



## UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

### Daring to vote right: Why men are more likely than women to vote for the radical right

Harteveld, E.

**Publication date**

2016

**Document Version**

Final published version

[Link to publication](#)

**Citation for published version (APA):**

Harteveld, E. (2016). *Daring to vote right: Why men are more likely than women to vote for the radical right*.

**General rights**

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

**Disclaimer/Complaints regulations**

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

# REFERENCES

- Abendschön, S., & Steinmetz, S. (2014). The gender gap in voting revisited: women's party preferences in a European context. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 21(2), 315-344.
- Akkerman, T. (2005). Anti-immigration parties and the defence of liberal values: The exceptional case of the List Pim Fortuyn. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 10(3), 337-354.
- Akkerman, T. (2015). Gender and the radical right in Western Europe: a comparative analysis of policy agendas. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 49(1-2), 37-60.
- Akkerman, T., & Hagelund, A. (2007). "Women and children first!" Anti-immigration parties and gender in Norway and the Netherlands. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 41(2), 197-214.
- Akrami, N., Ekehammar, B., & Araya, T. (2000). Classical and modern racial prejudice: A study of attitudes toward immigrants in Sweden. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 30(4), 521-532.
- Art, D. (2007). Reacting to the Radical Right: lessons from Germany and Austria. *Party Politics*, 13(3), 331-349.
- Arzheimer, K. (2009). *Electoral Sociology: Who votes for the Extreme Right and when?* Available at <http://www.kai-arzheimer.com/arzheimer-extreme-right-review.pdf>.
- Arzheimer, K., & Carter, E. (2009). Christian religiosity and voting for West European Radical Right parties. *West European Politics*, 32(5), 985-1011.
- Azmanova, A. (2011). After the Left-Right (dis)continuum: Globalization and the remaking of Europe's ideological geography. *International Political Sociology*, 5(4), 384-407.
- Bakker, R., De Vries, C., Edwards, E., Hooghe, L., Jolly, S., Marks, G., Polk, J., Rovny, J., Steenbergen, M., & Vachudova, M. A. (2015). Measuring party positions in Europe: The Chapel Hill expert survey trend file, 1999-2010. *Party Politics*, 21(1), 143-152.
- Belanger, E., & Aarts, K. (2006). Explaining the rise of the LPF: issues, discontent, and the 2002 Dutch election. *Acta Politica*, 41(1), 4-20.
- Bergh, J. (2007). Explaining the gender gap: a cross-national analysis of gender differences in voting. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 17(3), 235-261.
- Betz, H., & Meret, S. (2009). Revisiting Lepanto: the political mobilization against Islam in contemporary Western Europe. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 43(3-4), 313-334.
- Betz, H., & Meret, S. (2012). Right-wing populist parties and the working-class vote. In J. Rydgren (ed.), *Class Politics and the Radical Right* (pp. 107-121). London: Routledge.
- Betz, H. (1994). *Radical right-wing populism*. New York: St Martin's.
- Beutel, A. M., & Marini, M. M. (2013). Gender and values. *American Sociological Review*, 60(3), 436-448.
- Blinder, S., Ford, R., & Ivarsflaten, E. (2013). The better angels of our nature: how the antiprejudice norm affects policy and party preferences in Great Britain and Germany. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(4), 841-857.
- Bolzendahl, C. I., & Myers, D. J. (2004). Feminist attitudes and support for gender equality: Opinion change in women and men, 1974-1998. *Social Forces*, 83(2), 759-789.
- Bond, R., & Smith, P. B. (1996). Culture and conformity: A meta-analysis of studies using Asch's (1952b, 1956) line judgment task. *Psychological Bulletin*, 119(1), 111.
- Bos, L., & Van der Brug, W. (2010). Public images of leaders of anti-immigration parties: Perceptions of legitimacy and effectiveness. *Party Politics*, 16(6), 777-799.
- Brewster, K. L., & Padavic, I. (2000). Change in gender-ideology, 1977-1996: The contributions of intracohort change and population turnover. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(2), 477-487.
- Buis, M. (2006). *Proportions as dependent variable*. Available at <http://maartenbuis.nl/presentations/UKsug06.pdf>.
- Bustikova, L. (2009). The extreme right in Eastern Europe: EU accession and the quality of governance. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 17(2), 223-239.
- Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E., & Donald, E. (1960). *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley.
- Campbell, R., & Winters, K. (2012). Understanding men's and women's political interests: evidence from a study of gendered political attitudes. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, 18, 53-74.

