From Gender Antagonism to Inclusive Solidarity? Trade Union Membership and Attitudes towards Women's Employment

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Abstract

This study uniquely theorizes and empirically examines the relationship between union membership and attitudes towards women's employment. Drawing on insights from multiple disciplines, I propose that a masculinized conceptualization of work—viewing work as primarily for men—has historically underpinned gender antagonism in trade unionism. While recent shifts have led many union leaders to support gender equality, the rise of right-wing populism may have complicated the progress towards an egalitarian gender mindset among union members. This theorizing motivates an empirical analysis using four waves of the European Value Study data, covering 39,877 individuals in 14 Western European countries from 1990 to 2020. Pooling across waves, I find that union members exhibit more egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment, even when compared to non-members with similar socio-demographic characteristics in the same country. Moreover, this relationship is moderated by both individual and institutional factors, such as skill levels, occupational gender composition, centralization of collective bargaining, and union density. Finally, I document a post-financial crisis shift in which the positive link between union membership and egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment has weakened or even reversed, particularly among right-leaning or older union members who are susceptible to the influence of right-wing populism.

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1.Introduction

The labor movement has a long and intertwined history with the struggle for gender equality, featuring instances of both collaboration and conflict. In recent decades, trade union leaders have increasingly advocated for gender equality and female-friendly workplaces, leading to a growing body of research examining union activities in this endeavour (e.g., Berik & Bilginsoy, 2000; Bruno et al., 2021; Budd & Mumford, 2003, 2004; Elvira & Saporta, 2001; Gregory & Milner, 2009; Park et al., 2019). However, there remains a notable absence of an individual perspective from union members. This raises the question about whether union leaders' gender equality objectives are fully shared and embraced by the rank-and-file. This is an important issue, as such a potential disconnect could ultimately undermine both the support for and the effectiveness of unions' efforts to advance gender equality.

In light of these concerns, the present study analyzes the relationship between union membership and attitudes toward women's employment. To theorize this relationship, I integrate insights from multiple disciplines in social sciences and adopt a longue-durée approach, tracing the roots of gender antagonism in labor history. My analysis highlights the importance of a masculinized conceptualization of work in shaping gender antagonism in early trade unionism. This conceptualization is grounded in two intersecting norms that remain relevant even in contemporary times: an ideal worker ideology, which emphasizes unwavering commitment to work and aligns with craft unionism's focus on skill development (Milkman, 2016; Williams, 2000); and a breadwinner ideology, which normatively posits men as primary earners and women as non-working wives—a belief popularized by trade unionists in the family wage movement (Rose, 1986, 1988; Fraser & Gordon, 1994).

I then discuss how recent shifts in the landscape of work have led many union leaders to increasingly advocate for gender equality. Nevertheless, considerable uncertainty remains

regarding whether union members hold more egalitarian gender attitudes than non-members, as gender bias is still observed in many union practices (Aleks et al., 2021; Ledwith, 2012; Lurie, 2014; Saari, 2013). Moreover, I argue that the progress towards an egalitarian gender mindset among union members may have been further complicated by the rise of right-wing populism, which is often characterized by conservative, authoritarian, and sexist rhetoric. This increasingly influential political force may have reignited the intolerance towards women's employment that was once salient in the history of organized labor.

Empirically, I analyze the relationship between union membership and attitudes toward women's employment using four waves of data from the European Value Study, covering about 40,000 individuals in 14 European countries from 1990 to 2020. My primary goal is to assess whether union members hold more or less egalitarian views on women's employment than non-members. In addition, I conduct heterogeneity analyses at both the individual and institutional levels, examining factors such as skill levels, occupational gender composition, centralization of collective bargaining, and union density. These analyses help reveal underlying mechanisms, such as the masculinized conceptualization of work and the influence of union leaders. Finally, I investigate how the association between union membership and attitudes towards women's employment has evolved over time, and whether the growing influence of right-wing populism can at least partly explain the temporal dynamics.

This study contributes to industrial relations (IR) scholarship in several important aspects. First, by emphasizing the masculinized conceptualization of work, the study demonstrates that gender is deeply embedded in IR theories and practices. This advances an ongoing shift in IR research away from marginalizing social identities—such as gender—towards making them central to analysis (Hebson & Rubery, 2018; Lee & Tapia, 2021). Second, the study adds to a

broader literature on the role of trade unions in promoting gender equality and creating female-friendly workplaces (e.g., Aleks et al., 2021; Barnacle et al., 1994; Berik & Bilginsoy, 2000; Bruno et al., 2021; Budd & Mumford, 2003, 2004; Elvira & Saporta, 2001; Greene & Kirton, 2002; Gregory & Milner, 2009; Ledwith, 2012; Lurie, 2014; Park et al., 2019; Saari, 2013).

Third, the study is related to IR research on union revitalization, as understanding union members' gender attitudes is key for determining the feasibility of building an inclusive labor movement to counter declining union power (Ibsen & Tapia, 2017). Fourth, the study highlights right-wing populism as a contemporary challenge to gender equality, as identified by feminist scholars (Cullen, 2021; Fraser, 2017; Korolczuk & Graff, 2018). Given the deep link between gender antagonism and trade unionism, progressive union leaders may want to reconsider any assumptions of unanimous support for gender equality among their members and remain attentive to the changing political and economic landscape.

2. Trade unions and Women's Employment

2.1 Gender Antagonism in Early Trade Unionism

Early trade unionism was often characterized by strong gender antagonism, as organized labor—mostly male—adopted various exclusionary strategies to restrict women's employment. Rose (1988) presents a vivid example of such animosity in Kidderminster, England in 1874:

> When they [employers] put women to work on the new looms, the male weavers . . . went on strike and were supported by all of the male carpet weavers in Kidderminster. The strike lasted only one week and resulted in victory for the union; the women lost their jobs and carpet weaving in Kidderminster remained men's work. (p. 199)

In addition to the exclusionary strategies was the practice of "gendering of machinery," whereby certain machines were designated for use by one gender only (Rose, 1986). More often than not,

men monopolized access to cutting-edge technologies, while women were confined to machines associated with low-paid, unskilled, and exploitative work (Honeyman & Goodman, 1991). Consequently, gender inequality was perpetuated through both women's exclusion from employment and occupational sex segregation.

Early trade unionists' hostility toward women's employment has attracted scholarly attention across disciplines. Research shows that the perception of women as cheap labor—and thus a threat to men's wages and control over work—does not fully account for the pronounced gender antagonism in trade unionism. One piece of evidence is that early trade unionists often sought to include other forms of low-cost labor, such as rural workers, in their unions (Rose, 1988). Women's employment, therefore, provoked a particular resentment among early trade unionists. As Baker and Robeson (1981, p. 24) observe, "the interesting question is why men did not quickly include women in their unions and insist that women be paid the same wages as men, thus eliminating the threat." To better understand gender antagonism in trade unionism, scholars have advanced two explanations: the ideal worker ideology and the breadwinner ideology. Importantly, both explanations emphasize a masculinized conceptualization of work, viewing work as primarily for men and denying women's equal access to work.

Specifically, the ideal worker account centers on an interplay between work devotion and craft unionism. Emerging as a cultural ideal in the nineteenth century, the ideal worker ideology promoted a strong work ethic characterized by an unwavering commitment to prioritize work above all other aspects of life (Williams, 2000). Critically, this ideology coincided with craft unionism, which was founded on the notion of skill as the basis of work (Milkman, 2016). In particular, early trade unionists—many of whom were craftsmen—regarded skills as a vital part of their identity and took pride in their ability to perform high-quality work. The preservation and

elevation of skill, through rigorous training and continuous practice, were thus of significant importance. Given the traditional expectation that women would withdraw from work upon marriage (without necessarily viewing women as inherently unfit for work), craft union members often perceived women as lacking genuine commitment to skill development. Moreover, women were stigmatized as physically and emotionally inferior to men, reinforcing the belief that they were incapable of undertaking demanding and complex craft work (Heilman, 2012). The exclusion of women from employment was thus justified on the premise that women were not ideal workers and may result in the degradation of work.

The breadwinner account, however, highlights the realization of manhood in wage labor instead of work devotion. While a detailed examination of the origin of the breadwinner ideology is beyond the scope, it is important to recognize how early trade unionists invoked this ideology to advance their material interests. As Fraser and Gordon (1994) note, working-class men in the nineteenth century increasingly sought economic independence after shedding their socio-legal and political dependence by winning civil and electoral rights. However, rather than seizing the means of production, working-class men claimed a new form of economic independence by rejecting wage slavery and demanding a family wage—"a wage sufficient for a male head to maintain a household and to support a dependent wife and children" (Fraser & Gordon, 1994, p. 316). Crucially, the family wage presupposed women's confinement to the domestic sphere.

As the concept of the family wage gained increasing significance within the labor movement, women were gradually regarded as non-workers (Fraser, 1994). Meanwhile, manhood was redefined as being a male breadwinner—an independent worker who was the sole provider for his family. The presence of women at work was thus particularly bitter for men: women not only competed for jobs, potentially driving down wages, but also threatened men's ability to live

up to their expectations as breadwinners (Rose, 1988). Gender antagonism therefore intensified, especially among trade unionists who were at the forefront of the family wage movement. In this context, the exclusion of women from employment was normatively grounded on the basis that women were to be wives and mothers rather than capable providers.

