

# Syllabus: Gender and the Radical Right - Assessing Parties, Voters, and Issues in Western Europe

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Office Hours: Monday 13:30-14:30  
(please use the Phil App to sign up)

Seminar: 70844-01  
Spring term, 2024  
Class Hours: **Thursday 14:15-15:45**  
Class Room: Bernoullistrasse 14/16, 02.004

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## Course Description

Many empirical studies have found a gender gap in electoral support for radical right parties. 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 in Western Europe: 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 side of voters. 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. How gender is addressed by radical right parties has also changed over time and the course will deal with newer developments of femo-, homonationalism and trans-exclusionary positions. The focus of the seminar is on empirical research testing these different explanations, many of them with quantitative methods. For this reason, it is required that students have passed the lecture "Introduction to quantitative methods" in order to attend the seminar. Students will also come up with their own ideas for empirical studies.

## Information

- BA Seminar for 3 ECTS, Political Science
- Language: English
- Assessment: Active class participation + group presentation, 30% + written assignment (research design), 70%
- Readings will be made available on ADAM

## Expectations and Grading

- **Active participation and readings:** For each session, students will be expected to complete the required readings, which will be discussed during the sessions. In order to have a fruitful discussion in class, it is therefore a precondition that all participants come prepared. While reading, it may help to 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.
- **Attendance:** Students may not miss more than two sessions. If you have to miss more than two sessions, please reach out via e-mail to explain your absence and discuss compensatory work.
- **Presentation:** Students will present case studies of radical right parties in Western Europe (or beyond). The topics will be distributed by session 3. Students are expected to present analytic assessments on the role of gender for the voters, members, leaders, program and/or success of their case (not all aspects have to be covered, students may choose the focus). The presenters will prepare one or two discussion questions for a follow-up discussion. The presentation counts towards 30% of the final grade. Students will work in groups (size depends on number of participants). The presentation should last 15 minutes. Students will prepare **slides** to support their presentation and upload these as a pdf file to ADAM after the respective session. Additionally, the slides have to be sent to me via e-mail 24 hours **before** the session (Wednesday, 14:15).
- **Research design:** Students will submit a written paper outlining a research design, which counts towards 70% of their final grade. Students are required to develop and justify a research question, shortly situate it in the relevant literature, present and justify a theoretical argument and 1-2 hypotheses and propose an approach how to empirically answer the question. They do not have to implement the empirical analysis. The paper should be between 2,000 and 2,500 words (only text, excluding bibliography). The paper must be submitted before **Thursday, June 20, 2024, 20:00** as a pdf via ADAM (with the last and first name in the file name). Grade points can be deducted for unexcused late submissions.

**Breakdown of ECTS (3 ECTS = 90 h)**

Activity	Units	Hours	Total
Seminar attendance	12	1.5	18
Preparation (Reading, taking notes)	12	2	24
Presentation in groups	1	14	14
Written research design	1	34	34
Total			90

**Academic Integrity**

Plagiarism, self-plagiarism and ghostwriting are strictly prohibited. In all written work, the authorship of ideas must be clearly marked and indicated using references. The use of generating artificial intelligence must be labeled, but it is permitted. However, I would encourage you to develop your research design ideas without Chat GPT to practice writing skills and creative scientific thinking. Please check the facts generated by AI and especially the literature references, as these are often incorrect.

**Inclusive language**

All lecturers and staff at the Institute of Political Science at the University of Basel are committed to promoting gender-sensitive and inclusive language. This applies to our written and oral communication. We therefore invite you to let us know in writing or verbally if you wish to be addressed in a certain way. Should we make mistakes despite our best efforts, we ask for your patience and welcome constructive criticism.

**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. Develop own ideas for empirical analyses and research designs

**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.

- Dietze, Gabriele; Roth, Julia (Hg.) (2020): Right-Wing Populism and Gender. European Perspectives and Beyond. Bielefeld: transcript.

## Schedule

### Block I: Introduction, concepts

#### Session 01, 29. February 2024: 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, 07. March 2024: 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.

##### *Additional*

- *Selection of case studies during class, sign up until Session 3*

#### Session 03, 14. March 2024: Radical Right Voting and Demand and Supply Side Explanations

##### Required readings

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

##### 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.

##### *Additional*

- *Schedule and information on case study presentations*

## Block II Demand-side theoretical approaches

**Session 04, 21. March 2024:** Demand I: A Gender Gap in Radical Right Voting and the Role of Class

Required readings

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

Optional 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.
- 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*

- *Information on research designs*

**Easter break, 28. March 2024:** *no seminar*

**Session 05, 04. April 2024:** Demand II: 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.

*Presentation Case Study 1: Rassemblement Nationale*

**Session 06, 11. April 2024:** Demand III: Masculinity and a Gendered Cultural Backlash

Required readings

- Green, Jane; Shorrocks, Rosalind (2023): The Gender Backlash in the Vote for Brexit. In: *Political Behavior* 45 (1), S. 347–371.
- 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

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

*Presentation Case Study 2: Schweizerische Volkspartei*

### Block III: Supply-side theoretical approaches

#### Session 07, 18. April 2024: Supply I: Ideology and Policies

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 3: Vox*

#### Session 08, 25. April 2024: Supply II: Women Leaders and Activists of Radical Right Parties

Required reading and watching

- Documentary: *Le Populisme au féminin (The Female Face of Populism) - Outside the box productions* (2012): [URL](#). French with English subtitles.
- Leidig, Eviane (2023): The women of the far right. Social media influencers and online radicalization. New York: Columbia University Press, Introduction (pp. 1-15).

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 (2023): When do Männerparteien Elect Women? Radical Right Populist Parties and Strategic Descriptive Representation. In: *Am Polit Sci Rev* 117 (2), S. 421–438.

*Presentation Case Study 4: Alternative für Deutschland*

#### Session 09, 02. May 2024: *No meeting - individual time to work on research questions and design*

Helpful readings

- Miller, Delbert Charles; Salkind, Neil J. (2002): *Handbook of Research Design & Social Measurement*. 6. ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publ, Chapters 1 and 2 (2.1 - 2.5, 2.9).
- Powner, Leanne C. (2015): *Empirical Research and Writing. A Political Science Student's Practical Guide*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: Sage CQ Press, Chapter 1.

Auffahrt, 09. May 2024: *no seminar*

## Block IV: Intersections, LGBT rights, femonationalism and future perspectives

### Session 10, 16. May 2024: 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

- Turnbull-Dugarte, Stuart J.; López Ortega, Alberto (2023): *Instrumentally Inclusive. The Political Psychology of Homonationalism.* In: *Am Polit Sci Rev*, S. 1–19.

*Presentation Case Study 5: Fratelli d'Italia/Lega*

### Session 11, 23. May 2024: Bringing in Positions Towards LGBTQ Rights

Required readings

- Magni, Gabriele; Reynolds, Andrew (2023): *Why Europe's Right Embraces Gay Rights.* In: *Journal of Democracy* 34 (1), S. 50–64.
- Turnbull-Dugarte, Stuart J.; McMillan, Fraser (2023): *"Protect the women!"*. Trans-exclusionary feminist issue framing and support for transgender rights. In: *Policy Studies Journal* 51 (3), S. 629–666.

Optional 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.
- Off, Gefjon (2023): *Complexities and Nuances in Radical Right Voters' (Anti)Feminism.* In: *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 30 (2), S. 607–629.
- 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.

### Session 12, 30. May 2024: 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.
- Mudde, Cas (2019): *The Far Right Today*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, Chapter 9 on Gender, p. 147-162.

**Deadline research design: 20.06.2024, 20:00. Submission via ADAM.**