

Ideological Gender Gap in Argentina: Implications and Future Research



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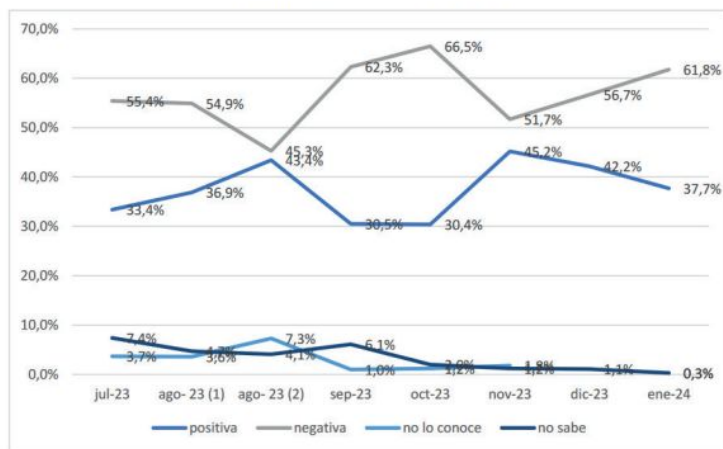
Gender gap

- There is a consensus on the existence of a strong gender gap in ideological preferences in Argentina.
- The most concrete example on the gender gap is found in voting patterns for Javier Milei.

Gender gap on evaluation of Javier Milei

Figura 5

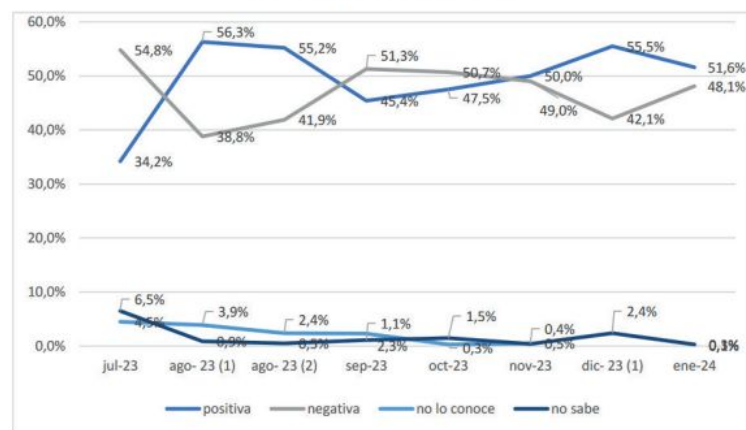
Imagen Milei (según las mujeres) 2023-2024



Fuente: Elaboración propia sobre la base de datos tomados de Zuban Córdoba y Asoc., 2023-2024.

Figura 6

Imagen Milei (según los varones) 2023-2024

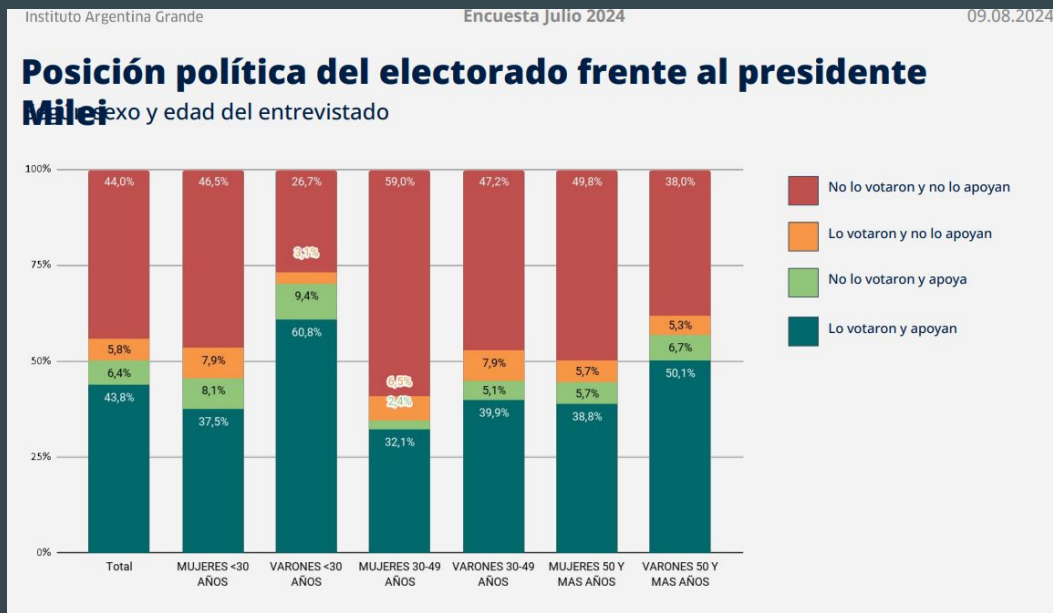


Fuente: Elaboración propia sobre la base de datos tomados de Zuban Córdoba y Asoc., 2023-2024.

