



# The Prevalent Gender Role Perceptions and Attitudes among Adults Living in Malta

A Research Study commissioned by the  
National Commission for the Promotion of Equality (NCPE)

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# Executive Summary

Gender stereotyping and inequality in everyday life and in the workplace continue to strongly inhibit society as they limit people's freedom of choice and actions. Traits associated with women and men keep the traditional stereotypes alive, resulting in differential access to material resources and power. However, women and men should have a level playing field with the same opportunities for growth both on a personal, social and professional level.

The National Commission for the Promotion of Equality (NCPE) has a long history of ongoing efforts to promote and strengthen gender equality and challenge the traditional roles of women and men in society. To strengthen the competence of its research work, the Commission, in collaboration with the Faculty for Social Well-Being at the University of Malta, embarked on a research study to shed light on the extent to which the patriarchal mentality is still present in society and the impacts it has on the opinions and attitudes of the population in Malta.

## The Purpose of the Research Study

The aim of the research study was to investigate the prevalence of traditional gender roles and attitudes among adults living in Malta and to find out whether

sexual stereotypes prevail within the different strata of the population, taking gender, age, education, employment, civil status and district into account.

## Method of Data Gathering and Analysis

Data was collected through a survey which included questions focusing on the perceived attitudes towards gender role expectations regarding women and men, girls and boys.

Participants were contacted by telephone in January of 2023. For this survey, participants included 645 adults aged 18 years and over living in Malta.

## Overview of Findings

Overall, participants tended to uphold progressive gender role perceptions, especially regarding gender roles in the public sphere. On the other hand, some traditional gender role expectations emerged:

- Taking care of young children and elderly dependants was seen as something women do, a view espoused mainly by female participants.

- Most of the participants were less likely to agree that playing with dolls is alright for boys.
- Participants held gender-typical assumptions about how they assumed men and women express themselves emotionally. They believed that women burst into tears and men turned aggressive when it comes to expressing themselves emotionally.
- They also retained traditional assumptions that men are more rational by nature.

Overall, when taking the percentage variables, it emerged that:

- Female participants had more progressive gender role perceptions than their male counterparts.
- Those aged between 18 and 35 years held more progressive gender role perceptions.
- Those with a post-secondary and higher level of education held more progressive gender role perceptions.
- When it came to civil status, those with no children were more likely to have progressive gender role perceptions.
- With regards to the district, Northern Harbour and Northern-based residents had more progressive gender role perceptions.
- When it came to occupation, students held the more progressive gender role perceptions.

When the survey findings were compared to macro-data, it emerged that there was cognitive dissonance. This resulted from the fact that there was a discrepancy between the way the respondents answered and what eventually happened. This might be due to several reasons – systemic

structural and institutional barriers may be preventing people from not acting out what they believe.

### Recommendations

From the research, it was clear that more must be done to address misogyny and toxic masculinity through education, training of professionals and awareness raising. To ensure a change in attitudes and values, different institutions in Maltese society need to work in tandem. State-led initiatives need to tackle underlying ideologies about gender roles, unpaid care work, and the respective roles the state, market, and family need to play in providing care for young children and other vulnerable family members. Promoting women's employment on a national basis is not enough. Unpaid work undertaken in the private sphere needs to be shared, while the earner-caregiver model needs to be facilitated with generous and coordinated statutory work-family policy schemes made available in both the private and public sectors.

The recommendation is to replace the male breadwinner model with the dual-earner/dual-carer model. This can take place via a package of state policies which include:

- (1) family leave schemes that ensure job protection and wage replacement for parents of young children;
- (2) affordable, high-quality early childhood education and care for babies and children up to three years; and
- (3) labour market regulations aimed at shortening the standard work week and strengthening remuneration for reduced-hour employment to enable men and women to engage in both paid and unpaid work.

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# Chapter 1

## Gender Role Perceptions in Malta

The discourse on gender, gender role stereotypes, and equality prevalent in the Maltese Islands is constantly changing, thanks to socio-economic, political, and cultural development in the Maltese Islands (Cutajar, 2021). Gender role stereotypes and expectations pervade all sectors of society, be it within the family, at school, sports, leisure, the voluntary sector, politics, and social media (Eagly & Wood, 2012). Gender role expectations also tend to differ between men and women. Differences are also noted among women and men coming from different social economic backgrounds (McGinn and Oh, 2017), different ages (Koenig, 2018), and different levels of education (Akotia & Anum, 2012; Blanchard-Fields et al., 1991; Karaca & Bektas, 2022) occupations (Erosa et al., 2017; Schuette et al., 2012), and family types (Scott & Alwin, 1989).

It is important to periodically carry out studies to understand the evolution of these gender role perceptions and gain insights into the current attitudes of the various sectors of society at any one time.

Done regularly, these can assist in setting up awareness-raising campaigns when changes are needed, creating social policies to support communities and individuals, and/or providing information on the progress and effectiveness of previous measures (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2023). This study on gender role perceptions will set the foundations for future periodic comparative studies investigating the changes in thought culture and the progress of perceptions of gender equality both within the private and public spheres.

### Aims

This report, which was commissioned by the National Commission for the Promotion of Equality in 2022, presents the results of a national survey conducted in the Maltese Islands in the first quarter of 2023. The objective of this research was to find out the prevalence of traditional gender role perceptions and attitudes, and if so, among which social groups, taking sex, age, education, locality, occupation, and

civil status as variables. The specific aims of this survey were to:

- Analyse the prevalence of stereotypes in Maltese society.
- Shed light on the extent to which the patriarchal mentality is still present in society and the impact it has on the opinions and attitudes of different groups among the Maltese population.
- Strengthen the knowledge on the current situation of gender role perceptions and expectations, so that any related work, as well as actions, are informed by these results, and hence any actions decided upon target particular social groups to be more effective.
- Come up with recommendations to further debunk myths and stereotypes related to men's and women's, boys' and girls' capabilities and competencies when it comes to the division of labour at home and at work; in politics; education, sports, etc.

### Definition of Concepts

This section will delineate the meanings of concepts that will be used in this report.

**Sex** specifically refers to the biological differences between males and females (Crawford & Novak, 2018). It refers to the physical and biological differences between men and women, boys and girls, which include physical differences in anatomical, chromosomal, hormonal, and physiological characteristics (Ivan et al., 2023). A binary perspective was used because this also prevails among LGBTIQ+ where gender expectations, values and opinions are concerned (Theuma, 2021).

**Gender**, on the other hand, refers to the social, psychological, and cultural attributes assigned to bodies. Gender is a social construct. What it means to be male or female is linked with a particular geographical, cultural, and historical context. Men's and women's respective duties and responsibilities change over time within a given society (Crawford & Novak, 2018). According to Golombok & Fivush (1994), "categorizing individuals by gender is such an essential and automatic aspect of our understanding of people that we are not even consciously aware of making this distinction" (1994, p. 16).

**Gender role ideology** is the individual or public attitude as to how the roles of women and men are and should be shaped by sex. Gender roles are social and psychological constructs, not biological, a fact that might not be acknowledged by everyone. Gender role ideology determines how social roles are meted out in society based on gender, which in turn influences who has access to tangible and intangible resources such as property and power.

Gender role ideological expectations also have an impact on the occupational choices made by women and men, the differential roles expected of them at work (the female board member who is expected to make coffee for everybody), as spouses, as parents, and in other aspects of life. On a macro level, they affect work-family relations and labour force patterns. There are three types of gender role ideology: these are traditional, transitional, and egalitarian. The first reflects the 'expected' differences in roles for men and women, namely that men should be the breadwinners, while women should be responsible for the family.





Transitional perceptions have facets of both traditional role segregation and egalitarian attitudes. Egalitarian perceptions do not believe that roles should be segregated by gender. Men and women should hold equal roles at work as well as at home (Somech and Drach-Zahavy, 2016).

**Gender roles and stereotypes:** Gender role perceptions are the “prevailing gender roles – the expected behaviours of males and females within a given society” (Crawford and Novak, 2018, p. 6). Stereotypes are those based on unsubstantiated beliefs about members of a particular sector in society (Correll & Ridgeway, 2006). Society has different expectations of people with ‘male’ or ‘female’ bodies and expects these various groups to “do gender” (Crawford & Novak, 2018) in a particular way, depending on their age, social class, race/ethnicity, disability, etc.

Gender role stereotypes and norms lead to “a generalised view or preconception about attributes, or characteristics that

are or ought to be possessed by women and men or the roles that are or should be performed by men and women” (United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2014). Stereotypes and gender role expectations promote social assumptions about which social roles men and women, boys and girls are expected to perform in a particular society, at a particular moment in time.

Gender stereotypes can be both positive and negative. For example, a woman can be stereotyped as “nurturing” or as “weak”. Stereotyping can lead to a comparative type of status belief that automatically establishes the predominance of one group over another. In a patriarchal society, men might be perceived as stronger and smarter than women, whereas women are perceived as being more caring and compassionate than males (Correll & Ridgeway, 2006), when caring and compassion are devalued in Western societies. This then creates a process of status generalization, through which diverse status characteristics are associated with task-relevant abilities,

influencing the vision of performance and subsequent behaviour within the male and female genders (Berger et al., 1977; Crawford & Nowak, 2018).

Gender stereotyping can be harmful or wrong. Harmful stereotyping occurs when social gender role expectations limit women and men from developing their 'innate' attributes, from pursuing gender-atypical careers and making choices about their own lives and their life plans which might look gender atypical. Harmful stereotyping includes the preconception that girls and women make good domestic workers, homemakers, and caregivers. These preconceptions, promoted by family members or policymakers, can have dire consequences for girls and women (United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner, 2023). It can affect their access to education since the family is reluctant to invest in female members of the family when women and girls are perceived in this manner. This used to be the case in Malta in the past, particularly where the eldest daughters were concerned (Cutajar, 2017). When it comes to policymakers, men are still perceived as breadwinners. The Social Security Act and Income Tax Act, especially Article 49, define men as the de facto breadwinners. This perception, that men are 'automatically' the breadwinners, results in social benefits being addressed to the male member of the family, thus placing him in control of the income (Kershaw, 2010).

Another harmful assumption is that girls and boys, women and men, have different physical and cognitive abilities. This can lead teachers to assume that girls are good with languages and the arts and

that boys are good in the sciences, math, and technology. These gender-typical stereotypical assumptions tend to prevail in Western countries, though not in the Middle East, where girls and women tend to do better in the sciences and technology (Khalil, 2023). This demonstrates that these skills and attributes are not gender but culturally specific.

Gender stereotypes or gender role expectations, when internalized, can lead girls/boys as well as women/men to make gender-typical choices in life, which might not be linked to their innate capabilities and/or inclination. It can also mean that girls/boys and women/men would be offered gender-typical opportunities, which can limit their educational and employment opportunities. This can lead to the perpetuation of gender inequality because when women make such gender-based educational or career choices, they tend to take up jobs, such as teaching, social work, etc., which, though all are essential services to society, remain amongst the low-paid ones.

Wrongful stereotyping, on the other hand, is stereotyping that "results in a violation or violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms" (United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner, 2023, para. 4). Examples of wrongful stereotyping include promoting the belief that in marriage, men have a sexual right over women; victimizing women in cases of sexual violence by pointing to the way they were dressed, or how they behaved; restrictions on freedom of expression, movement, participation, and representation in politics; denying the right to effective remedies and freedom from gender-based violence (United

Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner, 2023).

**Patriarchy**, according to Walby (1990), consists of a system of social structures and practices that facilitate men's domination, oppression, and exploitation of women. Walby sustains that patriarchy manifests itself via six structures, mainly paid work, housework, culture, sexuality, violence, and the state. These six patriarchal structures restrict women's opportunities and life chances while helping men maintain their domination.

**Socialisation** into gendered norms and expectations starts very early in life, even as soon as we are born. The attitudes of family and other social members towards the newborn child are some of the first encounters that set a behavioural pattern that helps children and babies manoeuvre the social world around them. The inherent characteristics and abilities, along with the cultural and social influences, direct or indirect, are the primary socialisation tools (Crawford & Novak, 2018). Over the years, a vast amount of research has emerged on the main socialising factors, namely the family, school and education, peer influence, media, work environments, religious background, peers and political affiliations. These structures are part of the ongoing socialisation.

Several psychological theories try to explain why and how individuals learn gender role expectations. Theuma (2021) lists several theories, some of which are incorporated here. The gender socialisation theory maintains that young children internalize gendered norms and roles with the help of socializing agents, which include the family, institutions they access or are part

of, as well as the networks in which they are embedded (John et al., 2017). Apart from the family, individuals are also involved in educational institutions across life, exposed to the media and ideological institutions, such as particular religions (Bartini, 2006).

Socialisation, according to Theuma (2021), helps individuals develop, learn to act, and do things according to the gender-defining behaviours learnt, and in the process refine them.

Theuma (2021) also mentions gender schema theory. Martin and Ruble (2004) maintain that children form gender schemas by observing others who present as male or female. These schemas are formed when they learn the similarities and differences of the behaviour learnt with the gender group they feel they belong to. Children tend to acknowledge a particular gender identity and form ingroup stereotypes of the ingroup they identify with, as well as others linked to the outgroup. Children's own acknowledged gender identity leads them to think and behave according to the gender group with which they associate while ignoring behaviour and mannerisms that fall outside the gender stereotype paradigms that they have learnt. Their internalized gender identity becomes a motivator for learning and adopting gender stereotypes.

Rewards are used to persuade children into accepting gender-normative behaviour, and punishment is used to persuade them to desist. Although the majority opt to learn gender norms and behaviours, there are some who, despite the punishment meted out, resist these social norms and expectations. Martin and Ruble (2004) maintain that for these children, their sex

cohort's gender expectations do not relate to them. Some gender-atypical children choose to engage in activities and behaviours which are not gender-typical and are ready to face social opprobrium.

**Social role theory** is a social psychological theory that maintains that differences and similarities arise when men and women are allocated different social roles within their society based on their sex (Eagly and Wood, 2016). Socialisation and the formation of gender roles persuade individuals to take up gender-specific behaviours, which in turn help support and sustain the division of labour. In industrial societies, for example, women are expected to work and take care of children and vulnerable adults; men on the other hand are the primary breadwinners, which means that it is assumed that they will take up full-time employment, and carry out work that involves physical strength, being assertive and leadership skills.

**Exposure theory**, on the other hand, maintains that cultural orientation and gender role attitudes emanate through primary and secondary socialisation which exposes individuals to the prevailing gender norms in each society (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004), ideas which, at times, differ from one institution to another, leading to change. Socialisation, therefore, exposes individuals to the predominant views on gender roles.

Nagoshi et al. (2008) maintain that lesbian, gay, and heterosexual respondents who took part in their study had a binary conceptualization of gender roles. According to Nagoshi et al. (2016), heterosexual and gay male participants

hold a more traditional perception of gender roles than lesbian and heterosexual women. Theuma (2021) found that the gay men who took part in her survey on gender role expectations among Maltese LGBTQ+ had slightly more traditional gender role perceptions.

Park, Bryson, Curtice, and Philips (2013) point out that while women's gender role perceptions - heterosexual, lesbian or bisexual - have changed with time, men are not keeping up. Level of education also tends to make a difference in the type of gender role attitudes held by respondents. Men and women with a higher level of education tend to have more liberal gender role attitudes. Women in paid employment also tend to have more liberal gender role attitudes than inactive women (Leitzmann & Frodermann, 2021).

Cichy et al. (2007) add that apart from gender differences, there are also age differences. Younger cohorts hold less traditional values when it comes to marital roles and the upbringing of children when compared with their parents.

Gender roles and expectations may significantly change over time in the same society.

Changes can happen on an individual basis. For example, events throughout life can lead to changes in internalised role expectations. When women with young children are widowed at a young age, circumstances might push the women to work, even though they might have been brought up to believe that their primary objective in life should be that of a stay-at-home mother (Cutajar, 2000). These, in turn, can have an impact on the internalized gender role expectations of others.

### Changes in Gender Role Expectations

Gender role expectations also change with time, promoted by policies or changes in legislation (Bhatia & Bhatia, 2021). Policies, such as the introduction of paid parental leave, which was introduced in the Maltese Islands on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August 2022, are a case in point. As Anastasi (2022) points out, parents in Malta:

“are now entitled to 2 months of paid parental leave each with an additional 2 months transferable between the parents. Thus, 2 months paid and 2 months unpaid. Before, parents were entitled to four months of unpaid parental leave for each parent” (para. 5).

The introduction of paid parental leave for both parents might perhaps lead to changes in mentality where gender role expectations regarding caring for young children is concerned. Time will tell. Sometimes laws and policies of the country help to change attitudes among a given population; other times, policies and legislation enacted must catch up with changes in attitudes and perceptions (Mifsud, 2016).

Mifsud (2016) explains how important it is for policymakers to clearly understand the current attitudes regarding any topic. This is the rationale behind this study, that is, if we are to make real steps forward in gender equality, we first need to attain the relevant data on public perceptions where gender role expectations are concerned. These perceptions do not exist in a vacuum but have become absorbed and internalized by the individual, ultimately influencing their choices and actions throughout their lives (Eagly, A. H. et al., 2000).

### Value Surveys

UN Women (2022) maintains that discriminatory social norms threaten gender equality and women’s empowerment. This organization advocates perception-based studies and maintains that these enable academics, policymakers, marketers, private sector leaders, and civil society representatives to discover the “attitudes that need to be addressed to break down the barriers impeding gender equality” (UN Women, p. 3). In these studies, which usually adopt a binary understanding of gender, people are asked about their perceptions of subject areas. Gender role attitude surveys give a snapshot of how people think about gender at home, work, and in society.

Lomazzi and Seddig (2020) underline that these types of surveys are used to find out the prevailing cultural value orientations linked to gender in a particular society.

They add that national, supranational, and international agencies collect data on the gender gaps when it comes to access to education, the labour market, the economy, and decision-making. Data is also collected on household arrangements, and the division of work within said households. This data is used to calculate gender equality. Value surveys, such as this one, explore what gender equality means at a social level by finding out how this value is endorsed on an individual level. In other countries, measuring gender role attitudes is a popular strategy to tackle the measurement of gender equality (Lomazzi and Seddig, 2020).

Prevailing cultural values help shape individual beliefs, attitudes, goals, and behaviours, as we have explained above.

Individuals might agree or disagree with these values. As has been underlined above, value systems, including attitudes toward gender roles and attributions, are formed via primary socialisation and experiences during a person's lifetime, which include secondary socialisation as well as constant negotiations between partners and primary groups (Lomazzi and Seddig, 2020).

In the next chapter, we will endeavour to tackle each of these aspects, particularly gender role expectations within the family, education, occupation, and age groups, from a local, Maltese point of view, when available.





## Chapter 2

# Literature Review

This chapter will look at the available data and information regarding gender role expectations and stereotype perceptions prevalent in the Maltese Islands. The literature review will focus on the family, media, education, the labour market, and politics presenting macro indicators as well as research which adopted a qualitative approach. These are the main influencing factors in the promotion of gender ideology.

### A General Overview

A study carried out almost thirty years ago between 1984-1999, (Abela, Anthony M., 2000) noted that people in Malta prioritized family, work, religion, leisure, friends, and politics. At the time, the strongest attachment was to the family, with work and religion slowly losing their priority (Abela, 2000, p. 522). At a time when divorce was not yet considered an option (divorce became legal on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 2011), it was also noted that a good majority of people (92%) felt that a

child needed both a father and a mother to ensure a happy childhood.

In his study, Abela identified a shift in values - collective values were being replaced by individualism and secularism, also confirmed by Montebello (Montebello, 2009). The former explains that the Maltese look to the state for change and progress, rather than follow the Catholic Church blindly. It was observed that the Church's teachings were being replaced by human and civil rights discourse. On gaining independence (1964), the Maltese state started to ratify and implement a number of human rights conventions (Montebello, 2009).

From a search conducted on the University of Malta library portal, HyDi, several local studies that deal with gender and stereotyping were highlighted, dating back to at least 1991 (Darmanin), 1995 (Farrugia and Pulis), 1998 (Borg and Zerafa; Gatt and Tonna), and 1999 (Cutajar). For this study, references are being made to those from

2000 onwards. The focus will be mainly on the family, media, school education, the labour market, and power.

### **The Family as the Primary Socialising Agent**

In this section, the studies concerned demonstrate how gender role perceptions start to be psychologically ingrained from birth, how parents' gender role perspectives can differ, and how they can change over time.

Amanda Abela (2006) observed how parents are the primary socialising agents, promoting gender orientation through their choice of clothing, toys, and parent role patterns. At a young age, children learn about these roles via observational learning. This was reiterated in a study conducted by Debono & Mifsud (2016). Here, the teachers interviewed all agreed that the gender role perceptions of family members left their mark on the children's development, attitude, character, and mental state. A group of seven heterosexual males and six heterosexual females, ranging between the ages of 18-25 years, when interviewed, noted that they learnt which behaviour was socially acceptable for a male or a female via their parents and their siblings (Vella, T., 2012). It also became apparent that the parents adopted different approaches - they were clear about what they expected of boys, less so with girls.

Parents were more likely to promote male behavioural expectations with their male offspring by buying them cars and engaging in rough play. Regarding the girls, they were initially more flexible in the type of toys or games they allowed them to play, with some parents even accepting

tomboy behaviour. However, the parents started restricting their choice of hobbies and social activities when the girls reached their teenage years. Vella (2012) found that parents' gender role expectations of their girls changed when their daughters reached adolescence.

Overall, thanks to feminism, parents, particularly fathers, were more inclined to be flexible when it came to gender roles where their daughters were concerned; they had more rigid expectations when it came to their sons. Both parents, however, had no indication as to how they were supposed to raise their sons, and so the latter were raised with a more traditional understanding of how boys should behave (Vella, 2012). Parents tended to put their foot down when their male children expressed an interest in activities deviating from the gendered norm. They gave their female children more flexibility when it came to career choices, especially the mothers, probably as a knee-jerk reaction to how they were raised (Vella, T., 2012).

These varying parental expectations and behaviour where male and female children were concerned was an issue raised by Fine (2010) in Crawford & Novak (2018, p. 202). It was observed that the world we live in is "half-changed" as parents are still not sure how to bring up their children when it comes to gender. This ambiguity is also confirmed through empirical studies carried out among twenty-first-century parents (Fine, 2010). It became apparent that there was a distinction between the parents' perception and their actual practice of raising their children (Nelson, 2005).



Another research focused on the influence of the mother on educating her children to develop more feminist ideologies, acting as generators of cultural change. The mothers' attempts to change gender expectations, where their children were concerned, were seen to be effective, needing successive generations for advances to manifest themselves (Grixti, 2022). This shift in attitude over time was also observed by Alwin & McCammon (2004), where one age group is slowly replaced by the next generation who have been brought up and socialized in a different and evolving social context.

Gender attitudes also tend to change within the span of a relationship. In Vella's (2012) study on the perceived gender influences during childhood, young male and female adults described their views on their future expectations when it came to building a family. The male participants expressed how they "would want someone at my side rather than in front of me or behind me" (Vella, 2012, p. 39). Both male and female respondents felt that both heterosexual partners should equally share all family responsibilities, including childrearing and household chores (Vella, 2012). This attitude was found to change once the couple got married. They tended to revert to traditional gender role stereotypes when assigning responsibilities and chores, a model with which they were familiar.

In her intergenerational study on motherhood, Grixti (2022) explained how, although partners may start with a feminist ideology, their expectations did not pan out in their day-to-day reality. Female respondents lamented that their expectations were not met, and this was perhaps because, before marriage, the couple did not discuss in detail how

parental roles were going to be played out in their life together. The women felt that their husbands' feminist gender ideology was just that – an ideology – since they never got to see it being implemented (Grixti, 2022).

The same results were attained in an American study on gender and parenting. When heterosexual parents were questioned about their perceptions of who contributes more to the diverse childcare tasks, it was consistently seen that more fathers felt that both parents contributed equally, while the mothers said they were the ones who shouldered the larger proportion of responsibilities when it came to managing the children's activities and schedules, providing emotional support and comfort, disciplining, assisting with school homework and the daily basic care of feeding, changing nappies and bathing (Minkin & Menasce Horowitz, 2023).

Although female respondents espoused progressive gender attitudes, they were also more likely to underline that they would willingly interrupt their careers for at least a year to be able to care for young children, followed by reduced hours (Grixti, 2022; Vella, T., 2012). Some were even ready to reduce their working hours should they be needed to support their own children's careers when they became grandmothers (Grixti, 2022). Other participants were also ready to move to another country if their husbands' careers required them to do so, in the process sacrificing their own (Vella, 2012). From the results attained in this and other Maltese studies, young female adults still perceived the male as the head of the household and as the main breadwinner, although they felt that household chores and caring should be shared equally

by the partners. These gender-typical assumptions came up in other studies. Brannon (2017), for example, found that females still hold a flexible vision of gender equality, feeling a quasi-obligation towards family responsibilities and caring for the children.

### Media

The family is not the only socializing agent. The media is a very influential secondary socializing agent. This includes television, print publications, social media, and the music industry, particularly where music videos and online advertising are concerned.

From an early age, children are heavily bombarded by media messages that provide gender-differentiated role models and characteristics. Television programmes aimed at young children and advertising aired before 8 p.m. can influence their understanding of what could be considered 'feminine' or 'masculine' chores, fashion, and social attitudes (Buttigieg, 2004). Movies, particularly animated ones, heavily influence gender

role development in children with their portrayal of princesses and masculine heroes (Spiteri Swain, 2023). This then might have an impact on children's choice of reading books, though it was noted that girls favour adventure, horror, and mystery books, genres which in the past were liked by boys (Debono and Mifsud, 2016).

Advertising also tends to promote harmful gender roles and behaviours. A 2020 quantitative study focusing on social media, found that even if there was an apparent shift in the balance, the different genders were not equally represented, with females being more heavily represented. This research noted that female characters tended to be portrayed as inferior, sexualized, and objectified. The researcher however noted the growing sexualization of males in such adverts (Magro, 2020). Magro noted that both male and female respondents were affected by the portrayals of their gender when it came to body figures and sexual appearance. It was also noted that such adverts could lead to mental health issues when viewers compared their bodies to those portrayed and then found them wanting. Magro also



found that adverts were more likely to influence female shoppers in the shopping choices they made.

The printed advertising industry continues to promote stereotypical gender roles and expectations, reinforcing the dichotomy between the male and female genders. Men are usually represented as being strong, authoritarian, and even threateningly militaristic. These images influence men in thinking about what their roles should be, and repress any characteristics usually associated with feminine behaviour. Women are usually portrayed as meek and submissive, and as being sexually attractive. Although the findings showed that males and females were equally represented, it was noted that local magazine publications promoted traditional stereotypes in their adverts (Ellul Sullivan, 2005).

The music industry has also been criticized for its penchant to portray women wearing less and less clothing, particularly in the videos accompanying songs. Men, on the other hand, are portrayed as tough and dependable. However, it was noted that there were positive developments regarding female musicians in the Maltese music labour market with women being more present and recognized in the industry (Vella, 2012).

Vella (2018) studied the insights and opinions of the University of Malta students on the topic of gender representations in video games by conducting semi-structured interviews with 3 male and 3 female online gamers to find out how aware they were of the propensity of this genre to promote gender stereotypes. There was a consensus that video games are based on fantasy and do not represent real

life, so the gender stereotypes presented did not matter or have much effect on gamers, the participants thought. Some female participants however confessed that they felt influenced when associating adventure with masculinity and being thin with power. It was also pointed out that the gamers brought any gender stereotype influences with them to the game after having been influenced throughout their lives. The participants underlined that video gaming was essentially a male-dominated world, with the producers, protagonists, and gamers targeted being largely male. Female producers are very few, the characters in the games are mainly supportive actors or victims, and are always represented in skimpy wear and as having beautiful physical attributes. Female gamers usually had to fit into this male-dominated fictitious world – playing games where males dominate, and thin athletic female characters in skimpy clothes act as sidekicks to domineering male characters. Their presence in this world, they felt, was tolerated, not accepted. It was lamented that gender-bending was not available when choosing the main character. However, awareness of changes, if slow, was apparent in the newer games as gaming is constantly evolving and could reflect the changes in real life. Gender stereotypes are changing and video games can become a possible educational tool to help reduce gender stereotypes in video gamers (Vella, C., 2018).

The use of social media has become an integral part of everyone's daily life, particularly among the younger generations. Although both male and female participants who took part in a survey on consumer behaviour within social media advertising all made use of social media

platforms, female participants seemed to do so more. Common uses among females were to find out which services/products were on offer and to check the reviews about products. So, in this case, leisure becomes work. Interestingly, both male and female respondents said that if they felt that an advert was relaying a stereotypical message, it put them off buying the product and they would avoid using the brand (Attard, 2019).

### **Education in Schools and Universities**

Schools are an important factor where gender role socialisation is concerned.

Education systems can be a crucial asset when it comes to combatting gender stereotypes and gender stereotyping. This is not always the case when the education system is not attuned to the fact that the curriculum, textbooks, and teachers can, directly and indirectly, promote and perpetuate harmful gender stereotypes. When these are internalized, they can influence girls or women, boys and men when it comes to the courses and subjects they choose. In turn, the latter will influence their employment prospects, apart from the decisions they can take in their private life (Brussino & McBrien, 2022).

In their chapter on Gender in the Curriculum, Mizzi et al. (2000, p. 376) described how “through these social relations and social organizations, schools are constructing oppositional dualisms and increasing the polarization and antagonism that they may be trying to avoid.” The teachers’ importance is heavily highlighted here. After the family, they represent the next major step in the formation of the child. Teachers are responsible for the consequences of developing their own

and their students’ gender role attitudes, social roles, and skills (Debono and Mifsud, 2016).

International and Maltese research has shown that teachers (and parents) might think that girls and boys have different physical and cognitive abilities and push them to opt for gender-typical school subjects or to adopt gendered teaching methods, which keep boys engaged, but neglect to motivate girls (Kollmayer et al., 2020). Teachers sometimes erroneously believe that boys are better at math, technology, science, and certain sports, whereas girls are better at arts, languages, and the humanities.

In Maltese-based research, it was found that teachers interacted differently with girls and boys (Abela, A., 2006) even when dealing with classes in a co-educational setting. Young children themselves, however, also made this differentiation. When studying a group of Year 4 children and their interactions in the playground, Caruana & Darmanin (2001) noted that girls and boys made gender-typical choices in friends and mode of play. Although the two sexes still played together occasionally, some games were organized in teams where girls were competing against boys (Caruana & Darmanin, 2001). Abela (2006), who carried out an ethnographic study of a mixed Year 4 class of eight-year-olds, confirmed this. In both studies, boys and girls tended to play and make friends with their gender cohort, rather than cross-gender.

Ten years later, Debono & Mifsud (2016) conducted a sociological study of an Early Years class and a Junior Years class. Some teachers were interviewed to find out how gender differences were dealt with within

the school. Even though the teachers were aware that girls should enjoy the same quality of education as boys, it was observed that most teachers had a preconceived idea regarding the gender differences existing between males and females (Debono & Mifsud, 2016), with boys being considered to be tough and better suited for technical subjects, sports, and certain professions, while girls were seen to be more emotional, crying often and generally represented as being the caregivers in text-books. Some teachers felt that female students were calmer and better behaved, going as far as to label some energetic male students as 'miscreants' (Vella, 2012). The teachers were aware that it would benefit both genders if they explored diversity in their teaching methods (Debono & Mifsud, 2016). This meant that in their day-to-day routine, they did not.

Another interesting study explored the gender ratio of Health and Social Care subject choices made by male and female students in Years 9, 10, and 11 attending State, Church, and 3 Independent co-ed schools. This study found that when it came to choosing health and social care subjects, there were no gender differences in the choices made among the students. This contrasted with the perceptions held by teachers who, when interviewed, felt that girls would be more interested in the subjects than boys. They also underlined that there was still a stigma associated with boys who opted for a 'care' subject (Gauci, 2021). Science subjects on the other hand were perceived as being more difficult, needing more application, and were perceived by Form 1 and Form 3 students as being more suited for boys. It was also evident that the attitude and approach of how the teachers presented the subject had a great effect on how the students

perceived science lessons, with boys finding them more fun and interesting than girls (Cefai, 2017; Musumeci et al., 2013). The inverse results were attained in a research study that focused on the links evident between creativity and STEM subjects. This was carried out among 400 students, attending State, Church, and Independent schools, during the 2016-7 scholastic year. This study showed that female students were less likely to choose STEM subjects, with 38% of female students as opposed to 13.6% of males not choosing any STEM subjects as one of their options. The same was found when choosing two to four options, with more males (40.9%; 16.6%; 2.8%) than females (26.2%; 7.2%; 0.9%) choosing STEM subjects respectively (Catania, 2020). It will be interesting to see if the more recent efforts at promoting STEM education among young boys and girls will have the desired effect of balancing the ratios (STEM Engagement Working Group, n.d.; Times of Malta, 2021).

Gatt (2013), on the other hand, studied the influence exerted by the family and early education on how participants related to different courses. Using a quantitative method, students from three different University courses were approached. The students derived from three faculties - Education, where most students tend to be female; Engineering, where most students tend to be male; and Medicine with an almost equal amount of male and female students. The participants were asked to take part in a survey where they were asked with which gender they associated certain courses. Education was seen as being an option more suited for females. Engineering courses were seen as better for males, while medicine was seen as appropriate for both genders. Vella (2012)

reported that two focus groups involving students, one male, and the other female, were also asked why they chose certain subjects at the secondary school level. Both genders said that they chose the subject that interested them, or they enjoyed. Female participants however underlined that the choices they made took into consideration the fact that they might eventually have a family.

Generalized views or preconceptions about gender-specific attributes or characteristics can have a concomitant effect on career choices at the tertiary level. Data published by EIGE (2022) shows that gender segregation in tertiary education in Malta is high. Statistics show that 52% of all women university students were enrolled in education, health, welfare, humanities, and arts in 2020. The gender gap in enrolment in Malta is one of the highest in the EU, at 23 pp. This indicates that gender role expectations have been internalized by women, and these role expectations are pushing women to take up certain professions rather than others.

Acceptance that education is important for both sexes has resulted in females outdoing males at the university level for several years now (University of Malta [UoM], 2019). For the last three decades, female graduates have surpassed male ones with the latest figures for the 2021 and 2022 academic year stating that 61% of the graduates in said year were female (Equity Office, 2023). Statistics also show that 50% of female students were more likely to be enrolled in the more feminized disciplines (education, health, welfare, humanities, and the arts in 2018) while male students were concentrated in STEM-related courses (European Commission, 2022). Taking PISA results

into consideration, one may note that this segregation might start earlier in general education. Although both genders are seen to be doing well in literacy, math and science, girls outdo boys only in literacy. In math and science, girls are seen to fare very well until they are surpassed by boys in the 90 percentile level (European Commission, 2022).

Apart from trying to get girls and women interested in STEM subjects, Malta needs to do something to encourage more boys/men to take up so-called feminized occupations. The third largest faculty at the University of Malta, that of Social Wellbeing, has the highest participation of female students (around 70% across all levels). Although some growth in male representation was seen from 2020/1 (37%) to 2021/2 (51%), the overall low participation presents a problem when considering the feminization of the social sector (Equity Office, 2023).

### **The Labour Market: The Reflection of a Power Struggle**

When it comes to adjudicating whether there has been any progress in gender equality in Malta, one notes progress when comparing the 2013 EIGE Gender Equality Index (based on 2010 data), which at the time stood at 54.4 points out of 100 (where 100 means full equality), with the 2022 Index, with a score of 65.6 points, an increase of 11.2 points (EIGE, 2013; EIGE, 2022). It must also be noted, however, that since the 2021 report, when the index stood at 65.0 points, there has been a slowdown in the advancement of gender equality in the Maltese Islands since only an increase of 0.6 percentage points was reported when compared to the 2022 Index (EIGE, 2022).

Although in Malta the full-time equivalent rate (FTE) (46%) for women is higher than the EU average (41%), the gender gap is still high standing at 21% (FTE for men in Malta is 67%), EIGE reports. The 46% full-time equivalent employment rate (FTE) for women in Malta is outshone by 58% in Sweden; Maltese and Swedish men are reported to have very similar rates at 67% and 66% respectively. In Estonia, the rates stand at 50% for women and 64% for men.

Several measures have been adopted over the years to help women enter the labour market. These include back-to-work fiscal incentives, separate tax computations, an increase in birth and adoption leave, free childcare facilities, free school transport, after-school services (Klabb 3-16), and tax credits for self-employed, and other tax rebates linked to the education of the children (Micallef, 2018). The separate tax computation was replaced with electing for a separate return, a move which the NCPE itself had criticized. It was argued that “since equal treatment should be the default and applicable to all”, separate tax returns should be the default and not have to be applied for (Aquilina Galea & Schembri, 2021). As the National Statistics Office (2020, p. 527) notes, “women who stay on in the labour market hold higher qualifications than men [...] And are more likely to remain in the workplace than their less qualified counterparts”. In its Labour Force Survey, the NSO (2018) stated that while women reduced their working time by 20 per cent to set aside time for care responsibilities, 13 per cent of men sought other ways to increase their income. This resulted in an imbalance in the weekly working hours for females (34 hours) as compared to males (42 hours) (National Statistics Office, 2018).

When it comes to labour market participation, Malta is faring better than its Mediterranean counterparts. The following percentages were noted in Italy (W 31%; M 51%), Greece (W 33%; M 50%), Spain (W 38%; M 51%), and France (W 42%; M 53%). On the other hand, Cyprus, another island state, has very similar statistics to those of Malta with women’s FTE being 49% and men’s at 62% (EIGE, 2022).

The 2022 EIGE report for Malta (based on 2019 data) shows that although Maltese women have a longer life expectancy of about five years and a higher probability of graduating from university compared to men, they are more likely to have a shorter career lifespan and earning about 40% less than their male counterparts during their lifetime.

Women were much more likely to be doing the bulk of the housework and cooking every day, and at least half of them experienced sexual harassment in the previous years (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2022).

The situation of inequality within the family was exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic. During COVID, most parents worked from home (NCPE, 2020). Socially ingrained gender role expectations led to mothers having to take on the larger portion of the responsibilities of taking care of their children, often being unable to cope with their employment demands and being forced to leave the workforce (Abela, Angela et al., 2020; Satariano & Bajada, 2022). The same happened in America; women and men there held approximately the same number of jobs at the start of 2020. By the end of the year, women held 860,000 jobs less than men, due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Most

of these were in the 25-54-year-old age group, mainly women who needed to care for one or more children (Piacentini et al., 2022).

When compared to the rest of the EU, Malta registered one of the biggest decreases in percentage points in the gender gap in the last decade. However, statistics show that this gap between the employment rates of men and women is still very wide (16.8 pps) when compared to the EU average (10.8 pps) in 2021.

Many women still opt out of labour market participation because they internalize the stereotypical idea that they should be the main carers where children are concerned. They may also opt out of the labour market because of flexible hours, and teleworking is not always available. Gendered beliefs as well as cultural practices also affect whether they work part-time or full-time, and in which economic sectors and occupations. Data show that these cultural beliefs prevail among Maltese (NCPE 2012) and sub-Saharan and North African female migrants (Migrant Women Association Malta, 2017).

A cursory look at labour force surveys makes one realize that in Malta, male and female workers tend to be concentrated in different sectors of the labour market (NSO, 2023; Cutajar, 2021). In the last quarter of 2022, female workers were concentrated in public administration, defence, education, human health, and social work activities; wholesale and retail trades, transportation and storage, accommodation, and food service activities; and professional, scientific, technical, administration and support services activities. Male workers tended to be concentrated in wholesale and retail trades, transportation and

storage, accommodation, and food service activities; public administration, defence, education, human health and social work activities; wholesale and retail trades, transportation and storage, accommodation and food service activities; and manufacturing, mining and quarrying and other industry. While female workers tended to be concentrated in the economic sectors mentioned above, their male counterparts were more evenly spread out in different economic sectors.

When it came to occupational groupings, female workers were concentrated in service and sales workers; professional and clerical and support workers (68.1% of the female workforce). The three occupational groupings where men were concentrated were professional - for example, this discrepancy is reflected in ICT specialists in Malta, where 11% are women as opposed to the EU average of 19% (European Commission, 2022). Other areas include craft and related trades workers as well as technicians and associated professionals (which amounted to only 47% of the male workforce) (NSO, 2023).

When it comes to job pay, one notes a gendered difference in the average monthly basic salary for the different economic and occupational sectors. Labour Force Survey data for Q4 continues with the trend of a pay gap with males generally being paid higher than females. Female workers received a lower average basic monthly salary than their male counterparts in almost all the economic sectors (NSO, 2023). According to the Eurostat data of 2022, Malta's gender pay gap stood at 10% when reporting for 2020 (Eurostat, 2022).



When it came to occupational groups, female workers overall tended to receive a lower average basic monthly salary for all occupations, except for managers. In the last quarter of 2022, female managers earned more than their male counterparts. This, however, was the exception here. More data is needed to verify what is happening here.

As these statistics establish, the feminisation of certain sectors of the labour market is obvious. It is also obvious that masculinised work is more valorized than feminised work (Sisson Runyan, 2019, p. 45). Data indicates that Malta still has a gender-polarized valorization of skills and work, although there has been a slight change.

Women tend to be concentrated in feminised sectors. There have been studies of what it means to be a woman working in a masculinised occupation. Gauci (2014) studied women journalists working with Allied Newspaper Ltd. Gauci delineated the difficulties encountered by these women journalists when they attempted to cover news features of a political nature. It was okay for female journalists to cover soft news issues such as fashion, culture, and accidents, but issues rose when they tried to cover political news features. This study denotes that even when men and women are doing the same job, they are assigned different tasks, and gender role expectations are cited to keep women in line.

### Power

In this sub-section, women's representation in power structures will be discussed.

This emerged from one of the questions asked in the survey about women in

politics. EIGE defines power as measuring “gender equality in decision-making positions across the political, economic and social spheres” (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2022).

Although Malta's score in the domain of 'power' in EIGE's Gender Equality Index has practically doubled from 20.9 out of 100 (where 100 means full equality) (EIGE, 2013) to 40.4 (EIGE, 2022), men are still more likely to be over-represented in decision-making positions. Improvement in the political arena only gained a little ground through the recent Gender Corrective Mechanism legislated in 2021 and used in the 2022 elections (Borg, 2022).

Thanks to the gender corrective mechanism which came into effect in the 2022 elections, 22 out of the 79 members of parliament were female, which amounts to 28% of parliamentarians (The Global Economy, 2023). Only a few of the women who made it to parliament though were assigned a portfolio. Of the 18 ministers, only two (around 11%) are women in 2023; when it comes to parliamentary secretaries, 3 out of 6 are headed by female parliamentarians (Human Rights Directorate, 2022).

At a local council level, 26.3% are female councillors while the EU average stands at 29.4 per cent (EIGE, 2022). Since their inception in 1993, local council elections have served as a stepping stone for fielding female candidates, particularly by the Nationalist Party, whose female members made up 13 per cent of those elected in the first elections (Spiteri Tanti, 2019). Spiteri Tanti (2019) notes that women were more likely to participate in an election and get elected – at the

local council and national level — if they were involved at a higher level in political parties. In her research, she also found that more male than female candidates are nowadays using their experience in local councils as an introduction into national politics.

