



50|50 BY 2030 FOUNDATION
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CANBERRA

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FROM GIRLS TO MEN: SOCIAL ATTITUDES TO GENDER EQUALITY IN AUSTRALIA

Part 1: Quantitative Findings
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ABOUT THE 50/50 BY 2030 FOUNDATION

“The world will never realize 100 per cent of its goals if 50 per cent of its people cannot realize their full potential. When we unleash the power of women, we can secure the future for all.” Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary-General 2015.

The 50/50 by 2030 Foundation is a bold new gender equality initiative established by the Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis (IGPA), at the University of Canberra, Australia. So, why ‘50/50’? Well, in a word - it’s time. And why the year 2030? Because, we’re running out of time. None of us can wait the 170 years the World Economic Forum estimates it will take to reach economic gender equality.¹

We believe the past few decades have seen a global awakening to the value of gender equality, and momentum for change is building. However, increasingly complex social and organisational structures mean new thinking is needed to ensure that progress towards gender diversity and the maximisation of human capital does not falter.

The Foundation was officially launched by the Minister for Women, Senator the Hon Michaelia Cash, and Dame Quentin Bryce AD CVO on 12 September 2017 at the Museum of Australian Democracy, Canberra. Backed by world class research expertise, we aim to develop evidence based theory and leading practice on the role of women in strengthening public administration and improving governance and national well-being. We delight in partnership and collaboration. And we excel in innovative program design. Our bespoke training modules; seminars, and events aim to challenge the prevailing discourse around women, power and public leadership. As such, the 50/50 Foundation is a rich resource for local, national and international governments; political parties; public sector and civil service administrations, in supporting their efforts to achieve gender parity in leadership by the year 2030.

1. World Economic Forum (2017), Gender inequality is 170 years away. We cannot wait that long. Retrieved 27 August 2018 from: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/01/gender-equality-is-170-years-away-we-cannot-wait-that-long/>

ABOUT THIS REPORT

From Girls to Men: social attitudes to gender equality issues in Australia is a research program hosted by the 50/50 by 2030 Foundation at the University of Canberra. The research program is distinctive in at least four ways. Firstly, it is the first research program in Australia to combine a large-scale national quantitative survey with nation-wide focus groups and big data analysis of social media activity on gender equality issues. Secondly, it studies the attitudes of boys and girls, men and women to gender issues relating to equality and empowerment. Thirdly, it investigates attitudinal patterns by generational, mainstream and diversity groups. And, fourthly, particular attention is paid to the relationship between sexual politics and gender attitudes and the role of social media in promoting gender attitudes.

This particular report focuses on the presentation of our quantitative findings derived from a national survey of 2,122 Australians about their attitudes to issues of sexism and gender inequality. The survey was conducted online by Ipsos in March 2018, with participants recruited from a combination of online panels and via social media advertising. The survey aimed to explore: 1) the attitudes of boys, girls, men and women to equality and empowerment; 2) attitudinal differences by generation; and, 3) the relationship between online activity (social media browsing, game playing and recreational browsing) and attitudes to gender equality.

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GENDER EQUALITY PROGRESS IN AUSTRALIA IS IN TROUBLE. DESPITE AUSTRALIA'S LEADERSHIP IN DEVELOPING SOME OF THE BEST ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORKS IN THE WORLD, THE CURRENT CLIMATE OF BIAS AND BACKLASH IS PROVING IMMUNE TO REGULATORY CONTROL. AUSTRALIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS ARE FAILING TO FLOURISH AS WELL AS THEY SHOULD, PARTICULARLY GIVEN OUR DECADE LONG WORLD NUMBER ONE RANKING IN FEMALE EDUCATION.

”

VIRGINIA HAUSSEGGER AM

FOREWORD

When the 50/50 by 2030 Foundation was launched in 2017 we believed Australia had hit a nadir in gender equality policy and purpose. Years of effort to remove entrenched organisational, cultural and social barriers to women's progress were not landing the results we all expected by now.

To tackle the issue head on, we gathered some of the best minds and most dedicated equality warriors together and committed ourselves to a clear and uncompromising vision:

BY THE YEAR 2030 MEN AND WOMEN WILL BE EQUALLY REPRESENTED IN LEADERSHIP AND KEY DECISION MAKING ROLES AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION THROUGHOUT AUSTRALIA, AND ACROSS OUR REGION.

Proceeding from the assumption that there would be popular support for such a vision, as Director of the Foundation I began an informal talking tour around the nation, and further afield, only to quickly learn that not all Australians share our vision. But even more surprising were those 'unscripted' and unguarded comments from senior leaders, in prominent and influential roles, who revealed an inherent discomfort with the idea of 50/50 leadership.

These anti-equality attitudes, often expressed through anecdotes about 'political correctness', took us by surprise and sent the 50/50 Foundation team trawling through the available research to deepen our understanding of what Australians really think and believe about the rights, roles and responsibilities of men and women.

What we found was a profound national knowledge gap. There was no national data, across all generations, that covered the range of themes and questions you will find in this report. This major gap in research on Australian attitudes to gender equality is one of the core reasons why well intentioned social policies and programs have continuously failed to close persistent gender gaps across the lifespan of Australians. Our landmark survey aims to change that.

We intend to follow this report with stage two of our National Survey by taking a deeper dive into the hearts and minds of Australians. We want to hear their stories and more fully understand their attitudes and fears about living and working with gender diverse leadership that reflects the true composition of our communities, and our nation.

I wish to thank the Ipsos team with whom we worked in partnership, and express my deep thanks for the outstanding dedication and efforts of Professor Mark Evans, Dr Pia Rowe, and Dr Max Halupka. This research would not have been possible without their expertise and passion. My sincere thanks also to our Patron, Dame Quentin Bryce AD CVO, for her ongoing support and energetic encouragement, alongside our exceptional Advisory Council.

VIRGINIA HAUSSEGGER AM

*Director, 50/50 by 2030 Foundation,
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PURPOSE

This report presents the findings derived from a national survey of 2,122 Australians about their attitudes to issues of sexism and gender inequality. The survey was conducted online by Ipsos in March 2018, with participants recruited from a combination of online panels and via social media advertising. The survey explored: 1) the attitudes of men and women to issues of gender equality and empowerment; 2) attitudinal differences by generation; and, 3) the relationship between online activity (social media browsing, game playing and recreational browsing) and attitudes to gender equality.

FINDINGS

Millennials, generally defined as people born between 1982 and 2000, were supposed to be the generation that forged what has been called “a new national consensus” in favor of gender equality. Indeed, in February the prominent Columbia professor Jeffrey Sachs labeled the 2016 election, where an extremely qualified female candidate lost to a man with a history of disrespecting women, “a blip” on the road to the egalitarian society that will be achieved once millennial voters outnumber their conservative elders (Tim Enthoven, the New Yorker, 31 March 2017).²

As Tim Enthoven observes, just a short time ago liberal democracies around the world were viewed to be moving inexorably towards a gender neutral future with the election of Hillary Clinton to the American presidency representing an international consensus on gender equality. Then in a dramatic turn of events a man perceived to be the symbol of western male misogyny was nudged into power without winning the popular vote. The post-election analysis showed that while 63 per cent of young women voted for Clinton, only 47 per cent of young men did so (Kawashima-Ginsberg 2017). Moreover, 10 per cent fewer voted for Clinton than Obama in 2008. The promise of male millennials delivering a gender equal future came to an abrupt stop (Cassino 2017 and Pepin and Cotter 2017).

The depressing news from our survey is that Australia appears to be following the trend. Not only did the Australian Liberal Party fail to replace its outgoing leader and Prime Minister with a politician perceived by many to be the most qualified and popular person for the job, Julie Bishop, but a growing number of Millennial and Gen X men appear to be alienated from the process of change and are backsliding into traditional value systems. This is all the more worrying when we can also find significant evidence of high levels of knowledge and understanding about the nature of gender inequality in Australia.

Please consider the following findings.

CORE NARRATIVES ON GENDER EQUALITY IN AUSTRALIA

Australians are united in the view that gender inequality is still a problem in Australia today

Our survey found that an overwhelming proportion of Australians (88 per cent) agreed that inequality between women and men is still a problem in Australia today. This observation is consistent with comparable surveys conducted nationally since 2009.

2. See: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/31/opinion/sunday/do-millennial-men-want-stay-at-home-wives.html>, retrieved 30 August 2018.

However, Australia is featured by complex, often contradictory value systems underpinning the gender equality debate

There are three distinctive voices in the gender equality debate in Australia: the traditional view, the moderate view, and the progressive view. The traditional view on gender equality revolves around negative views of women in leadership roles, and traditional views on women in the workplace and the home. The moderate view combines a more egalitarian set of views around gender equality in the workplace and at home with rising concern over what they understand as the growing political correctness of Australian society. This value system is characterised by a desire for a greater focus on men's rights as well as women's rights, and concern for freedom of speech and promotion of a more inclusive discussion on gender equality. This view is distinctive from the traditional view given its rhetorical support for gender equality but may well be vulnerable to unconscious bias against women in the workplace; although we have no evidence to support this thesis from our survey findings.

The progressive view represents Australians who most strongly align with the need for concerted policy action on gender equality issues both in the workplace and more broadly in society.

Significantly, the prevalence of these three sets of views are not uniform, with 43 per cent of Australians exhibiting traditional views, 62 per cent moderate views, and 68 per cent progressive views. It is important to note that attitudinal viewpoints are not mutually exclusive, with many Australian falling into multiple types depending on their own complex range of opinions on gender politics and personal circumstances. However, there does appear to be a convergence around the moderate value system which is unlikely to facilitate anything other than incremental change given the contradictions therein.

Australians across all generations have a clear and sophisticated understanding of the nature and experience of sexism

This observation is demonstrated by the common use of three sophisticated discursive labels for understanding sexism – judgement, discrimination and differential treatment – and the provision of significant evidence of how these labels work in practice.

There were differences in how men and women and generations experienced sexism. Women were more likely to have been negatively impacted by their gender in their work and careers and to believe that they had less access to career opportunities than men. Millennials were more likely than other generations to report having been negatively impacted by their gender in their work or career. The older Baby Boomer and Builder generations were less likely to have had such experiences or are reluctant to report such experiences. Despite this observation, Millennials were more likely to believe that men and women have the same access to career opportunities whilst Baby Boomers were less likely.

Australians across all generations have a relatively consistent understanding of where sexism is most widespread in Australian society

Men and women agreed on the areas of society where sexism is most widespread (politics, workplace, media) although females were significantly more likely to nominate politics and the workplace while males were more likely to claim that sexism wasn't widespread in any of the suggested areas of society. However, if Australian governments are to make authentic progress on these issues they will need to take a hard look at themselves first. When asked to identify areas of society where sexism is most widespread, both men (53 per cent) and women (63 per cent) were in agreement that Australian politics was one of the worst perpetrators of sexism. Comparative findings from the Eurobarometer suggest that politics in Australia is perceived to be much more sexist than in Europe.

There were some differences between generations in which areas of society they believe sexism is most prevalent. The area of clearest difference was, unsurprisingly, social media. Millennials (38 per cent) and Gen Z (44 per cent) respondents considered this to be a significant space for experiencing sexism in contrast to Gen X (23 per cent), Baby Boomers (25 per cent) and Builders (22 per cent).

Men have been forgotten in the struggle for gender equality

Our survey reveals a worrying statistic in this regard: nearly half of all male respondents “agreed or strongly agreed” with the statement that “gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account”. If we disaggregate the data by generation, we find that while millennial and builder males were most likely to report feelings of being left out, all generations exhibited similar sentiments. Millennial males were also significantly more likely (48 per cent) to “agree/strongly agree” with the statement that “Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality”, followed by Gen Z males at 44 per cent. Gender equality measures are not the only interventions that are perceived by men to deepen, rather than fix existing inequalities. The highly contested concept of freedom of speech also reveals significant gendered differences, with men far more likely to say that political correctness benefits women in the workplace.

These results give us significant cause for concern. The observation that younger generations of men view themselves as outsiders, actively excluded from what is now increasingly one of the key debates in many workplaces indicates that there is no room for complacency if we want to avoid a backlash against workplace interventions to address gender inequality.

Male moderates are champions of men’s rights

The moderate perspective combines an egalitarian set of views around gender equality in the workplace and at home with rising concern over what they understand as the growing impact of political correctness in Australian society, as well as a strong desire to see men’s rights equally represented in public discussion of equality issues. Given that 62 per cent of Australians align with the moderate position and its value system, this represents a significant barrier to gender equality.