- Carlsson, F., García, J. H., & Löfgren, Å. (2010). Conformity and the demand for environmental goods. *Environmental and Resource Economics*, 47(3), 407-421.
- Carter, E. (2005). *The extreme right in Western Europe: Success or failure?* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Chaiken, S., & Trope, Y. (1999). *Dual-process theories in social psychology*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Chaney, C. K., Alvarez, R. M., & Nagler, J. (1998). Explaining the gender gap in U.S. presidential elections, 1980-1992. *Political Research Quarterly*, 51(2), 311-339.
- Chung, J., & Monroe, G. (2003). Exploring social desirability bias. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 44(4), 291-302.
- Clark, T. N., & Lipset, S. M. (2001). *The breakdown of class politics: A debate on post-industrial stratification*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Coenders, M. T. A., Gijsberts, M. I. L., & Scheepers, P. L. H. (2004). Resistance to the presence of immigrants and refugees in 22 countries. In M. I. L. Gijsberts, A. J. M. W. Hagendoorn & P. L. H. Scheepers (eds.), *Nationalism and exclusion of migrants: Cross-national comparisons* (pp. 97-120). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Coffé, H. (2012). Gender, class, and radical right voting. In J. Rydgren (ed.), *Class Politics and the Radical Right [Class Politics and the Radical Right]* (pp. 138-155). London: Routledge.
- Cole, A. (2005). Old right or new right? The ideological positioning of parties of the far right. *European Journal of Political Research*, 44(2), 203-230.
- Costa Jr, P., Terracciano, A., & McCrae, R. R. (2001). Gender differences in personality traits across cultures: robust and surprising findings. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81(2), 322.
- Croson, R., & Gneezy, U. (2009). Gender Differences in Preferences. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 47(2), 448-474.
- CSES. (2003). *Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 1*. Available at <http://www.cses.org>.
- CSES. (2007). *Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 2*. Available at <http://www.cses.org>.
- CSES. (2013). *Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 3*. Available at <http://www.cses.org>.
- Dahlberg, S. (2009). *Voters' perceptions of party politics: A multilevel approach*. Gothenburg: Gothenburg University Press.
- Dahlberg, S., Linde, J., & Holmberg, S. (2015). Democratic discontent in old and new democracies: Assessing the importance of democratic input and governmental output. *Political Studies*, 63(S1), 18-37.
- Dalton, D., & Ortegren, M. (2011). Gender differences in ethics research: The importance of controlling for the social desirability response bias. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 103(1), 73-93.
- de Lange, S. L. (2007a). A new winning formula? The programmatic appeal of the radical right. *Party Politics*, 13(4), 411-435.
- de Lange, S. L., & Mügge, L. M. (2015). Gender and right-wing populism in the Low Countries: ideological variations across parties and time. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 49(1-2), 61-80.
- de Lange, S. L. (2007b). A new winning formula? The programmatic appeal of the Radical Right. *Party Politics*, 13(4), 411-435.
- Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56(1), 5-18.
- Dolezal, M. (2010). Exploring the stabilization of a political force: The social and attitudinal basis of green parties in the age of globalization. *West European Politics*, 33(3), 534-552.
- Downs, A. (1957). An economic theory of political action in a democracy. *The Journal of Political Economy*, 65(2), 135-150.
- Dunton, B. C., & Fazio, R. H. (1997). An individual difference measure of motivation to control prejudiced reactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, (23), 316-326.
- Duverger, M. (1955). *The political role of women*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Eagly, A. H., Beall, A. E., & Sternberg, R. J. (2005). *The psychology of gender*. New York City: Guilford Press.
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109(3), 573.
- ESS. (2002). *European Social Survey Round 1 Data*. Data file edition 6.4. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC. Available at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>.
- ESS. (2004). *European Social Survey Round 2 Data*. Data file edition 3.4. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC. Available at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>.