With regards to the European Parliament, Malta currently has two female and four male MEPs (European Parliament Office in Malta, 2023). The female representation at this level is constantly changing as Spiteri Tanti (2019) notes. One also needs to note that the President of the Parliament of the European Union is a Maltese woman, Roberta Metsola, who presents a positive female role model for the younger generations to come.

Gender balance in economic decision-making is “measured by the proportion of women and men on corporate boards of the largest nationally registered companies listed on stock exchanges and national Central banks” (EIGE, 2022, para 1). The EIGE report notes that national decision-making in Malta is heavily reliant

on male participation, with less than 15% of those on corporate boards of the largest nationally registered companies listed on stock exchanges and around 26% of the board members of the National Central Bank being female.

### Conclusion

Considering all the literature and studies available, both those past and ongoing ones, it must be acknowledged that working towards equality between women and men is a work in progress (Vella, M. S., 2018) and that takes generations to show progress (Grixti, 2022; Alwin & McCammon, 2004). As Mary Beard (2017) very aptly wrote in her book *Women and Power: A Manifesto*, women cannot be expected to fit into a structure that has been designed for men. It is the structure that must be changed to accommodate the equal functioning of women and men (Beard, 2017). It also entails changing the mentalities of both men and women. In order to bring about this change, one needs to know what their gender role expectations are. This is what we will set out to do in the subsequent chapters.





## Chapter 3

# Methodology

Researchers use quantitative research to attain knowledge and understanding of the social world and use quantitative methods to investigate situations and events that affect people. Quantitative research produces data that can be used to make inferences and generalisations through statistics. Through quantitative research, the researcher can determine the sampling designs and sampling techniques before conducting the study and has more control over the amount of data collected and how the data is gathered. By increasing the sample size, the researcher can reduce biases to improve 'objectivity'. Through quantitative research, the researchers can generalise concepts, predict future outcomes or investigate causal relationships, given that the sample is well-designed and is a true representative of the study population. Moreover, through quantitative research, it is possible to make predictions, establish facts and test hypotheses. It can be used to find evidence which supports or negates an

existing hypothesis or to validate already constructed theories (Agresti & Franklin, 2017).

### Sampling Methods

There are various sampling techniques that can be used in research. Random sampling is the most recommended since every member of the population has the same probability of being included in the sample; however, this sampling technique can only be used when the population size is known, and all members are accessible for investigation. In most instances, this is not practical since in very large populations some members are lost to investigation because of a lack of information about them. Another popular sampling method is stratified sampling, where the population is divided into a number of non-overlapping sub-populations (strata) and random samples are selected from each stratum. In this sampling method, the strata are often sampled in proportion to their population sizes.

Classification variables normally include gender, age, residence district and marital status. Stratification is not restricted to a single variable of classification and populations can be stratified according to several characteristics. The cost of taking random samples from individual strata is often very high and it is common practice to pre-determine the number of units (quota) for each stratum.

Other widely used sampling techniques include cluster, systematic and convenience sampling. In cluster sampling, the population is divided into a number of subdivisions (clusters) and the overall sample is selected from a few chosen clusters only. This sampling method is particularly useful when the population members are widely scattered geographically. In systematic sampling, the sample members are selected from the population according to a random starting point but with a fixed, periodic interval. In convenience sampling, the sample members are selected for their accessibility ease. This can be due to geographic proximity and willingness to participate in the research.

The advantage of these three non-probability sampling methods is that they reduce the time and costs to select a sample and optimize the sample size. The main disadvantage is the possibility that the sample is biased and is not a true representation of the population (McClave & Sincich, 2017).

### **Data Collection Methods**

In quantitative research, a researcher can make use of several data collection methods, where the interviewees must answer a standard set of questions. Face-to-face

interviews have the distinct advantage of enabling the researcher to establish rapport with potential participants and therefore gain their cooperation. These interviews yield the highest response rates in survey research. They also allow the researcher to clarify ambiguous answers and, when appropriate, seek follow-up information. However, this data collection method is time-consuming, expensive and impractical when large samples are involved (Sullivan, 2020).

In this research project, telephone interviews were conducted. Telephone interviews are less time-consuming and less expensive, and the researcher has ready access to anyone that has a telephone. However, the sample may be biased because it excludes people without phones, who are part of the population about which the researcher wants to draw inferences (Weiss, 2016).

Computer-assisted personal interviews are another form of data collection method where the information is entered directly into the database. This method saves time involved in entering and processing the data, particularly when the sample size is large. Another popular data collection method is the use of online questionnaires, where a questionnaire is developed on this online platform by the researcher. A link to this online survey is then sent to the participants by email. This method is quicker and optimizes the sample size. A disadvantage of this method is that it excludes individuals who do not have a computer.

Moreover, the sample of participants may not be a true representation of the study population.

## Research Context and Participants

The aim of the study was to investigate gender roles, gender role expectations and sexual stereotypes by examining a few hypotheses, namely:

- a. Men have more traditional gender role expectations.
- b. Older people have more traditional gender role expectations.
- c. People with lower education have more traditional gender role expectations.
- d. Participants from non-traditional family structures have less traditional gender role expectations.
- e. Participants from rural areas have more traditional gender role expectations.
- f. Participants in masculinized occupations have more traditional gender role expectations.

The study was conducted to examine the above hypotheses in conformity with the recommendations of the University of Malta Ethics Committee, where a questionnaire comprising four sections was devised in collaboration with NCPE. The first section asked participants to provide demographic information, namely their gender, age, residence district, nationality, education level, occupation level and civil status. The second section asked the participants to provide the best person/s (men, women, both) to do the following eleven tasks:

- Take care of young children and elderly dependants.
- Cook meals.
- Clean the house.
- Take decisions about financial matters at home.
- Earn money for the family.
- Become a primary school teacher.
- Become an engineer.

- Become a manager at work.
- Get a promotion when having young children.
- Continue with their education when having young children.
- Become a politician.

The third section asked the participants to display their views (agree, disagree, it depends) to the following seventeen statements:

- Playing with dolls is alright for boys.
- Doing ballet is alright for boys.
- Rough sports like rugby is alright for girls.
- Asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl.
- Some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls.
- Family should encourage boys more than girls to continue studying.
- Men are more rational than women by nature.
- Men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions.
- Women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions.
- It is understandable for a man to hit out when his partner tries to end a relationship.
- Women should feel flattered when receiving comments by male strangers about their body.
- The choice between being a good wife/mother or being in paid employment puts a lot of pressure on women.
- Contraception is the responsibility of both men and women.
- Career advancement is more possible when people work full-time.
- Sexual jokes are OK at the workplace.
- Equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved.

- Equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta.

The fourth section asked the participants to identify which gender group/s (men, women or both) perceive the following five qualities as being the most important:

- Having the respect of others.
- Being able to stand up for yourself.
- Being able to cry in public.
- Being sportive.
- Being physically attractive.

### Sampling Strategy and Participants

To investigate the prevalence of gender stereotypes among women and men and measure the discriminatory attitudes and gender-based stereotypes that perpetuate gender inequality, a sample of 645 adults living in Malta aged 18 years or more was selected to participate in this study. Quota sampling was used where the sample was stratified mainly by gender, age and residence district. This sample guaranteed a maximum margin of error of 3.86%, assuming a 95% confidence level.

A sample of 645 adults living in Malta aged 18 years or more was selected to participate in this study. Quota sampling was used where the sample was stratified mainly by gender, age and residence district



**Table 1:** Participants categorised by demographic variables

Frequency		Percentage	
<b>Gender</b>	Female	330	51.2%
	Male	315	48.8%
<b>Age-Group</b>	18-25	74	11.5%
	26-35	121	18.8%
	36-45	115	17.8%
	46-55	86	13.3%
	56-65	103	16.0%
	66+	146	22.6%
<b>District</b>	Northern Harbour	185	28.7%
	Southern Harbour	114	17.7%
	South Eastern	101	15.7%
	Western	91	14.1%
	Northern	120	18.6%
	Gozo and Comino	34	5.3%
<b>Nationality</b>	Maltese	644	99.8%
	Non-EU	1	0.2%
<b>Level of Education</b>	Primary	64	9.9%
	Secondary	282	43.7%
	Post-secondary	94	14.6%
	Tertiary	120	18.6%
	Post-graduate	85	13.2%
<b>Occupation</b>	Manager	34	5.3%
	Professionals	120	18.6%
	Technicians and ass. professionals	20	3.1%
	Clerical support workers	34	5.3%
	Service and sales workers	31	4.8%
	Elementary occupations	116	18.0%
	Student	13	2.0%
	Pensioner	210	32.6%
	Unemployed	48	7.4%
	Other	19	2.9%
<b>Civil Status</b>	Single (without children)	106	16.4%
	Married/cohabiting with children	409	63.4%
	Married/cohabiting without children	41	6.4%
	Single with children	16	2.5%
	Separated/divorced/widowed	55	8.5%
	Other	18	2.8%

The data was collected by Sagalytics (a private research company) using telephone interviews, where the participants had to provide a single response to each close-ended question. Participants were free to withdraw from the study at any time, and no monetary or other financial rewards were provided. Table 1 provides a breakdown of the number and percentage of participants in each category when clustered by gender, age, residence district, nationality, education level, occupation level and civil status. Other occupations included individuals in the

armed forces, skilled agricultural workers, crafts and related trade workers, and plant and machine operators and assemblers since these categories comprised few participants and were collapsed into one category. Moreover, separated, divorced or widowed participants who had no children were combined with their counterparts who had children to avoid having categories with less than five individuals.

The next chapter will analyse the data.







## Chapter 4

# Data Analysis

The first part of the analysis displays the percentage share of each statement to the three provided options (men, women, both) within (agree, disagree, it depends). The second part of the analysis displays the percentage share of each statement to the three options provided when the sample is clustered by any demographic characteristic. The Chi-Square test is then used to investigate the association between the participants' responses to any statement and the participants' demographic information (gender, age group, district, education level, occupation and civil status). Nationality was not considered a clustering demographic variable since most of the participants were Maltese. The null hypothesis specifies that there is no association between the two categorical variables, implying that the demographic groups have similar views on gender roles, gender role expectations and sexual stereotypes and is accepted if the p-value exceeds the 0.05 level of significance. The alternative hypothesis specifies that there is a significant association between the two categorical variables, implying that the demographic groups have contrasting views on gender

roles, gender role expectations and sexual stereotypes and is accepted if the p-value is smaller than the 0.05 criterion.

### Results

Table 2 shows that more than 47% of the participants identified both males and females as suitable to do certain chores or take certain roles such as: become a manager at work (89.5%), earn money for the family (81.2%), become a politician (79.1%), continue with education when a person has young children (74.0%), become an engineer (73.3%), take decisions about financial matters at home (72.9%), become a primary school teacher (72.7%), get a promotion when having young children (72.1%), cook meals (68.15), clean the house (53.6%), and take care of young children and elderly dependants (47.8%).

However, among those participants who displayed gender bias there were significantly larger percentages who perceive females as most suitable to take care of young children and elderly dependants, cook meals, clean the house,

and become a primary school teacher; and significantly larger percentages who perceive males as most suitable to take decisions about financial matters at home, earn money for the family, become an engineer, become a manager at work, get a promotion when having young children, continue with education when having young children, and become a politician.

47% of the participants identified both males and females as suitable to do certain chores

**Table 2:** Participants' responses to who is the most suitable

Who is most suitable to do the following?		Men	Women	Both
Take care of young children and elderly dependants	Count	5	332	308
	Percentage	0.8%	51.5%	47.8%
Cook meals	Count	23	183	439
	Percentage	3.6%	28.4%	68.1%
Clean the house	Count	5	294	346
	Percentage	0.8%	45.6%	53.6%
Take decisions about financial matters at home	Count	100	75	470
	Percentage	15.5%	11.6%	72.9%
Earn money for the family	Count	108	13	524
	Percentage	16.7%	2.0%	81.2%
Become a primary school teacher	Count	7	169	469
	Percentage	1.1%	26.2%	72.7%
Become an engineer	Count	168	4	473
	Percentage	26.0%	0.6%	73.3%
Become a manager at work	Count	56	12	577
	Percentage	8.7%	1.9%	89.5%
Get a promotion when having young children	Count	157	23	465
	Percentage	24.3%	3.6%	72.1%
Continue with your education when you have young children	Count	123	45	477
	Percentage	19.1%	7.0%	74.0%
Become a politician	Count	130	5	510
	Percentage	20.2%	0.8%	79.1%

**Table 3:** Participants’ responses as to which gender should have the following qualities

Which gender group are these qualities most important to have?		Men	Women	Both
Having the respect of others	Count	0	3	642
	Percentage	0.0%	0.5%	99.5%
Being able to stand up for yourself	Count	7	3	635
	Percentage	1.1%	0.5%	98.4%
Being able to cry in public	Count	4	70	571
	Percentage	0.6%	10.9%	88.5%
Being sportive	Count	9	2	634
	Percentage	1.4%	0.3%	98.3%
Being physically attractive	Count	0	17	628
	Percentage	0.0%	2.6%	97.4%

Table 3 shows that more than 88% of the participants approved that the aforementioned qualities are important to both males and females, including having the respect of others (99.5%), being able to stand up for yourself (98.4%), being sportive (98.3%), being physically

attractive (97.4%), and being able to cry in public (88.5%). However, of those participants who displayed gender bias, there were significantly larger percentages who attributed being able to cry in public and being physically attractive more important to females than males.



**Table 4:** Participants’ responses to how much they agree with the following statements

Do you agree with the following statements?		Agree	Disagree	It depends
Playing with dolls is alright for boys	Count	292	266	87
	Percentage	45.3%	41.2%	13.5%
Doing ballet is alright for boys	Count	439	156	50
	Percentage	68.1%	24.2%	7.8%
Rough sports like rugby is alright for girls	Count	515	156	50
	Percentage	79.8%	14.9%	5.3%
Asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl	Count	561	53	31
	Percentage	87.0%	8.2%	4.8%
Some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls	Count	102	464	79
	Percentage	15.8%	71.9%	12.2%
Family should encourage boys more than girls to continue studying	Count	24	609	12
	Percentage	3.7%	94.4%	1.9%
Men are more rational than women by nature	Count	178	310	157
	Percentage	27.6%	48.1%	24.3%
Men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions	Count	278	133	234
	Percentage	43.1%	20.6%	36.3%
Women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions	Count	433	60	152
	Percentage	67.1%	9.3%	23.6%
It is understandable for a man to hit out when his partner tries to end a relationship	Count	6	627	12
	Percentage	0.9%	97.2%	1.9%
Women should feel flattered when receiving comments by male strangers about their body	Count	114	350	181
	Percentage	17.7%	54.3%	28.1%
The choice between being a good wife/mother or being in paid employment puts a lot of pressure on women	Count	442	98	105
	Percentage	68.5%	15.2%	16.3%
Contraception is the responsibility of both men and women	Count	601	19	25
	Percentage	93.2%	2.9%	3.9%
Career advancement is more possible when people work full-time	Count	551	34	60
	Percentage	85.4%	5.3%	9.3%
Sexual jokes are OK at the workplace	Count	41	490	114
	Percentage	6.4%	76.0%	17.7%
Equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved	Count	162	348	135
	Percentage	25.1%	54.0%	20.9%
Equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta	Count	75	497	73
	Percentage	11.6%	77.1%	11.3%

Table 4 shows a significantly larger percentage of participants who agreed with the statements including ‘contraception is the responsibility of both men and women’ (93.2%), ‘asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl’ (87.0%), ‘career advancement is more possible when people work full-time’ (85.4%), ‘rough sports like rugby is alright for girls’ (79.8%), ‘the choice between being a good wife/mother or being in paid employment puts a lot of pressure on women’ (68.5%), ‘doing ballet is alright for boys’ (68.1%), ‘women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions’ (67.1%), and ‘men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions’ (43.1%). Moreover, Table 4 shows a significantly larger percentage of participants who disagreed with the statements including ‘it is understandable for a man to hit out when his partner tries to end a relationship’ (97.2%), ‘family should encourage boys

more than girls to continue studying’ (94.4%), ‘equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta’ (77.1%), ‘sexual jokes are OK at the workplace’ (76.0%), ‘some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls’ (71.9%), ‘women should feel flattered when receiving comments by male strangers about their body’ (54.3%), ‘equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved’ (54.0%), and ‘men are more rational than women by nature’ (48.1%). There was a marginally larger percentage of participants who agreed with the statement ‘playing with dolls is alright for boys’ (45.3%) than their counterparts who disagreed (41.2%); however, the difference was not significant. Apart from one statement, the proportion of participants who displayed mixed opinions about the statements was less than 30%.

### Comparisons by Gender

**Table 5:** Participants’ responses to a set of qualities, grouped by gender

For which group are these qualities important?	Gender	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Having the respect of others	Female	0.0%	0.3%	99.7%	0.536
	Male	0.0%	0.6%	99.4%	
Being able to stand up for yourself	Female	0.6%	0.6%	98.6%	0.422
	Male	1.6%	0.3%	98.1%	
Being able to cry in public	Female	0.3%	8.8%	90.9%	0.123
	Male	1.0%	13.0%	86.0%	
Being sportive	Female	0.9%	0.6%	98.5%	0.217
	Male	1.9%	0.0%	98.1%	
Being physically attractive	Female	0.0%	1.5%	98.5%	0.069
	Male	0.0%	3.8%	96.2%	

Table 5 shows that for all five qualities, there was no significant gender bias since the p-values exceeded the 0.05 level of significance, which implies that males and females have similar views.

**Table 6:** Participants’ agreement to a set of statements, grouped by gender

Do you agree with the following statements?	Gender	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Playing with dolls is alright for boys	Female	50.6%	39.1%	10.3%	0.006
	Male	39.7%	43.5%	16.8%	
Doing ballet is alright for boys	Female	66.1%	27.0%	7.0%	0.213
	Male	70.2%	21.3%	8.6%	
Rough sports like rugby is alright for girls	Female	79.4%	16.7%	3.9%	0.155
	Male	80.3%	13.0%	6.7%	
Asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl	Female	82.4%	12.1%	5.5%	<0.001
	Male	91.7%	4.1%	4.1%	
Some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls	Female	14.2%	74.5%	11.2%	0.319
	Male	17.5%	69.2%	13.3%	
Family should encourage boys more than girls to continue studying	Female	3.6%	94.2%	2.1%	0.877
	Male	3.8%	94.6%	1.6%	
Men are more rational than women by nature	Female	19.7%	55.8%	24.5%	<0.001
	Male	35.9%	40.0%	24.1%	
Men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions	Female	38.8%	22.7%	38.5%	0.071
	Male	47.6%	18.4%	34.0%	
Women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions	Female	68.5%	8.2%	23.3%	0.574
	Male	65.7%	10.5%	23.8%	
It is understandable for a man to hit out when his partner tries to end a relationship	Female	0.6%	97.9%	1.5%	0.541
	Male	1.3%	96.5%	2.2%	
Women feel flattered with comments by male strangers about their body	Female	13.0%	64.5%	22.4%	<0.001
	Male	22.5%	43.5%	34.0%	
Choice between being a good wife/mother or employment puts pressure on women	Female	70.3%	12.4%	17.3%	0.127
	Male	66.7%	18.1%	15.2%	
Contraception is the responsibility of both men and women	Female	94.5%	3.0%	2.4%	0.148
	Male	91.7%	2.9%	5.4%	
Career advancement is more possible when people work full-time	Female	84.5%	6.1%	9.4%	0.649
	Male	86.3%	4.4%	9.2%	
Sexual jokes are OK at the workplace	Female	3.9%	83.0%	13.0%	<0.001
	Male	8.9%	68.6%	22.5%	
Equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved	Female	20.6%	56.4%	23.0%	0.022
	Male	29.8%	51.4%	18.7%	
Equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta	Female	8.2%	82.1%	9.7%	0.005
	Male	15.2%	71.7%	13.0%	

Table 6 shows a significantly larger percentage of males than females who agree with ‘asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl’. Moreover, Table 6 shows significantly larger percentages of males than females who agree with ‘men are more rational than women by nature’,

‘women feel flattered with comments by male strangers about their body’, ‘sexual jokes are OK at the workplace’, ‘equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved’ and ‘equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta’; while larger percentages of females disagree. For the remaining

statements, there was no significant the p-values exceeded the 0.05 level of significance, which implies that males and females have similar views. Although most of the participants accept that girls play rugby and boys do ballet with negligible gender bias, this is not the case with other statements. Males are less likely to accept that boys play with dolls, while females are less likely to accept that girls ask boys for a date. Moreover, the machismo aspect of aggressiveness and masculinity is displayed by the fact that more male than female participants accept that men are more aggressive when expressing their emotions and that they are more rational. More male than female participants accept sexual jokes at the workplace and the fact that women should feel flattered

by comments made about their bodies by male strangers. Another interesting fact is that most of the participants, particularly females, disagree that equality between women and men has been achieved.

Table 7 shows that most of the participants, both male and female, believe that both men and women are equally suitable for cooking meals, cleaning the house, taking decisions about financial matters, earn money for the family, becoming a primary school teacher, becoming an engineer, getting a promotion when having young children, continuing with their education when caring for young children, and becoming a politician. The only issue that women said that women are suitable for was taking care of young children

**Table 7:** Participants’ responses to who is the most suitable, grouped by gender

Who is most suitable to do the following?	Gender	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Take care of young children and elderly dependants	Female	0.3%	56.1%	43.6%	0.029
	Male	1.3%	46.7%	52.1%	
Cook meals	Female	1.5%	30.6%	67.9%	0.010
	Male	5.7%	26.0%	68.3%	
Clean the house	Female	0.3%	49.7%	50.0%	0.047
	Male	1.3%	41.3%	57.5%	
Take decisions about financial matters at home	Female	9.4%	16.7%	73.9%	<0.001
	Male	21.9%	6.3%	71.7%	
Earn money for the family	Female	13.9%	3.3%	82.7%	0.010
	Male	19.7%	0.6%	79.7%	
Become a primary school teacher	Female	1.5%	21.2%	77.3%	0.009
	Male	0.6%	31.4%	67.9%	
Become an engineer	Female	24.8%	0.0%	75.2%	0.088
	Male	27.3%	1.3%	71.4%	
Become a manager at work	Female	6.7%	1.8%	91.5%	0.175
	Male	10.8%	1.9%	87.3%	
Get a promotion when having young children	Female	25.8%	3.0%	71.2%	0.556
	Male	22.9%	4.1%	73.0%	
Continue with your education when you have young children	Female	18.8%	7.0%	74.2%	0.982
	Male	19.4%	7.0%	73.7%	
Become a politician	Female	18.8%	0.9%	80.3%	0.634
	Male	21.6%	0.6%	77.8%	

and elderly dependants. For the chores ‘take care of young children and elderly dependants’, ‘cook meals’, ‘clean the house’, ‘take decisions about financial matters at home’, and ‘earn money for the family’, Table 7 shows significantly larger percentages of females than males who perceive that women are more suitable for these tasks; and significantly larger percentages of males than females who

perceive that men are more appropriate. Conversely, for a career in education as a ‘primary school teacher’ there was a significantly larger percentage of males than females who perceive that women are more suitable for the job; and a larger percentage of females than males who perceive that men are more appropriate.

### Comparisons by Age-Groups

**Table 8:** Participants’ responses as to who is the most suitable, grouped by age

Who is most suitable to do the following?	Age-group	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Take care of young children and elderly dependants	18-25	0.0%	45.9%	54.1%	0.346
	26-35	0.0%	52.9%	47.1%	
	36-45	0.9%	44.3%	54.8%	
	46-55	2.3%	57.0%	40.7%	
	56-65	0.0%	55.3%	44.7%	
	66+	1.4%	52.7%	45.9%	
Cook meals	18-25	2.7%	9.5%	87.8%	<0.001
	26-35	5.0%	19.8%	75.2%	
	36-45	3.5%	27.8%	68.7%	
	46-55	3.5%	29.1%	67.4%	
	56-65	2.9%	35.0%	62.1%	
	66+	3.4%	40.4%	56.2%	
Clean the house	18-25	0.0%	40.5%	59.5%	0.394
	26-35	0.0%	38.8%	61.2%	
	36-45	0.9%	48.7%	50.4%	
	46-55	2.3%	46.5%	51.2%	
	56-65	0.0%	48.5%	51.5%	
	66+	1.4%	48.6%	50.0%	
Take decisions about financial matters at home	18-25	14.9%	8.1%	77.0%	0.002
	26-35	14.1%	10.7%	75.2%	
	36-45	13.0%	8.7%	78.3%	
	46-55	14.0%	8.1%	77.9%	
	56-65	17.7%	11.5%	70.9%	
	66+	26.7%	10.3%	63.0%	
Earn money for the family	18-25	10.8%	2.7%	86.5%	0.558
	26-35	14.0%	1.7%	84.3%	
	36-45	16.5%	2.6%	80.9%	
	46-55	24.4%	2.3%	73.3%	
	56-65	15.5%	2.9%	81.6%	
	66+	18.5%	0.7%	80.8%	



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	Age-group	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Become a primary school teacher	18-25	1.4%	28.4%	70.3%	0.174
	26-35	0.0%	28.1%	71.9%	
	36-45	0.9%	27.8%	71.3%	
	46-55	0.0%	19.8%	80.2%	
	56-65	0.0%	24.3%	75.7%	
	66+	3.4%	27.4%	69.2%	
Become an engineer	18-25	25.7%	1.4%	73.0%	0.232
	26-35	26.4%	0.0%	73.6%	
	36-45	27.8%	0.0%	72.2%	
	46-55	20.9%	0.0%	79.1%	
	56-65	21.4%	0.0%	78.6%	
	66+	30.8%	2.1%	67.1%	
Become a manager at work	18-25	9.5%	2.7%	87.8%	0.632
	26-35	5.0%	0.8%	94.2%	
	36-45	7.0%	0.9%	92.2%	
	46-55	10.5%	1.2%	88.4%	
	56-65	10.7%	1.9%	87.4%	
	66+	10.3%	3.4%	86.3%	
Get a promotion when having young children	18-25	18.9%	2.7%	78.4%	0.003
	26-35	37.2%	0.8%	62.0%	
	36-45	27.8%	2.6%	69.6%	
	46-55	18.6%	1.2%	80.2%	
	56-65	17.5%	6.8%	75.7%	
	66+	21.9%	6.2%	71.9%	
Continue with your education when you have young children	18-25	12.2%	13.5%	74.3%	0.066
	26-35	24.0%	7.4%	68.6%	
	36-45	24.3%	7.0%	68.7%	
	46-55	22.1%	2.3%	75.6%	
	56-65	12.6%	7.8%	79.6%	
	66+	17.1%	5.5%	77.4%	
Become a politician	18-25	24.3%	1.4%	74.3%	0.848
	26-35	24.8%	0.8%	74.4%	
	36-45	20.9%	0.9%	78.3%	
	46-55	18.6%	0.0%	81.4%	
	56-65	15.5%	1.0%	83.5%	
	66+	17.8%	0.7%	81.5%	

Table 8 shows a significantly larger percentage of older participants who claim that women are more suitable to ‘cook meals’, and a larger percentage of younger participants who perceive that both males and females are suitable to cook meals. The table also shows a significantly larger percentage of older participants who claim that men are more suitable to ‘take decisions about financial matters at home’, and a larger percentage of younger participants who perceive that both males and females are suitable

to manage finances at home. Moreover, participants aged between 26 and 45 years are significantly more in favour that men should ‘get a promotion when having young children’ than their younger and older counterparts. For the remaining statements, there was no significant age bias. Table 8 displays a significant change in trend towards equality between the genders in Malta. Young individuals are more likely to agree, more than older ones, that both women and men are suitable when it comes to cooking food.

**Table 9:** Participants’ agreement to a set of statements, grouped by age

Do you agree with the following statements?	Age-group	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Playing with dolls is alright for boys	18-25	78.4%	10.8%	10.8%	<0.001
	26-35	57.9%	30.6%	11.6%	
	36-45	42.6%	41.7%	15.7%	
	46-55	41.9%	40.7%	17.4%	
	56-65	38.8%	42.7%	18.4%	
	66+	26.7%	64.4%	8.9%	
Doing ballet is alright for boys	18-25	79.7%	14.9%	5.4%	0.161
	26-35	66.1%	26.4%	7.4%	
	36-45	63.5%	31.3%	5.2%	
	46-55	69.8%	19.8%	10.5%	
	56-65	65.0%	22.3%	12.6%	
	66+	68.5%	25.3%	6.2%	
Rough sports like rugby is alright for girls	18-25	91.9%	5.4%	2.7%	<0.001
	26-35	86.0%	9.9%	4.1%	
	36-45	86.1%	12.2%	1.7%	
	46-55	77.9%	16.3%	5.8%	
	56-65	80.6%	14.6%	4.9%	
	66+	64.4%	25.3%	10.3%	
Asking a boy out for a date is alright for agirl	18-25	90.5%	4.1%	5.4%	0.029
	26-35	95.0%	3.3%	1.7%	
	36-45	88.7%	6.1%	5.2%	
	46-55	86.0%	11.6%	2.3%	
	56-65	84.5%	10.7%	4.9%	
	66+	79.5%	12.3%	8.2%	
Some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable forgirls	18-25	10.8%	85.1%	4.1%	0.019
	26-35	9.1%	78.5%	12.4%	
	36-45	16.5%	73.0%	10.4%	
	46-55	24.4%	61.6%	14.0%	
	56-65	18.6%	69.9%	11.5%	
	66+	19.9%	66.4%	13.7%	

Do you agree with the following statements?	Age-group	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Family should encourage boys more than girls to continue studying	18-25	4.1%	94.6%	1.4%	0.338
	26-35	0.8%	97.5%	1.7%	
	36-45	4.3%	94.8%	0.9%	
	46-55	1.2%	95.3%	3.5%	
	56-65	3.9%	93.2%	2.9%	
	66+	6.8%	91.8%	1.4%	
Men are more rational than women by nature	18-25	17.6%	56.8%	25.7%	<0.001
	26-35	16.5%	66.1%	17.4%	
	36-45	32.2%	37.4%	30.4%	
	46-55	26.7%	48.8%	24.4%	
	56-65	31.1%	50.5%	18.4%	
	66+	36.3%	34.9%	28.8%	
Men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions	18-25	39.2%	25.7%	35.1%	0.027
	26-35	33.1%	25.6%	41.3%	
	36-45	45.2%	20.0%	34.8%	
	46-55	44.2%	18.6%	37.2%	
	56-65	45.9%	19.4%	34.7%	
	66+	56.2%	16.4%	27.4%	
Women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions	18-25	48.6%	14.9%	36.5%	0.013
	26-35	62.0%	12.4%	25.6%	
	36-45	66.1%	9.6%	24.3%	
	46-55	70.9%	10.5%	18.6%	
	56-65	71.8%	7.8%	20.4%	
	66+	76.0%	4.1%	19.9%	
It is understandable for a man to hit out when his partner tries to end a relationship	18-25	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.777
	26-35	1.7%	95.9%	2.5%	
	36-45	0.0%	99.1%	0.9%	
	46-55	1.2%	95.3%	3.5%	
	56-65	1.0%	97.1%	1.9%	
	66+	1.4%	96.6%	2.1%	
Women should feel flattered when receiving comments by male strangers about their body	18-25	9.5%	60.8%	29.7%	0.148
	26-35	12.4%	59.5%	28.1%	
	36-45	20.0%	52.2%	27.8%	
	46-55	15.1%	57.0%	27.9%	
	56-65	17.5%	55.3%	27.2%	
	66+	26.0%	45.9%	28.1%	
The choice between being a good wife/mother or being in paid employment puts a lot of pressure on women	18-25	64.9%	17.6%	17.6%	0.032
	26-35	63.6%	17.4%	19.1%	
	36-45	68.7%	19.1%	12.2%	
	46-55	65.1%	9.3%	25.6%	
	56-65	61.2%	15.5%	23.3%	
	66+	73.3%	12.3%	14.4%	

Do you agree with the following statements?	Age-group	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Contraception is the responsibility of both men and women	18-25	95.9%	2.7%	1.4%	0.190
	26-35	91.7%	4.1%	4.1%	
	36-45	93.9%	2.6%	3.5%	
	46-55	94.2%	4.7%	1.2%	
	56-65	96.1%	1.9%	1.9%	
	66+	89.7%	2.1%	8.2%	
Career advancement is more possible when people work full-time	18-25	78.4%	4.1%	17.6%	0.114
	26-35	86.0%	5.8%	8.3%	
	36-45	86.1%	8.7%	5.2%	
	46-55	86.0%	1.2%	12.8%	
	56-65	85.4%	5.8%	8.7%	
	66+	87.7%	4.8%	7.5%	
Sexual jokes are OK at the workplace	18-25	6.8%	78.4%	14.9%	0.142
	26-35	3.3%	71.1%	25.6%	
	36-45	6.1%	79.1%	14.8%	
	46-55	11.6%	70.9%	17.4%	
	56-65	7.8%	72.8%	19.4%	
	66+	4.8%	81.5%	13.7%	
Equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved	18-25	16.2%	63.5%	20.3%	0.042
	26-35	21.5%	62.8%	15.7%	
	36-45	19.1%	58.3%	22.6%	
	46-55	33.7%	45.3%	20.9%	
	56-65	32.0%	46.6%	21.4%	
	66+	27.4%	48.6%	24.0%	
Equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta	18-25	10.8%	85.1%	4.1%	0.509
	26-35	8.3%	80.2%	11.6%	
	36-45	10.4%	79.1%	10.4%	
	46-55	15.1%	70.9%	14.0%	
	56-65	11.7%	76.7%	11.7%	
	66+	13.7%	72.6%	13.7%	

Table 9 shows significantly larger percentages of younger participants compared to their older counterparts who agree with ‘playing with dolls is alright for boys’, ‘rough sports like rugby is alright for girls’, and ‘asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl’. On the other hand, the table shows significantly larger percentages of older participants compared to their younger counterparts who agree that ‘some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are

more suitable for girls’, ‘men are more rational than women by nature’, ‘men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions’, ‘women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions’ and ‘equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved’. For the remaining statements, there was no significant age bias.

**Table 10:** Participants’ responses to a set of qualities, grouped by age

For which group are these qualities important?	Age-group	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Having the respect of others	18-25	0.0%	2.7%	97.3%	0.071
	26-35	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	36-45	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	46-55	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	56-65	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	66+	0.0%	0.7%	99.3%	
Being able to stand up for yourself	18-25	0.0%	1.4%	98.6%	0.305
	26-35	0.8%	0.0%	99.2%	
	36-45	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	46-55	2.3%	0.0%	97.7%	
	56-65	0.0%	1.0%	99.0%	
	66+	2.7%	0.7%	96.6%	
Being able to cry in public	18-25	1.4%	17.6%	81.1%	0.034
	26-35	0.0%	10.7%	89.3%	
	36-45	0.0%	4.3%	95.7%	
	46-55	0.0%	10.5%	89.5%	
	56-65	1.9%	6.8%	91.3%	
	66+	0.7%	5.8%	93.6%	
Being sportive	18-25	8.1%	0.0%	91.9%	<0.001
	26-35	0.8%	0.0%	99.2%	
	36-45	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	46-55	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	56-65	0.0%	1.9%	98.1%	
	66+	1.4%	0.0%	98.6%	
Being physically attractive	18-25	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.390
	26-35	0.0%	4.1%	95.9%	
	36-45	0.0%	2.6%	97.4%	
	46-55	0.0%	1.2%	98.8%	
	56-65	0.0%	1.9%	98.1%	
	66+	0.0%	4.1%	95.9%	

Table 10 shows a significantly larger percentage of older participants compared to their younger counterparts aged 18-25 years who agree that both men and women can be ‘sportive’ and are ‘able to cry in public’. This may be attributed to the fact that most of the participants aged 18-25 years are single. For the remaining statements, there was no significant age bias.

larger percentage of older participants compared to their younger counterparts ... agree that both men and women can be ‘sportive’ and are ‘able to cry in public’

### Comparisons by Civil Status

**Table 11:** Participants' responses to who is the most suitable, grouped by civil status

Civil Status		Men	Women	Both	P-value
Take care of young children and elderly dependants	Single (without children)	0.9%	44.3%	54.7%	0.204
	Single with children	6.3%	62.5%	31.3%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	0.0%	46.3%	53.7%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	0.7%	54.0%	45.2%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	0.0%	50.9%	49.1%	
Cook meals	Other	0.0%	38.9%	61.1%	
	Single (without children)	1.9%	13.2%	84.9%	0.002
	Single with children	12.5%	37.5%	50.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	4.9%	17.1%	78.0%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	3.7%	33.0%	63.3%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	1.8%	32.7%	65.5%	
Clean the house	Other	5.6%	16.7%	77.8%	
	Single (without children)	0.9%	34.9%	64.2%	0.068
	Single with children	6.3%	43.8%	50.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	0.0%	34.1%	65.9%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	0.7%	49.1%	50.1%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	0.0%	50.9%	49.1%	
Take decisions about financial matters at home	Other	0.0%	38.9%	61.1%	
	Single (without children)	13.2%	9.4%	77.4%	0.206
	Single with children	25.0%	18.8%	56.3%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	4.9%	22.0%	73.2%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	17.4%	10.5%	72.1%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	14.5%	14.5%	70.9%	
Earn money for the family	Other	5.6%	11.1%	83.3%	
	Single (without children)	14.2%	0.9%	84.9%	0.045
	Single with children	37.5%	0.0%	62.5%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	7.3%	2.4%	90.2%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	17.8%	1.7%	80.4%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	16.4%	7.3%	76.4%	
Become a primary school teacher	Other	11.1%	0.0%	88.9%	
	Single (without children)	0.0%	34.0%	66.0%	0.184
	Single with children	0.0%	25.0%	75.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	0.0%	19.5%	80.5%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	1.5%	24.7%	73.8%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	0.0%	32.7%	67.3%	

Civil Status		Men	Women	Both	P-value
Become an engineer	Single (without children)	30.2%	0.9%	68.9%	0.844
	Single with children	31.3%	0.0%	68.8%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	14.6%	0.0%	85.4%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	25.7%	0.7%	73.6%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	25.5%	0.0%	74.5%	
	Other	33.3%	0.0%	66.7%	
Become a manager at work	Single (without children)	6.6%	0.0%	93.4%	0.040
	Single with children	25.0%	0.0%	75.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	9.8%	4.9%	85.4%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	9.0%	1.5%	89.5%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	7.3%	5.5%	87.3%	
	Other	0.0%	5.6%	94.4%	
Get a promotion when having young children	Single (without children)	19.8%	2.8%	77.4%	0.157
	Single with children	25.0%	0.0%	75.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	19.5%	7.3%	73.2%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	26.4%	2.9%	70.7%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	29.1%	7.3%	63.6%	
	Other	0.0%	5.6%	94.4%	
Continue with your education when you have young children	Single (without children)	14.2%	7.5%	78.3%	0.152
	Single with children	31.3%	6.3%	62.5%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	12.2%	9.8%	78.0%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	20.3%	5.9%	73.8%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	27.3%	10.9%	61.8%	
	Other	0.0%	11.1%	88.9%	
Become a politician	Single (without children)	21.7%	0.0%	78.3%	0.181
	Single with children	18.8%	0.0%	81.3%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	12.2%	0.0%	87.8%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	20.0%	1.0%	79.0%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	29.1%	0.0%	70.9%	
	Other	5.6%	5.6%	88.9%	

Table 11 shows larger percentages of single participants with children who perceive that men alone or women alone are more suitable to ‘cook meals’, ‘earn money for the family’ and ‘become a manager at work’ compared to other civil status categories. In fact, participants in the latter categories were more likely to highlight that both men and women are suitable to do these chores/jobs. For the remaining statements,

there was no significant bias between the civil status categories. Gender inequality is less evident when the participants are clustered by their civil status. The few results that display gender bias are caused mainly by single participants with children who are indicating, for obvious reasons, a larger percentage of males who are suitable to cook meals and earn money for the family.

**Table 12:** Participants’ agreement to a set of statements, grouped by civil status

	Civil Status	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Playing with dolls is alright for boys	Single (without children)	67.0%	19.8%	13.2%	<0.001
	Single with children	50.0%	43.8%	6.3%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	48.8%	36.6%	14.6%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	40.6%	47.7%	11.7%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	36.4%	40.0%	23.6%	
	Other	38.9%	33.3%	27.8%	
Doing ballet is alright for boys	Single (without children)	80.2%	12.3%	7.5%	0.040
	Single with children	56.3%	43.8%	0.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	73.2%	22.0%	4.9%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	65.5%	26.4%	8.1%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	61.8%	27.3%	10.9%	
	Other	72.2%	22.2%	5.6%	
Rough sports like rugby is alright for girls	Single (without children)	84.9%	10.4%	4.7%	0.027
	Single with children	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	90.2%	9.8%	0.0%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	76.8%	18.1%	5.1%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	80.0%	10.9%	9.1%	
	Other	77.8%	5.6%	16.7%	
Asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl	Single (without children)	90.6%	5.7%	3.8%	0.206
	Single with children	93.8%	6.3%	0.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	95.1%	4.9%	0.0%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	85.8%	8.3%	5.9%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	81.8%	16.4%	1.8%	
	Other	83.3%	5.6%	11.1%	
Some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls	Single (without children)	14.2%	75.5%	10.4%	0.265
	Single with children	37.5%	56.3%	6.3%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	14.6%	78.0%	7.3%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	16.6%	69.4%	13.9%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	10.9%	80.0%	9.1%	
	Other	5.6%	83.3%	11.1%	
Family should encourage boys more than girls to continue studying	Single (without children)	3.8%	94.3%	1.9%	0.976
	Single with children	6.3%	93.8%	0.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	0.0%	97.6%	2.4%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	3.7%	94.4%	2.0%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	5.5%	92.7%	1.8%	
	Other	5.6%	94.4%	0.0%	



	Civil Status	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Men are more rational than women by nature	Single (without children)	17.9%	57.5%	24.5%	0.065
	Single with children	25.0%	56.3%	18.8%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	29.3%	43.9%	26.8%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	30.8%	45.7%	23.5%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	21.8%	56.4%	21.8%	
	Other	27.8%	22.2%	50.0%	
Men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions	Single (without children)	37.7%	22.6%	39.6%	0.312
	Single with children	62.5%	6.3%	31.3%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	31.7%	24.4%	43.9%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	45.0%	19.1%	35.9%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	41.8%	30.9%	27.3%	
	Other	44.4%	16.7%	38.9%	
Women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions	Single (without children)	54.7%	10.4%	34.9%	0.012
	Single with children	68.8%	0.0%	31.3%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	56.1%	14.6%	29.3%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	71.4%	8.6%	20.0%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	69.1%	14.5%	16.4%	
	Other	61.1%	0.0%	38.9%	
	Single (without children)	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.564
It is understandable for a man to hit out when his partner tries to end a relationship	Single with children	0.0%	93.8%	6.3%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	0.0%	95.1%	4.9%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	1.2%	96.8%	2.0%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	1.8%	96.4%	1.8%	
	Other	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
Women should feel flattered when receiving comments by male strangers about their body	Single (without children)	10.4%	53.8%	35.8%	0.032
	Single with children	18.8%	56.3%	25.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	2.4%	70.7%	26.8%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	20.0%	53.8%	26.2%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	25.5%	50.9%	23.6%	
	Other	16.7%	38.9%	44.4%	
The choice between being a good wife/mother or being in paid employment puts a lot of pressure on women	Single (without children)	66.0%	18.9%	15.1%	0.113
	Single with children	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	78.0%	12.2%	9.8%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	69.9%	13.7%	16.4%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	65.5%	21.8%	12.7%	
	Other	55.6%	5.6%	38.9%	

	Civil Status	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Contraception is the responsibility of both men and women	Single (without children)	88.3%	3.9%	7.7%	0.022
	Single with children	81.3%	6.3%	12.5%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	95.1%	4.9%	0.0%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	94.1%	2.9%	2.9%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	87.3%	1.8%	10.9%	
	Other	88.9%	11.1%	0.0%	
Career advancement is more possible when people work full-time	Single (without children)	87.7%	1.9%	10.4%	0.192
	Single with children	62.5%	12.5%	25.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	87.8%	0.0%	12.2%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	85.8%	6.1%	8.1%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	83.6%	7.3%	9.1%	
	Other	83.3%	5.6%	11.1%	
Sexual jokes are OK at the workplace	Single (without children)	5.7%	74.5%	19.8%	0.847
	Single with children	6.3%	68.8%	25.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	2.4%	85.4%	12.2%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	7.3%	75.6%	17.1%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	3.6%	74.5%	21.8%	
	Other	5.6%	83.3%	11.1%	
Equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved	Single (without children)	17.9%	60.4%	21.7%	0.019
	Single with children	18.8%	68.8%	12.5%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	26.8%	61.0%	12.2%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	27.6%	53.3%	19.1%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	18.2%	43.6%	38.2%	
	Other	13.3%	43.3%	43.3%	
Equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta	Single (without children)	11.3%	80.2%	8.5%	0.543
	Single with children	6.3%	75.0%	18.8%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	7.3%	82.9%	9.8%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	12.7%	75.8%	11.5%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	5.5%	78.2%	16.4%	
	Other	22.2%	72.2%	5.6%	

Table 12 shows significantly larger percentages of participants who are single without children who agree that ‘playing with dolls is alright for boys’ and ‘doing ballet is alright for boys’; a significantly larger percentage of participants who are single with children who agree that ‘rough sports like rugby is alright for girls’. The table also shows significantly larger percentages of single and married/cohabiting participants with children and separated/divorced/widows who agree that ‘women are likely to burst into

tears when expressing their emotions’ and ‘women should feel flattered when receiving comments by male strangers about their body’. Moreover, married/cohabiting participants with and without children are more likely to agree that ‘contraception is the responsibility of both men and women’ and ‘equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved’. The few results that display gender bias are sporadic and difficult to interpret, mainly because some civil status categories comprise very few participants.

