



Traditionalism and Femonationalism in the usage of the gender role of women by the PVV

STERRE PIERSON

Bachelor Thesis

Social Sciences, TSHD, Tilburg
University

s.m.pierson@uvt.nl

Supervisor: Thomas Muntz

Second assessor: Alkeline van Lenning

06/2020

Abstract

Political Scientist Cas Mudde states that the populist parties have a traditional way of portraying women. The Dutch right-wing populist party PVV uses the gender role of women in its campaign. The PVV, like the LPF party before it, is pro-equality for women and the LGBTQ(+) community. The Dutch populist-right party PVV uses the gender role of women for their campaigning goals. Cas Mudde claims that Dutch populist parties use a traditional way of portraying the gender role of women. This results in the following question: “The PVV uses both traditional and the femonational ways of portraying the women, how could we perceive and classify the PVV; is it a stranger in the midst of populist parties.?” By analysing specific events and the reaction the PVV gave to those events, this literature review found an answer to the problem statement. The findings are that the PVV shifts from portraying women in a traditional way, which is that women need protection and are not equal to the male sex, to the femonationalist way whenever this results in a form of critique on the Islam. The femonationalist way of portraying women is that all sexes are equal, however, the Islam endangers this process. The PVV does not have one specific point of view on gender roles. They thus shift to whatever is the opinion that will provide them with the best outcome for their campaigning goals. They are a populist party, yet the theory of Cas Mudde only applies some of the time to their ideology. The PVV really is a stranger in the midst of the populist parties, but should be seen in terms of a Wittgensteinian concept of “family resemblance”.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	4
1.1Introduction.....	4
1.2Problem statement.....	5
1.3Research Questions.....	6
1.4Research Design and data collection	6
1.5Structure of the thesis	6
Chapter 2: Theory.....	7
2.1 Theoretical Framework Populism	7
2.2 Theoretical Framework Gender	8
Chapter 3: Femonationalism versus Traditionalism in events	11
3.1 Mass-assaults in Cologne.....	11
3.2 Womens' day	11
3.3 Women and Islam.....	12
Chapter 4: Conclusion	14
4.1 Conclusion.....	14
4.2 Discussion	14
4.3 Limitations and Acknowledgements.....	14
Bibliography	15

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

“Just step out the front door and look around for a second. Chances are that there is scum in front of the entrance of the neighborhood shop. That you will be spat at and robbed there. That your daughters, your wife and parents are harassed and don't dare to go out at night. Becoming a stranger in your own country. That has to change.” (Wilders, 2016) “Right-wing populist parties are specifically targeting women with a controversial and contested message that immigration, particularly from Muslim countries, brings with it misogynistic cultures that threaten women’s freedom in [Europe](#) – from catcalling women in short skirts to sexual assault.” (Chrisafis, Connolly, & Giuffrida, 2019) The Dutch populist right-wing party PVV wants drastic measures to reassure the safety of women and other minorities: “Zero extra refugees and close all borders for Islamic immigrants.” (Wilders, 2020) Gender and the gender role of women became a hot topic over the last years. Women want more equality and no longer desire to be displayed as helpless creatures, needing to be saved.

Political scientist Cas Mudde states that the Dutch populist gender ideology within politics consists of three tenets: ‘1) the equating of women's politics with family politics; 2) the staunch defence of ‘natural differences’ between the sexes; and 3) the idea that, since women are the only sex that can give birth and offspring are vital to the survival of the nation, women should be ‘protected’.’ (Mudde, 2007) This provides a traditional way of portraying the gender role of women. When taking Mudde’s theory into account, this would mean that the PVV, being a Dutch right-wing populist party, would also fall into this specific categorization. The PVV would thus have a traditional way of portraying the gender role of women. In 2016, the PVV handed out ‘Resistance-spray’ in Spijkenisse “to keep the women of the Netherlands safe from the Islamic testosterone-bombs” (Wilders, 2016). This happened after the mass-assaults in Cologne on new-year’s eve in 2016 and indeed shows a traditionalist way of portraying women by the PVV. However, when we take a look at several other actions of the PVV and the stances they take when talking about the gender role of women, they show something different. For example, the PVV follows the LPF in their femonational approach to the gender roles and the official stance of the PVV regarding the topic of gender roles and the gender role of women, is femonationalist. This femonational view declares that there is emancipation of women, however, the Islam threatens this progress that has been made.

