

Gefjon Off, PhD

gefjon.off@uni-hamburg.de gefjonoff.com ORCID iD Google Scholar (257 citations, h-index: 6)

Research interests: Comparative politics, gender & politics, political behavior, radical right, young men

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

- Postdoctoral researcher in Comparative Politics at Hamburg University, DE since 04/25
- Postdoctoral researcher in Comparative Politics at Leuphana University Lüneburg, DE 07/23 - 09/25
- Visiting researcher at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, ES 11/22 - 01/23

EDUCATION

- PhD in Political Science, Gothenburg University, SE 09/19 - 09/23
Dissertation: "Contested feminism. Backlash and the radical right"
Supervisors: Amy Alexander, Nicholas Charron, Johanna Kantola
Defense opponent: Elisabeth Ivarsflaten
Grading committee: Lena Wängnerud, Monika Djerf-Pierre, Joakim Ekman
- M.Sc. in Economic Development, Lund University, SE 08/17 - 06/19
 - Elective courses at the Department of Gender Studies, Lund University
- B.A. (Cum Laude) in European Studies, Maastricht University, NL 09/13 - 06/16

BOOK

Alexander, Amy and **Gefjon Off** (2025). Attitudes Towards Political Authoritarianism in Economically Advanced Democracies: The Role of Gender Values and Norms. *Cambridge Elements in Gender & Politics*.

PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES

Heinze, Anna-Sophie and **Gefjon Off** (forthcoming). Mainstreaming vs. normalization: Towards more conceptual clarity on the relationship between mainstream parties and the far right. *European Journal of Political Research*.

Anduiza, Eva and **Gefjon Off** (forthcoming). Perceptions of feminism as a threat. *Politics & Gender*.

Off, Gefjon and Federico Trastulli (2025). Who prioritises what? Determinants and measurement of voters' issue prioritisation. *European Journal of Political Research*.

Mehring, Kathina, **Gefjon Off** and Katarzyna Wojnicka (2025). The populist radical right, the gender gap and protective masculinity across European countries. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*.

Alexander, Amy, Nicholas Charron and **Gefjon Off** (2025). Young men, gender labor market competition, and opposition to gender equality policy across 27 EU countries. *West European Politics*.

Off, Gefjon (2024). Multidimensional and intersectional cultural grievances over gender, sexuality and immigration. *European Journal of Political Research*.

Alexander, Amy, Nicholas Charron and **Gefjon Off** (2024). For every action a reaction? The polarizing effects of women's rights and refugee immigration. *European Journal of Political Research*.

Off, Gefjon (2023). Complexities and nuances in radical right voters' (anti)feminism. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*.

Off, Gefjon (2022). Gender equality salience, backlash and radical right voting in the gender-equal context of Sweden. *West European Politics*.

Off, Gefjon, Nicholas Charron & Amy Alexander (2022). Who perceives women's rights as threatening to men and boys? Explaining modern sexism among young men in Europe. *Frontiers in Political Science*.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Off, Gefjon, Amy Alexander and Nicholas Charron (2025). Gender Update: Is there a gender youth gap in far-right voting and cultural attitudes? *European Journal of Politics and Gender*.

Off, Gefjon (2024). Shifting Alliances: The Radicalization of Sweden's Mainstream Right and Implications for (Social) democracy. *Policy study written for the Foundation for European Progressive Studies*.

Off, Gefjon (2023). Contested Feminism: Backlash and the Radical Right. *PhD Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Gothenburg University*.

Off, Gefjon (2023). Book Review: Wronged and Dangerous: Viral Masculinity and the Populist Pandemic. By Karen Lee Ashcraft. *Politics & Gender*.