**Table 13:** Participants' responses to a set of qualities, grouped by civil status

	Civil Status	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Having the respect of others	Single (without children)	0.0%	1.9%	98.1%	0.340
	Single with children	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	0.0%	0.2%	99.8%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Other	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Being able to stand up for yourself	Single (without children)	0.9%	0.0%	99.1%	0.080
	Single with children	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	0.0%	2.4%	97.6%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	1.5%	0.2%	98.3%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Other	0.0%	5.6%	94.4%	
Being able to cry in public	Single (without children)	0.0%	17.0%	83.0%	0.091
	Single with children	0.0%	18.8%	81.3%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	0.0%	9.8%	90.2%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	0.7%	9.8%	89.5%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	0.0%	9.1%	90.9%	
	Other	5.6%	0.0%	94.4%	
Being sportive	Single (without children)	3.7%	0.0%	97.3%	0.106
	Single with children	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	2.4%	2.4%	95.1%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	0.5%	0.2%	99.3%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Other	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Being physically attractive	Single (without children)	0.0%	1.9%	98.1%	0.708
	Single with children	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Married/cohabiting without children	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Married/cohabiting with children	0.0%	3.2%	96.8%	
	Separated/divorced/widowed	0.0%	3.6%	96.4%	
	Other	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	

Table 13 shows that most of the participants attributed all five qualities to both men and women. Moreover, there was no significant bias between the civil status categories since the p- values exceeded the 0.05 level of significance.

The few results that display gender bias are sporadic and difficult to interpret, mainly because some civil status categories comprise very few participants

### Comparison by Level of Education

**Table 14:** Participants' responses to who is the most suitable, grouped by level of education

	Level of Education	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Take care of young children and elderly dependants	Primary	0.0%	54.7%	45.3%	0.764
	Secondary	1.4%	52.5%	46.1%	
	Post-secondary	0.0%	53.2%	46.8%	
	Tertiary	0.8%	49.2%	50.0%	
	Post-graduate	0.0%	47.1%	52.9%	
Cook meals	Primary	3.1%	37.5%	59.4%	0.004
	Secondary	3.5%	35.5%	61.0%	
	Post-secondary	2.1%	23.4%	74.5%	
	Tertiary	4.2%	18.3%	77.5%	
	Post-graduate	4.7%	17.6%	77.6%	
Clean the house	Primary	0.0%	54.7%	45.3%	0.142
	Secondary	1.4%	48.6%	50.0%	
	Post-secondary	0.0%	45.7%	54.3%	
	Tertiary	0.8%	41.7%	57.5%	
	Post-graduate	0.0%	34.1%	65.9%	
Take decisions about financial matters at home	Primary	14.1%	15.6%	70.3%	0.107
	Secondary	13.8%	13.5%	72.7%	
	Post-secondary	12.8%	12.8%	74.5%	
	Tertiary	24.2%	6.7%	69.2%	
	Post-graduate	12.9%	8.2%	78.8%	
Earn money for the family	Primary	23.4%	0.0%	76.6%	0.094
	Secondary	20.6%	2.1%	77.3%	
	Post-secondary	16.0%	2.1%	81.9%	
	Tertiary	9.2%	2.5%	88.3%	
	Post-graduate	10.6%	2.4%	87.1%	
Become a primary school teacher	Primary	3.1%	20.3%	76.6%	0.089
	Secondary	1.4%	23.8%	74.8%	
	Post-secondary	0.0%	38.3%	61.7%	
	Tertiary	0.0%	25.8%	74.2%	
	Post-graduate	1.2%	25.9%	72.9%	
Become an engineer	Primary	23.4%	1.6%	75.0%	0.150
	Secondary	30.5%	0.7%	68.8%	
	Post-secondary	29.8%	1.1%	69.1%	
	Tertiary	20.0%	0.0%	80.0%	
	Post-graduate	17.6%	0.0%	82.4%	

	Level of Education	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Become a manager at work	Primary	12.5%	1.6%	85.9%	0.760
	Secondary	9.6%	2.1%	88.3%	
	Post-secondary	8.5%	3.2%	88.3%	
	Tertiary	6.7%	0.8%	92.5%	
	Post-graduate	5.9%	1.2%	92.9%	
Get a promotion when having young children	Primary	14.1%	10.9%	75.0%	0.004
	Secondary	13.8%	11.8%	74.5%	
	Post-secondary	22.3%	4.3%	73.4%	
	Tertiary	32.5%	5.0%	62.5%	
	Post-graduate	24.7%	1.2%	74.1%	
Continue with your education when you have young children	Primary	10.9%	3.1%	85.9%	0.356
	Secondary	17.7%	7.8%	74.5%	
	Post-secondary	21.3%	7.4%	71.3%	
	Tertiary	25.0%	7.5%	67.5%	
	Post-graduate	18.8%	5.9%	75.3%	
Become a politician	Primary	7.8%	0.0%	92.9%	0.004
	Secondary	17.7%	1.1%	81.2%	
	Post-secondary	22.3%	0.0%	77.7%	
	Tertiary	31.7%	0.0%	68.3%	
	Post-graduate	28.8%	2.4%	68.8%	

Table 14 shows larger percentages of participants with primary and secondary education who perceive women as being more suitable to ‘cook meals’ and ‘get a promotion when having young children’ than their counterparts with higher levels of education. Conversely, the table shows larger percentages of participants with tertiary and post-graduate education who perceive men as being more suitable to ‘become a politician’ than their counterparts with lower levels of

education. For the remaining chores/jobs, there was no significant bias between the education level categories. For participants with a low level of education, traditional gender role expectations are displayed with regard to house chores, including cooking meals and cleaning the house. For participants with a high level of education, gender inequality is more likely to be displayed in their aspiration to become a politician and getting a promotion while rearing young children.

larger percentages of participants with tertiary and post-graduate education who perceive men as being more suitable to ‘become a politician’ than their counterparts with lower levels of education

**Table 15:** Participants' agreement to a set of statements, grouped by level of education

	Level of Education	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Playing with dolls is alright for boys	Primary	21.9%	65.6%	12.5%	<0.001
	Secondary	34.8%	51.8%	13.5%	
	Post-secondary	58.5%	28.7%	12.8%	
	Tertiary	52.5%	28.3%	19.2%	
	Post-graduate	72.9%	20.0%	7.1%	
Doing ballet is alright for boys	Primary	59.4%	31.3%	9.4%	<0.001
	Secondary	59.9%	31.6%	8.5%	
	Post-secondary	74.5%	18.1%	7.4%	
	Tertiary	75.0%	16.7%	8.3%	
	Post-graduate	84.7%	11.8%	3.5%	
Rough sports like rugby is alright for girls	Primary	65.6%	21.9%	12.5%	<0.001
	Secondary	74.8%	20.2%	5.0%	
	Post-secondary	86.2%	6.4%	7.4%	
	Tertiary	85.0%	10.8%	4.2%	
	Post-graduate	92.9%	7.1%	0.0%	
Asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl	Primary	76.6%	9.4%	14.1%	<0.001
	Secondary	83.7%	11.0%	5.3%	
	Post-secondary	87.2%	9.6%	3.2%	
	Tertiary	95.0%	2.5%	2.5%	
	Post-graduate	94.1%	4.7%	1.2%	
Some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls	Primary	14.1%	70.3%	15.6%	0.039
	Secondary	19.1%	67.0%	13.8%	
	Post-secondary	18.1%	67.0%	14.9%	
	Tertiary	9.2%	80.8%	10.0%	
	Post-graduate	9.9%	82.4%	7.7%	
Family should encourage boys more than girls to continue studying	Primary	1.6%	98.4%	0.0%	0.334
	Secondary	4.3%	93.6%	2.1%	
	Post-secondary	5.3%	90.4%	4.3%	
	Tertiary	2.5%	97.5%	0.0%	
	Post-graduate	3.5%	94.1%	2.4%	
Men are more rational than women by nature	Primary	39.1%	31.3%	29.7%	0.002
	Secondary	33.3%	42.9%	23.8%	
	Post-secondary	21.3%	52.1%	26.6%	
	Tertiary	19.2%	57.5%	23.3%	
	Post-graduate	18.8%	60.0%	21.2%	
Men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions	Primary	50.0%	14.1%	35.9%	0.224
	Secondary	46.1%	20.9%	33.0%	
	Post-secondary	45.7%	20.2%	34.0%	
	Tertiary	38.3%	19.2%	42.5%	
	Post-graduate	31.8%	27.1%	41.2%	

	Level of Education	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions	Primary	78.1%	1.6%	20.3%	0.009
	Secondary	71.6%	7.8%	20.6%	
	Post-secondary	64.9%	14.9%	20.2%	
	Tertiary	55.0%	12.5%	32.5%	
	Post-graduate	63.5%	9.4%	27.1%	
It is understandable for a man to hit out when his partner tries to end a relationship	Primary	1.6%	96.9%	1.6%	0.572
	Secondary	1.1%	96.1%	2.8%	
	Post-secondary	1.1%	98.9%	0.0%	
	Tertiary	0.0%	97.5%	2.5%	
	Post-graduate	1.2%	98.8%	0.0%	
Women should feel flattered when receiving comments by male strangers about their body	Primary	26.6%	40.6%	32.8%	0.001
	Secondary	21.6%	55.0%	23.4%	
	Post-secondary	17.0%	46.8%	36.2%	
	Tertiary	8.3%	57.5%	34.2%	
	Post-graduate	11.8%	65.9%	22.4%	
The choice between being a good wife/mother or being in paid employment puts a lot of pressure on women	Primary	68.8%	10.9%	20.3%	0.458
	Secondary	66.7%	17.0%	16.3%	
	Post-secondary	66.0%	11.7%	22.3%	
	Tertiary	72.5%	15.0%	12.5%	
	Post-graduate	71.8%	16.5%	11.8%	
Contraception is the responsibility of both men and women	Primary	89.1%	3.1%	7.8%	0.335
	Secondary	91.5%	4.3%	4.3%	
	Post-secondary	97.9%	0.0%	3.1%	
	Tertiary	94.2%	2.5%	3.3%	
	Post-graduate	95.3%	2.4%	2.4%	
Career advancement is more possible when people work full-time	Primary	89.1%	3.1%	7.8%	0.598
	Secondary	84.8%	7.1%	8.2%	
	Post-secondary	83.0%	3.2%	13.8%	
	Tertiary	85.8%	5.0%	9.2%	
	Post-graduate	87.1%	3.5%	9.4%	
Sexual jokes are OK at the workplace	Primary	3.1%	79.4%	17.5%	0.421
	Secondary	5.5%	76.9%	17.9%	
	Post-secondary	5.3%	70.2%	24.5%	
	Tertiary	5.8%	68.3%	25.8%	
	Post-graduate	3.5%	79.7%	16.8%	
Equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved	Primary	42.2%	34.4%	23.4%	<0.001
	Secondary	30.5%	44.7%	24.8%	
	Post-secondary	20.2%	67.0%	12.8%	
	Tertiary	15.8%	65.0%	19.2%	
	Post-graduate	12.9%	69.4%	17.6%	
Equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta	Primary	10.9%	73.4%	15.6%	0.161
	Secondary	13.8%	72.7%	13.5%	
	Post-secondary	7.4%	81.9%	10.6%	
	Tertiary	12.5%	82.5%	5.0%	
	Post-graduate	8.2%	81.2%	10.6%	

Table 15 shows larger percentages of participants with post-secondary, tertiary and post-graduate education who agree that ‘playing with dolls is alright for boys’, ‘doing ballet is alright for boys’, ‘rough sports like rugby is alright for girls’, and ‘asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl’ than their counterparts with lower levels of education. Conversely, the table shows larger percentages of participants with primary and secondary education who agree that ‘some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls’, ‘men are more rational than women by nature’, ‘women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions’, ‘women should feel flattered when receiving comments by male strangers about their body’, and ‘equality

between women and men in Malta has been achieved’. Participants with a low level of education are more likely to exhibit traditional gender role expectations because they are less likely to agree that boys can play with dolls and do ballet and girls play rugby and ask boys out for a date. They also display a more machoistic attitude than their counterparts with a higher level of education because they are more likely to agree that men are more rational than women, that women are more likely to cry when expressing their emotions and that women are more likely to feel flattered when receiving sexual comments about their body. Interestingly, participants with a low level of education are more likely to agree that gender equality in Malta has been achieved.

**Table 16:** Participants’ responses to a set of qualities, grouped by education level

	Level of Education	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Having the respect of others	Primary	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.763
	Secondary	0.0%	0.4%	99.6%	
	Post-secondary	0.0%	1.1%	98.9%	
	Tertiary	0.0%	0.8%	99.2%	
	Post-graduate	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Being able to stand up for yourself	Primary	1.6%	0.0%	98.4%	0.844
	Secondary	1.4%	0.7%	97.9%	
	Post-secondary	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Tertiary	0.8%	0.0%	99.2%	
	Post-graduate	1.2%	1.2%	97.6%	
Being able to cry in public	Primary	0.0%	12.5%	87.5%	0.384
	Secondary	0.7%	9.6%	89.7%	
	Post-secondary	0.0%	8.5%	91.5%	
	Tertiary	0.0%	14.2%	85.8%	
	Post-graduate	2.4%	11.8%	85.9%	
Being sportive	Primary	1.6%	1.6%	96.9%	0.312
	Secondary	0.0%	0.4%	99.6%	
	Post-secondary	1.1%	0.0%	98.9%	
	Tertiary	2.0%	0.0%	98.0%	
	Post-graduate	1.2%	0.0%	98.8%	
Being physically attractive	Primary	0.0%	3.1%	96.9%	0.715
	Secondary	0.0%	2.5%	97.5%	
	Post-secondary	0.0%	1.1%	98.9%	
	Tertiary	0.0%	4.2%	95.8%	
	Post-graduate	0.0%	2.4%	97.6%	



Table 16 shows that most of the participants attributed all five qualities to both men and women. Moreover, there was no significant bias between the education level categories since the p-values exceeded the 0.05 level of significance.

### Comparisons by District

**Table 17:** Participants' responses to who is the most suitable, grouped by district of residence

	District	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Take care of young children and elderly dependants	Northern harbour	0.5%	48.6%	50.8%	0.322
	Southern harbour	1.8%	53.5%	44.7%	
	South eastern	0.0%	51.5%	48.5%	
	Western	1.1%	59.3%	39.6%	
	Northern	0.8%	53.3%	45.8%	
	Gozo and Comino	0.0%	32.4%	67.6%	
Cook meals	Northern harbour	2.7%	24.9%	72.4%	0.513
	Southern harbour	4.4%	28.1%	67.5%	
	South eastern	1.0%	29.7%	69.3%	
	Western	4.4%	30.8%	64.8%	
	Northern	5.8%	33.3%	60.8%	
	Gozo and Comino	2.9%	20.6%	76.5%	
Clean the house	Northern harbour	0.5%	40.0%	59.5%	0.392
	Southern harbour	0.9%	50.0%	49.1%	
	South eastern	0.0%	45.5%	54.5%	
	Western	1.1%	50.5%	48.4%	
	Northern	1.7%	50.0%	48.3%	
	Gozo and Comino	0.0%	32.4%	67.6%	
Take decisions about financial matters at home	Northern harbour	13.0%	13.0%	74.1%	0.597
	Southern harbour	17.5%	14.9%	67.5%	
	South eastern	20.8%	9.9%	69.3%	
	Western	14.3%	9.9%	75.8%	
	Northern	15.8%	10.8%	73.3%	
	Gozo and Comino	8.8%	5.9%	85.3%	
Earn money for the family	Northern harbour	17.3%	2.7%	80.0%	0.781
	Southern harbour	19.3%	0.9%	79.8%	
	South eastern	15.8%	2.0%	82.2%	
	Western	20.9%	2.2%	76.9%	
	Northern	13.3%	2.5%	84.2%	
	Gozo and Comino	8.8%	0.0%	91.2%	
Become a primary school teacher	Northern harbour	1.1%	25.9%	73.0%	0.625
	Southern harbour	2.6%	23.7%	73.7%	
	South eastern	2.0%	30.7%	67.3%	
	Western	0.0%	26.4%	73.6%	
	Northern	0.0%	26.7%	73.3%	
	Gozo and Comino	0.0%	20.6%	79.4%	

	District	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Become an engineer	Northern harbour	28.1%	1.6%	70.3%	0.312
	Southern harbour	28.9%	0.0%	71.1%	
	South eastern	29.7%	1.0%	69.3%	
	Western	26.4%	0.0%	73.6%	
	Northern	18.3%	0.0%	81.7%	
	Gozo and Comino	20.6%	0.0%	79.4%	
Become a manager at work	Northern harbour	7.6%	1.6%	90.8%	0.991
	Southern harbour	8.8%	2.6%	88.6%	
	South eastern	9.9%	1.0%	89.1%	
	Western	11.0%	2.2%	86.8%	
	Northern	7.5%	1.7%	90.8%	
	Gozo and Comino	8.8%	2.9%	88.2%	
Get a promotion when having young children	Northern harbour	24.3%	3.8%	71.9%	0.770
	Southern harbour	23.7%	2.6%	73.7%	
	South eastern	28.7%	4.0%	67.3%	
	Western	24.2%	4.4%	71.4%	
	Northern	25.0%	4.2%	70.8%	
	Gozo and Comino	11.8%	0.0%	88.2%	
Continue with your education when you have young children	Northern harbour	17.8%	8.1%	74.1%	0.457
	Southern harbour	17.5%	4.4%	78.1%	
	South eastern	26.7%	7.9%	65.3%	
	Western	20.9%	8.8%	70.3%	
	Northern	16.7%	6.7%	76.7%	
	Gozo and Comino	11.8%	2.9%	85.3%	
Become a politician	Northern harbour	18.4%	0.5%	81.1%	0.878
	Southern harbour	21.9%	0.9%	77.2%	
	South eastern	22.8%	1.0%	76.2%	
	Western	22.0%	0.0%	78.0%	
	Northern	20.0%	1.7%	78.3%	
	Gozo and Comino	11.8%	0.0%	88.2%	

Table 17 shows that, on average, participants from different districts have similar views regarding who is between men and women to carry out certain chores/tasks or occupy certain roles/job. All p-values exceed the 0.05 level of significance indicating that percentage differences vary marginally across districts. Residence district of participants is a weak predictor to identify gender inequality.

on average, participants from different districts have similar views regarding who is between men and women to carry out certain chores/tasks or occupy certain roles/job



**Table 18:** Participants' agreement to a set of statements, grouped by district of residence

	District	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Playing with dolls is alright for boys	Northern harbour	45.4%	42.7%	11.9%	0.269
	Southern harbour	35.1%	50.9%	14.0%	
	South eastern	46.5%	35.6%	17.8%	
	Western	51.6%	34.1%	14.3%	
	Northern	50.0%	37.5%	12.5%	
	Gozo and Comino	41.2%	50.0%	8.8%	
Doing ballet is alright for boys	Northern harbour	64.9%	29.6%	6.5%	0.033
	Southern harbour	56.1%	32.5%	11.4%	
	South eastern	74.3%	15.8%	9.9%	
	Western	75.8%	19.8%	4.4%	
	Northern	74.2%	18.3%	7.5%	
	Gozo and Comino	64.7%	29.4%	5.9%	
Rough sports like rugby is alright for girls	Northern harbour	75.1%	16.8%	8.1%	0.009
	Southern harbour	72.8%	22.8%	4.4%	
	South eastern	84.2%	11.9%	4.0%	
	Western	83.5%	14.3%	2.2%	
	Northern	90.0%	6.7%	3.3%	
	Gozo and Comino	70.6%	17.6%	11.8%	
Asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl	Northern harbour	85.9%	9.7%	4.3%	0.204
	Southern harbour	79.8%	14.0%	6.1%	
	South eastern	90.1%	4.0%	5.9%	
	Western	92.3%	5.5%	2.2%	
	Northern	86.7%	7.5%	5.8%	
	Gozo and Comino	94.1%	2.9%	2.9%	
Some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls	Northern harbour	15.7%	71.9%	12.4%	0.958
	Southern harbour	16.7%	69.3%	14.0%	
	South eastern	13.9%	73.3%	12.9%	
	Western	13.2%	78.0%	8.8%	
	Northern	18.3%	68.3%	13.3%	
	Gozo and Comino	17.6%	73.5%	8.8%	
Family should encourage boys more than girls to continue studying	Northern harbour	3.8%	95.7%	0.5%	0.383
	Southern harbour	1.8%	93.9%	4.4%	
	South eastern	6.9%	91.1%	2.0%	
	Western	3.3%	94.5%	2.2%	
	Northern	3.3%	95.0%	1.7%	
	Gozo and Comino	2.9%	97.1%	0.0%	

	District	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Men are more rational than women by nature	Northern harbour	21.6%	47.6%	30.8%	0.270
	Southern harbour	28.1%	45.6%	26.3%	
	South eastern	28.7%	52.5%	18.8%	
	Western	30.8%	49.5%	19.8%	
	Northern	34.2%	44.2%	21.7%	
	Gozo and Comino	23.5%	55.9%	20.6%	
Men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions	Northern harbour	39.5%	18.9%	41.6%	0.403
	Southern harbour	50.0%	20.2%	29.8%	
	South eastern	40.6%	28.7%	30.7%	
	Western	45.1%	18.7%	36.3%	
	Northern	44.2%	17.5%	38.3%	
	Gozo and Comino	38.2%	23.5%	38.2%	
Women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions	Northern harbour	62.2%	11.4%	26.5%	0.587
	Southern harbour	71.9%	4.4%	23.7%	
	South eastern	65.3%	12.9%	21.8%	
	Western	69.2%	7.7%	23.1%	
	Northern	70.8%	8.3%	20.8%	
	Gozo and Comino	64.7%	11.8%	23.5%	
It is understandable for a man to hit out when his partner tries to end a relationship	Northern harbour	0.0%	98.4%	1.6%	0.385
	Southern harbour	0.9%	97.4%	1.8%	
	South eastern	3.0%	94.1%	3.0%	
	Western	0.0%	98.9%	1.1%	
	Northern	0.8%	96.7%	2.5%	
	Gozo and Comino	2.9%	97.1%	0.0%	
Women should feel flattered when receiving comments by male strangers about their body	Northern harbour	18.9%	53.0%	28.1%	0.288
	Southern harbour	12.3%	52.6%	35.1%	
	South eastern	19.8%	53.5%	26.7%	
	Western	15.4%	62.6%	22.0%	
	Northern	17.5%	56.7%	25.8%	
	Gozo and Comino	29.4%	38.2%	32.4%	
The choice between being a good wife/mother or being in paid employment puts a lot of pressure on women	Northern harbour	65.7%	16.8%	17.3%	0.845
	Southern harbour	73.7%	14.0%	12.3%	
	South eastern	65.3%	18.8%	15.8%	
	Western	67.0%	13.2%	19.8%	
	Northern	69.2%	13.3%	17.5%	
	Gozo and Comino	76.5%	11.8%	11.8%	

larger percentages of participants from the southern and northern harbour districts and Gozo who disagree that ‘doing ballet is alright for boys’ and ‘rough sports like rugby is alright for girls’ compared to participants from other districts

	District	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Contraception is the responsibility of both men and women	Northern harbour	89.7%	3.2%	7.0%	0.059
	Southern harbour	90.4%	7.0%	2.6%	
	South eastern	96.0%	1.0%	3.0%	
	Western	95.6%	2.2%	2.2%	
	Northern	95.0%	1.7%	3.3%	
	Gozo and Comino	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
Career advancement is more possible when people work full-time	Northern harbour	87.6%	4.3%	8.1%	0.806
	Southern harbour	87.7%	4.4%	7.9%	
	South eastern	85.1%	6.9%	7.9%	
	Western	83.5%	5.5%	11.0%	
	Northern	80.0%	6.7%	13.3%	
	Gozo and Comino	91.2%	2.9%	5.9%	
Sexual jokes are OK at the workplace	Northern harbour	2.2%	73.0%	24.9%	0.072
	Southern harbour	7.0%	79.8%	13.2%	
	South eastern	7.9%	70.3%	21.8%	
	Western	6.6%	81.3%	12.1%	
	Northern	9.2%	77.5%	13.3%	
	Gozo and Comino	9.8%	76.5%	13.8%	
Equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved	Northern harbour	22.7%	55.7%	21.6%	0.844
	Southern harbour	29.8%	52.6%	17.5%	
	South eastern	24.8%	50.5%	24.8%	
	Western	26.4%	56.0%	17.6%	
	Northern	22.5%	56.7%	20.8%	
	Gozo and Comino	29.4%	44.1%	26.5%	
Equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta	Northern harbour	9.7%	81.1%	9.2%	0.404
	Southern harbour	14.9%	73.7%	11.4%	
	South eastern	10.9%	72.3%	16.8%	
	Western	8.8%	75.8%	15.4%	
	Northern	13.3%	78.3%	8.3%	
	Gozo and Comino	14.7%	79.4%	5.9%	

Table 18 shows significantly larger percentages of participants from the southern and northern harbour districts and Gozo who disagree that ‘doing ballet is alright for boys’ and ‘rough sports like rugby is alright for girls’ compared to participants from other districts. For the remaining statements, participants from different districts had similar views

since their p-values exceed the 0.05 level of significance. The participants’ district of residence participants is a weak predictor to identify gender inequality. The few results that display gender bias are sporadic and difficult to interpret, mainly because some residence districts comprise very few participants.

**Table 19:** Participants’ responses to a set of qualities, grouped by district of residence

	District	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Having the respect of others	Northern harbour	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.161
	Southern harbour	0.0%	.0.0%	100.0%	
	South eastern	0.0%	2.0%	98.0%	
	Western	0.0%	1.1%	98.9%	
	Northern	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Gozo and Comino	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Being able to stand up for yourself	Northern harbour	2.2%	1.1%	96.8%	0.699
	Southern harbour	0.0%	0.9%	99.1%	
	South eastern	1.0%	0.0%	99.0%	
	Western	1.1%	0.0%	98.9%	
	Northern	0.8%	0.0%	99.2%	
	Gozo and Comino	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Being able to cry in public	Northern harbour	1.1%	10.8%	88.1%	0.310
	Southern harbour	0.0%	15.8%	84.2%	
	South eastern	0.0%	12.9%	87.1%	
	Western	1.1%	12.1%	86.8%	
	Northern	0.8%	4.2%	95.0%	
	Gozo and Comino	0.0%	8.8%	91.2%	
Being sportive	Northern harbour	0.5%	0.0%	99.5%	0.638
	Southern harbour	1.8%	0.9%	97.4%	
	South eastern	3.0%	1.0%	96.0%	
	Western	1.1%	0.0%	98.9%	
	Northern	0.8%	0.0%	99.2%	
	Gozo and Comino	2.9%	0.0%	97.1%	
Being physically attractive	Northern harbour	0.0%	2.7%	97.3%	0.939
	Southern harbour	0.0%	2.6%	97.4%	
	South eastern	0.0%	3.0%	97.0%	
	Western	0.0%	2.2%	97.8%	
	Northern	0.0%	3.3%	96.7%	
	Gozo and Comino	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Being able to stand up for yourself	Northern harbour	2.2%	1.1%	96.8%	0.699
	Southern harbour	0.0%	0.9%	99.1%	
	South eastern	1.0%	0.0%	99.0%	
	Western	1.1%	0.0%	98.9%	
	Northern	0.8%	0.0%	99.2%	
	Gozo and Comino	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Being able to cry in public	Northern harbour	1.1%	10.8%	88.1%	0.310
	Southern harbour	0.0%	15.8%	84.2%	
	South eastern	0.0%	12.9%	87.1%	
	Western	1.1%	12.1%	86.8%	
	Northern	0.8%	4.2%	95.0%	
	Gozo and Comino	0.0%	8.8%	91.2%	

	District	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Being sportive	Northern harbour	0.5%	0.0%	99.5%	0.638
	Southern harbour	1.8%	0.9%	97.4%	
	South eastern	3.0%	1.0%	96.0%	
	Western	1.1%	0.0%	98.9%	
	Northern	0.8%	0.0%	99.2%	
	Gozo and Comino	2.9%	0.0%	97.1%	
Being physically attractive	Northern harbour	0.0%	2.7%	97.3%	0.939
	Southern harbour	0.0%	2.6%	97.4%	
	South eastern	0.0%	3.0%	97.0%	
	Western	0.0%	2.2%	97.8%	
	Northern	0.0%	3.3%	96.7%	
	Gozo and Comino	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	

Table 19 shows that most of the participants attributed all five qualities to both men and women. Moreover, there was no significant bias between the residence districts since the p-values exceeded the 0.05 level of significance.



### Comparison by Occupation Group

**Table 20:** Participants' responses to who is the most suitable, by occupational group

	Occupation	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Take care of young children and elderly dependants	Manager	0.0%	44.1%	55.9%	0.556
	Professional	0.0%	54.2%	45.8%	
	Technician	0.0%	40.0%	60.0%	
	Clerical support worker	0.0%	44.1%	55.9%	
	Service and sales worker	0.0%	51.6%	48.4%	
	Elementary occupation	1.7%	54.3%	44.0%	
	Student	0.0%	30.8%	69.2%	
	Pensioner	1.0%	53.3%	45.7%	
	Unemployed	0.0%	56.3%	43.8%	
	Other	5.3%	36.8%	57.9%	
Cook meals	Manager	5.9%	20.6%	73.5%	0.002
	Professional	1.7%	19.2%	79.2%	
	Technician	5.0%	25.0%	70.0%	
	Clerical support worker	0.0%	18.8%	81.2%	
	Service and sales worker	9.7%	16.1%	74.2%	
	Elementary occupation	3.4%	32.8%	63.8%	
	Student	0.0%	7.7%	92.3%	
	Pensioner	3.3%	36.7%	60.0%	
	Unemployed	4.2%	31.3%	64.6%	
	Other	10.5%	47.4%	42.1%	

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	Occupation	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Clean the house	Manager	0.0%	35.3%	64.7%	0.478
	Professional	0.0%	42.5%	57.5%	
	Technician	0.0%	45.0%	55.0%	
	Clerical support worker	0.0%	41.2%	58.8%	
	Service and sales worker	0.0%	41.9%	58.1%	
	Elementary occupation	1.7%	51.7%	46.6%	
	Student	0.0%	23.1%	76.9%	
	Pensioner	1.0%	46.7%	52.4%	
	Unemployed	0.0%	54.2%	45.8%	
	Other	5.3%	42.1%	52.6%	
Take decisions about financial matters at home	Manager	14.7%	5.9%	79.4%	0.057
	Professional	10.0%	13.3%	76.7%	
	Technician	20.0%	5.0%	75.0%	
	Clerical support worker	5.9%	11.8%	82.4%	
	Service and sales worker	16.1%	12.9%	71.0%	
	Elementary occupation	13.8%	18.1%	68.1%	
	Student	23.1%	0.0%	76.9%	
	Pensioner	21.0%	11.9%	67.1%	
	Unemployed	8.3%	4.2%	87.5%	
	Other	26.3%	0.0%	73.7%	
Earn money for the family	Manager	8.8%	0.0%	91.2%	0.327
	Professional	9.2%	2.5%	88.3%	
	Technician	15.0%	5.0%	80.0%	
	Clerical support worker	8.8%	2.9%	88.2%	
	Service and sales worker	19.4%	3.2%	77.4%	
	Elementary occupation	23.3%	2.6%	74.1%	
	Student	7.7%	0.0%	92.3%	
	Pensioner	18.6%	1.0%	80.5%	
	Unemployed	22.9%	4.2%	72.9%	
	Other	21.1%	0.0%	78.9%	
Become a primary school teacher	Manager	0.0%	29.4%	70.6%	0.553
	Professional	0.8%	30.8%	68.3%	
	Technician	0.0%	25.0%	75.0%	
	Clerical support worker	0.0%	29.4%	70.6%	
	Service and sales worker	0.0%	38.7%	61.3%	
	Elementary occupation	0.0%	24.1%	75.9%	
	Student	0.0%	7.7%	92.3%	
	Pensioner	1.9%	24.8%	73.3%	
	Unemployed	4.2%	18.8%	77.1%	
	Other	0.0%	26.3%	73.7%	



	Occupation	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Become an engineer	Manager	23.5%	0.0%	76.5%	0.222
	Professional	20.0%	0.0%	80.0%	
	Technician	15.0%	0.0%	85.0%	
	Clerical support worker	29.4%	0.0%	70.6%	
	Service and sales worker	32.3%	0.0%	67.7%	
	Elementary occupation	25.0%	0.0%	75.0%	
	Student	23.1%	7.7%	69.2%	
	Pensioner	28.1%	1.4%	70.5%	
	Unemployed	33.3%	0.0%	66.7%	
	Other	31.6%	0.0%	68.4%	
Become a manager at work	Manager	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.052
	Professional	5.0%	1.7%	93.3%	
	Technician	10.0%	0.0%	90.0%	
	Clerical support worker	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Service and sales worker	9.7%	3.2%	87.1%	
	Elementary occupation	14.7%	0.9%	84.5%	
	Student	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Pensioner	11.0%	3.3%	85.7%	
	Unemployed	2.1%	2.1%	95.8%	
	Other	21.1%	0.0%	78.9%	
Get a promotion when having young children	Manager	35.3%	0.0%	64.7%	0.002
	Professional	30.8%	1.7%	67.5%	
	Technician	35.0%	0.0%	65.0%	
	Clerical support worker	29.4%	0.0%	70.6%	
	Service and sales worker	25.8%	9.7%	64.5%	
	Elementary occupation	25.0%	0.9%	74.1%	
	Student	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Pensioner	18.6%	7.1%	74.3%	
	Unemployed	29.2%	0.0%	70.8%	
	Other	5.3%	10.5%	84.2%	
Continue with your education when you have young children	Manager	23.5%	2.9%	73.5%	0.118
	Professional	25.0%	5.8%	69.2%	
	Technician	5.0%	25.0%	70.0%	
	Clerical support worker	26.5%	8.8%	64.7%	
	Service and sales worker	19.4%	6.5%	74.2%	
	Elementary occupation	20.7%	4.3%	75.0%	
	Student	7.7%	7.7%	84.6%	
	Pensioner	14.8%	7.1%	78.1%	
	Unemployed	22.9%	6.3%	70.8%	
	Other	10.5%	15.8%	73.7%	

	Occupation	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Become a politician	Manager	26.5%	0.0%	73.5%	0.544
	Professional	28.3%	1.7%	70.0%	
	Technician	30.0%	0.0%	70.0%	
	Clerical support worker	17.6%	0.0%	82.4%	
	Service and sales worker	16.1%	0.0%	83.9%	
	Elementary occupation	17.2%	0.0%	82.8%	
	Student	7.7%	0.0%	92.3%	
	Pensioner	17.1%	1.0%	81.9%	
	Unemployed	22.9%	2.1%	75.0%	
	Other	10.5%	0.0%	89.5%	

Table 20 shows significantly larger percentages of students who agree that both men and women are suitable to ‘cook meals’ and ‘get a promotion when having young children’, when compared to other occupational categories. For the remaining statements, participants from different occupational categories had similar views since their p-values exceed the 0.05 level of significance. Occupation of participants is a weak predictor to identify progressive or traditional gender role expectations. The few results that display gender bias are sporadic and difficult to interpret, mainly because some occupations comprise very few participants.

larger percentages of students who agree that both men and women are suitable to ‘cook meals’ and ‘get a promotion when having young children’, when compared to other occupational categories

**Table 21:** Participants’ agreement to set of statements, by occupational group.

	Occupation	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Playing with dolls is alright for boys	Manager	47.1%	35.3%	17.6%	<0.001
	Professional	74.2%	17.5%	8.3%	
	Technician	30.0%	30.0%	40.0%	
	Clerical support worker	64.7%	23.5%	11.8%	
	Service and sales worker	48.4%	35.5%	16.1%	
	Elementary occupation	43.1%	44.0%	12.9%	
	Student	69.2%	7.7%	23.1%	
	Pensioner	30.5%	57.6%	11.9%	
	Unemployed	31.3%	52.1%	16.7%	
	Other	31.6%	52.6%	15.8%	

	Occupation	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Doing ballet is alright for boys	Manager	58.8%	29.4%	11.8%	0.039
	Professional	83.3%	12.5%	4.2%	
	Technician	60.0%	25.0%	15.0%	
	Clerical support worker	67.6%	23.5%	8.8%	
	Service and sales worker	64.5%	29.0%	6.5%	
	Elementary occupation	62.1%	31.0%	6.9%	
	Student	84.6%	7.7%	7.7%	
	Pensioner	68.6%	24.3%	7.1%	
	Unemployed	52.1%	31.3%	16.7%	
	Other	63.2%	31.6%	5.3%	
Rough sports like rugby is alright for girls	Manager	94.1%	2.9%	2.9%	<0.001
	Professional	92.5%	6.7%	0.8%	
	Technician	90.0%	10.0%	0.0%	
	Clerical support worker	85.3%	8.8%	5.9%	
	Service and sales worker	77.4%	12.9%	9.7%	
	Elementary occupation	83.6%	14.7%	1.7%	
	Student	84.6%	0.0%	15.4%	
	Pensioner	69.5%	21.4%	9.0%	
	Unemployed	64.6%	27.1%	8.3%	
	Other	84.2%	15.8%	0.0%	
Asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl	Manager	97.1%	2.9%	0.0%	0.006
	Professional	93.3%	3.3%	3.3%	
	Technician	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	Clerical support worker	94.1%	2.9%	2.9%	
	Service and sales worker	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	Elementary occupation	81.0%	15.5%	3.4%	
	Student	84.6%	7.7%	7.7%	
	Pensioner	82.9%	10.5%	6.7%	
	Unemployed	77.1%	12.5%	10.4%	
	Other	89.5%	0.0%	10.5%	
Some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls	Manager	8.8%	82.4%	8.8%	0.120
	Professional	11.7%	84.2%	4.2%	
	Technician	5.0%	85.0%	10.0%	
	Clerical support worker	2.9%	85.3%	11.8%	
	Service and sales worker	16.1%	61.3%	22.6%	
	Elementary occupation	21.6%	62.9%	15.5%	
	Student	7.7%	84.6%	7.7%	
	Pensioner	18.1%	67.1%	14.8%	
	Unemployed	16.7%	72.9%	10.4%	
	Other	31.6%	52.6%	15.8%	

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	Occupation	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Family should encourage boys more than girls to continue studying	Manager	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.160
	Professional	2.5%	96.7%	0.8%	
	Technician	0.0%	95.0%	5.0%	
	Clerical support worker	5.9%	94.1%	0.0%	
	Service and sales worker	0.0%	96.8%	3.2%	
	Elementary occupation	2.6%	94.8%	2.6%	
	Student	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
	Pensioner	6.7%	91.9%	1.4%	
	Unemployed	0.0%	93.8%	6.3%	
	Other	10.5%	89.5%	0.0%	
Men are more rational than women by nature	Manager	23.5%	64.7%	11.8%	<0.001
	Professional	14.2%	66.7%	19.2%	
	Technician	35.0%	30.0%	35.0%	
	Clerical support worker	17.6%	67.6%	14.7%	
	Service and sales worker	32.3%	29.0%	38.7%	
	Elementary occupation	27.6%	42.2%	30.2%	
	Student	30.8%	38.5%	30.8%	
	Pensioner	35.7%	41.0%	23.3%	
	Unemployed	29.2%	47.9%	22.9%	
	Other	26.3%	36.8%	36.8%	
Men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions	Manager	32.4%	26.5%	41.2%	0.815
	Professional	34.2%	25.0%	40.8%	
	Technician	30.0%	30.0%	40.0%	
	Clerical support worker	41.2%	20.6%	38.2%	
	Service and sales worker	41.9%	19.4%	38.7%	
	Elementary occupation	44.8%	20.7%	34.5%	
	Student	38.5%	23.1%	38.5%	
	Pensioner	49.0%	16.7%	34.3%	
	Unemployed	50.0%	18.8%	31.3%	
	Other	47.4%	21.1%	31.6%	
Women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions	Manager	76.5%	8.8%	14.7%	<0.001
	Professional	50.8%	15.8%	33.3%	
	Technician	50.0%	20.0%	30.0%	
	Clerical support worker	61.8%	14.7%	23.5%	
	Service and sales worker	74.2%	9.7%	16.1%	
	Elementary occupation	74.1%	6.0%	19.8%	
	Student	30.8%	15.4%	53.8%	
	Pensioner	74.8%	4.8%	20.5%	
	Unemployed	70.8%	6.3%	22.9%	
	Other	57.9%	21.1%	21.1%	

	Occupation	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
It is understandable for a man to hit out when his partner tries to end a relationship	Manager	2.9%	97.1%	0.0%	0.391
	Professional	0.0%	98.3%	1.7%	
	Technician	0.0%	90.0%	10.0%	
	Clerical support worker	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
	Service and sales worker	0.0%	96.8%	3.2%	
	Elementary occupation	0.9%	97.4%	1.7%	
	Student	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	
	Pensioner	1.4%	97.1%	1.4%	
	Unemployed	0.0%	97.9%	2.1%	
	Other	5.3%	89.5%	5.3%	
Women feel flattered with comments by male strangers about their body	Manager	14.7%	55.9%	29.4%	0.139
	Professional	14.2%	60.0%	25.8%	
	Technician	10.0%	35.0%	55.0%	
	Clerical support worker	11.8%	64.7%	23.5%	
	Service and sales worker	19.4%	51.6%	29.0%	
	Elementary occupation	13.8%	58.6%	27.6%	
	Student	7.7%	61.5%	30.8%	
	Pensioner	23.8%	49.0%	27.1%	
	Unemployed	12.5%	56.3%	31.3%	
	Other	36.8%	42.1%	21.1%	
Choice between being a good wife/mother or employment puts pressure on women	Manager	67.6%	17.6%	14.7%	0.705
	Professional	75.0%	14.2%	10.8%	
	Technician	65.0%	10.0%	25.0%	
	Clerical support worker	64.7%	17.6%	17.6%	
	Service and sales worker	67.7%	9.7%	22.6%	
	Elementary occupation	69.0%	14.7%	16.4%	
	Student	38.5%	23.1%	38.5%	
	Pensioner	68.1%	15.2%	16.7%	
	Unemployed	70.8%	14.6%	14.6%	
	Other	57.9%	26.3%	15.8%	
Contraception is the responsibility of both men and women	Manager	94.1%	2.9%	2.9%	0.430
	Professional	96.7%	3.3%	0.0%	
	Technician	95.0%	0.0%	5.0%	
	Clerical support worker	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	Service and sales worker	87.1%	3.2%	9.7%	
	Elementary occupation	92.2%	4.3%	3.4%	
	Student	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	Pensioner	91.4%	2.4%	6.2%	
	Unemployed	89.6%	6.3%	4.2%	
	Other	94.7%	0.0%	5.3%	

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	Occupation	Agree	Disagree	It depends	P-value
Career advancement is more possible when people work full-time	Manager	91.2%	8.8%	0.0%	0.068
	Professional	86.7%	3.3%	10.0%	
	Technician	95.0%	0.0%	5.0%	
	Clerical support worker	85.3%	8.8%	5.9%	
	Service and sales worker	67.7%	6.5%	25.8%	
	Elementary occupation	86.2%	6.0%	7.8%	
	Student	76.9%	0.0%	23.1%	
	Pensioner	87.6%	4.8%	7.6%	
	Unemployed	75.0%	8.3%	16.7%	
	Other	89.5%	5.3%	5.3%	
Sexual jokes are OK at the workplace	Manager	5.9%	73.5%	20.6%	0.005
	Professional	4.2%	74.2%	21.7%	
	Technician	15.0%	60.0%	25.0%	
	Clerical support worker	0.0%	88.2%	11.8%	
	Service and sales worker	16.1%	41.9%	41.9%	
	Elementary occupation	6.9%	83.6%	9.5%	
	Student	0.0%	76.9%	23.1%	
	Pensioner	6.2%	78.1%	15.7%	
	Unemployed	6.3%	72.9%	20.8%	
	Other	10.5%	78.9%	10.5%	
Equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved	Manager	17.6%	64.7%	17.6%	0.089
	Professional	17.5%	66.7%	15.8%	
	Technician	45.0%	35.0%	20.0%	
	Clerical support worker	11.8%	64.7%	23.5%	
	Service and sales worker	29.0%	48.4%	22.6%	
	Elementary occupation	30.2%	45.7%	24.1%	
	Student	15.4%	46.2%	38.5%	
	Pensioner	27.6%	51.9%	20.5%	
	Unemployed	31.3%	45.8%	22.9%	
	Other	15.8%	63.2%	21.1%	
Equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta	Manager	8.8%	82.4%	8.8%	0.096
	Professional	9.2%	85.0%	5.8%	
	Technician	20.0%	65.0%	15.0%	
	Clerical support worker	14.7%	79.4%	5.9%	
	Service and sales worker	19.4%	67.7%	12.9%	
	Elementary occupation	10.3%	72.4%	17.2%	
	Student	7.7%	84.6%	7.7%	
	Pensioner	10.5%	78.1%	11.4%	
	Unemployed	18.8%	75.0%	6.3%	
	Other	10.5%	57.9%	31.6%	

Table 21 shows significantly larger percentages of students and professionals who agree that ‘playing with dolls is alright for boys’ and ‘doing ballet is alright for boys’; significantly larger percentages of elementary occupation workers, pensioners and unemployed individuals who disagree that ‘rough sport like rugby is alright for girls’ and ‘asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl’. The table shows significantly larger percentages of service, sales and elementary occupation workers, pensioners and unemployed individuals who agree that ‘some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls’; significantly larger

percentages of managers, professionals and clerical support workers who disagree that ‘men are more rational than women by nature’; significantly larger percentages of managers, service, sales and elementary occupation workers, pensioners and unemployed individuals who agree that ‘women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions’; and significantly larger percentages of technicians, service and sales workers who agree that ‘sexual jokes are OK at the workplace’. For the remaining statements, participants from different occupational categories had similar views since their p-values exceed the 0.05 level of significance.