Javier Milei's image among women (left) and men (right)
(Zuban, 2024: 171-72)

Gender gap in voting

- The core of Javier Milei's coalition of support are **young men (16-29)** of all social classes.

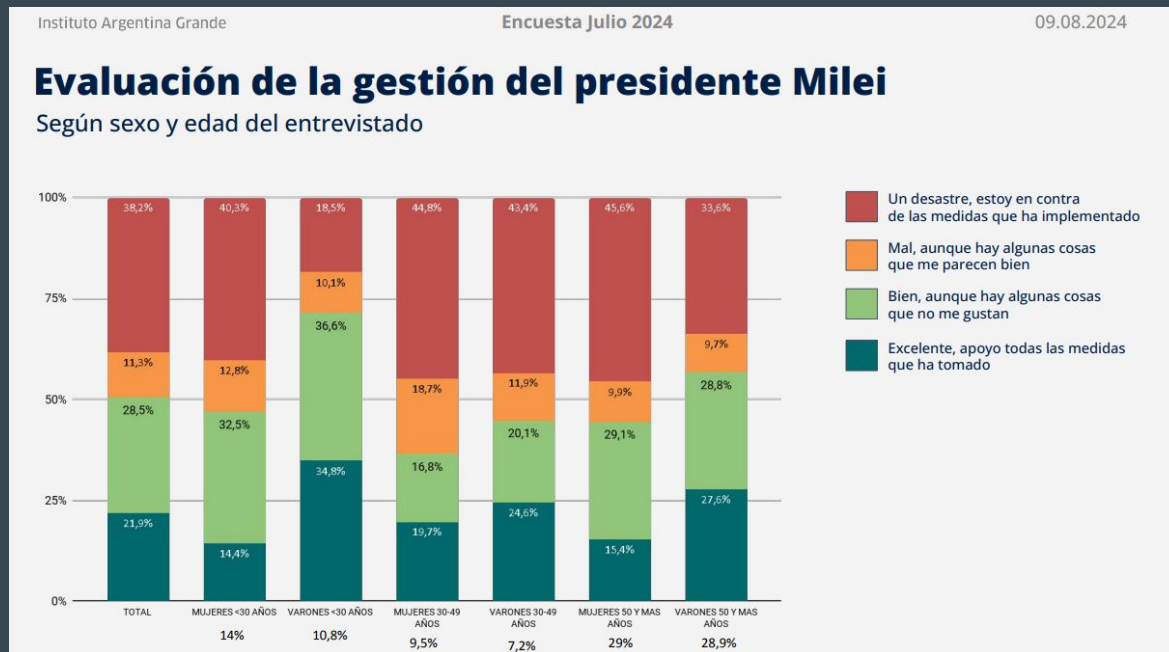


Source: Survey conducted by Argentina Patria Grande and Quilmes University, July 2024

Gender gap in support for Milei's government

The core of the opposition to Milei are women of reproductive age.

Source: Survey conducted by Argentina Patria Grande and Quilmes University, July 2024