This literature review will provide an answer to the research question whether or not the theory of Cas Mudde applies to the PVV and if not, whether or not this means that the PVV might not be a populist party or whether the party is a stranger in the midst of the Dutch populist parties. To find an answer, this literature review will analyse different events that lead to the PVV using the gender role of women.

This research of the way the PVV uses the gender role of women is a lacuna in our understanding since right-wing populist parties like the PVV increasingly pay attention to gender, often to only justify anti-immigration positions by focusing on ‘harmful cultural practices’ such as female genital mutilation, honour killings, the wearing of headscarves, forced marriages or

polygamy. (Lange & Mügge, 2015). Populist parties do not have gender on their agenda as a very important topic. These parties (populist right-wing parties like the PVV) profile themselves as leaders of progressive conditions, such as the emancipation of women and homosexuals, to strengthen their argumentation against immigration and the Islam. (Koopman, 2017)

The first time populist parties used the concept of gender and gender roles in their argumentation was by Pim Fortuyn. With the rise of List Pim Fortuyn (LPF), the populist right-wing party led by Pim Fortuyn, who was 'openly' gay, the phenomenon of '*femonationalism*' also grew. (Hekma & Duyvendak, 2011) '*Femonationalism*' was first introduced by sociologist Sara Farris in 2017. She described this phenomenon in '*In the Name of Women's Rights*' as:

...the exploitation of feminist themes by nationalists and neoliberals in anti-islam (but, as I will show, also anti-immigration) campaigns and to the participation of certain feminists and femocrats in the stigmatization of Muslim men under the banner of gender inequality. Femonationalism thus describes, on the one hand, the attempts of western European rightwing parties and neoliberals to advance xenophobic and racist politics through the touting of gender equality, while, on the other hand, it captures the involvement of various wellknown and quite visible feminists and femocrats in the current framings of islam as a quintessentially misogynistic religion and culture. (Farris, 2017)

Fortuyn presented himself as a homosexual man whose lifestyle got threatened by Muslims and 'multicultural' immigration policy – "He successfully connected sexual liberation and secularization as markers of the modern, individualistic character of Dutch (national) culture and opposed them to a supposedly backward Muslim culture" (Mepschen et al., 2010, p. 968). Although the populist and right-wing parties may have had self-serving reasons to support women's and LGBT rights, the performative effect of their pro-gay and pro-feminist stances should not be underestimated: almost the entire Dutch political spectrum from the far left to the far right now supports progressive positions that remain embattled in most other western countries. (Gert Hekma, 2012) Hekma thus claims that the right-wing parties, like PVV do have a pro-feminist way of portraying women, while Mudde does not. This literature review will find out more about the usage of the gender role of women by the PVV and whether or not the party can be classified under the classification of Mudde's theory.

1.2 Problem statement

The Dutch populist-right party PVV uses the gender role of women for their campaigning goals. Cas Mudde claims that Dutch populist parties use a traditional way of portraying the gender role of women. The PVV uses both traditional and the femonational ways of portraying the women, is the PVV not a populist party or is it a stranger in the midst of the Dutch populist parties?

1.3 Research Questions

1. What is populism and how did it develop over time?

To understand the difference in portraying women by the PVV, it is important that the reader understands what populism is, which is needed for a better understanding of the general topic. This is explained by answering this research question.

2. What kind of populist party is the PVV?

The PVV is a right-wing populist party, however, there are different kinds of populist parties. By answering this research question it will become more clear what kind of populist party the PVV is and this will make the reader understand more about the PVV, which is the general subject of this thesis.

3. What is gender?

Besides knowing about populism, it is also important that the reader learns more about the topic gender and the different gender roles that are portrayed. This is what will be explained by answering this research question.

4. What is the general stance of the PVV towards gender and gender roles?

The PVV has a general stance towards gender and the gender role of women. It is important that the reader understands which stance this is for a better understanding of this review.

5. What are some examples of the events that make the PVV portray women in some way?

There are certain events that made the PVV use the gender role of women in different ways. For the reader, it is important to learn more about these events to eventually grasp and understand the conclusion of the thesis.