**Table 22:** Participants’ responses to a set of qualities, by occupational group

	Occupation	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Having the respect of others	Manager	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	<0.001
	Professional	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Technician	0.0%	5.0%	95.0%	
	Clerical support worker	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Service and sales worker	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Elementary occupation	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Student	0.0%	7.7%	92.3%	
	Pensioner	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Unemployed	0.0%	2.1%	97.9%	
	Other	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Being able to stand up for yourself	Manager	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.995
	Professional	0.8%	0.8%	98.3%	
	Technician	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Clerical support worker	2.9%	0.0%	97.1%	
	Service and sales worker	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Elementary occupation	1.7%	0.0%	98.3%	
	Student	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Pensioner	1.0%	1.0%	98.1%	
	Unemployed	2.1%	0.0%	97.9%	
	Other	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	

	Occupation	Men	Women	Both	P-value
Being able to cry in public	Manager	0.0%	8.8%	91.2%	0.154
	Professional	0.8%	14.2%	85.0%	
	Technician	0.0%	5.0%	95.0%	
	Clerical support worker	0.0%	5.9%	94.1%	
	Service and sales worker	0.0%	16.1%	83.9%	
	Elementary occupation	0.0%	8.6%	91.4%	
	Student	0.0%	38.5%	61.5%	
	Pensioner	1.4%	11.9%	86.7%	
	Unemployed	0.0%	4.2%	95.8%	
	Other	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Being sportive	Manager	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	<0.001
	Professional	0.8%	0.0%	99.2%	
	Technician	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Clerical support worker	5.9%	0.0%	94.1%	
	Service and sales worker	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Elementary occupation	0.9%	0.0%	99.1%	
	Student	30.8%	0.0%	69.2%	
	Pensioner	0.5%	1.0%	98.6%	
	Unemployed	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Other	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Being physically attractive	Manager	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.919
	Professional	0.0%	3.3%	96.7%	
	Technician	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Clerical support worker	0.0%	2.9%	97.1%	
	Service and sales worker	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Elementary occupation	0.0%	2.6%	97.4%	
	Student	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Pensioner	0.0%	2.9%	97.1%	
	Unemployed	0.0%	4.2%	95.8%	
	Other	0.0%	5.3%	94.7%	

Table 22 shows that most of the participants attributed all five qualities to both men and women. However, students attribute a significantly higher percentage share to women for ‘having the respect of others’ and a significantly higher percentage share to men for ‘being sportive’. For the remaining statements

there was no significant bias between the occupational groups. Differences in gender role expectations are less evident when the participants are clustered by their occupation.

These results will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.





## Chapter 5

# Discussion of Results

While Chapter 2 gave a short summary of the macro-indicators where structural aspects regarding gender inequalities in Malta are concerned, Chapter 3 provided information about the data collected via the survey on the subjective gendered experiences concerning personal attributes, behaviour, values and attitudes in order to get an idea about the prevalent cultural values where gender equality is concerned.

As Lomazzi (2022) underlines, internalized gender values are the main factor behind the unequal distribution of paid and unpaid work, between women and men. The objective of analysing data at a macro-level and comparing it with objectively held information on gender equality values and attitudes can be used to demonstrate whether cultural values are the main factors behind gender inequality. Each society's cultural values, norms and beliefs shape individual beliefs and behaviours and lead to gender role expectations. At the same time, it needs to be pointed out that policymakers are also people with their own internalized cultural beliefs

where gender is concerned. These beliefs will then have a bearing on the policies they enact, and how they are implemented by others. Whether the policies result in a change or retain the status quo depends on the cultural values of the policymakers and implementers involved. On the other hand, ordinary people do gender daily and nightly. Their behaviour is conditioned by the prevalent norms and values linked to gender. They might internalize or resist them, but through their actions, without even realizing sometimes, they might also be changing them.

The survey commissioned by the NCPE gathered information on masculine and feminine attributes as well as gender role attitudes on the perceived appropriateness of social roles for women and men in the public and private domains. The survey was constructed by NCPE with the aim of finding out whether there is a gendered separation of tasks and responsibilities, and what are the socially expected gendered roles and behaviour for men and women at home and outside. It also studied people's attitudes toward women's and men's roles

in the public sphere regarding paid work, power, and, to a lesser extent, sports.

In this section, we start by focusing on the respondents' expressed attitudes where gender roles and attributes are concerned, in both the public and private spheres, to find out how progressive respondents were. The results attained are then compared with other surveys on the topic. To do this, the average percentage point per category and section is used to try to identify a pattern. Some results might not be statistically significant however they were still deemed useful.

To do this, the statements found in the survey were divided into five sections: one denoting socially expected gender roles in the private sphere; one on gender roles in the public sphere. Another two sections studied the participants' answers regarding social expectations where children and youth were concerned followed by a section which was devoted to studying how participants reacted to socially expected gendered behaviour. The last section focused on whether the participants believe that gender equality in Malta has been achieved. An average percentage point was calculated per section in order to find out how progressive the participants were in each section. To find out who held the most progressive response by gender when it came to gender role expectations, the percentage points per section were added up and divided by the number of statements involved in order to obtain an average for each section.

This exercise was undertaken by first analysing all the data and then analysing the data by gender, age, level of education, district, civil status and occupation.

Differences in percentage points were used as an indicator to find out whether the participants had traditional or progressive gender role expectations. A 50+ cut-off point was used as an indicator – when cohorts attained less than 50%, this was taken as an indication that that group of participants had traditional gender role expectations.

### Private Sphere

The gender roles in the private sphere listed below derive mainly from Table 7<sup>1</sup>. One statement - Contraception is the responsibility of both men and women – was taken from Table 6<sup>2</sup>. When it came to the data found in Table 7, the percentages listed under column *Both* were analysed. Regarding the statement on contraception found in Table 6, the percentages for male and female respondents listed under *Agree* were analysed. The focus was on how 'progressive' the respondents were as this was the most pertinent indicator for this exercise.

For the purposes of this chapter, progressive means non-traditional gender-role expectations and is used when the results for particular statements surpass 50+ per cent.

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<sup>1</sup> Table 7 focused on the participants' responses on whether women, men or both are suitable to do a set of tasks or roles, grouped by gender

<sup>2</sup> Table 6 denotes participants' agreement to a number of statements, grouped by gender.

Data for the following statements were analysed in relation to gender role expectations in the private sphere:

1. Taking care of young children and elderly dependants is the responsibility of both.
2. Cooking meals is the responsibility of both.
3. Cleaning the house is the responsibility of both.
4. Taking decisions about financial matters at home is the responsibility of both.
5. Earning money for the family is the responsibility of both.
6. Agree that contraception is the responsibility of both men and women (Table 6).

### Public Sphere

When it came to adjudicating whether the respondents had progressive attitudes towards men's and women's roles in the public sphere, some of the statements found in Table 7.<sup>1</sup> were used:

1. Both can become a primary school teacher.
2. Both can become an engineer.
3. Both can become a manager.
4. Both can get a promotion when having young children.
5. Both can continue with their education when having young children.
6. Both can become a politician.  
The percentages listed in the column marked *Both* were taken into consideration.

### Social Expectations Regarding Children and Youth

When it came to studying how progressive the respondents' attitudes were on issues relating to children and youth, the data in percentage format was used from the following columns for the following statements found in Table 6:

1. Agree that playing with dolls is alright for boys.
2. Agree that doing ballet is alright for boys.
3. Agree that doing rough sports like rugby is alright for girls.
4. Agree that asking a boy out for a date is alright for a girl.
5. Disagree that some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls.
6. Disagree that family should encourage boys more than girls to continue studying.

### Social Expectations Regarding Gendered Behaviour

When it came to studying how progressive the respondents' attitudes were on issues relating to social expectations regarding gendered behaviour, the data in percentage format was used from the following columns for the following statements found in Table 6:

1. Disagree that men are more rational than women by nature.
2. Disagree that men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions.
3. Disagree that women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions.
4. Disagree that it is understandable for a man to hit out when his partner tries to end a relationship.

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<sup>1</sup> Participants' responses as to who is the most suitable, grouped by gender.

5. Disagree that women should feel flattered when receiving comments from male strangers about their bodies.
6. Disagree that sexual jokes are OK in the workplace.

Not all statements listed in Table 6 were used. Data for 'Choice between being a good wife/mother or employment puts pressure on women' and 'Career advancement is more possible when people work full-time' were not included. When it came to the first, respondents would focus on the facts and not their beliefs. This for example happened in relation to the respondents' response to their belief as to who should be doing household and caring work in the private sphere as we shall see. The other statement denotes ingrained gender biases in the way promotions might be meted out in Malta. To date, in some sectors, especially in the public sector, employees must demonstrate that they worked a number of years without taking any interruptions in order to be in a position for a promotion. For example, during the COVID19 pandemic, some of the parents, namely female ones, had to stop working in order to help their young children cope with online lessons. When a trade union representative was asked whether this would influence their job, he said that it might since certain promotions are given on consecutive rather than cumulative years worked. This means that when consecutive years are used as criteria for promotion, this punishes those who choose to avail themselves of unpaid leave to care for dependants (The Consultative Council for Women's Rights, 2020).

### **Attainment of Equality in Malta**

Another section was devoted to the respondents' answers to the attainment of gender equality in Malta. Two statements linked to this topic were found in Table 6. For this exercise, the percentages listed for each gender in the column *Disagree* were taken into consideration, and an average percentage per category was calculated:

1. Disagree that equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved.
2. Disagree that equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta. In the next section, the data will be analysed.

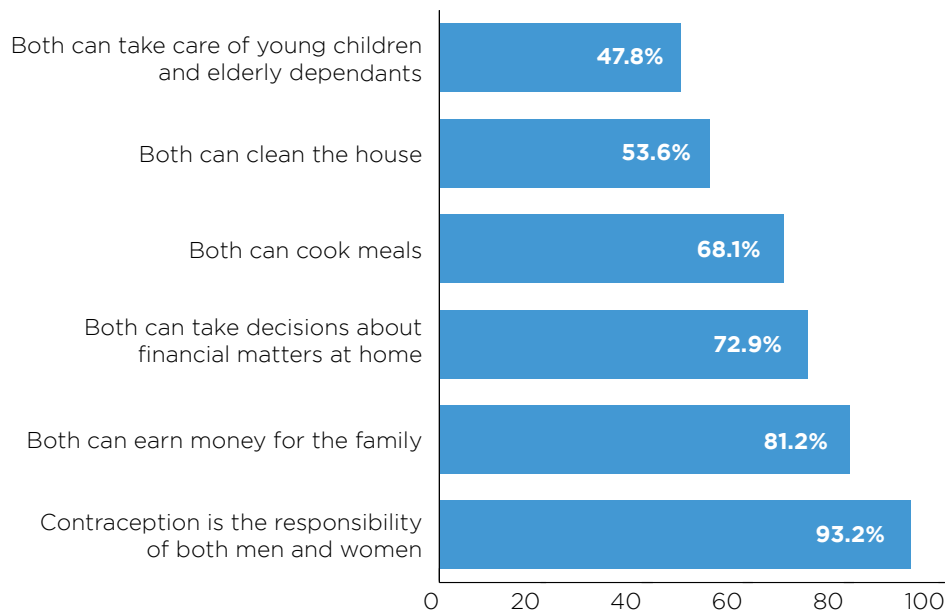
### **All Participants**

In this section, the focus will be on the general results attained.

#### *Private Sphere, All Participants*

For the purposes of this exercise, results which attained 50+ were regarded as being 'progressive', as has been underlined before. As Figure 1 shows, respondents had quite progressive views when they maintained that both partners were responsible for contraception, earning money for the family, taking decisions about financial matters and cooking meals. The percentage was lower when it came to cleaning the house (53.6%) and lesser still with regards to the care of dependants (47.8%). In this regard, cleaning and especially the care of dependants were not perceived as being the responsibility of both partners. This shows that where caring, especially, and cleaning, to a lesser extent, were concerned, participants had traditional gender role expectations.

Figure 1 - Progressive attitudes towards gender roles in private sphere, all participants, %



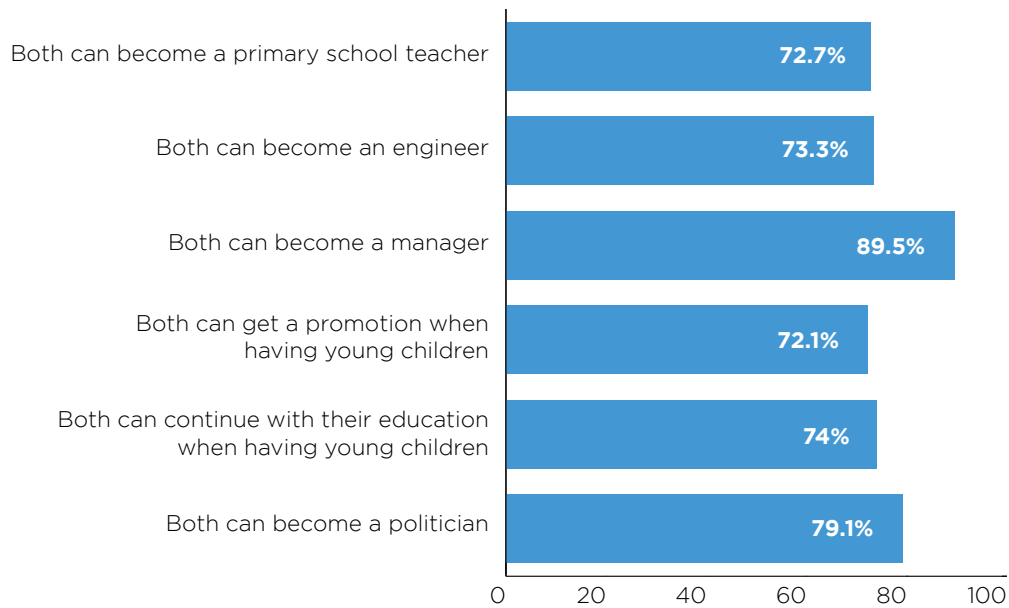
The overall average percentage attained for this section amounted to 69.5%. This percentage will be eventually compared to the other sections to adjudicate the areas which demonstrate the highest progressive attitudes towards gender roles or behaviour.

The highest percentage point was attained for the statement linked with becoming a manager; the lowest percentage point was linked with getting a promotion when having young children

### *Public Sphere, All Participants*

When it came to roles in the public sphere, most respondents agreed that both women and men could become politicians, continue with their education when having young children, get a promotion when having young children, or become a manager, engineer or a primary school teacher (Figure 2). The highest percentage point was attained for the statement linked with becoming a manager; the lowest percentage point was linked with getting a promotion when having young children. The percentage scores were higher than the ones attained in Figure 1. In fact, the average percentage score amounted to 76.8%, almost 10 points higher than the previous average percentage score. This data demonstrates that the participants tended to have more progressive expectations where gender roles in the public sphere were concerned.

Figure 2 - Progressive attitudes towards gender roles in public sphere, all participants, %

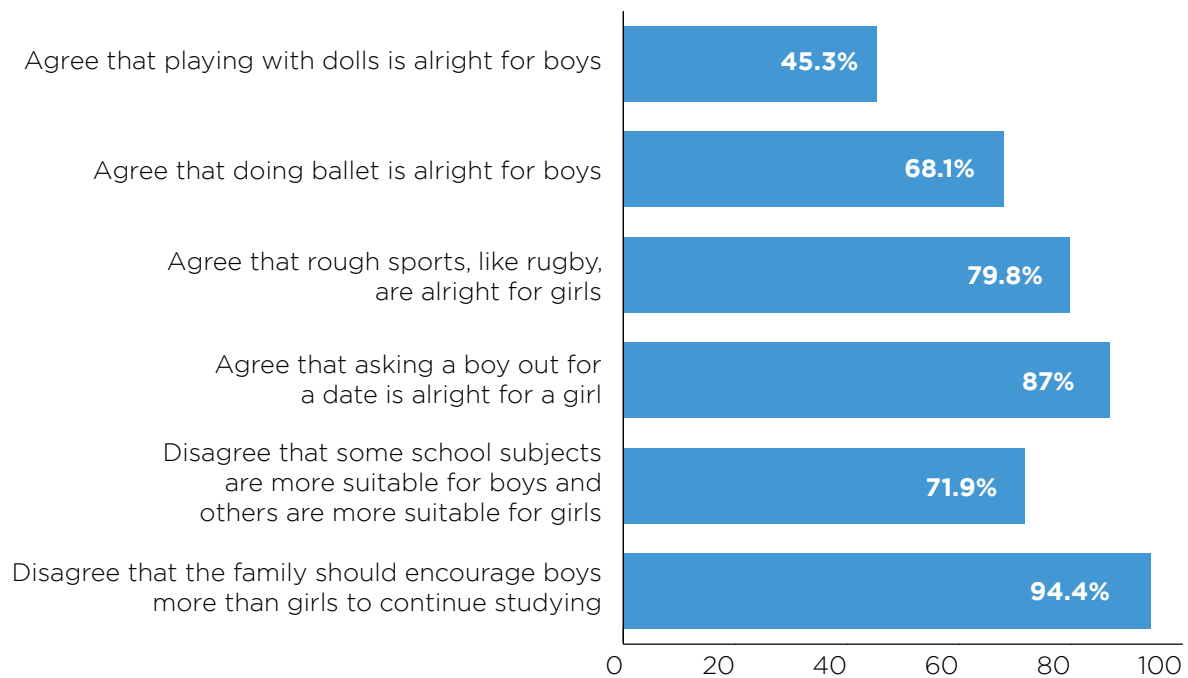


### *Social Expectations regarding Children and Youth, All Participants*

The data demonstrates that most respondents felt that families should not encourage boys more than girls to continue studying; disagreed that some school subjects are suitable for boys and others for girls; agreed that it is okay for a girl to ask a boy out on a date; agreed that girls can play rough sports; and agreed that ballet is okay for a boy (Figure 3). The respondents however drew a line when it came to agreeing that it was okay for boys to play with dolls. It is the only statement that scored below the 50% score.

The average percentage score for this section came up to 74.4%, which is higher than the average percentage score for the section on roles in the private sphere.

Figure 3 - Progressive attitudes regarding children and youths, all participants, %



### *Social Expectation of Gendered Behaviour, All Participants*

Figure 4 demonstrates that the participants had somewhat traditional expectations as to how men and women should behave. In three out of the six statements, the results attained were below 50%. The data demonstrates that the participants believed that women are more likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions; men are more likely to be aggressive when expressing their emotions, and men are more rational than women.

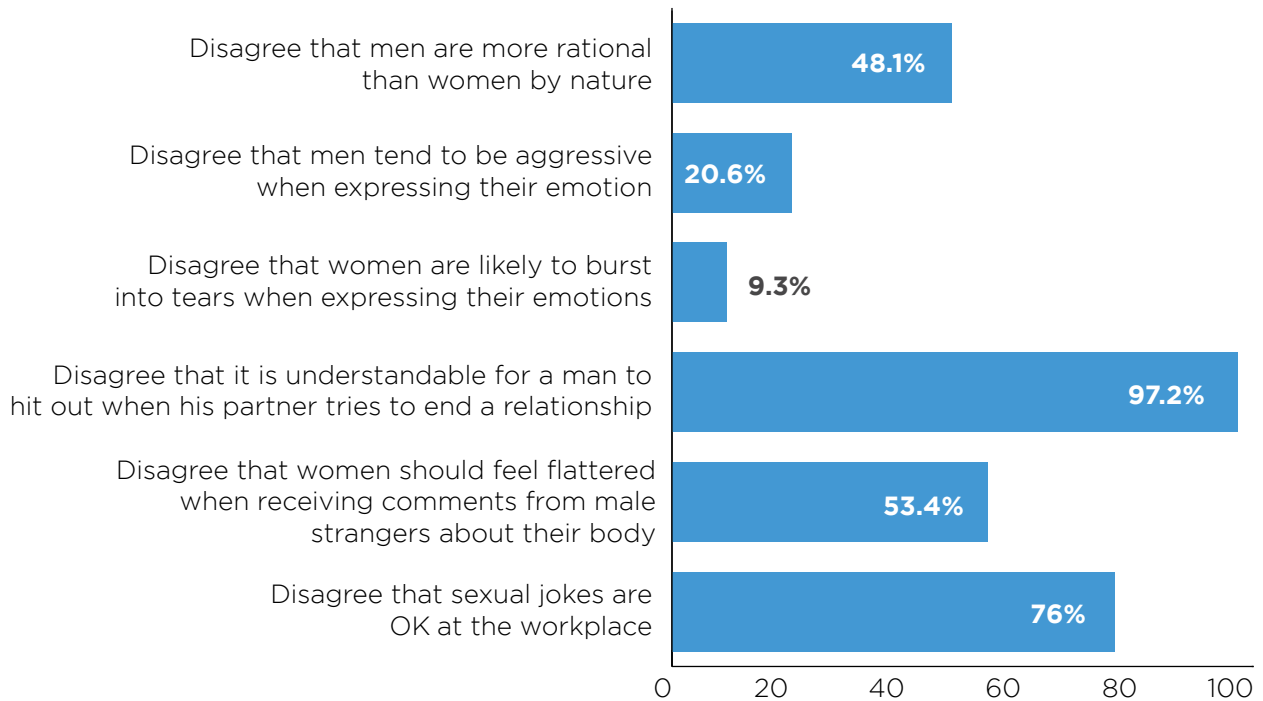
A statement which was borderline was the one regarding women’s reaction to comments made by strangers regarding their bodies. Most participants felt

that women do not feel flattered when strangers pass comments about their bodies although this statement got a 54.3% score.

Most of the participants did not agree that sexual jokes at the place of work were okay (76.0%), or that it is understandable that men hit out when their partner ends a relationship (97.2%). This statement got the highest percentage score.

The average percentage mark for this section was quite low at 50.9%. The score was lower than the one attained for the section dealing with the private sphere.

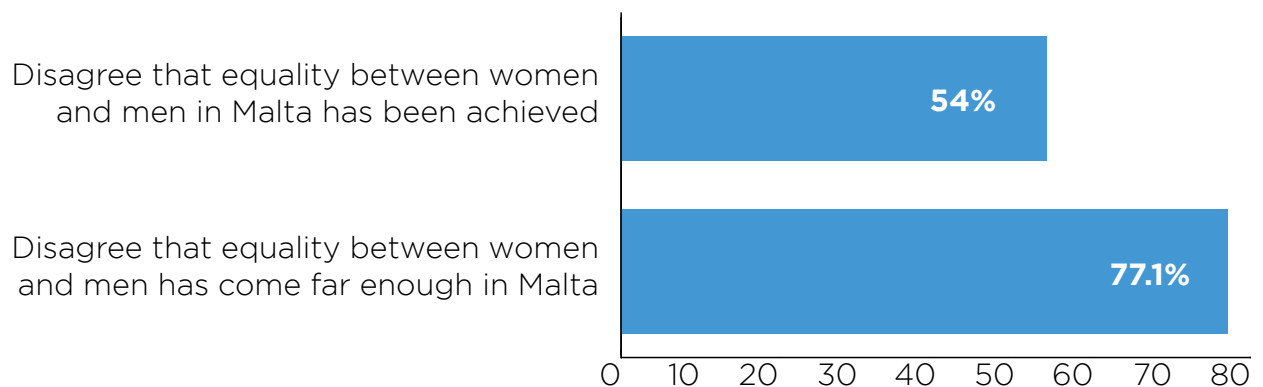
Figure 4 - Progressive attitudes towards gendered behaviour, all participants, %



*Attainment of Equality in Malta, All Participants*

Most participants disagreed that equality between men and women in Malta has gone far enough (77.1%), or that equality between women and men has been achieved (54.0%) – which was somewhat low. The average percentage point for this section amounted to 65.6%.

Figure 5 - Attainment of equality in Malta, all participants, %





### Summary

In order to find out how progressive the participants were in each section, the percentages for each statement were added up and divided by the number of statements found in that section. This was used as an indication of how ‘progressive’ the participants were when it came to gender roles in the private and public sphere; when it came to children together with youth; gendered behaviour: as well as the attainment of equality in Malta. This exercise was undertaken because the more the participants agreed/disagreed with a given statement, this was taken as an indication of ‘progressiveness’. This exercise will be undertaken for each variable used to analyse the data, namely gender, education, district, occupation, civil status and age.

The highest percentage average score in this section was attained in the public sphere (76.8%) and the lowest was recorded in the section on society’s expectations of gendered behaviour (50.9%) (Table 1). This is a rough indication of where more work needs to be done.

Table 1 – Average percentage points per section, all participants

	Average percentage point by section
Private sphere	69.5%
Public sphere	76.8%
Children and youth	74.4%
Gendered behaviour	50.9%
Attainment of equality in Malta	65.6%

### Gender

When the data was analysed, the results showed that men and women had different gender role expectations.

#### Private Sphere, by Gender

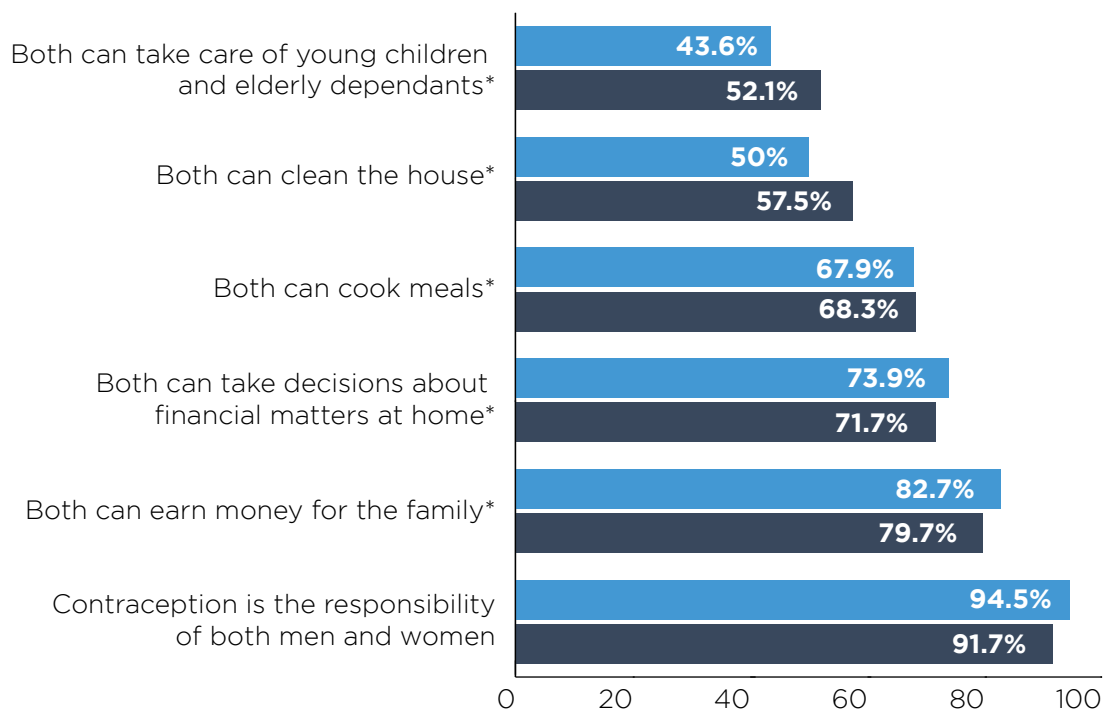
With regards to gender role expectations in the private sphere, the percentage for the six statements was almost all 50+, except for the one regarding taking care of children and elderly dependants (Figure 6). Female participants were more likely to regard it as their responsibility; in fact, the percentage for this statement amounted to 43.0%, while their male counterparts amounted to 52.1%. Lomazzi (2022) underlines that when women speak about gender roles in the private sphere in surveys, respondents tend to reflect on the actual situation, and how they are affected at home, rather than their belief on who should be doing what. They might not support the specialization of roles in the private sphere but find that there is a wide difference between their beliefs and what happens, so they stick to reality.

Female participants were more likely than their male counterparts to agree that contraception, earning money for the family and taking financial decisions were the responsibilities of both partners. Both male and female participants agreed that cooking can be done by both men and women.

In this section, the average percentage points attained by female respondents amounted to 68.8%, while that for men amounted to 70.2%. This means that female respondents were slightly more traditional than their male counterparts where the gendered division of labour in the private sphere was concerned.

The results attained by this NCPE survey were like those attained by the 2019 Global Attitudes Survey which was carried out in 34 countries. Horowitz & Fetterolf (2020) in their analysis of the 2019 Global Attitudes survey also found that most respondents thought that both men and women have the same influence in the private domain when it comes to household finances and raising children. The Global Attitudes Survey also got a high scoring when it came to women being seen as having more influence when it came to raising children, like the one attained in the NCPE study.

Figure 6 - Progressive attitudes on gender roles in the private sphere, by gender, %



\*Statistically significant

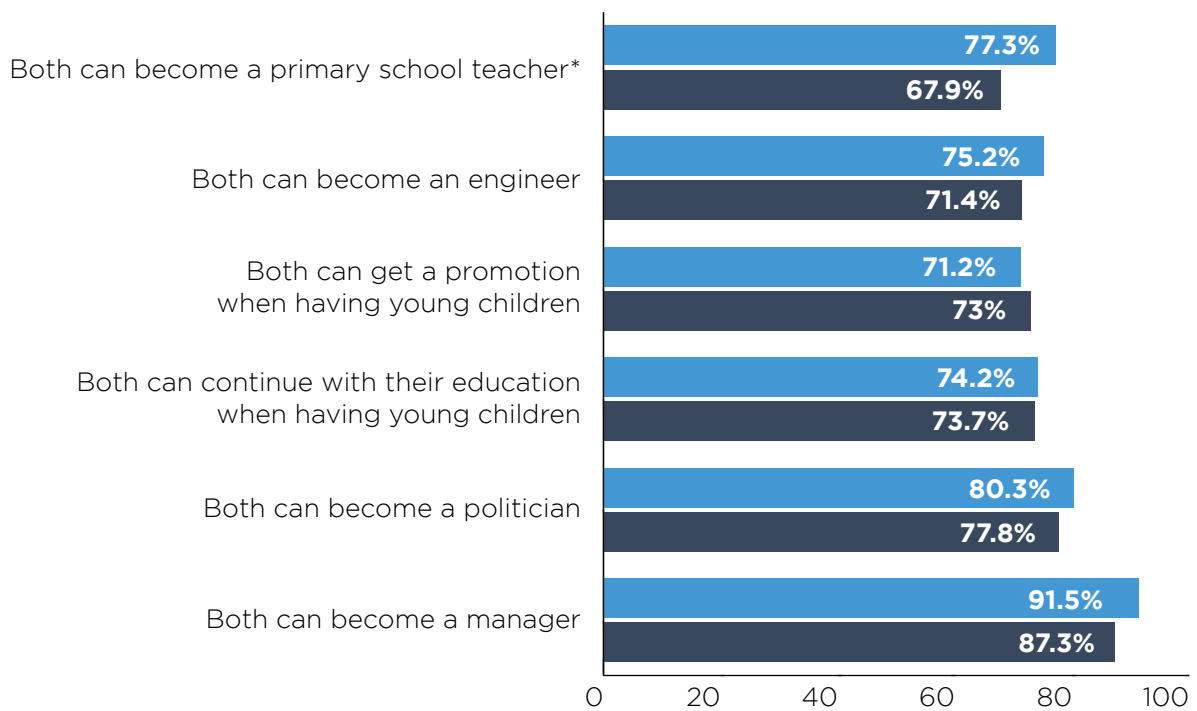
UN Women (2022), on the other hand, note that in their study, men were more likely to endorse traditional roles. In the UN survey, male respondents felt that men should be the breadwinner, while women should look after the house and family. The results of the NCPE study seem more ambivalent. In the last-mentioned survey, the respondents felt that women should participate in both spheres, with men playing a bigger role in the private one.

The results derived from the NCPE survey demonstrate that there is a discrepancy between expectations or perceptions, and what takes place. When comparing these results with the data provided by EIGE

(2022) on the division of labour within the household, it is clear that men are not devoting as much time to looking after children and vulnerable family members, cooking or cleaning as women. There seems to be a discrepancy between the beliefs espoused by male respondents in the NCPE survey, and what they do at home. This might derive from the fact that they might want to do more, but structural factors are keeping them back, namely the forty-hour week and the fact that when women work part-time or devote themselves to the family, men must work more (Eurostat, 2021).

*Public Sphere, by gender*

Figure 7 - Progressive attitudes on gender roles in public sphere, %



\*Statistically significant

### *Public Sphere, by Gender*

In this section, the public roles listed in Figure 7 were analysed. Both male and female participants held progressive attitudes towards gender roles in the public sphere since the percentages attained for each statement were way higher than 50%. Female respondents were more likely to agree with the following statements when compared to their male counterparts – both can become an engineer, politician, primary school teacher, manager and continue studying when they have young children. Male participants were more likely to agree that both can get a promotion when having young children.

The percentage points listed under the column marked *Both* were added separately for male and female respondents and divided by 6. The results amounted to an average of 78.3% for female respondents, and 75.2% for male ones. One can also note that the average percentage points for both genders is higher than the one attained in the previous section.

This denotes that women and men support progressive roles in the public sphere but do less so when it comes to the private one.

Lomazzi (2022) notes that progressive gender role attitudes are rarely manifest in both spheres, that is in the public and private spheres. In most countries, despite the progressive attitudes in the public sphere, gender role expectations tend to be more traditional in the private one. This might imply that in countries where women work outside the home, family and work policies are not generous enough to enable them to balance family and work responsibilities. This difference in

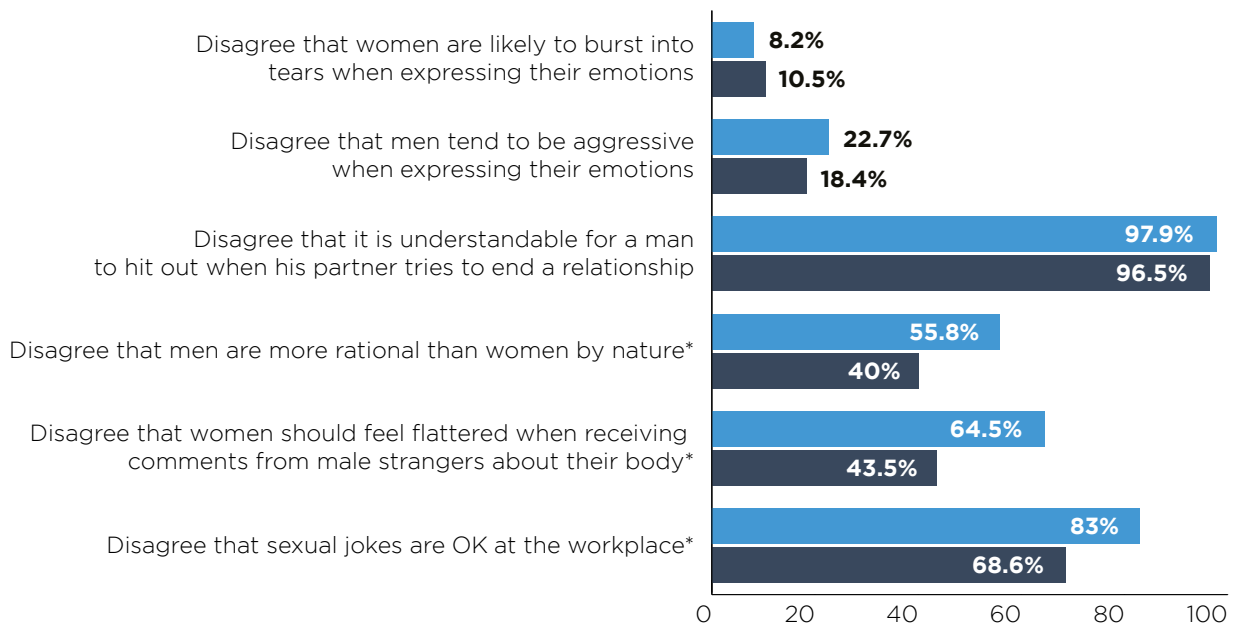
percentage points might also denote that the society in question might support more traditional gender roles in the domestic domain. As Lomazzi (2022) underlines, when this happens, it might point to the fact that institutional measures support egalitarian gender roles in the public rather than the private sphere. When policies tend to favour women's economic and political participation, but neglect the promotion of equality in the household, the transition from formal norms to substantive practices and values will take a longer time to occur. When policies promote formal equality in the public sphere and forget to address substantial equality in the domestic domain, this will help undermine the inter-generational transmission of progressive gender role expectations (Farre & Vella, 2013 as cited by Lomazzi, 2022).

### *Social Expectations Regarding Children and Youth, by Gender.*

This section focuses on gender role expectations relating to children and youth. The results for the female participants for the six statements surpassed the 50+ demarcation line. They were more likely than their male counterparts to believe that boys can play with dolls (this had the lowest percentage at 50.6%), and that all school subjects can be taken by both boys and girls. Both male and female participants got high almost equivalent percentages when it came to disagreeing that boys should be more encouraged to further their education while agreeing that rough sports can be conducted by girls.

Male participants, on the other hand, were more likely to agree that girls can ask boys out or that doing ballet is okay for boys. They did not agree though that it is alright for boys to play with dolls (39.7%).

Figure 8- Progressive attitudes regarding gendered behaviour by gender, %



\*Statistically significant

\*In this section, the average percentage attained by female participants amounted to 65.0%, while male respondents attained 60.2%.

