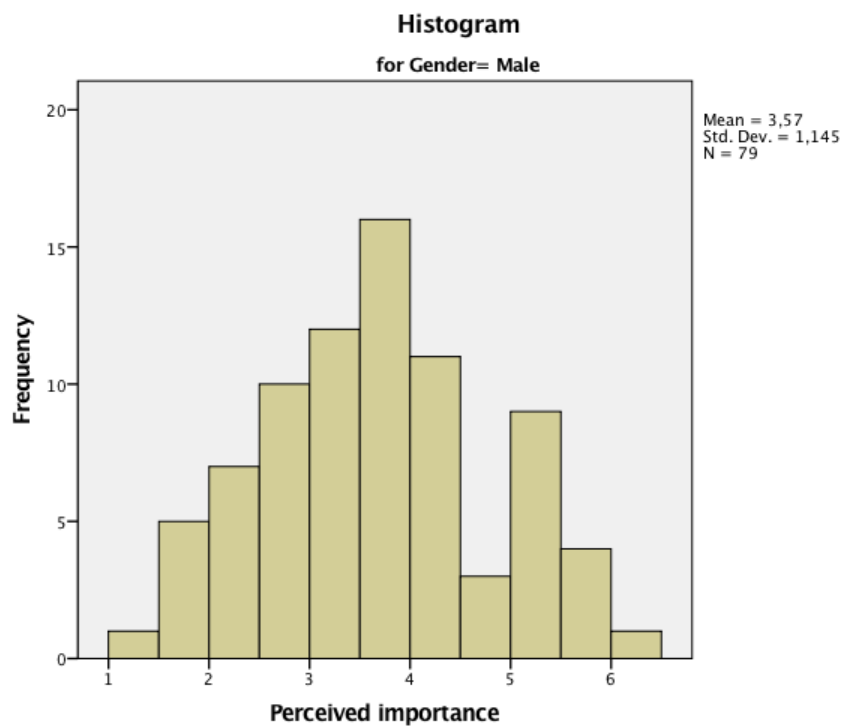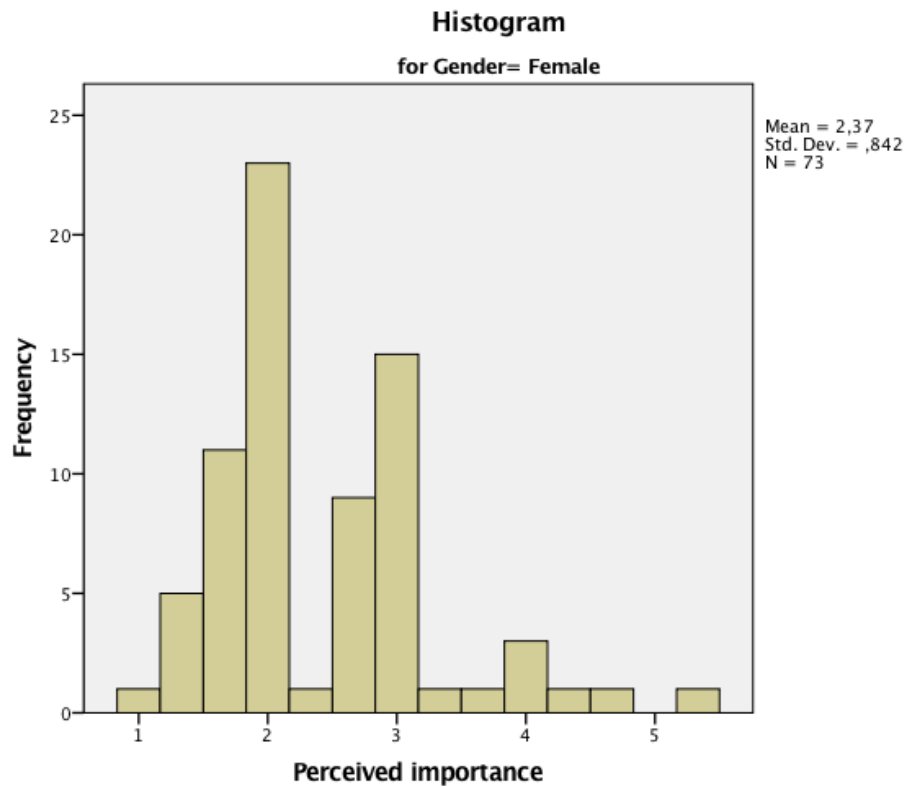
Histogram showing the distributions of scores on attitudes towards quota with the male and female frame group.
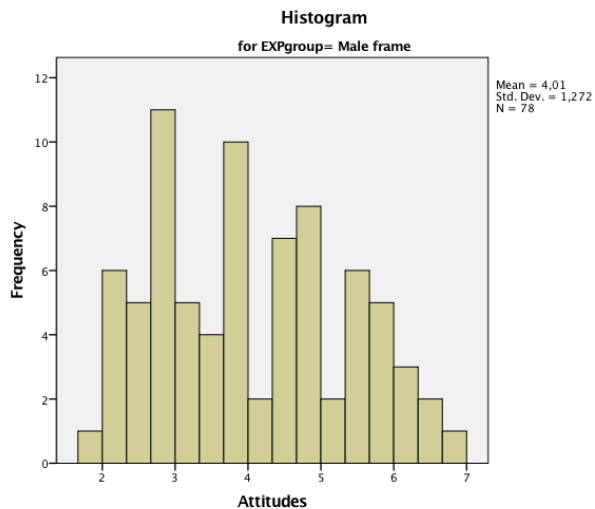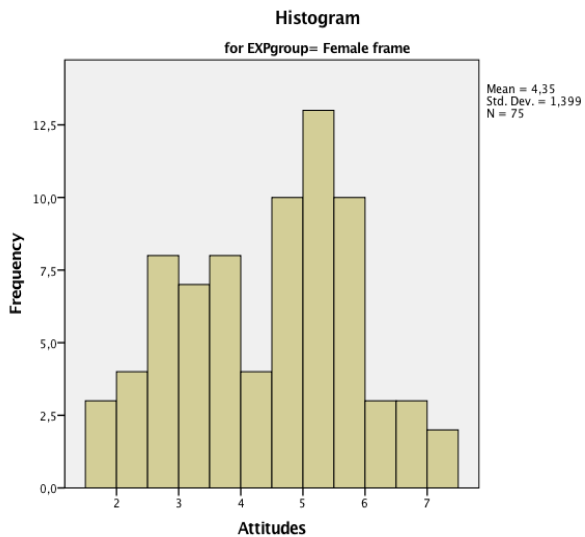