Although historically intertwined, the ideal worker and the breadwinner ideologies underscore distinct reasons for gender antagonism in early trade unionism. In the ideal worker account, trade unionists opposed women's employment due to the concern that women would undermine work ethics and devalue skilled labor. At its core was strong work devotion, viewing work not only as a practical necessity but also as a sacred duty that requires dedication, commitment, and discipline. In the breadwinner account, early trade unionists exhibited hostility toward women's employment as it was unacceptable for "female labour [to] be made scarce and men's labour be left idle" (Rose, 1988, p. 200). The perceived threat that women posed to men's identity as breadwinners was a crucial factor driving gender antagonism. Despite these nuanced differences, both the ideal worker and breadwinner ideologies encompass the notion that work is primarily for men, contributing to gender antagonism in early trade unionism. In other words, both ideologies conceptualize work in a profoundly gendered and unequal manner—whereby women are falsely excluded or unjustly regarded as lesser workers.

2.2 Towards Gender-Inclusive Solidarity?

While trade unionism has a deep link with gender antagonism, union leaders have increasingly advocated for gender equality in more recent times. This shift may, in turn, lead union members to hold more egalitarian attitudes toward women's employment than non-members. Several changes in the landscape of work have contributed to this transformation. For instance, female labor force participation has increased significantly in the last century, driven by the expansion of education,

advance of birth control methods, innovative household and workplace technologies, and major historical events such as World War II (Cavalcanti & Tavares, 2008; Goldin, 1991, 2006; Goldin & Katz, 2002). Women have thus become a more important constituency for trade unions, the major organizations representing working-class interests. Public policies have also supported gender equality at work, with some responsibilities explicitly or implicitly bestowed upon unions. In France, equality bargaining between firms and unions has been mandatory since 2006 (Bruno et al., 2021; Gregory & Milner, 2009). In the UK, unions have sought to translate laws pertaining to gender equality into collective bargaining agreements (Colling & Dickens, 2001).

Increased awareness of gender bias has also prompted union leaders to take action to address gender inequality, recognizing that some of the issues may have been perpetuated by unions per se (Ledwith, 2012). These efforts have been furthered by the needs and strategies of union revitalization. As the manufacturing sector—the traditional stronghold of organized labor—continues to decline in developed industrial countries, union leaders have actively sought to organize underrepresented groups, such as female workers in the expanding service sector (Ibsen & Tapia, 2017). Against this backdrop, promoting gender equality among existing union members and portraying unions as an advocate for gender equality are key to the feasibility of building an inclusive labor movement to counter declining union power.

Despite these positive outlooks, concerns remain about the extent to which union leaders are able to promote an egalitarian gender mindset among their members, as research indicates that masculinity continues to characterize many union practices. For instance, Lurie (2014) finds that some Israeli unions negotiate wage increases for fathers but flexible hours for mothers. This practice has, in effect, widened the gender pay gap and pushed women out of the workplace. As another example, Saari (2013) suggests that Finnish unions often attempted to remain gender-

neutral in collective bargaining to avoid potential bias. However, this approach has *de facto* reinforced male-centric norms by limiting the opportunities to address gender-related issues. Moreover, Aleks et al. (2021) show that even within unions, female officers and staff are paid less than their male counterparts. This may discourage women's representation both in workplaces and in labor organizations. Overall, these findings corroborate Ledwith's (2012) observation that a profound norm of masculinity is still hard-wired into the practice of many trade unions and reflected in union members.

2.3 The Rise of Right-Wing Populism

A further complication is that union members' attitudes toward women's employment can also be shaped by broader dynamics within the political economy. One particularly relevant trend is the rise of right-wing populism. Since the mid-1970s, the traditional goal of democratic capitalism to provide social protection has been gradually replaced by neoliberal objectives to enhance national competitiveness in global economy (Streeck, 2017). Decades of entrenched neoliberalism, with its emphasis on market primacy, have contributed at least in part to the 2008 financial crisis. Yet despite its catastrophic consequences, the crisis has failed to dislodge neoliberalism as the dominant economic doctrine. Instead, the crisis was used to "impose an even more radical neoliberal regime and to push through policies designed to suit the financial sector and the wealthy, at the expense of everyone else" (Mitchell & Fazi, 2017, p. 1). Amidst this renewed phase of liberalization, many citizens feel increasingly abandoned and economically insecure, gradually developing a sense of grievance. This sentiment may be particularly pronounced among union members, who have traditionally been employed in sectors hardest hit by neoliberal reforms, leaving them especially vulnerable to job loss and downward mobility.

The decline in economic security, coupled with a cultural transformation fueled by the mobilization of women, racial minorities, and immigrants, has further threatened the dominant status of white males in Western societies (Gidron & Hall, 2017; Inglehart & Norris, 2016). Globalization and European integration, however, continue to prioritize the interests of business communities (Schulze-Cleven, 2018). With little confidence in political institutions' willingness and ability to respond to citizens' needs, right-wing populism emerges as a symptom of growing dissatisfaction with democracy (Berman, 2019). The election of Donald Trump represents one of the most striking examples, accompanied by other developments including the Brexit vote in the UK and the rising support for the National Front in France (Brenner & Fraser, 2017).

More often than not, the populist right rallies behind traditional gender values, motivated not only by a genuine nostalgia for the "good old days" but also by strategic efforts to build coalitions with other conservative groups (Sauer, 2020; Smeekes et al., 2021). It is thus no coincidence that both in America and across much of Europe, the populist right has actively targeted women and sexual minorities, denied gender disparity, dismantled established equality institutions, and even criminalized feminist movements (Askola, 2019; Cabezas, 2022; Korolczuk & Graff, 2018; Kováts, 2018; Lombardo et al., 2021; Möser, 2020; Ratliff et al., 2019; Valentino et al., 2018; Trappolin, 2022). In this gloomy context, the progress towards an egalitarian gender mindset among union members appears increasingly fraught: In a grievance-laden age of liberalization, the dramatic uprisings of the populist right may have reignited the intolerance towards women's employment that was once salient in the history of organized labor.

Taken together, the preceding discussion highlights the complexity of the relationship between union membership and attitudes toward women's employment, which can be shaped by three key factors: the gendered conceptualization of work, the influence of union leadership, and

broader political-economic dynamics. Informed by these theoretical perspectives, I now turn to an empirical examination of whether union members hold more or less egalitarian views on women's employment compared to non-members in the European context. In addition to establishing the overall association, I pay particular attention to evaluating whether the factors identified in the earlier discussion help explain any observed relationship.

3. European Value Study Data and Measures

3.1 Sample Construction and Key Variables

I analyze data from the European Value Study Waves 2-5 (EVS 2-5), covering the period between 1990 and 2020. The EVS is a repeated cross-sectional survey that gathers extensive information on individuals' preferences, attitudes, and beliefs. Its target population consists of adult residents in Europe. To collect representative data, the EVS employs rigorous single- or multi-stage probability sampling methods. Cumulative response rates vary by country, ranging from 25% to 87% (EVS, 2022). The EVS research team also centrally oversees the translation process and survey implementation to ensure cross-country comparability.

I focus on a sample of 39,877 individuals in 14 Western European countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the UK. These countries have been relatively consistently represented in the EVS across waves. Unlike in the U.S. where unionization is typically tied to employment within a specific workplace, union membership in Europe has a broader basis and can extend to retirees, the self-employed, and those out of the labor force due to family responsibilities (Borghi et al., 2018; Pyka & Schnabel, 2023). Reflecting this inclusiveness, I follow previous studies on union-related social attitudes and do not impose sample restrictions based on employment status (Artiles & Molina, 2011; Donnelly, 2016; Frangi et al., 2017; Pontusson, 2013).

The EVS includes a measure of attitudes toward women's employment. Specifically, participants are asked to indicate their level of agreement with the statement: "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women" (1 = agree, 2 = neither agree nor disagree, 3 = disagree). Respondents who disagree with this statement are considered to hold more egalitarian views on women's employment. Critically, this item closely captures the masculinized conceptualization of work that characterized gender antagonism in early trade unionism—an aspect that may not be reflected in other measures. As supporting evidence, Table A1 in the appendix shows the relatively low correlations between this item and alternative gender attitude measures. This indicates that the item measuring attitudes towards women's employment has considerable unique variance that cannot be explained by a common factor underlying other gender attitude measures.

Union membership, the key independent variable, is a dummy variable equal to 1 if the respondent reports to belong to trade unions. Control variables are summarized in Table 1. In addition to basic demographic and socioeconomic controls, I use information from the EVS on respondents' current or previous jobs to measure occupational skill levels (a categorical variable based on the ISCO-1 classification: 1 = low, 2 = medium, 3 = high) and the share of women in the occupation (a continuous measure empirically calculated from the EVS data). Furthermore, I include two institutional-level variables from the Institutional Characteristics of Trade Unions, Wage Setting, State Intervention and Social Pacts (ICTWSS) dataset: centralization of collective bargaining (ranging from 0 = less centralized to 5 = more centralized) and union density (the percentage of workers who are union members), measured at the country-wave level. Listwise deletion is used to handle missing values.