A significant correlation was found between online behaviours – particularly online gaming – with normative attitudes to gender roles (such as believing that men are better suited to leadership)

The development of traditional value systems particularly within the male Millennial generation is linked to the gaming culture and other online behaviours. Analysis of the generational data found a positive correlation between older generations and traditional views on gender equality with one generational exception. Millennial men also agreed with traditional understandings of gender roles in the home and the workplace (such as “women are best suited to be the primary carer of children”). On closer inspection, a principle component analysis shows that the traditional perspective shared by Millennial males has several distinctive features, including the statements: “girls should not be out in public places after dark”; and, “men dominate sexual relations”.

We also discovered a significant relationship between the length of time that young males spend playing video games, and their alignment with this ‘millennial’ traditional position; 62 per cent of young Millennial males who play online video games for an above average length of time, align positively with traditional views on gender equality. Surprisingly, 34 per cent of Millennial females displaying the same characteristics also aligned positively with traditional views on gender equality.

Rural Australia is leading the way on positive attitudes to gender equality issues in Australia

When we compared social attitudes in rural and metropolitan regions, unsurprisingly metropolitan regions tended to be more progressive in their views (70 per cent) with rural Australia closely following at 65 per cent. However, when moderate and traditional perspectives are taken into account, the picture changed quite dramatically. The traditional voice is stronger in metropolitan regions (44 per cent), and the moderate voice firmly belongs to rural Australia (66 per cent).

IN CONCLUSION: TRENDING TOWARDS TRADITIONALISM – BACKSLIDE OR BACKLASH?

The evidence presented above suggests that many women are still being held back by traditional beliefs, with social norms continuing to push women into traditional roles. And although tradition no longer has a vice like grip both men and women occupying the moderate value system still share clearly defined and often stereotypical views of what men and women are better at in the home and the workplace. There has been a twist in the tale in the sense that moderate men want to push gender equality forward, but they appear to be held back by their fear of change and increased economic insecurity.

And what about Millennial males? It should firstly be noted, of course, that the category is an extremely amorphous one which brings together a group of people from across a broad age group (24 to 38 years old), featured by diversity in terms of social income, ethnicity, religion, and educational background. But nonetheless our survey findings, together with comparable findings in the United States (see Cassino 2017; Pepin and Cotter; and, Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2017) require us to think through the puzzle. The key questions here are whether these trends represent a backslide or a backlash? And, for those interested in forging a national consensus on gender equality what can be done to reverse the trend?

What is certain is that the research on gender equality in Australia continues to raise more questions than answers. In particular, we need to explain the rhetoric-reality gap in the home, the workplace and broader society. We need to understand what men fear from gender equality. What do they think they will lose from a gender equality agenda? And, what policy interventions could incite their support? This will be the focus for part two of our research program and a key topic for our focus group study. However, the academic and grey literatures provide us with some clues about what might be happening for further investigation.

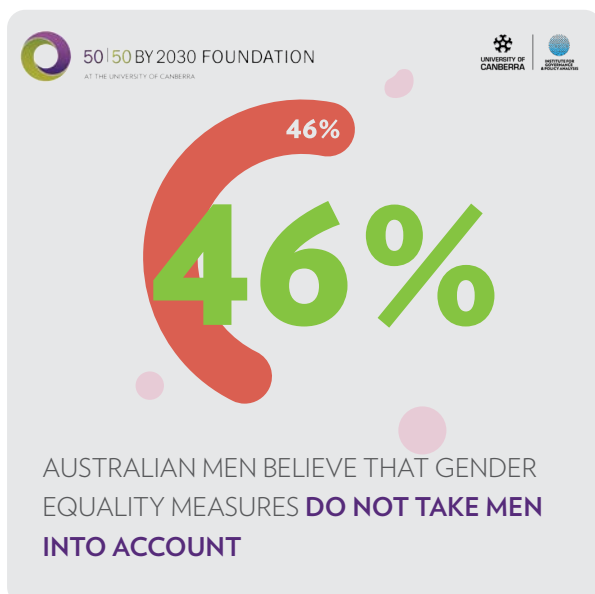
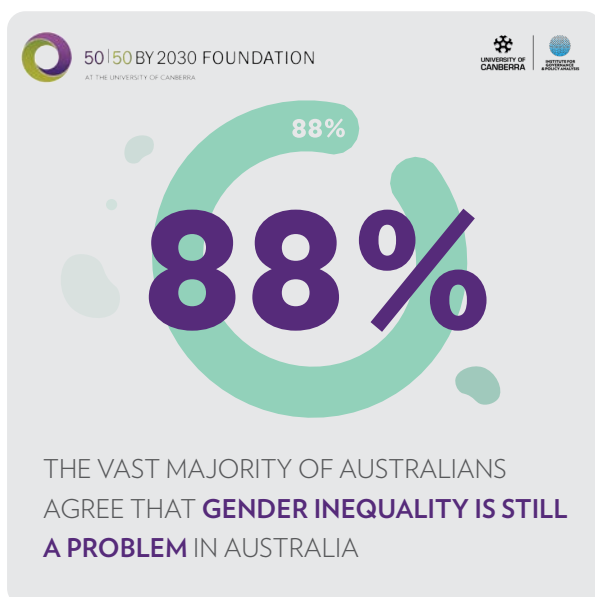
- Increased support for male leadership in home life may reflect an attempt to compensate for men's loss of dominance in the world of work – many women now earn more than men, perhaps a segment of young Millennials is responding to financial setbacks suffered by their fathers and believe that women's gains have come at the expense of men? Is this driving unconscious bias against the recruitment of women leaders in the workplace?
- The decline in support for “non-traditional” domestic arrangements stem from Millennials and to a lesser degree Gen X men witnessing the difficulties experienced by parents in dual earner families within the context of rising divorce rates?
- Or is this simply the product of the continued absence of work-family policies that support gender equality aspirations? Certainly support for gender equality has continued to rise among countries which have invested in paid maternity leave for fathers and affordable child care and early childhood education such as Sweden, Denmark and Finland.³

3. See <http://theconversation.com/the-us-is-stingier-with-child-care-and-maternity-leave-than-the-rest-of-the-world-94770>, retrieved 30 August 2018.

- And to manage Millennial mayhem, there is also an evident need to engage the gaming community and industry to see what role they could play in forging a progressive national consensus on gender equality.

Then of course there are the strategic questions for those advocates of gender equality who accept the argument that moderate men need to be a force for change. What role can/should men play as agents of change for gender equality? For those that draw on a gender essentialist view that “women are fundamentally, immutably and naturally different from men” this is a tricky question; but for those of us that don’t subscribe to the “men are from Mars, women are from Venus” view of the world, there will simply be a plurality of potential practices reflecting the heterogeneity of human society. Here we leave the final words to Cordelia Fine and Nick Haslam:

“ **PEOPLE WHO SEE MEN AND WOMEN AS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT ARE MORE LIKELY TO ACCEPT WORKPLACE DISCRIMINATION.**⁴ ”



4. See: <https://theconversation.com/people-who-see-men-and-women-as-fundamentally-different-are-more-likely-to-accept-workplace-discrimination-101434>, retrieved 30 August 2018.



INTRODUCTION

OUR PURPOSE

What people say about gender equality and what they actually do are vastly different. But what does the research tell us about what Australians think and how they act? And how do those values and practices drive the choices Australians make around gender equality issues?

Australia's annual backward slide in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index since 2006 to 2016, with a small improvement in the overall ranking in 2017 (despite a decrease in our rankings in key categories such as Health), should be a major cause for alarm among our nation's public leaders and policy makers. It provides stark evidence that the gender equality project in this country is in serious trouble. In particular, rates of economic opportunity for women and their political participation is declining against the global trend, at a rapid rate. Australia's gender pay gap is hovering at the same level it was twenty years ago. And increasing rates of violence against women and girls, along with unprecedented displays of online abuse and unchecked mainstream media sexism, signal a troubled national psyche where the role and rights of women and girls are under extraordinary and renewed pressure.

It should therefore come as no surprise that a recent IGPA (2018) survey entitled Bridging the Trust Deficit (Evans et al., 2018) which explored the relationship between trust in the political system and attitudes towards democracy in Australia reported that "Men were three times as likely to report being highly satisfied with democracy than women" in the context of levels of political trust and democratic satisfaction being at an all-time low.

While the challenges faced by women and girls are myriad and complex, it would seem that despite Australia's leadership in developing some of the best anti-discrimination legislative frameworks in the world, the current climate of bias and backlash is immune to regulatory control. Australian women and girls are failing to flourish as well as they should, particularly given our decade long world number one ranking in female education.

So what's the problem? In truth, we don't really know. And that's the core of the problem. Here at the 50/50 by 2030 Foundation we believe the current impediment to women's progress has its foundation in the most opaque of obstacles – and perhaps the most difficult to identify – social attitudes.

Australians' attitudes and beliefs about what is possible, what is appropriate and what is 'right', when it comes to women and girls, have been largely untested. In fact, there is a lot more we don't know than what we actually do. Among the existing surveys of Australian attitudes are some excellent data around specific themes, which provide glimpses into demographic slices of life (e.g. HILDA – marriage, parenting and work; VicHealth; Our Watch: Violence against women). But to date there has been no comprehensive, national survey to help us understand what Australians actually think about gender equality and how it could or should impact their lives.

Given equity between men and women, boys and girls, is assumed to be a fundamental concept at the heart of Australian values, it is rather alarming that we in fact know so little about what citizens think about gender equality. Whilst these core, personal attitudes drive every aspect of how we live – the choices we make, the aspirations we hold dear, the capabilities we believe we're entrusted with – a deeper understanding of attitudes to gender equality is of vital importance to policy makers, leaders and those in key decision making roles.

With only fragmented, thematic attitudinal data available, the equality project remains in jeopardy of grinding to a halt, or indeed stumbling backwards as a result of untested assumptions about what citizens actually believe and care about.

APPROACH

From Girls to Men: social attitudes to gender equality issues in Australia aims to bridge the gap through a comprehensive program of research and engagement activities. The research program is distinctive in at least four ways. Firstly, it is the first research program in Australia to combine a large-scale national quantitative survey with nation-wide focus groups and big data analysis of social media activity. Secondly, it studies the attitudes of boys and girls, men and women to gender issues relating to equality and empowerment. Thirdly, it investigates attitudinal patterns by generational, mainstream and diversity groups. And, fourthly, particular attention is paid to the relationship between sexual politics and gender attitudes and the role of social media in promoting gender attitudes.

This report focuses on the presentation of our quantitative findings derived from a national survey of 2,122 Australians about their attitudes to issues of sexism and gender inequality. The survey was conducted online by Ipsos in March 2018, with participants recruited from a combination of online panels and via social media advertising. Analysis was conducted by age and gender. Details of the methodology and sampling techniques that we deployed can be found at Appendix 1. The survey aimed to explore: 1) the attitudes of boys, girls, men and women to equality and empowerment; 2) attitudinal differences by generation; and, 3) the relationship between online activity (social media browsing, game playing and recreational browsing) and attitudes to gender equality.

HOW TO INTERPRET THE QUANTITATIVE DATA IN THIS REPORT

In parts two, three and four, for each survey question, data has been presented in a combination of tables and charts by gender and generation. In tables, significant differences between groups (gender and generation) have been identified using red text to indicate that a result is significantly lower among that group than all other groups, and blue to indicate that it is significantly higher.

Due to rounding-up issues, responses may not always add up to 100%, and NETs may not appear to be an exact addition of the two responses included.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The report is organized into four substantive sections and a conclusion.

Part one highlights a series of high level attitudinal trends that emerge from the data that require further qualitative analysis and focused policy consideration.

Parts two, three and four disaggregate the key findings by gender and generation and provides an analysis of beliefs by time spent online.

The conclusion then presents some preliminary thoughts on the key policy questions that emerge from the core findings together with an assessment of future avenues for investigation in part two of the research program.

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CORE NARRATIVES ON GENDER EQUALITY ISSUES IN AUSTRALIA

IS INEQUALITY BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN (INCLUDING BOYS AND GIRLS) STILL A PROBLEM IN AUSTRALIA TODAY?