Histogram showing the distributions of scores on attitudes towards quota with male and female participants.
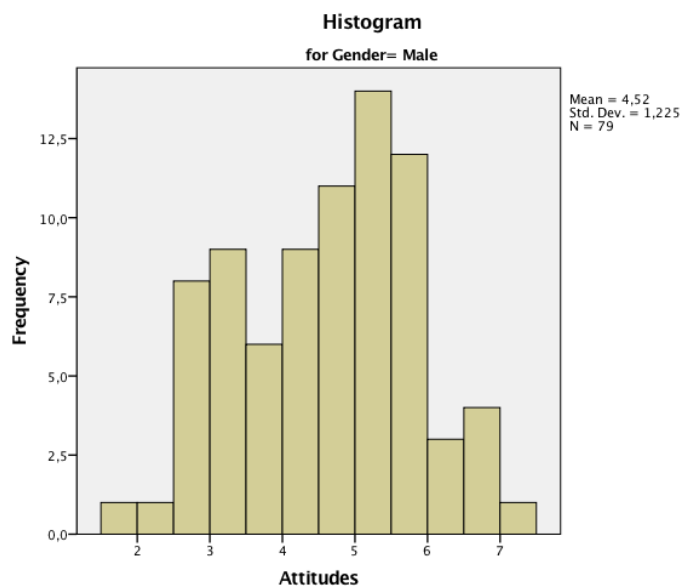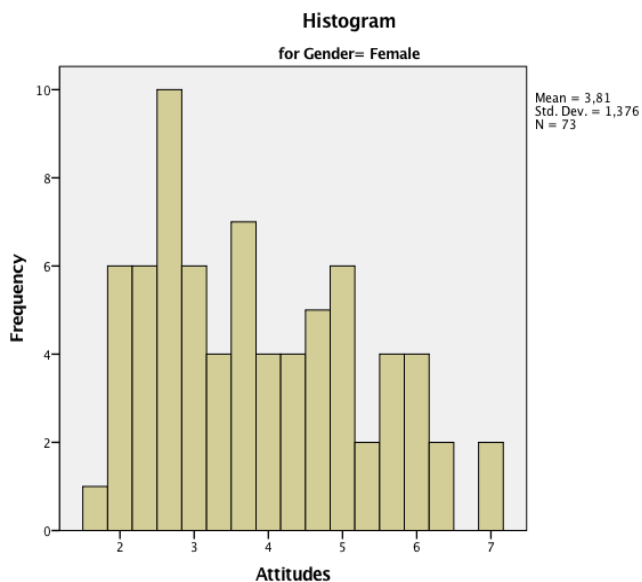
Plots showing normality of the data on perceived importance and attitudes towards quota use.