WORK IN PROGRESS

Protecting their privilege? Young men's increasing conservatism under a shifting balance in young women's competitiveness on the labor market (*with Amy Alexander and Nicholas Charron, under review*)

Do gender patterns differ between the ethnic majority and Muslim minorities? (*with Sanne van Oosten, preprint is available [here](#)*)

Social media consumption, party affiliation and antifeminist attitudes among young men and women across Europe (*with Amy Alexander and Nicholas Charron*)

The role of women candidates in legitimising and normalising far-right parties (*with Sofia Ammassari*)

AWARDS/RECOGNITION

- Shortlisted for Assistant Professor Tenure-Track position at the University of Vienna, May 2024
- Victor D'Hondt Prize 2022 for the best paper presented at the 7th Leuven PhD School on Elections, Paper: "Antifeminism with exceptions: How radical right voters use (anti-)feminist arguments for different political goals"

GRANTS

Major grants

- "Does advancing women's empowerment lead to perceptions of threat?" (with Nicholas Charron (PI) & Amy Alexander; 3,890,000 sek ≈ 357,000€ by the Swedish Research Council) 2023

Smaller grants

- University of Hamburg: Grant for financing third-party funding application writing (6990€) 2025
- Helge Ax:son Johnsons Foundation: Grant for research visit (25,000sek ≈ 2500€) 2022
- Wilhelm och Martina Lundgrens Vetenskapsfond: Grant for research visit (25,000sek ≈ 2500€) 2022
- Swedish Network for European Studies: Grant for research visit (29,500sek ≈ 2950€) 2022
- Stiftelsen Siamon: Research grant for interview study in East Germany (25,000sek ≈ 2500€) 2021
- Donation board scholarship: Travel grant for conferences (20,000sek ≈ 2000€) 2020
- Wilhelm och Martina Lundgrens Vetenskapsfond: Travel grant for summer schools (20,000sek ≈ 2000€) 2020
- Adlerbertska Stipendiestiftelsen: Travel grant (20,000sek ≈ 2000€) 2020

Total sum: ≈ 380,440€

INVITED SCIENTIFIC TALKS

Research

- "Do gender patterns differ between the ethnic majority and Muslim minorities?" - Talk at the Understanding Democracies Speaker Series, University of Münster (10/2025)
- "An overview of research on young men's gender attitudes" - Talk at a workshop on 'Gender and Attitudes Towards Gender Equality: A Generational Backlash', London (10/2025)
- "The Impact of Perceived Labor Market Competition on Young Men's Support for Gender Equality" - Talk at the Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics, Sciences Po Paris (10/2025)
- "Do gender patterns differ between the ethnic majority and Muslim minorities?" - The Progressive Politics Research Network, Berlin (09/2025)
- "Intersectionality in political behavior: Gender gaps among the ethnic majority and minorities" - Talk at the Department of Government, University of Bergen (11/2024)
- "Who supports (opposes) gender equality policy, and can different policy framings make a difference?" - Talk at the Hamburg University Political Science Seminar Series (04/2024)
- "Who prioritises what? Determinants and measurement of voters' issue prioritisation" - Talk at a workshop on 'How Divided is Europe?', Institute of Sociology, Goethe-University Frankfurt am Main (11/2023)
- "Women's perception of feminism as threatening" - Talk at a workshop on 'Gender Dynamics in Politics, the Workplace and Society', Political Science Department, Lund (09/2023)
- "Beyond anti-immigration: Understanding radical right voters' immigration, gender and sexuality grievances" - Talk at the Democracy, Elections and Citizenship research group, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (01/2023)

- “Explaining Opposition to Advancing Discriminated Groups by Zero-sum Perceptions. A Multi-Method Approach” - Talk at the Instituto de Políticas y Bienes Públicos, CSIC, Madrid (11/2022)
- “Perceived Discrimination by Those Structurally in Power” - Talk at the Comparative Politics Research Seminar, Department of Political Science, Lund University (10/2022)

