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Analyzing the Non-mainstream Left and Populist-Radical Right: Do Party Promises For Women Actually Translate Into More Women Leaders and Members?

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Introduction

The emergence of non-mainstream left (NML) parties and populist-radical right (PRR) parties in recent decades has challenged established the party systems and mainstream parties of the center-left and center-right. Both party families have gained a great deal of attention in the literature despite being electorally marginal in most political systems. Some of this attention stems from the “new cleavage” hypothesis and the notion of a silent revolution in post-industrial democracies (Arwine and Mayer 2013, Dalton 2014, Inglehart 2015). Scholars also additionally argue that this “new cleavage” is primarily a form of “new politics” characterized by the politics of identity, which contributed to the emergence of a populist-right and non-mainstream left (Talshir 2005). More recently, scholars have been particularly concerned with the emergence of PRR parties as a challenge to liberal democracy and political tolerance (Arwine and Mayer 2013, Talshir 2005). Scholars argue that the emergence of PRR parties was primarily a reaction to a new wave of modernization in which advances in communications technology and improved

literacy rates facilitated the mobilization of grievances and exclusivist senses of identity (Arwine and Mayer 2013). The politics of identity support the idea that the new left incorporated a multicultural identity that supported minorities and immigrants, whereas the populist-right became mobilized by efforts to strengthen a nationalist identity based on exclusivist principles following a new wave of modernization in the 60s and 70s (Talshir 2005). This distinct cleavage falls into what some scholars regard as the politics of inclusion versus the politics of exclusion (Dalton 2014, Montgomery 2015, Oesch and Rennwald 2010).

There is a substantial lack of empirical research incorporating both NML and PRR parties with women's leadership, membership, and substantive representation. NML and PRR parties are widely perceived as mirror opposites of each other regarding gender ideology. NML, and especially Green parties, are commonly viewed as "women-friendly" because they often include the adoption of egalitarian policies, such as mandating equal representation for women across levels of government (Kolinsky 1988). On the other hand, PRR parties are viewed as being widely sexist due to male-dominated memberships and electorates, which is why some scholars refer to PRR parties as *Männerparteien*, or men's parties (Mudde 2007). This stark difference raises questions as to why some women choose to support PRR parties despite their typically negative stances regarding gender ideology. The central phenomenon this article attempts to explore is how party families on opposite sides of the political spectrum compare with regard to their incorporation of gender ideology. Is it the case that NML parties promote a feminist agenda of gender equality and make that an important part of their platforms, while PRR parties use a traditionalist or anti-feminist ideology in the service of their core nativist goals? This study will begin with an expanded comparison of non-mainstream left and populist-radical right parties in terms of gender ideology and the incorporation of women's issues, which will be measured by

stated gender roles and expectations, the language used to regard women's issues, and mentioning of gender inequality. Once variations have been established, the study will then assess whether the treatment of women's issues in each party's ideology and rhetoric affects women's leadership and membership within those parties.

To what extent do non-mainstream left and populist-radical right parties differ in ways they incorporate gender ideology into their party platforms? How does this affect women's leadership and membership in these parties? The way in which different party ideologies regard gender is essential in understanding differences in the way men and women are represented. Basic presumptions show that NML parties are inclusive towards women as part of their gender ideology by specifically promoting equal descriptive representation of men and women across levels of government. If this is enacted across NML parties, it should be assured that women have a voice both within their party and within various levels of government, because when women achieve parity in descriptive representation, it increases the likelihood that women will also gain substantive representation (Pitkin 1967). On the other hand, because PRR parties are widely viewed as exclusively "men's parties," it raises concerns about whether women's interests are being represented, as it is evident that women commonly lack critical mass in descriptive representation within these parties (Pitkin 1967). There are a few different approaches to understanding the cleavage that separates the non-mainstream left and populist-radical right.