Normal Q–Q Plot of Perceived importance

Normal Q–Q Plot of Attitudes
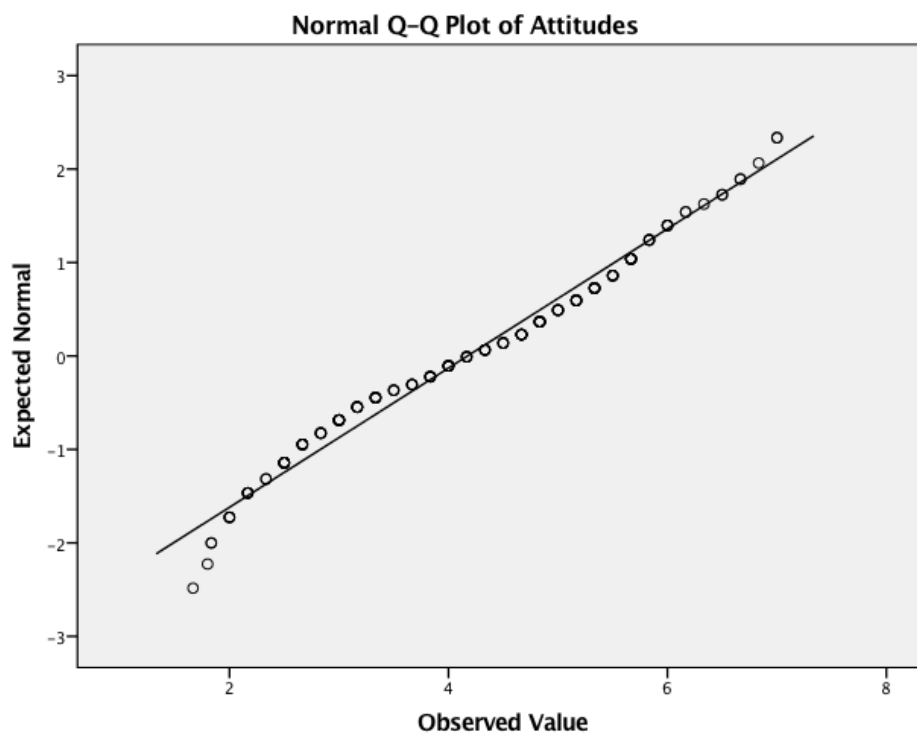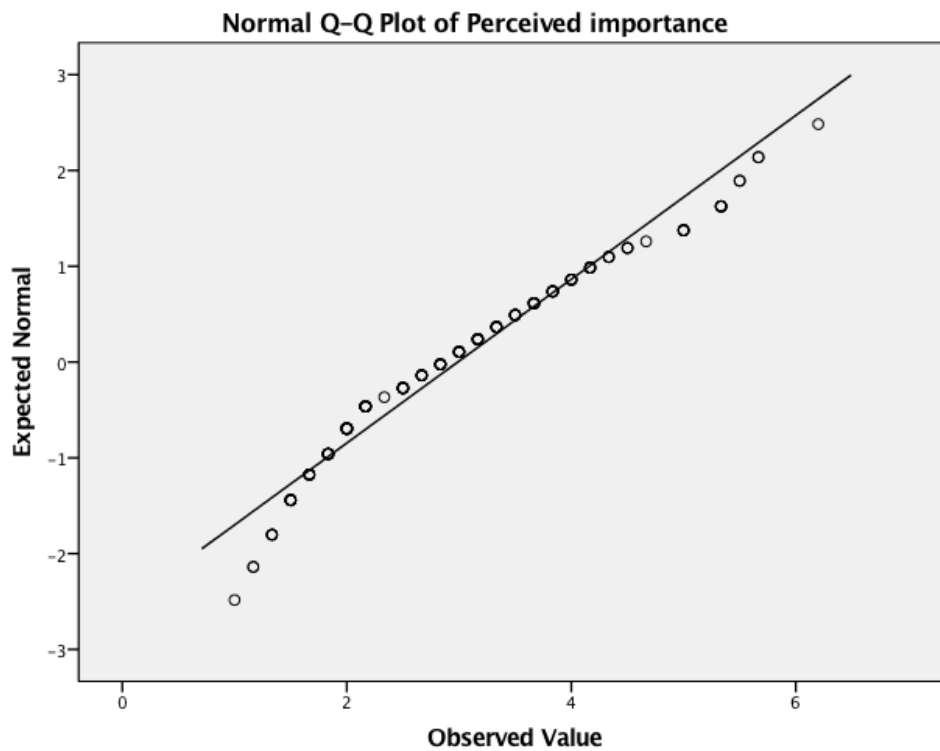
Graph showing linearity and homoscedasticity of the data on perceived importance and attitudes towards quota use.
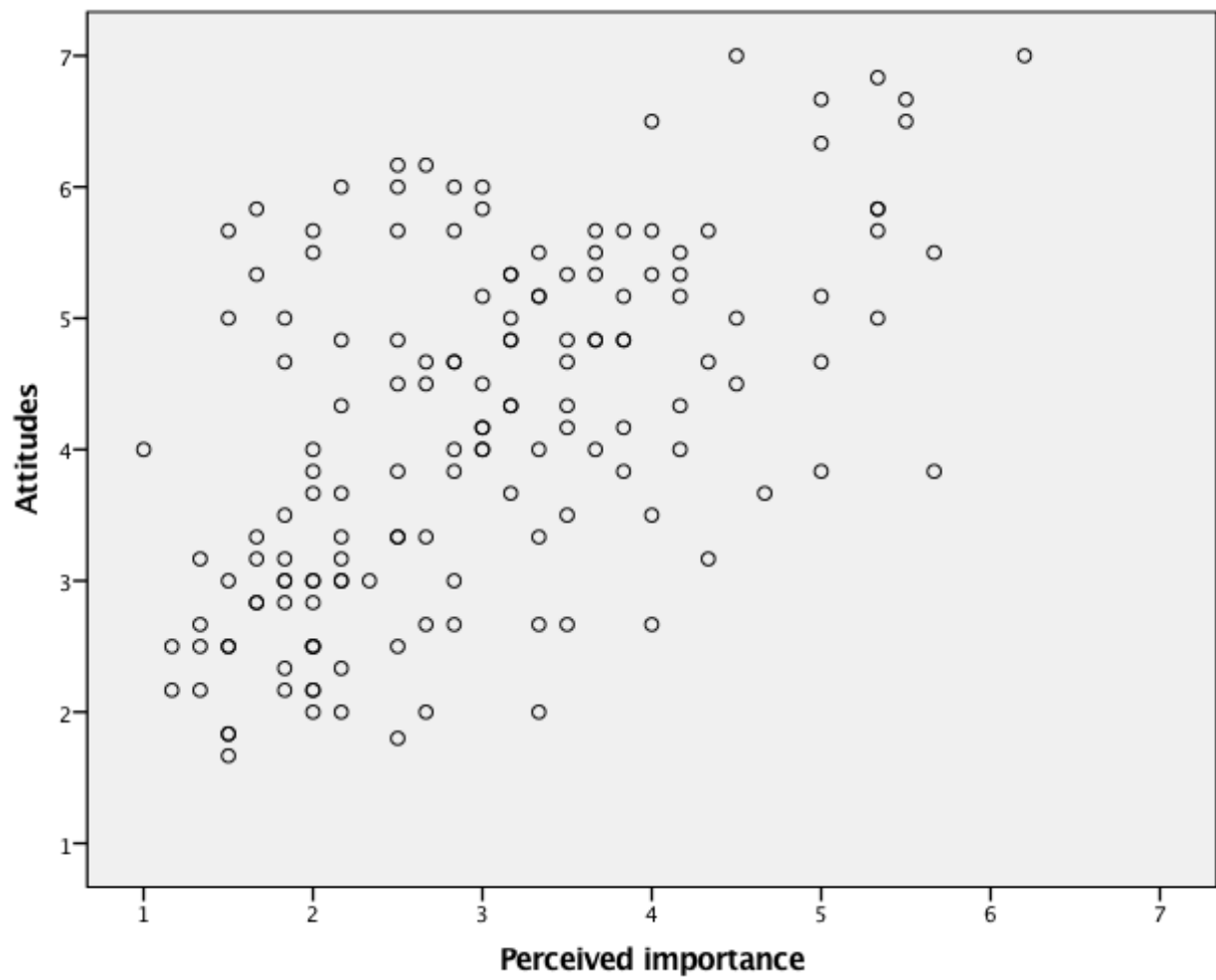
Appendix 3 – Survey data per variable

