

# Masculinity in Dutch Populist Radical Right Leadership

## Online Supplement A – Code frequencies

Pim Fortuyn

Code	Documents with code	Segments with code
Gender - Islam threatens emancipation/women('s rights)	13	27
Gender - Essentializing roles	11	13
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Courageous	11	13
Masculinity - Overanalyzing/mansplaining	10	14
Masculinity - Overmasculinization Muslim/immigrant men	10	16
Leadership (current) - Weak	9	14
Hegemony (current) - Elitist, secretive, conspiratorial	8	13
Hegemony (envisioned) - Dutch identity central	8	11
Hegemony (envisioned) - Emancipated	8	20
Masculinity - Demasculinizing/belittling others	8	12
Masculinity - Modern/empathetic	8	13
Sexuality - Islam threatens homosexuality	8	12
Gender - Paternalizing	7	11
Hegemony (envisioned) - Social cohesion	7	8
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Honesty	7	8
Masculinity - Assumes victim role	7	13
Masculinity - Strength/conflict	7	13
Gender - Stereotypes	6	6
Hegemony (envisioned) - Modernity	6	16
Leadership (current) - Elitist (/ignore vox populi)	6	9
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Passion	6	7
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Populist / one of "us"	6	8
Masculinity - Exemplifying/glorifying men	6	11
Gender - Maternalism (+)	5	10
Hegemony (current) - Patriarchy/paternalism	5	9
Hegemony (envisioned) - Dutch come first	5	6
Hegemony (envisioned) - Homonormative	5	6
Leadership (current) - Bureaucratic	5	10
Leadership (current) - Pro-Islam / Helping Islamization	5	6
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Messianic	5	10
Masculinity - Necessity of strong leader	5	5
Sexuality - As identity	5	7
Gender - Women more homely	4	5
Hegemony (envisioned) - Gender equality	4	6
Leadership (current) - Career politicians	4	6
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Charisma	4	4
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Intellectual	4	6
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Sincerity	4	4
Masculinity - Degradation of women	4	6
Masculinity - Overmasculinization elites	4	6
Sexuality - Reason to enter politics	4	6
Sexuality - vs. religion (Christianity)	4	5
Gender - Paternalism (+)	3	5
Gender - Women lesser/weaker	3	3
Hegemony (current) - Islamization	3	4
Hegemony (current) - Lacking cohesion	3	4
Hegemony (current) - Law of the jungle	3	3
Hegemony (current) - Weak	3	3
Hegemony (envisioned) - (Judeo-)christian	3	3
Hegemony (envisioned) - Nostalgic	3	3
Leadership (current) - Dishonest	3	4
Leadership (current) - Paternalizing	3	5
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Peace	3	3
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Transparency	3	3
Sexuality - Homosexuality stand-in for female gender	3	4
Sexuality - vs. religion (Islam)	3	4
Hegemony (current) - Lack of identity/values/norms	2	2
Hegemony (envisioned) - Family values	2	3
Leadership (current) - Boring	2	2
Leadership (current) - Not emancipated (enough)	2	3
Leadership (current) - Stupid / dumb / incompetent	2	4
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Gay > straight men	2	3
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Modernity	2	3
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Responsibility	2	3
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Visionary	2	3
Masculinity - Nation under threat	2	7
Sexuality - Anti-chainmigration	2	4
Sexuality - Babyboomers	2	2
Sexuality - Modernity	2	2
Sexuality - Pro gay-rights	2	7
Gender - Defend/assume binary	1	1
Gender - Defend/assume non-binary	1	1
Gender - Gendering God	1	1
Hegemony (current) - Afraid of history	1	1
Hegemony (current) - Too feminist/too much emancipation	1	1
Hegemony (current) - Unfair for white/right-wing	1	1
Hegemony (envisioned) - Anti-multiculturalism	1	2
Hegemony (envisioned) - Manly men	1	1
Hegemony (envisioned) - Nationalism	1	1
Hegemony (envisioned) - Patriarchy/paternalism	1	1
Leadership (current) - Cartel	1	1
Leadership (current) - Disgusting / Sick	1	1
Leadership (current) - Populist	1	2
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Exceptional / Genius	1	1
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Grandeur	1	1
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Unruly/disobedient	1	1
Masculinity - Anti-emancipation	1	1
Masculinity - Anti-intellectual	1	2
Masculinity - Authority / natural leadership	1	2
Masculinity - Masculine Interests	1	1
Masculinity - Men feminized	1	1
Masculinity - Misogyny	1	2
Masculinity - Paternalism	1	2
Masculinity - Self-aggrandizing	1	1
Masculinity - Underdog	1	1
Masculinity - Vigilantism	1	1
Sexuality - Aggressive sexuality	1	1
Sexuality - Oversexualization Muslim/immigrant men	1	2
Sexuality - Pro-abortion	1	2
Sexuality - Pro-trans-rights	1	1
Sexuality - vs. individualism	1	1
Sexuality - vs. loneliness	1	1
Gender - Anti affirmative action	0	0
Gender - Gendering others	0	0
Gender - Islam threatens trans rights	0	0
Hegemony (current) - (Homeopathic) dilution of people/identity	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Fake news	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Oversensitive	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Too much immigration	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Unfair for men	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Anti-affirmative action	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Anti-emancipation	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Autocracy	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Christian/PRR alliances	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Closed borders	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Heteronormative	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Nativism (ethnic/biological whiteness)	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Sovereignty/Anti-EU	0	0
Leadership (current) - Evil/Enemy of the people	0	0
Leadership (current) - Totalitarian regime	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Men > women	0	0
Masculinity - Anti-diversity	0	0
Masculinity - Group composition mostly men	0	0
Masculinity - Hyperbole	0	0
Sexuality - Homophobic	0	0
Sexuality - Homosexuality as problem for society	0	0
Sexuality - Involuntary celibacy	0	0
Sexuality - Migrants/muslims more prolific	0	0
Sexuality - Muslims are pedophiles	0	0
Sexuality - Reason for moral decline	0	0
Sexuality - Too liberal/overemancipated	0	0
Sexuality - West "infertile"	0	0