Milei's Anti Gender Agenda

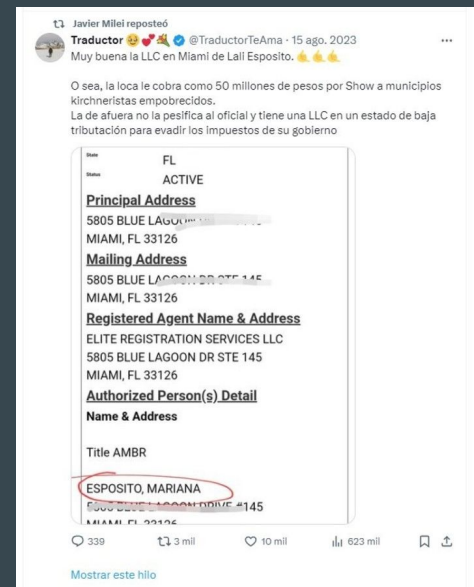
- Milei was the most extreme anti-gender candidate and is the most extreme anti-gender president in South America.
- Closed the Ministry for Women and Diversity, voted against gender initiatives at the UN and OAS, closed or defunded the anti-gender violence programs, defunded or closed the very successful anti-teenage pregnancy campaign ENIA.
- Broke down with historical Argentine diplomacy to vote against the UN initiative “Pact for the Future”, voting with usia, Irán, Corea del Norte, Bielorrusia, Siria, Sudán y Nicaragua.
- While the government has not sought to roll back the legalization of abortion, it has completely defunded the program.

Identification through macho populism



- Recurrent performance of aggression against women
- Recurrence of **usage of rhetorical images of sexual aggression**

Use of presidential communicative power against women



Milei, the “loser Messiah”

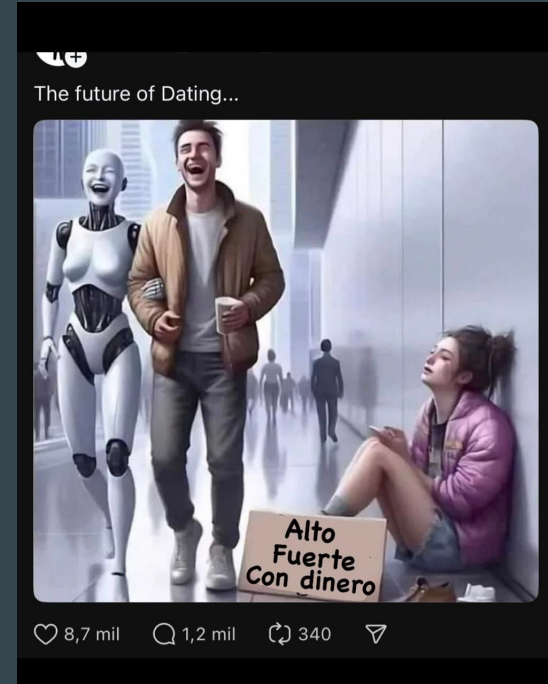


- Javier Milei: never married, lives alone with a sister and dogs.
- Constructed a personal narrative of having been rejected and wounded while young.
- Dropped out of UBA, rejected at the Central Bank, come back from defeat to “make zurdos” and “feminazis” cry.

Some possible causes for the gender gap

1. Maybe differential socialization and participation in community?

- According to Javier Balsa (2024), support for Milei is **strongly correlated** with feelings of alienation, inadequacy and isolation in young men.
- **60% of young male Milei's voters claimed to have problems relating to women "because of feminism's fault".**
- Most of that 60% opted for not seeking out interactions with women.
- According to Balsa, in a survey of University of Quilmes students, voting for Milei was highly correlated with feelings of "having no place in the world" and feeling that "everyone has a place but me".
- Also, feeling that "men have no proper identity identity of their own".
- Young men feel that feminism **gave women a community from which they are excluded** (Fundación Reina Sofía, 2022).



