

**Ideology and Gender Role Incongruity**  
*Resilience and Rise of Parties under Authoritarianism*

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**WHY DO WE CARE?** The world is undergoing a “Third Wave of Autocratization.”

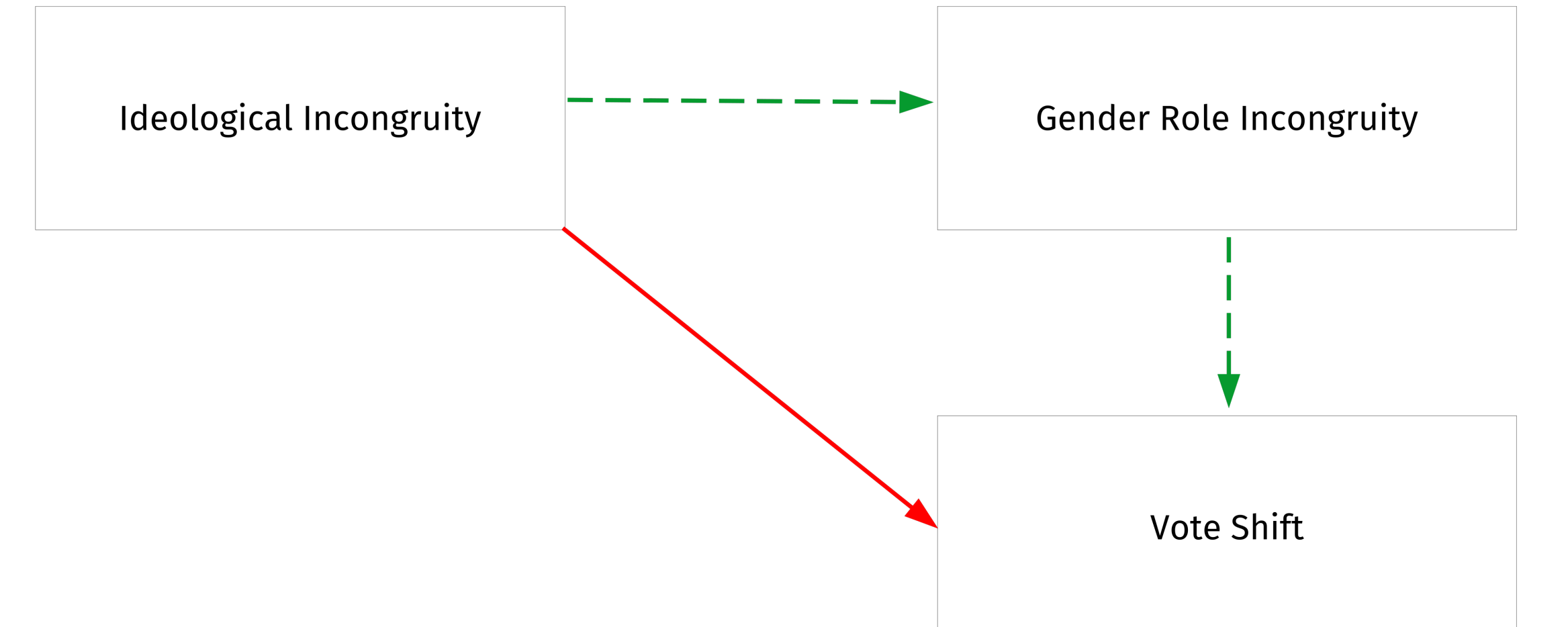
**IMPORTANCE, RELEVANCE, and APPLICABILITY:**

- One of the worst cases of autocratization
- Educational gender gap is prevalent in many countries, and will be among the determining factors of democratization in developing countries
- The research design with sub-national emphasis and a relatively easy-to-measure indicator can be scaled for other contexts

**RESEARCH QUESTION**

- What explains the resilience of HDP? What explains the rise of IYI?
- Is it the weakening of support for AKP?
- Or, alternatively, can we explain these developments through the salience of gender for these parties?

