

# **Extremism and the Gender Gap: Explaining Women's Increasing Internationalism**

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# **Traditional Gender Gap in Support for International Economic Integration**

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- International trade (Guisinger 2009; Mansfield and Mutz 2009; Mayda and Rodrik 2005; Scheve and Slaughter 2001)

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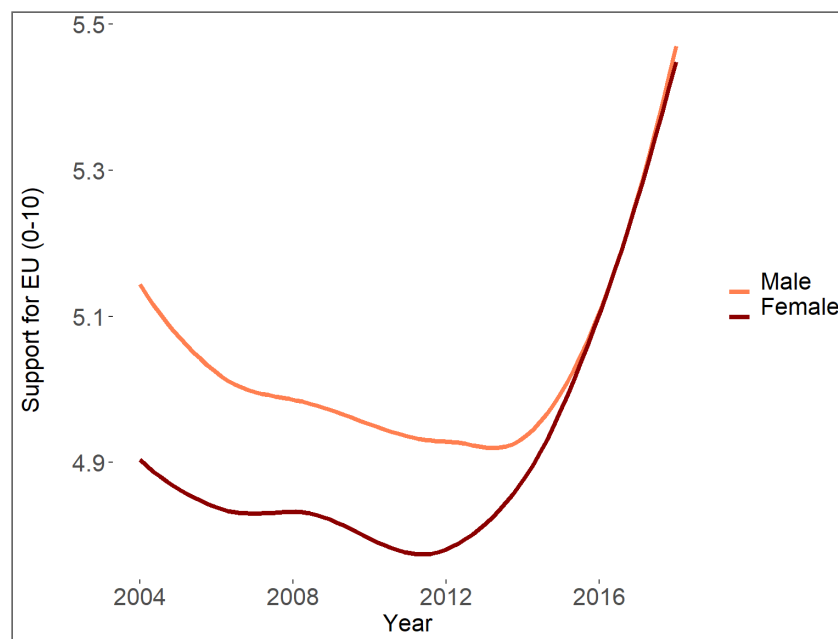
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- European integration (Gabel 1998; Liebert 1999; Nelsen and Guth 2000)

# Traditional Gender Gap in Support for International Economic Integration

- International trade (Guisinger 2009; Mansfield and Mutz 2009; Mayda and Rodrik 2005; Scheve and Slaughter 2001)
- European integration (Gabel 1998; Liebert 1999; Nelsen and Guth 2000)
- (Some types of) immigration (O'Rourke and Sinnott 2006; Ponce 2017)

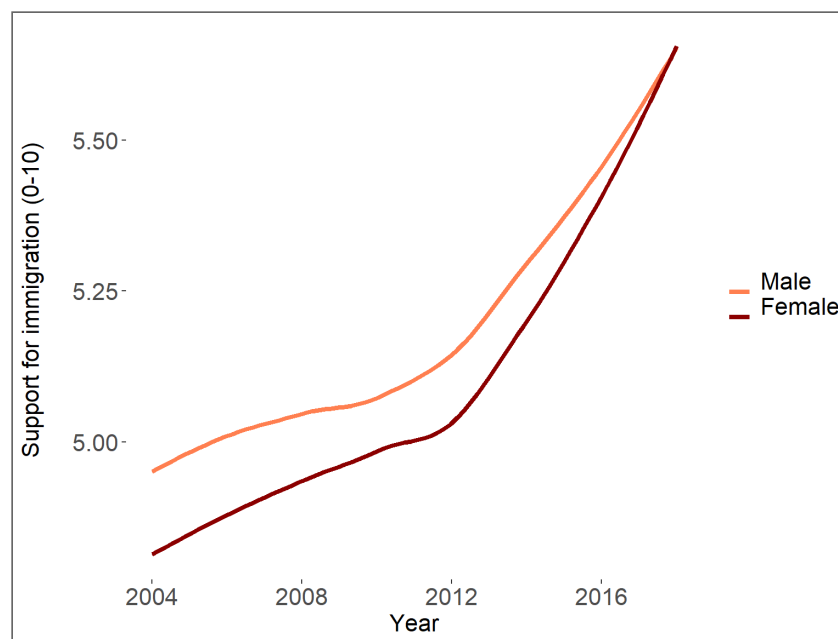
# Gender Gap in Western Europe Over Time

Support for European integration



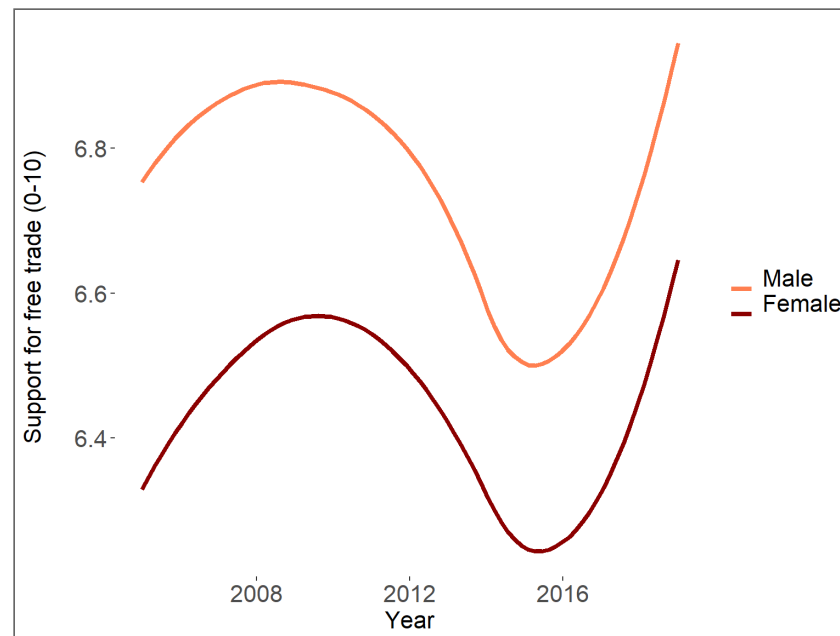
# Gender Gap in Western Europe Over Time