- ESS. (2006). *European Social Survey Round 3 Data*. Data file edition 3.5. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC. Available at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>.
- ESS. (2008). *European Social Survey Round 4 Data*. Data file edition 4.3. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC. Available at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>.
- ESS. (2010). *European Social Survey Round 5 Data*. Data file edition 3.2. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC. Available at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>.
- ESS. (2012). *European Social Survey Round 6 Data*. Data file edition 2.1. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC. Available at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>.
- Festinger, L. (1962). *A theory of cognitive dissonance*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
- Flabbi, L. (2012). *Gender differences in education, career choices and labor market outcomes on a sample of OECD countries*. Available at <http://www.worldbank.org>.
- Fontana, M., Sidler, A., & Hardmeier, S. (2006). The 'New Right' vote: an analysis of the gender gap in the vote choice for the SVP. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 12(4), 243-271.
- Ford, R., & Goodwin, M. J. (2010). Angry white men: individual and contextual predictors of support for the British National Party. *Political Studies*, 58(1), 1-25.
- Gidengil, E. (1995). Economic man-social woman? The case of the gender gap in support for the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement. *Comparative Political Studies*, 28(3), 384-408.
- Gidengil, E., Hennigar, M., Blais, A., & Nevitte, N. (2005). Explaining the gender gap in support for the New Right: the case of Canada. *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(10), 1171-1195.
- Giger, N. (2009). Towards a modern gender gap in Europe?: A comparative analysis of voting behavior in 12 countries. *The Social Science Journal*, 46(3), 474-492.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Givens, T. E. (2004). The radical right gender gap. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(1), 30-54.
- Goffman, E. (2009). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. New York City: Simon and Schuster.
- Goldsmith, R. E., Clark, R. A., & Lafferty, B. A. (2005). Tendency to conform: a new measure and its relationship to psychological reactance. *Psychological Reports*, 96(3), 591-594.
- Goodwin, M. J. (2013). Forever a false dawn? Explaining the electoral collapse of the British National Party (BNP). *Parliamentary Affairs*, 67(4), 887-906.
- Hadj-Abdou, L., Rosenberger, S., Saharso, S., & Siim, B. (2012). The limits of populism: accommodative headscarf policies in Austria, Denmark, and the Netherlands. In S. Rosenberger, & B. Sauer (eds.), *Politics, Religion and Gender: Framing and Regulating the Veil* (pp. 132-149). Abingdon/New York: Routledge.
- Hainsworth, P. (2008). *The extreme right in Western Europe*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Happold, M. (2000). Fourteen against one: the EU member states' response to Freedom Party participation in the Austrian government. *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 49(4), 953-963.
- Howell, S. E., & Day, C. L. (2000). Complexities of the gender gap. *Journal of Politics*, 62(3), 858-874.
- Ignazi, P. (1992). The silent counter-revolution. *European Journal of Political Research*, 22(1), 3-34.
- Ignazi, P. (2005). Legitimation and evolution on the Italian right wing: Social and ideological repositioning of Alleanza Nazionale and the Lega Nord. *South European Society & Politics*, 10(2), 333-349.
- Immerzeel, T., Coffé, H., & van der Lippe, T. (2015). Explaining the gender gap in radical right voting: A cross-national investigation in 12 Western European countries. *Comparative European Politics*, 13(2), 263-286.
- Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2000). The developmental theory of the gender gap: Women's and men's voting behavior in global perspective. *International Political Science Review*, 21(4), 441-463.
- Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ivaldi, G. (2015). Towards the median economic crisis voter: The new leftist economic agenda of the Front National in France. *French Politics*, 13(4), 346-369.