3.2 Getting the Picture

Do union members differ from non-members in their attitudes toward women's employment? Table 1 shows that, while both groups hold relatively egalitarian views, union members exhibit more egalitarian attitudes than non-members (difference = 2.742 – 2.548 = 0.194, $p < 0.01$). However, this attitude gap is based on a raw comparison between union members and non-members across countries and waves. To further explore the data, Table 2 presents the average union-nonunion attitude gap by country and over time. For ease of interpretation, cells with values above and below the median (0.098) are shaded in blue and red, respectively. Darker shades indicate larger deviations from the median.

Two findings are worth nothing. First, most union-nonunion attitude gaps are positive. This indicates that union members tend to hold more egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment compared to non-members, even when compared to non-members in the same country at the same time. Second, most of the above-median union–nonunion attitude gaps (i.e., blue cells) are present in the years before the 2008 financial crisis, while most of the below-median gaps (i.e., red cells) fall in the years after the crisis. This suggests that positive union-nonunion gaps in egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment have narrowed and, in some cases, even reversed over time. Although this pattern seems to be consistent with the growing influence of right-wing populism outlined earlier, another possible explanation is that egalitarian gender attitudes have generally improved over time, leaving less room for unions to further advance their members' support for women's equal access to employment. However, this may not explain why some of the gaps have become negative.

While providing a useful overview, the above analyses do not account for potential differences in demographic and socioeconomic characteristics between union members and non-members. To provide a more rigorous examination, in what follows, I use regression analysis to

investigate the relationship between union membership and attitudes toward women's employment. Specifically, I employ OLS regression to compare the attitudes of union members to those of non-members within the same country (i.e., controlling for country effects), conditioning on other covariates and averaged across waves. OLS regression is preferred for its ease of interpretation. The main results are robust to alternative methods, such as ordered/multinomial logit regression (to relax the linearity assumption) and Tobit regression (to deal with censoring).

My overarching goal is to determine whether union members differ in their attitudes towards women's employment from otherwise similar non-members (in observed aspects), be it due to a selection effect (e.g., unions attracting individuals who endorse their positions on gender issues) and/or a causal effect (e.g., the influence of union leadership or right-wing populism). Without additional research designs, one cannot clearly isolate these effects. However, as I will discuss later, heterogeneity analyses can be conducted to provide insights into some of the underlying mechanisms.

4. Regression Analysis of Attitudes towards Women's Employment

4.1 Main Results based on EVS data

Do union members hold more egalitarian attitudes toward women's employment than non-members on average, even after adjusting for demographic and socioeconomic factors? The regression results presented in Table 3 suggest that they do. Specifically, column 1 shows the estimated OLS coefficients on attitudes towards women's employment in the full sample, controlling for country effects, time effects, and covariates other than political orientation. The coefficient of union membership is positive and statistically significant ($b = 0.039, p < 0.01$). This suggests that union members, on average, hold more egalitarian attitudes toward women's employment than non-members, even when they are similar in observed aspects except for

political orientation. The effect size is also not negligible: it amounts to about 37% of the conditional attitude gap between females and males, or approximately 60% of the difference between individuals with upper-level education (i.e., a bachelor's degree or higher) and those with middle-level education (i.e., secondary education or equivalent). Columns 2 and 3 further indicate that the positive association is not driven by either the male or female sample alone, as the coefficient for union membership is positive in each sample when analyzed separately.

To what extent can the positive association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes toward women's employment be explained by union members' often more progressive general political orientation? To address this question, column 4 in Table 3 additionally controls for self-reported political orientation (ranging from 1 = far left to 10 = far right). The estimated coefficient of union membership shrinks by one third but remains positive and statistically significant ($b = 0.026, p < 0.01$). The magnitude is comparable to the difference associated with a one-point increase (i.e., a more conservative position) on the political orientation scale. Furthermore, columns 5 and 6 show that a similar pattern holds in both the male and female subsamples. Taken together, these results indicate that union members hold more egalitarian attitudes toward women's employment than non-members on average, even after accounting for selection into unions based on general political orientation and/or the influence of union leaders on their members' broader political views.[1]

Note that the results in Table 3 are based on a pooled analysis that summarizes within-country comparisons. While this approach provides an overall picture, it masks cross-country variability and raises the concern that the positive association may be driven by only a few countries. To address this, I interact union membership with country dummies, allowing the

[1] The subsequent analyses always control for general political orientation. All results are substantively similar with and without general political orientation as a control variable.

relationship between union membership and attitudes towards women's employment to vary by country. Figure 1 presents the marginal effects (MEs) of union membership for each country based on this analysis. It shows that the MEs are positive in nine out of the fourteen countries. Specifically, the MEs are larger in Portugal, Italy, and Belgium, while smaller and similar to the pooled OLS estimates in Austria, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, and the UK. By contrast, the MEs are close to zero or even negative in the remaining five countries: Ireland, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and Norway.

Overall, the analysis indicates a degree of heterogeneity but confirms that the positive association from the pooled OLS regression is not driven by a small subset of countries. In what follows, I further explore various types of heterogeneity—some of which may help explain the observed cross-country differences—in relation to the previously identified factors that affect union members' attitudes toward women's employment, namely the gendered conceptualization of work, the influence of union leaders, and the rise of right-wing populism.

4.2 Individual-Level Heterogeneity Analyses

Does the relationship between union membership and egalitarian attitudes toward women's employment vary based on individual characteristics? Recall that the ideal worker account suggests that gender antagonism in trade unionism may stem from strong norms of work devotion and an emphasis on skill development. This implies that the positive association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes is less likely among individuals who are more influenced by the ideal worker ideology—such as those high-skilled who often possess a strong work identity and take pride in their jobs. To test this hypothesis, I regress attitudes towards women's employment on the two-way interaction between union membership and occupation skill levels,

controlling for country effects, time effects, and all covariates (including lower-level terms from the interaction and general political orientation).[2]

Figure 2 shows the MEs of union membership by skill level based on this analysis. Specifically, panel A indicates that in the full sample, the MEs are positive among low- and medium-skilled individuals, but negative among high-skilled individuals (all p-values < 0.05). That is, union membership is associated with more egalitarian attitudes toward women's employment among low- and medium-skilled individuals, while linked to less egalitarian attitudes among high-skilled individuals. Moreover, as shown in panels B and C, the pattern holds in both the male and female samples. This lack of gender differences is not entirely surprising, as the ideal worker ideology emphasizes work devotion and skill development—norms that may influence both men and women (Manchester et al., 2013). Overall, these results are consistent with the prediction of the ideal worker account, highlighting skill as an important factor shaping the relationship between union membership and attitudes towards women's employment.

Turning to the breadwinner account, it proposes that the perceived threat women pose to men's role as the primary wage earner is crucial for gender antagonism in trade unionism. This implies that the positive association between union membership and support for women's employment is less likely among men who perceive a threat from women to their breadwinner identity. To test this hypothesis, I regress attitudes towards women's employment on the two-way interaction between union membership and share of women in the occupation, controlling for country effects, wave effects, and all covariates. The rationale is that a larger share of women in the occupation signals to men that their jobs can be more easily replaced by women—a situation that is bitter than being replaced by another man according to the breadwinner account.

[2] More detailed regression results for this and subsequent individual/institutional-level heterogeneity analyses are presented in Tabel A2 in the appendix.

Figure 3 shows the MEs of union membership by share of women in the occupation from this analysis. Panel A indicates that in the full sample, the MEs become less positive when the share of women in the occupation increases. Specifically, when the share of women in the occupation is small (39% or at the 25th percentile) or medium (54% or at the median), the association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment are positive and statistically significant (both $p < 0.05$). However, when the share of women in the occupation is large (66% or at the 75th percentile), the positive association weakens and become statistically insignificant ($p > 0.1$). In other words, union members are less likely to hold more egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment than non-members when the share of women in their occupations increases. Additionally, as panels B and C indicate, this pattern holds only in the male sample. For the female sample, the association between union membership and attitudes towards women's employment does not depend on the share of women in the occupation. These results are in line with the prediction of the breadwinner account, emphasizing the importance of gender role expectations and violations.

4.3 Institutional-Level Heterogeneity Analyses

In addition to individual characteristics, the manifestation of the ideal worker and breadwinner ideologies can also be influenced by institutional factors, thereby affecting the relationship between union membership and attitudes towards women's employment. One such institutional factor is the centralization of collective bargaining, i.e., the degree to which "national and industry agreements are the dominant form for regulating terms and conditions of employment" (Doellgast & Benassi, 2020, p. 241). The reason is that centralized collective bargaining typically emphasizes equal pay for equal work, and sometimes even across different types of work. This can help narrow the gender pay gap through a coordinated institutional approach and based on a broad societal

consensus, rather than through free-market competition which can often exacerbate inter-gender resentment. Consequently, by improving gender pay equity, centralized collective bargaining challenges the foundation of breadwinner ideology that views men as the primary earners.