# Masculinity in Dutch Populist Radical Right Leadership

## Online Supplement A – Code frequencies (continued)

### Geert Wilders

Code	Documents with code	Segments with code
Gender - Islam threatens emancipation/women('s rights)	50	71
Masculinity - Demasculinizing/belittling others	33	43
Masculinity - Nation under threat	33	38
Masculinity - Overmasculinization Muslim/immigrant men	31	54
Leadership (current) - Pro-Islam / Helping Islamization	25	29
Hegemony (envisioned) - (Judeo-)Christian	22	23
Leadership (current) - Weak	22	34
Hegemony (envisioned) - Christian/PRR alliances	20	28
Sexuality - Islam threatens homosexuality	19	26
Leadership (current) - Stupid / dumb / incompetent	18	24
Masculinity - Strength/conflict	18	23
Sexuality - Muslims are pedophiles	18	22
Hegemony (envisioned) - Nationalism	16	22
Sexuality - Oversexualization Muslim/immigrant men	16	33
Leadership (current) - Evil/Enemy of the people	14	19
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Populist / one of "us"	13	19
Hegemony (envisioned) - Dutch come first	12	14
Hegemony (envisioned) - Closed borders	10	18
Leadership (current) - Dishonest	10	13
Masculinity - Misogyny	10	13
Hegemony (envisioned) - Dutch identity central	9	10
Hegemony (envisioned) - Sovereignty/Anti-EU	9	9
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Courageous	9	11
Masculinity - Necessity of strong leader	9	10
Masculinity - Overanalyzing/mansplaining	9	12
Hegemony (current) - Elitist, secretive, conspiratorial	8	10
Hegemony (current) - Weak	8	8
Hegemony (envisioned) - Emancipated	8	11
Hegemony (envisioned) - Nativism (ethnic/biological whiteness)	8	9
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Messianic	8	9
Masculinity - Self-aggrandizing	8	8
Hegemony (envisioned) - Anti-multiculturalism	7	7
Leadership (current) - Elitist (/ignore vox populi)	7	11
Masculinity - Hyperbole	7	10
Sexuality - Migrants/muslims more prolific	7	7
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Unruly/disobedient	6	6
Hegemony (current) - Islamization	5	5
Hegemony (envisioned) - Heteronormative	5	9
Hegemony (envisioned) - Nostalgic	5	6
Leadership (current) - Totalitarian regime	5	5
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Grandeur	5	5
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Responsibility	5	5
Masculinity - Exemplifying/glorifying men	5	6
Gender - Essentializing roles	4	6
Hegemony (envisioned) - Gender equality	4	4
Leadership (current) - Boring	4	4
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Charisma	4	5
Masculinity - Assumes victim role	4	4
Sexuality - Pro gay-rights	4	5
Gender - Paternalizing	3	3
Leadership (current) - Bureaucratic	3	3
Leadership (current) - Disgusting / Sick	3	6
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Passion	3	5
Gender - Defend/assume binary	2	2
Hegemony (current) - Fake news	2	2
Hegemony (envisioned) - Autocracy	2	3
Leadership (current) - Career politicians	2	3
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Sincerity	2	2
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Visionary	2	2
Sexuality - Homophobic	2	2
Gender - Islam threatens trans rights	1	1
Gender - Paternalism (+)	1	3
Gender - Stereotypes	1	1
Hegemony (current) - Law of the jungle	1	1
Hegemony (current) - Oversensitive	1	1
Hegemony (current) - Too much immigration	1	1
Hegemony (envisioned) - Family values	1	1
Hegemony (envisioned) - Modernity	1	1
Hegemony (envisioned) - Patriarchy/paternalism	1	1
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Honesty	1	1
Masculinity - Authority / natural leadership	1	1
Masculinity - Degradation of women	1	1
Masculinity - Modern/empathetic	1	1
Masculinity - Overmasculinization elites	1	1
Masculinity - Paternalism	1	1
Sexuality - Modernity	1	1
Sexuality - Pro-abortion	1	1
Sexuality - Pro-trans-rights	1	1
Sexuality - vs. religion (Islam)	1	1
Gender - Anti affirmative action	0	0
Gender - Defend/assume non-binary	0	0
Gender - Gendering God	0	0
Gender - Gendering others	0	0
Gender - Maternalism (+)	0	0
Gender - Women lesser/weaker	0	0
Gender - Women more homely	0	0
Hegemony (current) - (Homeopathic) dilution of people/identity	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Afraid of history	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Lack of identity/values/norms	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Lacking cohesion	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Patriarchy/paternalism	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Too feminist/too much emancipation	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Unfair for men	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Unfair for white/right-wing	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Anti-affirmative action	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Anti-emancipation	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Homonormative	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Manly men	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Social cohesion	0	0
Leadership (current) - Cartel	0	0
Leadership (current) - Not emancipated (enough)	0	0
Leadership (current) - Paternalizing	0	0
Leadership (current) - Populist	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Exceptional / Genius	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Gay > straight men	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Intellectual	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Men > women	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Modernity	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Peace	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Transparency	0	0
Masculinity - Anti-diversity	0	0
Masculinity - Anti-emancipation	0	0
Masculinity - Anti-intellectual	0	0
Masculinity - Group composition mostly men	0	0
Masculinity - Masculine Interests	0	0
Masculinity - Men feminized	0	0
Masculinity - Underdog	0	0
Masculinity - Vigilantism	0	0
Sexuality - Aggressive sexuality	0	0
Sexuality - Anti-chainmigration	0	0
Sexuality - As identity	0	0
Sexuality - Babyboomers	0	0
Sexuality - Homosexuality as problem for society	0	0
Sexuality - Homosexuality stand-in for female gender	0	0
Sexuality - Involuntary celibacy	0	0
Sexuality - Reason for moral decline	0	0
Sexuality - Reason to enter politics	0	0
Sexuality - Too liberal/overemancipated	0	0
Sexuality - vs. individualism	0	0
Sexuality - vs. loneliness	0	0
Sexuality - vs. religion (Christianity)	0	0
Sexuality - West "infertile"	0	0