1.4 Research Design and data collection

This research has a literature review as design, in which secondary data from former relevant research is used. The secondary data is retrieved from various scientific journals, yet also from interviews and news articles. Most scientific articles are obtained by using the library of Tilburg University and Google Scholar. Of course, this method of searching also has a limitation, being a possible overload in information, or only finding a desired answer instead of other possibilities. There also are some scientific articles used that appeared in the reference list of already used literature. There also is a limitation in checking the reference list of used literature for possible new interesting articles, since there is a possibility of only exploring the known paths. However, by combining both searching options, the methods of searching will eventually complement one another and eliminate the other limitations.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis contains four chapters. Chapter one is the introduction, in which the topic will be explained and the relevance will be made clear. After that, chapter two to three will provide an answer to the research questions, chapter four will leave a clear conclusion. In the conclusion, there will be an answer to the main research question, also there will be shed more light onto the discussion, the acknowledgements and the limitations.

Chapter 2: Theory

This literature review is on the Dutch populist party PVV and on the gender role of women. It is important that there is an unambiguous understanding of both these subjects, populism and gender roles. This chapter will explain what populism is and how the PVV can be categorized within the different forms of populism. The next part of the chapter will explain what gender is and what different kinds of gender roles there are for women. That part of the chapter will also shed more light onto how the PVV uses gender in their campaign and what their general stance on the gender role of women is.

2.1 Theoretical Framework Populism

To answer the research questions we need to know more about the construct of populism. Firstly, what is populism and how did it develop over time? The problem that immediately rises while defining the construct ‘populism’ is that all populist parties are different from each other. The reason for this difference is that populism does not have an ideology on its own. To illustrate; all communist parties share the notion that all property should be owned by the community and should be distributed according to everyone’s needs and abilities. Populism does not have such a central notion that you can implement for every single party. Yet, if all parties are different, how are we then going to define populism and thus populist parties? One solution to this problem is to adopt the Wittgensteinian concept of “family resemblance” (cf. Collier & Mahon 1993); i.e. none of the parties are exactly the same, but each family member will have some features in common with all other members. (Mudde, 2007) This solution thus suggests that rather than wanting all parties to be exactly the same, the focus should lie on what makes them the same and connects them. Another solution for defining the term populism, without having the problem of not all parties being the same, is based on Max Weber’s famous ideal typical model; i.e. the family is defined on the basis of an “ideal type,” which no family member resembles fully, but all will look like in one way or another (e.g. Kitschelt & McGann 1995). (Mudde, Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe, 2007) Cas Mudde defines populism in a way that is accepted by many other researchers. Namely, as an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people. (Mudde, 2004)

Populism does not have its own ideology, populism is only a ‘thin-centred ideology’, exhibiting ‘a restricted core attached to a narrower range of political concepts’. (Freedon, 1998) The first time the term populism has been used was in the 19th century and people used it mostly to define the parties but the parties rarely used it for self-description. Within populism there are different types distinguished. One of the types of populism is the neoliberal populist parties. The core of the ideology of neoliberal populist parties is formed by economic liberalism: they advocate anti-egalitarian measures, aim to reduce government and state intervention, and defend the ‘ordinary people’ against an allegedly ‘corrupt elite’. (Pauwels, 2010). Although it seems that populist parties do not have gender on their party programmes and they do not have a major opinion about it, it could be that they still have an underlying opinion on gender while debating about, for example, the ‘ordinary people’ vs ‘corrupt elite’. Populists could have a ‘gendered’ perception of their primary struggle, in which ‘the people’ are described in traditional masculine

terms, and 'the elite' in traditional feminine terms; in other words, the enemy could be feminized. (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2015)

The Dutch history of populist parties started with the DPU. In the Netherlands it was not until the early 1970s that an extreme right political party manifested itself in the post-war period, this was the Dutch People's Union founded on 27 March 1971 'with the purpose of creating a Greater Dutch State which would include the Dutch or Flemish speaking part of Belgium but exclude alien ethnic elements' (Rydgren & Holsteyn, 2005) The NVU/DPU was a radical and racist party which mainly wanted to keep the Hague 'white and safe'. After this party there were another two right-wing populist parties, the national centre party and the centre party. Both parties were not successful and got dissolved within years. The next successful right-wing populist party is the LPF. Pim Fortuyn founded his populist party, LPF (List Pim Fortuyn) on February 14th in 2002. Pim Fortuyn was the first one to found a right-wing populist party and soon gained a lot of followers. However, before he could compete in the elections, he was assassinated. During the 2002 campaign, Fortuyn was accused of being on the "extreme right", although others saw only certain similarities. (Rydgren & Holsteyn, 2005)