Our survey found that an overwhelming proportion of Australians (88 per cent) agreed that inequality between women and men is still a problem in Australia today. This observation is consistent with comparable surveys conducted nationally since 2009 (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Social attitudes to gender inequality in Australia since 2009

NCAS 2009	89%
NCAS 2013	87%
Plan/Our Watch 2016	69%
Ipsos Global 2017	73%
Girls to Men 2018	88%

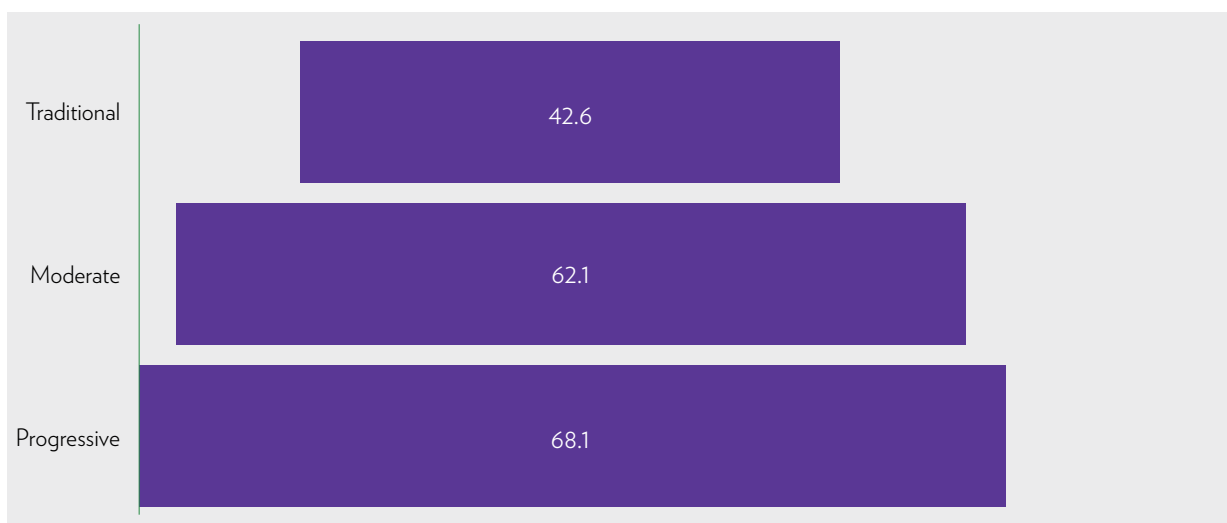
However, despite two in five (40 per cent) respondents reporting that their gender had impacted on their career advancement, only a third (34 per cent) **did not believe** that women and men have the same access to career opportunities.

Women were significantly more likely than males to see gender inequality as a problem, and to have been personally impacted by it in their careers.

THE RHETORIC-REALITY GAP – UNPACKING AUSTRALIAN ATTITUDES ON GENDER EQUALITY

Our survey found that there are three distinct perspectives in the gender equality debate in Australia: the traditional view, the moderate view, and the progressive view (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Australian perspectives on gender equality



The traditional view on gender equality revolves around negative views of women in leadership roles, and traditional views on women in the workplace and the home.

The moderate view combines a more egalitarian set of views around gender equality in the workplace and at home with rising concern over what they understand as the growing political correctness of Australian society. This attitudinal set is characterised by a desire for a greater focus on men's rights as well as women's rights, and concern for the stifling of freedom of speech and promotion of a more inclusive discussion on gender equality. This view is distinctive from the traditional view given its rhetorical support for gender equality but may well be vulnerable to unconscious bias against women in the workplace; although we have no evidence to support this thesis from our survey findings.

The progressive view represents Australians who most strongly align with the need for concerted policy action on gender equality issues both in the workplace and more broadly in society.

Significantly, the prevalence of these three sets of views are not uniform, with 43 per cent of Australians exhibiting traditional views, 62 per cent moderate views, and 68 per cent progressive views. It is important to note that attitudinal viewpoints are not mutually exclusive, with many Australian falling into multiple types depending on their own complex range of opinions on gender politics.

HOW DO AUSTRALIANS UNDERSTAND SEXISM?

The questionnaire included one open ended question that asked all participants: *what does sexism mean to you?* We used the qualitative software package Nvivo to analyze the responses and this allowed us to identify three discursive labels for understanding sexism – judgement, discrimination and differential treatment – and six key themes.⁵ These are described in detail below and illustrated with the use of selected verbatim quotations.

Labels

Judgement

There were 390 references to judgement in the sample. The use of the term judgement included both direct references to actual judgements such as “negatively judging someone's capabilities based solely by gender”, as well as observations that alluded to thought processes (as opposed to actual acts and behaviours). This would include assumptions, beliefs, likes and dislikes, prejudice, and the mobilisation of bias. Typical responses using this label include:

“Judging abilities due to gender”.

“Thinking ones gender is more capable to do things than the other gender”.

“An incorrect preconception of what roles, behaviour or lifestyle a man or woman should do or have”.

“Different views on both genders”.

Discrimination

There were 377 references to discrimination in the sample. The use of the term discrimination included responses that directly referenced the word (the vast majority), and the responses that implied discrimination but didn't actually use the word such as “refusal to allow a person to partake in an occupation/sport etc, that they are capable of doing...” Typical responses using this label include:

5. See Appendix 1: Methodology and Sampling for a full account of the Nvivo method.

"Someone who is discriminated against because of their gender".

"Sexism is the discrimination of a person based on their gender".

"Discriminatory treatment, be it favourable or unfavourable, towards a person based on their gender".

Differential treatment

There were 364 references to the term differential treatment in the sample which was used directly. Typical responses using this label include:

"Not treating people equally based on their sex".

"Being treated differently because I'm female".

"When one gender is treated disrespectfully compared to the opposing gender".

Themes

Sexism as discrimination or inequality based on sex or gender

For many, sexism related to being treated differently or receiving differential opportunities (including pay) based on gender. Commonly, examples of workplace discrimination were given with reference to both examples of positive discrimination and negative discrimination taking place. Examples included:

"Treating someone differently because of their gender, either unfairly or poorly."

"Discriminating or deliberately disadvantaging someone solely based on their gender."

"A male being offered a role in a business or company first instead of a female regardless of skill or ability."

"Giving someone something e.g. a job based on their gender."

"Sexism means being held back from opportunities as a result of one's sex/gender. I.e. women are less likely to be chosen for leadership roles because they are deemed less capable than men, or women being awarded custody more so than men because women are deemed to be more maternal, even if the mother is less fit to parent than the father."

"Sexism to me means people not getting jobs due to their gender, or different pay rates due to their gender, or better retirement opportunities for males. Or males being frowned on for trying to work in child care etc."

"When women were promoted regardless of experience or qualifications just to keep their numbers up."

Stereotyping or judging individuals, their abilities or the cultural roles they should play on the basis of their gender

Many observations here related to assumptions made about what a person is capable of based on their gender:

"Basing what someone can or cannot do on their gender/sex".

"Blatant disregard and contempt of the opposite gender based on gender without knowledge of that persons abilities".

"A mindset of what each sex is capable of or preconceived notions about potential for either sex".

"Any kind of statement that implies that one gender is more superior to the other in terms of their ability to do tasks that usually have nothing to do with one's gender, race, sexuality or other traits".

"Someone saying that women should stay at home and look after children while the man works".

"It means that certain chores/career related roles are given to a particular person based on their gender, physical appearance, and that choice to do so is influenced by gender perceptions, upbringing background, cultural backgrounds and stereotypes."

The belief that one gender is superior to another

Examples here included:

“Old ideas revolving around men being better than women. This just sucks.”

“That one gender is naturally superior than the other.”

Sexual objectification, harassment, or degrading or derogatory comments or treatment

“Being told to keep my opinion to myself so as not to upset the males in the room, being told to dress ‘attractively’, being belittled for having an opinion, being called the little woman.”

“The use of insults containing derogatory language associated with a specific sex.”

Scepticism about the existence or relevance of ‘sexism’

“I think that word may be over used. There are times where I don’t think women should be involved with certain jobs. E.g. women in front line defence, or women wardens in male prisons. Maybe I am old fashioned but if that is sexism I don’t know. I just think of their safety nothing against their ability to do the job.

“Another topic for the media to latch onto and sell. Why do I never hear about sexism towards males?”

“Sexism is a non-existent fallacy that is used to push political agendas.”

Observations that sexism negatively impacts on or is perpetrated by both men and women

“Sexism can affect both men and women. People make out like women are worse off but men get their children taken off them, and accused of rape and people usually take the woman’s side of things.”

“Where one sex is given preference over the other. It can go either way-males and females can both be guilty of sexism.”

In sum, this analysis of the sample of open ended responses to the question – what does sexism mean to you? – suggests that there is a clear pattern in terms of how Australians understand sexism.

These observations can all be couched within the three perspectives on gender equality issues outlined in the previous section – the traditional view, the moderate view, and the progressive view. They also demonstrate the common use of three sophisticated discursive labels for understanding sexism – judgement, discrimination and differential treatment – and significant evidence of how these labels work in practice.



image source: google

Yesterday the Senate was asked to vote on whether the best thing to do to prevent the assault, rape and murder of women is to arm them. I voted no, because I don't believe that putting more weapons in the hands of the public will make women safer in their homes or on the streets at night. I also don't think that women should continue to be made to have to take responsibility for the violent crimes and behaviour that some men perpetuate. Truth is, every woman I know has felt unsafe or intimidated at some point, whether it was at a bar, walking home at night, her work place or tragically even in her own home. The safety and security of women shouldn't require half the country armed, in fear of the threat of its other half.

The Senate voted overwhelmingly with me. Nearly all of us lined up on one side of the chamber. On the other side of the chamber sat Senator David Leyonhjelm, and he could see from how few his company was on the other side of this vote that he was destined to lose this one. "You'll have to stop shagging men now, Sarah!" he yelled at me as the vote went down, as if now I'm at risk without pepper spray or a taser.

I heard the words as clear as a bell. They jolted me, which is of course what they were designed to do. But I've heard these slurs before. This weekend marks 10 years that I have been in the federal parliament, and over this time the level of nastiness and personal attacks on the floor of the Senate chamber has gotten worse, not better

After the vote was complete, I walked over to the Senator and asked if I'd heard him correctly. He confirmed it. Shocked by his brazen attitude, I told him: "You're a creep." "Fuck off," he replied.⁶ 29 June 2018

Senator Sarah Hanson Young

6. See: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jun/29/when-senator-leyonhjelm-told-me-to-stop-shagging-men-i-had-to-speak-up>, retrieved 29 August 2018.

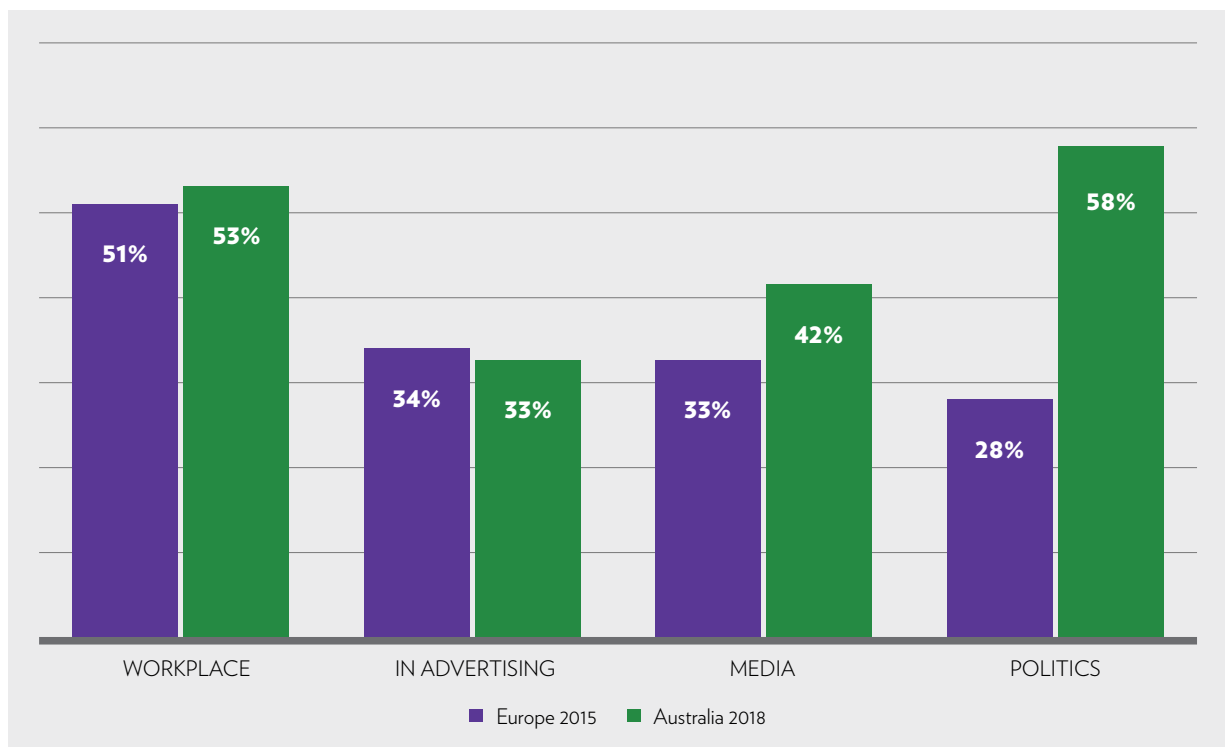
IN WHICH AREAS OF AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY IS SEXISM MOST WIDESPREAD?