# Masculinity in Dutch Populist Radical Right Leadership

## Online Supplement A – Code frequencies (continued)

Thierry Baudet

Code	Documents with code	Segments with code
Masculinity - Overanalyzing/mansplaining	32	112
Hegemony (current) - Elitist, secretive, conspiratorial	30	81
Hegemony (envisioned) - Nostalgic	21	44
Leadership (current) - Evil/Enemy of the people	17	22
Masculinity - Demasculinizing/belittling others	17	34
Masculinity - Nation under threat	16	23
Gender - Islam threatens emancipation/women('s rights)	15	17
Hegemony (envisioned) - Christian/PRR alliances	15	27
Masculinity - Assumes victim role	15	46
Masculinity - Hyperbole	15	32
Masculinity - Misogyny	15	56
Masculinity - Strength/conflict	15	24
Hegemony (envisioned) - Dutch identity central	14	16
Hegemony (envisioned) - Nativism (ethnic/biological whiteness)	14	25
Leadership (current) - Dishonest	13	27
Hegemony (current) - Oversensitive	12	15
Hegemony (current) - Too feminist/too much emancipation	12	28
Hegemony (envisioned) - (Judeo-)Christian	12	17
Leadership (current) - Pro-Islam / Helping Islamization	12	14
Leadership (current) - Stupid / dumb / incompetent	12	18
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Courageous	12	14
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Populist / one of "us"	12	19
Hegemony (current) - Lack of identity/values/norms	11	17
Hegemony (envisioned) - Family values	11	19
Leadership (current) - Cartel	11	30
Masculinity - Exemplifying/glorifying men	11	21
Sexuality - Homophobic	11	18
Gender - Essentializing roles	10	28
Hegemony (current) - Afraid of history	10	13
Hegemony (current) - Too much immigration	10	23
Hegemony (envisioned) - Manly men	10	22
Leadership (current) - Elitist (/ignore vox populi)	10	14
Masculinity - Overmasculinization Muslim/immigrant men	10	16
Gender - Paternalizing	9	14
Hegemony (current) - Unfair for white/right-wing	9	23
Hegemony (envisioned) - Dutch come first	9	9
Hegemony (envisioned) - Heteronormative	9	14
Masculinity - Masculine Interests	9	11
Sexuality - Too liberal/overemancipated	9	10
Gender - Stereotypes	8	25
Hegemony (current) - Law of the jungle	8	10
Hegemony (envisioned) - Sovereignty/Anti-EU	8	20
Masculinity - Degradation of women	8	54
Hegemony (current) - Lacking cohesion	7	10
Hegemony (current) - Weak	7	10
Hegemony (envisioned) - Social cohesion	7	7
Leadership (current) - Weak	7	11
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Exceptional / Genius	7	7
Hegemony (current) - Islamization	6	9
Hegemony (current) - Unfair for men	6	29
Hegemony (envisioned) - Nationalism	6	8
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Messianic	6	12
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Passion	6	6
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Unruly/disobedient	6	13
Masculinity - Anti-emancipation	6	6
Masculinity - Necessity of strong leader	6	7
Gender - Defend/assume binary	5	6
Hegemony (current) - Fake news	5	19
Leadership (current) - Bureaucratic	5	6
Leadership (current) - Totalitarian regime	5	8
Masculinity - Men feminized	5	8
Masculinity - Vigilantism	5	6