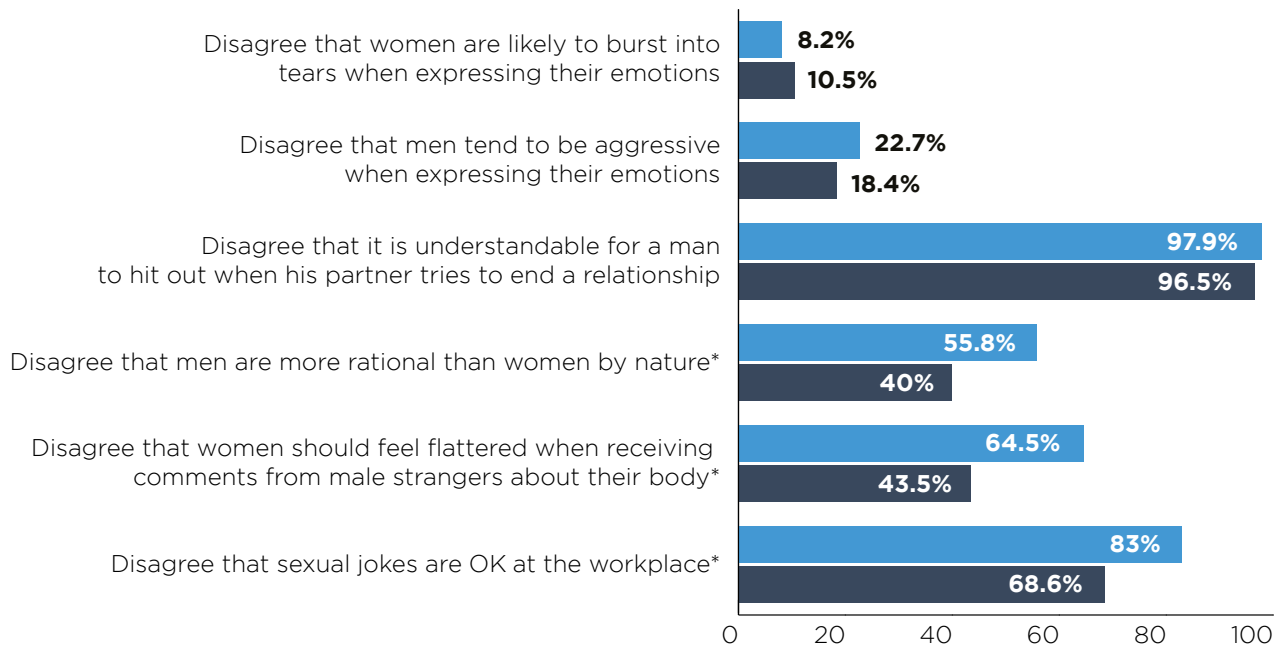
*Social Expectations Regarding Gendered Behaviour, by Gender*

In this section, the focus is on how the participants reacted to some of the statements which delineated gendered behaviour. In this section, there were two

statements - ‘men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions together with women tend to burst into tears when expressing their emotions’ - which scored lower than 50%. The participants - both male and female - agreed with these statements, not realizing that how people react to emotions tends to be culture-specific rather than gender specific. This means that the way people deal with emotions depends on the individual rather than the gender (Devlin, 2019).



Figure 9 - Progressive attitudes regarding gendered behaviour by gender, %



\*Statistically significant

Female participants were more likely to disagree that sexual jokes at the workplace were okay, the men were more rational, or that women should feel flattered when they received comments about their bodies from strangers. The highest percentage score was linked with the statement saying that it is not acceptable that men get aggressive when their partner tries to end a relationship (97.9% of female respondents disagreed with

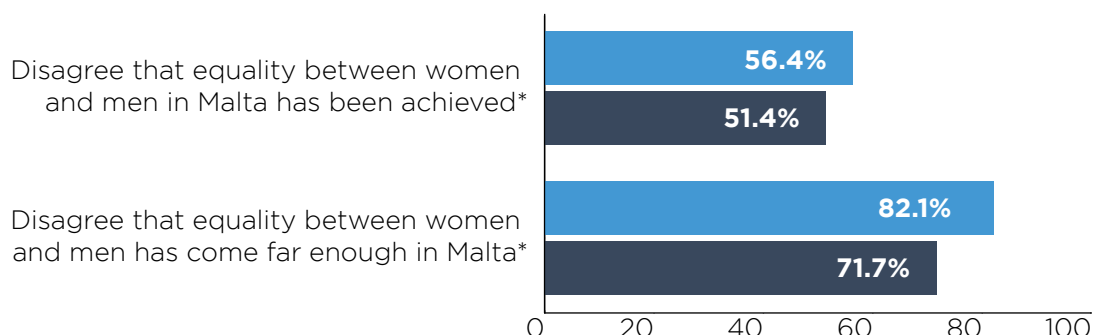
the statement, while 96.5% of the male participants did the same). This might be due to the high media attention being paid to the femicide of Bernice Cassar (Brincat, 2023).

For this section, the average percentage scores amounted to 74.5% where female participants were concerned and 74.3% for male respondents. As one can note, the difference in average percentage scores was quite low.

Female participants were more likely to disagree that sexual jokes at the workplace were okay, the men were more rational, or that women should feel flattered when they received comments about their bodies from strangers

### Attainment of Equality in Malta, by Gender

Figure 10 - Equality in Malta, %



\*Statistically significant

When asked whether equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta or whether it has been achieved, both male and female respondents were more likely to disagree, with female ones being more likely to do so. Both sets of respondents were more likely to disagree with the first, rather than the second statement, namely that equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved.

The average percentage scores for this section amounted to 69.3% for females, and to an average of 61.6% for male participants.

Horowitz & Fetterolf (2020) note that in similar surveys conducted among 34 countries in the world, women tended to give more importance to gender equality than men in all countries. They also underline that women tend to be less optimistic about gender equality than men, a result which mirrors the current NCPE one. Men tend to be more optimistic than women about prospects for gender equality. In their own research, Horowitz & Fetterolf found that in 20 out of 34 countries, women were more likely to say that gender equality was very important.

### Summary

Table 2 - Average percentage scores, by gender

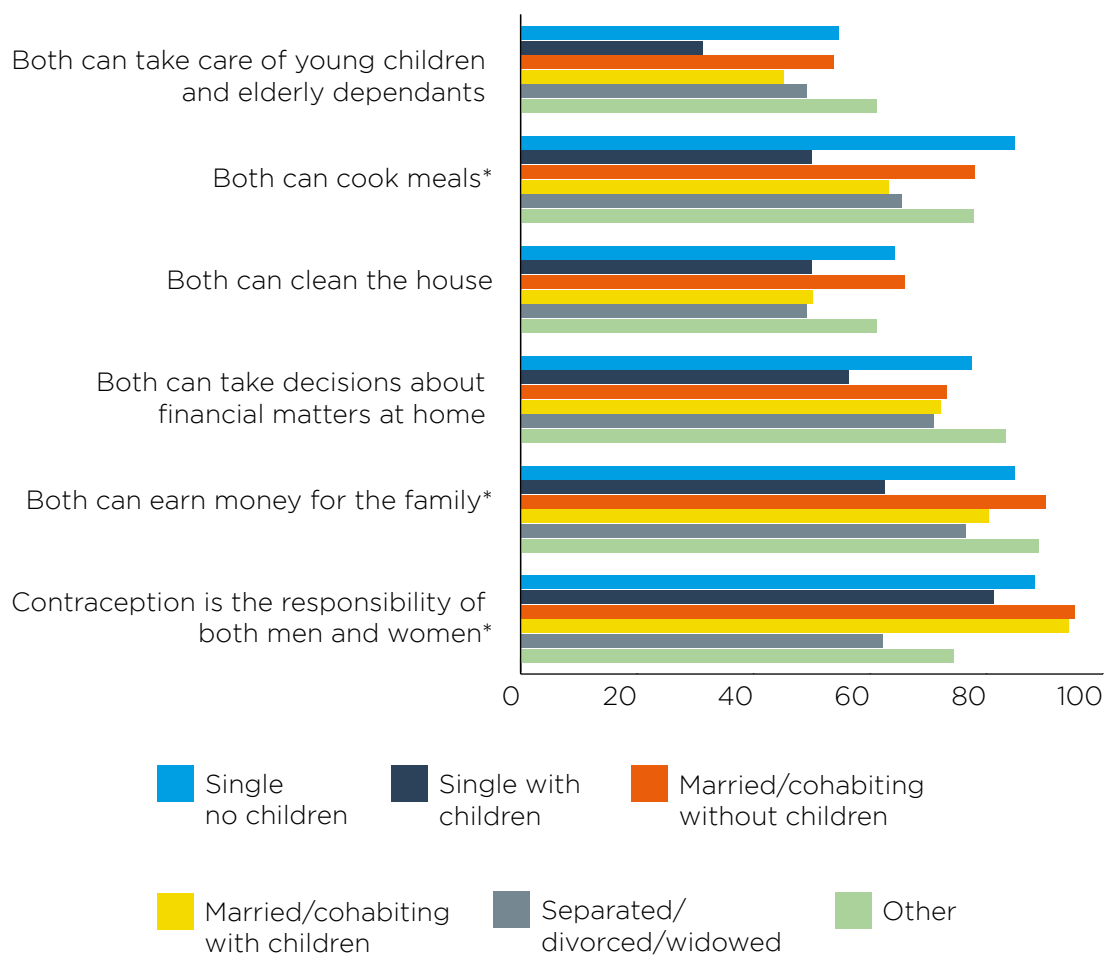
	Female	Male
Private sphere	68.8	70.2
Public sphere	78.3	75.2
Social expectations regarding children and youth	74.5	74.3
Social expectations regarding gendered behaviour	55.5	46.3
Attainment of equality in Malta	69.3	61.6
Average	69.3	65.6

As the data in Table 2 demonstrates, female respondents had a slight edge (3.9%) over their male counterparts where progressive gender role expectations were concerned. They had higher percentage average scores than their male counterparts, apart from the section on gender roles in the private sector.

female respondents had a slight edge over their male counterparts where progressive gender role expectations were concerned

**Age**  
*Private Sphere*

Figure 11 - Progressive attitudes towards gender roles in the private sphere, %



\*Statistically significant



When it came to assessing gender role perceptions in the private sphere, it became clear that 18- to 25-year-old participants had more progressive ideas. From the percentages attained, this cohort believed that domestic chores needed to be shared by both. The only times this cohort did not attain the highest percentage scores were linked with the taking of financial decisions, cleaning and taking care of dependants. Respondents aged 66+ tended to have more traditional gender role expectations where these chores were concerned.

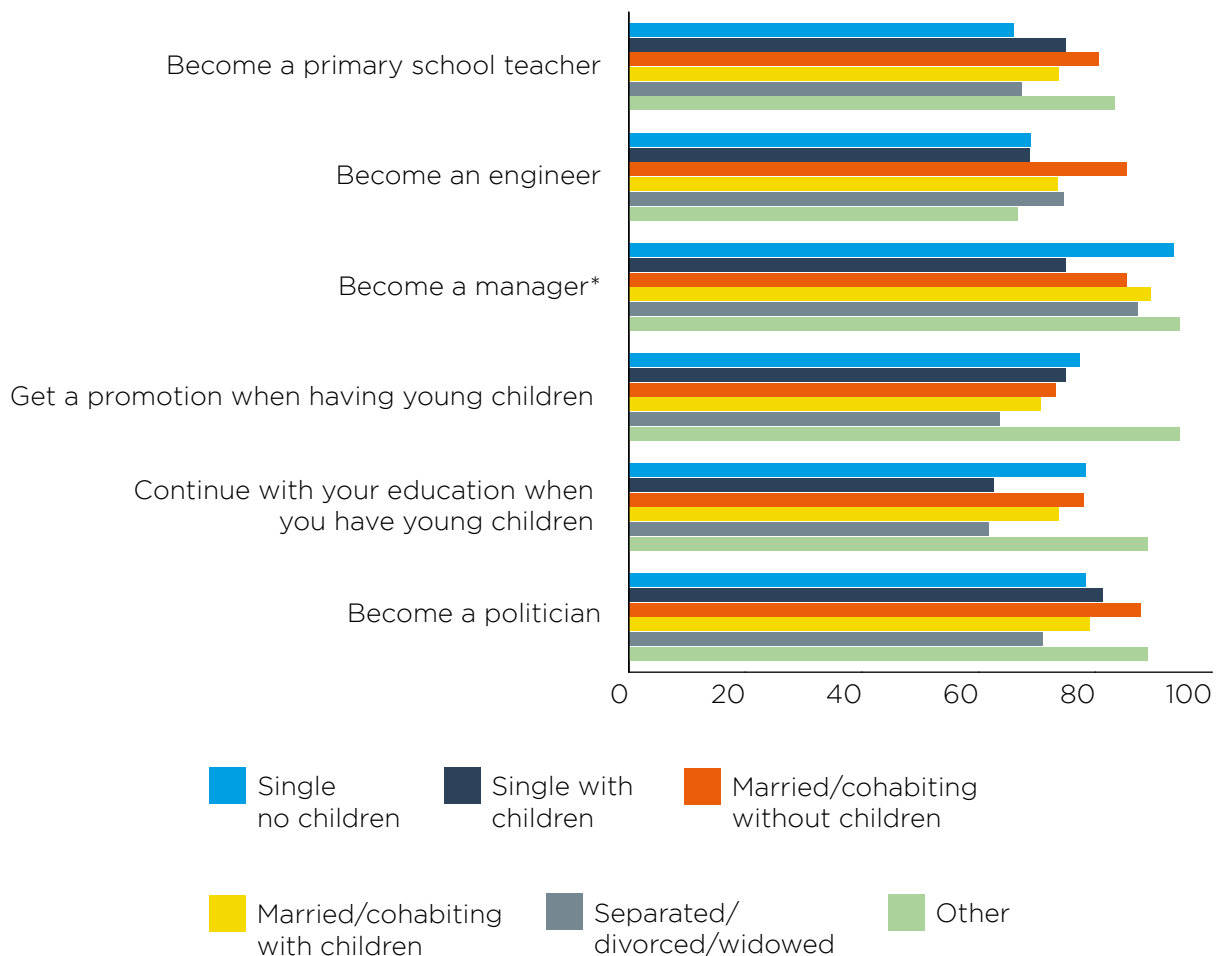
Once again, where cleaning was concerned, only those aged 36 to 45 and 18 to 25 attained more than 50%, while the

rest of their age cohorts did not surpass this benchmark.

*Public Sphere*

The pattern described in the private sphere above was not obtained when it came to gender roles in the public sphere. The participants' percentage scores amounted to more than 50 for all statements. Those aged between 46 and 55 got the highest percentages when it came to statements regarding the fact that both men and women can get a promotion when they have young children, and both can become primary school teachers or engineers. Those aged between 56 and 65 got the highest percentage scores when it

Figure 12 - Progressive attitudes towards gender roles in the public sphere, by age, %



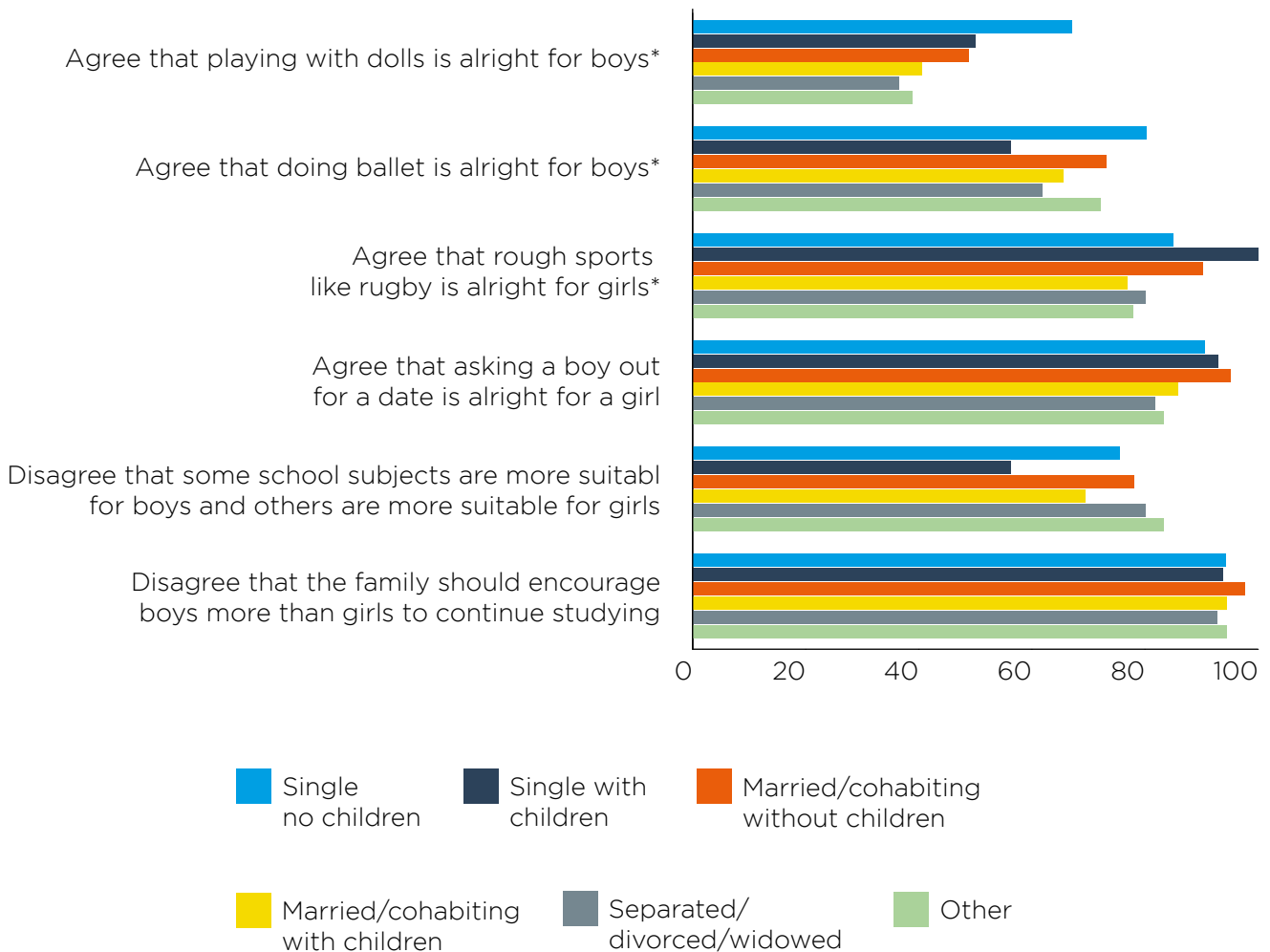
came to both men and women becoming politicians or continuing with their education when having young children. The 26- to 35-year-old participants were more likely to agree that both can become managers.

When it came to percentage average scores 46 to 55 age cohort got an average of 80.8%, while the 56 to 65 got an average of 80.0% (see Table 3). This means they had more progressive gender role expectations where gender roles in the public sphere were concerned.

*Social Expectations Regarding Children and Youth, by Age*

In this section, 18- to 25-year-old participants attained the highest percentage when it came to agreeing with the statement that it is okay for boys to play with dolls; girls to ask boys out; boys to do ballet; girls to play rough sports, while saying no to gender-differentiated school subjects. The only statement they did not get the highest percentage was the one linked with disagreeing with the fact that families should promote boys rather than girls to further their education. The 26 to 35 age cohort attained the highest percentage here.

Figure 13 - Progressive expectations regarding children and youth by age, %



What is interesting is that when it came to boys playing with dolls, while the 18 to 35 age cohort had a percentage score higher than 50, the rest did not surpass this benchmark.

This was the only statement where percentages per age cohort were lower than 50.

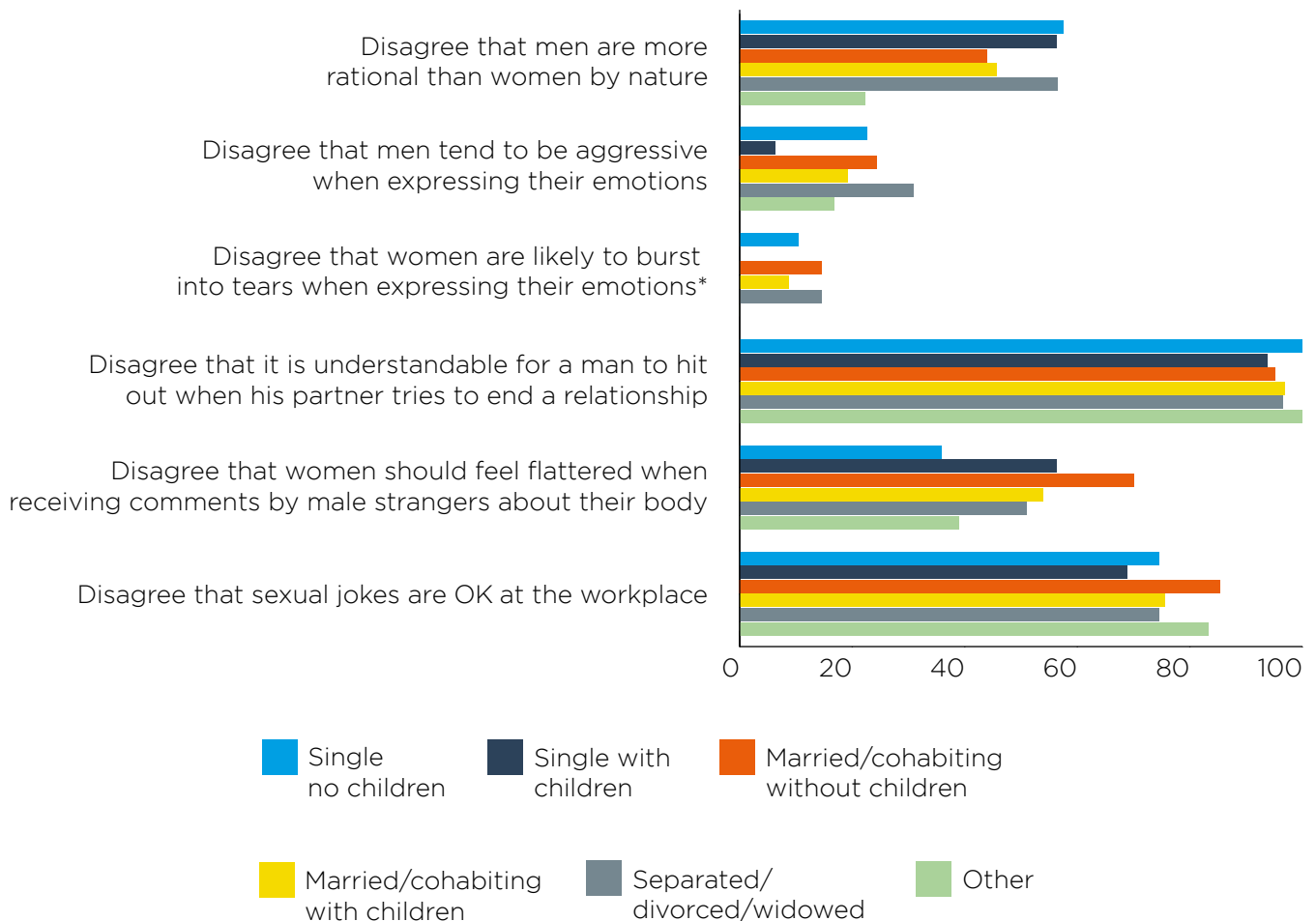
As Table 3 demonstrates, the 18 to 25 age cohort attained the average percentage score in this section, with the 66+ attaining the lowest percentage score.

*Social expectations regarding gendered behaviour, by age*

The results followed a similar pattern when it came to social expectations regarding gendered behaviour. Participants aged 18 to 25 were more likely to disagree with a man hitting his partner when she ends the relationship; that a woman is flattered when she receives unsolicited comments about her body from strangers; that men are aggressive or that women revert to tears when emotional. The 50 per cent benchmark was not attained by any of the cohorts for the last two statements.

The 26 to 35 age cohort got higher percentage results for the statement regarding men being more rational, while 36 - to 45-year-old respondents did so when it came to sexual jokes being okay at work.

Figure 14 - Progressive attitudes towards social expectations of gendered behaviour by age, %



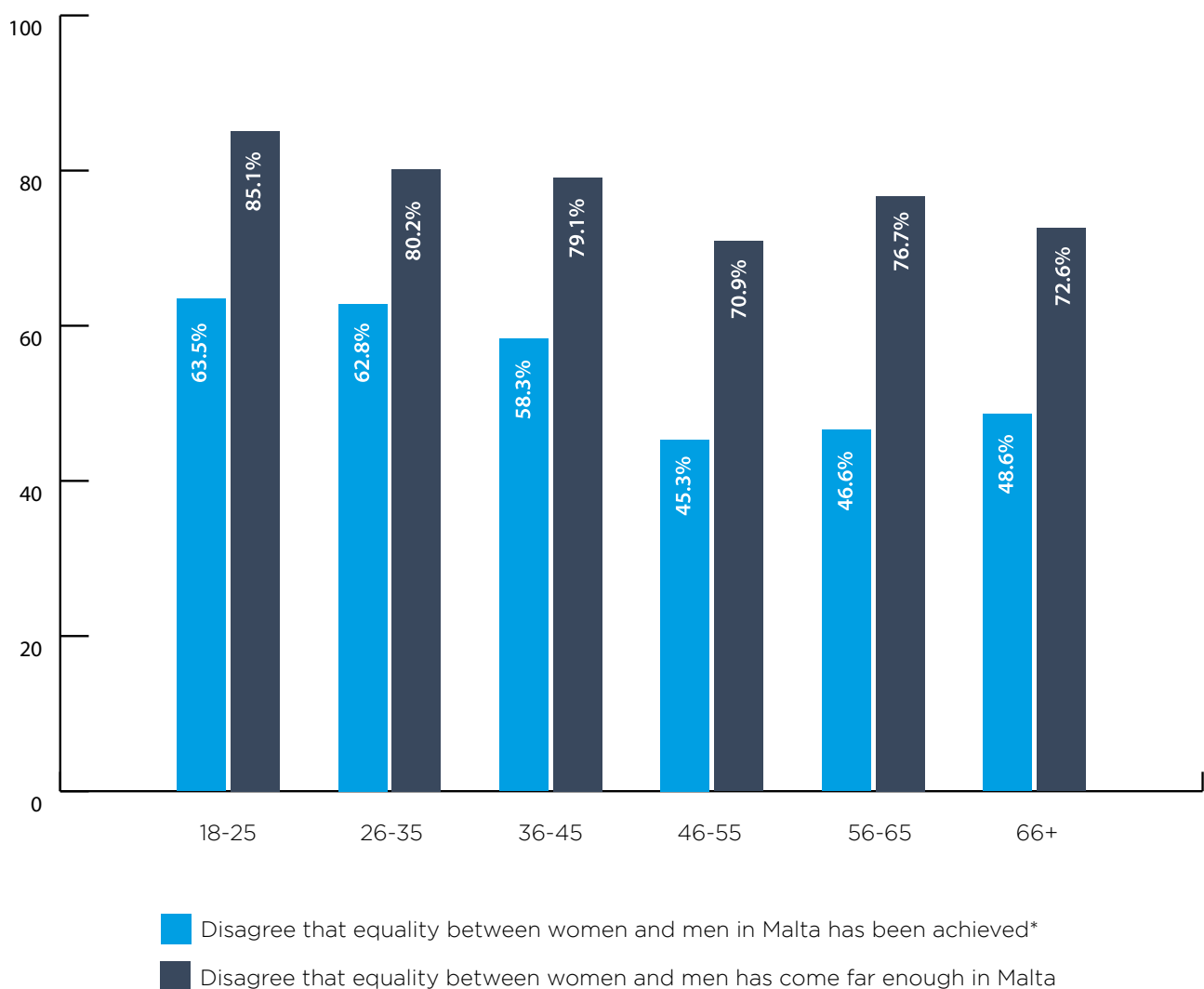
The highest average percentage scores were attained by the 18 to 25 followed by the 26 to 35 age cohorts. The lowest average percentage scores were attained by 66+ respondents who tended to have more traditional gender role expectations when compared with their younger counterparts.

between women and men has been attained, or whether Malta has come far enough to attain this equality. UN Women (2022) also notes some differences in the importance given to gender equality across age groups. Younger age cohorts tend to give more importance to it. Those older than 46 years old were more likely to agree that equality between women and men has been achieved.

### Attainment of Equality in Malta, by Age

When it came to the attainment of equality in Malta, 18- to 25-year-olds were more likely to question whether equality

Figure 15 - Attainment of equality in Malta by age, %



\*Statistically significant

### Summary

In order to see which age group had the most progressive attitudes, the average per section per age cohort was added up and divided by 5 (since there were 5 sections). The younger age cohorts (18-25) had more progressive gender attitudes when it came to gender roles in the private sphere, social expectations regarding children and youth, social expectations regarding gendered behaviour and the level of equality attained in Malta. The 46 to 55 age cohort had the most progressive orientation where gender roles in the public sphere were concerned.

Overall, the 66+ age cohort attained the lowest average percentage scores when it came to gender roles.

The younger age cohorts (18-25) had more progressive gender attitudes when it came to gender roles in the private sphere, social expectations regarding children and youth, social expectations regarding gendered behaviour and the level of equality attained in Malta

Table 3 - Average percentage scores, by age

	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66+
Private sphere	76.8	72.5	71.2	65.4	67.2	64.3
Public sphere	76.5	74.1	75.4	80.8	80.1	75.6
Social expectations regarding children and youths	86.7	79.0	72.52	72.1	72.0	66.2
Social expectations regarding gendered behaviour	56.1	55.1	49.6	45.4	44.8	37.4
Attainment of equality in Malta	74.3	71.5	68.7	58.1	61.7	60.6
<b>Average</b>	<b>74.1</b>	<b>70.4</b>	<b>67.5</b>	<b>64.4</b>	<b>65.2</b>	<b>60.8</b>

### Education

#### Private Sphere, by Level of Education

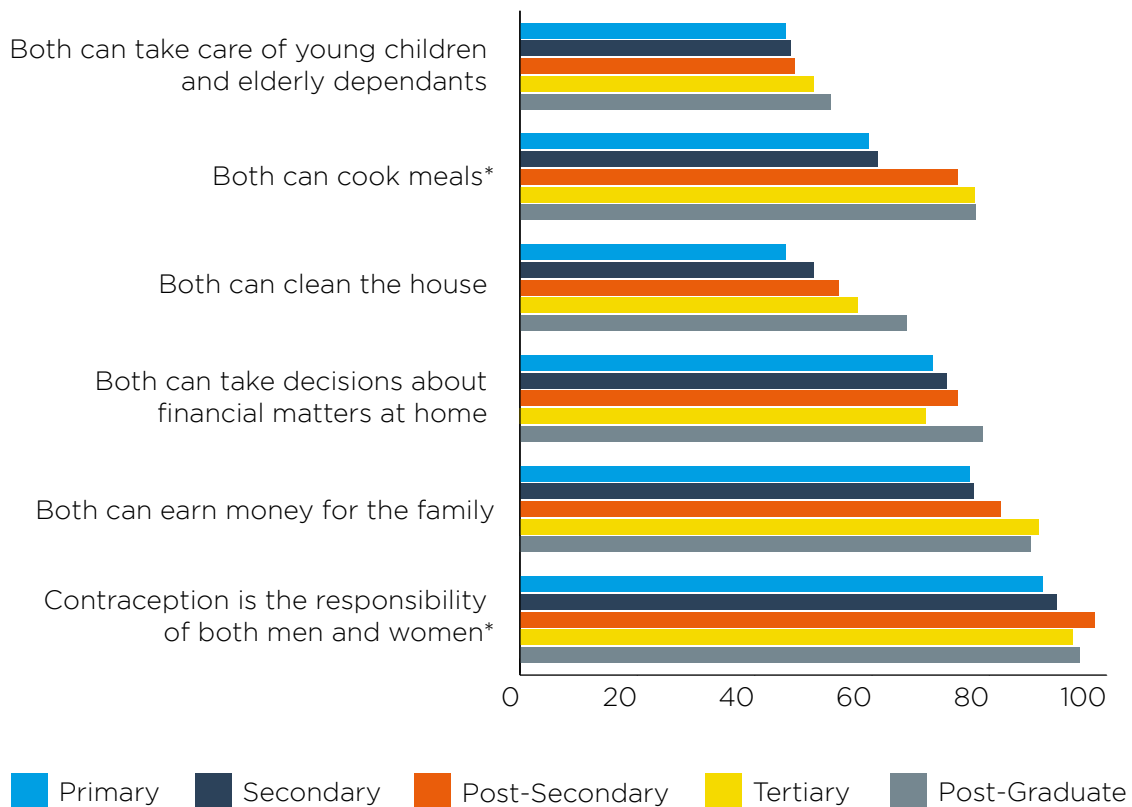
Figure 16 clearly demonstrates that respondents with a post-secondary and tertiary level of education tended to have progressive attitudes towards gendered roles within the private sphere. Those with a primary and secondary level of education attained the lowest percentage scores overall. The only surprise was the statement that both can take decisions about financial matters at home, where the cohort with a tertiary level of education attained the lowest percentage.



There were two statements where some of the cohorts did not attain a 50+ percentage point. This concerned the statement regarding cleaning the house, where the cohorts with a secondary level of education and a primary one got 50.0% and 45.3% respectively. The other statement regarded caring for dependants. Here all cohorts, apart from those with a postgraduate level of education, did not agree that this chore is shared by both.

In this section, those with a postgraduate level of education scored the highest average percentage score (76.3%), while those with a primary level of education scored the lowest (64.3%) (see Table 4 - Average percentage scores, by level of education, which is found at the end of this section).

Figure 16 - Progressive attitudes towards gender roles in the Private sphere by education, %



\*Statistically significant

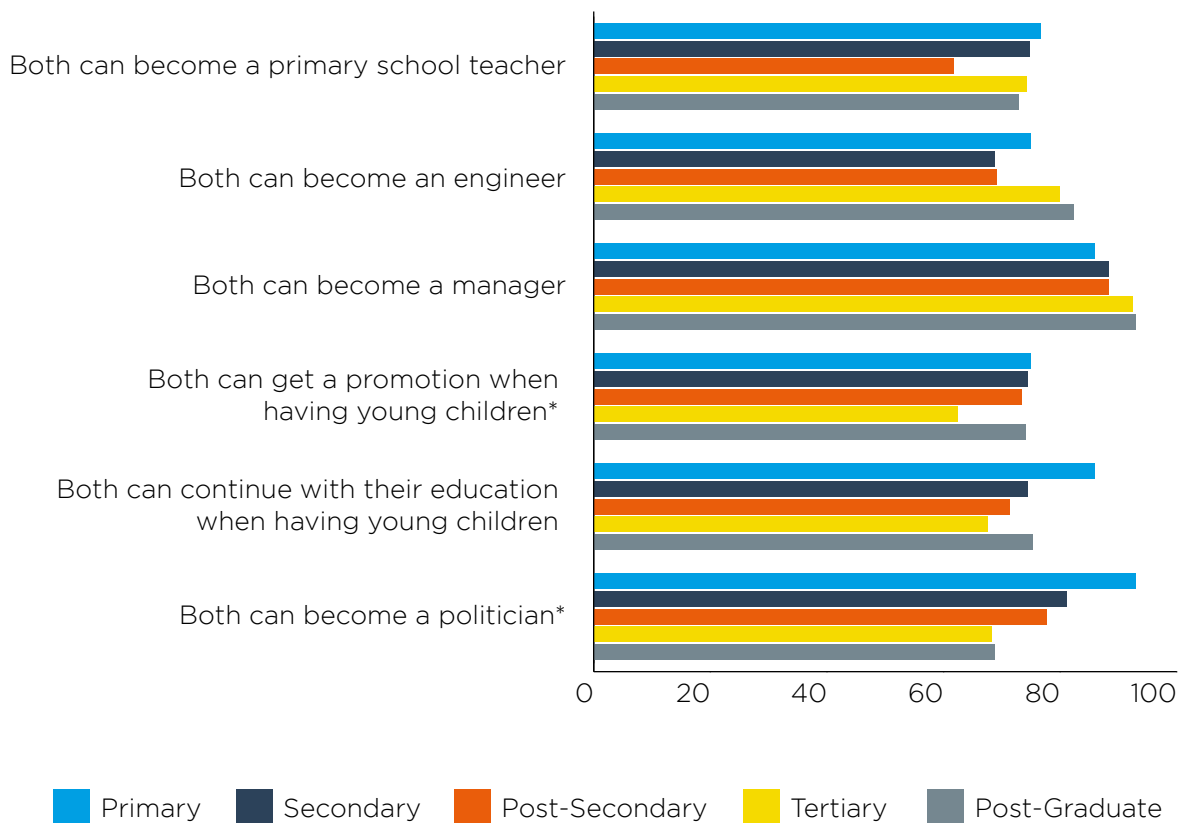
*Public Sphere, by Level of Education*

In this section, those with a primary level of education tended to have more progressive views when it came to gender roles in the public sphere. Participants with a primary level of education got the highest percentage scores with regards to both men and women can become politicians, can continue with their education when they have young children, can get a promotion when they have young children, or can become a primary school teacher.

Those with a post-secondary level of education or better scored higher scores collectively when it came to both men and women can become managers or engineers.

None of the percentage scores fell below the 50% demarcation point. This means that all respondents had more progressive attitudes towards women’s and men’s roles in the public sphere. Those with the highest average percentage scores were participants with a primary level of education (81.9%), while those with the lowest were those with a post-graduate level of education (77.7%) (Table 4).

Figure 17 - Progressive attitudes towards gender roles in the Public sphere, by level of education, %



\*Statistically significant

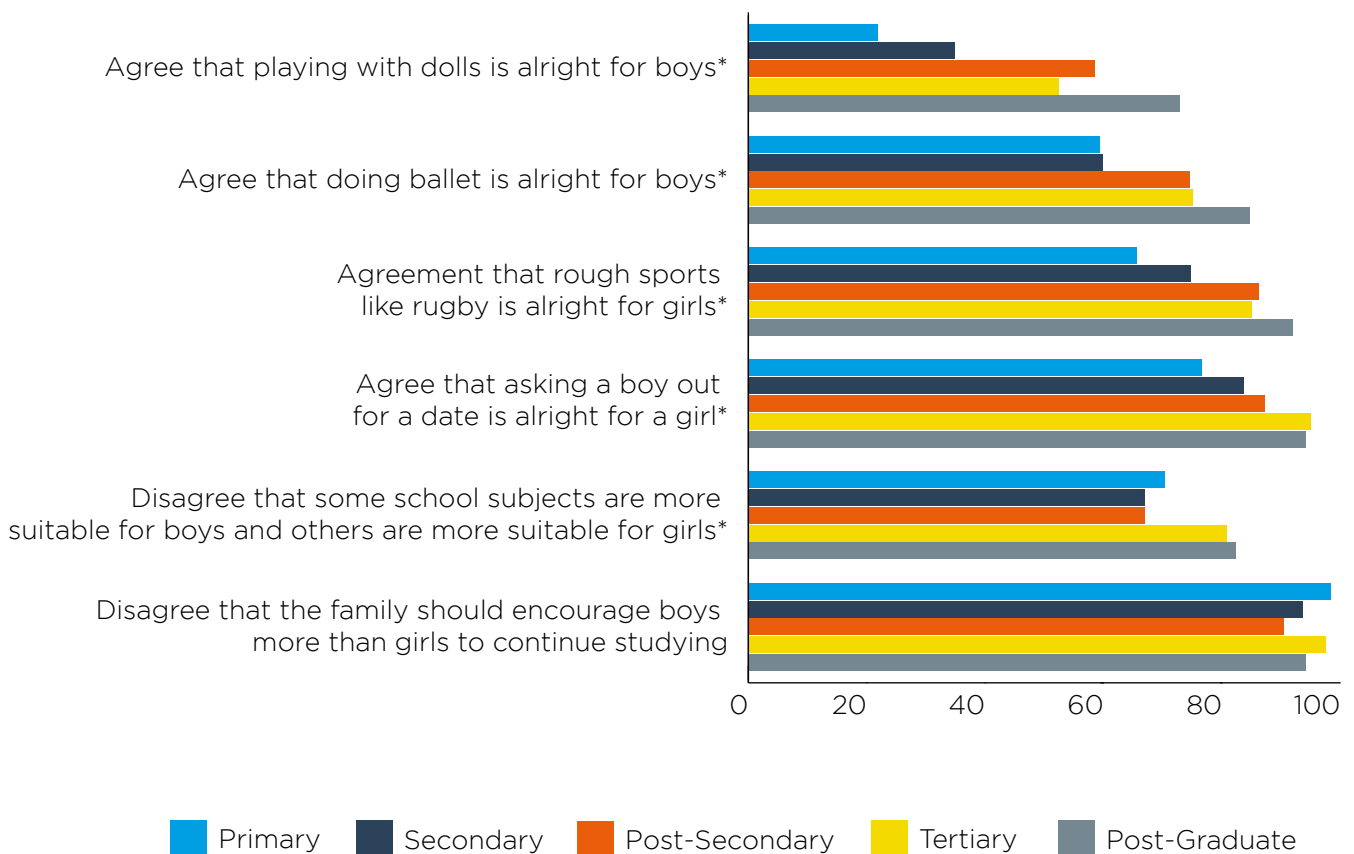
*Progressive Attitudes Regarding Children and Youth, by Level of Education*

Where gendered behaviour concerning children and youth was concerned, participants with a postgraduate or tertiary level of education tended to attain the highest percentage scores when it came to believing that families should push both boys and girls to continue their education, that school subjects can be studied by both, agreeing that girls can ask a boy out on a date or play rough sports, while agreeing that boys can do ballet. Those with a postgraduate level of education also agreed that boys can play with dolls. Their cohorts with a lower

level of education did not agree with this to that extent, while those with a primary and secondary level of education did not agree at all since these cohorts did not reach the 50+ demarcation point.

When it came to average percentage scores, those with a post-graduate level of education had the highest average percentage scores (86.7%), while those with a primary level of education had the lowest one (65.4%) (Table 4).