**THEORY**



**HYPOTHESES**

- H1: The vote shift to IYI and HDP is shaped by ideological incongruity at the district level
- H2: Educational gender gap moderates the effect of ideological incongruity in shaping the vote shift

*Observable Implication:* Emphasis on female candidates will moderate the effect of educational gender gap in determining vote shares

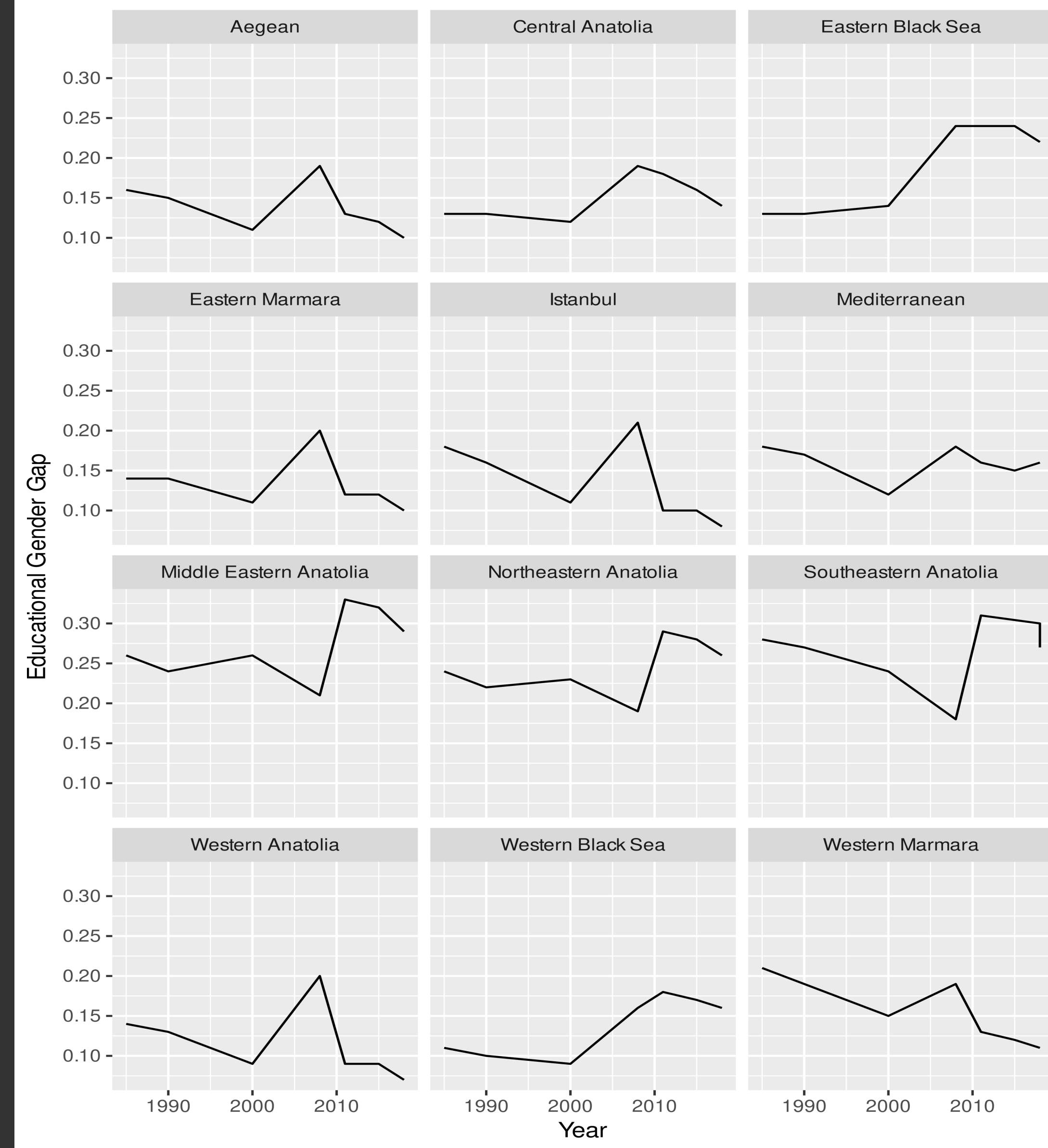
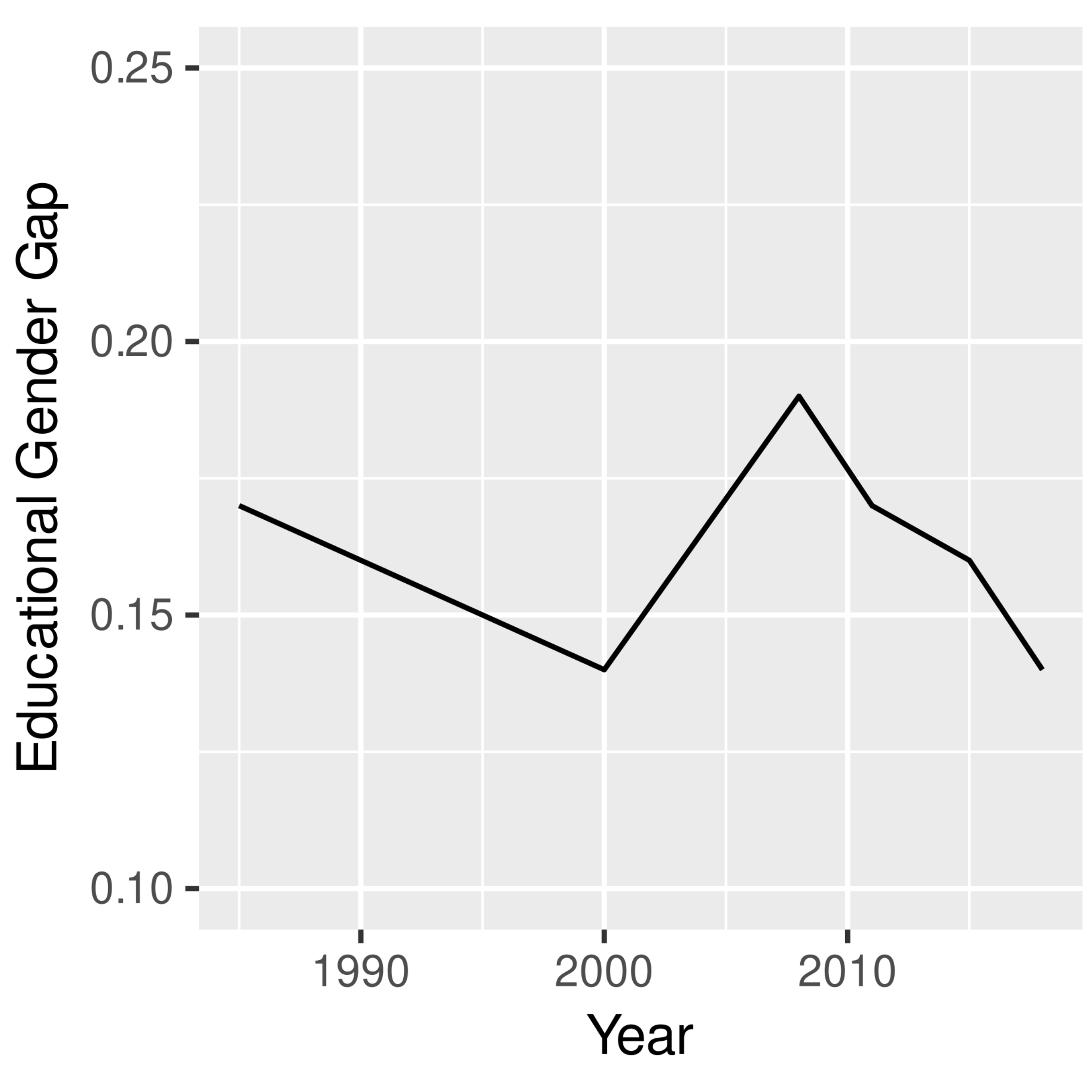
**DATA & METHOD**

