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Appendix “A feminist promise?”

Table 2: Codebook used for R

Concept	English	German	French
Equal treatment	equal treatment ; treating equal	Gleichbehandlung	traitement égal; égalité de traitement
	individuality	Individualität	individualité
	individual responsibility	individuelle Verantwortung; Verantwortungen	responsabilité individuelle; responsabilités individuelles
	legal equality ; equal rights; women's rights	Rechtliche Gleichheit; Gleiche Rechte; Frauenrechte	égalité juridique; égalité de droit; droits des femmes
Equal opportunities	women ; female; mother	Frau; weiblich; Mutter	femme; féminin; mère
	equal pay ; pay equity; gender pay gap	gleiche Bezahlung; gleicher Lohn; Entgeltgleichheit	égalité salariale; égalité de rémunération; écart salarial; salaire égal
	compensation	Entschädigung; Ausgleich	Indemnisation; compensation
	positive action	positive Maßnahmen; Fördermaßnahmen	action positive; mesures d'aide/de soutien
	positive discrimination	positive Diskriminierung; Maßnahmen zur Gleichstellung	discrimination positive
	equal access	gleichberechtigter Zugang; gleicher Zugang	égalité d'accès; accès égal; égal accès
	equal opportunities	Chancengleichheit; Gleiche Chancen	égalité des chances
Equal Impact	gender	Geschlecht	genre
	equality ; inequality	Gleichheit; Ungleichheit	Égalité; inégalité
	gender mainstreaming	Integration der Geschlechterperspektive	intégration d'une dimension de genre; approche intégrée de l'égalité; intégration de la perspective (de) genre
	equal impact	gleicher Einfluss; gleiche Wirkung	impact égal; influence égale
	domination ; relations of domination	Herrschaftsverhältnisse; Machtstrukturen	rapports de domination; relations de domination
	hierarchy	Hierarchien	hiérarchies
Anti-discrimination	discrimination	Diskriminierung	discrimination
	anti-discrimination	Anti-Diskriminierung	lutte contre les discriminations; anti-discrimination
	equal chances	Gleiche Chancen	égalité des chances
	exclusion	Ausschluss	exclusion
	equality mainstreaming	Gleichstellungsorientierung	intégration de l'égalité
	equity	Gerechtigkeit	équité
	group rights ; social justice	Gruppenrechte; Soziale Gerechtigkeit	droits des groupes; justice sociale

Concept	English	German	French
Intersectionality	intersectionality ; inter-connected social categories	Intersektionalität; miteinander verknüpfte soziale Kategorien	Intersectionnalité; catégories sociales interconnectées
	transformation of structures	Strukturveränderung	transformation structurelle; transformation des structures
Eighter intersectionality or anti-discrimination	ethnic origin ; ethnic	ethnische Herkunft; ethnisch	origine ethnique
	racism ; people of color/colour; race	Rassismus	racisme
	disability	Behinderung; Beeinträchtigung	handicap
	sexual orientation ; lgbt; homosexual; gay; lesbian; whom they love	sexuelle Orientierung; LGBT; Homosexuell; Schwul; Lesbisch; Wen sie lieben	orientation sexuelle; LGBT; homosexuelle; gay; homosexual; lesbienne; qu'ils/elles aiment
	Age ; youth; young people	Alter; Jugend; junge Menschen	age; jeunesse
	migration; migration status ; migrants	Migrationsstatus; Migration; Migranten	statut de migration; migration; migrant
	religion; religious belief ; faith; belief system; religious discrimination	Religion; religiöse Überzeugung; religiöse Diskriminierung; Glaube; Glauben-srichtung	croyance religieuse; foi; discrimination religieuse; conviction religieuse; confession religieuse; religion
	antisemitism ; anti-semitism; Jew	Antisemitismus; Jude	Antisémitisme; Juif; juive
	anti-muslim; Islamophobia; Muslim	antimuslimisch; Islam-feindlichkeit; Muslim	Islamophobie; Musulmane
	anti-roma; antiziganism; Roma ; Sinti	antiziganismus; antiroma	antitsiganisme; antitziganisme
Additional category	gender based violence ; violence against women; domestic violence	geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt; Gewalt gegen Frauen	violence fondée sur le genre; violence basée sur le genre/sexe; violence sexiste

Source: Kugelmeier López (2025; emphasis added to the English column to indicate the term used as the overarching category label; see Figure 1)

Table 3: Frequency of terms in overall speeches

1	Women	421
2	Antisemitism	216
3	Migration status	131
4	Equality	95
5	Racism	59
6	Gender	38
7	Age	37
8	Legal equality	32
9	Discrimination	30
10	Religious belief	28
11	Roma; Sinti	25
12	Sexual orientation	23
13	Equal pay	19
14	Gender-based violence	19
15	Ethnic origin	16
16	Disability	13
17	Equal opportunities	12
18	Individuality	11
19	Equal access	6
20	Group rights	3
21	Equal treatment	1
22	Equal chances	1
23	Exclusion	1
24	Equity	1

Source: 95 gender related speeches of Ursula von der Leyen, 27 November 2019 – 18 July 2024, available at <https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/home/en>. Generated with R Studio. Sorted from most to least frequent, excluding the 13 non-mentioned words.