Sexuality - Aggressive sexuality	5	18
Sexuality - Islam threatens homosexuality	5	5
Sexuality - Reason for moral decline	5	6
Gender - Women lesser/weaker	4	5
Hegemony (envisioned) - Anti-multiculturalism	4	7
Leadership (current) - Career politicians	4	4
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Grandeur	4	10
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Honesty	4	4
Masculinity - Anti-intellectual	4	5
Sexuality - Migrants/muslims more prolific	4	4
Gender - Anti affirmative action	3	3
Gender - Women more homely	3	5
Hegemony (envisioned) - Anti-affirmative action	3	3
Hegemony (envisioned) - Emancipated	3	4
Leadership (current) - Populist	3	3
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Charisma	3	4
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Intellectual	3	3
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Sincerity	3	3
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Visionary	3	4
Masculinity - Paternalism	3	7
Masculinity - Self-aggrandizing	3	3
Masculinity - Underdog	3	6
Sexuality - As identity	3	3
Sexuality - Homosexuality as problem for society	3	5
Hegemony (current) - (Homeopathic) dilution of people/identity	2	3
Hegemony (envisioned) - Anti-emancipation	2	4
Hegemony (envisioned) - Closed borders	2	3
Leadership (current) - Boring	2	3
Masculinity - Anti-diversity	2	2
Masculinity - Modern/empathetic	2	3
Sexuality - Anti-chainmigration	2	2
Sexuality - Involuntary celibacy	2	2
Sexuality - Pro gay-rights	2	2
Sexuality - vs. individualism	2	2
Sexuality - vs. religion (Islam)	2	4
Gender - Gendering God	1	1
Gender - Paternalism (+)	1	1
Hegemony (envisioned) - Autocracy	1	1
Hegemony (envisioned) - Gender equality	1	1
Hegemony (envisioned) - Patriarchy/paternalism	1	2
Leadership (current) - Disgusting / Sick	1	2
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Men > women	1	1
Masculinity - Group composition mostly men	1	1
Sexuality - Oversexualization Muslim/immigrant men	1	1
Sexuality - West "infertile"	1	2
Gender - Defend/assume non-binary	0	0
Gender - Gendering others	0	0
Gender - Islam threatens trans rights	0	0
Gender - Maternalism (+)	0	0
Hegemony (current) - Patriarchy/paternalism	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Homonormative	0	0
Hegemony (envisioned) - Modernity	0	0
Leadership (current) - Not emancipated (enough)	0	0
Leadership (current) - Paternalizing	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Gay > straight men	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Modernity	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Peace	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Responsibility	0	0
Leadership (self, envisioned) - Transparency	0	0
Masculinity - Authority / natural leadership	0	0
Masculinity - Overmasculinization elites	0	0
Sexuality - Babyboomers	0	0
Sexuality - Homosexuality stand-in for female gender	0	0
Sexuality - Modernity	0	0
Sexuality - Muslims are pedophiles	0	0
Sexuality - Pro-abortion	0	0
Sexuality - Pro-trans-rights	0	0
Sexuality - Reason to enter politics	0	0
Sexuality - vs. loneliness	0	0
Sexuality - vs. religion (Christianity)	0	0