1. Cross-section dataset on 969 districts
2. Main IV: Educational Gender Gap
3. Method: Spatial Error Model

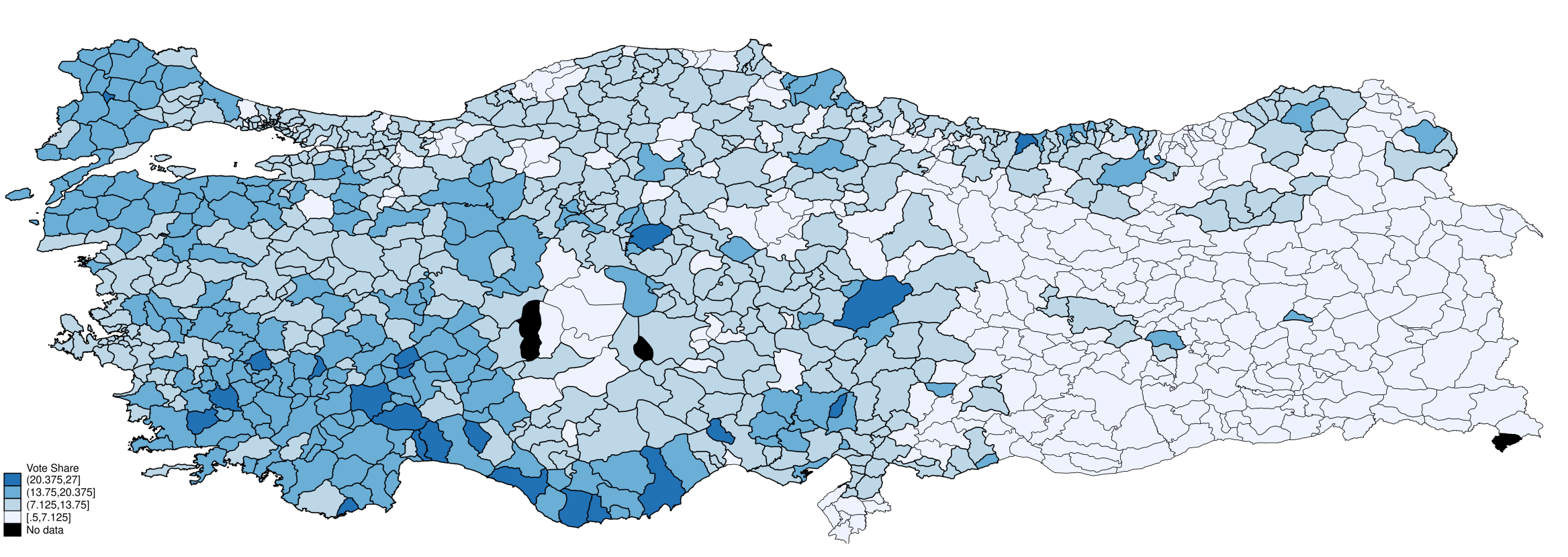
**RESULTS**

Both hypotheses supported, additional implication supported for HDP only due to greater emphasis of that party on female candidates

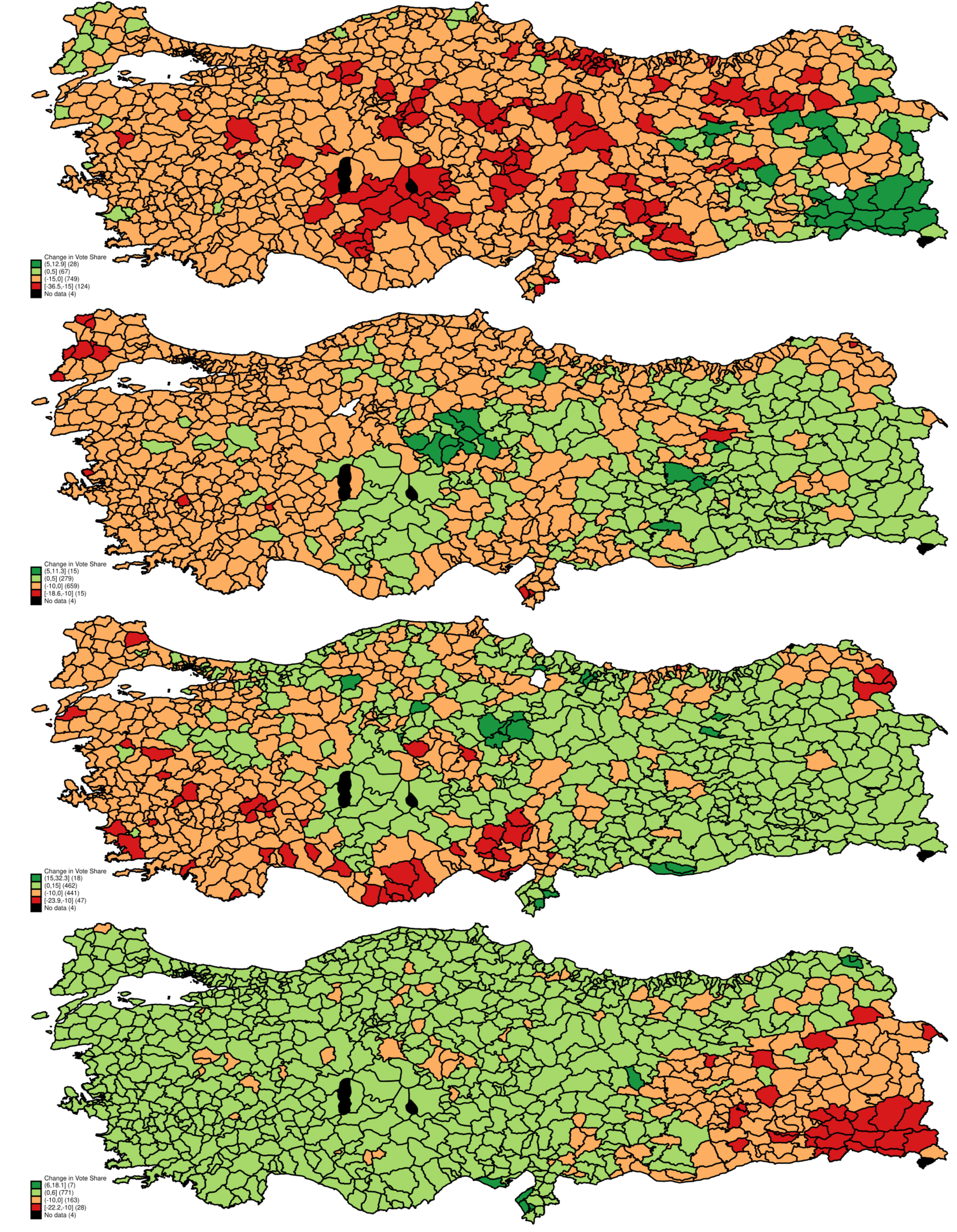
# Vote shift along ideological incongruity is moderated by educational gender gap at the district level.