Support for immigration



# Gender Gap in Western Europe Over Time

Support for free trade





# Existing Explanations for Gender Gap

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- EU: Lack of knowledge (Nelsen and Guth 2000); responsiveness to gender mainstreaming (De Vries 2018)
- Immigration: Threat to gender equality (Ponce 2017)

# Argument

Narrowing of gender gap due to increased linking of **anti-internationalism** to **right-wing extremism** as populist radical right becomes more prominent

# Argument

Linking of anti-internationalism to right-wing extremism in public discourse

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Increased internationalism among people who reject right-wing extremism

# Argument

Higher sensitivity to social norms and discomfort with political extremism among women (Harteveld and Ivarsflaten 2016; Harteveld et al. 2017; Mayer 1999; Oshri et al. 2022)



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Change in public discourse around anti-internationalism

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Change in public discourse around anti-internationalism



Internationalism increases **more strongly** among women than men

# Hypothesis

H1: The effect of closer links between anti-internationalism and right-wing extremism in public discourse on support for international economic integration will be stronger among women than among men.

# Research Design

Study 1: Cross-national media and survey analysis

Study 2: Unexpected event during survey design in UK

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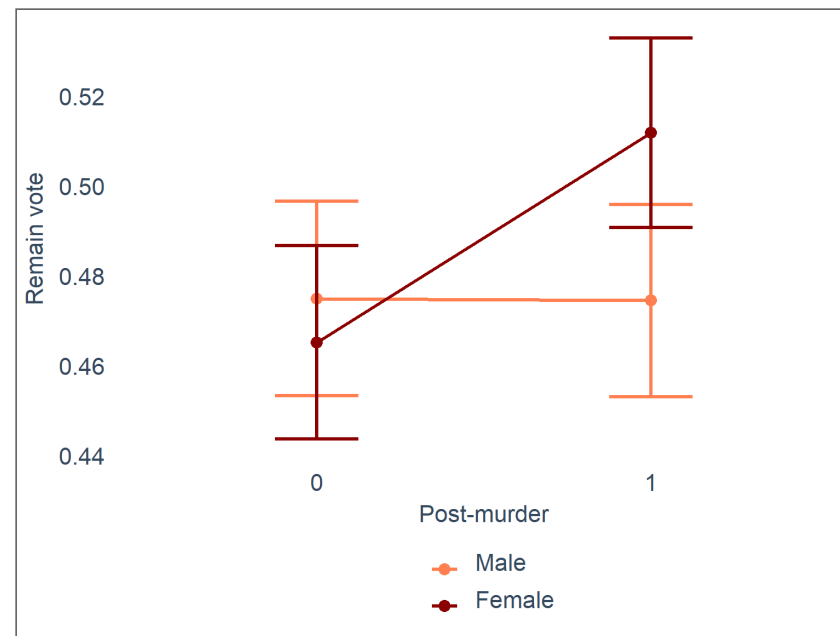
# Research Design: Study 2

- Unexpected event during survey design: murder of UK MP Jo Cox in June 2016
- Unexpected shock that concentrated association between **anti-internationalism** and **right-wing extremism** in public discourse
- Timing of British Election Study (BES) allows me to compare responses collected immediately prior to the murder to those collected immediately afterwards, by gender



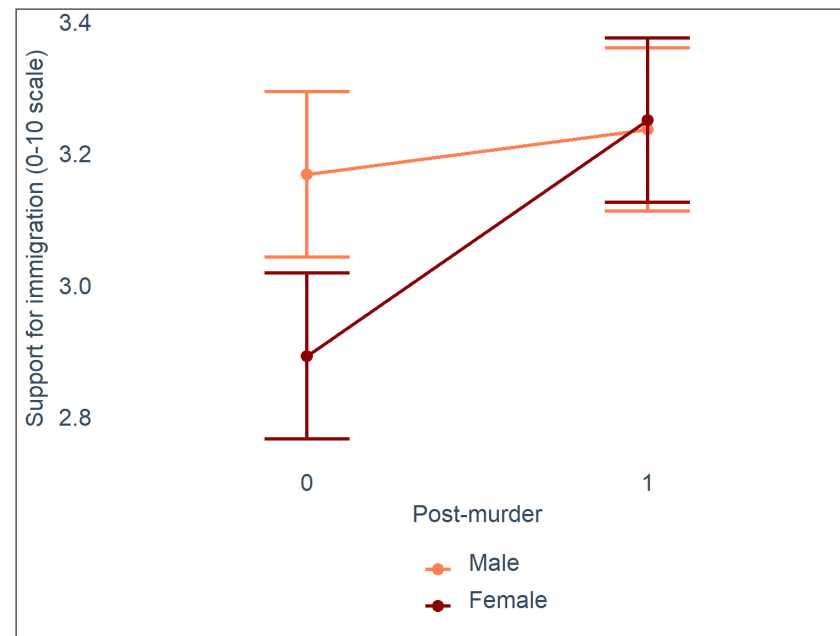
# Results: Study 2

Effect of murder on support for EU by gender



## Results: Study 2

Effect of murder on support for immigration by gender



# Conclusion

- When anti-internationalism becomes linked to extremism, the gender gap in support for international economic integration narrows

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- When anti-internationalism becomes linked to extremism, the gender gap in support for international economic integration narrows
- Supported by cross-national analysis in Western Europe
- Importance of (changing) relationship between gender and the populist radical right

Thank you!

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