Data on age category, gender and educational level and profession.

P-ID	Age category	Gender	Educational level	Profession
1	1	1	1	leerkracht basisonderwijs
2	1	2	1	Master studie
3	1	2	1	ik zit op de middelbare school
4	1	1	1	Stedenbouwkunde
5	1	1	4	GIS specialist
6	1	1	4	Niks
7	1	2	1	Tweetalig atheneum
8	1	3	1	5VWO
9	2	1	3	Gymnasium tweetalig
10	2	1	7	Ik heb een bijbaantje
11	2	1	7	Tweetalig Gymnasium
12	2	1	7	leerkracht basisonderwijs
13	2	1	7	5tvwo
14	2	1	7	Directeur primair onderwijs
15	2	1	7	Ontwerp assistent
16	2	1	7	Studie stedenbouw
17	2	1	7	student
18	2	1	8	Student Technische Bedrijfskunde
19	2	1	8	Architecture, Building and Planning
20	2	1	8	Studie Technische Bedrijfskunde
21	2	1	8	Innovation Management
22	2	1	8	Behavioural Science
23	2	1	8	Werktuigbouwkunde TU/e
24	2	2	3	Architectuurstudent
25	2	2	4	Technische bedrijfskunde
26	2	2	4	Management Trainee
27	2	2	4	Master IR
28	2	2	4	European Governance
29	2	2	4	Master Youth Studies
30	2	2	4	Stagiair
31	2	2	6	Master student architectuur
32	2	2	7	Industrial Engineering
33	2	2	7	Procesadviseur gemeente
34	2	2	7	International Business Administration
35	2	2	7	Biomedische Technologie

36	2	2	7	PhD bestuurskunde
37	2	2	7	Rijkstrainee, startend beleidsmedewerker
38	2	2	8	Technische Bedrijfskunde
39	2	2	8	Masterstudent forensische orthopedagogiek
40	2	2	8	Onderzoeker drinkwaterbehandeling
41	2	2	8	Teamleider
42	2	2	8	Hoofdonderzoeker/hoogleraar
43	2	2	8	onderwijsondersteunend personeel
44	2	1	3	wetenschappelijk onderzoeker
45	2	1	6	Technische bedrijfskunde
46	2	1	7	Technische bedrijfskunde
47	2	1	7	Milieuhygiene
48	2	1	7	Onderzoeker en teamleider
49	2	1	7	Onderzoeker geohydrologie
50	2	1	7	Onderzoeker drinkwater
51	2	1	7	Industrial Design Bsc
52	2	1	7	Stagiair geohydrologie
53	2	1	7	Onderzoeker Geohydrologie
54	2	1	7	wetenschappelijk onderzoeker
55	2	1	7	Afdelingshoofd
56	2	1	7	Technische Bedrijfskunde
57	2	1	8	Werkloos
58	2	1	8	Knowledge engineering and Data Science
59	2	1	8	Toegepaste Biologie
60	2	1	8	
61	2	1	8	Horeca
62	2	1	8	Leerkracht primair onderwijs
63	2	1	8	Master International development studies
64	2	2	4	onderzoeker
65	2	2	4	Leerkracht basisonderwijs
66	2	2	4	Tussenjaar in verband met een bestuursjaar. Volgend halfjaar bachelor afronden.
67	2	2	4	stagiaire
68	2	2	4	Rijkstrainee PV EU
69	2	2	7	Master student Diergeneeskunde
70	2	2	7	onderzoeker hydrologie
71	2	2	7	Tweetalig Atheneum
72	2	2	7	Consultant
73	2	2	7	Beleidsmedewerker samenwerkingsverband provincies in Brussel
74	2	2	7	Onderzoeker
75	2	2	7	Sectiecommandant Vliegveldverdediging (militair)