The Silent Revolution

Scholars point to the post-WWII era as being highly unique in that it brought a new wave of democratization and modernization throughout Western society due to the expansion of economic well-being (Dalton 2014). Scholars argue that this period brought a new style of

“citizen politics,” in which society underwent a significant shift in values, from old material values, with an emphasis on national security and economic growth, to a new set of post-material lifestyle values, including social equality, gender equality, environmental protection, and human rights (Dalton 2014). Inglehart (2015) argues that from the post-war generation emerged a “silent revolution” in the 1960’s, which allowed for a new shift in values. This new style of thinking, paired with a changing economy, allowed for a cleavage to emerge, challenging the left-right cleavage and mainstream politics. Arwine and Mayer (2013) argue that modernization played an important role in the emergence of this new cleavage, as “modern technology marginalizes the role of semi and unskilled labor, which in turn reduces the salience of older class divisions.” Additionally, industrialization focused on class-based conflict between the working and middle class, which shaped party politics at the time (Arwine and Mayer 2013). However, in the post-war era, values shifted from material well-being to a focus on lifestyle issues such as environmentalism, LGBTQ rights, and sexual liberation, which led to a loss in appeal for mainstream politics for many (Arwine and Mayer 2013). Talshir (2005) contends that this cleavage is based on a conception of identity shaped by distrust of the institutionalized system, and further argues that the party families that emerged from this new cleavage, extreme right and new left parties, are similar in that both reject economic growth, criticize representative democracy and the institutional party system, and operate under anti-system and anti-establishment sentiments. One of the most defining features of the division of parties on opposite poles of this cleavage is attitude toward gender issues. New left parties are known to be inclusive, “women-friendly” parties, with a commitment to gender equality, while PRR parties are deemed “men’s parties” due to their historically male-dominated nature. To what extent does this difference matter? Does the gender ideology, rhetoric, and women’s policy agenda of these

parties make a difference when it comes to real inclusion of women in the party leadership and membership?

Non-mainstream Left Parties and Gender Ideology

Non-mainstream left (NML) parties have become increasingly popular with the emergence of Green parties in Europe around the 1970s. Since then, a significant number of similar parties that challenge the mainstream left have been successfully established. NML parties can range from more eco-centric Green parties, to parties that have “hard left” communist or socialist agendas. However, many scholars argue that NML, and more specifically, radical left parties are internally divided in regard to ideology, which contributes to an overall lack of success for this party family (March 2012, Otjes and Krouwel 2015, Muller-Rommel 1998, Gomez, Morales, Ramiro 2016). Radical left parties are commonly characterized as rejecting the socio-economic structure of capitalism while advocating alternative economic and power structures with a focus on the redistribution of major resources (Gomez, Morales, Ramiro 2016, March 2012). However, scholars argue that radical left parties can be distinguished from traditional anti-capitalist parties, such as Communist parties, and more ideologically modernized parties, such as many socialist or green party types (Gomez, Morales, Ramiro 2016). While there is a wide range in NML parties, Keith and Verge (2016) find that generally, left parties tend to support equality of outcome, which makes them more opposed to exclusionary principles and practices, as well as more likely to adopt gender quotas to combat a gendered imbalance in representation. NML parties have been praised for recognizing gender equality and for successfully recruiting women into party membership and leadership (Keith and Verge 2016, Kolinsky 1988, Otjes and Krouwel 2015, Xydias 2007). They additionally find that parties from

the same ideological subgroup are more similar to one another than other parties, so it is assumed that NML parties tend to share the same characteristics and ideologies (Keith and Verge 2016).