Moreover, under centralized collective bargaining, employers are constrained by high-level agreements and have less flexibility in wage setting. This decreases workers' incentives to invest in firm-specific skills, as returns on such investment may not be directly rewarded by their employers (Becker, 1962). Consequently, centralized collective bargaining could diminish the commitment to skill development, weakening the justification for excluding women from work on the basis of skill in the ideal worker ideology. Taken together, in any of the above two cases, centralized collective bargaining seems capable of challenging the masculinized conceptualization of work. It is thus reasonable to expect a more positive association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment in contexts with more centralized collective bargaining.

To test this hypothesis, I regress attitudes towards women's employment on the two-way interaction between union membership and centralization of collective bargaining, controlling for country effects, time effects, and all covariates. This specification leverages within-country variation in collective bargaining centralization, thereby minimizing the influence of other time-invariant cross-country institutional differences. Panel A of Table 4 shows the MEs of union membership across different levels of collective bargaining centralization. The results indicate that when collective bargaining is less centralized (at the 25th percentile of the country-wave distribution), union members do not differ significantly from non-members in their support for women's employment ($p > 0.1$). In contrast, when collective bargaining is more centralized (at the median or 75th percentile), union members exhibit significantly more egalitarian attitudes

towards women's employment than non-members (both $p > 0.05$). Overall, these findings suggest that centralized collective bargaining strengthens the positive association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes toward women's employment.

Another relevant institutional factor is union density. As previously discussed, union leaders can play a key role in shaping their members' gender attitudes, partly motivated by a desire to restore union influence through representing traditionally marginalized groups. Following this logic, union leaders may have less incentive to emphasize gender equality when their unions are still powerful, such as when union density is high. To test this hypothesis, I regress attitudes towards women's employment on the two-way interaction between union membership and union density, controlling for country effects, time effects, and all covariates. Panel B of Table 4 shows the MEs of union membership across different levels of union density. Consistent with the prediction, the results indicate that the positive association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment weakens when union density increases, but remains statistically significant even with high union density (at the 75th percentile of the country-wave distribution, $p < 0.1$). These findings provide evidence for the importance of union leaders in shaping their members' gender attitudes—albeit motivated, at least in part, by instrumental considerations.

4.4 Assessing the Influence of the Right-Wing Populism

Both the earlier theoretical discussion and descriptive analysis suggest that the rise of right-wing populism may have complicated the progress towards an egalitarian gender mindset among union members. In what follows, I provide a more formal assessment of the potential influence of right-wing populism. I begin by regressing attitudes towards women's employment on the two-way interaction between union membership and wave dummies, controlling for country effects and all

covariates. This allows the association between union membership and attitudes towards women's employment to vary by wave. Figure 5 shows the MEs of union membership over time based on this analysis. The results indicate that the positive association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment has weakened over time. Notably, during the period of 2017-2020, the association turns negative and statistically significant for both male and female samples (both $p < 0.05$). That is, in recent years, union members express less egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment compare to non-members.

Does right-wing populism contribute to the weakening or even reversal of the positive association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes toward women's employment? Given that right-wing populism often promote sexist attitudes through its conservative and authoritarian rhetoric, its influence may be stronger among individuals who are more susceptible to such appeals. That is, if right-wing populism plays a role, the decline in the positive association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment should be larger among those more receptive to conservative and authoritarian messages—such as individuals who are on the political right or older (Baro, 2022; Zubielevitch et al., 2023). To empirically test this prediction, I regress attitudes on women's employment on three-way interaction between union membership, an indicator for the post-crisis period (i.e., EVS-5 or the 2017-2020 period), and political orientation (dichotomized: 0 = left, 1 = right) or generation (dichotomized: 0 = below 50 years old, 1 = 50 years old or above), controlling for country effects and all covariates. Figures 6 and 7 present the results of this analysis, showing the MEs of union membership on attitudes towards women's employment by political orientation and generation over time.[3]

[3] More detailed regression results for the three-way interaction can be found in Table A3 in the appendix.

Focusing on political orientation, panel A of Figure 6 shows that in the male sample, the association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment shifts from positive in EVS 2-4 to negative in EVS-5, both among individuals on the left and right. Importantly, the ME of union membership declines more for those on the right compared to those on the left ($\Delta \mathrm{ME}^{Right}_{\text{Union member}} - \Delta \mathrm{ME}^{Left}_{\text{Union member}} = -0.121,\ p < 0.01$), indicating that male union members on the right experience a larger erosion in their egalitarian attitudes over time compared to those on the left. However, as panel B suggests, this pattern does not hold in the female sample: both female union members on the left and right experience a similarly large decline in egalitarian gender attitudes ($\Delta \mathrm{ME}^{Right}_{\text{Union member}} - \Delta \mathrm{ME}^{Left}_{\text{Union member}} = 0.033,\ p > 0.1$). Nevertheless, the reason for this broader erosion—from the left to the right—among female union members is less clear.

Turning to generational differences, Figure 7 shows that the association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment shifts from positive in EVS 2-4 to negative in EVS-5. Crucially, older union members experience a larger erosion in their egalitarian attitudes over time compared to younger union members. This holds true both for the male sample in panel A ($\Delta \mathrm{ME}^{Right}_{\text{Union member}} - \Delta \mathrm{ME}^{Left}_{\text{Union member}} = -0.093,\ p < 0.01$) and the female sample in panel B ($\Delta \mathrm{ME}^{Right}_{\text{Union member}} - \Delta \mathrm{ME}^{Left}_{\text{Union member}} = -0.116,\ p < 0.01$). Taken together, the above results provide more nuanced evidence for the weakening—or even reversal—of the positive association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment in recent years. This change is particularly pronounced among union members who are susceptible to conservative and authoritarian appeals, such as those who are on the political right or older—a pattern consistent with the influence of right-wing populism.

5. Concluding Remarks

The present study uniquely theorizes and empirically examines the relationship between union membership and egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment. Drawing on insights from multiple disciplines, it proposes that a masculinized conceptualization of work—viewing work as primarily for men—has historically underpinned gender antagonism in trade unionism. This gendered understanding of work has been grounded in two intersecting norms: the ideal worker ideology, which emphasizes unwavering commitment to work and aligns with craft unionism's emphasis on skill development; and the breadwinner ideology, which normatively positions men as primary earners and women as non-working wives—a belief popularized by trade unionists through the family wage movement. While recent shifts have led many union leaders to advocate for gender equality in the workplace, considerable uncertainty remains regarding whether union members hold more or less egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment compared to non-members, particularly given the observed gender biases in union practices and the growing influence of right-wing populism.

Motivated by this theoretical perspective, I empirically analyze the relationship between union membership and attitudes towards women's employment using data on about 40,000 individuals in 14 Western European countries, covering the period between 1990 and 2020. Pooling across waves, I find that union members exhibit more egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment, even when compared to non-members in the same country with similar demographic and socioeconomic characteristics (e.g., general political orientation). While some country-level differences exist, this positive association is not driven by only a few countries.

Moreover, the relationship between union membership and attitudes towards women's employment is moderated by both individual and institutional factors. At the individual level, the association is less positive among high-skilled individuals and among men in occupations with

more women. At the institutional level, the association is more positive in the presence of centralized collective bargaining, but less positive in contexts with high union density. Finally, I document important temporal dynamics. Following the financial crisis, the positive association between union membership and egalitarian attitudes towards women's employment has weakened and even reversed. This change is particularly pronounced among union members who are politically right-leaning or older—groups more susceptible to the conservative and authoritarian appeals of right-wing populism.

Altogether, the thirty-year trend in attitudes towards women's employment reflects complex dynamics between gender, labor, and politics in Europe. While union leaders have increasingly asserted their positions on gender equality, individual members seem to take more faltering steps towards an egalitarian mindset. Future research could build on this study by providing more causal evidence for the underlying mechanisms, such as the masculinized conceptualization of work, the influence of union leadership, and the rise of right-wing populism. In addition, qualitative studies could offer deeper insights by providing detailed narratives and lived experiences, further contextualizing the findings presented in this study. On a more practical level, union leaders might consider paying closer attention to their members' gender attitudes, considering the roots of these beliefs and closely monitoring the changing economic and political landscape in relation to gender equality.