Sexism is viewed to be most prevalent in politics (58 per cent), the workplace (53 per cent), the media (42 per cent) and advertising (33 per cent). Comparative findings from the Eurobarometer suggest that politics in Australia is perceived to be much more sexist than in Europe (see Figure 3).

When it comes to combating sexism, women overwhelmingly feel that gender equality should be a policy priority in Australia. Young women are leading the way in encouraging the politicisation of sexism, with 67 per cent of Millennial women arguing that gender equality should feature more prominently within Australian policy discussion (see Table 1).

However, if Australian governments are to make authentic progress on these issues they will need to take a hard look at themselves first. As noted above, when asked to identify areas of society where sexism is most widespread, both men (53 per cent) and women (63 per cent) were in agreement that Australian politics was one of the worst perpetrators of sexism.

Figure 3. Which areas of society are perceived to be the most sexist – Australia and Europe compared





**“ HUMAN RIGHTS ARE WOMEN’S RIGHTS, AND WOMEN’S RIGHTS ARE
HUMAN RIGHTS. LET US NOT FORGET THAT AMONG THOSE RIGHTS
ARE THE RIGHT TO SPEAK FREELY – AND THE RIGHT TO BE HEARD. ”**

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Table 1. Should gender equality be a policy priority in Australia? (by gender and generation)

	Men		Women	
	No	Yes	No	Yes
Gen Z	19.1%	56.7%	9.4%	63.8%
Millennials	18.2%	49.7%	10.8%	66.8%
Gen X	13.3%	49.0%	6.7%	63.9%
Baby Boomers	16.9%	48.8%	12.9%	62.3%
Builders	14.2%	50.0%	13.5%	79.7%

HAVE MEN BEEN FORGOTTEN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR GENDER EQUALITY?

“Yes sexual discrimination is a problem for Australian women but men are having it tough as well...We all fear being middle aged and unemployed. The expectations on us from our parents, our children and at work are overwhelming. It’s not surprising that male mental health is becoming such an issue” (Generation X Moderate).

Despite significant shifts in public debate highlighting the need to engage men, gender equality is still often erroneously thought of as a women’s issue. At its worst this may lead to two adverse outcomes: if women are seen as the problem, then it stands to reason that women are also the ones needing to be ‘fixed’. Consequently, if the measures to improve gender equality are perceived to be focusing solely on women, there is a real risk that men may start to feel left out.

We have recently witnessed a high profile example of this phenomenon when the former Google engineer James Damore was fired after circulating a memo in which he claimed that women were underrepresented in tech because of their biological attributes. He filed a class action lawsuit against his former employer, arguing that the tech giant discriminates against white male conservatives. Damore’s case is not an isolated incidence. In Australia, when the Federal Police announced a women-only recruitment round, the backlash on social media was immediate. But to what extent does this represent a cohesive value system?

Our survey reveals a worrying statistic in this regard: nearly half of all male respondents “agreed or strongly agreed” with the statement that “gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account”. If we disaggregate the data by generation, we find that while millennial and builder males were most likely to report feelings of being left out (see Table 2), all generations exhibited similar sentiments.

Table 2. “Gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account” (by generation)

Generation	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
All	33%	39%	30%	33%	31%
Male	38%	45%	39%	40%	45%
Female	29%	30%	22%	25%	20%

Millennial males were also significantly more likely (48 per cent) to “agree/strongly agree” with the statement that “Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality”, followed by Gen Z males at 44 per cent (see Table 3).

Table 3. “Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality” (by generation)

Generation	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
All	38%	33%	29%	27%	32%
Male	44%	48%	36%	35%	39%
Female	30%	27%	21%	18%	27%

Gender equality measures are not the only interventions that are perceived by men to deepen, rather than fix existing inequalities. The highly contested concept of freedom of speech also reveals significant gendered differences, with men far more likely to say that political correctness benefits women in the workplace (see Table 4).

Table 4. “Political correctness gives women an advantage in the workplace” (by generation)

Generation	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
All	30%	29%	30%	29%	26%
Male	35%	43%	38%	39%	41%
Female	24%	25%	21%	20%	13%

Again, millennial males were most likely to “agree/strongly agree” (43 per cent) with the statement. However, when it came to perceptions about being able to “say what you think”, the generational differences changed, with older generations more likely to “agree/strongly agree” (see Table 5). The gender differences in general were pronounced, with 54 per cent of men believing that political correctness hinders their ability to speak freely in contrast with 40 per cent of women.

Table 5. “Political correctness means I cannot say openly what I think about gender equality” (by generation)

Generation	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
All	36% ↓	42%	46%	50%	54%
Male	41% ↓	51%	52%	57%	71% ↑
Female	32%	36%	40%	43%	40%

These results give us significant cause for concern. The observation that younger generations of men view themselves as outsiders, actively excluded from what is now increasingly one of the key debates in many workplaces indicates that there is no room for complacency if we want to avoid a backlash against workplace interventions to address gender inequality.

This goes beyond just simply engaging men in the debate. While promoting key messages on the value proposition for gender equality is an essential component of this strategy, more attention is required on establishing best practice methods for developing an inclusive approach to change that encompasses both men and women.

ARE MALE MODERATES MISOGYNISTS OR CRITICAL THINKERS?

“Honestly I just don’t get it. I’d love to be at home with the kids. The pressure year in year out to keep everything together is really hard.”

Moderate Gen X Male, Metropolitan Australia

“ I LOVE BEING A MUM AND HE LOVES BEING AT WORK. IT WORKS. IT
DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE ARE OLD FASHIONED. WE'RE MAKING A CHOICE
THAT WORKS FOR US. ”

MODERATE GEN X FEMALE, METROPOLITAN AUSTRALIA



As noted above, the survey findings have allowed us to identify three distinctive approaches to gender equality debate in Australia – traditional, moderate, and progressive. Given that 62 per cent of Australians align with the moderate position, it deserves further thought.

The above quotation illustrates that the moderate perspective combines an egalitarian set of views around gender equality in the workplace and at home with rising concern over what they understand as the growing impact of political correctness in Australian society, as well as a strong desire to see men’s rights equally represented in public discussion of equality issues (see Table 6). In short, it is a pretty broad category.

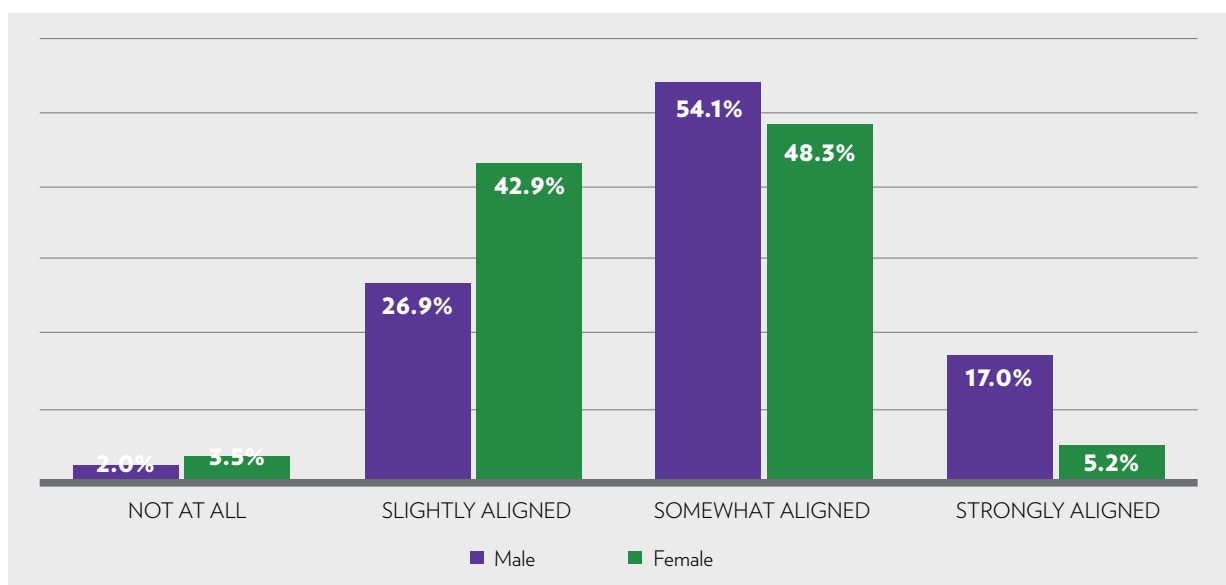
Table 6. Traditional aspects of the moderate position reduced by principle component analysis

Gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account	.669
Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality	.647
People are too sensitive about what is written online	.588
Political correctness gives women an advantage in the workplace	.586
Political correctness means I cannot say openly what I think about gender equality	.544
‘Freedom of speech is important, even if it means offending someone’	.530

Traditionally, certain of these views have been linked with old fashioned views of gender roles, or even misogyny. However, our analysis suggests that, while there may be some cross over in people’s beliefs, overall, these concerns are often considered independently. So, while gender debates see issues of men’s rights and concerns over political correctness as synonymous with an attack on gender equality, this cohort of moderate male Australians feels differently.

Figure 4 highlights the distribution of the moderate voice by gender. Unsurprisingly, the issue of men’s rights is championed most strongly by males, with 71 per cent aligning with its core beliefs. However, these same issues also resonate with the majority of Australian women (54 per cent). These findings highlight the need for a more open and inclusive discussion about gender equality in Australia, as the issue is clearly far more complex than the mainstream debate allows.

Figure 4. Gender alignment with the moderate perspective



MALE MILLENNIAL TRADITIONALISTS AND THE GAMING CULTURE

“I don’t see what the problem is. We’ve already made the changes necessary to create an equal society for men and women. Now it’s up to them.”

Millennial Male, Metropolitan Australia

Analysis of the generational data found a positive correlation between older generations and traditional views on gender equality with one generational exception. Millennial men also agreed with traditional understandings of gender roles in the home and the workplace (such as “women are best suited to be the primary carer of children”). On closer inspection, a principle component analysis shows that the traditional perspective shared by Millennial males has several distinctive features, including the statements: “girls should not be out in public places after dark”; and, “men dominate sexual relations”.⁷

We also discovered a significant relationship between the length of time that young males spend playing video games, and their alignment with this ‘millennial’ traditional position. Table 7 shows that 62 per cent of young Millennial males who play online video games for an above average length of time, align positively with traditional views on gender equality.

Surprisingly, 34 per cent of Millennial females displaying the same characteristics also aligned positively with traditional views on gender equality.

The strongest traditional views exhibited by young male gamers were:

- “Women prefer to stay at home with young children” (43 per cent)
- “Women are best suited to be the primary carer of children” (43 per cent)
- “Girls should not be out in public places after dark” (46 per cent)

Other views were also strongly felt but these three statements were uniquely championed by Millennial boys and young men.

It should also be noted that significant correlations between gaming activity and traditional perspectives on gender equality were also found with Gen X women (51 per cent) and male Baby Boomers (53 per cent).

Table 7. Length of time spent gaming and traditional views on gender equality issues (by gender and generation)

	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
Male	48.1%	62.2% ↑	45%	52.6%	n/a
Female	28.2% ↓	34.7%	51.2%	38.5%	n/a

7. See Appendix 1: Methodology and Sampling for a full account of principle component analysis.

**“ WE DO EVERYTHING TOGETHER. DIVIDE ALL THE JOBS DOWN THE LINE.
THERE'S STUFF SHE'S BETTER AT AND STUFF I CAN DO. THE FARM SIMPLY
WOULDN'T SURVIVE IF WE DID THINGS LIKE OUR GRANDPARENTS. ”**

MODERATE GEN X MALE, REGIONAL AUSTRALIA.