If we look at the PVV and ask ourselves what kind of populist party they are, we see that they should not be considered as a classical right-wing populist party. Geert Wilders, the leader of the PVV and also the only official member, prefers to cast it as a "patriotic" movement. (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011) The party could best be described as a neoliberal populist party and was founded in 2006. The most important value for the party is the notion of freedom: "Freedom (Vrijheid) is seen by Wilders in its negative- the individual must be free from the state- and sovereigntist- the Netherlands must be free from Europe- dimensions." (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011) They value the freedom of the people of the Netherlands and think that the government implements too many restrictions on the people of the Netherlands. The PVV, as a populist party also adheres to the notion that the people should be protected from the elite, us versus them. This would mean that the PVV eventually could be best classified as a neo-liberal populist party. However, it could be that we should classify the PVV, not as a whole, but for each and every topic. For example, the PVV might be considered left-progressive in the field of gender and gender roles and conservative in the field of economics. Their official stance on gender and gender roles is Femonationalist, which is a progressive stance, since they acknowledge the importance of equality for all genders and sexes. Nevertheless, if we look at the actions of the PVV we see that they are not always progressive and in favour of equality, as we will find out more about in chapter 3.

2.2 Theoretical Framework Gender

Now we know more about the theoretical construct of populism and specifically, the PVV, we need to broaden our knowledge on gender and on how the PVV views gender and gender roles. "...Ever since 2001 are the Dutch political right-wing parties showing off their progressive values like gender equality and gay rights, to enforce their agenda against immigration

and the Islam.” (Koopman, 2017) However, what is gender? To determine the framework on gender we first need to establish that there is a difference between sex and gender. Most researchers define sex as a physical aspect to the human body and see gender as more of a social construct made by society. To determine one’s sex, one must assay the following physical conditions: Chromosomes, external genitalia, internal genitalia (e.g., uterus, prostate), gonads, hormonal states, and secondary sex characteristics. (Money, Hampson, & Hampson, 1955) One’s sex is thus determined by a number of physical characteristics which is in contrast with gender. Gender is the established social construct of “Which sex and the corresponding established gender roles do I feel I resemble the most?” Gender identity is defined as a personal conception of oneself as male or female (or rarely, both or neither). This concept is intimately related to the concept of gender role, which is defined as the outward manifestations of personality that reflect gender identity. (Ghosh, 2015) Society has created gender roles such as ‘men should be tough and women should be soft’. ‘The female brain is predominantly hard-wired for empathy. The male brain is predominantly hard-wired for understanding and building systems.’ (Gerring, 1997) Ironically, second wave feminist critiques of gender socialisation such as Carol Gilligan’s interrogation of a ‘female’ ethics of care and a ‘male’ ethics of personal rights as learned behaviour embedded in and reproduced through traditional family structures can fall hostage to scientific essentialism. (Lange & Mügge, 2015) Gender is thus something that is constructed by society and is subjective, while sex is based on facts.

Looking at the construct of gender and gender roles used by populist parties, Cas Mudde stands out with his vision. He focuses on gender ideology within politics which he claims to consist of three tenets: ‘1) the equating of women's politics with family politics; 2) the staunch defence of ‘natural differences’ between the sexes; and 3) the idea that, since women are the only sex that can give birth and offspring are vital to the survival of the nation, women should be ‘protected’.’ (Lange & Mügge, 2015) It is difficult to research the view of populist parties since like discussed before, no populist party is the same. However, according to de Lange and Mügge, the attention Dutch and Flemish right-wing populist parties devote to gender issues varies. Most parties touch upon gender issues only sporadically, and integrate them within other themes such as economic development, labour market participation or the integration of immigrants. (Lange & Mügge, 2015)