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Table 1. Means of Variables

	Full Sample (1)	Union Members (2)	Non-Members (3)
Attitudes towards women's employment	2.595	2.742	2.548
Union member	0.243		
Female	0.477	0.459	0.483
Age			
15-29 years old	0.151	0.127	0.159
30-49 years old	0.409	0.464	0.392
50+ years old	0.440	0.409	0.449
Education level			
Lower	0.321	0.245	0.346
Medium	0.355	0.326	0.364
Upper	0.324	0.429	0.290
Marital status			
Married	0.606	0.653	0.591
Single	0.233	0.222	0.237
Divorced/separated/widowed	0.161	0.126	0.173
Having any child	0.724	0.754	0.714
Religious person	0.561	0.538	0.569
Employment status			
Full-time	0.538	0.717	0.480
Part-time	0.099	0.087	0.102
Self-employed	0.071	0.029	0.085
Unemployed	0.028	0.021	0.031
Not in the labor force	0.264	0.145	0.302
Household income			
Low	0.270	0.182	0.299
Medium	0.364	0.399	0.353
High	0.366	0.418	0.349
Occupation skill level			
Low	0.084	0.057	0.093
Medium	0.557	0.542	0.561
High	0.359	0.401	0.346
Share of women in the occupation	50.160	49.415	50.400
Institutions			
Centralization of collective bargaining	2.589	2.546	2.603
Union density	37.443	49.339	33.621
Political orientation (1 = left, 10 = right)	5.270	4.998	5.358
Observations	39877	9696	30181

Notes: This table presents the means of variables in the full sample and by union membership. Individual-level data are from the EVS 2-5, and institutional-level data are from the ICTWSS database. The sample is respondents in 14 Western European countries. Results are not weighted.

Table 2. Union-Nonunion Gap in Egalitarian Attitudes towards Women's Employment by Country and over Time

	EVS-2: 1990-1993	EVS-3: 1999-2001	EVS-4: 2008-2010	EVS-5: 2017-2020	Average over Time
Austria	0.277	0.183	-0.114	-0.073	0.068
Belgium	0.105	0.135	0.051	-	0.097
Denmark	0.200	0.121	0.023	0.072	0.104
Finland	-	0.121	-0.004	0.066	0.061
France	0.060	0.099	0.098	0.173	0.108
Germany	0.046	0.098	0.032	0.028	0.051
Ireland	0.148	0.104	-0.065	-	0.062
Italy	0.121	0.148	0.086	0.238	0.148
Netherlands	0.110	0.023	-0.021	0.030	0.036
Norway	0.025	-	0.021	0.032	0.026
Portugal	0.376	0.512	0.225	-	0.371
Spain	0.114	0.152	0.180	0.316	0.191
Sweden	-	-	0.013	0.049	0.031
United Kingdom	0.157	0.130	0.087	0.046	0.105
Average across Countries	0.198	0.255	0.147	0.150	0.188

Notes: This table reports the average union–nonunion gap in egalitarian attitudes toward women's employment by country and over time. Positive values indicate that union members hold more egalitarian views than non-members on average, without adjusting for other factors. The country-wave median union-nonunion attitude gap is 0.098. Values greater than the median are shaded in blue, with darker shades representing larger positive gaps; values below the median are shaded in red, with darker shades indicating larger negative gaps. Country/time averages are arithmetic means. Results are not weighted.

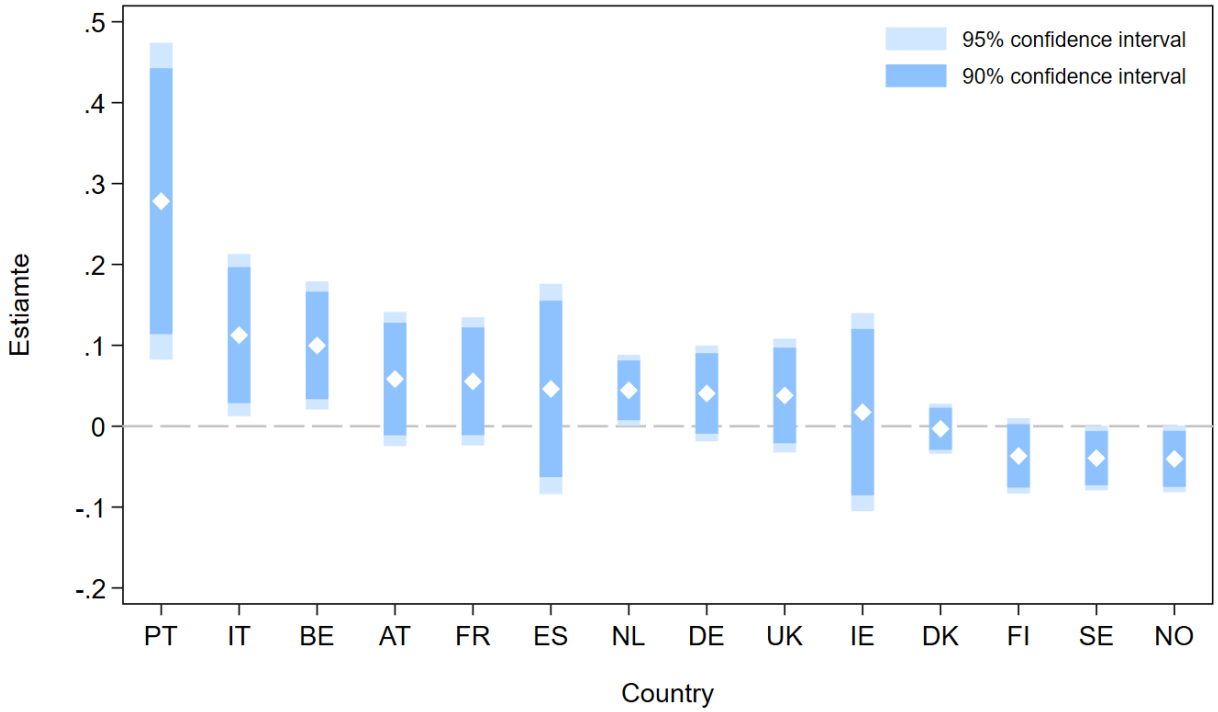
Table 3. OLS Regression of Attitudes towards Women's Employment on Union Membership

	Across Political Orientation			Within Political Orientation		
	Full Sample	Male Sample	Female Sample	Full Sample	Male Sample	Female Sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Union member	0.039***	0.050***	0.031***	0.026***	0.035***	0.022*
	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Female	0.105***			0.099***		
	(0.008)			(0.008)		
Age (Ref: 15-29 years old)						
30-49 years old	-0.066***	-0.082***	-0.051***	-0.066***	-0.083***	-0.052***
	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.016)
50+ years old	-0.158***	-0.197***	-0.123***	-0.154***	-0.194***	-0.118***
	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Education level (Ref.: Lower)						
Middle	0.176***	0.171***	0.176***	0.176***	0.170***	0.177***
	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Upper	0.239***	0.243***	0.238***	0.233***	0.238***	0.233***
	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Marital status (Ref.: Married)						
Single	0.033***	0.008	0.054***	0.031***	0.006	0.053***
	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Divorced/separated/widowed	0.035***	0.020	0.039**	0.034***	0.017	0.038**
	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.016)
Having any child	-0.013	-0.010	-0.011	-0.013	-0.010	-0.010
	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Religious person	-0.095***	-0.074***	-0.120***	-0.080***	-0.058***	-0.107***
	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Employment status (Ref.: Full-time)						
Part-time	0.017	0.062**	-0.002	0.013	0.053**	-0.005
	(0.012)	(0.025)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.025)	(0.014)
Self-employed	0.013	0.033*	-0.019	0.019	0.042**	-0.017
	(0.015)	(0.019)	(0.024)	(0.015)	(0.019)	(0.024)
Unemployed	-0.022	0.009	-0.054	-0.026	0.006	-0.058
	(0.025)	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.025)	(0.035)	(0.036)
Not in the labor force	-0.138***	-0.098***	-0.186***	-0.137***	-0.097***	-0.185***
	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.018)	(0.016)
Household income (Ref.: Low)						
Medium	0.062***	0.076***	0.048***	0.063***	0.077***	0.049***
	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.015)
High	0.112***	0.126***	0.092***	0.121***	0.136***	0.099***
	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.016)
Occupation skill level (Ref.: Low)						
Medium	0.077***	0.076***	0.086***	0.079***	0.079***	0.088***
	(0.017)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.017)	(0.024)	(0.023)
High	0.106***	0.106***	0.106***	0.110***	0.112***	0.107***

	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.025)
Share of women in the occupation	0.001***	0.001***	0.001**	0.001***	0.001***	0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Institutions						
Centralization of collective bargaining	0.110***	0.138***	0.075***	0.109***	0.138***	0.075***
	(0.019)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.019)	(0.026)	(0.025)
Union density	-0.004**	-0.005**	-0.003	-0.003**	-0.004*	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Political orientation (1 = left, 10 = right)				-0.025***	-0.027***	-0.023***
				(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Country effects	×	×	×	×	×	×
Wave effects	×	×	×	×	×	×
Observations	39877	20855	19022	39877	20855	19022
R-squared	0.196	0.195	0.200	0.201	0.200	0.204