- Ivarsflaten, E. (2006a). Reputational shields: Why most anti-immigrant parties failed in Western Europe, 1980-2005. Available at [http://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/politics/papers/2006/ivarsflaten\\_apsa2006.pdf](http://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/politics/papers/2006/ivarsflaten_apsa2006.pdf).
- Ivarsflaten, E. (2008). What unites right-wing populists in Western Europe? Re-examining grievance mobilization models in seven successful cases. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(1), 3-23.
- Ivarsflaten, E., Andersson, M., Arnesen, S., Böhm, G., Elgesem, D., Gåsdaal, O., Strømsnes, K., Tvinnereim, E., & Aars, J. (2015). Norwegian Citizen Panel: wave 4. Available at <http://www.uib.no/en/citizen/76895/data-and-documentation>.
- Ivarsflaten, E., Blinder, S., & Ford, R. (2010). The anti-racism norm in Western European immigration politics: why we need to consider it and how to measure it. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 20(4), 421-445.
- Ivarsflaten, E. (2005). The vulnerable populist right parties: No economic realignment fuelling their electoral success. *European Journal of Political Research*, 44(3), 465-492.
- Ivarsflaten, E. (2006b). *Immigration policy and party organization: explaining the rise of the populist right in Western Europe*. Oxford: University of Oxford.
- Johnson, M. K., & Marini, M. M. (1998). Bridging the racial divide in the United States: The effect of gender. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 61(3), 247-258.
- Kaufmann, K. M., & Petrocik, J. R. (1999). The changing politics of American men: understanding the sources of the gender gap. *American Journal of Political Science*, 43(3), 864-887.
- Kawada, C. L., Oettingen, G., Gollwitzer, P. M., & Bargh, J. A. (2004). The projection of implicit and explicit goals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86(4), 545.
- Kitschelt, H. (1997). *The radical right in Western Europe: A comparative analysis*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Knutsen, O. (2001). Social class, sector employment, and gender as party cleavages in the Scandinavian countries: A comparative longitudinal study, 1970-95. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 24(4), 311-350.
- Kotler-Berkowitz, L. (2005). Friends and politics: Linking diverse friendship networks to political participation. In A. S. Zuckerman (ed.), *The social logic of politics: personal networks as contexts for political behavior* (pp. 152-170). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschieer, S., & Frey, T. (2008). *West European politics in the age of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kuran, T., & McCaffery, E. J. (2008). Sex differences in the acceptability of discrimination. *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2), 228-238.
- Lau, R. R., & Redlawsk, D. P. (2006). *How voters decide: Information processing in election campaigns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lennon, R., Eisenberg, N., Eisenberg, N., & Strayer, J. (1987). Gender and age differences in empathy and sympathy. In N. Eisenberg, & J. Strayer (eds.), *Empathy and its development* (pp. 195-217). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levine, J. (2005). Choosing alone? the social network basis of modern political choice. In A. S. Zuckerman (ed.), *The social logic of politics: personal networks as contexts for political behavior* (pp. 132-151). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Lippa, R., & Arad, S. (1999). Gender, personality, and prejudice: The display of authoritarianism and social dominance in interviews with college men and women. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 33(4), 463-493.
- Lubbers, M., Gijsberts, M., & Scheepers, P. (2002). Extreme right-wing voting in Western Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, 41(3), 345-378.
- Macaskill, A., Maltby, J., & Day, L. (2002). Forgiveness of self and others and emotional empathy. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 142(5), 663-665.
- Maccoby, E. E., & Jacklin, C. N. (1974). *The psychology of sex differences*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.
- March, L., & Mudde, C. (2005). What's left of the Radical Left? The European Radical Left after 1989: decline and mutation. *Comparative European Politics*, 3(1), 23-49.
- Markus, G. B. (1982). Political attitudes during an election year: A report on the 1980 NES panel study. *American Political Science Review*, 76(03), 538-560.
- Martinsson, J., Andreasson, M., Markstedt, E., & Riedel, K. (2014). Citizen Panel 9. Available at <http://lore.gu.se/surveys/citizen>.