Figure 18 - Progressive attitudes towards social expectations of gendered behaviour where children and youth are concerned by level of education, %





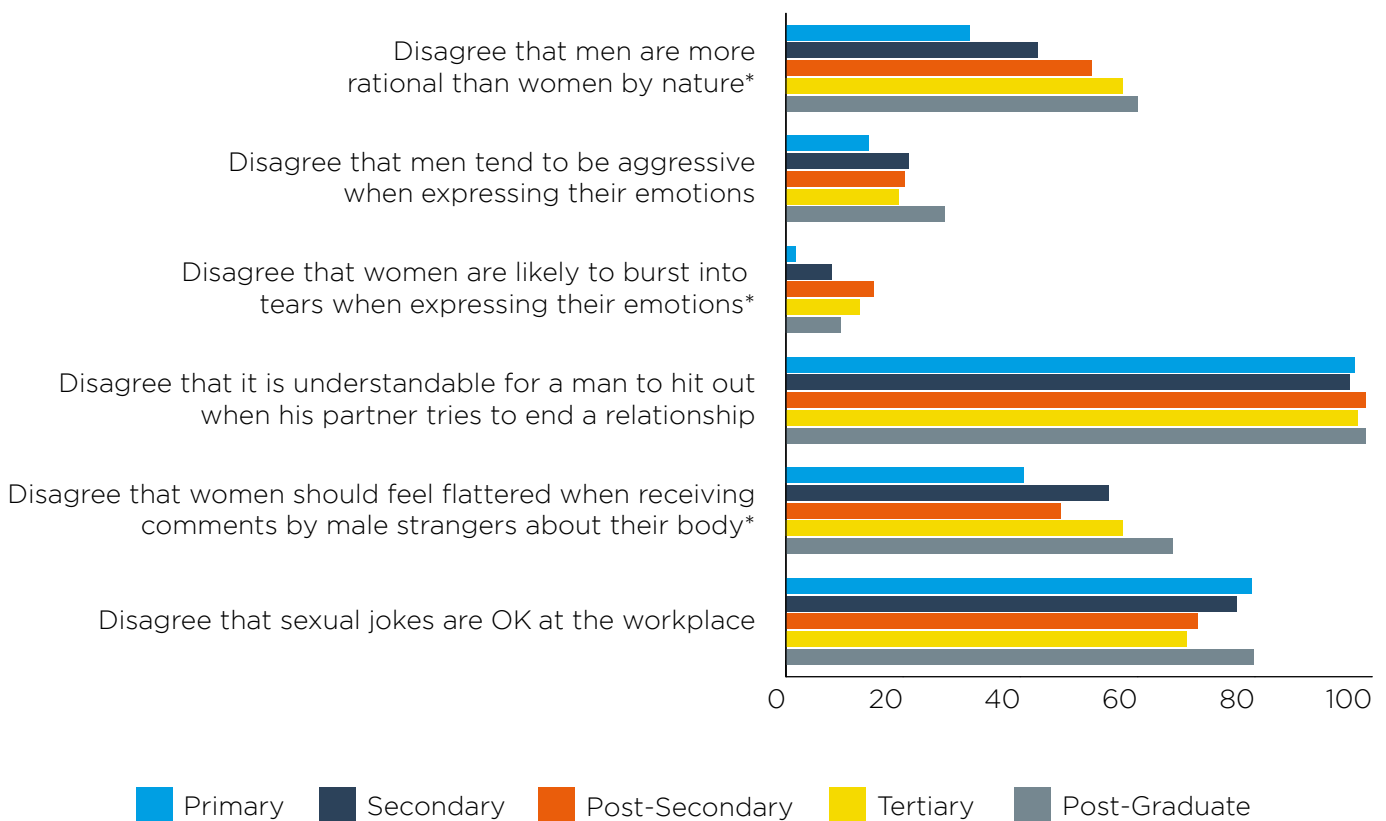
*Progressive Attitudes Regarding Gendered Behaviour, by Education*

The cohort with a post-graduate level of education also got the highest percentage scores in this section. They were more likely to disagree with sexual jokes at work; disagree with the fact that women would be flattered by comments about their body from a stranger; disagree with men physically lashing out when their partner ends a relationship (those with a post-secondary level of education got a 0.1% higher score); or that men are more rational than women.

There were two statements where all cohorts got percentage scores lower than 50. These were the statements saying that they disagree that men tend to be

aggressive when expressing themselves and the one linked to disagreeing with the fact that women tend to burst into tears when they become emotional. There were also two statements where some cohorts got a percentage lower than 50. One was the statement linked with disagreeing with the fact that women should feel flattered when complimented on their physical attributes by strangers. Here participants with a post-secondary and primary level of education got percentage scores lower than 50. The other statement concerned the fact that men tend to be more rational than women. Cohorts with a secondary and primary level of education were more likely to agree with this statement.

Figure 19 - Progressive attitudes regarding social expectations of gendered behaviour by level of education, %



\*Statistically significant

Once again, the cohort with a post-graduate level of education got the highest average percentage score (76.0%), while the lowest average was attained with the cohort with a secondary level of education (71.7%) (see Table 4).

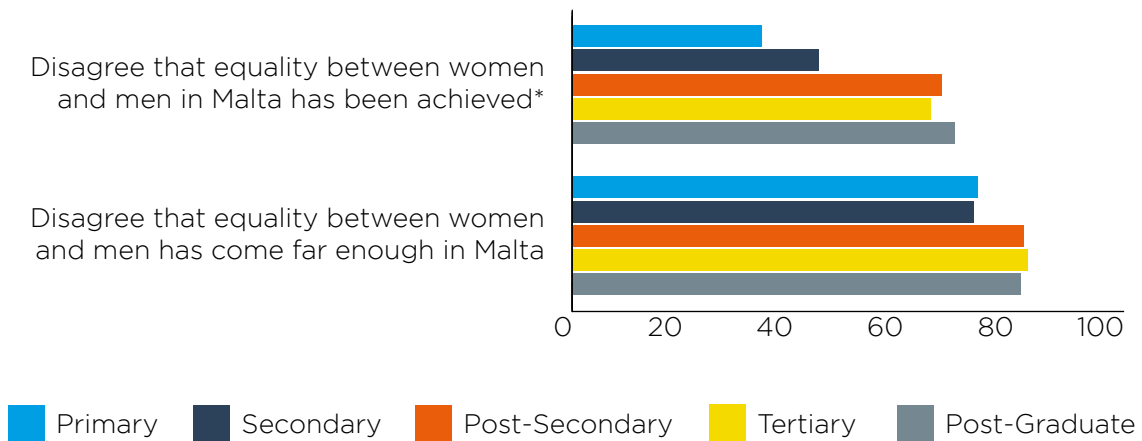
*Attainment of Equality in Malta, by Level of Education*

Participants with post-secondary education and higher were less likely to agree that equality between men and women has come far enough in Malta, or that equality between women and men has

been achieved. Although the percentage attained by all educational cohorts was quite high when it came to disagreeing with the statement that equality had come far enough, participants with a secondary and primary level were more likely to agree with the statement that equality between men and women has been achieved.

Once again participants with a post-graduate education attained the highest average percentage scores (75.3%), while those with a primary level of education got the lowest average at 53.9% (Table 4).

Figure 20 - Attainment of Equality in Malta, by level of education, %



\*Statistically significant



### Summary

Where education is concerned, one can notice a pattern in all figures, apart from the one on gender expectations in public roles. Those with higher education - cohorts with post - graduate (75.8%), tertiary (72.9%) and post-secondary (72.7%) levels of education - had more progressive gender role expectations or felt that more needed to be done to promote gender equality in Malta (Table 4). The only surprise came when respondents with a primary level of education obtained a higher percentage average where gender role expectations in the public sphere were concerned. More research needs to be carried out to find out why those with a lower level of education had more progressive attitudes to roles within the public sphere.

Overall, the results obtained by the NCPE survey were similar to ones obtained by other surveys. In other surveys, respondents with a lower education tended to have more traditional gender roles (Deole & Tugba, 2021; UN Women, 2022).

### Civil Status

#### *Private Sphere, by Civil Status*

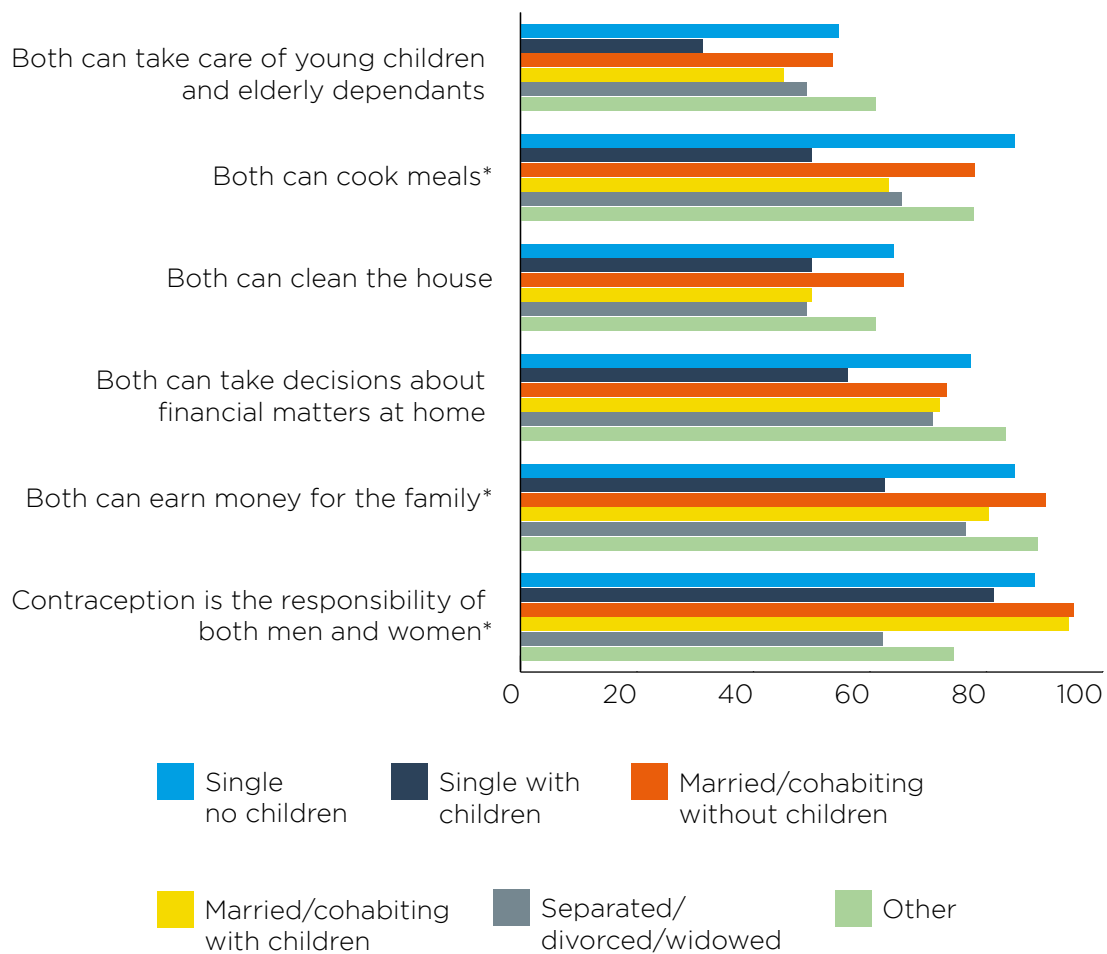
In this section, it was difficult to find a pattern as to which cohort had the most progressive gender role perceptions. Participants who were in a relationship but did not have children had the highest percentage when it came to both partners in a relationship earning money and cleaning. The category Other had the highest percentage when it came to both partners in a relationship taking decisions and taking care of dependants. Participants who were in a relationship and had children were more likely to choose that both partners are responsible for contraception. Those who were single and did not have children had the highest percentage when it came to both partners taking care of cooking.

All cohorts attained a 50+ score, except for separated/widowed/divorced, when it came to cleaning being something both partners did. This cohort together with those who were single without children also did not reach the 50 mark in relation to the statement stating that caring for dependants is the responsibility of both partners.

Table 4 - Average percentage scores, by level of education

	Primary	Secondary	Post-sec	Tertiary	Post-graduate
Private sphere	64.3	66.4	71.7	72.8	76.3
Public sphere	81.9	77.0	73.6	74.2	77.7
Social expectations regarding children and youth	65.4	69.0	77.3	81.0	86.7
Social expectations regarding gendered behaviour	73.3	71.7	72.3	72.7	76.0
Attainment of equality in Malta	53.9	58.7	74.45	73.75	75.3
<b>Average</b>	<b>69.4</b>	<b>69.1</b>	<b>72.7</b>	<b>72.9</b>	<b>75.8</b>

Figure 21 - Progressive attitudes towards gender roles in Private sphere, by civil status, %



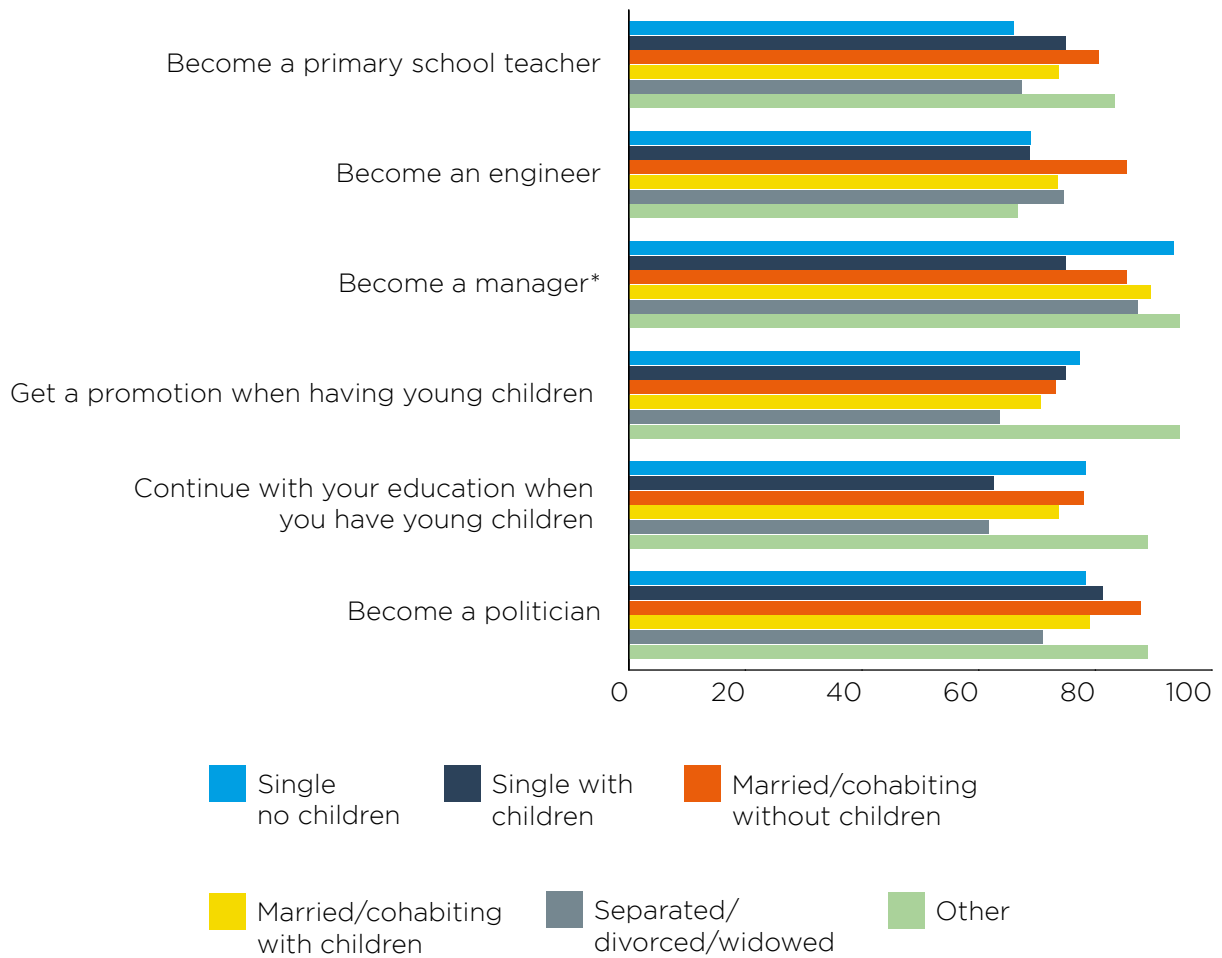
\*Statistically significant

In this section, those who were in a relationship but did not have children attained the highest average percentage score, hence they held the most progressive views (74.4%). Those who were divorced/separated/widowed attained the lowest at 64.3% average percentage score (Table 5 - Average percentage scores, by civil status).

Those who were in a relationship but did not have children attained the highest average percentage score, hence they held the most progressive views

*Public Sphere, by Civil Status*

Figure 22 - Progressive attitudes to gender roles in public sphere, by civil status, %



\*Statistically significant

In this section, when it came to public roles, those listed as Other attained the highest percentage scores when it came to both men and women can become primary school teachers, politicians, managers, and obtain an education or getting a promotion when having young children. Those who were married with no children got the highest percentage when they opted for the statement that said that both men and women can become engineers.

On average, those listed as Other had the most progressive gender role perceptions where public roles were concerned at 86.1%, while separated/divorced/widowed got the lowest average percentage score at 70.9% (Table 5).

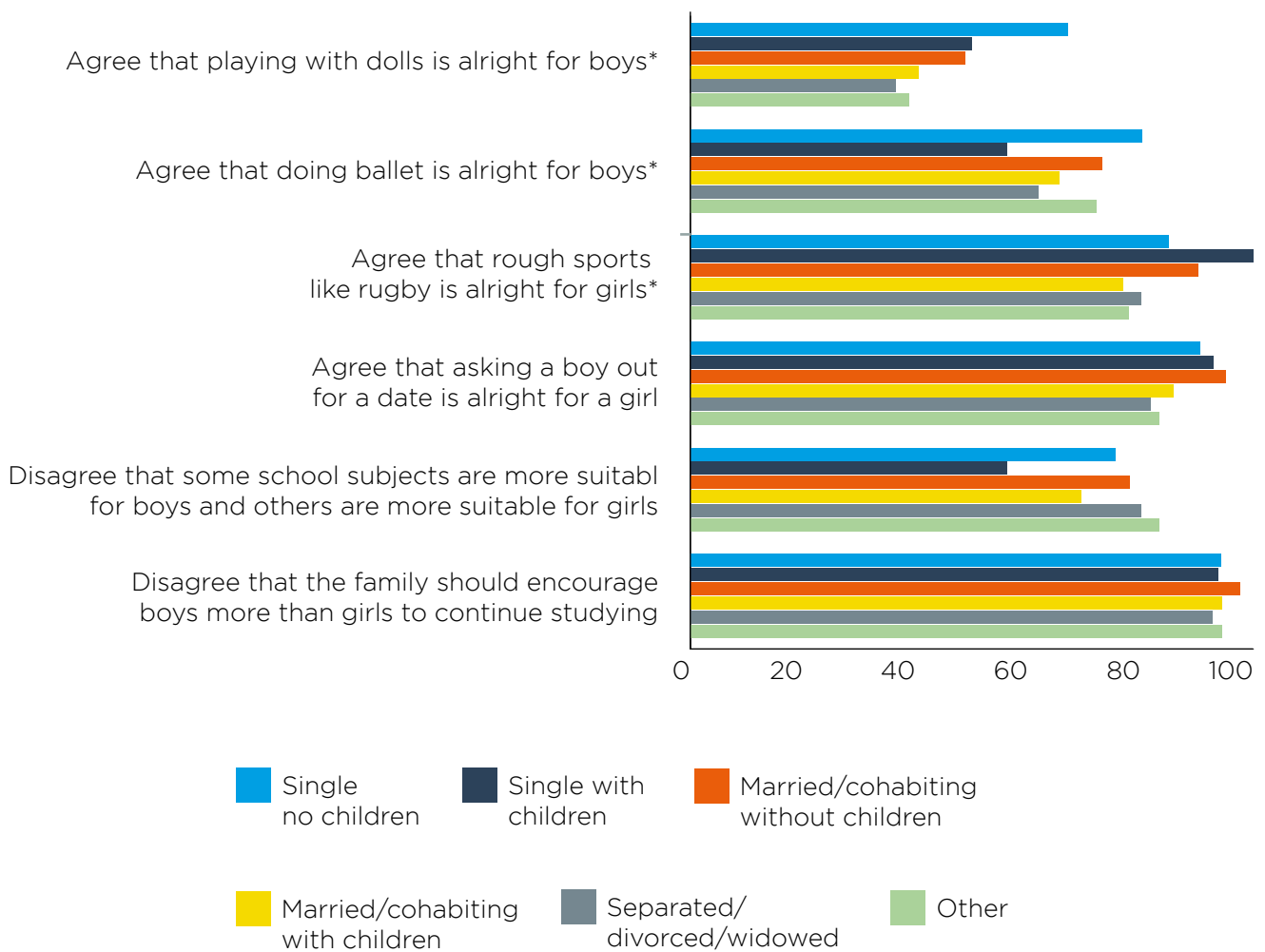
*Progressive Attitudes Regarding Children and Youth, by Civil Status*

When it came to children and youth, respondents who were married with no children were more likely to disagree that families should not only encourage boys to further their education, but they saw nothing wrong with girls asking boys out. Participants who were single with no children saw nothing wrong with boys playing with dolls or practising ballet. Those who were single with children scored the

highest percentage when it came to girls playing rough sports. The *Other* cohort on the other hand did not agree that there were certain school subjects which were for boys, while others were for girls.

From the analysis of this section, it was clear that the cohorts which had no children had more progressive ideas where gender role perceptions were concerned.

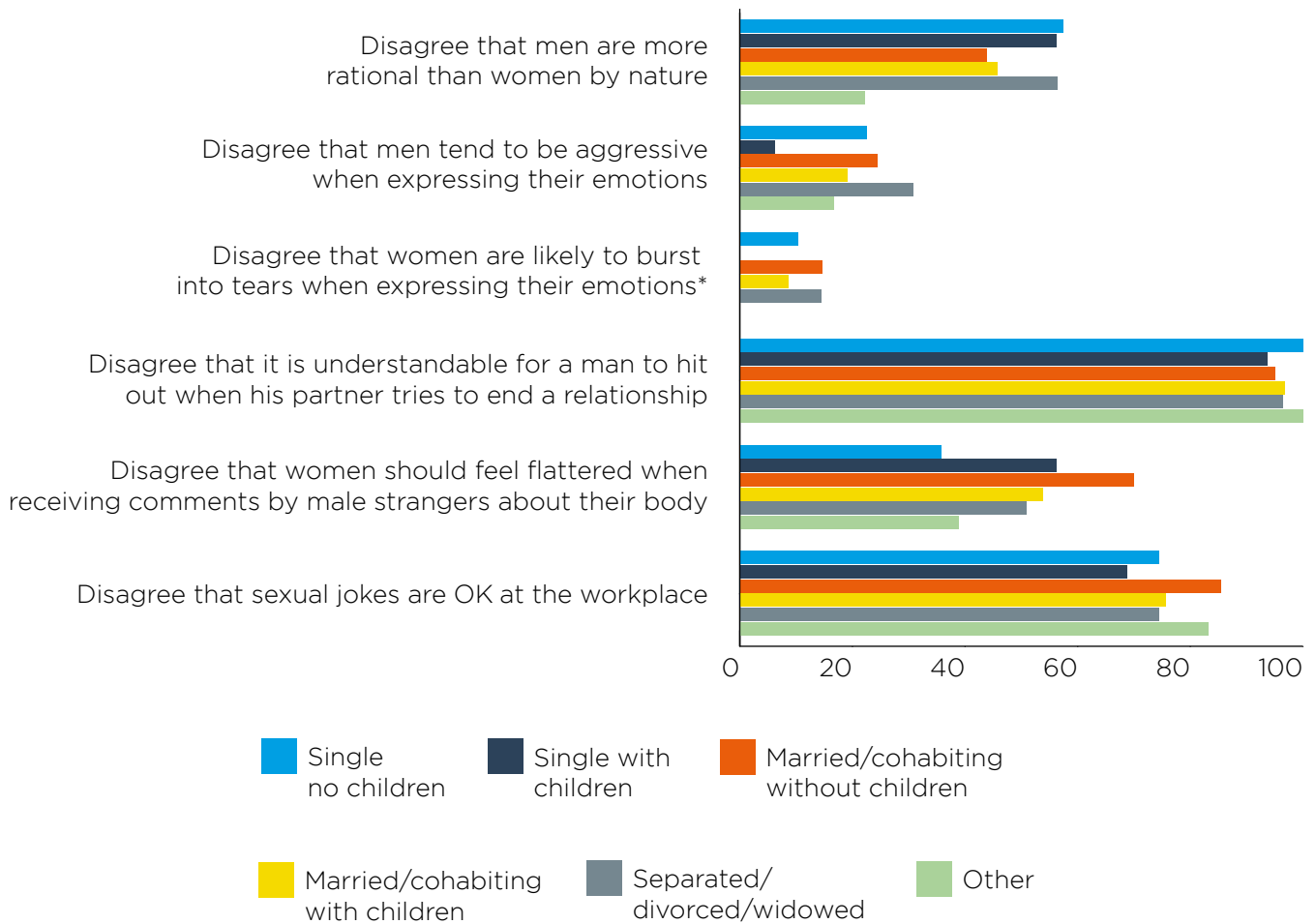
Figure 23 - Progressive attitudes regarding children and youth by civil status, %



\*Statistically significant

*Progressive Perceptions Regarding Gendered Behaviour, by Civil Status*

Figure 24 - Progressive attitudes regarding social expectations around gendered behaviour by civil status, %



\*Statistically significant

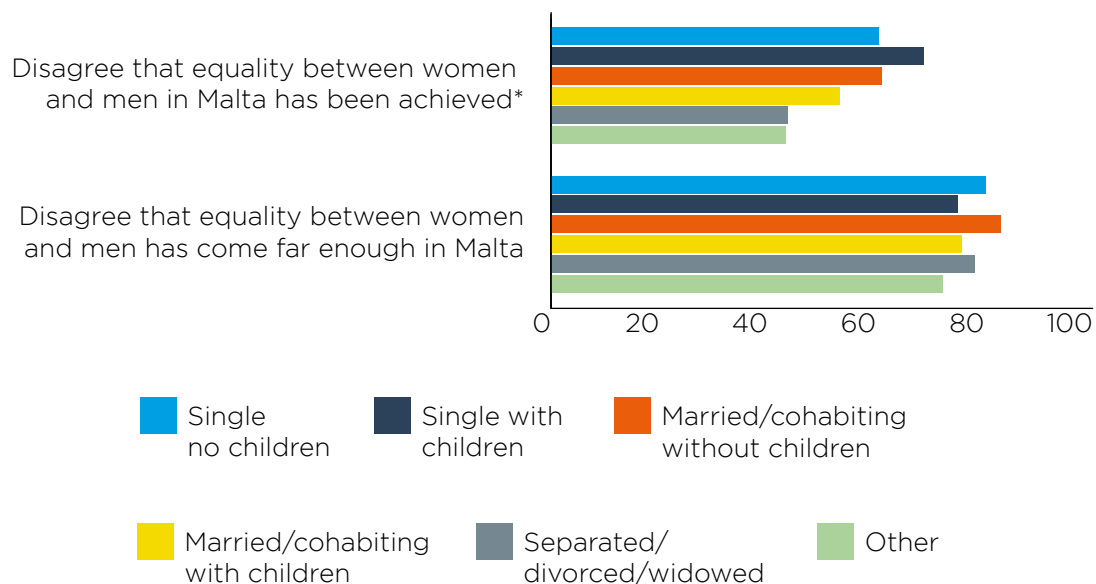
In this section, participants who were married with no children were more likely to say that they did not agree with jokes made at the workplace or that women who receive comments about their bodies from strangers should be flattered. Participants listed as Other and those who were single with no children were 100% sure that they did not condone masculine aggression when the partner decides to terminate a relationship. All cohorts felt that women and men expressed their emotions, women in tears, while men in aggression.

The percentages for these statements were all below 50. Separated/divorced/widowed were more likely to disagree with the statement that men express their emotions through aggression. They, together with those who were single with no children, were more likely to believe that men are not more rational than women.

In this section, married with no children attained the highest average percentage score.

### Attainment of Equality in Malta, by Civil Status

Figure 25 - Attainment of Equality in Malta, by civil status, %



Those who either did not have children, or were married/cohabiting, or were single were more likely to disagree with the statement that equality between women and men has come far enough or been achieved in Malta. The categories Other and Separated/divorced/widowed were likely to disagree that equality between men and women has been attained.

The categories Other and Separated/divorced/widowed were likely to disagree that equality between men and women has been attained

### Summary

Table 5 - Average percentage scores, by civil status

	Single, no children	Single with children	Married or cohabiting no children	Married or cohabiting no children	Separated, widowed or divorced	Separated, widowed or divorced
Private	75.7	55.2	76.0	67.5	62.2	74.4
Public	77.1	72.9	81.7	76.7	70.9	86.1
Youth and children	82.1	74.9	80.5	72.1	72.1	75.0
Gendered behaviour	50.1	46.9	55.6	49.9	53.9	43.5
Equality	70.3	71.9	71.95	64.55	60.9	57.75
<b>Average</b>	<b>71.06</b>	<b>64.36</b>	<b>73.15</b>	<b>66.15</b>	<b>64.0</b>	<b>67.35</b>

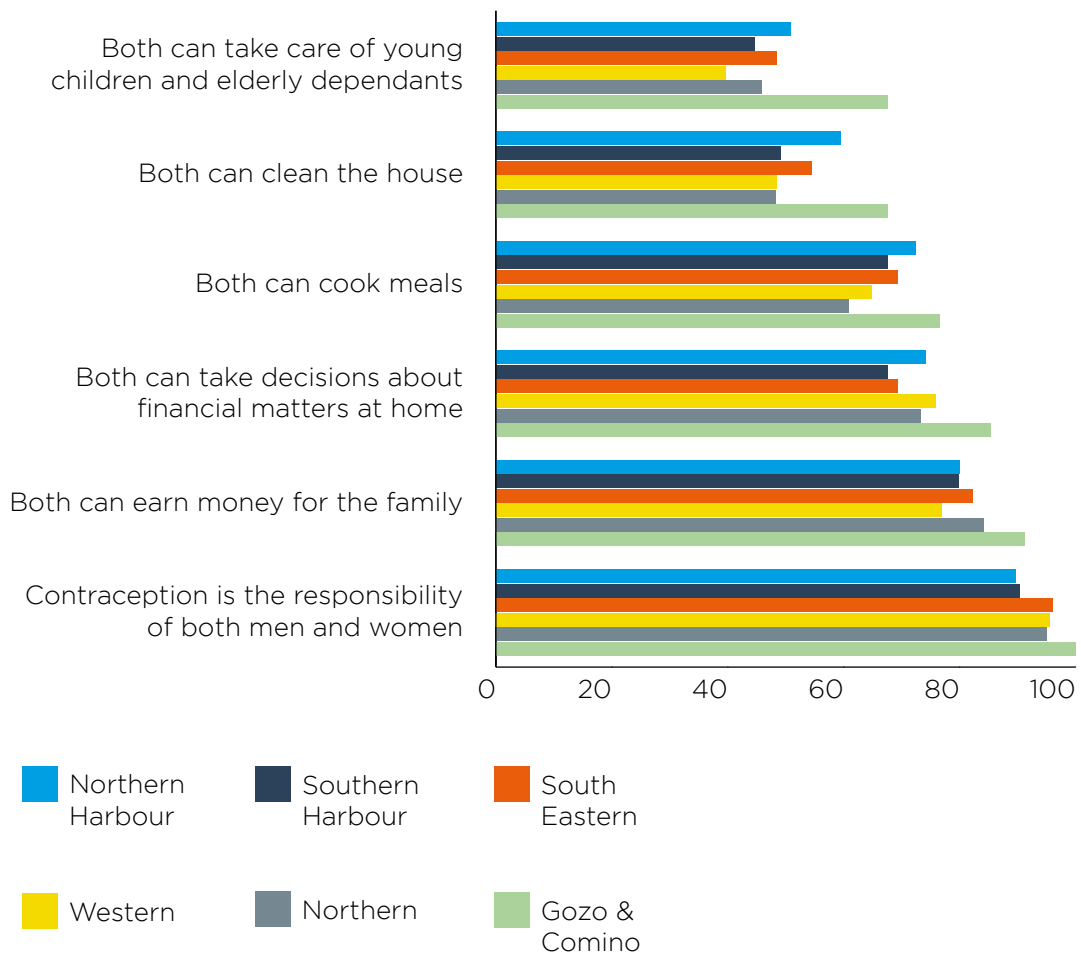


When analysing the data based on civil status, single with no children and/or married/cohabiting with no children scored the highest average percentage scores. The issue seems to be caring. In households with dependants to take care of, reality pushes people to forget about their own gender expectations, and resort to traditional gender roles, as Lomazzi points out (2022). Respondents who were separated, divorced or widowed scored the lowest average percentage points.



**District**  
*Private Sphere, by District*

Figure 26 - Progressive Attitudes regarding gender roles in Private sphere, by district, %





When it came to the division of labour within the family, participants residing in Gozo and Comino scored the highest percentage scores for all statements. These participants believe that both men and women should be responsible for contraception, earning money for the family, taking financial decisions, cooking, cleaning, and caring for dependants. Their answers were all over the 50 per cent demarcation point. Participants residing in Gozo and Comino are more likely to be more adept at doing all chores since the majority have to migrate for educational and work purposes. This teaches both men and women to become more independent (Cutajar, 2000). These results demonstrate that in this section, this cohort had the more progressive gender role perceptions.

Participants residing in other districts got lower percentage points. Their results also dipped lower than 50 when it came to both partners being responsible for cleaning the house and taking care of dependants. The only

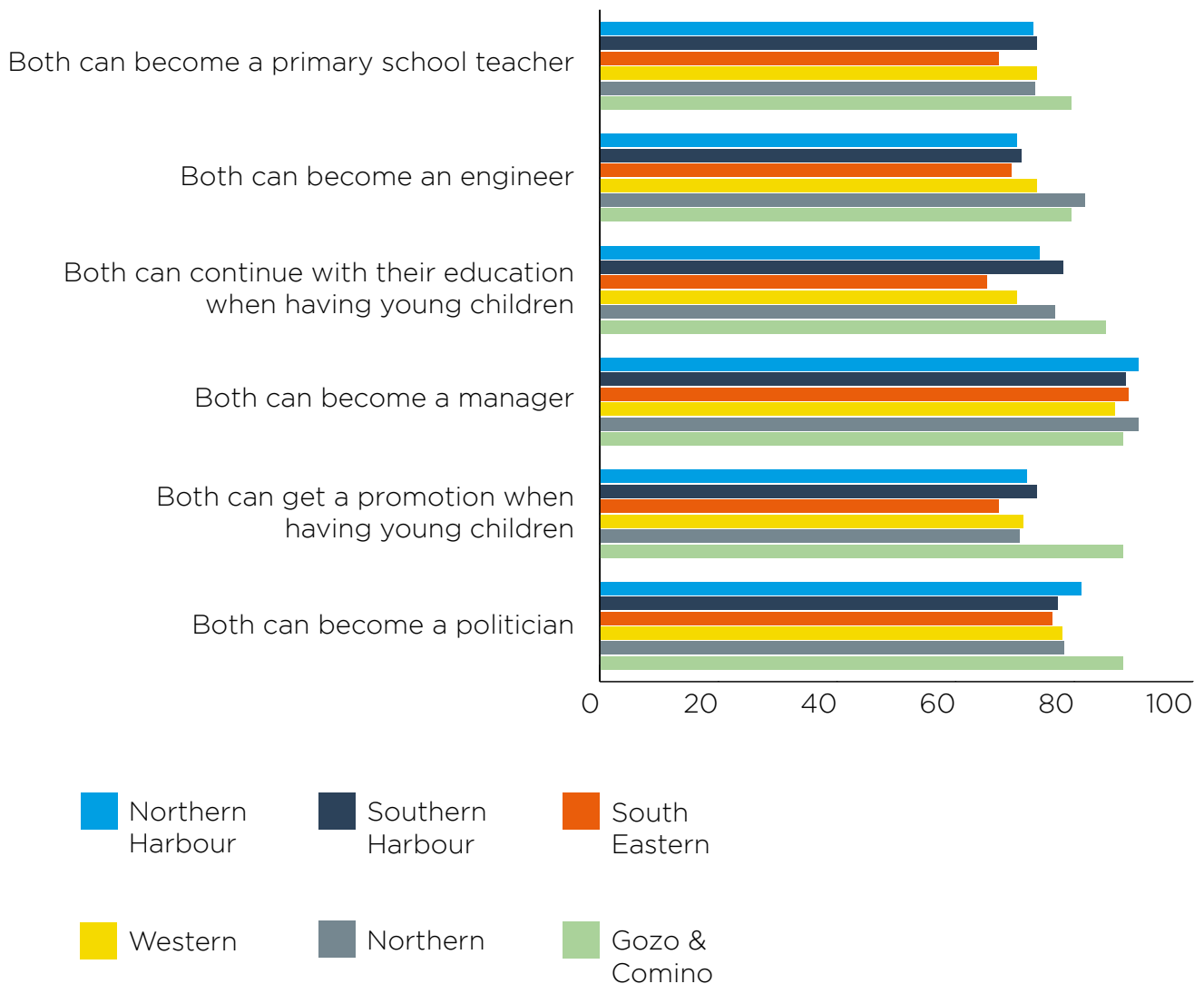
other residents whose replies were over the 50+ demarcation line for these two statements were those residing in the Northern Harbour.

#### *Public Sphere, by District*

With regards to gendered roles in the public sphere, Gozitan and Comino residents had the highest percentage scores when it came to both women and men becoming a politician, a primary school teacher, getting a promotion with young children, or pushing both boys and girls into furthering their education. For this reason, the Gozitan and Comino residents had the highest progressive scores when compared with the results attained by residents from other districts (Table 6).

Those residing in the Northern and Northern Harbour got the highest percentage scores when it came to both men and women becoming managers, while the Northern district participants were more likely to believe that both can become an engineer.

Figure 27 - Progressive Attitudes towards gender roles in Public sphere, by district, %

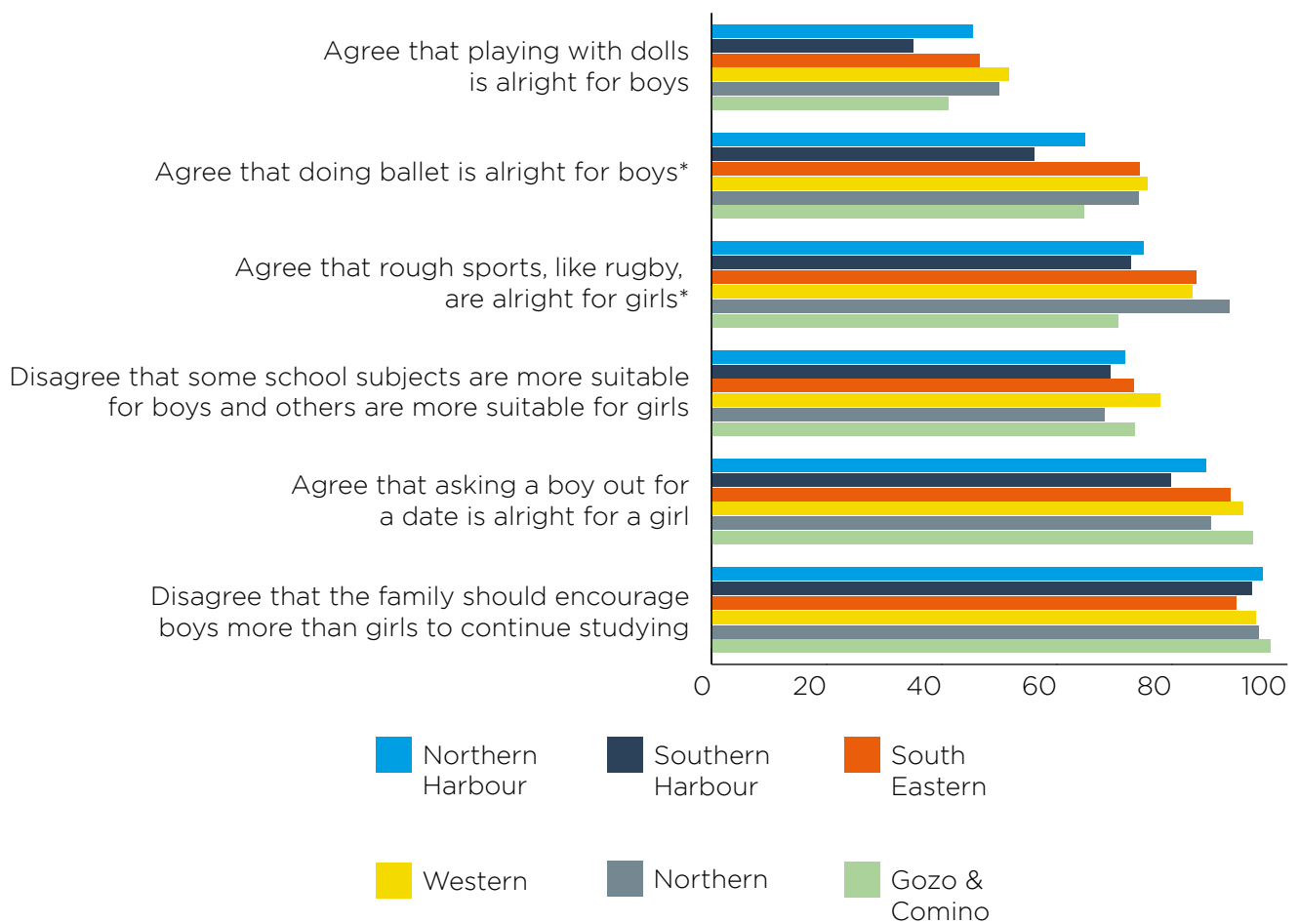


*Progressive Attitudes Regarding Children and Youth, by District*

Participants residing in the Western districts were more likely to believe that school subjects are appropriate for all genders, boys can do ballet and play with dolls. Those residing in Gozo and Comino had the highest percentage scores for statements regarding education, where they believe parents should push both boys and girls to further their education.

They were also more likely to agree with the fact that girls have all the right to ask boys out on a date. Residents of the Northern district were more likely to agree that girls can also play rough sports like rugby. Residents of the Western District had the most progressive attitudes towards gender role expectations in this section (Table 6).

Figure 28 - Progressive ideas regarding children and youth by district, %



\*Statistically significant

*Progressive Attitudes Regarding Gendered Behaviour, by District*

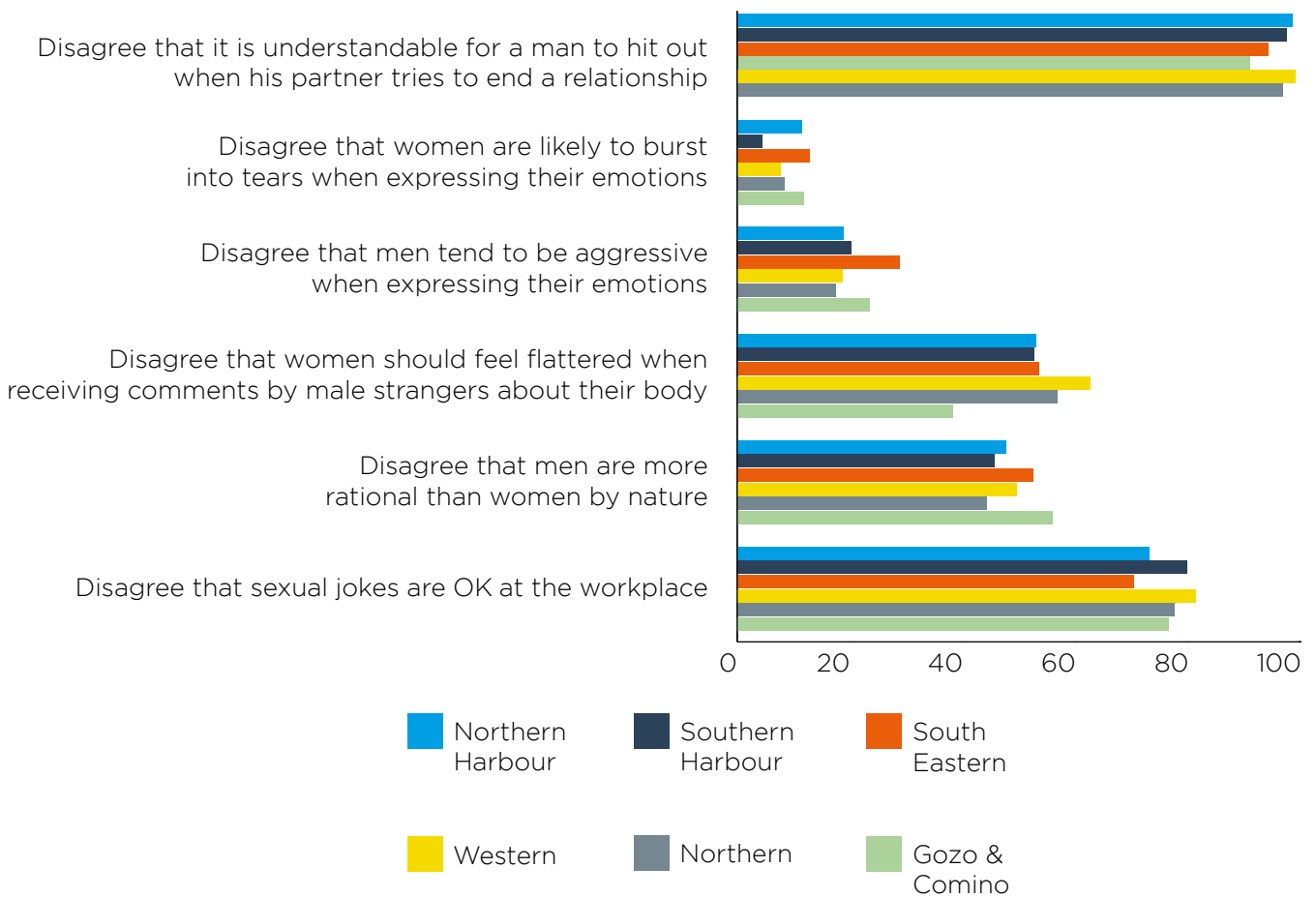
When it came to gendered behaviour, residents of the Western District were less likely to agree that sexual jokes at work are OK or that men were more rational than women. Those residing in the South Eastern district were less likely to agree that men express their emotions through aggressive behaviour, or that women

tear up when emotional. The results for both statements did not reach the 50% demarcation point for all the participants here.