When looking at the usage of gender and gender roles by the PVV, the question rises; how does the PVV generally think about the gender role of women? We see that they are, like LPF, portraying themselves as pro-LGBTQ(+). This means that they think that LGBTQ(+) rights are important and they would like everyone to be treated equally. However, this strategy brings left-winged parties in a uncomfortable position, since the defense of women and the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer or Questioning- community (LGBTQ) has gotten a islamophobic taste. (Koopman, 2017) The actual actions of the PVV tell a different story. For example, when the government was voting on a ‘gender ideology’ law in 2018, they voted against the law. ‘This week the second chamber voted for the initiative law of the D66, PVDA and Groenlinks, which explicitly states that ‘transgenders’ and ‘intersexual persons’ may not be discriminated (read: not be treated differently).’ (Redactie, 2018) This might seem like not such a big deal, however, it is very important that these things get spelled out in the law and is eventually a big step for the LGBTQ(+) community. The law also claims that the biological difference

between male and female has no meaning. Gender should be a choice which stands apart from the presented fact. (Redactie, 2018) The PVV was the only party to vote against the law besides the strictly conservative and religious party SGP. The gender ideology did get accepted and is implemented as a law. It is interesting to see the contradictions within the voting behaviour of the PVV within the government for different laws regarding gender and gender rights. In both the second and the first chamber in the government, the PVV voted against the adoption of the law which enabled the change or leaving blank of the basic administration of gender (as well as the birth certificate). Another contradicting example is the 'Pink Ballot Box agreement' that was implemented in 2012. This agreement stated that it wanted to clarify five different issues that will make certain things easier for the members of the LGBTQ(+) community. The five different issues are:

'- put an end to the phenomenon of the refusal-officer, which are the wedding officers that refused to wed same sex marriages; - end the one-sided fact construction that allowed for openly gay students and teachers to be expelled or fired; -mandatory information sessions on the topic of LHBT's in school; - improvement of the legal position of lesbian parents and their children- simple acknowledgement of the gender identity of transgender people.' (Bergkamp, 2012)

Amongst the nine parties that simultaneously signed the agreement, was the PVV. There was a big celebratory ceremony and all nine parties signed the pink agreement. This appears to be another contradiction in the reasoning of the PVV regarding gender and gender rights, since, why signing (read agreeing) this time and refusing all the other times?

Interesting to see is that when there is an election coming, the PVV starts spreading more news on the topic of gender and gender roles. For example, in 2016 the mass assaults in Cologne caused for many women to feel unsafe in the streets and then the PVV started to distribute the infamous 'resistance spray' since they felt they needed to protect the women from asylum seekers who "have a certain moral on how to handle women, which we do not want"(Wilders, 2016) This action causes to believe that the PVV stands up for the protection of women and that this topic is important to the party. However, when a half year prior to the distribution of the 'resistance-spray', the treaty of Istanbul, or "Treaty of the Board of Europe on the prevention and fight of violence against women and domestic women" was discussed in the government. The party leader of the PVV, Geert Wilders, claimed at the time that "the topic is not important enough to discuss it in the government" and when it came down to a vote, the party voted against the treaty. (BNN, 2016) The treaty focuses on prevention, victim support and the prosecution of the attackers. It is interesting to keep in mind these differences while looking at different events and the influence they have on the party's ideas on the matter of portraying women in a traditional or femonationalist way.

Chapter 3: Femonationalism versus Traditionalism in events

This chapter will shed more light onto different individual events that the PVV took on to spread their ideas, while they used various versions of the gender role of women. It is important that the reader will have an understanding of how the PVV uses the gender role of women in different ways for their gain. The chapter will first look at the mass-assaults in Cologne, after that the women's day and finally, the 'AO emancipatie'.