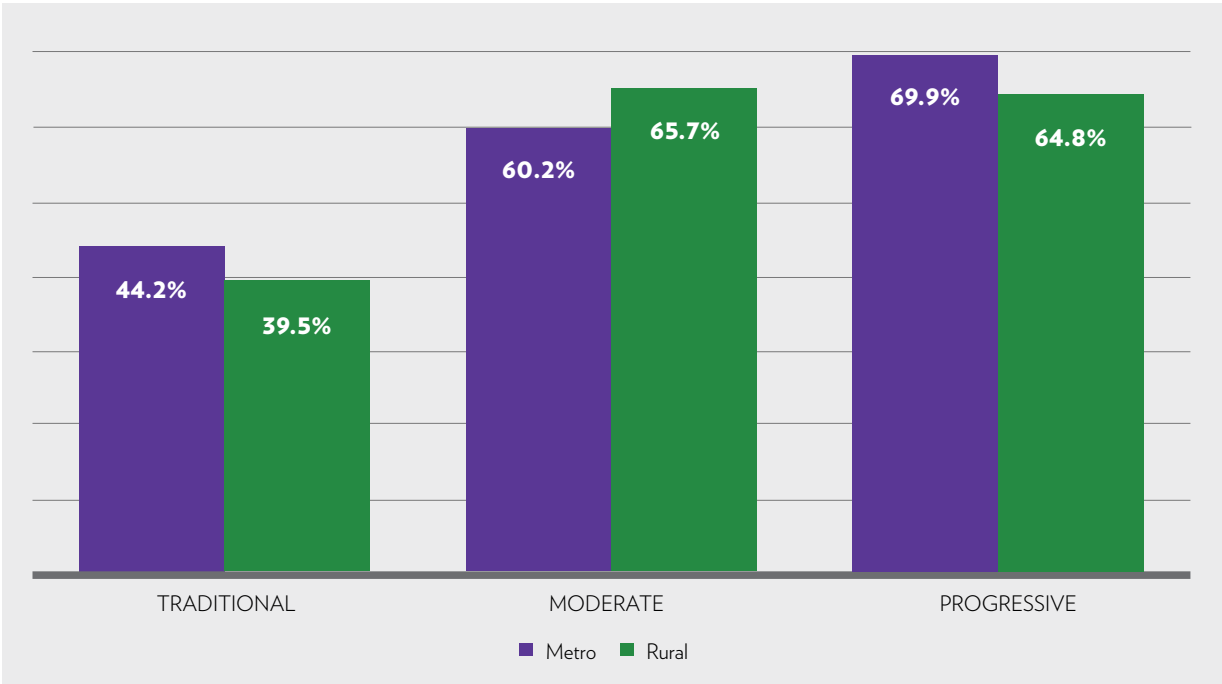


REGIONAL AUSTRALIA LEADS THE WAY ON POSITIVE ATTITUDES TO GENDER EQUALITY

When we compared social attitudes in rural and metropolitan regions, unsurprisingly metropolitan regions tended to be more progressive in their views (70 per cent) with rural Australia closely following at 65 per cent. However, when moderate and traditional perspectives are taken into account, the picture changed quite dramatically. The traditional voice is stronger in metropolitan regions (44 per cent), and the moderate voice firmly belongs to rural Australia (66 per cent).

On closer inspection, principle component analysis highlights some interesting findings. Here four distinctive voices come to the fore. In addition to moderate and progressive voices, there are also two distinctive traditional voices, each focusing on a different theme: one on traditional gender roles and the other on negative views on women in leadership. This may explain why rural Australia appears to be less aligned with the general population’s traditional views. Within rural Australia, traditional views are not easily compressed into a single perspective but are spread across a range of issues. So, while there is a traditional position in rural Australia, it is not the cohesive position that we find in metropolitan Australia.

Figure 5. Positive and negative attitudes to gender equality in regional and metropolitan Australia (by gender)



2

KEY FINDINGS BY GENDER

Males and females in this study reported different attitudes to gender roles, different beliefs regarding the existence and extent of systematic gender discrimination and gender-based inequality, assigned responsibility for addressing gender discrimination to different societal groups and reported differing experiences of gender discrimination in their careers.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE EXISTENCE AND EXTENT OF SEXISM, EXPERIENCES OF SEXISM AND THE ATTRIBUTION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADDRESSING SEXISM

As Table 8 illustrates, women were significantly more likely to believe that gender-based inequality is still a problem in Australian society.

Table 8. Is inequality between men and women (including boys and girls) still a problem in Australia today?

Column %	Male	Female	NET
Yes, definitely	32% ↓	42% ↑	37%
Yes, to some extent	53%	49%	51%
No	15% ↑	9% ↓	12%

They were also more likely to have been negatively impacted by their gender in their work and careers (see Table 9) and to believe that they had less access to career opportunities than men (see Table 10).

Table 9. Has your gender ever negatively impacted your work/career in any way?

Column %	Male	Female	NET
Yes, definitely	12% ↓	19% ↑	16%
Yes, to some extent	18% ↓	30% ↑	24%
No	70% ↑	51% ↓	61%

Table 10. Do men and women have the same access to career opportunities in Australia?

Column %	Male	Female	NET
Yes, definitely	24% ↑	13% ↓	19%
Yes, to some extent	49%	47%	48%
No	27% ↓	40% ↑	34%

Female and male respondents roughly agreed on the areas of society where sexism is most widespread although females were significantly more likely to nominate politics and the workplace while males were more likely to claim that sexism wasn't widespread in any of the suggested areas of society (see Table 11).

Table 11. Choose three areas of society where sexism is most widespread

Column %	Male	Female	NET
Politics	53% ↓	63% ↑	58%
Workplace	48% ↓	57% ↑	53%
Media	40%	43%	42%
Sport	33%	37%	35%
Advertising	34%	31%	33%
Social media	33%	28%	31%
Schools	15%	12%	14%
Public spaces	13%	11%	12%
Other	1%	1%	1%
None of the above	10% ↑	5% ↓	7%

Similarly, male respondents and female respondents have similar ideas of who bears responsibility for addressing sexism in Australian society with females being more likely to nominate workplace HR and politicians, and males more likely to suggest that no one should assume responsibility as everyday sexism is not a problem. Males were also more likely to suggest that young people should be responsible for change whilst females were more likely to nominate people other than those suggested by the survey (see Table 12).

Table 12. Who should be responsible for addressing everyday sexism in Australia?

Column %	Male	Female	NET
Schools and teachers	44%	49%	47%
Workplace HR officers	35% ↓	42% ↑	39%
Politicians	33% ↓	39% ↑	36%
Fathers and male caregivers	32%	32%	32%
Mothers and female caregivers	25%	25%	25%
Police and security services	14%	14%	14%
Victims of sexism	13%	14%	13%
I don't think everyday sexism is a problem in Australia	16% ↑	8% ↓	12%
Young women and girls	12% ↑	6% ↓	9%
Young men and boys	10% ↑	6% ↓	8%
Other	6% ↓	12% ↑	9%

ATTITUDES TO SEXISM, GENDER ROLES AND GENDER EQUALITY BY GENDER

Tables 13 and 14 below show the proportion of respondents of males and females who either agreed or strongly agreed with a series of statements regarding gender.

On the whole:

- Males were more likely to agree with statements that prioritise freedom of speech or expression and with statements that express some form of dissatisfaction with 'political correctness'.
- Males were also more likely to agree with all statements that suggest that men are unfairly treated by measures to address gender inequality.

- Females were more likely to agree with the vast majority of statements that address the existence and extent of systematic sexism and those that advocate for measures or policy to address it.
- Males and females were sometimes in agreement and sometimes disagreement on statements supporting the existence of inherent differences between genders in abilities and ambitions in both the workplace and caring roles. On the whole males were more likely than females to believe in these differences when it came to professional environments but were closer in their opinions on caring roles.

Table 13. Proportion of respondents who agree or strongly agree with the following statements

Column % agree + strongly agree	Male	Female	NET
Domestic work should be shared equally between partners regardless of gender	80% ↓	89% ↑	85%
Men have more opportunity than women to earn the main household income	60% ↓	69% ↑	65%
'Freedom of speech is important, even if it means offending someone'	69% ↑	59% ↓	64%
People are too sensitive about what is written online	66% ↑	57% ↓	62%
Men and women have different skills and talents based on their gender	56% ↑	45% ↓	51%
There are no gender-based differences in skills and talents	46%	49%	48%
Women are better at most household chores	36%	38%	37%
Women are best suited to be the primary carer of children	40% ↑	31% ↓	35%
Girls should not be out in public places after dark	35%	34%	35%
Women prefer to stay at home with young children	29%	30%	29%
Boys should not be out in public places after dark	28%	28%	28%
Caring for children and elderly parents is best done by women	27%	23%	25%
Men dominate sexual relations	25%	24%	24%
Women become less likable when they take on leadership roles	22%	23%	22%
Men are better suited to leadership roles	23% ↑	12% ↓	18%

Table 14. Proportion of respondents who agree or strongly agree with the following statements

Column % agree + strongly agree	Male	Female	NET
There should be more women in positions of political power.	50% ↓	67% ↑	59%
Gender equality should be a policy priority in Australia	51% ↓	65% ↑	58%
It's important to me that more women become leaders	43% ↓	59% ↑	51%
Political correctness means I cannot say openly what I think about gender equality	54% ↑	40% ↓	47%
It's easier to get your dream job if you are male rather than female	38% ↓	51% ↑	45%
The internet is an effective place to voice my opinions	43%	43%	43%
Gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account	42% ↑	26% ↓	34%
People in Australia are hired on merit	39% ↑	29% ↓	34%
Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality	42% ↑	23% ↓	32%
Most women do not aspire to leadership positions because they have family responsibilities	31%	32%	32%
Political correctness gives women an advantage in the workplace	41% ↑	23% ↓	31%
It is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that families function well and children are properly supported	37% ↑	26% ↓	31%
Women try to behave like men when they take on executive positions or leadership roles	33%	29%	31%
The government is already doing enough to promote equal opportunities for women	35% ↑	20% ↓	27%
It is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that Australia remains globally competitive with a well performing economy	27% ↑	22% ↓	24%
Men are more ambitious than women	26% ↑	18% ↓	22%
Women are not naturally ambitious	14% ↑	9% ↓	11%

3

KEY FINDINGS BY GENERATION

Differences in experiences of, beliefs of, and attitudes to gender inequality also exist between generations.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE EXISTENCE AND EXTENT OF SEXISM, EXPERIENCES OF SEXISM AND THE ATTRIBUTION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADDRESSING SEXISM

There was little difference between generations in the belief of the existence of systematic sexism. (see Table 15).

Table 15. Is inequality between men and women (including boys and girls) still a problem in Australia today? (by generation)

	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
Yes, definitely	38%	39%	40%	34%	28%
Yes, to some extent	52%	48%	47%	55%	67%
No	10%	12%	14%	11%	5%

Millennials were more likely than other generations to report having been negatively impacted by their gender in their work or career. The older generations were less likely to have had such experiences (see Table 16).

Table 16. Has your gender ever negatively impacted your work/career in any way? (by generation)

	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
Yes, definitely	15%	20% ↑	14%	11%	7%
Yes, to some extent	28%	26%	26%	21%	8% ↓
No	57%	54% ↓	60%	67% ↑	84% ↑

Despite this, Millennials were more likely to believe that men and women have the same access to career opportunities whilst Baby Boomers were less likely (see Table 17).

Table 17. Do men and women have the same access to career opportunities in Australia? (by generation)

	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
Yes, definitely	22%	25% ↑	17%	12% ↓	14%
Yes, to some extent	53%	47%	47%	52%	60%
No	26%	29%	36%	36%	26%

There were some differences between generations in which areas of society they believe sexism is most prevalent in. The area of clearest difference was, unsurprisingly, social media (see Table 18). Millennials (38 per cent) and Gen Z (44 per cent) respondents considered this to be a significant space for experiencing sexism in contrast to Gen X (23 per cent) and Boomers (25 per cent) and Builders (22 per cent).

Table 18. Choose three areas of society where sexism is most widespread? (by generation)

	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
Politics	47%↓	57%	63%	59%	62%
Workplace	44%↓	42%↓	52%	59%↑	57%
Media	49%	48%↑	43%	38%	32%
Sport	39%	34%	36%	32%	28%
Advertising	25%↓	32%	37%	36%	35%
Social media	44%↑	38%↑	23%↓	25%↓	22%
Schools	22%↑	12%	12%	16%	19%
Public spaces	16%↑	14%↑	9%	10%	7%
Other	2%	1%	1%	3%	4%
None of the above	4%	7%	8%	7%	11%

There were also numerous differences between the generations in the attribution of responsibilities to address sexism (see Table 19); although general agreement focused on schools and teachers, workplace HR and politicians. Remarkably limited focus is given by Gen Z respondents to Mothers and female caregivers (21 per cent) and Fathers and male caregivers (24 per cent). In contrast, Millennials (33 per cent), Gen X (35 per cent) and Baby Boomers (33 per cent) valued the role of Fathers and male caregivers more highly.

Table 19. Who should be responsible for addressing everyday sexism in Australia?