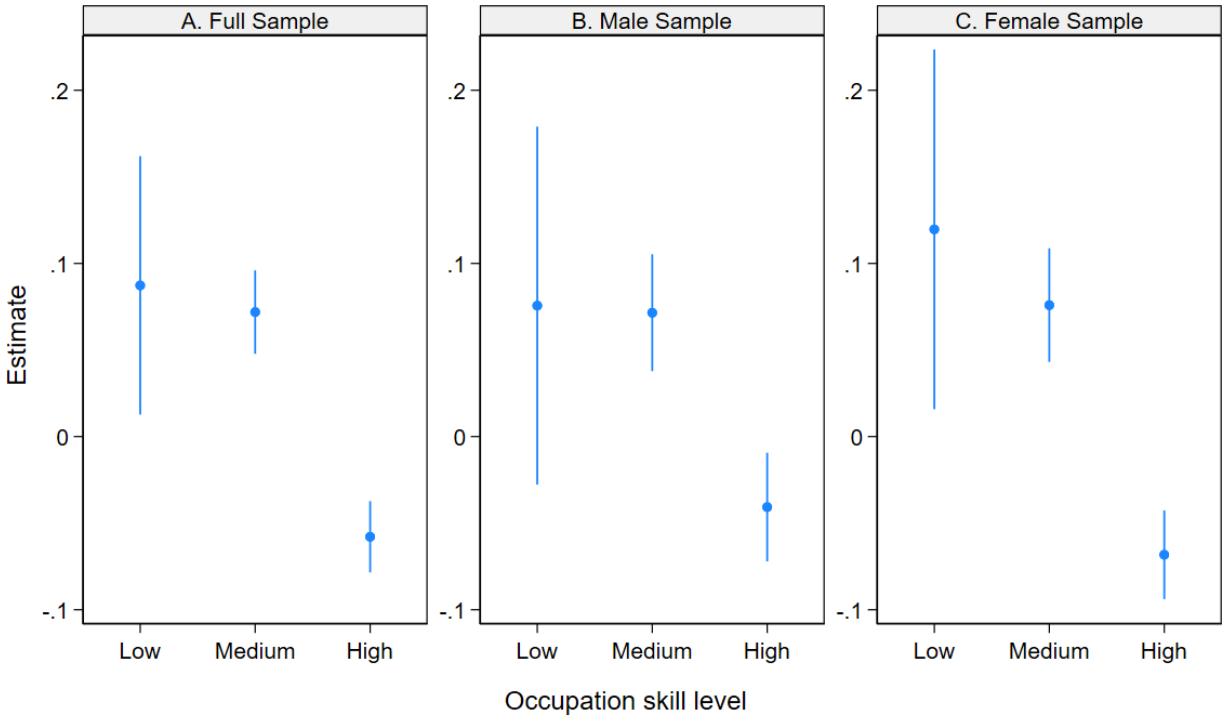
Notes: This table presents the OLS regression results of attitudes towards women's employment on union membership and other covariates, controlling for country effects and wave effects. Columns 1-3 report results for the full sample and separately by gender, without controlling for political orientation. Columns 4-6 report the results after controlling for political orientation. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. *, **, *** indicate significance levels at 0.1, 0.05, and 0.01, respectively. Models are estimated using the EVS weights.

Figure 1. Margin Effects of Union Membership on Attitudes Towards Women's Employment by Country



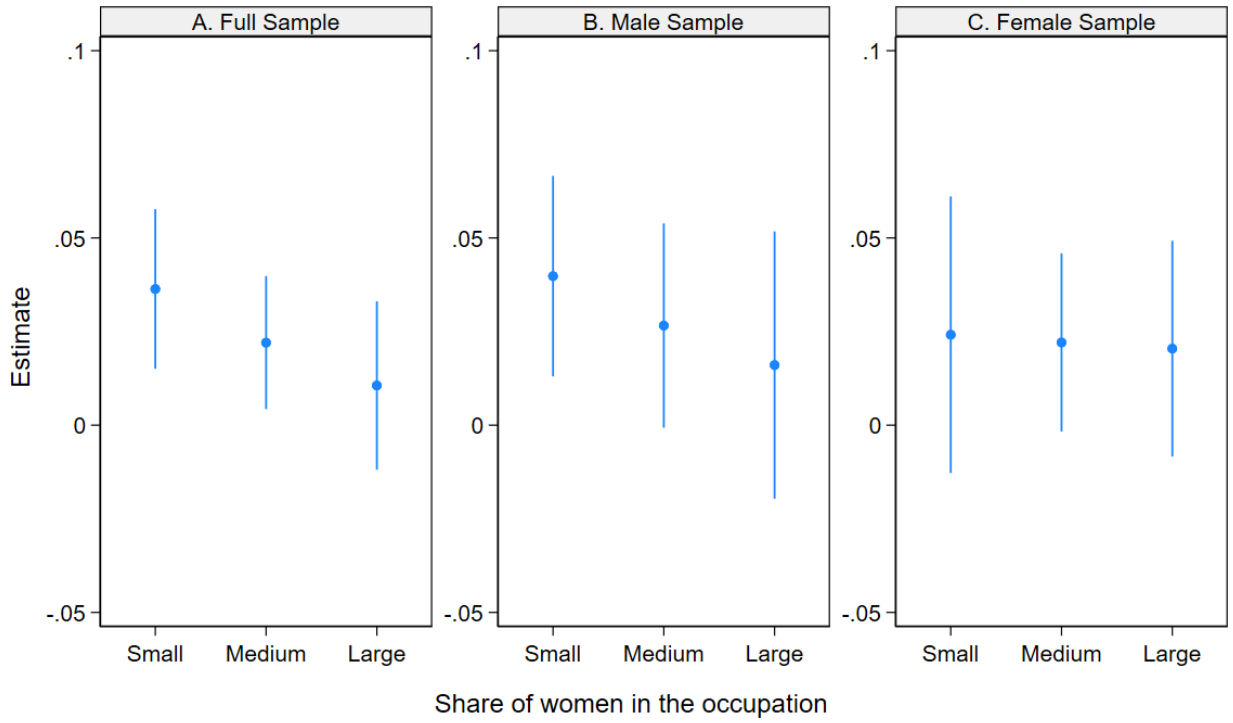
Notes: This figure presents the marginal effects of union membership on attitudes towards women's employment in each country. Estimates are obtained from OLS regression of attitudes towards women's employment on two-way interaction between union membership and country dummies, controlling for wave effects, other covariates (including political orientation), and all lower-level terms from the two-way interaction. Bars indicate the 95% or 90% confidence intervals constructed using robust standard errors. Models are estimated with the EVS weights. Models are estimated with the EVS weights.

Figure 2. Margin Effects of Union Membership on Attitudes Towards Women's Employment by Skill Level



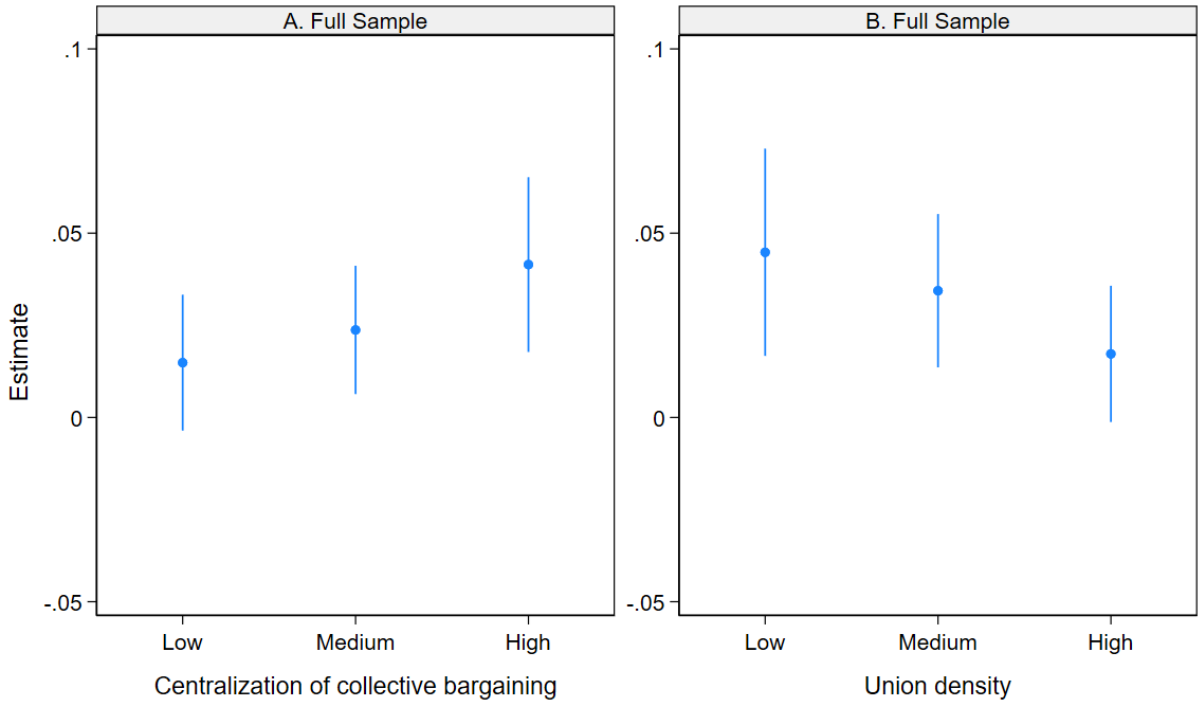
Notes: This figure presents the marginal effects of union membership on attitudes towards women's employment at different skill levels. Panels A, B, and C show the results in the full sample, male sample, and female sample, respectively. Categorization of skill levels is based on the ISCO-1 classification. Estimates are obtained from OLS regression of attitudes towards women's employment on two-way interaction between union membership and skill levels, controlling for country effects, wave effects, other covariates (including political orientation), and all lower-level terms from the two-way interaction. Robust standard errors are used. Bars indicate the 95% confidence intervals constructed using robust standard errors. Models are estimated with the EVS weights.