Green party ideology has often been cited with the promotion of feminist ideals, so scholars suggest that Green parties are more likely to support gender equality and to provide more leadership opportunities for women (Kolinsky 1988, McKay 2004, Keith and Verge 2016). Green parties emerged in the 1970s to bring attention to a new political movement which promoted environmentalism, peace, anti-nuclear options, and women's rights (Muller-Rommel 1998). The German Green party, Die Grünen, was highly influential in regard to the extent that it incorporated women. Die Grünen adopted what would be known as *Frauenquote*, or "women's quota" (McKay 2004). This unique quota system uses a zipper method to place party leaders on electoral lists so that males and females are alternated on the list equally, ensuring that women would have equal representation (McKay 2004, Kolinsky 1988). The adoption of *Frauenquote* in the late 1980s is highly significant in that no other party had adopted similar measures to ensure female representation at the time. However, Kolinsky (1988) raises doubts that the German Green party's emphasis on women's representation actually resulted in direct gains for female candidates because women were not as strong electorally as they were within the German Green party itself. So, while women were at least equal in number to men within the German Green party, the party's marginal nature only allowed for women to gain a few seats in national parliament, thus reducing women's voice (Kolinsky 1988). While the German Greens fluctuated in electoral success, the pioneering of *Frauenquote* is highly significant in the efforts made for women. Overall, scholars note that newer parties are more likely to enact measures to guarantee equal representation for women, which is particularly evident in emerging NML parties (Keith and Verge 2016).

The literature suggests that other NML parties share the same gender ideology, although their efforts to recruit women leaders and party members may not be as strong. Keith and Verge (2016) note that internal variance within smaller NML parties has rarely been studied. For example, these scholars find that Conservative Communists are the least post-material among the radical left and combine economic concerns with more “New Left” concerns, such as ecology. On the other hand, Reform Communists have embraced feminism and consider it as an entire entity of oppression (Keith and Verge 2016). Additionally, Otje and Krouwel (2015) argue that Green and animal-rights based parties have reshaped their areas of focus over time, making issues such as abortion more salient to better align with voter preferences. Here, it is evident that some NML parties consider women’s issues to be more central to their party ideologies than other issues. In general, NML parties appeal to women more than other mainstream or populist radical right parties because NML parties place a higher priority on women’s issues and women’s representation.

Populist Radical Right Parties and Gender Ideology

Populist-radical right (PRR) parties first emerged in Europe in the 1980s and have since gained wide interest from scholars (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007, De Lange and Mügge 2015, Montgomery 2015, Mudde 2007, Towns, Karlsson, and Eyre 2014, Vieten 2016). PRR parties have been the subject of much discourse due to their distinct pro-nationalist and nativist tendencies, which pose a stark contrast to current mainstream parties in the political arena. Scholars note that PRR party ideology commonly includes three main elements: populism characterized by ideology that separates “virtuous people and the corrupt elites”, nativism, demonstrated through the promotion of a strong and pure national identity that excludes outsiders, and authoritarianism characterized by strong social order carried out by the in-group

(Mudde 2007; Montgomery 2015). PRR parties' anti-immigrant stance combined with a yearning for conservative, traditional values have led some to question the role women play in these types of parties.

Typically, parties with nativist concerns have been linked with aspirations to return the state to its original cultural foundation while focusing on traditional values. This may include party leaders promoting a strong national identity, excluding immigrants, and promoting strong law and order. Mudde (2007) notes that much of the literature assumes that PRR parties share a homogenous gender ideology in which women are deemed inferior members of society because their roles in society entail serving as mothers, and caretakers given the responsibility to reproduce the nation's next generation. Because of this, many scholars assume that there is a significant relationship between PRR parties' nativist attitudes and the promotion of a traditional gender ideology (Mudde 2007; Towns, Karlsson, and Eyre 2014; Akkerman 2015, De Lange and Mügge 2015; Pettersson 2017). Towns, Karlsson, and Eyre (2014), argue that traditional gender ideology entails the expectation that men must lead and protect the nation while women serve as biological and cultural reproducers of the nation, thus arguing that PRR parties focus their gender ideology on biological sex differences. In addition, the traditional role for women promotes women as being primarily mothers and caretakers who stay in the private sphere. Cas Mudde (2007) notes that this view is especially strong in PRR parties in countries with low birth rates, such as Croatia, France, and Russia. However, the literature shows that there is some internal division within the PRR party family in regard to gender ideology, and it is therefore difficult to make general claims (De Lange, Mügge 2015). Some scholars, such as Mudde, argue that PRR parties view gender issues as secondary issues when compared to other, more nationalist concerns. At most, PRR parties instrumentalize gender in service of their nativist

core; and they are not particularly interested in gender, per se. Others argue that gender ideology is an important and defining feature within PRR parties (Akkerman 2015, Mudde 2007, Vieten 2017).