	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
Schools and teachers	50%	48%	45%	50%	55%
Workplace HR officers	34%	32%↓	38%	43%	46%
Politicians	37%	33%	41%↑	34%	26%
Fathers and male caregivers	24%↓	33%	35%	33%	28%
Mothers and female caregivers	21%	25%	26%	27%	33%
Police and security services	22%↑	17%↑	13%	9%↓	5%
Victims of sexism	19%↑	11%	11%	14%	19%
I don't think everyday sexism is a problem in Australia	10%	13%	10%	12%	19%
Young women and girls	14%↑	13%↑	5%	4%↓	1%↓
Young men and boys	14%↑	9%	7%	7%	2%
Other	7%	9%	11%	10%	11%

ATTITUDES TO SEXISM, GENDER ROLES AND GENDER EQUALITY BY GENERATION

Notably, Millennials and to a lesser extent Generation Z respondents were more likely to agree with many of the statements that were least popular overall (see Table 20). As noted in part one, the Millennial category is extremely broad (1980-1994) and encompasses a broad value set with young Millennials tending to hold strong views on these issues.

Table 20. Proportion of respondents who agree or strongly agree with the following statements (by generation)

	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
Domestic work should be shared equally between partners regardless of gender	80%	82%	84%	89%↑	85%
Men have more opportunity than women to earn the main household income	56%↓	60%↓	61%	72%↑	82%↑
'Freedom of speech is important, even if it means offending someone'	59%	62%	63%	67%	78%
People are too sensitive about what is written online	65%	70%↑	63%	52%↓	49%
Men and women have different skills and talents based on their gender	38%↓	50%	46%	53%	66%
There are no gender-based differences in skills and talents	52%	47%	47%	49%	52%
Women are better at most household chores	31%	36%	34%	37%	56%↑
Women are best suited to be the primary carer of children	28%↓	37%	27%↓	34%	61%↑
Girls should not be out in public places after dark	29%	33%	33%	36%	40%
Women prefer to stay at home with young children	26%	35%↑	28%	24%	26%
Boys should not be out in public places after dark	24%	25%	28%	31%	22%
Caring for children and elderly parents is best done by women	28%	26%	17%↓	22%	40%↑
Men dominate sexual relations	21%	26%	20%	23%	29%
Women become less likable when they take on leadership roles	17%	27%↑	21%	18%	11%
Men are better suited to leadership roles	18%	23%↑	14%	11%↓	26%

Table 21. Proportion of respondents who agree or strongly agree with the following statements (by generation)

	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
There should be more women in positions of political power.	59%	60%	63%	56%	51%
Gender equality should be a policy priority in Australia	60%	53%	57%	56%	67%
It's important to me that more women become leaders	56%	43%	53%	46%	49%
Political correctness means I cannot say openly what I think about gender equality	36% ↓	42%	46%	50%	54%
It's easier to get your dream job if you are male rather than female	40%	46%	42%	44%	59%
The internet is an effective place to voice my opinions	52% ↑	38%	42%	34% ↓	42%
Gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account	33%	39% ↑	30%	33%	31%
People in Australia are hired on merit	34%	37% ↑	33%	28%	28%
Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality	38%	33%	29%	27% ↓	32%
Most women do not aspire to leadership positions because they have family responsibilities	22%	34%	28%	29%	42%
Political correctness gives women an advantage in the workplace	30%	29%	30%	29%	26%
It is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that families function well and children are properly supported	26%	31%	25% ↓	32%	61% ↑
Women try to behave like men when they take on executive positions or leadership roles	19% ↓	31% ↑	30%	32%	39%
The government is already doing enough to promote equal opportunities for women	25%	28%	24%	26%	24%
It is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that Australia remains globally competitive with a well performing economy	20%	22%	20%	21%	44% ↑
Men are more ambitious than women	17%	22%	17%	20%	27%
Women are not naturally ambitious	14% ↑	15% ↑	8%	5% ↓	8%

Table 22. Proportion of male respondents who agree or strongly agree with the following gendered statements (by generation)

% Males only	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
Domestic work should be shared equally between partners regardless of gender	75%	77%	80%	85%	82%
Men have more opportunity than women to earn the main household income	50%	56%	60%	64%	68%
'Freedom of speech is important, even if it means offending someone'	63%	65%	67%	74%	84%
People are too sensitive about what is written online	66%	72% ↑	67%	56% ↓	61%
Men and women have different skills and talents based on their gender	45%	56%	50%	59%	66%
There are no gender-based differences in skills and talents	48%	46%	43%	46%	41%
Women are better at most household chores	35%	37%	30%	33%	50%
Women are best suited to be the primary carer of children	35%	41%	29% ↓	39%	63% ↑
Girls should not be out in public places after dark	33%	38%	32%	33%	41%
Women prefer to stay at home with young children	29%	37% ↑	23%	22%	25%
Boys should not be out in public places after dark	27%	29%	27%	28%	34%
Caring for children and elderly parents is best done by women	35% ↑	29%	17% ↓	21%	32%
Men dominate sexual relations	24%	30% ↑	19%	18%	23%
Women become less likable when they take on leadership roles	19%	29% ↑	20%	14%	7%
Men are better suited to leadership roles	24%	32% ↑	18%	13% ↓	18%

Table 23. Proportion of male respondents who agree or strongly agree with the following statements (by generation)

% Males only	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
There should be more women in positions of political power.	46%	50%	54%	50%	39%
Gender equality should be a policy priority in Australia	57%	50%	49%	49%	50%
It's important to me that more women become leaders	43%	44%	43%	39%	45%
Political correctness means I cannot say openly what I think about gender equality	41% ↓	51%	52%	57%	71% ↑
It's easier to get your dream job if you are male rather than female	35%	39%	33%	37%	41%
The internet is an effective place to voice my opinions	50%	46%	42%	35%	29%
Gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account	38%	45%	39%	40%	45%
People in Australia are hired on merit	37%	44%	40%	32%	30%
Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality	44%	48% ↑	36%	35%	39%
Most women do not aspire to leadership positions because they have family responsibilities	25%	33%	25%	25%	36%
Political correctness gives women an advantage in the workplace	35%	43%	38%	39%	41%
It is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that families function well and children are properly supported	33%	34%	30%	36%	54% ↑
Women try to behave like men when they take on executive positions or leadership roles	23%	35%	31%	34%	38%
The government is already doing enough to promote equal opportunities for women	32%	42% ↑	30%	32%	38%
It is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that Australia remains globally competitive with a well performing economy	25%	33% ↑	20%	22%	32%
Men are more ambitious than women	23%	30% ↑	21%	20%	20%
Women are not naturally ambitious	19%	21% ↑	7% ↓	7% ↓	9%

Table 24. Proportion of female respondents who agree or strongly agree with the following statements
(by generation)

% Females only	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
Domestic work should be shared equally between partners regardless of gender	86%	88%	87%	93%	87%
Men have more opportunity than women to earn the main household income	62% ↓	64% ↓	63% ↓	80% ↑	93%
'Freedom of speech is important, even if it means offending someone'	56%	60%	58%	60%	73%
People are too sensitive about what is written online	64%	68% ↑	59%	49% ↓	40%
Men and women have different skills and talents based on their gender	30% ↓	44%	43%	47%	67%
There are no gender-based differences in skills and talents	56%	47%	50%	53%	60% ↑
Women are better at most household chores	27% ↓	36%	38%	41%	60%
Women are best suited to be the primary carer of children	21% ↓	33%	25%	30%	60%
Girls should not be out in public places after dark	25%	29%	34%	39%	40%
Women prefer to stay at home with young children	23%	32%	33%	25%	27%
Boys should not be out in public places after dark	20%	21%	29%	34% ↑	13%
Caring for children and elderly parents is best done by women	20%	22%	16%	23%	47%
Men dominate sexual relations	19%	22%	21%	28%	33%
Women become less likable when they take on leadership roles	14%	25%	21%	22%	13%
Men are better suited to leadership roles	11%	14%	10%	9%	33% ↑

Table 25. Proportion of female respondents who agree or strongly agree with the following statements
(by generation)

% Females only	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
There should be more women in positions of political power.	74%	70%	71%	61%	60%
Gender equality should be a policy priority in Australia	63%	67%	64%	62%	80%
It's important to me that more women become leaders	69%	63%	62%	52%	53%
Political correctness means I cannot say openly what I think about gender equality	32%	36%	40%	43%	40%
It's easier to get your dream job if you are male rather than female	45%	45%	51%	50%	73%
The internet is an effective place to voice my opinions	55% ↑	46%	41%	34% ↓	53%
Gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account	29%	30%	22%	25%	20%
People in Australia are hired on merit	30%	35%	27%	25%	27%
Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality	30%	27%	21%	18%	27%
Most women do not aspire to leadership positions because they have family responsibilities	19% ↓	33%	31%	32%	47%
Political correctness gives women an advantage in the workplace	24%	25%	21%	20%	13%
It is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that families function well and children are properly supported	19% ↓	25%	20%	28%	67% ↑
Women try to behave like men when they take on executive positions or leadership roles	14% ↓	27%	29%	30%	40%
The government is already doing enough to promote equal opportunities for women	17%	21%	19%	20%	13%
It is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that Australia remains globally competitive with a well performing economy	15%	23%	19%	20%	53% ↑
Men are more ambitious than women	11%	15%	14%	20%	33%
Women are not naturally ambitious	10%	9%	9%	3%	7%

4

KEY FINDINGS BY TIME SPENT ONLINE

This section identifies the different ways in which genders (see Table 26) and generations engage online (see Table 27). The results here are not particularly surprising. Women more frequently participate in social media activity and men more frequently participate in recreational browsing and gaming activity. On-line activity by generation tends to decrease with age with the exception of the Builder generation which oddly out does the Baby Boomer generation in all areas of online activity with the exception of social media.

In part one, we discovered a significant correlation between online behaviours – particularly online gaming – and traditional normative attitudes to gender roles such as believing that men are better suited to leadership (see Tables 28 and 29). We observed a significant relationship between the length of time that young males spend playing video games, and their alignment with this ‘millennial’ traditional position; 62 per cent of young Millennial males who play online video games for an above average length of time, align positively with traditional views on gender equality. Surprisingly, 34 per cent of Millennial females displaying the same characteristics also aligned positively with traditional views on gender equality. This is an important discovery which will require further investigation in the focus group component of our research program.

Table 26. Average time spent online by gender

Mean time spent in minutes	Male	Female	NET
Recreational browsing	166 ↑	148 ↓	157
Playing online games	82 ↑	66 ↓	74
Using social media	103 ↓	125 ↑	114
SUM	351	340	345

Table 27. Average time spent online by generation

Mean time spent in minutes	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
Recreational browsing	164	163	151	144	151
Playing online games	113 ↑	93 ↑	61	46 ↓	65
Using social media	184 ↑	146 ↑	111	73 ↓	47 ↓
SUM	461 ↑	403 ↑	322	263 ↓	263

Table 28. Average time spent online by respondents who agree or strongly agree with the following statements

Mean time spent in minutes	Recreational browsing	Playing online games	Using social media	SUM (time spend online)	Row n
Domestic work should be shared equally between partners regardless of gender	157	70	114	341	1785
Men have more opportunity than women to earn the main household income	153	68	110	331	1338
'Freedom of speech is important, even if it means offending someone'	155	76	113	344	1354
People are too sensitive about what is written online	158	75	128 ↑	361	1340
Men and women have different skills and talents based on their gender	157	76	115	349	1021
There are no gender-based differences in skills and talents	167	82	126	374 ↑	1020
Women are better at most household chores	156	86	124	365	752
Women are best suited to be the primary carer of children	159	81	119	359	706
Girls should not be out in public places after dark	164	83	121	369	695
Women prefer to stay at home with young children	155	95 ↑	127	376	605
Boys should not be out in public places after dark	157	88	116	360	556
Caring for children and elderly parents is best done by women	158	95	137	389	489
Men dominate sexual relations	158	78	124	360	479
Women become less likable when they take on leadership roles	171	92	127	390	443
Men are better suited to leadership roles	176	115 ↑	150 ↑	442 ↑	349

Table 29. Proportion of respondents who agree or strongly agree with the following statements

Mean time spent in minutes	Gen Z	Millennials	Gen X	Baby Boomers	Builders
There should be more women in positions of political power.	156	73	119	348	1264
Gender equality should be a policy priority in Australia	160	80	121	361	1228
It's important to me that more women become leaders	159	77	122	358	1108
Political correctness means I cannot say openly what I think about gender equality	157	77	112	346	947
It's easier to get your dream job if you are male rather than female	153	75	118	345	895
The internet is an effective place to voice my opinions	170	89 ↑	134 ↑	394 ↑	916
Gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account	168	74	116	359	723
People in Australia are hired on merit	161	84	123	367	721
Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality	167	89	122	378	690
Most women do not aspire to leadership positions because they have family responsibilities	158	81	117	356	615
Political correctness gives women an advantage in the workplace	168	81	121	369	658
It is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that families function well and children are properly supported	157	82	123	361	621
Women try to behave like men when they take on executive positions or leadership roles	159	79	108	346	615
The government is already doing enough to promote equal opportunities for women	166	91	123	379	568
It is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that Australia remains globally competitive with a well performing economy	167	94	137	398	488
Men are more ambitious than women	162	91	109	361	404
Women are not naturally ambitious	170	101	158	429	223

Image source: google



**THE HON JULIE BISHOP MP,
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IN CONCLUSION: TRENDING TOWARDS TRADITIONALISM – BACKSLIDE OR BACKLASH?