Participación en colectivos

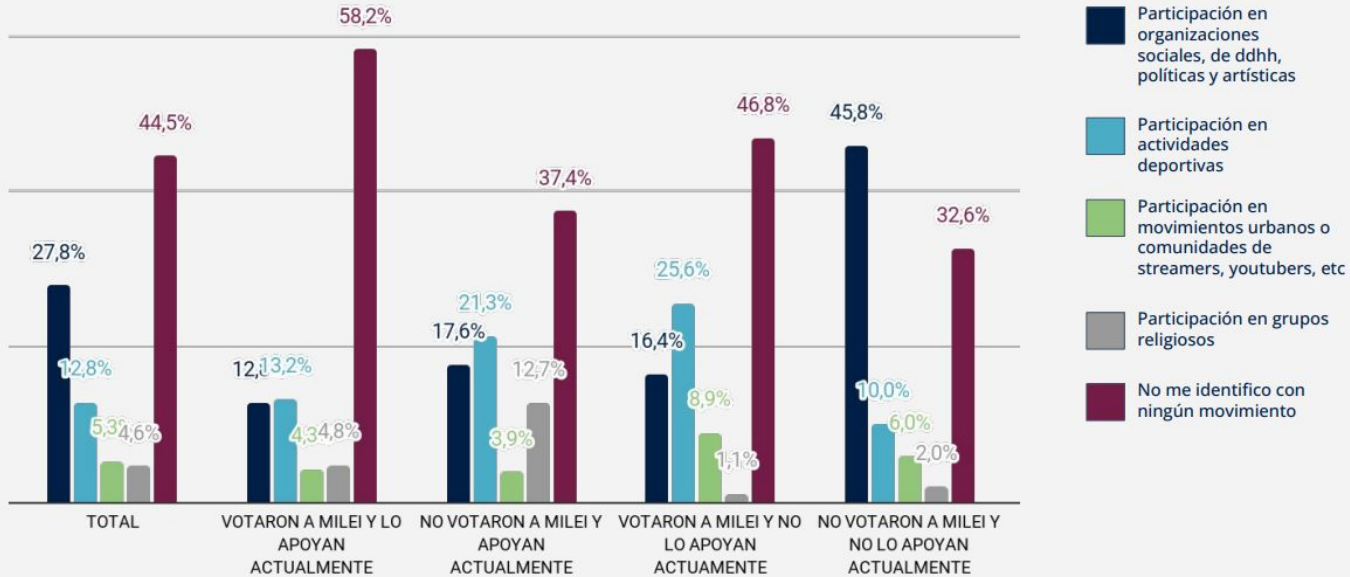
Según sexo por edad del entrevistado



- 41% of women under thirty years old participate in some kind of social, political, human rights or artistic organization. Only 22% of young men do.
- Only 24% of young women do not participate in any kind of communal activity.

Participación en colectivos

Según voto Milei 2023 por apoyo actual al gobierno



- Opposition to Milei is **correlated** with participation in any kind of collective activity.

- Source: Survey conducted by Argentina Patria Grande and Quilmes University, July 2024

The core of the opposition to Milei are young women



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2. Maybe feminism created a kind of “imagined community” for women?

- Even though the backlash against feminism was felt also among women, there is a “stickiness” to the sense of belonging given by the feminist collective.



3. The responsibilities of caring

- Maybe women tend to be more attuned to solidarity and social empathy because of their much bigger involvement with the economy of caring.

Why Argentina and not Chile?

- Rovira Kaltwasser et al, 2024.
- Maybe the backlash is stronger in Argentina because the gains were also bigger: Ni una Menos, Ley Micaela, Legalized abortion.
- Maybe the “estallido” opened an avenue for a more “gender neutral” sense of rebellion.
- Maybe social media is structured differently.
- Maybe Chile will have its own “Milei” down the road.
- However, the political gender gap is present in many other countries, such as Mexico, the US, Poland, etc.

Participation: possible antidote against “Matrix Fascism”?

- Hate to get all Putnamian all of a sudden, but ...
- Social media and the pandemic: social isolation.
- **Women are just compelled to get into the world more, because of caring responsibilities?**
- **Women enjoy being with others more, even though public spaces are less safe?**
- **Extreme right wing government offensive against all public spaces: public universities, social sport clubs, drag shows, libraries, even public transportation.**
- Big question: How can we **foster participation in any kind of public spaces?**



Conclusion

- Can gender be a political cleavage, Lipset and Rokkan Style?
- What will the consequences be for the political party systems?
- Through history, every moment of advancement of gender and diversity rights created its own backlash.
- 1930s: the rise of Fascism was connected with a reaction against the social advancement of the 1920s. Same for the neo-liberal reaction of the early 1980s.
- Can the backlash roll back gains to a historically-significant degree? Silvia Federici and other feminist historians have made the case that it is possible.
- Containment of backlash and defensive strategies.
- Participation in public spaces and public communities of any kind.

References

- Argentina Patria Grande and Quilmes University (2024) *Encuesta Julio 2024*.
- Balsa, J. (2024) *Porqué ganó Milei*. Buenos Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Rovira Kaltwasser, Espinoza, C., Meléndez, C., Tanscheit, T., Zanotti, L. (2024) *Apoyo y rechazo a la ultraderecha. Estudio comparado sobre Argentina, Brasil y Chile*. <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/chile/21406.pdf>
- Zuban, P. (2024) “El género como nuevo objeto de estudio en el comportamiento del voto: el caso Argentina 2023”. *Revista Perspectivas*. 10, 163-179.