



**University of  
Zurich** <sup>UZH</sup>

# Syllabus: Gender and the Radical Right

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E-mail: [breyer@ipz.uzh.ch](mailto:breyer@ipz.uzh.ch)  
Office Hours: Monday 13:30-14:30  
(please e-mail me if you plan to come)  
Office: Online office hours

Seminar: [615-006c](#)  
Spring term, 2022  
**Class Hours: Wednesday 14:00-15:45**  
**Class Room: AFL-E-011**

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## Course Description

Many empirical studies have found a gender gap in electoral support for the radical right. However, the reasons for and interpretations of it are still debated. This course deals with explanations for a difference in support for radical right parties in Western Europe among men and women. We will explore different approaches to explaining the gap and cross-national variation: On the one hand, demand-side explanations focus on socioeconomic characteristics, for example differences in occupational status between men and women, attitudinal differences or internalized gender norms. On the other hand, supply-side approaches focus on the role of female politicians within the leadership or membership of the radical right party, or with the role of gender in the ideological program of the party family. Despite the overall focus on radical right parties in Western Europe, comparisons to radical left parties, other party families and other regions will be made.

## Details

- BA Seminar for 6 ECTS, Module: Political Behavior
- Language: English
- Grading of assessments: written research paper (80%), presentation (20%). Pass/fail assessment: submission of a research question and abstract.

## Administrative Information

- This course will take place in person (AFL-E-011). The sessions will not be recorded. If you cannot take part in person on a regular basis for health reasons, please reach out to me.
- It is required to wear a mask during the whole session. Please follow this university rule to keep everyone safe.
- Readings will be made available on OLAT.

## Expectations and Grading

- **Readings:** For each session, students will be expected to complete the required readings, which will be discussed during the sessions. To prepare for this discussion of empirical studies, think about and take notes on: the question the authors of the article/chapter are addressing, definitions of core concepts, the main argument, the empirical approach and the most important results.
- **Presentation:** During the second half of the course, students will present case studies of radical right parties in Western Europe (or beyond). They will present descriptive information and analytic assessments on the role of gender for the voters, members, leaders and program of their case, as well as embed the topic of gender in the overall success of this radical right party. The presenters will prepare one or two discussion questions for a follow-up discussion. The presentation will count towards 20% of the final grade. Students will work in groups (size depends on number of participants). The presentation should last 15 minutes. Students will prepare a handout with a summary of their input and the discussion questions (1-2 pages). The handout has to be uploaded as a pdf to the OLAT forum of the course by 10:00 am on the day of their presentation. Additionally, the handout and slides have to be sent to me via e-mail 24 hours before the session (Tuesday, 14:00).
- **Research paper:** Students will submit a written paper outlining a research design, which counts towards 80% of their final grade. Students are required to develop and justify a research question, hypotheses and present an approach how to empirically answer the question. They do not have to implement the empirical analysis, but should provide a discussion on possible empirical results (which results would convince or not convince you that your hypotheses are correct?). The paper should be of length 3,500 to 4,000 words (excluding bibliography, but including footnotes). The paper must be submitted before **Wednesday, June 15, 2022, 20:00** as a pdf via OLAT. Grade points can be deducted for unexcused late submissions.
- **Submission of research question and abstract (Pass/Fail):** Before 04 May 12:00 pm (noon), so before Session 10, students will submit a research question that they would like work on in their final paper. They should submit a document with the question and an abstract (summarizing the question and its relevance as well as the theoretical argument in max. 200 words) as a pdf on OLAT. Submitting a question and abstract is compulsory, but they will not be graded. Students will receive individual feedback on this question to help them in the process of writing their final paper.

## **Attendance of Sessions**

Attending the sessions is strongly encouraged to ensure the best learning environment and an active discussion between participants.

## **Syllabus Modification Rights**

I reserve the right to reasonably alter the elements of the syllabus at any time by adjusting the reading list to keep pace with the course schedule. Moreover, I may change the content of specific sessions depending on the participants' research interests.

## **Academic Integrity**

Students are required to comply with the rules laid out in the statement of authorship provided by the IPZ ([Link](#)), as well as sign and attach this sheet when they hand in their research paper. The research papers will be checked for plagiarism.