Civil Society & Government

- “Antifeminism among young men” - Talk at Feminist Forum 2025, The Left in the European Parliament, Brussels (03/2025)
- “Voter potential of the mainstream right, populist radical right, and social democracy” - Roundtable participation at the Foundation for European Progressive Studies & Karl-Renner-Institut, Vienna (04/2024)
- Panel participation in Sweden’s biggest gender equality conference ‘Forum Jämställdhet’ with researchers, practitioners, activists and politicians, panel on young men’s antifeminism (02/2024)
- “Who opposes feminist policy, and why? (And what’s up with young men?)” - Talk at the Swedish Gender Equality Agency, Gothenburg (10/2023)
- “Contentious feminism after #MeToo” - Talk at Gothenburg Fredrika Bremer Association, Sweden’s oldest women’s rights organisation (04/2023)

SCIENTIFIC TALKS AT CONFERENCES & WORKSHOPS

- Annual Conference of the European Political Science Association (EPSA), Madrid (06/2025)
- ECPR Joint Sessions, Prague (05/2025)
- 2025 Biannual Quality of Government (QoG) conference, Hamburg (02/2025)
- 2024 APSA Annual Meeting & Exhibition, Philadelphia (09/2024)
- European Conference of Politics and Gender, Ghent (07/2024)
- Annual Conference of the European Political Science Association (EPSA), Cologne (07/2024)
- ECPR Joint Sessions, Leuphana University of Lüneburg (03/2024)
- Jornada de Comportament Polític i Opinió Pública, University of Barcelona (11/2023)
- Workshop: How Divided is Europe?, Institute of Sociology, Goethe-University Frankfurt am Main (11/2023)
- Workshop: Gender Dynamics in Politics, the Workplace and Society, Political Science Department, Lund (09/2023)
- Annual Conference of the European Political Science Association (EPSA), Glasgow (06/2023)
- Biannual Quality of Government (QoG) conference, Copenhagen (01/2023)
- Biannual Quality of Government (QoG) conference, Gothenburg (08/2022)
- European Conference on Politics and Gender, Ljubljana (07/2022)
- Biannual conference, Gothenburg Research Group on Elections, Public Opinion and Political Behaviour (05/2022)
- Politics & Gender workshop, Gothenburg (02/2022)
- Biannual Quality of Government (QoG) conference, Gothenburg (02/2022)
- Nordic Political Science Association (NOPSA), Reykjavik (08/2021)
- International Political Science Association (IPSA), Lisbon (07/2021)
- 10th Laboratory for Comparative Social Research (LCSR) International Workshop, Moscow (04/2021)
- Swedish Political Science Association (SWEPSA), Östersund/ Sundsvall (09/2020)
- Biannual Quality of Government (QoG) conference, Gothenburg (08/2020)
- Swedish Network of European Studies workshop, Lund (02/2020)

UNIVERSITY TEACHING

Bachelor level teaching

Development & lead of full courses:

- Introduction to Political Science (Research Design), Hamburg University (*GER, 2025-*)
- Gender and Politics, Hamburg University (*ENG, 2025-*)
- The Political Behavior of Marginalized Groups, Hamburg University (*ENG, 2025-*)
- Gender and Political Behavior, Leuphana University Lüneburg (*ENG, 2024*)

Teaching assistance (Gothenburg University):

- Swedish Politics in a Comparative Perspective: Gender, the Welfare State & the Radical Right (*lecturer, seminar leader, examiner, ENG, 2020-23*)
- Research Design, Thematic Focus: Political Parties (*seminar leader, examiner, SWE, 2022*)

Master level teaching

- Research Seminar - Preparing for Master Thesis Writing, Hamburg University (*co-lead, GER, 2025-*)
- Introduction to Applied Research Design and Quantitative Research, Gothenburg University (*teaching assistance, ENG, 2020-21*)

Thesis supervision

- 19 Bachelor thesis supervisions in Political Science & European Studies (*ENG, SWE, GER, 2020-*)
- 5 thesis supervisions on the teachers' degree for Social Science teachers (*SWE, 2020-21*)
- 10 Master thesis (co-)supervisions on Political Science and European Studies (*ENG, 2020-*).
2 award-winning theses:
 - 2021 Rutger Lindahl Award for Best Master's Thesis in European Studies, Gothenburg University: Lundén, Clara (2021). Welfare chauvinism, a privilege of the wealthy?
 - 2022 Henrik and Karolina von Mentzer Award for Best Master Thesis, Gothenburg University: Mehring, Kathina (2022). Protective masculinity and the populist radical right.