Many scholars are concerned with parties that only promote traditional roles for women because there is evidence that this will significantly hinder women's leadership and representation within the political arena (Mudde 2007; Towns, Karlsson, Eyre 2014; Mudde and Kaltwasser 2015). Scholars argue that the traditional conception of gender ideology reduces the potential for women to emerge in the political arena because women are encouraged to work in the private sphere as mothers and caretakers. This is particularly concerning for scholars who believe that women's descriptive and substantive representation is significantly repressed within these parties (Towns, Karlsson, Eyre 2014). While PRR parties are only electorally marginal, the issue of women's representation within these parties is still critical in determining whether a contagion effect may exist, in which other party families may be influenced by these niche parties' efforts for women.

Some PRR parties, however, may adopt a "modern traditional" view of women, in which women are still expected to be housewives and mothers, but may also have a career (Mudde 2007; Akkerman 2015; Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser 2015). This view is seen as a more "women-friendly" alternative to the purely traditional view of women because it fosters the opportunity for women to permeate into the public sphere. While PRR parties most commonly adopt either the traditional view or the modern traditional view of women, Mudde (2007) claims that not all PRR parties follow the same ideologies, nor do all party members share the party views on gender roles. While it can be assumed that most PRR parties emphasize traditional and conservative roles for women, it is evident that this is not universally the case.

A prominent sect of the literature regarding PRR parties and the role of women claims that PRR parties have shown a renewed interest in gender issues as part of anti-immigrant nativism (Akkerman 2015, Towns, Karlsson, Eyre 2014, Spierings and Zaslove 2015). PRR parties are primarily concerned with restoring the state to its original ethnic roots and integrating the population to conform to the native culture, thus exemplifying attitudes that negate liberal multiculturalism. The literature suggests that this is related to PRR parties' incorporation of women and women's rights in cases when cultural or religious groups have policies or traditions that systematically suppress the rights of women (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007; Towns, Karlsson; Eyre 2014, Vieten 2016). For example, Islamic practices, such as wearing veils or headscarves, have been targeted by many PRR parties with the justification that these practices threaten women's rights and equality (Akkerman 2015). This portrays the tendencies for PRR parties to create an "us versus them" rhetoric, in which the parties may target non-native groups for unjust and unsound practices in an effort to protect the nation. Thus, many scholars argue that immigration and integration policies have become explicitly gendered to protect the rights of women (Akkerman and Hagelund 2007, Vieten 2016) Scholars highlight this justification for protecting the rights of women and the promotion of women's equality before the law because it offers a contrast from the traditional view of women. Many see this is highly problematic because it is unclear whether these PRR parties are genuinely concerned with women's rights in these cases, or if they see these concerns it as another excuse to target immigrant groups. The issue of gendered immigration policies is of high interest to many scholars because PRR parties protect the rights of women in a rather contradictory manner.

Discussion

Populist-radical right and non-mainstream left parties form a clear dichotomy on the political spectrum and many assume that these parties are the exact opposite of each other. While PRR and NML parties are ideologically different, there may be some ideological variance within these party families. The literature shows that this is especially evident when it comes to women's issues and representation. PRR parties are often regarded as *Männerparteien* because they typically do not feature many female leaders or voters. On the other hand, NML parties are known for their active efforts in increasing women's representation, as well as advocating for women's equality. Many scholars assume that this stark difference in descriptive representation among women primarily stems from the difference in party ideology. However, many scholars argue that contextual differences play a large role in this. Possible theories include the idea that many women simply do not vote for PRR parties because there is a fundamental mismatch between PRR ideology and the values that women hold (Montgomery 2015), or that women simply are not willing to run for political office. Lawless and Fox (2008) find that there is a significant ambition gap when assessing why fewer women run for office compared to men. However, the literature shows that women cannot be generalized in such a way that undermines the influence of party ideology when regarding women's descriptive representation. The review of the existing literature therefore suggests the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: NML parties will display a more modern and highly feminist or egalitarian gender ideology than PRR parties.