76	2	2	8	teamleider en projectmanager waterbeheer
77	2	2	8	Rijkstrainee, internationale betrekkingen
78	2	2	8	beleidsmedewerker Universiteit Utrecht
79	2	2	8	Trainee: bank leren kennen en dingen veranderen die ik zie
80	3	1	8	Onderzoeker
81	3	1	8	hogeschooldocent
82	3	1	8	Master Strategisch Human Resource Management
83	3	1	8	Docent-onderzoeker
84	3	1	8	docent
85	3	1	8	Docent
86	3	1	9	Docent
87	3	1	9	docent en projectleider
88	3	2	6	management assistent
89	3	2	6	docent / onderzoeker
90	3	2	8	Docent hbo
91	3	2	8	hogeschooldocent
92	3	2	8	Projectmanager en docent
93	3	2	8	docent HBO
94	3	2	8	studentenadviseur
95	3	1	8	psycholoog
96	3	1	8	Research Master
97	3	1	8	Hr
98	3	1	9	Beleidsadviseur Jeugd
99	3	2	6	Consultant
100	3	2	7	Consultant
101	3	2	8	docent HBO
102	3	2	8	docent/adviseur onderwijskunde
103	3	2	8	docent HBO
104	4	1	6	Beleidsmedewerker ouderenbeleid
105	4	1	8	Kerkelijk jongerenwerker Rk kerk
106	4	2	8	Afstuderend.
107	4	2	9	hogeschooldocent
108	4	2	9	docent
109	4	2	9	Student in het buitenland.
110	4	1	6	Adjunct directeur VO school
111	4	1	8	Onderzoeker
112	4	1	8	Masterstudent
113	4	1	8	Electrical Engineering
114	4	1	8	Klantmanager Inkomen en Werk
115	4	1	9	Onderzoeker/adviseur ecologie
116	4	2	6	Opnameplanner kinderziekenhuis

117	4	2	8	Onderzoeker
118	4	2	8	projectmanager
119	4	2	9	Trainee
120	4	2	9	Opleidingsmanager
121	4	2	9	Manager Software Engineere
122	5	1	6	European Governance
123	5	1	8	freelancer
124	5	1	8	docent, onderzoeker, opleidingsmanager
125	5	2	6	student zorgethiek en beleid
126	5	2	6	Masterstudent biomedical sciences
127	5	2	8	Officemanager bij een kleine stichting
128	5	2	8	Jurist
129	5	1	5	Data onderzoeker gemeente
130	5	1	6	wetenschappelijk onderzoeker
131	5	1	7	Traineeship overheid projectleider
132	5	1	8	Account Manager
133	5	1	8	Masterstudent stagiair
134	5	1	8	Master Clinical Psychology
135	5	2	8	Communicatie
136	5	2	8	Data analyst bij een NGO
137	6	1	8	Projectmedewerker Digitale Technologie
138	6	1	8	Marketing- en communicatiemedewerker
139	6	2	5	Docent BBE
140	6	2	6	leerkracht
141	6	2	8	Onderzoeker
142	6	2	8	master scheikunde
143	6	2	8	wetenschappelijk onderzoeker
144	6	2	9	onderzoeker waterdistributie
145	6	2	9	masterstudent
146	6	1	6	Psycholoog
147	6	1	8	coassistent (master geneeskunde)
148	6	2	6	Masterstudent en stagiair
149	6	2	6	Adviseur Europese zaken
150	6	2	8	Trainer
151	6	2	8	Ondernemer
152	7	1	6	pensioen,geen werk meer
153	7	2	8	Onderzoeker

Data on perceived attitudes towards gender equality.

P-ID	Thinking	Underrep	Problematic	Importance	More policy	Positive quota	Scale
1	2	3	1	1	2	2	2
2	4	3	6	6	7	7	6
3	7	3	7	7	4	6	6
4	2	2	1	1	1	2	2
5	3	4	2	1	2	3	3
6	3	3	1	2	1	2	2
7	2	2	3	3	2	3	3
8	2	2	1	3	2	3	2
9	3	2	2	3	2	4	3
10	2	1	2	2	2	3	2
11	3	3	2	3	3	3	3
12	2	2	2	1	1	4	2
13	2	2	1	1	2	3	2
14	3	3	2	4	3	3	3
15	6	2	3	2	3	3	3
16	4	3	1	4	3	2	3
17	3	2	4	4	4	6	4
18	3	2	1	1	1	1	2
19	2	1	1	1	2	2	2
20	2	2	1	1	1	2	2
21	2	2	2	3	2	2	2
22	1	3	1	2	2	6	3
23	2	2	1	3	2	3	2
24	4	1	1	1	1	2	2
25	6	2	5	2	5	3	4
26	6	4	3	5	4	5	5
27	3	2	4	5	4	4	4
28	4	3	6	6	3	2	4
29	6	4	3	1	4	3	4
30	4	3	6	2	3	4	4
31	5	3	6	6	6	6	5
32	3	3	2	2	2	3	3
33	1	2	2	2	5	5	3
34	3	2	3	1	2	6	3