Figure 3. Margin Effects of Union Membership on Attitudes Towards Women's Employment by Occupational Gender Composition



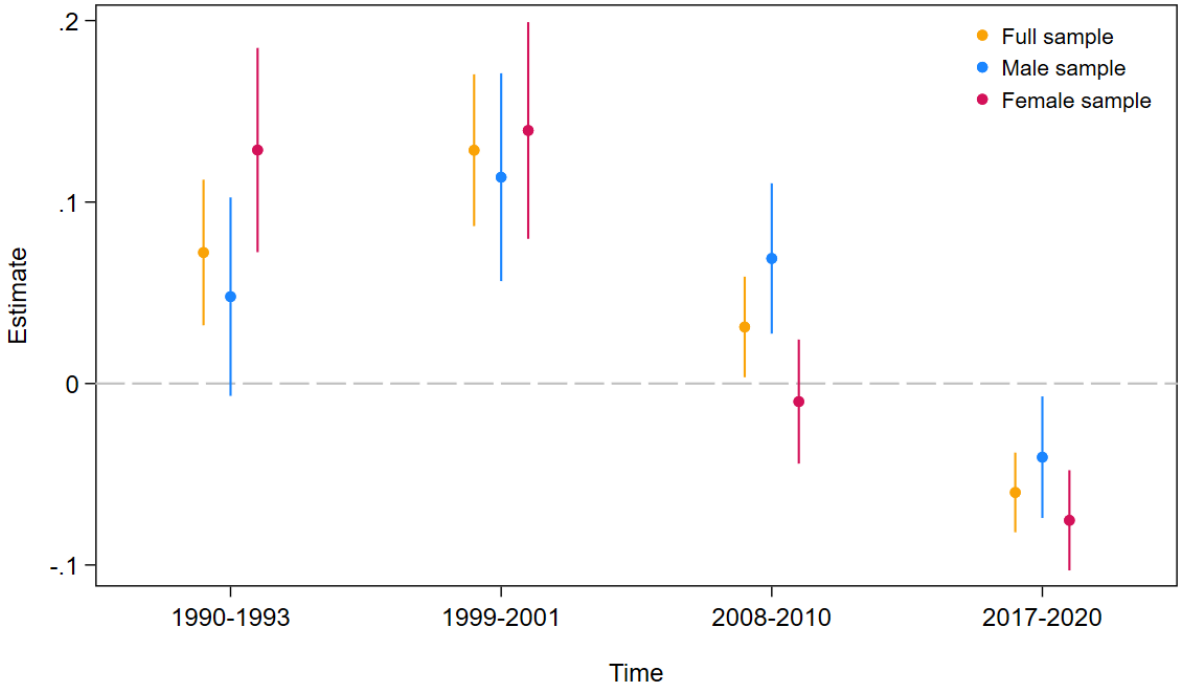
Notes: This figure presents the marginal effects of union membership on attitudes towards women's employment for respondents in occupations with different shares of women. Panels A, B, and C show the results in the full sample, male sample, and female sample, respectively. Small, medium, and large values indicate the 25th, 50th, and 75th percentile, respectively. Estimates are obtained from OLS regression of attitudes towards women's employment on two-way interaction between union membership and share of women in the occupation, controlling for country effects, wave effects, other covariates (including political orientation), and all lower-level terms from the two-way interaction. Bars indicate the 95% confidence intervals constructed using robust standard errors. Models are estimated with the EVS weights.

Figure 4. Margin Effects of Union Membership on Attitudes Towards Women's Employment by Centralization of Collective Bargaining and Union Density



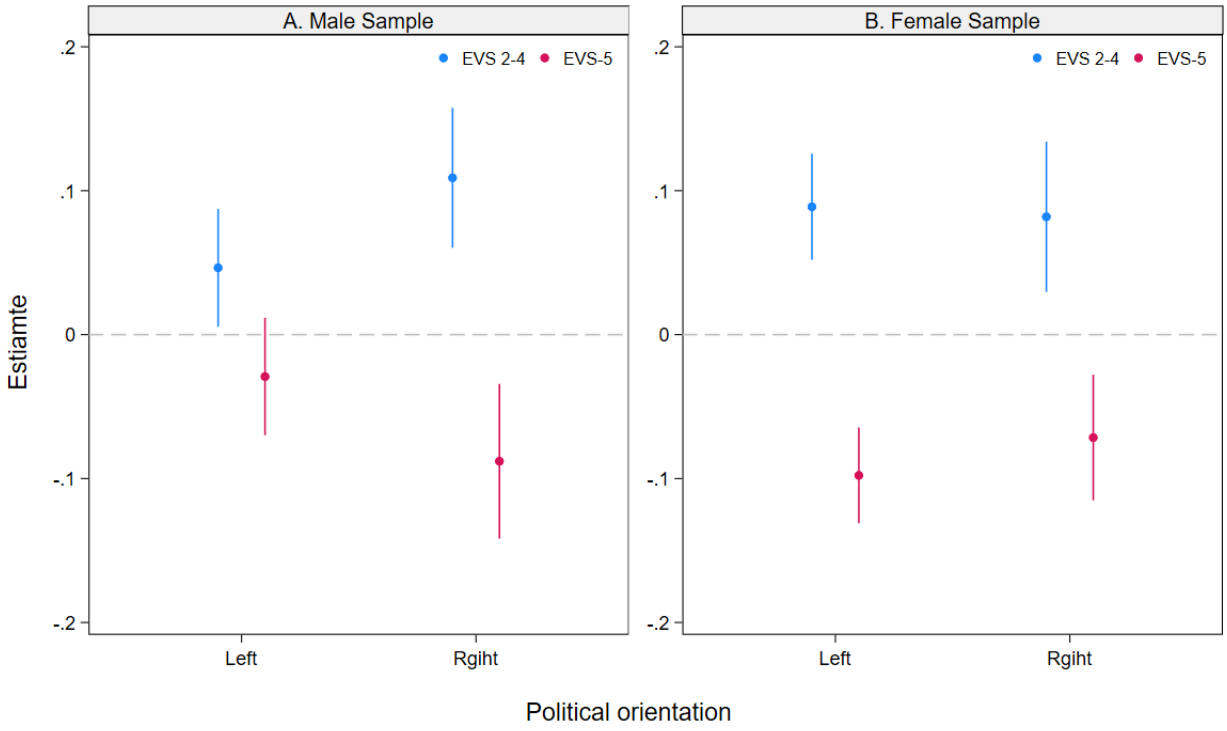
Notes: This figure presents the marginal effects of union membership on attitudes towards women's employment at different levels of collective bargaining centralization (panel A) and union density (panel B). Low, medium, and high levels indicate the 25th, 50th, and 75th percentile of the country-wave distribution of institutional characteristics, respectively. Estimates are obtained from OLS regression of attitudes towards women's employment on two-way interaction between union membership and collective bargaining centralization/union density, controlling for country effects, wave effects, other covariates (including political orientation), and all lower-level terms from the two-way interaction. Bars indicate the 95% confidence intervals constructed using robust standard errors. Models are estimated with the EVS weights.

Figure 5. Margin Effects of Union Membership on Attitudes Towards Women's Employment over Time