Hypothesis 2: PRR parties will hold either a traditional or modernized traditional gender ideology, where gender is instrumentalized in the service of the nativist core ideology.

Hypothesis 3: NML parties will therefore recruit more women into leadership and membership roles for and within the party than PRR parties.

Research Design

To test these hypotheses, the current study employs a two-part method to analyze how (1) NML and PRR parties compare with regard to gender ideology and the incorporation of women's issues into their party platforms and (2) whether differences in gender ideology reflected in party programs translate into different levels of women's leadership and membership within those parties. The first part of the design controls for region and party viability in that all cases are fully developed and electorally viable. The universe of cases for this study includes all NML and PRR parties in Europe. There are about fourteen European countries with both an electorally viable NML and PRR party. This study samples from four countries with a total of eight cases (four NML parties and four PRR parties) The cases are: for Germany, Alliance 90/The Greens, Alternative for Germany; for Hungary, Politics Can Be Different, Movement For A Better Hungary (Jobbik); for Sweden, The Environment Party/The Greens, the Sweden Democrats; and for France, the French Communist Party and the National Front.

The design allows for control of a variety of commonalities across country cases. The countries are all post-industrial societies that have undergone post-material value shift. All are geographically within Europe and members of the European Union. Further, each country has an electorally viable NML and PRR party as demonstrated by Table 1. These similarities make the cases comparable. Moreover, similarities cannot account either for variations in party gender ideology or for levels of female representation in these parties.

Table 1: Electoral strength within national parliaments using most recent election data

| Party name | Alliance 90/ The Greens | Alternative for Germany | Politics can be Different | Movement for a Better Hungary | French Communist Party | National Front | The Greens/ Environment Party | Sweden Democrats |
|---|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| % of votes in national legislature | 8.4 | 4.7 | 5.3 | 20.2 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 6.9 | 12.9 |
| % of votes in statewide/ local elections | 5.2-30.3 | 12.6-24.2 | 5.69 | 7.1 | 1.55 | 27.73 | 3.9 | 0.6 |
| % of votes in European Parliament | 7.3 | 7.1 | 5.04 | 14.67 | 6.6 | 24.9 | 15.4 | 9.7 |

As mentioned before, analysis will proceed in two parts. The first part analyzes party election manifestos from each party. The party election manifestos are taken from each party's website, or from the Manifesto Project Database (Lehmann et. al 2017). Election manifestos act as an authoritative account of the party's explicit views on various topics and therefore leave little room for interpretation or misinformation. Manifestos that are not in English have been translated. Because translation may lose some of the original meaning, secondary sources will be supplemented to gain a better perspective on the party's stances on a variety of issues. Using discourse analysis, each party will be placed into a level of gender ideology portrayed explicitly through each manifesto, varying from traditional to modernized traditional, emerging feminist-egalitarian, and feminist-egalitarian. Parties characterized as exemplifying traditional

gender ideology will regard the primary role of women as caretakers and mothers for the family, embracing the male breadwinner and female nurturer model, as well as portraying a lack of acknowledgement of gender inequality, embracing any sex differences as natural, as well as expressing opposition to LGBTQ issues, same-sex marriage, abortion, and access to contraception. Parties characterized as exemplifying a modern traditional gender ideology will portray a liberal nativist agenda in a way that aims to protect women's rights on the surface as well as demonstrating the notion that gender ideology is a secondary issue. Modern traditional ideologies still deny institutionalized sex discrimination, although they may advocate for women to have basic, part-time careers on top of their jobs as mothers and caretakers. Parties that exemplify emerging feminist-egalitarian gender ideology will promote equal pay for women, advocate for paid maternity leave, and allow for abortion procedures, though with some level of restrictions; these parties may include language which supports "difference feminism," the idea that women require special protections and policies that acknowledge women's biological need to reproduce and care for others. Finally, parties that exemplify feminist-egalitarian party ideology will incorporate gender equality as a core principle, even to the point of including it in the party's mission statement. These parties will not conflate all women's issues with "family" or "children's" needs. There will be evident recognition that women have a right to autonomy over the uses of their bodies, including full access to contraception and abortion procedures, and viewing child-rearing as a job for both women and men.