3.1 Mass-assaults in Cologne

“As long as the government refuses to close the borders for immigrants from Islamic countries, we need to lock up all male asylum seekers in the refugee camps.”
(Wilders, 2016)

On that New Year's Eve, more than 1200 women were sexually assaulted in various German cities, including more than 600 in Cologne and about 400 in Hamburg. (Noack, 2016) In 2016 on 31 December the mass-assaults happened in Germany and as a result many other countries feared that this exact thing would happen in their country as well. The PVV jumped onto this and handed out their infamous 'resistance-spray' in Spijkenisse. The resistance-spray contained a semi-permanent spray-paint which would last for days when sprayed on the perpetrator. Wilders actually would have wanted to distribute real pepper spray, yet it is illegal in the Netherlands. While distributing, he also talked about his opinion on the government. He believed that the government should make pepper spray legal, since he felt that all minorities should be able to properly defend themselves. This particular day he only handed out the spray to women, since he felt that they were really in need of protection. He used the image of women needing to be saved to boost his campaign. “The insurrection on the mass-assaults Keulen, deliver the PVV new successes in the polls. If the elections were held right now, the party of Geert Wilders would obtain 41 seats in the parliament. This is a monster score for the PVV.” (Volkskrant, 2017) The PVV reacted to this event with the response that women and members of the LGBTQ(+) community are in need of protection, thus they need resistance-spray. The question that rises is that why would the PVV support women and other minorities in this instance, while they do not support several laws which legally support the minorities. It seems as if the PVV uses the women and their gender role in a traditional way when it is beneficial to them, however, they do not support several laws like the pink agreement and the treaty of Istanbul.

3.2 Womens' day

We already noticed that the PVV uses events for the promotion of their campaign, which all parties do and is nothing new. By doing so, they are obtaining more votes by using the gender role of women in a traditional way. This traditional way of portraying the gender role of women is claiming that the women need protection because they are the 'weaker' sex. An example for this are the mass-assaults in Germany which, according to the Volkskrant, delivered the PVV a monster score in the polls. Another example for when the PVV portrayed the women in a traditional way, is the Dutch national Womens' day that was held on Friday, March 8 in 2013.

The goal of this annual celebratory day is to pay attention to theme's related to women like economic independence but also domestic violence and other focus points surrounding the topic of emancipation and participation. (International Womens' day, 2013) The PVV takes on international Women's day to show the correlation between the Islam and the violence against women. (Boomsma, 2013) The party showed up to speech about this correlation and also distributed a report on the matter. The report contains, amongst other things, an enumeration of texts which, according to member of the parliament Joram van Klaveren and group chairman Geert Wilders take down the allegation that there is no connection between the religion of the Islam and 'child marriages', arranged marriage, anti-women violence, incarceration and shielding the outside world, honour related violence, forced sex and genital mutilation.' (Boomsma, 2013) The PVV used this day to promote their ideas on the protection of women and again used the gender role of women in a traditional way.

3.3 Women and Islam

It seems as if the PVV only uses the traditional form of the gender role of women when relating the gender role to the Islam and threats from Muslim immigrants. When they talk about the Islam, women need saving and protection and are portrayed as the weaker sex. This is in contradiction with the laws they vote against, which legally protect the women of the Netherlands from things like domestic violence and street harassment. During the Women's day and also after the mass-assaults in Cologne, Wilders connected women and their need for protection to the Islam.

Another event that lead to the connection of the Islam was the 'AO emancipatie', a public letter on emancipation for women that Minister-President Rutte send out in 2016. The PVV responded on their website and claimed that the Islam was causing an anti-emancipation for women. The reaction from the PVV contained a question addressed to Rutte, asking how he could plea for more emancipation while ignoring the '...sharia-law which makes women right less and leads in many cases to lifelong imprisonment, mistreatment and murder.' (Beertema, 2016) In this reaction towards the Minister-President, the internal conflict within the PVV regarding using the gender role of women in a traditional vs. femonationalist way becomes more clear. The PVV asks:

"...is the Minister saying that we should leave alone the norms and values of the Islam and should NOT fight them like we did with the norms of the 50s and the 60s?" (Beertema, 2016)

Here the PVV clearly acknowledges the fight for emancipation for women which mainly happened in the 1950s and 1960s. The PVV relates with the fight and thus ranks behind the evolution regarding the change of the gender role of women. In this part of the response to Rutte, the use of the gender role of women by the PVV is femonationalist, saying that the women are equal to the men and acknowledging the growth of emancipation throughout the years. However, in the last part of the response, the PVV shifts to the traditional way of portraying the gender role of women by claiming that we need to rescue the Muslim women from their husbands:

“...What do they want to undertake against the inequality between man and woman in the Islam, the forced marriages, polygamy, legal inequality, genital mutilation and all other abominations that Islamic men and often other women do to Muslima’s?” (Beertema, 2016)

It becomes more clear that within the reasoning of the PVV there are quite a few contradictions. They tend to shift from a traditionalist point of reasoning to a femonationalist point of reasoning within the same document.