Residents of the Northern district were more likely to believe men should not become aggressive when their partner wanted to end a relationship. In this section, residents of the Western District had the most progressive ideas (Table 6).



Figure 29 - Progressive expectations regarding gendered behaviour by district, %

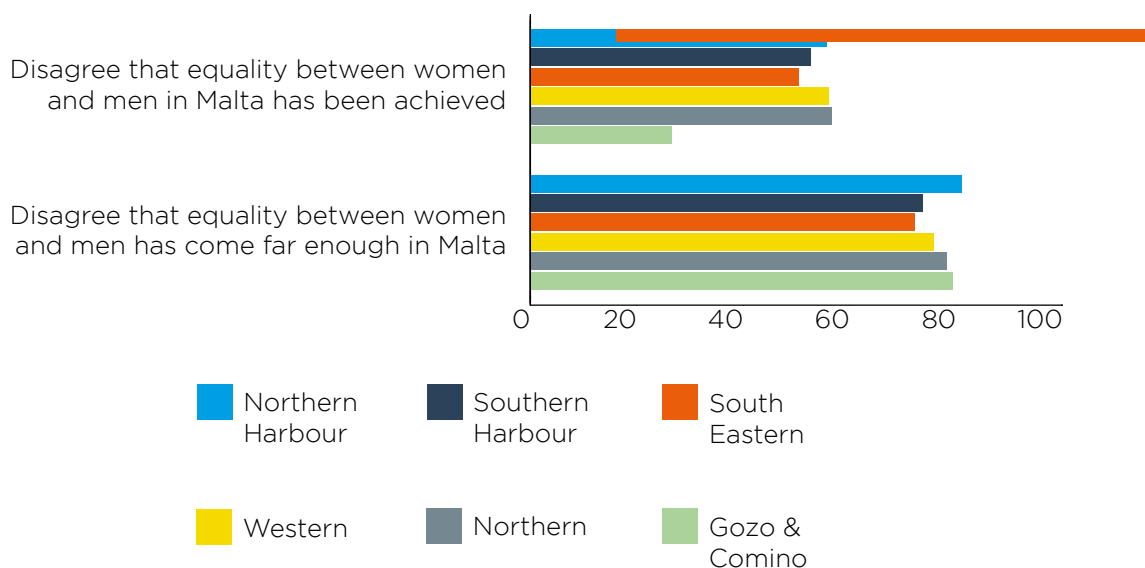


*Attainment of Equality in Malta, by District*

Residents of the Northern Harbour and Northern district were less likely to agree that equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta or that

equality has been achieved, respectively. Gozo and Comino residents however believed equality between women and men has been achieved when one sees the low result for the statement.

Figure 30 - Attainment of Equality in Malta, by district



### Summary

When it came to analysing the average percentage score by district, the differences between districts were not that notable. In fact, the difference between the highest average percentage score and the lowest one amounted to around 4. Residents from the Northern district seemed to have the most progressive gender role perceptions.

Residents from the Northern district seemed to have the most progressive gender role perceptions

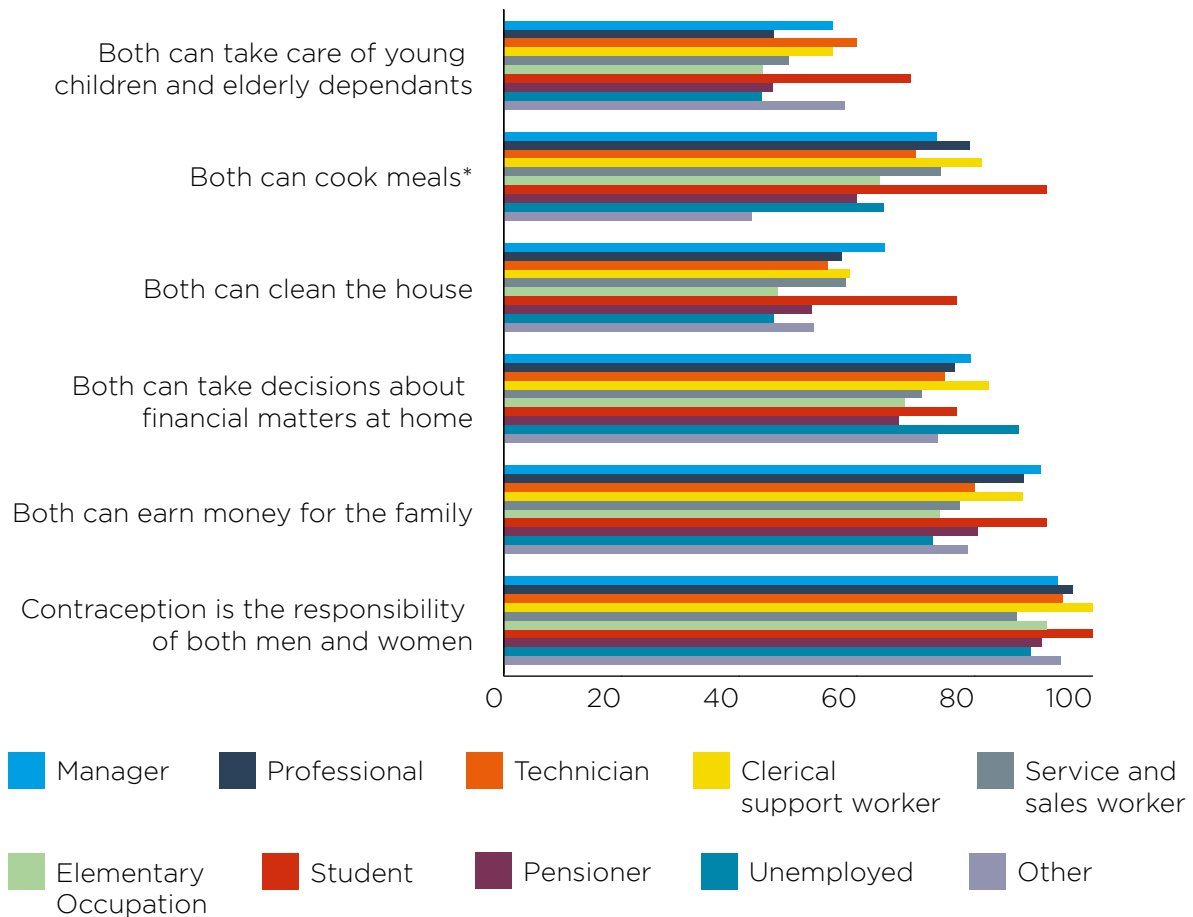
Table 6 - Average percentage scores, by district

	Northern Harbour	Southern Harbour	South Eastern	Western	Northern	Gozo & Comino
Private	71.1	66.5	70	66.9	67.9	81.4
Public	76.9	77.1	72.4	75.6	78.7	85.9
Youth and children	73.1	67.8	76.6	79.3	77.4	73.5
Gendered behaviour	50.4	50	52	53.1	50.2	34.3
Equality	68.4	63.2	61.4	65.9	67.5	53
<b>Average</b>	<b>67.98</b>	<b>64.6</b>	<b>66.48</b>	<b>68.16</b>	<b>68.34</b>	<b>65.62</b>

## Occupation

### Private Sphere, by Occupation

Figure 31 – Progressive attitudes towards gender roles in the private sphere, by occupation, %.



\*Statistically significant

When it came to occupation, students were more likely to think that both men and women should take care of dependants, cook, clean and be responsible for contraception. Clerical support workers were of the opinion that contraception should be the responsibility of both women and men. Managers on the other hand were more likely to say that earning money for the household was the responsibility of both women and men. In this section, the student category tended to have the most progressive outlook where gender role perceptions were concerned.

The following cohorts did not reach the 50+ demarcation point regarding certain chores. These were the professionals, service and sales workers, elementary occupations, pensioners, and the unemployed when it came to caring for dependants, meaning that they opted for women as the main carer. With regards to cooking being something that both men and women do, those listed under Other were less likely to agree with the statement. Those who said they had an elementary occupation and the unemployed did not think that cleaning can be done by both men and women.

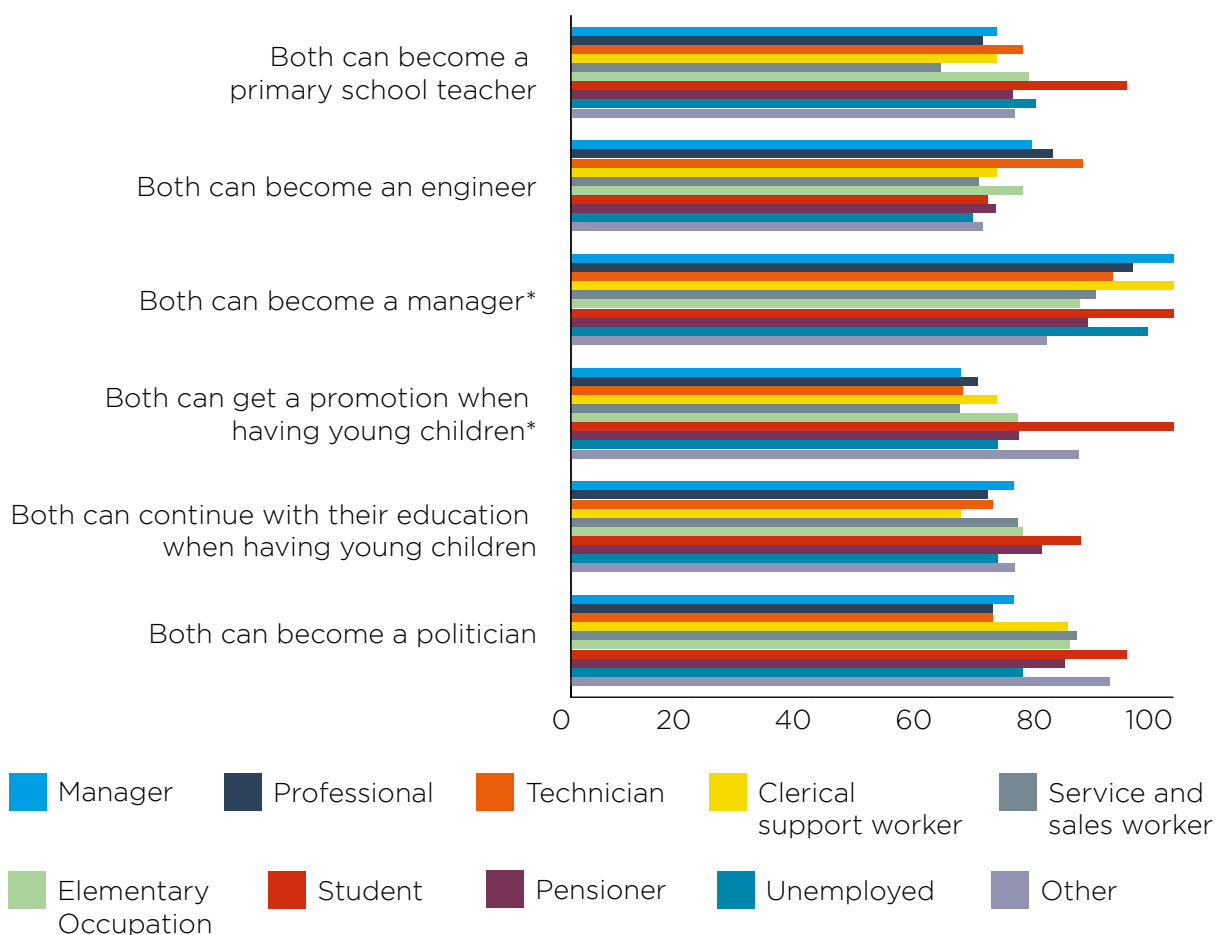
*Public Sphere, by Occupation*

With regards to gendered roles in the public sphere, students once again were more likely to agree that both men and women can become primary school teachers, managers (together with managers and clerical support workers), politicians and get a promotion or continuing with one’s education when having young children.

The only statement that did not get the highest progressive score was the issue that both women and men can become engineers – technicians got the highest percentage scores here.

It is clear that even in this section, students had the most progressive ideas where gender roles were concerned.

Figure 32 - Progressive attitudes towards gender roles in the public sphere, by occupation, %

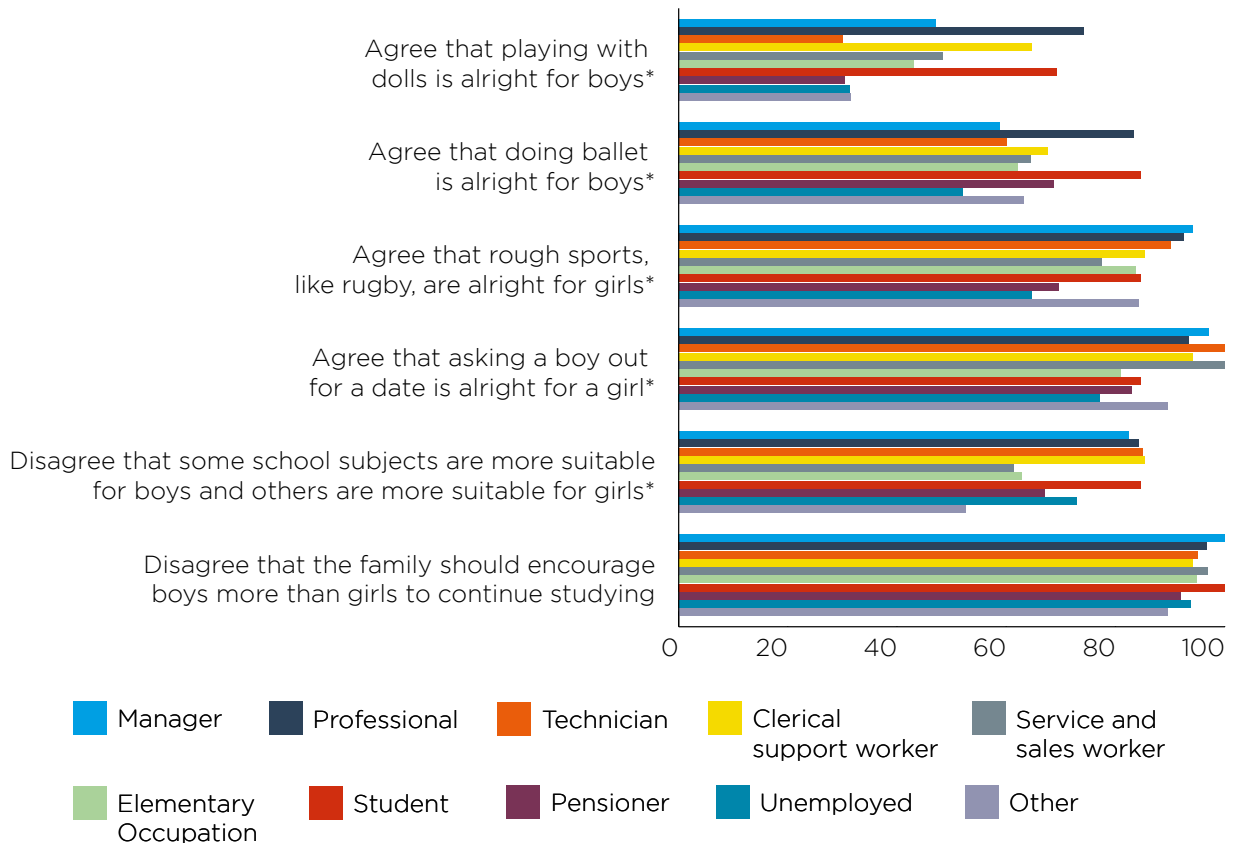


\*Statistically significant



*Progressive Attitudes Towards Children and Youth, by Occupation*

Figure 33 - Progressive attitudes towards children and youth by occupation, %



\*Statistically significant

There were mixed reactions to the statement that boys can play with dolls. The professional category got the highest percentage score. These, together with clerical support workers and students, had scores that surpassed the 50 demarcation point.

Students had the highest percentage for the statement regarding boys doing ballet and were of the opinion that families should encourage both boys and girls to further their education (the latter together

with managers). Managers were also more likely to think that it was okay for girls to practice rough sports. The technical category on the other hand (together with service and sales workers) was of the opinion that it was okay for girls to ask boys on a date and that school subjects are suitable for both genders (together with clerical support workers).

In this section, the category professional had the most progressive attitude to gender roles.

### Progressive Attitudes to Gendered Behaviour, by Occupation

A more varied picture emerged in this section. Clerical support workers were more likely to believe that men are not more rational than women. This together with the management and professional categories passed the 50+ demarcation line.

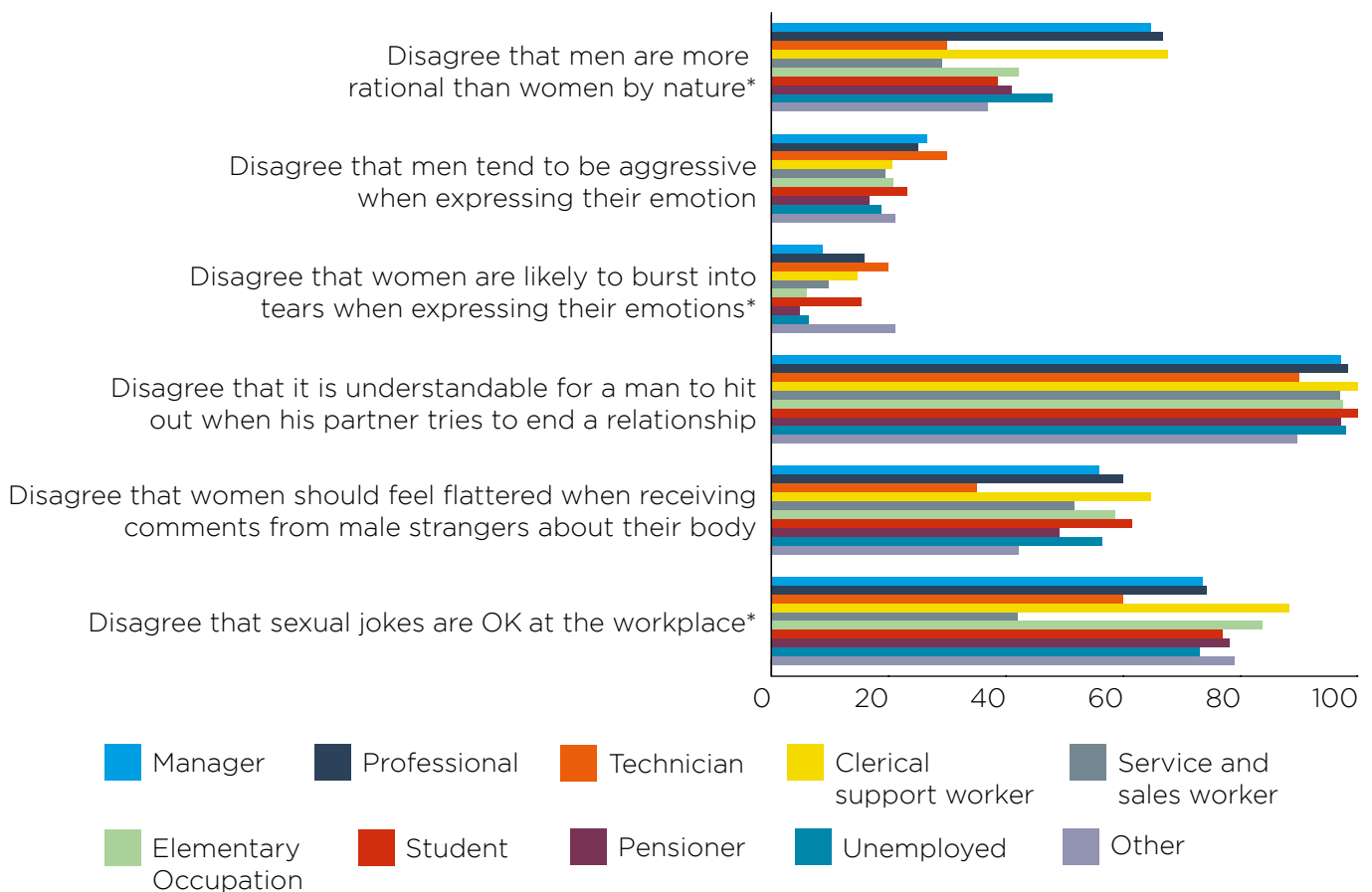
When it came to how men and women expressed their emotions, all occupational categories had somewhat traditional opinions since none passed the 50+ demarcation line.

Clerical support workers and students were not of the opinion that men can be aggressive when their partner tried to terminate the relationship. All occupational categories scored higher than 50% which meant that they shared this opinion, but not to that extent.

Clerical support workers also had the most progressive opinions when it came to the comments passed by strangers regarding women’s bodies. They were not of the opinion that women should feel flattered by this unsolicited attention. There were three occupational categories that did not harbour this opinion since their answers were lower than 50%. These were technical, pensioner, and Other categories. Clerical support workers also had progressive opinions when it came to sexual jokes at the place of work. While this category did not agree that this should take place, the service and sales workers, did not share this opinion since the result fell below the 50% demarcation point.

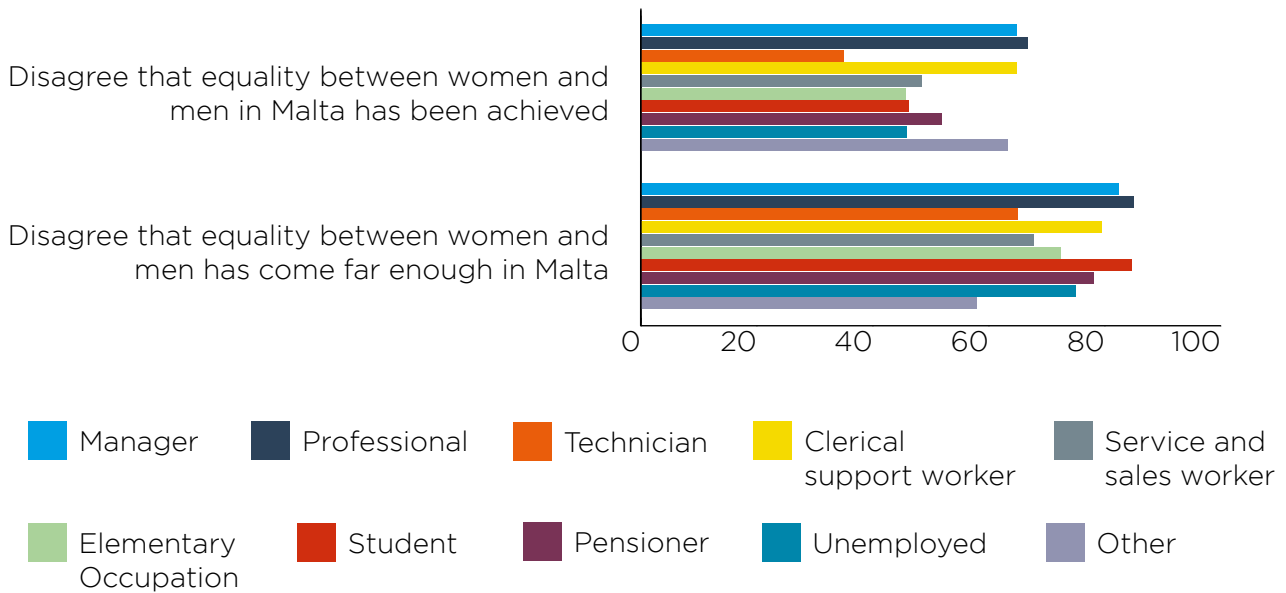
When it came to gendered behaviour, professionals had the most progressive attitudes towards gendered behaviour.

Figure 34 - Progressive attitudes towards gendered behaviour by occupation, %



### Attainment of Equality in Malta, by Occupation

Figure 35 - Attainment of Equality in Malta, by occupation, %



The professional category was more likely to disagree with the statements that equality between women and men has come far enough and that equality between the two has been achieved. Students, unemployed, elementary occupation, service and sales workers, as well as technicians felt that equality between women and men has been attained in Malta.

### Summary

Table 7 - Average percentage scores, by occupation

	Manager	Professional	Technician	Clerical support	Service and sales worker	Elementary Occupation	Student	Pensioner	Unemployed	Other
Private	76.5	74	72.5	77.8	69.4	64.8	84.6	66.2	67.4	66.7
Public	76.5	74.7	75.8	76.5	73.2	77.9	89.7	77.3	76.0	78.1
Youth and children	79.92	87.37	76.67	81.85	74.74	71.25	84.6	68.42	72.42	68.44
Gendered behaviour	54.4	56.67	44.2	59.3	41.4	51.41	52.56	47.78	50.02	48.25
Equality	73.55	75.85	50.0	72.05	58.05	59.05	65.4	65.0	60.4	60.55
<b>Average</b>	<b>72.17</b>	<b>73.72</b>	<b>63.84</b>	<b>73.5</b>	<b>63.36</b>	<b>64.88</b>	<b>75.37</b>	<b>64.94</b>	<b>65.25</b>	<b>64.41</b>

Overall, the category student attained the highest average percentage score, followed by professional. These two categories had the most progressive gender role beliefs. The category technician attained the lowest average percentage score.

## Conclusion

This chapter has taken some of the data presented in Chapter 3 to extrapolate the extent of progressive gender role attitudes among different sections of the Maltese population based on gender, age, education, district, occupation, and civil status. The patterns which emerge are not consistent in occupation, age, district, and marital status, e.g., Gozitans had progressive gender role perceptions regarding the roles linked with the private sphere, but this perception did not play out in the other sections.

Attempts were made to compare the results with other gender attitude surveys carried out in other countries. The following surveys were mainly perused: that conducted by UN Women (2022); Research New Zealand in 2017 and Gender Equal NZ in 2017; Horowitz and Fetterolf (2020) for PEW Research Centre. However, it was not always possible to make statistical comparisons since the issues assessed were either not always similar, or the wording did not have the same meaning.

Research New Zealand. (2021). Gender Attitudes Survey 2021. [https://genderequal.nz/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Report\\_NCWNZ\\_Gender-Attitudes-Survey-2021-FINAL\\_01-03-22.pdf](https://genderequal.nz/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Report_NCWNZ_Gender-Attitudes-Survey-2021-FINAL_01-03-22.pdf)

Research New Zealand. (2017). Gender Attitudes Survey. Full Results 2017. <https://live-gender-equal.pantheonsite>.

[io/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Gender-Attitudes-Survey - FINAL.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/353111111)

Horowitz, J.M. & Fetterolf, J. (2020). Worldwide optimism about the future of gender equality, even as many see advantages for men. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2020/04/30/worldwide-optimism-about-future-of-gender-equality-even-as-many-see-advantages-for-men/>

The following is a summary of the main results which emerged from the NCPE survey. Overall, the participants tended to have progressive gender role attitudes. This was especially true regarding gender roles in the public sphere. Generally, respondents were more likely to believe that women should take care of young children and elderly dependents.

They were also more likely to question boys playing with dolls. The participants were also more likely to believe that men are more rational than women and that men and women had a gendered way of expressing their emotions. There were issues where the percentage fell below 50%:

- a. Respondents were not totally sure whether it was alright for boys to play with dolls (41.2% disagreed, while 45.3% agreed with this statement)
- b. Respondents were not totally sure whether men were more rational than women (48.1% disagreed with the statement; 27.6% agreed with it)
- c. Respondents were not totally sure that men were more aggressive when expressing their emotions (43.1% agreed with the statement; 20.6% disagreed with it).

When the results were analysed by gender, male participants were more likely to agree that both men and women can take care of dependants, cook meals and clean the house. Female participants were more likely to agree that both partners can take financial decisions together, earn money for the family, and take responsibility for contraception. While both male and female participants had progressive gender role perceptions where the public sphere was concerned, the following issues arose in other sections. Male participants had issues with boys playing with dolls. The same participants for example seemed to take it for granted that women feel complimented when they receive comments from strangers about their bodies and that men are more rational. Both male and female participants however had traditional perceptions of how men and women express their emotions.

The results were also analysed by age. Older respondents tended to have more traditional gender role perceptions. They were more likely to link cleaning and taking care of dependents with women. Neither age group had traditional gender role perceptions when it came to gender roles in the public sphere, although the extent of their progressiveness varied by age. Participants aged 36 and over had issues with boys playing with dolls, and tended to believe that men are more rational than women. Those aged 46 and over saw nothing wrong with sexual jokes being bandied around at work; so did those aged 66 and over when it came to comments made to women on their bodies by total strangers. All age groups had traditional perceptions of how men and women

expressed their emotions. According to those aged 46 and over, gender equality has been attained in Malta.

When the results were analysed by education, participants with a secondary and primary level of education linked cleaning and care with women. These categories of respondents were also most likely to disagree with boys playing with dolls. All respondents had traditional perceptions when it came to how men and women expressed their emotions. Participants with primary and post-secondary levels of education had no issue with strangers passing unsolicited comments about women's bodies; those with a primary and secondary level of education tended to believe that men were more rational when compared to women. These respondents also felt that gender equality has been attained in Malta.

The results were analysed by civil status. Those who were separated/divorced/widowed and single with children were more likely to link cleaning and caring for dependants with women. Once again, the participants had progressive gender role perceptions where the public sphere was concerned. When it came to boys playing with dolls, all the participants, apart from those who were single parents, had issues with this statement. None of the participants, apart from those married with no children, had any issues with strangers passing unsolicited comments about women's bodies. All participants had traditional gendered expectations where the expression of emotion was concerned. They were also all under the assumption that men were more rational. When it came

to the attainment of equality between men and women, Other, separated/divorced/widowed thought this has been achieved.

The analysis of the results found that cleaning and caring were linked with women by all districts apart from Gozo & Comino together with the Northern Harbour districts. The respondents from almost all districts had issues with boys playing with dolls, whilst they were more likely to perceive men as more rational than women and accepted the statement that men and women expressed their emotions in a 'gendered' manner. The majority of the respondents were also less likely to question male strangers who make unsolicited comments about women's bodies. When it came to the attainment of equality between men and women, participants from Gozo & Comino were more likely to concur with this statement.

The data was also analysed by occupation. Those in low-level occupations and in professional ones linked cleaning and/or caring with women. Most respondents were also likely to question the statement that boys can play with dolls, apart from students and professionals. The majority had gendered perceptions of how men and women express themselves emotionally. They also tended to believe that men are more rational, apart from manager and professional categories. The technician category was more likely to condone sexual jokes at work and comments made by strangers regarding women's bodies.

Pensioner and the Other were of the same opinion regarding the last statement.

**Overall, when taking the average percentage attained for each variable as analyzed, it emerged that:**

- **Female participants had more progressive gender role perceptions than their male counterparts.**
- **Those aged between 18 and 35 years held more progressive gender role perceptions.**
- **Those with a post-secondary level of education and higher held more progressive gender role perceptions.**
- **When it came to civil status, those with no children were more likely to have progressive gender role perceptions.**
- **With regards to the district, Northern Harbour and Northern-based residents had more progressive gender role perceptions.**
- **When it came to occupation, students held the more progressive gender role perceptions.**



## Chapter 6

# Recommendations

As this chapter denotes, although the participants tended to have progressive gender role perceptions, there are some areas where more work needs to be done to achieve equality between men and women.

In this chapter, we will be focusing on the main issues deriving from the NCPE survey and comparing these with the issues raised in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. The recommendations listed in this chapter will arise from this process. As the previous chapter demonstrated, gender roles and expectations tended to differ based on gender, age, education, occupation, civil status and district. It was also noted that there was a discrepancy between what the participants believed in and what they did, leading to cognitive dissonance.

### Private Sphere

It was clear from the survey's results that Maltese people's mentalities regarding gender role expectations in the private sphere have changed. This might be

due to the high economic growth, more women graduating from higher education institutions, thus leading to a rise in the number of women in the labour market (Gottfried and Shire, 2022), in turn leading to a change in mentality. Male participants, as this survey has underlined, believed cleaning, cooking, contraception, financial decision making and caring can be done by both women and men. It was surprising therefore to note that female respondents were more likely to regard some of these chores – cleaning up to a certain extent and caring – as the responsibility of women. The NCPE results, therefore, demonstrate that in spite of the progress made in the public sphere, there are still traces of familialism associated with gender roles in the private sphere, since women feel and are expected to be the main carers of young and older family members (Alonso, Ciccio and Lombardo, 2022).

It was also clear from the survey that Gozitan participants, who were more likely to have spent some time living on their own when they were young, were less likely to differentiate between who

should be doing what at home. The fact that young Maltese adults remain living with their parents until their early 30s does not help them learn to take care of themselves and others (Eurostat, 2021b).

Women's increased presence in the public sphere has not led to a decrease in the number of hours devoted to unpaid care in the private sphere. Women continue to provide most of the unpaid, invisible, essential care, care which helps support the whole economy (Guerrina, MacRae and Masselot, 2022). When they are not able to do so, they tend to find people to substitute them, namely migrant or lesser-educated Maltese workers who carry out the caring, cleaning and cooking in their stead, leading to the re-traditionalization of women (Anthias, 2001; Bachelet, 2011). This of course was not captured in the NCPE survey, but one needs to be aware that this is also happening in Malta.

What is noticeable from the results is the fact that respondents did not adhere to the male breadwinner-female homemaker model. They favoured the dual breadwinner model. Rizzo (2006) notes that the dual-worker family model in Malta consists of full-time and part-time workers. Some policies, laws and measures were enacted over the years to encourage more women to participate in the labour force as it was explained in Chapter 2. These include among others, tax incentives, free childcare for parents who work or are in education, tax credits to hire carers to take care of the elderly, etc.

It was clear from the survey results that households without children espoused more egalitarian gender role expectations. Participants living in households where

there were children, resorted to a traditional division of labour in the private sphere. Egalitarian gender role expectations are not supported by a male-breadwinner employment system - one impacts on the other. As the male participants pointed out, they believe that both men and women can do the cleaning, cooking and caring. As has been pointed out in the previous chapter, men tend to work longer when the couple have children and the partner withdraws totally or completely from the labour market. Working longer hours will not enable the men to do more at home. As the results demonstrate, structural issues rather than mentality might be the reason why men do less at home.

At the same time, one needs to point out that the gendered divisions of care work found in households are however not being challenged by policies (Guerrina, MacRae and Masselot, 2022), so much so that they are also being reproduced in the public sphere. This is illustrated in the fact that the bulk of those working in the caring professions tend to be women in some countries (Statistics Netherlands, 2019), including Malta.

Responsibilities in the private domain prove to be barriers to participation in the public one in countries, institutions and companies which do not enable parents and carers to balance work with family responsibilities. People who might not want to have to choose between their work and their family might refrain from having children, which might explain why Malta has one of the lowest fertility rates in the EU (Eurostat, 2023).

Lin (2018) maintains that in order to help parents be both earners and caregivers, policymakers need to ensure that



parental leave policy designs include eligibility, flexibility in the use of leave, and coordination with early childhood education and care as well as flexible work arrangement entitlements.

As the NCPE survey results denote, policymakers will also need to tackle the underlying ideologies linked with gender roles, unpaid care work, and the respective roles the state, market, and family need to play in providing care for young children and other vulnerable family members. As a country, we cannot only promote women's employment, but we need to encourage a more equal share of caregiving between parents while facilitating the ideal of an earner-caregiver model with generous and coordinated statutory work-family policy schemes available in both the private and public sectors.

Since gender is a cultural and social construct, gender role perceptions and gendered norms and values can be changed. While some countries within the European Union changed theirs thanks to the interplay between policy and civil society, in the case of Malta some of these changes have been enacted thanks to EU policies and directives (Cassar, Cutajar and Thake, 2023). Consequently, changes in policies and legislation have brought about a change in mentalities.

## Education

There is a lot of focus on education for several reasons. The fact that gender role expectations have changed is due to a certain extent to education, in the wider sense.

Educational institutions need to continue promoting egalitarian gender role

expectations in order to balance out non-egalitarian ones espoused by other institutions. At the same time, some of the results of some of the statements were worrying. Although overall, the majority did not believe that families should push boys more than girls to further their education, or that certain subjects are linked with one gender, certain segments of the population still retained traditional gender role assumptions. The other more worrying issue is the one linked to how men and women express emotions. This will not be focused upon in this section.

In their survey, UN Women (2022) found that respondents deemed education as an essential tool in eliminating harmful and traditional gender stereotypes. These respondents felt that education helps drive progressive attitudes. Educated women and men, they retorted, are more likely to champion gender equality. This was to some extent echoed in the NCPE survey results since students and younger cohorts were more likely to have progressive attitudes towards gender.

The Right to Education Initiative (2022) maintains that educating both boys and girls has a multiplier effect since education enables them to benefit from other key rights, such as the right to work, to property, to political participation, access to justice, freedom from violence as well as sexual and reproductive health. Educating girls would enable them to earn more in life, which will help tackle the feminisation of poverty. Educating women is also of benefit to economies. According to the World Bank Group (2022), increasing the proportion of women with a secondary level of education helps to raise the average gross domestic product by 0.3 per cent.

Education can be one of the ways used to combat gender stereotypes and stereotyping, insist the Right to Education Initiative (2022), and the World Bank (2022). The education system itself is at times though, the main promoter of harmful gender stereotypes which can be perpetuated through the curriculum, textbooks and the educators themselves.

Malta needs to have gender-based guidelines/criteria for those who are designing curricula, syllabi and textbooks (or procuring the latter). A cursory look at the 2023 MATSEC (University of Malta, 2023) secondary syllabi for English and Maltese, for example, shows that the set literary texts and poems for the examinations in question tend to be written mainly by men.

Educators, in turn, need to cater for the fact that girls and boys learn differently and that they perform differently, depending on the type of assessment used (Gurian et al, 2010). Gender stereotypes and stereotyping are harmful because they prevent women and men from developing their personal abilities while having an impact on the choices they make in their lives, as well as in their professional careers. Teachers, who have been taught in a particular way, may not realize that how they teach, and the type of assessments used in class can lead to a differential performance by boys and girls, which can, in turn, undermine their career prospects.

Harmful gender stereotypes and wrongful gender stereotyping can prevent women and girls from going to school, or they can postpone their education to a later stage, when their children are older (University of Malta Equity Office, 2023). The World

Bank (2022) notes that some girls risk dropping out of school. This can happen when their main caregivers are sick or must work when other members of the household are chronically ill or have a disability. Another factor which keeps girls and young women from furthering their education is when they become pregnant at a young age. Pregnant schoolgirls can be prevented from attending mainstream schools by some head teachers. The bridging programmes they might attend, on the other hand, might not enable the girls to catch up on their missed education. When this happens, they will not be able to re-enter mainstream education once they give birth (Right to Education Initiative, 2022), which can impact their academic progress, and consequently, can have an impact on the type of jobs they can access to maintain themselves and their children (Cutajar, 2006).

As the NCPE survey results have also underlined, some families still prioritise boys' education over that of girls, perceiving the former as the main breadwinners. Such families may be more reticent about investing in a girl's education since they tend to uphold stereotypical views of girls as domestic workers, homemakers and caregivers. Changing the focus to include boys as contributors to caregiving must be seriously considered. In some countries, such as the USA, children of both sexes start training to participate in household chores at a young age. Fair Play is an example of an online site used to teach children and adolescents of both sexes how to share household responsibilities.

### *STEM and Feminized Sectors*

Parents and educators, without being aware, might also uphold harmful gender stereotypes about boys' and girls' physical and cognitive abilities and enact wrongful gender stereotyping when they push them to take up gender-stereotypical school subjects, and/or adopt gendered pedagogical approaches. This was one of the issues raised in the NCPE survey, and it was evident that there are still people in Malta who believe that certain subjects are for boys, and others are for girls. Macro data demonstrates that this idea prevails in Malta.

It is not only parents who pertain to this idea, unfortunately. Dersch, Heyder and Eikel (2022) mention teachers who maintain that girls have weaker mathematical abilities than boys. This perception has an impact on students' performances. Harmful gender stereotypes relating to the belief that boys/men do well in STEM and girls have aptitude in the humanities and arts are still being perpetuated via Malta's educational system. This is evident when one sees the gender skewing in these fields at the tertiary level of education (University of Malta Gender Equality and Sexual Diversity Committee, 2022; University of Malta Equity Office, 2023).

As EIGE (2022) points out, gender segregation at the tertiary level is high in Malta. Most tertiary-level female students in 2018 were enrolled in education, health, welfare, humanities and arts, as has been pointed out in Chapter 2. Male students were overrepresented in STEM academic areas, subjects which lead to more lucrative and influential careers. To deal with this, Malta might need to invest in more female teachers to teach STEM. These can act as positive role models for female students,

encouraging girls to enter these fields (Right to Education Initiative, 2022).

Sevilla and Cuevas-Ruiz (2022) add that adopting gender-neutral language and using textbooks and teaching materials that challenge the prevalence of gender stereotypes are also important. As they underline, three-quarters of the people mentioned in textbooks are men. The under-representation of women in these texts can reinforce the notion that certain subjects and disciplines are not for women, and vice versa.

Welsh (2013) maintains there are 7 things keeping women out of STEM careers. She cites research which demonstrates that teachers and peers might pick on the few girls/young women who are taking advanced physics and/or maths. The negative attention these young women might receive when they take up male-typical courses might prevent some young female students from furthering their education in STEM-related subjects. Another issue she raised was the fact that young female students need the support of parents, teachers and vocational counsellors when they do well in so-called gender-atypical subjects. When these are hampered by traditional gendered stereotypes, they might prove to be more of a hindrance than a help. Girls/women tend to seek the opinion of their 'betters' since they tend to under-rate their intelligence and need more positive reinforcement from these stakeholders. This means that these stakeholders need to be gender progressive, and gender-sensitive in order to be able to enable students to make gender-atypical career choices.