The level of incorporation of a feminist gender ideology found in each party in the first part of the study will then serve as a key independent variable addressing the initial research question of whether the incorporation of women's issues and gender ideology translates into women's leadership and membership within those parties as well as respective countries. Using a

most-similar systems design, the second part of the study will control for: European Union membership, Freedom House score, percent of gross domestic product in services, and birth rate. The Freedom House score uses a number system where a score of 1.0 represents a completely free state, with higher values indicating that the country is less free. The dependent variable, women's leadership and membership within NML and PRR parties, measures the number of female membership within each case using the most recent data available. Female leadership will be measured by determining the last time a party has featured a female leader, or if the party currently has a female leader. For the purpose of this study, female leaders may be party spokeswomen or heads of the party. Women's parliamentary representation within each party and country will also be analyzed with data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Women's membership will be measured using the percent of female members within each party. Data on women's membership will be collected by either contacting the party directly, or by referring to secondary sources that offer membership data. This will show whether the incorporation of gender ideology in each party's platform directly translates into women's descriptive representation and will ultimately show whether a party's promises for women actually translate into greater membership and leadership for women.

Findings

The level of feminist gender ideology for each case was assessed using qualitative analysis for each party's manifesto. Each manifesto was carefully analyzed, and each party was categorized into a level of feminist gender ideology using specific criteria. The results are shown in Table 2. Alliance 90/The Greens exhibits a highly feminist gender ideology. The party claims gender equality as a core principle of the party's mission and seeks to create a more egalitarian relationship between genders. Regarding the family, Alliance 90/The Greens calls for

acknowledgement of diverse families and seek free childcare for children from one to twelve to allow parents (equally including mothers) to work full-time jobs. The party also supports women's right to make individual choices regarding the right to life without any external pressure, thus portraying a highly feminist or egalitarian gender ideology. Conversely, Germany's Alternative for Germany party strictly upholds the traditional family model and wants to prohibit women's right to choose by eliminating the possibility of abortion procedures. Because women are primarily regarded in terms of the family and viewed as mothers, the Alternative for Germany portrays a traditional gender ideology, as shown in the party's election manifesto. Hungary's Politics Can Be Different specifically advocates for equal representation for men and women in government by proposing a gender quota within national parliament. Regarding family planning, the party proposes limiting the number of abortion procedures by focusing on prevention efforts, such as open access to free or affordable contraception. Because of this, the party portrays a highly feminist gender ideology. Movement For A Better Hungary regards population decline as a demographic crisis and focuses its gender ideology on raising the birth rate by creating more mother-friendly workplaces with nurseries and childcare programs. The party aims to prevent abortion procedures and seeks to create an embryo protection law based on Christian values to protect unborn children. Movement For A Better Hungary's emphasis on protecting working mothers indicates a more feminist gender ideology, however, the proposed embryo protection law represents an extremely traditional model, making the party exhibit an overall mixed traditional gender ideology.

Table 2: Gender ideology by party

| Country | Germany | | Hungary | | France | | Sweden | |
|-----------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| Party Name | Alliance 90/The Greens | Alternative for Germany | Politics Can Be Different | Movement For A Better Hungary | French Communist Party | National Front | The Greens/Environment Party | Sweden Democrats |
| Party Family | NML | PRR | NML | PRR | NML | PRR | NML | PRR |
| Gender Ideology | Highly Feminist | Traditional | Highly Feminist | Modernized Traditional | Highly Feminist | Modernized Traditional | Highly Feminist | Traditional |