If we look at all these events and the claims the PVV puts out, it becomes clear that the PVV certainly does not just have one opinion on the topic of gender and gender roles. They shift from traditionalism to femonationalism whenever it is required and whenever this leads to the most ‘profitable’ outcome for their campaign. For example, during Women's day and after the mass-assaults in Cologne the PVV used the gender role of women in a traditional way, but after the AO emancipatie letter of the minister-president, the PVV shifted to Femonationalism. This means that we cannot classify the PVV as a progressive party, in the field of gender.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

In this final chapter, firstly, the conclusions will be provided to answer the different research questions. After this, there will be a discussion about the issues down the road while writing this literature review. Finally, this chapter will end with the limitations of the research and some suggestions for future research.

4.1 Conclusion

The PVV is a Dutch right-wing populist party that can best be described as a neo-liberal populist right-winged party. Their leader Geert Wilders is the only official member and the main goal of the party is to free the Netherlands. The PVV uses the gender role of women for their campaigning goals and they switch between using the traditionalist and the femonationalist way of portraying the gender role of women. the traditional way of portraying women is that women are the weaker sex and that they need saving. The femonationalist way of portraying women is that women are emancipated and are equal to men, however, that the Islam threatens this progress. In principle, the PVV, like the LPF, portrays itself as pro-feminism and states that all sexes are equal. When looking at different events that the PVV used to spread their ideas, we see that the party shifts from a traditionalism to a femonationalism way of portraying women whenever it is desired. With the mass-assaults in Cologne, the PVV jumped into the matter and distributed resistance spray along with the message that we, the people of the Netherlands, should keep our women and other minorities safe. This act got the PVV a lot support. Cas Mudde's theory only applies for the PVV half of the time and could best be seen as the Wittgensteinian family resemblance theory; the theory applies to all populist parties, however, according to Wittgenstein, all populist parties resemble to each other but are not the same. The same concept of family resemblance applies for the theory of Cas Mudde, the theory only applies half of the time and to half of the statements the PVV makes.

4.2 Discussion

While writing this literature review, it soon became clear that populist parties like the PVV do not have gender on their agendas much. They only use it to solidify their arguments on the Islam, but do not mingle in the daily life gender discussions. This can be seen in the statement the PVV made on the gender law being discussed in the government: "This is not important enough to spend time on now." This causes for a small pool of information and evidence to support any arguments. If you cross-reference the searching terms "PVV" and "Gender" in a database like the Tilburg University Library or the LexisNexis Krantenbank, there are few to zero hits. On the other hand, there are a few very interesting scientific articles that do elaborate on the PVV and their stance on gender issues, those were very helpful. It also helped to search within those articles for their references and using those articles.

4.3 Limitations and Acknowledgements

The limitations of this literature review lie with the lack of research that already has been done in this area. Like previously mentioned, it is not possible to find a lot of evidence all supporting a single claim in the literature review since these articles do not exist yet. In the introduction I already mentioned it, 'This is a lacuna in our understanding'. This is why it might be better for future research to first do a sort of exploratory research.