## **Course Content**

### **Learning Objectives**

The overall objective of the course is to enable students to evaluate different explanations of the gender gap in radical right support. To achieve this, we will learn to:

1. Compare different theoretical approaches that explain radical right voting behavior
2. Apply the terminology of the research fields of gender and the radical right
3. Interpret the significance of the gender gap in Western Europe, cross-national variation and reasons for it
4. Formulate own research questions and hypotheses

### **Introductory Readings**

- Erzeel, Silvia; Rashkova, Ekaterina R. (2017): Still Men's Parties? Gender and the Radical Right in Comparative Perspective. In *West European Politics* 40(4), pp. 812–820.
- Paxton, Pamela Marie; Hughes, Melanie M. (2017): *Women, Politics, and Power. A Global Perspective*. Third edition. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi: SAGE.

## Schedule

### Block I: Introduction, concepts

#### Session 01, 23. February 2022: Introduction and Organisation

- Why is gender relevant when speaking about voting behavior, and especially voting for the radical right?
- What is the structure of the course and what are the expectations?

#### Session 02, 02. March 2022: Important Concepts: Radical Right & Gender

##### Required readings

- Mudde, Cas (2007): *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, pp. 11-31.
- especially from p. 21 onwards: Paxton, Pamela Marie; Hughes, Melanie M. (2017): *Women, Politics, and Power. A Global Perspective*. Third edition. Chapter 1, pp. 1-31.

##### Optional readings

- Hawkesworth, Mary (2013): *Sex, Gender, and Sexuality. From Naturalized Presumption to Analytical Categories*. In Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, S. Laurel Weldon (Eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 31–57.

### Block II: A gender gap in radical right voting

#### Session 03, 09. March 2022: The Existence of a Gender Gap in (Radical Right) Voting Behavior

##### Required readings

- Givens, Terri E. (2004): *The Radical Right Gender Gap*. In *Comparative Political Studies* 37(1), pp. 30–54.

##### Optional readings

- Campbell, Rosie (2017): *Gender and Voting*. In Kai Arzheimer, Jocelyn Evans, Michael S. Lewis-Beck (Eds.): *The Sage Handbook of Electoral Behaviour*. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 159–176.

#### Session 04, 16. March 2022: Explaining the Gap: Gender as a Factor for the Supply and Demand Side

##### Required readings

- Coffé, Hilde (2018): *Gender and the Radical Right*. In Jens Rydgren (Ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, pp. 200–210.
- Mudde, Cas (2019): *The Far Right Today*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, Chapter 9 on Gender, p. 147-162.

Optional readings

- Golder, Matt (2016): Far Right Parties in Europe. In *Annual Review of Political Science* 19(1), pp. 477–497.

**Block III: Demand-side theoretical approaches**

**Session 05, 23. March 2022:** Demand I: The Role of Socialization and Attitudes

Required readings

- Hartevelde, Eelco; Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth (2018): Why Women Avoid the Radical Right. Internalized Norms and Party Reputations. In *British Journal of Political Science* 48(2), pp. 369–384.

Optional readings

- Spierings, Niels; Zaslove, Andrej (2015): Gendering the Vote for Populist Radical-Right Parties. In *Patterns of Prejudice* 49(1-2), pp. 135–162.

*Additional*

- *Information on case study presentations and research papers*

**Session 06, 30. March 2022:** Demand II: Gender and Class

Required readings

- Coffé, Hilde (2013): Gender, Class and Radical Right Voting. In Jens Rydgren (Ed.): *Class Politics and the Radical Right*. London: Routledge (Routledge studies in extremism and democracy, 16), pp. 138–155.

Optional readings

- Oesch, Daniel; Rennwald, Line (2018): Electoral Competition in Europe's New Tripolar Political Space. Class Voting for the Left, Centre-Right and Radical Right. In *European Journal of Political Research* 57(4), pp. 783–807.

*Additional*

- *How to find and formulate a research question?*

**Session 07, 06. April 2022:** Demand III: A Gendered Cultural Backlash

Required readings

- Green, Jane; Shorrocks, Rosalind (2021): The Gender Backlash in the Vote for Brexit. First View. In *Political Behavior*.

Optional readings

- Sauer, Birgit (2020): Authoritarian Right-Wing Populism as Masculinist Identity Politics. The Role of Affects. In Gabriele Dietze, Julia Roth (Eds.): *Right-wing Populism and Gender. European Perspectives and Beyond*. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 23–39.