The French Communist party exhibits a highly feminist or egalitarian gender ideology. It advocates for free contraception and the right to abortion. Gender equality and the right to live without any form of discrimination are seen as fundamental values. The National Front regards marriage as being between a man and a woman and opposes both adoption from same-sex parents as well as abortion procedures. The party promotes a parental income system in which families will receive a monetary amount for raising a child so that either parent may receive financial assistance for taking time off to care for their children. The party aims to lower the retirement age for mothers who have had three or more children or a disabled child and seeks to help single-parent families by improving access to affordable housing and creating more livable wages. While the National Front portrays some elements of a purely traditional gender ideology, the possibility of assistance for families and single-parent families signifies a more modernized

traditional gender ideology. Sweden's Green/Environment party claims to be a feminist party dedicated to equal rights for everyone. They aim to reshape the education system to promote gender equality and for pre-schools to apply gender sensitive teaching methods to eliminate institutionalized traditional gender roles. The party promotes a three-part paternity leave: one part designated to each parent, and the last part to be dedicated to a third person in the child's family. The party also advocates for publicly funded childcare to be available at all times of the day to accommodate for guardians working part-time jobs. Thus, the Green/Environment party exhibits a highly feminist or egalitarian gender ideology. Finally, the Sweden Democrats focuses on the biological differences between men and women and argue that these differences shape their different lifestyles and disregard that these differences are a result of oppression. The party supports the nuclear family and strictly opposes adoption by same-sex or single parents. The party manifesto claims that the party has no definite opinion of expected roles for men and women. The party manifesto does not mention any family planning efforts, such as stance on abortion or contraception methods. Overall, the Sweden Democrats display a traditional gender ideology due to the promotion of gender inequality as a natural occurrence, and a lack of support for the LGBTQA+ community.

The level of feminist gender ideology found in Part 1 of the study is used as an independent variable that may explain the dependent variable, female membership and party leadership. The findings are shown in Table 3. In addition to the main hypothesis variable, several controls or alternative explanatory variables are included in the table. The electoral system in place for each country is identified because the type of electoral system used in a given country may partly explain the level of female leadership. For example, it is likely for a country with a proportional representation system to have more female representatives than a country

with a majoritarian system. In this study, Germany and Hungary utilize a mixed proportionally representational system. Hungary's hybrid system features aspects of a proportional representation system, yet it behaves in a highly majoritarian way. Sweden features a purely proportional representation system whereas France utilizes a majoritarian system. This may impact women's descriptive representation to some extent. The same is true of mandatory national gender quotas. The implementation of a national gender quota has a direct impact on the number of female leaders in a given country. However, France is the only country with a mandatory gender quota within all levels of government. The study also examines the adoption of voluntary gender quotas within each party. Voluntary gender quotas within parties often indicate a true commitment to women's equality, and provide increased leadership opportunities for women. Alliance 90/The Greens, Politics can be Different, and The Green/Environment Party in Sweden all implement some form of a voluntary gender quota; Alliance 90/The Greens and The Green/Environment Party mandate a quota of fifty percent for women's descriptive representation for members of parliament, while Politics Can Be Different mandates that two female candidates may be listed in a row while using the zipper method for proportional representation. It is highly significant that none of the PRR parties mandates a gender quota within the parties, while almost all of the NML parties use some form of quota system, an exception being the French Communist Party. This may in part be because the French Communist is an older, hard Left party founded in 1920.

The gender gap in income rating derives from data found by the World Economic Forum. A score of 1.0 indicates that a country is perfectly gender equal regarding income, whereas lower scores mean that a country has a wider gender gap in income. All countries in the study have somewhat equal scores, but it should be noted that Hungary has the lowest score of