35	3	1	1	1	2	2	2
36	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
37	7	4	5	5	5	4	5
38	6	4	5	4	5	4	5
39	3	3	3	3	3	5	3
40	2	1	7	7	6	7	5
41	5	4	2	2	2	5	3
42	3	2	2	3	3	7	3
43	3	1	1	3	2	3	2
44	3	3	1	1	1	1	2
45	6	2	2	2	2	4	3
46	4	2	1	1	1	4	2
47	3	3	2	3	1	5	3
48	1	1	1	1	1	3	1
49	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
50	2	2	2	2	2	3	2
51	3	2	3	3	1	3	3
52	3	1	2	2	2	2	2
53	1	2	2	3	1	3	2
54	1	2	1	1	1	2	1
55	3	2	2	1	2	2	2
56	2	5	5	3	4	6	4
57	2	3	2	3	3	3	3
58	2	2	2	1	3	2	2
59	2	1	1	1	2	2	2
60	2	1	3	1	1	3	2
61	2	2	1	1	3	3	2
62	2	2	1	1	1	2	2
63	2	1	1	4	1	2	2
64	6	4	6	6	6	4	5
65	6	4	2	1	2	6	4
66	3	2	4	5	5	6	4
67	3	3	1	1	1	4	2
68	4	3	3	4	3	2	3
69	4	2	2	1	1	2	2
70	6	6	4	1	3	2	4
71	4	4	3	4	3	4	4
72	2	3	2	2	3	3	3
73	4	2	4	5	3	6	4

74	3	1	4	4	5	5	4
75	2	1	1	1	1	2	1
76	6	4	3	2	3	5	4
77	3	2	6	6	6	7	5
78	3	1	7	4	5	4	4
79	7	4	2	5	3	4	4
80	2	2	1	1	2	3	2
81	2	2	3	2	3	4	3
82	1	2	1	1	1	2	1
83	3	2	3	3	4	4	3
84	7	3	1	1	2	4	3
85	3	3	2	5	2	3	3
86	3	4	1	1	1	1	2
87	2	1	1	3	2	3	2
88	4	4	6	2	3	6	4
89		3	7	7	7	7	6
90	6	2	2	6	3	4	4
91	3	1	1	1	1	3	2
92	4	3	6	5	7	7	5
93	6	3	6	7	3	7	5
94	5	2	3	6	2	3	4
95	3	2	3	3	2	5	3
96	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
98	5	1	1	2	2	5	3
99	3	3	4	4	4	3	4
100	6	5	7	6	2	7	6
101	2	2	2	1	2	3	2
102	2	2	1	2	1	3	2
103	3	3	6	5	7	6	5
104	7	3	2	4	4	4	4
105	4	2	4	5	5	7	5
106	6	4	1	1	6	6	4
107	2	3	2	2	1	2	2
108	3	1	2	6	2	5	3
109	4	2	3	6	5	6	4
110	6	4	3	2	2	3	3
111	3	3	2	1	3	2	2
112	3	2	1	1	1	1	2

113	2	1	1	1	2	3	2
114	3	2	3	3	2	3	3
115	3	2	1	2	3	2	2
116	6	3	4	2	4	4	4
117	5	4	6	7	6	6	6
118	4	4	2	1	3	4	3
119	3	4	2	2	3	5	3
120	5	3	2	2	3	5	3
121	6	3	3	1	2	6	4
122	4	1	6	2	2	2	3
123	5	4	6	5	6	6	5
124	3	2	4	1	4	4	3
125	5	3	4	3	5	5	4
126	4	3	2	1	2	3	3
127	4	2	2	1	1	2	2
128	5	2	1	1	2	4	3
129	7	2	3	3	2	4	4
130	2	2	2	2	2	3	2
131	3	4	4	2	4	6	4
132	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
133	3	4	3	2	3	2	3
134	3	1	2	1	1	2	2
135	5	3	6	6	4	2	4
136	6	3	2	3	3	4	4
137	2	1	1	5	2	2	2
138	4	2	5	1	2	4	3
139	4	2	4	2	4	4	3
140	4	1	1	1	2	3	2
141	4	2	3	2	3	3	3
142	3	2	4	2	3	5	3
143	2	1	2	2	2	6	3
144	3	3	4	4	3	5	4
145	3	2	2	2	3	3	3
146	4	3	3	3	3	3	3
147	4	2	2	2	2	4	3
148	4	4	6	6	2	5	5
149	2	2	2	6	2	6	3
150	7	3	2	1	2	4	3
151	4	2	2	1	1	1	2

| 152 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 153 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Data on explicit gender bias