- Mason, K. O., & Lu, Y. (1988). Attitudes toward women's familial roles: Changes in the United States, 1977-1985. *Gender & Society*, 2(1), 39-57.
- Mayer, N. (2013). From Jean-Marie to Marine le Pen: electoral change on the Far Right. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 66(1), 160-178.
- Mayer, N. (2015). The closing of the radical right gender gap in France? *French Politics*, 13(4), 391-414.
- Mayer, N., & Sineau, M. (2002). France. The National Front. In H. Amesberger, & B. Halbmayr (eds.), *Rechtsextreme Parteien: eine mögliche Heimat für Frauen* (pp. 41-103). Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- Mayer, N., & Perrineau, P. (1992). Why do they vote for Le Pen? *European Journal of Political Research*, 22(1), 123-141.
- McGann, A. J., & Kitschelt, H. (2005). The Radical Right in the Alps: Evolution of support for the Swiss SVP and Austrian FPÖ. *Party Politics*, 11(2), 147-171.
- Meffert, M. F., Chung, S., Joiner, A. J., Waks, L., & Garst, J. (2006). The effects of negativity and motivated information processing during a political campaign. *Journal of Communication*, 56(1), 27-51.
- Minkenbergh, M. (2002). The radical right in postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe: comparative observations and interpretations. *East European Politics & Societies*, 16(2), 335-362.
- Minkenbergh, M. (2006). Repression and reaction: militant democracy and the radical right in Germany and France. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 40(1), 25-44.
- Monaghan, R. (1999). Terrorism in the name of animal rights. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 11(4), 159-169.
- Montgomery, K. A. (2015). Women's resistance to the radical right: lessons from post-Communist Hungary. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 49(3), 225-248.
- Mudde, C. (2007). *Populist radical right parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, C. (2010). The populist radical right: A pathological normalcy. *West European Politics*, 33(6), 1167-1186.
- Mughan, A., Bean, C., & McAllister, I. (2003). Economic globalization, job insecurity and the populist reaction. *Electoral Studies*, 22(4), 617-633.
- Mughan, A., & Paxton, P. (2006). Anti-immigrant sentiment, policy preferences and populist party voting in Australia. *British Journal of Political Science*, 36(02), 341-341.
- Nass, C., & Lee, K. M. (2001). Does computer-synthesized speech manifest personality? Experimental tests of recognition, similarity-attraction, and consistency-attraction. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Applied*, 7(3), 171-181.
- Neve, R. J. (1995). Changes in attitudes toward women's emancipation in the Netherlands over two decades: Unraveling a trend. *Social Science Research*, 24(2), 167-187.
- Norris, P. (2005). *Radical right: Voters and parties in the electoral market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nuffield College. (2009). *About the Comparative Cooperative Campaign Analyses Project*. Available at <http://ccap.nuff.ox.ac.uk/>.
- Pierce, D., Redlawsk, D. P., & Cohen, W. W. (2013). Social influences on political information search and evaluation. *MPSA Annual Conference 2013*, Chicago.
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75(3), 811.
- Ratcliff, J. J., Lassiter, G. D., Markman, K. D., & Snyder, C. J. (2006). Gender differences in attitudes toward gay men and lesbians: the role of motivation to respond without prejudice. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(10), 1325-1338.
- Rippeyoung, P. L. F. (2007). When women are right: The influence of gender, work and values on European Far Right party support. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 9(3), 379-397.
- Rooduijn, M. (2013). *A populist Zeitgeist? The impact of populism on parties, media and the public in Western Europe*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- Rosander, M., & Eriksson, O. (2012). Conformity on the Internet—The role of task difficulty and gender differences. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 28(5), 1587-1595.
- Ryan, J. B. (2011). Social networks as a shortcut to correct voting. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(4), 753-766.
- Rydgren, J. (2006). *From tax populism to ethnic nationalism: Radical right-wing populism in Sweden*. New York City: Berghahn Books.
- Rydgren, J. (ed.). (2012). *Class politics and the radical right*. London: Routledge.
- Schafer, J. L. (1997). *Analysis of incomplete multivariate data*. Boca Raton: CRC press.
- Schmitt, H., Loveless, M., Adam, S., & Braun, D. (2004). *European Election Study*. Available at <http://eeshomepage.net/>.