*Presentation Case Study 1*

## Block IV: Supply-side theoretical approaches

### Session 08, 13. April 2022: Supply I: Ideology and Policy Agenda

Required readings

- de Lange, Sarah L.; Mügge, Liza M. (2015): Gender and Right-Wing Populism in the Low Countries. Ideological Variations Across Parties and Time. In *Patterns of Prejudice* 49(1-2), pp. 61–80.

Optional readings

- Campbell, Rosie; Erzeel, Silvia (2018): Exploring Gender Differences in Support for Rightist Parties: The Role of Party and Gender Ideology. In *Politics and Gender* 14(01), pp. 80–105.

*Presentation Case Study 2*

### Easter break, 20. April 2022: *no seminar*

### Session 09, 27. April 2022: Special Session on Research Designs

Required readings

- Gschwend, Thomas; Schimmelfennig, Frank (2007): Introduction. Designing Research in Political Science - A Dialogue between Theory and Data. In Thomas Gschwend, Frank Schimmelfennig (Eds.): *Research Design in Political Science. How to Practice What They Preach*. Basingstoke [England], New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1–18.

*Presentation Case Study 3*

### Deadline research question: 04 May 2022, 12:00

### Session 10, 04. May 2022: Supply II: Female Leaders and Members of Radical Right Parties

Required: watch documentary

- *Le Populisme au féminin (The Female Face of Populism) - Outside the box productions* (2012): [URL](#). French with English subtitles.

Optional readings

- Meret, Susi (2015): Charismatic Female Leadership and Gender. Pia Kjærsgaard and the Danish People's Party. In *Patterns of Prejudice* 49(1-2), pp. 81–102.
- Weeks, Ana Catalano; Meguid, Bonnie M.; Kittilson, Miki Caul; Coffé, Hilde (2022): When do Männerparteien Elect Women? Radical Right Populist Parties and Strategic Descriptive Representation. Forthcoming, *American Political Science Review*.

*Presentation Case Study 4*

## **Block V: How positions towards gender equality and LGBT rights relate to nativist positions**

### **Session 11, 11. May 2022: Femonationalism**

#### Required readings

- Farris, Sara R. (2017): *In the Name of Women's Rights. The Rise of Femonationalism.* Durham, London: Duke University Press, Introduction and Chapter 1 (pp. 1-56).

#### Optional readings

- Choi, Donghyun Danny; Poertner, Mathias; Sambanis, Nicholas (2021): *The Hijab Penalty: Feminist Backlash to Muslim Immigrants.* In *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Morgan, Kimberly J. (2017): *Gender, Right-Wing Populism, and Immigrant Integration Policies in France, 1989–2012.* In *West European Politics* 40(4), pp. 887–906.

*Presentation Case Study 5*

### **Session 12, 18. May 2022: Bringing in Positions Towards LGBT Rights**

#### Required readings

- Fiers, Ruud; Muis, Jasper (2021): *Dividing Between 'Us' and 'Them'. The Framing of Gender and Sexuality by Online Followers of the Dutch Populist Radical Right.* In *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 4(3), pp. 381–402.

#### Optional readings: *tbd*

- Spierings, Niels (2021): *Homonationalism and Voting for the Populist Radical Right. Addressing Unanswered Questions by Zooming in on the Dutch Case.* Research Note. In *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 33(1), pp. 171–182.

*Presentation Case Study 6*

## **Block VI: Newer Perspectives and Conclusions**

### **Session 13, 25. May 2022: Masculinity**

#### Required readings

- Ralph-Morrow, Elizabeth (2022): *The Right Men. How Masculinity Explains the Radical Right Gender Gap.* In *Political Studies* 70(1), pp. 26–44.

#### Optional readings

- Coffé, Hilde (2019): *Gender, Gendered Personality Traits and Radical Right Populist Voting.* In *Politics* 39(2), pp. 170–185.

*Presentation Case Study 7*

**Session 14, 01. June 2022:** Final Discussion and Future Challenges

Cross-national variation: How do the case studies relate to each other?

Required listening

- Transformation of European Politics Podcast by Tarik Abou-Chadi: Episode 4 - Cas Mudde. The Populist Radical Right in Europe, available under: [URL](#)

Optional readings

- Immerzeel, Tim; Coffé, Hilde; van der Lippe, Tanja (2015): Explaining the Gender Gap in Radical Right Voting. A Cross-National Investigation in 12 Western European Countries. In *Comparative European Politics* 13(2), pp. 263–286.

**Deadline research paper: 15.06.2022, 20:00**