Bibliography

- Beertema, H. (2016, Oktober 27). AO Emancipatie. PVV. Opgehaald van <https://www.pvv.nl/75-fj-related/harm-beertema/9324-ao-emancipatie.html>
- Bergkamp, V. (2012, September 3). Historisch Moment: Lijsttrekkers tekenen Roze Stembusakkoord. COC. Retrieved from <https://www.coc.nl/jouw-belangen/lijsttrekkers-willen-heikele-homozaken-binnen-jaar-regelen>
- Boomsma, K. (2013, Maart 8). PVV: bij eerwraak eerst arrestatie, dan pas bescherming. *Metro*, p. 5.
- Chrisafis, A., Connolly, K., & Giuffrida, A. (2019, Januari 29). From Le Pen to Alice Weidel: how the European far-right set its sights on women. *The Guardian* .
- Farris, S. R. (2017). *In The Name of Women's Rights: the rise of femonationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Freedon, M. (1998). Is Nationalism a Distinct Ideology? *Political Studies* , p. 750.
- Gerring, J. (1997). Ideology: a definitional analysis. *Political Research Quarterly*, 957–94.
- Ghosh, S. (2015). Gender Identity. *Pediatrics: Developmental and Behavioral Articles*, 1-100.
- Hekma, D., & Duyvendak, J. (2011). Queer Netherlands: a puzzling example. *Sexualities*, 625-631.
- Koopman, W. (2017). “Dus eigenlijk zouden al die feministen ook PVV moeten stemmen”. *Universiteit van Amsterdam*.
- Lange, S. L., & Mügge, L. M. (2015). Gender and right-wing populism in the Low Countries: ideological variations across parties and time. *GENDER AND POPULIST RADICAL-RIGHT POLITICS*, 61-80.
- Lange, S. L., & Mügge, L. M. (2015). Gender ideology: masculinism and feminalism by Georgia Duerst-Lahti, in Gender and right-wing populism in the Low Countries: ideological variations across parties and time. *GENDER AND POPULIST RADICAL-RIGHT POLITICS*, 61-80 .
- Mepschen, P., Duyvendak, J.W. & Tonkens, E. (2010). Sexual politics, orientalism and multicultural citizenship in the Netherlands. *Sociology*, 44(5), 962–979, in Koopman, W. (2017). “Dus eigenlijk zouden al die feministen ook PVV moeten stemmen”. *Universiteit van Amsterdam*.
- Money, J., Hampson, J. G., & Hampson, J. L. (1955). An Examination of Some Basic Sexual Concepts: The Evidence of Human Hermaphroditism. *Bull. Johns Hopkins Hosp.*, 301-319.
- Mudde, C. (2004). The Populist Zeitgeist. *Government & Opposition*, 1-24.
- Mudde, C. (2007). Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe. *Cambridge University Press*, 1-405.

- Mudde, C., & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2015). Vox populi or vox masculini? Populism and gender in Northern Europe and South America. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 16-36.
- Noack, R. (2016, juli 11). 2,000 men 'sexually assaulted 1,200 women' at Cologne New Year's Eve party. *Independent*.
- Redactie. (2018, juli 5). Genderideologie is door de Tweede Kamer, alleen SGP en PVV tegen. *Reformatorisch Dagblad*.
- Rydgren, J., & Holsteyn, J. v. (2005). Holland and Pim Fortuyn: A Deviant Case or the Beginning of Something New? Nova Science Publishers, Inc, 41-63.
- Vandenhoeck, & Ruprecht. (2011). *The Extreme Right in Europe: Current Trends and Perspectives*. Göttingen: Gmhb & co .
- BNN Vara. (2016, Januari 20). 'onze vrouwen' meppen mag best'. Opgehaald van BNN Vara, Joop <https://joop.bnnvara.nl/nieuws/pvv-onze-vrouwen-meppen-mag-best>
- Volkskrant, R. (2017, Januari 10). 'Keulen' levert Geert Wilders monsterscore op: 41 zetels. *Volkskrant*. Retrieved from: <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/keulen-levert-geert-wilders-monsterscore-op-41-zetels~b4b986f0/?referer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.nl%2F>
- Wilders, G. (2016, Januari 14). PVV deelt peperspray uit . *De Telegraaf*.
- Wilders, G. (2016). *Mannelijke asielzoekers opsluiten in AZC's*. Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=3&v=c7NshmTyizU&feature=emb_title.
- Wilders, G. (2016, 11 05). 'Nederland wordt van ons afgepakt. En ik pak het voor u terug'. Retrieved from: De Limburger: https://m.limburger.nl/cnt/dmf20161104_00028322/nederland-wordt-van-ons-afgepakt-en-ik-pak-het-voor-u-terug?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=twitter&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+LimburgerlimnlMobile+%28LimburgerLIMNL+Mobile%29
- Wilders, G. (2020). PVV partijprogramma . <https://www.pvv.nl/visie.html>.
- (Redactie,2013, friday 8). *internationale vrouwendag* . Retrieved from: <https://www.internationale-vrouwendag.nl/>