Millennials, generally defined as people born between 1982 and 2000, were supposed to be the generation that forged what has been called “a new national consensus” in favor of gender equality. Indeed, in February the prominent Columbia professor Jeffrey Sachs labeled the 2016 election, where an extremely qualified female candidate lost to a man with a history of disrespecting women, “a blip” on the road to the egalitarian society that will be achieved once millennial voters outnumber their conservative elders (Tim Enthoven, the New Yorker, 31 March 2017).⁸

As Tim Enthoven observes, just a short time ago liberal democracies around the world were viewed to be moving inexorably towards a gender neutral future with the election of Hillary Clinton to the American presidency representing an international consensus on gender equality. Then in a dramatic turn of events a man perceived to be the symbol of western male misogyny was nudged into power without winning the popular vote. The post-election analysis showed that while 63 per cent of young women voted for Clinton, only 47 per cent of young men did so (Kawashima-Ginsberg 2017). Moreover, 10 per cent fewer voted for Clinton than Obama in 2008. The promise of male millennials delivering a gender equal future came to an abrupt stop (Cassino 2017 and Pepin and Cotter 2017).

The depressing news from our survey is that Australia appears to be following the trend. Not only did the Australian Liberal Party fail to replace its outgoing leader and Prime Minister with a politician perceived by many to be the most qualified and popular person for the job, Julie Bishop, but a growing number of Millennial and Gen X men appear to be alienated from the process of change and are backsliding into traditional value systems. This is all the more worrying when we can also find significant evidence of high levels of knowledge and understanding about the nature of gender inequality in Australia.

Please consider the following findings.

CORE NARRATIVES ON GENDER EQUALITY IN AUSTRALIA

Australians are united in the view that gender inequality is still a problem in Australia today

Our survey found that an overwhelming proportion of Australians (88 per cent) agreed that inequality between women and men is still a problem in Australia today. This observation is consistent with comparable surveys conducted nationally since 2009.

However, Australia is featured by complex, often contradictory value systems underpinning the gender equality debate

There are three distinctive voices in the gender equality debate in Australia: the traditional view, the moderate view, and the progressive view. The traditional view on gender equality revolves around negative views of women in leadership roles, and traditional views on women in the workplace and the home. The moderate view combines a more egalitarian set of views around gender equality in the workplace and at home with rising concern over what they understand as the growing political correctness of Australian society. This value system is characterised by a desire for a greater focus on men’s rights as well as women’s rights, and concern for freedom of speech and promotion of a more

8. See: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/31/opinion/sunday/do-millennial-men-want-stay-at-home-wives.html>, retrieved 30 August 2018.

inclusive discussion on gender equality. This view is distinctive from the traditional view given its rhetorical support for gender equality but may well be vulnerable to unconscious bias against women in the workplace; although we have no evidence to support this thesis from our survey findings.

The progressive view represents Australians who most strongly align with the need for concerted policy action on gender equality issues both in the workplace and more broadly in society.

Significantly, the prevalence of these three sets of views are not uniform, with 43 per cent of Australians exhibiting traditional views, 62 per cent moderate views, and 68 per cent progressive views. It is important to note that attitudinal viewpoints are not mutually exclusive, with many Australian falling into multiple types depending on their own complex range of opinions on gender politics and personal circumstances. However, there does appear to be a convergence around the moderate value system which is unlikely to facilitate anything other than incremental change given the contradictions therein.

Australians across all generations have a clear and sophisticated understanding of the nature and experience of sexism

This observation is demonstrated by the common use of three sophisticated discursive labels for understanding sexism – judgement, discrimination and differential treatment – and the provision of significant evidence of how these labels work in practice.

There were differences in how men and women and generations experienced sexism. Women were more likely to have been negatively impacted by their gender in their work and careers and to believe that they had less access to career opportunities than men. Millennials were more likely than other generations to report having been negatively impacted by their gender in their work or career. The older Baby Boomer and Builder generations were less likely to have had such experiences or are reluctant to report such experiences. Despite this observation, Millennials were more likely to believe that men and women have the same access to career opportunities whilst Baby Boomers were less likely.

Australians across all generations have a relatively consistent understanding of where sexism is most widespread in Australian society

Men and women agreed on the areas of society where sexism is most widespread (politics, workplace, media) although females were significantly more likely to nominate politics and the workplace while males were more likely to claim that sexism wasn't widespread in any of the suggested areas of society. However, if Australian governments are to make authentic progress on these issues they will need to take a hard look at themselves first. When asked to identify areas of society where sexism is most widespread, both men (53 per cent) and women (63 per cent) were in agreement that Australian politics was one of the worst perpetrators of sexism. Comparative findings from the Eurobarometer suggest that politics in Australia is perceived to be much more sexist than in Europe.

There were some differences between generations in which areas of society they believe sexism is most prevalent. The area of clearest difference was, unsurprisingly, social media. Millennials (38 per cent) and Gen Z (44 per cent) respondents considered this to be a significant space for experiencing sexism in contrast to Gen X (23 per cent), Baby Boomers (25 per cent) and Builders (22 per cent).

Men have been forgotten in the struggle for gender equality

Our survey reveals a worrying statistic in this regard: nearly half of all male respondents “agreed or strongly agreed” with the statement that “gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account”. If we disaggregate the data by generation, we find that while millennial and builder males were most likely to report feelings of being left out, all generations exhibited similar sentiments. Millennial males were also significantly more likely (48 per cent) to “agree/strongly agree” with the statement that “Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality”, followed by Gen Z males at 44 per cent. Gender equality measures are not the only interventions that are perceived by men to deepen, rather than fix existing inequalities. The highly contested concept of freedom of speech also reveals significant gendered differences, with men far more likely to say that political correctness benefits women in the workplace.

These results give us significant cause for concern. The observation that younger generations of men view themselves as outsiders, actively excluded from what is now increasingly one of the key debates in many workplaces indicates that there is no room for complacency if we want to avoid a backlash against workplace interventions to address gender inequality.

Male moderates are champions of men’s rights

The moderate perspective combines an egalitarian set of views around gender equality in the workplace and at home with rising concern over what they understand as the growing impact of political correctness in Australian society, as well as a strong desire to see men’s rights equally represented in public discussion of equality issues. Given that 62 per cent of Australians align with the moderate position, and its value system this represents a significant barrier to gender equality.

A significant correlation was found between online behaviours – particularly online gaming – with normative attitudes to gender roles (such as believing that men are better suited to leadership)

The development of traditional value systems particularly within the male Millennial generation is linked to the gaming culture and other online behaviours. Analysis of the generational data found a positive correlation between older generations and traditional views on gender equality with one generational exception. Millennial men also agreed with traditional understandings of gender roles in the home and the workplace (such as “women are best suited to be the primary carer of children”). On closer inspection, a principle component analysis shows that the traditional perspective shared by Millennial males has several distinctive features, including the statements: “girls should not be out in public places after dark”; and, “men dominate sexual relations”.

We also discovered a significant relationship between the length of time that young males spend playing video games, and their alignment with this ‘millennial’ traditional position; 62 per cent of young Millennial males who play online video games for an above average length of time, align positively with traditional views on gender equality. Surprisingly, 34 per cent of Millennial females displaying the same characteristics also aligned positively with traditional views on gender equality.

Rural Australia is leading the way on positive attitudes to gender equality issues in Australia

When we compared social attitudes in rural and metropolitan regions, unsurprisingly metropolitan regions tended to be more progressive in their views (70 per cent) with rural Australia closely following at 65 per cent. However, when moderate and traditional perspectives are taken into account, the picture changed quite dramatically. The traditional voice is stronger in metropolitan regions (44 per cent), and the moderate voice firmly belongs to rural Australia (66 per cent).

PARTING SHOT – AGAINST GENDER ESSENTIALISM

The evidence presented above suggests that many women are still being held back by traditional beliefs, with social norms continuing to push women into traditional roles. And although tradition no longer has a vice like grip both men and women occupying the moderate value system still share clearly defined and often stereotypical views of what men and women are better at in the home and the workplace. There has been a twist in the tale in the sense that moderate men want to push gender equality forward, but they appear to be held back by their fear of change and increased economic insecurity.

And what about Millennial males? It should firstly be noted, of course, that the category is an extremely amorphous one which brings together a group of people from across a broad age group (24 to 38 years old), featured by diversity in terms of social income, ethnicity, religion, and educational background. But nonetheless our survey findings, together with comparable findings in the United States (see Cassino 2017; Pepin and Cotter; and, Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg, 2017) require us to think through the puzzle. The key questions here are whether these trends represent a backslide or a backlash? And, for those interested in forging a national consensus on gender equality what can be done to reverse the trend?

What is certain is that the research on gender equality in Australia continues to raise more questions than answers. In particular, we need to explain the rhetoric-reality gap in the home, the workplace and broader society. We need to understand what men fear from gender equality. What do they think they will lose from a gender equality agenda? And, what policy interventions could incite their support? This will be the focus for part two of our research program and a key topic for our focus group study. However, the academic and grey literatures provide us with some clues about what might be happening for further investigation.

- Increased support for male leadership in home life may reflect an attempt to compensate for men's loss of dominance in the world of work – many women now earn more than men, perhaps a segment of young Millennials is responding to financial setbacks suffered by their fathers and believe that women's gains have come at the expense of men? Is this driving unconscious bias against the recruitment of women leaders in the workplace?
- The decline in support for “non-traditional” domestic arrangements stem from Millennials and to a lesser degree Gen X men witnessing the difficulties experienced by parents in dual earner families within the context of rising divorce rates?
- Or is this simply the product of the continued absence of work-family policies that support gender equality aspirations? Certainly support for gender equality has continued to rise among countries which have invested in paid maternity leave for fathers and affordable child care and early childhood education such as Sweden, Denmark and Finland.⁹
- And to manage Millennial mayhem, there is also an evident need to engage the gaming community and industry to see what role they could play in forging a progressive national consensus on gender equality.

Then of course there are the strategic questions for those advocates of gender equality who accept the argument that moderate men need to be a force for change. What role can/should men play as agents of change for gender equality? For those that draw on a gender essentialist view that “women are fundamentally, immutably and naturally different from men” this is a tricky question; but for those of us that don't subscribe to the “men are from Mars, women are from Venus” view of the world, there should simply be a plurality of practices. Here we leave the final words to Cordelia Fine and Nick Haslam:

“People who see men and women as fundamentally different are more likely to accept workplace discrimination.”¹⁰

9. See <http://theconversation.com/the-us-is-stingier-with-child-care-and-maternity-leave-than-the-rest-of-the-world-94770>, retrieved 30 August 2018.

10. See: <https://theconversation.com/people-who-see-men-and-women-as-fundamentally-different-are-more-likely-to-accept-workplace-discrimination-101434>, retrieved 30 August 2018.

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APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLING?

The 50/50 by 2030 Foundation provided Ipsos with a draft questionnaire of approximately 10 minutes in length. Ipsos refined the questionnaire to ensure that the questions were appropriate to meet the research objectives. The final questionnaire used to collect data is available at Appendix 2. The survey was administered online between the 2nd and 8th March 2018. In total, 2,122 Australians completed the survey.

SAMPLE COMPOSITION

The sample was obtained from an online survey panel (71%) and social media (29%). Online panels consist of members of the public who have signed up to complete surveys online. All participants received survey ‘points’ for participating, which can be combined with points from completing other surveys to obtain cash and other incentives. Respondents are recruited on social media by placing an advertisement and link to the survey on the “wall” of Facebook and Instagram profiles whose demographics align with the sample composition. Minimum quotas were set to ensure a robust sample of Australians by age, gender and location (see Table 30). The sample frame was designed to reflect the Australian population, while still providing a sufficient sample in each group of interest (age, gender and state). For example, this involved boosting the sample for smaller states and decreasing it for larger states, in order to allow for comparison by location. Intended quotas were achieved for all participating states.

Location	Minimum sample
NSW	392
VIC	392
QLD	300
WA	192
SA	192
TAS	84
ACT	84
NT	84
Age	Minimum sample
16-17	100
18-29	500
30-49	500
50+	500
Household income	Minimum sample
< \$50,000	400
\$50,000 - \$100,000	400
> \$100,000	400
Gender	Minimum sample
Male	900
Female	900

WEIGHTING

As part of data preparation, demographic or other variables of interest are also examined to ensure they accurately reflect the population of interest. If the data is skewed in terms of these variables, results from the survey may not accurately reflect the views of the wider population of interest.