0.669 and Sweden has the highest score of 0.815, still displaying a significant gap from the perfect score of 1.0. While the values for all cases are similar to some extent, the gender gap in income is incorporated into this part of the study because it may offer some explanation that fewer females are willing to run for political office than men because they do not have the same financial freedom to do so or the ability to bring resources to the party. In this sense, a gender gap in income may affect the presence of female leaders to some extent. The study then analyzes female leadership within each country and party. The percent of female members of national parliaments is found using data from the Inter Parliamentary Union and the fractions represent the number of females in the parliamentary body over the total number of members within the body. Sweden holds the highest percentage in the study at forty-four percent, followed by Germany and then France, while Hungary holds the lowest number of female members of parliament at just ten percent nationally. Putting the number of female members of parliaments into a national perspective helps in understanding the number of female members of parliaments in each party. Overall, NML parties tended to have more females in parliament compared to PRR parties. The same trend can be observed with female members of the European Parliament. It is important to note that the size of the parliamentary delegation does affect the number of women in parliament for each party. A party with a larger delegation, like Alliance 90/The Greens, is able to feature more women, whereas a party with a smaller delegation like Politics Can Be Different will tend to be more male-dominated, as the party holds less seats. Findings for women in major party leadership roles are not very significant. All parties across gender ideologies currently feature at least one woman in a major leadership position, except for the Sweden Democrats, who have not featured a female party leader since Madeleine Larrson served as a party spokesperson from 1990 to 1992.

The percent of female members for each party is used as the sole determinant for female membership. Overall, NML parties have more female members compared to PRR parties, with the exception of Politics Can Be Different. This may be a special case, as the party underwent a split in 2013, losing many members of the original party, whereas Movement For A Better Hungary has remained unified across several electoral cycles.

Conclusion

Non-mainstream left and populist-radical right parties are perceived as mirror opposites on the political spectrum, especially in regard to gender ideology. Non-mainstream left parties are widely perceived to be more inclusive to women, while populist-radical right parties are seen as highly masculinist-and even sexist parties. Thus, the party families operate on the cleavage of the politics of inclusion versus the politics of exclusion. The assessment of gender ideologies within non-mainstream left and populist-radical right parties is necessary to further explain why differences in the representation of men and women exist in the political arena.

Findings suggest that the gender ideologies of NML and PRR parties do indeed differ, while NML parties share a more similar feminist/egalitarian gender ideology, PRR parties exhibit more variance between traditional and modernized traditional gender ideologies. The findings clearly indicate that NML parties incorporate a highly feminist gender ideology, and that this impacts female leadership and membership within these parties as all NML parties exhibit much higher percentages of female leaders and members. All PRR parties exhibited some form of a traditional gender ideology, including a modernized traditional gender ideology. None of these parties adopted gender quotas, which is typically used as a key mechanism for translating ideology into outcome, and female membership and leadership within these parties

remains fairly low as a consequence. This suggests that PRR parties are not as committed to women's equality.

This finding is a significant contribution to the literature on women and politics and on the PRR parties, but there were some data limitations. Many of the parties assessed were relatively small in size or newly formed. Because of this, much of the data was difficult to find and had to be supplemented by secondary literature. The study could have been made more accurate if the parties made more authoritative and direct data available, especially regarding female membership. This study specifically analyzed election manifestos for each party, however, this serves as a potential limitation because party leaders may develop more moderate stances throughout the course of a given election in order to gain votes. If this study was repeated, it may have different findings if speeches by party leaders or secondary news sources were used in place of election manifestos.

While it cannot be certain that the gender ideologies in each of these parties has a direct impact on women's leadership and membership due to an array of contextual factors, it is evident that gender ideology and quota adoption are highly related. This study can be further generalized and applied to all NML and PRR parties within Europe that are deemed electorally viable. With this, it can be concluded that NML parties are more likely to exhibit a highly feminist gender ideology with corresponding high female membership and leadership, while PRR parties are more likely to be traditional or modernized traditional, with corresponding low female membership and leadership.

This study is also significant in offering additional insight pertaining to the supply and demand factors that explain women's descriptive representation. Scholars who focus on the demand for women's descriptive representation emphasize the importance of party ideology and

the influence of party gatekeepers, which is seen to be shaped by voter perception. Party gatekeepers will be more pressured to choose a female candidate if that voters are perceived to want a female candidate, a more likely circumstance when the electorate is committed to gender equality and perceives a party as being committed to gender equality. Findings show that NML parties portray a more feminist-egalitarian gender ideology compared to PRR parties, which is especially evident in NML parties' tendency to adopt voluntary gender quotas. This may, in part, explain the different levels of descriptive representation between men and women in the political arena if additional research analyzes NML and PRR parties' influence on mainstream parties.

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