- Scott Long, J. (1997). Regression models for categorical and limited dependent variables. *Advanced Quantitative Techniques in the Social Sciences*, 7
- Sidanius, J., Levin, S., Liu, J., & Pratto, F. (2000). Social dominance orientation, anti-egalitarianism and the political psychology of gender: An extension and cross-cultural replication. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 30(1), 41-67.
- Smithson, M., & Verkuilen, J. (2006). A better lemon squeezer? Maximum-likelihood regression with beta-distributed dependent variables. *Psychological Methods*, 11(1), 54.
- Söderlund, P., & Kestilä-Kekkonen, E. (2009). Dark side of party identification? An empirical study of political trust among Radical Right-wing voters. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, 19(2), 159-181.
- Spierings, N., & Zaslove, A. (2015). Gendering the vote for populist radical-right parties. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 49(1-2), 135-162.
- Spierings, N., Zaslove, A., Mügge, L. M., & de Lange, S. L. (2015). Gender and populist radical-right politics: an introduction. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 49(1-2), 3-15.
- Spies, D. (2013). Explaining working-class support for extreme right parties: A party competition approach. *Acta Politica*, 48(3), 296-325.
- Taber, C. S., & Lodge, M. (2006). Motivated skepticism in the evaluation of political beliefs. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(3), 755-769.
- Taggart, P. (1995). New populist parties in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 18(1), 34-51.
- Taggart, P. (2004). Populism and representative politics in contemporary Europe. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 9(3), 269-288.
- Van der Brug, W., & Fennema, M. (2007). Causes of voting for the radical right. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 19(4), 474-487.
- Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M., de Lange, S., & Baller, I. (2012). Radical right parties: their voters and their electoral competitors. In J. Rydgren (ed.), *Class politics and the Radical Right* (pp. 52-75). London: Routledge.
- Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M., & Tillie, J. (2000). Anti-immigrant parties in Europe: Ideological or protest vote? *European Journal of Political Research*, 37(1), 77-102.
- Van der Brug, W., Fennema, M., & Tillie, J. (2005). Why some anti-immigrant parties fail and others succeed: A two-step model of aggregate electoral support. *Comparative Political Studies*, 38(5), 537-573.
- Van der Brug, W., Franklin, M., & Tóka, G. (2008). One electorate or many? Differences in party preference formation between new and established European democracies. *Electoral Studies*, 27(4), 589-600.
- Van der Brug, W., & Van der Eijk, C. (1999). The cognitive basis of voting. In H. Schmitt, & J. Thomassen (eds.), *Political representation and legitimacy in the European Union* (pp. 129-160). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van der Brug, W., & Fennema, M. (2003). Protest or mainstream? How the European anti-immigrant parties have developed into two separate groups by 1999. *European Journal of Political Research*, 42(1), 55-76.
- Van der Brug, W., & Fennema, M. (2009). The support base of Radical Right parties in the enlarged European Union. *Journal of European Integration*, 31(5), 589-608.
- Van Der Brug, W., & Van Spanje, J. (2009). Immigration, Europe and the "new" cultural dimension. *European Journal of Political Research*, 48(3), 309-334.
- Van der Eijk, C., Franklin, M., & Oppenheim, E. (1996). The strategic context: party choice. In M. Franklin, & C. van der Eijk (eds.), *Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union* (pp. 332-365). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Van der Eijk, C., Franklin, M., Schönbach, K., Schmitt, H., & Semetko, H. (1999). *European Election Study*. Available at <http://eeshomepage.net/>.
- Van Egmond, M., Sapir, E., van der Brug, W., Franklin, M., & Hobolt, S. (2009). *European Election Voter Study*. Available at <http://eeshomepage.net/>.
- Van Spanje, J., & De Vreese, C. (2015). The good, the bad and the voter: the impact of hate speech prosecution of a politician on electoral support for his party. *Party Politics*, 21(1), 115-130.
- Van Spanje, J., & Van Der Brug, W. (2007). The party as pariah: The exclusion of anti-immigration parties and its effect on their ideological positions. *West European Politics*, 30(5), 1022-1040.
- Vaus, D., & McAllister, I. (1989). The changing politics of women: gender and political alignment in 11 nations. *European Journal of Political Research*, 17(3), 241-262.

- Verba, S., Schlozman, K., & Burns, N. (2005). Family ties: Understanding the intergenerational transmission of participation. In A. S. Zuckerman (ed.), *The social logic of politics: personal networks as contexts for political behavior* (pp. 95-117). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Welch, S., & Hibbing, J. (2009). Financial conditions, gender, and voting in American national elections. *The Journal of Politics*, 54(01), 197-197.
- Widfeldt, A. (2000). Scandinavia: mixed success for the populist right. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 53(3), 486-500.
- Williams, J., & Best, D. (1982). *Measuring sex stereotypes: a multinational study*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Winship, C., & Mare, R. D. (1984). Regression models with ordinal variables. *American Sociological Review*, 49(4), 512-525.
- Zuckerman, A. S. (ed.). (2005). *The social logic of politics: Personal networks as contexts for political behavior*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.