In order to avoid this issue, 'weights' can be applied to the data. Weights are calculated based on the difference between the proportion of a certain type of respondent in the sample and the proportion of that type of respondent in the population. In essence, applying weights to a dataset readjusts the achieved sample to resemble the population, removing any skew in the results.

Two weighting systems were used. Both were calculated using ABS population data. The first system was designed to make the sample nationally representative. This weighting system used the same age brackets as the quotas (16-17, 18-29, 30-49, 50+) which allowed sufficient sample in each bracket to create an interlocking quota with location and gender data. However, the requested analysis by generation used different age brackets and required a weighting system that would ensure that each generation was representative of its gender distribution according to ABS data. Therefore, a second weighting system was developed for the generation analysis, one that did not incorporate location due to the smaller samples in each age bracket. It is worth noting that no significant differences were found between locations on any of the survey questions.

ANALYSIS

All statistical significance testing in this report was performed using Q computer software package¹¹ and SPSS. Significance testing between independent subgroups was performed using independent samples t-tests for comparison of means and z-tests for comparisons of proportions, all conducted at the 95% confidence level using the effective sample size.

Coding, editing and weighting of variables and statistical manipulations were conducted as appropriate.

All questions were analysed by the following variables:

- Gender
- Generation
 - Builders (born 1925-45)
 - Baby boomers (1946-64)
 - Generation X (1965-79)
 - Millennials (1980-94)
 - Generation Z (1995-present)

11. Q Professional. Version: 4.5.5.0. 2003-2014 Numbers International Pty Ltd. Key developers (in alphabetical order): O. Bock, T. Bock, J. Kurianski

SIGNIFICANCE TESTING

Tests of significance were conducted between key groups of interest at the 95 per cent confidence level and are reported where appropriate. Where significance testing has occurred between more than two categories within a group (e.g. generation), significance testing has been used that tests one category against the average of the other categories (i.e. against the total excluding itself). Such a test is ideal for multiple comparisons as it reduces the likelihood of displaying a significant difference where one does not exist.

A “significant difference” means that we can be 95 per cent confident that the difference observed between the two samples reflects a true difference in the population of interest, and is not a result of chance. Such descriptions are not value judgements on the importance of the difference. The reader is encouraged to make a judgement as to whether the differences are ‘meaningful’ or not.

ADDITIONAL METHODS

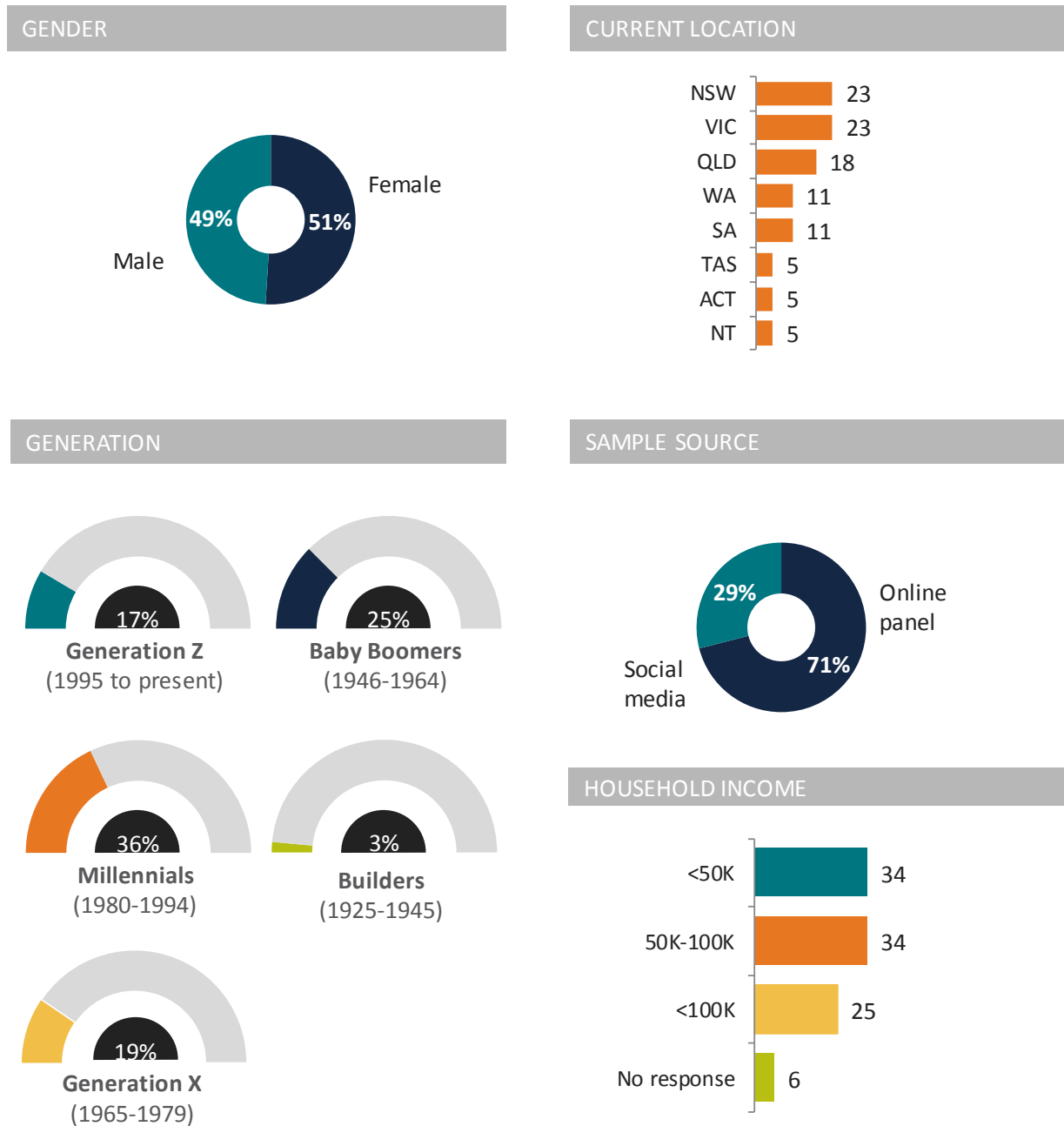
Nvivo software was used to analyse the free text question – *What does sexism mean to you?* All free text responses were imported into Nvivo. The data included 1887 individual entries (references). Initially, word frequency search was run to establish frequently occurring themes. However, due to both frequent misspellings, as well as the variety in expressions, it was deemed that manual coding was necessary to ensure a thorough interrogation of the data. The coding categories (nodes) were established by using a combination of in vivo coding – that is, using a word from the data to establish a label – and a descriptive approach which required the researcher to interpret the content before coding it into a relevant node. For example, in the case of the node ‘discrimination’, most responses included direct references to the word. However, some responses implied acts that could be construed as discriminatory, but would not use the actual word. Where possible, the label for the node was obtained from the data thus increasing the reliability of the findings. Nodes such as ‘speech acts’ relied mostly on interpretative coding, but in general, included references such as ‘speaking’, ‘saying’, ‘calling names’, and as such, did not require a high level of interpretation. The nodes were not mutually exclusive, and a single response could be coded into several different nodes. After all responses were coded into the initial nodes, the lists were analysed for overlap, and fine-tuned accordingly.

A form of factor analysis, principal component analysis, was used to identify attitudinal patterns within the value statements presented in survey questions 3 and 10 (see Appendix 2). Factor analysis is a statistical method used to describe variability among observed, correlated variables in terms of a potentially lower number of unobserved variables called factors. For example, it is possible that variations in six observed variables mainly reflect the variations in two unobserved (underlying) variables. Factor analysis searches for such joint variations in response to unobserved latent variables. The observed variables are modelled as linear combinations of the potential factors, plus “error” terms. Factor analysis aims to find independent latent variables. The theory behind factor analytic methods is that the information gained about the interdependencies between observed variables can be used later to reduce the set of variables in a dataset. Proponents of factor analysis believe that it helps to deal with data sets where there are large numbers of observed variables that are thought to reflect a smaller number of underlying/latent variables. It is one of the most commonly used inter-dependency techniques and is applied when the relevant set of variables shows a systematic inter-dependence and the objective is to find out the latent factors that create a commonality. This was therefore useful in identifying the components of traditional, moderate and progressive gender equality value systems.

SURVEY SAMPLE

Figure 6, below, outlines the demographics of the survey sample, in terms of gender, location, generation, sample source and income. The Builders' generation were underrepresented in the survey sample. This reflects the fact that this generation have a lower-representation on online panels and social media; the sources used to recruit for this survey.

Figure 6. Survey sample composition



APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE

Screenener

<Ask All

Q1 What is your date of birth?

-----[NEW SCREEN]-----

<Ask All

SQ1 . What is your sex?

- a. Male
- b. Female

-----[NEW SCREEN]-----

<Ask All

SQ2 Please insert your residential/home postal code

SQ3 Please select the city you are living in

SQ4 Please select the state you are living in

SQ5 AUS02INC. Which of the following categories best describes your total household annual income?
(Combined income of every total household member before taxes)

- a. Under \$50,000
- b. \$50,000-\$100,000
- c. Over \$100,000

-----MQB-----

<Ask All

- o Please input the time in hours and minutes in 4 digits format. For example: 4 hours and 2 minutes is **0402**, 0 hours and 35 minutes is **0035**.*

Q2 On average, how much time do you spend each day using the internet for:

- a. **Recreational browsing**
 - a. Minutes and hours entry (4 digit box)
- b. **Online games**
 - a. Minutes and hours entry (4 digit box)
- c. **Social Media**
 - a. Minutes and hours entry (4 digit box)

Q3 Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements
(*Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree*)

Randomise

- a. Men have more opportunity than women to earn the main household income
- b. Women are best suited to be the primary carer of children
- c. Women prefer to stay at home with young children
- d. Women are better at most household chores
- e. Caring for children and elderly parents is best done by women
- f. Men dominate sexual relations
- g. Girls should not be out in public places after dark
- h. Freedom of speech is important, even if it means offending someone
- i. Boys should not be out in public places after dark
- j. People are too sensitive about what is written online
- k. Men are better suited to leadership roles
- l. Domestic work should be shared equally between partners regardless of gender
- m. Men and women have different skills and talents based on their gender
- n. There are no gender-based differences in skills and talents
- o. Women become less likable when they take on leadership roles

Q4 Is inequality between men and women (including boys and girls) is still a problem in Australia today?

- a. Yes, definitely,
- b. Yes, to some extent,
- c. No

Q5 Has your gender ever negatively impacted your work/career in any way?

- a. Yes, definitely,
- b. Yes, to some extent,
- c. No

Q6 Do Men and Women have the same access to career opportunities in Australia?

- a. Yes, definitely,
- b. Yes, to some extent,
- c. No

Q7 What does sexism mean to you?

- a. Write in

Q8 Choose three areas of society where sexism is most widespread:

- a. Politics
- b. Media
- c. Advertising
- d. Public spaces

- e. Social Media
- f. Sport
- g. Workplace
- h. Schools
- i. None of the above
- j. Other – write in

Q9 Who should be responsible for addressing everyday sexism in Australia? (choose up to 3)

- a. Schools and teachers
- b. Police and security services
- c. Workplace HR officers
- d. Young women and girls
- e. Fathers and male caregivers
- f. Mothers and female caregivers
- g. Young men and boys
- h. Victims of sexism
- i. Politicians
- j. I don't think everyday sexism is a problem in Australia
- k. Other- Write in

Q10 9) Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements
(*Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree*)

Randomised

- a. The government is already doing enough to promote equal opportunities for women
- b. People in Australia are hired on merit
- c. Political correctness gives women an advantage in the workplace
- d. Political correctness means I cannot say openly what I think about gender equality
- e. Gender equality strategies in the workplace do not take men into account
- f. Men and boys are increasingly excluded from measures to improve gender equality
- g. It's important to me that more women become leaders
- h. Most women do not aspire to leadership positions because they have family responsibilities
- i. Men are more ambitious than women
- j. Women are not naturally ambitious
- k. It's easier to get your dream job if you are male rather than female
- l. Women try to behave like men when they take on executive positions or leadership roles
- m. There should be more women in positions of political power.
- n. It is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that families function well and children are properly supported
- o. it is important to maintain traditional gender roles so that Australia remains globally competitive with a well performing economy
- p. Gender equality should be a policy priority in Australia
- q. The internet is an effective place to voice my opinions