P-ID	Vote man	Vote woman	Man better	Woman better
1	7	2	7	7
2	3	5	3	5
3	4	4	6	6
4	7	4	6	6
5	7	7	7	7
6	7	7	7	7
7	7	7	7	7
8	4	4	5	4
9	6	4	4	4
10	7	2	6	6
11	6	1	6	3
12	7	1	7	7
13	6	2	6	4
14	7	2	6	6
15	4	4	4	4
16	7	1	7	7
17	6	3	4	4
18	7	1	7	2
19	6	2	6	6
20	7	2	7	6
21	7	1	4	4
22	7	1	7	7
23	7	1	7	7
24	3	3	4	4
25	3	5	4	4
26	4	4	6	6
27	7	7	6	6
28	6	6	6	6
29	6	6	4	4
30	7	7	7	7
31	7	7	3	4
32	6	6	6	6
33	7	7	7	7

34	7	7	7	7
35	4	4	6	6
36	5	5	7	7
37	3	5	4	5
38	7	7	7	7
39	4	4	3	4
40	7	2	7	7
41	6	6	7	7
42	6	3	6	6
43	6	2	4	4
44	7	7	7	7
45	7	1	5	4
46	6	2	4	4
47	6	3	6	6
48	7	1	7	7
49	6	2	6	6
50	6	2	5	5
51	7	4	7	7
52	7	7	7	7
53	7	6	7	7
54	7	1	7	6
55	6	3	6	6
56	6	2	6	6
57	6	2	6	6
58	6	2	6	6
59	7	2	7	7
60	7	1	7	7
61	7	1	6	6
62	5	2	7	7
63	7	1	7	7
64	3	5	4	4
65	7	7	7	7
66	4	4	6	6
67	4	4	6	6
68	7	7	7	7
69	3	5	7	7
70	7	7	6	6
71	6	6	6	6
72	6	4	6	4

73	5	3	7	7
74	7	2	7	7
75	6	3	7	7
76	4	4	6	6
77	4	4	4	4
78	4	4	3	4
79	4	4	4	4
80	7	1	4	4
81	6	6	6	6
82	4	1	7	4
83	4	6	4	4
84	7	7	7	7
85	7	1	7	6
86	7	1	7	7
87	7	1	6	3
88	5	3	4	4
89	7	7	7	7
90	6	3	7	7
91	4	4	4	4
92	6	6	6	6
93	7	7	7	7
94	7	7	7	7
95	7	2	4	4
96	7	1	7	7
97	7	1	7	7
98	7	1	7	7
99	2	6	4	4
100	7	7	6	6
101	6	2	4	4
102	7	1	4	4
103	6	6	6	6
104	7	1	7	6
105	6	3	4	4
106	6	2	6	6
107	6	2	4	4
108	6	2	6	6
109	7	7	7	7
110	7	7	7	7
111	7	1	7	7

112	7	1	7	7
113	7	1	7	7
114	6	2	6	6
115	7	2	4	4
116	6	6	6	6
117	4	3	4	4
118	6	2	7	7
119	6	2	7	7
120	4	4	4	4
121	7	2	4	4
122	6	2	6	6
123	6	2	7	7
124	6	6	6	6
125	6	3	4	4
126	6	6	6	6
127	4	4	6	6
128	6	2	7	4
129	7	1	6	6
130	6	6	6	6
131	5	3	7	7
132	6	2	7	7
133	6	2	7	7
134	7	3	4	4
135	6	6	7	7
136	4	4	4	4
137	6	2	6	6
138	7	1	7	7
139	4	4	6	6
140	4	2	2	4
141	6	6	1	1
142	4	4	7	7
143	6	2	4	4
144	7	1	7	1
145	7	1	4	4
146	6	2	5	4
147	7	1	7	7
148	6	6	6	6
149	6	6	6	6
150	6	6	6	6

151	6		2	7		6	
152	4		2	6		6	
153	4		4	6		6	

Data on attitudes towards quota use

P-ID	Appropriate	Fair	Trust	Best MEP's	Appropriate 2	Fair 2	Scale
1	2	5	6	7	4	6	5
2	7	7	6	7	6	6	7
3	6	6	5	7	7	2	6
4	3	5	1	2	2	2	3
5	5	5	5	6	4	4	5
6	1	3	3	4	1	1	2
7	6	4	6	6	6	6	6
8	3	4	3	3	3	3	3
9	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
10	4	3	4	5	3	4	4
11	3	5	2	5	5	3	4
12	2	4	2	6	4	4	4
13	3	3	2	3	3	3	3
14	4	5	3	5	4	4	4
15	6	5	4	5	4	5	5
16	3	2	4	4	3	2	3
17	3	3	4	4	6	3	4
18	2	2	3	1	1	2	2
19	6	6	5	5	6	6	6
20	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
21	3	3	2	2	2	2	2
22	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
23	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
24	2	3	4	4	2	2	3
25	5	6	6	6	4	4	5
26	6	6	5	6	3	4	5
27	5	6	3	6	3	6	5
28	3	3	2	4	2	2	3
29	3	4	4	4	3	3	4
30	7	6	4	7	4	4	5
31	5	6	6	6	6	6	6
32	5	6	5	5	3	3	5