SERVICE & COMMISSIONS OF TRUST

Reviewer for *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *West European Politics*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Electoral Studies*, *European Sociological Review*, *Political Behavior*, *European Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Sociology*, *Politics & Gender*, *European Journal of Politics & Gender*, *Sex Roles*, *European Societies*, *European Union Politics*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Swiss Political Science Review*, *PLOS One*, *Political Research Exchange*, *Social Science Research*, *Mobilization*, *Political Studies Review*, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, *YOUNG: Nordic Journal of Youth Research*.

- Section chair at the European Conference for Politics and Gender 2026
- Member of hiring committee for a senior lecturer, Hamburg University 08/25 - 09/25
- Organizer of the Comparative Politics internal research colloquium, Hamburg University since 04/25
- Member of hiring committee for a junior professorship, Leuphana University 02/24 - 04/24
- Co-organizer of the Party Research Seminar Series, Gothenburg University 01/22 - 06/23
- Secretary of Social Science PhD Council, Gothenburg University 09/21 - 01/23
- PhD representative, Social Science Advisory Committee for Research & Postgraduate Studies, Gothenburg University 03/21 - 01/23
- PhD representative of Political Science, Social Science PhD Council, Gothenburg University 09/20 - 01/23

Academic blog posts

Radical right voters' grievances over immigration, feminism and LGBTQI+ rights. Blog post for Eurac Research. March 2024.

How do radical right voters think about feminism and gender equality? Blog post in The Oxford University Politics Blog's Special Series on the Rise of the Radical Right and Strongman Politics. November 2023.

The Swedish elections: Takeaways for the study of illiberalism. Blog post in ECPR's Political Science Blog - The Loop. September 2022.

How conservatives react against feminist mobilisations and turn to the radical right. Blog post in ECPR's Political Science Blog - The Loop. July 2022.

Participation in podcasts

Snubbarna är de nya gubbarna! Kära trätoämne by Allbright. September 2025.

Right turns and left leans: A new gender divide in young voters? FEPS Talks. December 2024.

Gender Gap: Werden junge Männer konservativer? (Translates to: Are young men becoming more conservative?) Deutschlandfunk Systemfragen. April 2024.

What's driving Gen Z men and women apart? Highlight. February 2024.

Hur påverkar inställningen till jämställdhet politiken? (Translates to: How do attitudes towards gender equality affect politics?) Fannys Förebilder. August 2023.

Varför är unga män kritiska till jämställdhet? (Translates to: Why are young men critical of gender equality?) Vad Vi Vet idag. November 2022.

Modern sexism in Europe. Europe Talks Back. September 2022.

Media interviews (selection)

In den 50er, 60er Jahren waren Frauen eher konservativer als Männer (Translates to: In the 50s and 60s, women tended to be more conservative than men). Radio interview with Hessischer Rundfunk. March 2025.

Hausfrauen und Ernährer – Erleben wir die Rückkehr zu alten Rollenbildern? (Translates to: Housewives and breadwinners - are we experiencing a return to old role models?). Radio interview with Deutschlandfunk Lebenszeit. March 2025.

"Féministes" contre "masculinistes"? Le fossé entre jeunes femmes et hommes est plus complexe qu'il n'en a l'air (Translates to: "Feminists" versus "masculinists"? The gap between young women and men is more complex than it seems). Interview with Julie Rausis for Radio Télévision Suisse. March 2025.

Spørgsmålet om feminisme splitter unge vælgere som aldrig før: »Jeg synes, det går for vidt« (Translates to: The issue of feminism is dividing young voters like never before: "I think it goes too far"). Interview with Tine Kirkensgaard for Denmark's leading daily newspaper Politiken. February 2025.