Welsh (2013) also mentioned gender stereotypes promoted by the media where the depiction of scientists, engineers and IT specialists is concerned. The media, as she underlines, needs to present us with more positive depictions of female scientists, engineers, etc. She mentions two movies that depict women as scientists – Thor, where the protagonist is a female physicist, and Gravity, which depicts a female astronaut. Welsh mentions studies that show that young women’s interest in the sciences increases when they are presented with non-stereotypical scientists.

Others suggest that exposing girls and young women to the practicality of maths or IT can help them see how interesting, uncomplicated and within their reach these subjects are. They suggest that young female students are taken to visit high-tech companies so that they will see how these apply the math concepts they learn at school. Sawyer (2016) maintains that exposing girls to the practical side of STEM can help raise girls’ interest in the subjects. Other ways to increase girls’ interest in STEM is via summer or after-school programmes. Xjenza Mania, organized by the University of Malta Cottonera Resource Centre, was one short-termed initiative.

The #ILookLikeAnEngineer movement can also help young students learn what an engineer can look like. This site also provides a voice to professional women who have faced discrimination and harassment in their careers. Another good online site is Technovation Girls, which is available for girls from all over the world. Here young women aged between (ages 8 and 18) become tech entrepreneurs and leaders as they learn to solve problems

in their community with the help of technology, while supported by members, STEM ambassadors, volunteers and parents. Girls are more likely to take up STEM as a career if they are shown how they can use these sciences to ameliorate the world. Locally, there are a number of awareness-raising projects organized by entities such as Women in Tech Malta, Esplora’s web page on Women in STEM, and Malta Café Scientifique among others to encourage more girls to get involved in these sectors.

Even when young women manage to take up STEM-related subjects, their problems are not over. Welsh (2013) cites research which notes that young female STEM graduates who enter technology-oriented work often leave STEM fields early in their careers to have children. While startups and academia afford STEM graduates flexible work schedules and the opportunity to work from home, research and babies, however, do not mix. Welsh cites Mason (2013) who found that 41% of female postdocs who had babies did not go on to become researchers in the United States when compared to 20% of their single female cohorts. As Welsh notes, many move out of research and hard science fields into health care or education to juggle work and family-related responsibilities.

Another aspect which prevents young women from taking up or remaining in STEM-related fields is the fact that women are socialized to be less competitive and aggressive than men. As Welsh (2013) underlines, competitiveness needs to be inculcated in girls at an early stage. This will in the future enable them to secure funding and obtain a secure career post. The push to constantly compete, as Welsh

points out, can wear on social groups which are not socialized to be aggressive.

Pollack (2013) adds that women in STEM - as researchers - tend to receive less financing, lab space, office support and research grants for equipment and travel even when their degrees, the research carried out and experience in the field are the same as their male peers. This also undermines young graduates' capacity in the field. This means that it will take women who specialised in these areas longer to progress in their careers, meaning that they will receive less pay when compared to their output.

Young female graduates in STEM fields face constant bias against them. In a research study conducted by Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll and Handelson (2012), male and female professors were asked to pick the best candidate for a fictitious post. They were presented with the same CV, but the professors picked the CV with the male over the female candidate's name and offered him more money for the position. Unfortunately, without knowing, these gender-biased ideas about young graduates' competence can be detrimental in the long run.

At the same time, we need to point out that we need to persuade more boys and men to become teachers, social workers and nurses. Their increased presence in these fields is needed for several reasons. It allows the individual to do well in areas in which they are interested, but their increased presence in feminine sectors is important for social, organisational and societal reasons. Research denotes that more men are needed in these fields because their presence provides young children with models of men who are

non - violent, and men who have positive interactions with women. As the NCPE research denotes, the idea that men are aggressive, even when it comes to expressing their emotions, prevails.

The limited visibility of male workers in feminized sectors perpetuates the idea that certain jobs, and the skills or attributes related to them, are linked with women. As the NCPE survey showed, men are seen as aggressive when it comes to demonstrating their emotions. This perception can be addressed by showcasing men in caring professions. In education, gender diversity among teachers gives male students the opportunity to learn from teachers whom they perceive as being like themselves. It also promotes a sense of school belonging among boys. This is needed in a country where the bulk of school leavers and NEETs tend to be male (European Commission, 2022). This in turn can help reduce disruptive behaviour (McGrath, Bhana, Van Bergen and Moosa, 2019).

A lot of work is being done to attract more girls and women into STEM in other countries. More needs to be done in Malta. More work needs to be done to attract men into taking up caring professions. Their presence in these sectors is crucial since it will help debunk the valency that is being given to toxic masculinity. Their numerical increase in these professions will also ensure that men who have a traditionally gendered mentality will not hesitate to seek help if they need it. Their increase in these professions will help challenge dominant and stereotypical forms of masculinity by highlighting the positive and caring role of men (Simpson, 2014). Less attention is being paid to this.

## Gender-based Expression of Emotions

It was very clear from the results, that the participants still retained that men and women, boys and girls express their emotions in different ways – men lash out, women cry. The participants also believed that men tend to be more rational than women. Studies show that the notion that women are less rational than men has been debunked (Bao et al., 2022). They may be more empathic than men, but this does not mean that they are less rational.

Research also shows that boys and men do not experience anger more than girls and women. They are taught to express it differently (Chaplin & Aldao, 2013). Boys tend to externalize it, and girls to internalize it. While girls learn to direct their anger and frustration inwards, blaming themselves for things that go wrong, boys direct it outwards, in the form of verbal or physical aggression. Girls denied an emotional voice and cannot act out, will internalise the distress, which sometimes leads to eating disorders or depression. Both boys and girls need to unlearn this behaviour.

Boys and men need to be helped to deal with their stress and anger management. Boys and men have historically been taught to bottle their emotions up, so they need to be provided with the opportunities to unlearn this – at home, in schools, and in therapy when needed (Pearson, 2019). Boys and men need to learn how to voice their emotions, and how to recognize and manage them when involved in emotionally charged instances. Parents and teachers need to help them express their emotions verbally, in socially acceptable ways.

Crime data shows that when boys and men do not learn to voice their feelings, to articulate them, some will lash out.

As a society, Malta needs to stop accepting the mentality that boys will be boys. As Fleming et al. (2015, p. 249) note, “gender norms, including norms and social constructions of masculinity, are at the root of most physical violence perpetration by men against women and against other men”. Boys and men learn to be aggressive when they are provided with bad role models at home, in society and in the media. Some choose to copy the aggressive behaviour they are exposed to. When they are exposed to angry and aggressive role models – parents, politicians, athletes, and influencers – this gives them permission to do the same. Those exposed to media texts, digital games and books which promote violence and aggression, might choose to follow this path.

Unfortunately, these types of role models tend to prevail. These boys and men need to be provided with models who provide them with more healthy ways of expressing themselves instead of toxic masculinities. Toxic masculinities do not only lead to aggression, sexism, and chauvinism, but they can also have an impact on how boys and men look at education.

Online sources on how to deal with toxic masculinity exist. These include for example: What is toxic masculinity? How to combat toxic masculinity; Toxic Masculinity: What it is and 3 tips to deal with it; Toxic masculinity vs healthy masculinity. These links are helpful for teachers who want to know how to deal with toxic masculinity in the classroom: Why is “Boys will be boys” still accepted

wisdom in our schools?"; Combating toxic masculinity in our schools – Un-teaching gender stereotypes for boys; especially Addressing misogyny, toxic masculinity and social media influence through PSHE education. This site contains a few educational videos to help students deal with emotions: KeepCool.

### **Gender-based violence and education**

Gender-based violence can also affect boys' and girls' academic performance. The Right to Education Initiative (2022) describes gender-based violence against girls and women as rape, domestic violence, sexual harassment, assault, corporal punishment and harmful practices involving child marriage as well as female genital mutilation. These acts can affect a girl's education even when they take place outside the school. Gender-based violence can also take the form of unsolicited comments women receive about their bodies, an issue which a number of participants who took part in the NCPE survey did not recognize as being a form of microaggression.

Apart from this, the Right to Education Initiative (2022) includes child marriage, which they define as any formal marriage or union where one of the parties is under 18 years of age. Child marriage, forced marriage involving underage persons, and female gender mutilation are issues (Abbas Shalan, 2022; Abela, 2021) that teachers and students working or studying in Maltese educational institutions need to be on the lookout for, especially with the increasing presence of diverse minority cultures within an ever-growing population. Both educators and students need to be made aware of what these

practices consist of, who is most at risk and where they need to report when they think a student is at risk of FGM or child marriage. Other countries have created awareness-raising websites to this end: PSHE Association (2021) What schools need to know about FGM. SecEd (2013) Spotting the signs of forced marriage.

School-related gender-based violence can also affect the educational performance of girls, women, and other persons. Gender-based violence can include emotional, sexual, economic, spiritual, and reproductive abuse and coercion (Right to Education Initiative, 2022). These can push victims into dropping out of school. This can happen at any level in the educational system, although the only Maltese incident which was reported by the media took place in a secondary school (Cilia, 2022).

In 2021, the Gender Equality and Sexual Diversity Committee conducted a survey on sexual harassment at the University of Malta. The respondents underlined that they felt relatively safe at the university when compared to the other educational institutions they had frequented in the past, or when they compared this institution to places of leisure. And yet, they were still constantly exposed to microaggressions including the unsolicited comments mentioned above, cat calling, sexist and sex-related jokes which their male peers shared with them whether they liked to hear them or not. When one complained, she was called a prude. What was worrying about the UM survey was that the victims felt that they had to deal with this behaviour, to brush it off, to accept it, since boys will be boys. As some of the UM participants noted, sexual harassment is a prevalent culture which undermines people's internalized perception of

themselves: “It’s hard to know when to report certain cases because it happens so often it’s normalized - if you report every single text you receive you will report everyone”; “a group of guys who feed off of each other’s energy and try to look cool and pass a joke”, “boys being boys”, who do act like this because it is culturally permissible, with “no malicious intent” (Cutajar, 2022).

These and other studies demonstrate that we need to educate both people working in educational institutions as well as students, whether they are the victims or bystanders, what gender-based violence is, and when, how and to whom to report it to. School-related gender-based violence can occur in and around educational institutions, as well as during the journey to and from school. When it occurs on school premises, it can be enacted by educators, other employees and students. It can also take place online, through digital technologies such as instant messaging and social media. Deguara (2015), for example, drew up a sexting policy for schools in Malta. These types of policies need to be in place in every educational institution.

Bystander intervention training for both male and female employees as well as students is also crucial. UCL students’ union, for example, provides an online Active bystander programme. American universities, such as Stanford nowadays offer both bystander and upstander training.

In the Gender Equality and Sexual Diversity Committee research on sexual harassment, a few of the victims came to learn that the unwanted behaviour they had experienced was sexual harassment when they were

taking part in the study conducted in 2021 (Cutajar, 2022). Research itself can be a means of raising awareness about such topics, as a few participants pointed out.

Boys and men, girls and women need to learn by unlearning. Giggling at unwelcome behaviour is one of the behaviours women/girls must unlearn; boys/men on the other hand need to learn to stop passing unsolicited comments on different parts of a woman’s body, or how they are dressed, on the other hand. Boys and men need to learn that this type of behaviour is not acceptable. A tip sheet on how to do this is available here: Women Strong International (2023) Safer Communities for All: Guiding Male Transformative Engagement. It also includes links to other support sources for self-reflection and having conversations with other men.

The NCPE research has made it clear that individuals who work with children and young people need training in order to debunk some of the prevailing myths regarding boys’ and girls’ so-called innate capabilities. It was clear from the results relating to individual attributes, values and behaviour that segments of the population think that boys and girls, men and women, are biologically programmed to have certain emotional, or behavioural attributes and not others. This means that some form of training and/or awareness-raising needs to be mandatory to educate and help eliminate such attitudes and misperceptions. All forms of educators, coaches, girl guides and boy scout leaders, parentcraft educators, and those who teach catechism, would benefit from this, as would parents.



## Media

The NCPE survey did not ask the respondents any questions about the portrayal of gender roles in the media. However, as stated in the literature review, the media is an important secondary socialising agent and will be discussed here. UN Women (2022) found that respondents tended to underline that the media persists in portraying traditional gender roles, especially where male roles are concerned. Women continue to be portrayed in the traditional female roles of wives, mothers and caregivers, while men are depicted as providers for the family, leaders and businesspersons. The respondents who took part in the UN survey felt that men were more likely to be represented in traditional roles than women. They also underlined that the media need to provide progressive portrayals of both women and men. This is one way of counteracting deep-rooted stereotypical gender roles.

It is very difficult to monitor gender portrayal in the media when media texts from all over the world can be accessed at the touch of a button. UN Women (2022) suggests that it might be better to teach individuals from a young age to critically challenge stereotypes and cultural norms to ensure that media portrayals do not consolidate attitudes that continue to hold back gender equality. This training can be enacted at home, in schools and through awareness-raising campaigns, the latter taking place via social media. There are a few websites which help parents and educators critically analyse digital and media content. These include: Common Sense, Media Smarts, Miss Representation, Educators for Social Change.

Dove, a company that offers a range of self-care products, also runs campaigns to change social media into a safer place for teens. This article in Teen Vogue describes how Dove has also partnered with other entities like Lizzo, Common Sense Media and ParentsTogetherAction to work together on keeping children safe when online.

## Employment

From their analysis of the 2019 data collected via the Global Attitudes survey which was conducted in 34 countries, Horowitz and Fetterolf (2020) conclude that in nearly every country surveyed, the majority of respondents felt that a marriage where both the husband and the wife had jobs, and both took care of the home, was more satisfying than one where the husband was the breadwinner and the wife took care of the house and the family. This can only come into being if there are the necessary state policies in place though.

Family-friendly measures enable both parents to work and take care of other vulnerable family members. Flexible working is also a popular method of allowing working parents a better work-life balance and a way of tackling gender inequalities in the labour market (Chung, 2020). Eurostat (2020) however notes that employed male rather than female workers are in jobs where they can decide when to start and end their working time. Not all men are able to do so, but higher educated men at senior management level can. Those in these positions also have a greater degree of flexibility in taking a few hours off or a couple of days of leave at short notice for family or personal reasons.

These conditions need to be available to all those who have to juggle work with caring responsibilities.

Other countries have found that organisations tend to be gender-biased. As has been pointed out before, certain sectors tend to employ either men or women, rather than both, leading to a skewed labour force in certain areas - such as engineering, IT, teaching or social work. Gender and other forms of diversity in the workplace, at all levels, is healthy for all - workers, service users or clients, as will be explained below.

He and Kaplan (2017) maintain that supposedly gender-blind or gender-neutral management practices are anything but that. These management practices still discriminate against women thanks to implicit or explicit biases ingrained in individuals who design policies and form part of recruitment and promotion selection boards. Attempts to solve problems of female under-representation in certain sectors and at certain levels of an organisation have failed. This is because written and codified rules, that appear neutral but are anything but that, prescribe and proscribe 'acceptable' forms of behaviour, which in turn produce outcomes which help re-produce broader social and political gender expectations (O'Mullane, 2021). Informal conventions, norms and practices as well as formal structures help determine and legitimate certain forms of behaviour, which help certain workers make it into an organisation and/or enable them to reach their full potential and hence make their way to the top, but stop others from doing so.

People might espouse progressive gender role expectations, as the NCPE participants espoused in the statements linked with the public sphere. When it comes to making choices - who gets recruited, who gets a promotion - if management is not trained, their choices are influenced by their unconscious biases. In order to rectify this, proposals are occasionally made. The Gender Equality and Mainstreaming Strategy and Action Plan (Human Rights Directorate, 2022, p. 26), for example, proposes that "40% of appointments made to officially designated bodies" will have to be women when it comes to the public sector. The Council of the European Union 2022 also approved an EU law to improve gender balance on listed company boards:

The directive, which will have to be transposed into national law, lays down that at least 40% of non-executive director positions in listed companies should be held by members of the underrepresented sex by 2026. If member states choose to apply the new rules to both executive and non-executive directors, the target would be 33% of all director positions by 2026 (Council of the EU, 2022, para. 2).

When policies and management practices do not enable women to reach the top, quotas are often used. Quotas, according to He and Kaplan (2017), jump-start equal representation at the decision-making level. They are needed since the pipeline is not the problem. There is no lack of women in the candidate pool in some organizations, however, women never make it to decision-making levels due to conscious and unconscious biases, and because of closed male networks. The only way to address these is via the introduction of quotas. Quotas prove to be

a shock to the gender biases embedded in organisational systems and human decision-making processes. Individual and organisational systems have been built on unconscious biases and stereotypes. The so-called meritocratic system does not exist.

Quotas, on the other hand, are stringent and structured frameworks created to overcome conscious and unconscious biases, and in the process, leave less room for intended and unintended discrimination (He and Kaplan, 2017).

When organisations start using quotas, they must change their definition of the ideal candidate in order to populate top positions. As individuals, we have images as to who the 'ideal' worker or the 'ideal' leader is. In the NCPE survey, respondents were not biased against women in the workplace or at decision-making levels, but labour force data shows otherwise. He and Kaplan (2017) sustain that when quotas are introduced, these must be accompanied by other measures. Organisations might need to search more creatively and expansively to find female board members, and they sometimes need to change the typical profile to be able to find individuals to promote. Companies will also need to reach out and find women to apply for jobs and posts and offer them resources for training. Potential candidates, in turn, would benefit from mentoring and shadowing programmes to help prepare them for the decision-making post once they are nominated. A critical mass (40%) of women on boards is also needed. This will ensure that women who make it to the top are not stigmatized and isolated. A critical mass comes in useful when it comes to disrupting group thinking, maintains Kamalnath (2018). Research shows that

this critical mass once reached can lead to more effective risk management, higher quality monitoring of management, and more systemic work (Yu & Madison, 2021).

He and Kaplan (2017) maintain that organisations nowadays have workers coming from diverse backgrounds - gender, sexuality, ethnic, and/or racial backgrounds. They, therefore, need diversity managers to create and sustain diversity in the workplace. This post will enable organisations to increase the hiring rate of women and other minorities, and, by being fair-minded, increase the organisations' social accountability. They also retain that managers should be provided with the opportunity of diversity training. These researchers also suggest the setting up of corporate diversity task forces at an organisational level, involving departmental heads and line executives as well as members from under-represented groups so that together they can promote the organisation's social accountability. They underline that people need to be held accountable by expecting them to be transparent when they make decisions. Workers will self-monitor their behaviour when they know that their decisions are being scrutinized. External monitoring where diversity targets are involved can take place through compensation and reward systems.

Quotas have been also used in other countries to increase the number of women in politics. Malta did not take this road but instead introduced the gender corrective mechanism in 2022. Politics will be discussed in the next section. Although the participants believed both men and women can become politicians, the number of women in politics is still low when compared to other countries.

## Politics

The number of women participating in the labour market has increased over the years. Those who work, especially those who have professional jobs, tend to form the pipeline into public life and politics, government, civil society, and the media (European Parliamentary Research Section, 2021). In this section, the focus will be on why it is important that more women make it into parliament.

There are several arguments about the importance of ensuring that a substantive number of women make it into parliamentary and decision-making levels, the primary being that men's and women's interests are different and that at times, their needs and interests are conflicting (European Parliamentary Research Section, 2021). Women's interests need to be considered since women form half of the population. These interests can only be considered if women are in the right position to raise awareness about women's issues and give these issues their rightful legitimacy. Men and women end up with different experiences due to their socialization, which tends to be different due to traditional gender role expectations. Increasing women's presence at the top would help shatter gender stereotypes where power is concerned while providing younger women and girls with positive female role models to emulate. The equal representation of women and men would in turn enhance the democratisation of governance at the decision-making level, something which to date is being undermined since they are poorly (numerically) underrepresented.

Although male and female respondents in the NCPE survey see nothing wrong with women becoming politicians or taking

other decision-making roles, women still encounter difficulties, due to cultural, social, economic and political factors when they try to do so. One of the barriers women face includes the fear that they might not be capable of making it to the top or to parliament. According to the responses attained in the NCPE survey, this does not seem to be the case. When one however compares this to the number of women vis-à-vis men who decided to contest the 2022 general elections, there seems to be a discrepancy between what the NCPE participants said – that women can become politicians – and what happens. As highlighted in the literature review, the number of female candidates who participate in the national elections has been significantly lower than the male one, even when the gender corrective mechanism was used in the 2022 elections.

Although women do have progressive gender roles, when they assess the costs and risks of running for office or getting a promotion, they might balk when they take into consideration their unequal access to key resources such as time, money and the old boys' network; the unequal family responsibilities they have to shoulder; the male domination at decision-making levels; as well as the level of abuse and violence directed against women in public life and politics (European Parliamentary Research Section, 2021).

The NCPE results demonstrate that the wider Maltese society does not have traditional gender role expectations and stereotypes where political participation is concerned. So did Bezzina, Brown and Marmara (2021) in their survey, since they found that Maltese voters do not discriminate against male and female candidates. When one compares these

two sets of results with what happened in the 2022 election results, there seems to be a discrepancy between espoused values and reality.

Gender role expectations might have changed, but some institutions have not. Political parties are a case in point. International IDEA (2016, p. 9) sustains that the main indicators of a:

party's commitment to gender equality is the number of women in its leadership structures, the initiatives it undertakes to increase the presence and influence of women in different spheres of political decision-making, and the degree to which it pursues gender equality initiatives in its policy proposals and political activities.

Despite attempts made by the two main political parties to increase the representation of women in decision-making entities within parties, none of the leaders is female in these parties. Without more women at the top, or if these are missing, feminist leaders, political parties will not make the necessary changes which will encourage more women to participate in elections. The fewer women there are at the decision-making levels in political parties, the less likely they are to be given visibility. The lack of visibility given to women by political parties is also an issue because it promotes the message that women do not belong in this sphere.

Maltese political parties need to create gender policies and gender mainstream their political parties to ensure the: genuine representation of the views, interests and needs of all citizens - both women and men - [since this] is crucial to the effective functioning of political parties and for their

legitimacy and representativeness. As is widely acknowledged, the failure to include women and their perspectives in political decision-making weakens the legitimacy of democratically elected institutions and deprives women - half of the population of any given country - of their right to participate effectively in the governance of their societies. (International IDEA, 2016, p. 9).

The two main Maltese political parties need to do more to increase the number of women at the leadership level: they also need to proactively reach out to and recruit potential women candidates and promote them in electoral campaigns (European Parliamentary Research Section, 2021). Research shows that for several reasons (Cutajar, 2014) women refrained from participating in politics. Political parties are the ones which must reach out and persuade potential female candidates to take part. These parties also need to endorse these women's participation publicly and constantly.

The Gender Balance in Parliament Reform consultation document (Parliamentary Secretariat for Reforms, Citizenship and Simplification of Administrative Processes, 2019) came up with several recommendations to facilitate women's substantive presence in parliament. These included incentives to political parties to increase the participation of women at the recruitment and campaign stages; gender balance following a gender audit to be carried out within the Electoral Commission; a zipper system to be adopted in the ballot list; legal and constitutional amendments to address the gender imbalance in parliament; and gender mainstreaming of parliament itself, accompanied by the adoption of family-

friendly measures within this institution. From these, legal and constitutional amendments to address gender imbalance in parliament were enacted.

Parliaments and electoral management bodies, like other organisations, are the product of the prevalent societal and cultural gender attitudes and practices and hence need a gender policy to align their systems and practices with national constitutions, legislation and international frameworks that promote gender equality. In order to tackle this conscious and unconscious bias upheld and promoted by institutional systems and structures created by people who are the product of a particular society, developing “an overarching gender equality plan with clear gender mainstreaming strategies and dedicated party committees to oversee, monitor and evaluate their implementation” (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017, p.19) is a must.

The following are some toolkits on what needs to be done in the political field at the political party and parliamentary levels:

NDI/UNDP. (2012). Empowering women for stronger political parties. A guidebook to promote women’s political participation.

International IDEA (2016). A framework for developing gender policies for political parties. <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/a-framework-for-developing-gender-policies-for-political-parties.pdf>

OSCE/OESCD (2021) Realizing gender equality in Parliament.

Inter-Parliamentary Union (2017). Plan of action for gender-sensitive parliaments.

Change can also be enacted in other ways. At every level of our education system, there exist a few student councils made up of representatives elected by their peers. In co-ed educational institutions, it might help if male and female candidates are listed separately for these elections. Students vote for male and female students separately. The nth male and female student representatives with the best votes win. School policy should also underline that leadership posts are given to a male and a female student, on a rotational basis; the same should happen to the other committee positions. This will enable the future generation to realize that there are different ways of choosing whom they want to represent them and help change the group think as to who could be a leader, secretary, etc.

### Language

The Inter-Parliamentary Union (2017) maintains that political parties need to use gender-sensitive language in their documents. This is not the only institution that needs to do so, though. A cursory look at Maltese legislation helps underline this. Sczesny, Formanowicz and Moser (2016) sustain that gender-fair language can help reduce gender stereotyping and discrimination.

Among entities which have guidelines on how to neutralize language where gender (and other minority groups) are concerned, the University of Malta published the Good Practice in Inclusive Language. NCPE has a publication on inclusive language in advertising and the Human Rights Directorate has Guidelines on the Recognition of Sex, Sexuality and Gender. Unfortunately, this issue is not given its due importance in Malta. Other countries

have come up with inclusive language policies to ensure that this language becomes the norm. Sczesny et al. (2016) say that other countries promote inclusive language via the media, the government and the universities. Malta has not reached this stage yet.

The following is a potential guide to inclusive language in Maltese:

G. Farrugia (Ed.) *Is-Sessizmu fil-Lingwa Maltija*. L-Akkademja tal-Malti.

### Conclusion

The focus of this study was to find out which gender roles and behaviours the participants thought are appropriate for men and women in the Maltese Islands. These beliefs, as Lomazzi and Seddig (2021) point out, are not just related to personal preferences, but derive from norms and values transmitted through different socialization processes. This explains how a good portion of this chapter was devoted to different institutions. To ensure a change in attitudes and values, the message must be promoted by different institutions in Maltese society.

Change in the cultural and social construction of gender in Malta has also been enacted via state-led initiatives, pressure from women's groups, but most of all thanks to the global and regional standards set by the UN and EU which 'force' the Maltese government to enact changes (Cassar, Cutajar and Thake, 2023). Both these entities work with the Maltese government and civil society to ensure that the laws, policies, programmes and services designed ensure that the standards are effectively implemented and truly benefit women and girls. The

way societal structures of opportunity are designed, such as the availability of childcare and other care services, parental leave schemes, and labour market conditions, also help change attitudes towards gender roles (Lomazzi and Seddig, 2022). As the results show, gender role attitudes seem to have changed regarding women's participation in the public sphere, but this change in attitudes to women's roles in the private one was not that noticeable. This is where we need to focus next.

More needs to be done. As Vukovic (2021) notes, assumptions as well as social structures help produce gender gaps. Assumptions and expectations about gender - appropriate roles structure recruitment practices, career ladders and corporate culture within organisations. They also impact people's behaviour when they come to take and make decisions, whether it concerns their career, who does what at home or in public, and how to raise children. Malta has a gender equality strategy and plan, as well as general gender equality legal provisions. Despite these, we, as Maltese, also need to raise awareness and debunk some of the gender stereotypical myths which, as this study has shown, still abound, especially with regards to who should be doing what at home, or how emotions should be expressed.

One of the main impediments to gender equality in Malta is the male breadwinner model. It is high time that Malta replaces the male breadwinner model with the dual - earner/dual-carer model. This can take place via a package of state policies which include among others: (1) family leave schemes that ensure job protection and wage replacement for parents who have

young children; (2) affordable, high-quality early childhood education and care for babies and children up to three years of age; and (3) labour market regulations aimed at shortening the standard work week and the strengthening of remuneration for reduced-hour employment to enable both men and women to engage in both paid and unpaid work on an equal basis (Gornick and Meyers, 2003).

Unfortunately, the male breadwinner and the ideal worker models still have an impact on how certain laws and policies are being designed and implemented

on a state and institutional level. These models also influence how decisions are implemented where recruitment and progression are concerned. The effect of these models do not stop here - women, more than men, as the NCPE survey shows, have internalized these social expectations where the care of children and vulnerable family members are concerned. Policy together with educational and awareness-raising campaigns are needed to bring about a change in perspective.





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## Appendix I - Consent Form and Questionnaire

*The recruitment letter plus consent form is read out before data collection and the participants verbally agree to all the conditions. Verbal consent is audio-recorded and stored separately from the data collected.*

### Introduction

My name is .... working with ....

I am conducting this survey for the National Commission for the Promotion of Equality. The aim of this research is to study the prevalent gender role perceptions and attitudes among adults living in Malta. The survey will take you approximately 20 minutes to complete. Any data collected from this survey will be used solely for the purposes of this study. There are no direct benefits or anticipated risks in taking part. Participation is entirely voluntary, i.e., you are free to accept or refuse to participate. Your name (or any other personal information that could lead to you being identified) will not appear in the report or in any other publications resulting from this study. Completed questionnaires will be encrypted and stored on a password-protected computer. Only Prof Liberato Camilleri and Prof JosAnn Cutajar who will be analysing the data will have access to it. Please note that, as a participant, you have the right under the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and national legislation to access, rectify and where applicable ask for the data concerning you to be erased, prior to it being anonymized. All data collected will be stored in an anonymised form on completion of the study and following the publication of results.

If you wish to participate in this study, please say “I agree to participate”. If not, please tell me “I do not wish to participate”.

### Introduzzjoni

Jien jisimni .... u naħdem ma’...

Qed nagħmel dan l-istħarriġ għall-Kummissjoni Nazzjonali għall-Promozzjoni tal-Ugwaljanza. L-għan ta’ din ir-riċerka huwa li nistudjaw l-perċezzjonijiet u l-attitudnijiet prevalenti ir-rwoli tas-sessi fost l-adulti li jgħixu Malta.

Is-survey se jieħu madwar 20 minuta. Kwalunkwe data miġbura minn dan l-istħarriġ se tintuża biss għall-finijiet ta’ dan l-istudju. M’hemm l-ebda benefiċċji diretti jew riskji antiċipati meta tieħu sehem. Il-parteċipazzjoni tiegħek hija kompletament volontarja, jiġifieri inti liberu li taċċetta jew tirrifjuta li tipparteċipa.

Ismek (jew kwalunkwe informazzjoni personali oħra li tista’ twassal biex tkun identifikat) mhux se jidher fir-rapport jew fi kwalunkwe pubblikazzjoni oħra li tirriżulta minn dan l-istudju. Il-kwestjonarju mimli se jiġi encrypted u maħżun fuq kompjuter protett bil- password. Huma biss il-Prof Liberato Camilleri u l-Prof JosAnn Cutajar, li se janalizzaw id-data, li se jkollhom aċċess għal din l-informazzjoni.

Jekk jogħġbok innotali, bħala parteċipant/a għandek id-dritt taħt ir-Regolament Ġenerali dwar il-Protezzjoni tad-Dejta (GDPR) u l-leġiżlazzjoni nazzjonali li taċċessa, tirrettifika u fejn applikabbli titlob li titħassar id-data li tikkonċernak, qabel ma din tiġi anonimizzata. Id-data kollha miġbura tinħażen f’forma anonima mat-tlestija tal-istudju u r-riżultati jiġu ppubblikati.

Jekk tixtieq tipparteċipa f'dan l-istudju, jekk jogħġbok għid "Naqbel li nipparteċipa". Jekk le, jekk jogħġbok għid "Ma nixtieqx nipparteċipa".

### Section A - Socio-demographic details/ Dettalji Soċjodemografici

- Sex/Gender: Woman, Man, Other (Transgender, Non-binary/non-conforming), Prefer not to respond. *Sess/Ġeneru - Mara, Raġel, Oħrajn (Transgender, Non-binary/non-conforming), Nippreferi ma ngħidx.*
- Age - actual age, will be categorized afterwards. *Età.*
- Locality - by district *Fejn toqgħod*
- Nationality - Maltese, EU, non-EU *Nazzjonalità.*
- Level of Education - primary, secondary, post-secondary, tertiary, post-graduate *Livell ta' edukazzjoni - primarja, sekondarja, post-sekondarja, terzjarja, post-universitarja.*
- Occupation - Armed Forces; Managers; Professionals; Technicians and associate professionals; Clerical support workers; Service and sales workers; Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers; craft and related trades workers; plant and machine operators and assemblers; elementary occupations. *Xogħol - Forzi Armati, Professjonista, Tekniċi u professjonisti assoċjati; Haddiema ta' appoġġ klerikali; Haddiema tas-servizz u tal-bejgħ; Haddiema tas-sengħa agrikoli, tal-forestrija u tas-sajd; Haddiema tas-snajja' u snajja' relatati; Operaturi u armaturi ta'impjanti u magni; Impjiegi elementari.*
- Civil Status - single (without children), single with children, married/cohabiting with children,

married/cohabiting with children, separated/divorced/widowed, Other.

Stat ċivili - single mingħajr tfal, single bit-tfal, miżżewġa/miżżewweġ jew poġġut/a bit-tfal, miżżewġa/miżżewweġ bit-tfal, separat/separata/divorzjat/divorzjata/armel/armla bit-tfal, separat/separata/divorzjat/divorzjata/armel/armla mingħajr tfal, Oħrajn.

### Section B

Who is most suitable to do the following? Men, Women, Both

#### Sezzjoni B

*Min taħseb li jinqala' l-aktar għal dawn l-azzjonijiet li ser insemmi - Nisa, Irġiel jew it- tnejn?*

#### B1. Household chores / Xogħol tad-dar

Men	Women	Both
L-irġiel	In-nisa	It-tnejn

- Take care of young children. *Tieħu ħsieb it-tfal.*
- Cook meals. *Issajjar.*
- Clean the house. *Tnaddaf id-dar*
- Take decisions about financial matters at home. *Tieħu deċiżjonijiet finanzjarji li għandhom x'jaqsmu mal-familja*
- Take care of elderly parents or relatives with a disability. *Tieħu ħsieb ġenituri anzjani jew nies li jiġu minnek li għandhom diżabilità.*
- Earn money for the family. *Tmur taħdem biex trabbi familja.*

## B 2. Profession / Professjoni

Who is most suitable to do the following? Men/ Women/ Both

Min taħseb li hu maqtuġħ li jagħmel dawn li ser insemmi – Nisa, Irgiel jew it-tnejn?

Men	Women	Both
L-irġiel	In-nisa	It-tnejn

14. Choose a job with family-friendly conditions.  
*Issib xogħol li għandu ħin li huwa tajjeb biex trabbi familja – family friendly*
15. Become a primary school teacher.  
*Tgħallem ġo skola primarja*
16. Become an engineer.  
*Tilħaq inginier*
17. Become a manager at work.  
*Issir maniger.*
18. Get a promotion when having young children.  
*Tieħu promotion meta t-tfal ikunu żgħar.*
19. Continue with your education when you have young children.  
*Tkompli titgħallem meta jkollok tfal żgħar.*
20. Become a politician.  
*Toħroġ għall-politika.*

## Section C

Do you agree with the following statements? Say whether you Agree/ Disagree/ It Depends

Sezzjoni Ċ

Taqbel ma' dawn is-sentenzi li ħa naqralek? Għidli jekk taqbilx, Ma taqbilx jew Jiddependi

### C1. Gender role expression among children / L-espressjoni tal-ġeneru fost it-tfal

21. Playing with dolls is alright for boys.  
*Huwa OK li s-subien jilagħbu bil-pupi.*
22. To do ballet is alright for boys.  
*Huwa OK li s-subien jiżfnu l-ballet.*
23. Rough sports like rugby is alright for girls.  
*Huwa OK li l-bniet jagħmlu sport raff bħar-rugby.*
24. Girls and boys should have the same freedom.  
*Il-bniet u s-subien għandu jkollhom l-istess libertajiet.*
25. Boys make better leaders than girls.  
*Is-subien huma aħjar mill-bniet bħala leaders.*

### C2. Education / L-edukazzjoni.

26. Some school subjects are more suitable for boys and others are more suitable for girls.  
*Ċertu suġġetti tal-iskola huma addattati aktar għas-subien, u oħrajn għall-bniet*
27. Family should encourage boys more than girls to continue studying.  
*Il-familja għandha tinkoraġġixxi iktar lis-subien milli lill-bniet biex ikomplu jistudjaw.*

### **C3. Male and female characteristics / Karatteristiċi maskili u femminili**

28. Men are more rational than women by nature.

*L-irġiel, min-natura tagħhom, huma aktar razzjonali (jaħsbuha qabel ma jagħmluha)*

29. Men tend to be aggressive when expressing their emotions.

*L-irġiel għandhom tendenza li jkunu aġressivi meta jesprimu l-emozzjonijiet tagħhom.*

30. Women are likely to burst into tears when expressing their emotions.

*In-nisa għandhom tendenza li jibku meta jesprimu l-emozzjonijiet tagħhom.*

31. It is understandable for a man to hit out when his partner tries to end a relationship.

*Huwa aċċettabli li raġel jerfa' idu meta l-partner tkun trid titilqu.*

32. Women should feel flattered when receiving comments by male

33. strangers about their body.

*Nisa li jirċievu kumpliment dwar ġisimhom minn irġiel li ma jafuhomx għandhom iħossuhom grati.*

### **C4. Gender roles / Rvoli fuq bażi ta' ġeneru**

34. Asking somebody out for a date is alright for a woman.

*Huwa OK li tfajla ssaqsi ġuvni biex joħroġ magħha.*

35. The responsibility for raising children should be equally shared between mothers and fathers.

*Ir-responsabbiltà tat-trobbija tat-tfal għandha tinqasam b'mod ugwali bejn l-ommijiet u l-missirijiet.*

36. The choice between being a good wife/mother or being in paid employment puts a lot of pressure on women.

*L-għażla bejn li tkun mara/omm tajba jew li jkollok xogħol bi ħlas ipogġi ħafna pressure fuq in-nisa.*

37. Contraception is the responsibility of both men and women.

*Il-kontraċezzjoni hi r-responsabbiltà kemm tan-nisa u anke tal-irġiel.*

### **C5. Gender Equality at the Workplace / L-ugwaljanza fuq il-post tax-xogħol**

38. Some jobs are more appropriate for men and others are more appropriate for women.

*Ċertu xogħlijiet huma aktar addattati għall-irġiel u oħrajn aktar addattati għan-nisa.*

39. Career advancement is more possible when people work full-time.

*L-avvanz fil-karriera hu iktar possibbli meta taħdem full-time.*

40. Sexual jokes are OK at the workplace.

*Ċajt ta' natura sesswali huwa OK fuq il-post tax-xogħol.*

### **C6. Gender Equality and Inequality in Malta**

41. Equality between women and men in Malta has been achieved.

*L-ugwaljanza bejn l-irġiel u n-nisa f'Malta ntlejha.*

42. Equality between women and men has come far enough in Malta.

*M'hemmx b'zonn iżjed żviluppi f'Malta fl-ugwaljanza bejn l-irġiel u n-nisa.*



**D1: Are the following qualities seen as being more important for men, women or both in Maltese society?**

*Dawn il-kwalitajiet li ser insemmi huma meqjusa importanti għall-irġiel, għan-nisa jew għat-tnejn fis-soċjetà Maltija?*

43. Having the respect of others.

*Li jkollok ir-rispett tal-oħrajn.*

44. Being able to stand up for yourself.

*Li tkun kapaċi żżomm sod fil-fehma tiegħek.*

45. Being able to cry in public.

*Li tkun kapaċi tibki fil-pubbliku.*

46. Being sporty.

*Li tkun sportiv.*

47. Being physically attractive.

*Li tkun fiżikament attraenti.*

Thank you for taking part in this research  
/ *Grazzi tas-sehem tiegħek f'din ir-riċerka.*



## Appendix II - Links in Chapter 6

### Education

Fair Play <https://www.fairplaylife.com/home-equity-curriculum>

### STEM and Feminized Sectors

#ILookLikeAnEngineer <https://twitter.com/EngineerLook> or

<https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/ilooklikeanengineer/>

Technovation Girls <https://technovationchallenge.org/>

Women in Tech Malta <https://www.facebook.com/womenintechmalta>

Women in STEM <https://esplora.org.mt/celebrating-women-and-girls-in-science/>

### Gender-based Expression of Emotions

Toxic Masculinity <https://www.masterclass.com/articles/what-is-toxic-masculinity>

<https://www.masterclass.com/articles/what-is-toxic-masculinity>

Toxic masculinity in the classroom – Boys will be boys <https://www.masterclass.com/articles/what-is-toxic-masculinity>

Equimundo <https://www.equimundo.org/our-work/#by-thematic-area> and <https://www.equimundo.org/>

The Mask you Live in <https://therepproject.org/films/the-mask-you-live-in/>

Un-teaching gender stereotypes for boys <https://www.masterclass.com/articles/what-is-toxic-masculinity>

<https://pshe-association.org.uk/guidance/ks1-5/addressing-misogyny-toxic-masculinity-and-social-media-influence-in-pshe-education>

Students dealing with emotions – Keep Cool <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/research/keepcool>

### **Gender-based violence**

PSHE Association <https://pshe-association.org.uk/news/what-schools-need-to-know-about-fgm>

Spotting the signs of forced marriage <https://www.sec-ed.co.uk/best-practice/spotting-the-signs-of-forced-marriage>

Active bystander programme <https://studentsunionucl.org/active-bystander-programme>

Stanford Upstander Intervention <https://share.stanford.edu/get-informed/education-and-outreach-programs/upstander-intervention>

Women Strong International [https://www.womenstrong.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/TipSheet\\_English-2.pdf](https://www.womenstrong.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/TipSheet_English-2.pdf)

### **Media**

Common Sense <https://www.commonsense.org/education/articles/age-appropriate-tips-for-addressing-gender-stereotypes-in-the-classroom>

Media Smarts <https://mediasmarts.ca/teacher-resources/find-lesson>

Miss Representation <https://thereproject.org/>

Educators for Social Change <https://educators4sc.org/teaching-about-gender-stereotypes/>

Dove <https://www.dove.com/us/en/dove-self-esteem-project.html>

Teen Vogue <https://www.teenvogue.com/story/dove-self-esteem-project>

Lizzo <https://www.instagram.com/lizzobeeating/?hl=en>

Common Sense Media <https://www.commonensemedia.org/>

ParentsTogetherAction <https://parentstogetheraction.org/>

## Politics

NDI/UNDP. (2012). Empowering women for stronger political parties. A guidebook to promote women's political participation.

International IDEA (2016). A framework for developing gender policies for political parties. <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/a-framework-for-developing-gender-policies-for-political-parties.pdf>

OSCE/OESCD (2021) Realizing gender equality in Parliament.

Inter-Parliamentary Union (2017). Plan of action for gender-sensitive parliaments.

## Language

Good Practice in Inclusive Language <https://www.um.edu.mt/media/um/docs/about/goodpracticeinclusivelanguage.pdf>

NCPE inclusive language in advertising [https://ncpe.gov.mt/en/Documents/Our\\_Publications\\_and\\_Resources/Resourses\\_and\\_Tools/Guidelines/inclusive\\_advertising.pdf](https://ncpe.gov.mt/en/Documents/Our_Publications_and_Resources/Resourses_and_Tools/Guidelines/inclusive_advertising.pdf)

Human Rights Directorate Guidelines <https://humanrights.gov.mt/en/Documents/Sex,%20Sexuality%20and%20Gender%20Guidelines%20%5BEN%5D.pdf>