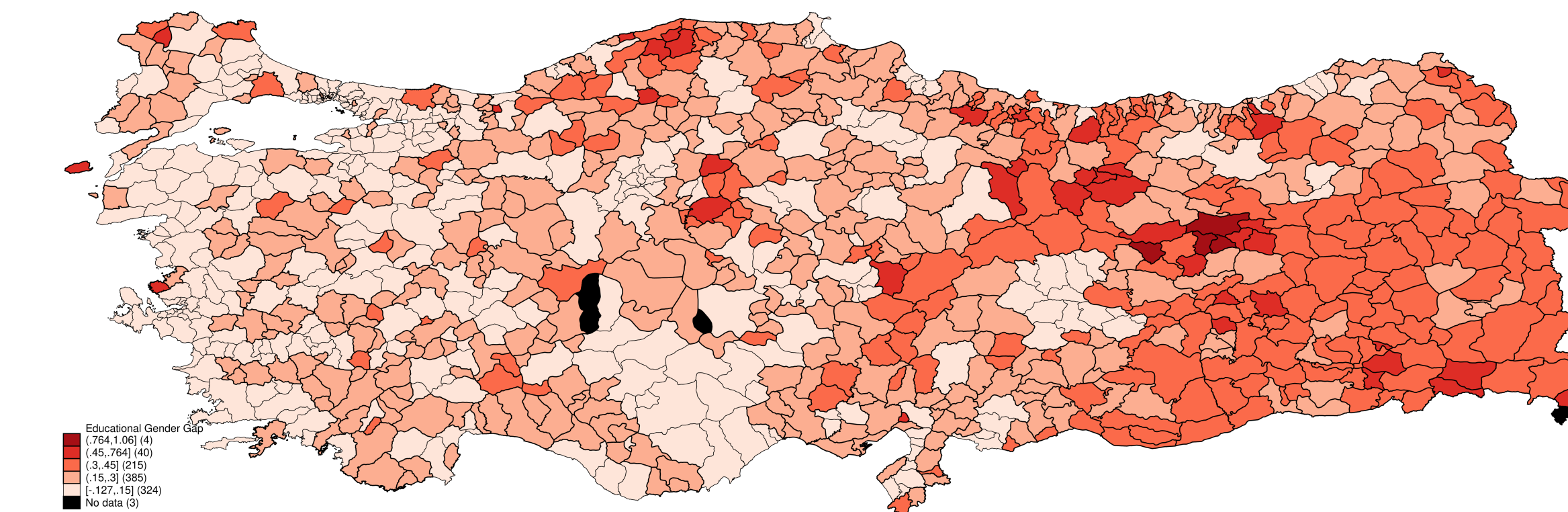
IYI PARTY Vote Share 2018



Change in Vote Share of Parliamentary Parties, 2015-2018  
 AKP, CHP, MHP, HDP



Educational Gender Gap, 2018



**ARGUMENT:** People who feel that the party they supported before has become incongruous will vote for a different party (based on ideological (in)congruity). But, if this new party forces that voter to confront a gender role incongruity clash, then the voter will be less likely to shift vote and stay with their party. A heuristic indicator to track the cultural attitudes towards women (the cause of the clash) is educational gender gap at the district level and it is at the center of this new theoretical idea I am proposing.

# Implication: Gender can put an upper limit on electoral fortunes. However, gender can also be a useful strategy for opposition parties confronting an autocratizing regime.