33	7	7	4	5	7	6	6
34	6	6	3	7	6	6	6
35	3	4	3	5	2	3	3
36	6	5	4	5	5	3	5
37	6	5	6	6	3	5	5
38	3	5	4	5	2	3	4
39	6	6	5	6	6	2	5
40	7	7	6	7	7	6	7
41	3	6	3	6	3	3	4
42	6	5	5	7	3	5	5
43	3	3	2	5	3	2	3
44	4	1	4	4	4	2	3
45	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
46	5	5	3	4	3	2	4
47	5	6	5	4	5	3	5
48	3	2	1	2	2	3	2
49	3	4	2	4	3	2	3
50	5	4	5	5	5	5	5
51	7	7	5	7	6	5	6
52	2	4	4	3	2	3	3
53	2	3	1	2	2	3	2
54	2	5	1	6	1	1	3
55	2	2	3	3	1	1	2
56	6	6	3	6	6	6	6
57	3	5	3	4	3	2	3
58	6	5	6	6	6	5	6
59	2	2	1	3	1	2	2
60	2	5	3	5	2	2	3
61	3	3	3	3	3	2	3
62	2	3	4	4	1	1	3
63	2	4	4	4	2	5	4
64	6	6	4	6	3	5	5
65	6	4	6	6	3	4	5
66	3	5	5	6	5	2	4
67	4	5	5	5	4	3	4
68	5	3	4	4	3	3	4
69	3	3	2	3	2	2	3
70	4	5	6	4	3	2	4
71	5	5	5	6	6	6	6

72	5	3	3	4	3	2	3
73	6	6	4	5	6	5	5
74	5	5	3	6	5	5	5
75	5	5	2	3	2	2	3
76	3	5	4	3	5	5	4
77	7	7	7	7	3	7	6
78	7	7	7	7	7	4	7
79	3	3	5	6	5	2	4
80	2	2	2	3	2	2	2
81	6	6	6	7	6	6	6
82	3	1	3	6	1	1	3
83	5	6	5	5	6	5	5
84	4	4	6	6	3	4	5
85	5	3	5	5	3	3	4
86	4	6	6	6	3	3	5
87	6	6	3	6	6	6	6
88	6	5	5	7	3	5	5
89	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
90	6	3	5	6	3	6	5
91	5	6	5	6	6	4	5
92	6	6	4	6	6	6	6
93	6	6	7	7	2	7	6
94	6	5	4	7	3	3	5
95	6	6	5	6	6	6	6
96	2	2	3	3	3	2	3
97	5	5	2	5	4	3	4
98	5	5	3	5	5	4	5
99	3	4	4	5	5	4	4
100	7	7	6	6	7	7	7
101	5	5	2	4	6	2	4
102	2	4	2	3	2	5	3
103	6	4	2	5	3	3	4
104	2	5	5	5	1	3	4
105	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
106	7	6	2	7	6	6	6
107	2	3	2	4	2	2	3
108	6	6	6	6	3	3	5
109	4	6	6	6	6	6	6
110	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

111	3	3	2	4	3	3	3
112	3	3	3	4	3	2	3
113	7	7	7	7	4	3	6
114	3	5	6	6	3	5	5
115	4	4	3	4	2	3	3
116	6	6	6	6	6	4	6
117	3	6	2	4	2	6	4
118	7	7	5	7	5	5	6
119	7	7	3	6	6	3	5
120	6	6	6	5	5	5	6
121	6	2	6	6	6	6	5
122	2	2	2	6	2	2	3
123	7	7	7	7	6	7	7
124	6	6	4	6	3	6	5
125	6	5	6	6	6	3	5
126	3	2	4	5	3	3	3
127	2	2	4	4	2	4	3
128	2	2	3	4	2	2	3
129	3	3	5	5	5	5	4
130	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
131	6	4	4	6	5	4	5
132	2	2	2	3	2	2	2
133	3	5	4	4	3	5	4
134	2	2	4	4	3	2	3
135	6	6	6	6	2	2	5
136	3	2	4	3	2	2	3
137	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
138	4	4	2	6	6	3	4
139	2	2	4	4	4	4	3
140	3	2	3	2	3	2	3
141	6	6	4	6	3	3	5
142	6	6	4	6	3	4	5
143	2	2	1		2	2	2
144	7	7	7	7	3	3	6
145	5	3	2	4	5	4	4
146	5	5	4	4	4	4	4
147	1	1	4	4	2	4	3
148	6	5	6	6	2	2	5
149	3	2	2	4	3	2	3

150	6	4	5	4	3	4	4
151	2	4	2	2	2	2	2
152	4	4	6	7	5	4	5
153	3	4	3	3	2	4	3

Data on EU level quota use

P-ID	EU level	MS level
1	3	4
2	7	2
3	6	4
4	2	6
5	5	4
6	1	3
7	4	6
8	3	5
9	2	5
10	3	5
11	5	2
12	6	2
13	4	3
14	5	3
15	5	4
16	2	2
17	6	2
18	1	6
19	6	5
20	1	7
21	2	7
22	7	1
23	3	3
24	2	5
25	3	3
26	6	6
27	5	2
28	3	2
29	3	3
30	4	4
31	2	6
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