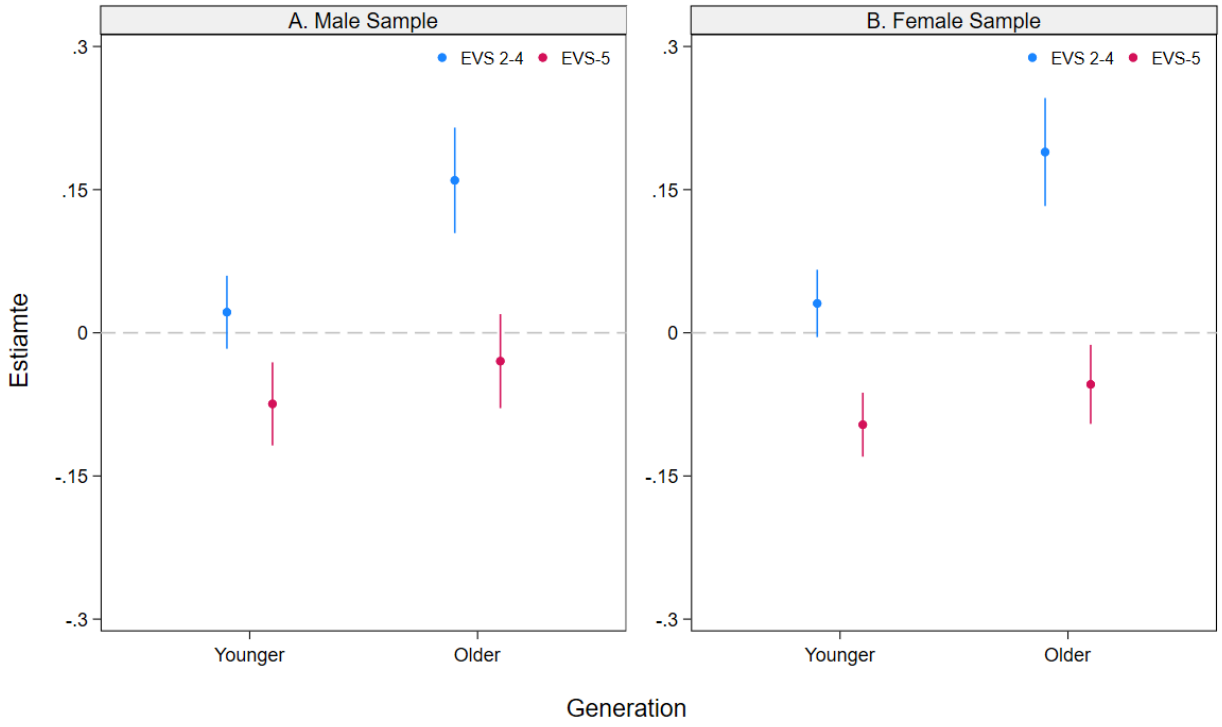
Notes: This figure presents the marginal effects of union membership on attitudes towards women's employment over time. Yellow, blue, and red markers represent the results in the full sample, male sample, and female sample, respectively. Estimates are obtained from OLS regression of attitudes towards women's employment on two-way interaction between union membership and wave dummies, controlling for country effects, other covariates (including political orientation), and all lower-level terms from the two-way interaction. Bars indicate the 95% confidence interval constructed using robust standard errors. Models are estimated with the EVS weights.

Figure 6. Margin Effects of Union Membership on Attitudes Towards Women's Employment by Political Orientation and over Time



Notes: This figure presents the marginal effects of union membership on attitudes towards women's employment by political orientation and over time. Panels A and B show the results in the male and female samples, respectively. Estimates are obtained from OLS regression of attitudes towards women's employment on three-way interaction between union membership, dichotomized political orientation (0 = left, 1 = right), and a post-crisis dummy (0 = EVS 2-4, 1 = EVS-5), controlling for country effects, other covariates, and all lower-level terms from the three-way interaction. Bars indicate the 95% confidence interval constructed using robust standard errors. Models are estimated with the EVS weights.

Figure 7. Margin Effects of Union Membership on Attitudes Towards Women's Employment by Generation and over Time



Notes: This figure presents the marginal effects of union membership on attitudes towards women's employment by generation and over time. Panels A and B show the results in the male and female samples, respectively. Estimates are obtained from OLS regression of attitudes towards women's employment on three-way interaction between union membership, generation (0 = younger/below 50 years old, 1 = older/50 years old or above), and a post-crisis dummy (0 = EVS 2-4, 1 = EVS-5), controlling for country effects, other covariates, and all lower-level terms from the three-way interaction. Bars indicate the 95% confidence interval constructed using robust standard errors. Models are estimated with the EVS weights. More detailed regression results can be found in Table A3 in the appendix.

Appendix

Table A1. Correlation Matrix of Variables Related to Gender Attitudes

	EVS 2-5		EVS-2	EVS 2-4			EVS-5		
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**
1. Attitudes towards women's employment (1 = less egalitarian, 3 = more egalitarian)	-	.336	.141	.178	.166	.165	.335	.313	.155
2. Women want a home and children (1 = agree strongly, 4 = disagree strongly)		-	.064	.231	.183	.185	.368	.341	.162
3. Women's movement (1 = disapprove, 4 = approve)			-	.096	.114	.114	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
4. Women have to have children to be fulfilled (0 = necessary, 1 = not necessary)				-	.101	.101	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
5. Women as a single parent (1 = disapprove, 3 = approve)					-	.974	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
6. Job is the best way for women to be independent (1 = disagree strongly, 4 = agree strongly)						-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
7. Men make better political leaders (1 = agree strongly, 4 = disagree strongly)							-	.691	.145
8. Men make better business executives (1 = agree strongly, 4 = disagree strongly)								-	.129
9. Democracy: women have the same rights as men (0 = against, 10 = essential)									-

Notes: The table shows the pairwise correlations between all variables related to gender attitudes in the EVS. The top row indicates waves in which gender attitude variable are available. Some correlations cannot be calculated as variables are not always consistently measured across waves.

Table A2. OLS Regression of Attitudes towards Women's Employment on Two-Way Interaction between Union Membership and Individual/Institutional Factors

	Individual Factors		Institutional Factors	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Union member	0.0873**	0.0736***	-0.0650*	0.0597***
	(0.0381)	(0.0268)	(0.0385)	(0.0210)
Medium-skilled	0.0798***	0.0787***	0.0785***	0.0786***
	(0.0188)	(0.0167)	(0.0168)	(0.0168)
High-skilled	0.1424***	0.1106***	0.1102***	0.1095***
	(0.0200)	(0.0179)	(0.0179)	(0.0179)
Share of women in the occupation	0.0013***	0.0014***	0.0012***	0.0012***
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)
Centralization of collective bargaining	0.1113***	0.1091***	0.1020***	0.1093***
	(0.0185)	(0.0185)	(0.0190)	(0.0185)
Union density	-0.0034**	-0.0031**	-0.0031*	-0.0030*
	(0.0016)	(0.0016)	(0.0016)	(0.0016)
Union member × Medium-skilled	-0.0154			
	(0.0394)			
Union member × High-skilled	-0.1452***			
	(0.0389)			
Union member × Share of women in the occupation		-0.0010*		
		(0.0005)		
Union member × Centralization of collective bargaining			0.0355**	
			(0.0152)	
Union member × Union density				-0.0007*
				(0.0004)
Full controls	×	×	×	×
Country effects	×	×	×	×
Wave effects	×	×	×	×
Observations	39877	39877	39877	39877
R-squared	0.202	0.201	0.201	0.201

Notes: This table presents the OLS regression results of attitudes towards women's employment on two-way interaction between union membership and individual/institutional factors (skill levels, occupational gender composition, centralization of collective bargaining, and union density) in the full sample. Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. *, **, *** indicate significance levels at 0.1, 0.05, and 0.01, respectively. Models are estimated using the EVS weights.

Table A3. OLS Regression of Attitudes towards Women's Employment on Three-Way Interaction between Union Membership, Post-Crisis, and Political Orientation/Generation

	Political Orientation		Generation		Combined	
	Male Sample	Female Sample	Male Sample	Female Sample	Male Sample	Female Sample
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Union member	0.0465**	0.0888***	0.0216	0.0308*	-0.0001	0.0364*
	(0.0209)	(0.0188)	(0.0195)	(0.0180)	(0.0231)	(0.0204)
Post crisis	0.0759***	0.1177***	0.0322*	0.0340*	0.0146	0.0350*
	(0.0200)	(0.0192)	(0.0192)	(0.0187)	(0.0216)	(0.0203)
Union member × Post crisis	-0.0756***	-0.1866***	-0.0961***	-0.1271***	-0.0523	-0.1440***
	(0.0281)	(0.0236)	(0.0280)	(0.0231)	(0.0321)	(0.0266)
Political right	-0.0641***	-0.0098			-0.0607***	-0.0010
	(0.0227)	(0.0227)			(0.0227)	(0.0227)
Union member × Political right	0.0625**	-0.0070			0.0565*	-0.0179
	(0.0313)	(0.0311)			(0.0313)	(0.0311)
Political right × Post crisis	0.0534**	0.0209			0.0439*	-0.0027
	(0.0255)	(0.0256)			(0.0255)	(0.0256)
Union member × Political right × Post crisis	-0.1214***	0.0333			-0.1068**	0.0516
	(0.0457)	(0.0408)			(0.0456)	(0.0406)
Older			-0.2530***	-0.2093***	-0.2507***	-0.2093***
			(0.0244)	(0.0239)	(0.0244)	(0.0240)
Union member × Older			0.1382***	0.1586***	0.1358***	0.1591***
			(0.0333)	(0.0327)	(0.0333)	(0.0327)
Older × Post crisis			0.1581***	0.2158***	0.1553***	0.2160***
			(0.0261)	(0.0256)	(0.0262)	(0.0257)
Union member × Older ×Post crisis			-0.0934**	-0.1164***	-0.0906**	-0.1183***
			(0.0460)	(0.0411)	(0.0460)	(0.0411)
Full controls	×	×	×	×	×	×
Country effects	×	×	×	×	×	×
Observations	20855	19022	20855	19022	20855	19022
R-squared	0.191	0.202	0.193	0.207	0.194	0.207

Notes: This table presents the OLS regression results of attitudes towards women's employment on three-way interaction between union membership, dichotomized political orientation (0 = left, 1 = right)/generation (0 = younger/below 50 years old, 1 = older/50 years old or above), and a post-crisis dummy (0 = EVS 2-4, 1 = EVS-5). Robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. *, **, *** indicate significance levels at 0.1, 0.05, and 0.01, respectively. Models are estimated using the EVS weights.