Expertentalk zur Bundestagswahl (Translates to: Expert talk on the German general elections). Live online panel discussion with Tagesspiegel. February 2025.

Aproximação com a extrema direita não tirou votos de conservadores na reta final da eleição na Alemanha, diz especialista (Translates to: Closer ties with the far right did not take votes away from conservatives in the final stretch of the German election, says expert). Interview with Kathlen Barbosa for Brazil's leading daily newspaper O Globo. February 2025.

Sorgenkind junger Mann (Translates to: Young men, the problem children). Interview with Tanya Falenczyk for Spiegel. February 2025.

*Expert*innen – Debatten- und Diskussionskultur in Lüneburg – wie möchten wir (politisch) miteinander umgehen?* (Translates to: Debate culture in Lüneburg – how would we like to interact with each other when it comes to politics?). Panel discussion with Radio ZUSA, a local radio broadcaster in the Lüneburg region. January 2025.

Junge Männer sind rechts, junge Frauen links – was ist dran? (Translates to: Young men are on the right, young women on the left - is it true?). Interview with Benjamin Fuchs for *Perspective Daily*. May 2024.

Jongens verrechtsen, meisjes verlinksen: is de genderkloof bij Gen Z straks onoverbrugbaar? (Translates to: Boys far right, girls left: will the Gen Z gender gap soon be unbridgeable?). Interview with Peter Casteels for *Knack*. March 2024.

Los jóvenes son antifeministas porque creen que salen perdiendo en el mercado laboral (Translates to: Young men are anti-feminist because they think they are losing out in the labour market). Interview with Héctor García Barnés for *El Confidencial*. February 2024.

Unga män hotade av kvinnors ökade rättigheter. (Translates to: Young men threatened by advances in women's rights).

Interview with Charlotta Janson Josephsson for *Kvinnotryck*, a magazine produced by Sweden's National Organisation for Women's Shelters and Young Women's Shelters. June 2023.

Forskning: Svenska unga män moderna sexister. (Translates to: Research: Swedish young men [are] modern sexists). Interview with Ellinor Skagegård for *Svenska Dagbladet*. November 2022.

Unga män känner sig mest hotade av jämställdhet. (Translates to: Young men feel most threatened by gender equality). TV interview for Swedish broadcaster *TV4*. October 2022.

Har kvinnors rättigheter gått för långt? (Translates to: Have women's rights gone too far?) Interview for the Swedish newspaper *Aftonbladet*'s Instagram and TikTok channels. October 2022.

Genervt von der Frauenförderung. (Translates to: Annoyed by the promotion of women). Interview with Bettina Weber for *SonntagsZeitung* (Switzerland). October 2022.

Unga killar känner sig mest hotade av ökade rättigheter för kvinnor. (Translates to: Young men feel most threatened by advances in women's rights). Interview for radio show *P3 Nyheter*. September 2022.

Young men less accepting of increasing rights for women, study claims. Interview for *Radio Sweden*. September 2022.

Ny studie: Unga män mest negativa till ökade rättigheter för kvinnor. (Translates to: New study: Young men are most negative towards advances in women's rights). Interview with Olle Bergvall for *Dagens Arena*. September 2022.

Grootste seksisten? Niet de boomers, maar jonge mannen voelen zich meest bedreigd door gendergelijkheid. (Translates to: Biggest Sexists? Not the boomers, but young men feel most threatened by gender equality). Interview with Jorn Lelong for *De Morgen*. August 2022.

OTHER RELEVANT SKILLS

- Languages: German (native), English (fluent, academic), French (B2), Swedish (B2), Spanish (B1)
- Programming & Software: Stata (advanced), R (basic), \LaTeX , Qualtrics

OTHER RELEVANT PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- Freelance Writer, Orange by Handelsblatt (German online youth magazine) 2017-2019
- Research Assistant for Luis Serratos, Department of Economic History, Lund University Spring 2018

November 2025