

More than the Radical Right Gender Gap? How masculine feelings of group threat influence voter intentions on the left and the right in Germany.

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Introduction

- Monitoring System and Transfer Platform Radicalization (MOTRA)

MOTRA is a research conglomerate consisting of nine research institutions and is funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research in Germany. The projects main purpose is the early detection, monitoring, and prevention of political extremism in Germany, and to provide a transfer platform between academic, political, and practical actors. (<https://www.motra.info>)

- Menschen in Deutschland (MiD) / People in Germany Surveys

The MiD study is a representative survey of the adult population over the age of 18 in Germany conducted on a yearly basis by the University of Hamburg since 2021. Data is collected via mixed-mode-design (PAPI & CAWI). The survey addresses different topics related to societal, political, and religious issues and challenges in Germany. (<https://www.mid.uni-hamburg.de/en/startseite.html>)

- Data Source

This presentation is based on data from the third MiD survey wave collected from March to June 2023. The participation rate is 19.7% with N = 4 253 completed interviews. The following analyses will only take cases into account that have German citizenship (N = 2 833).

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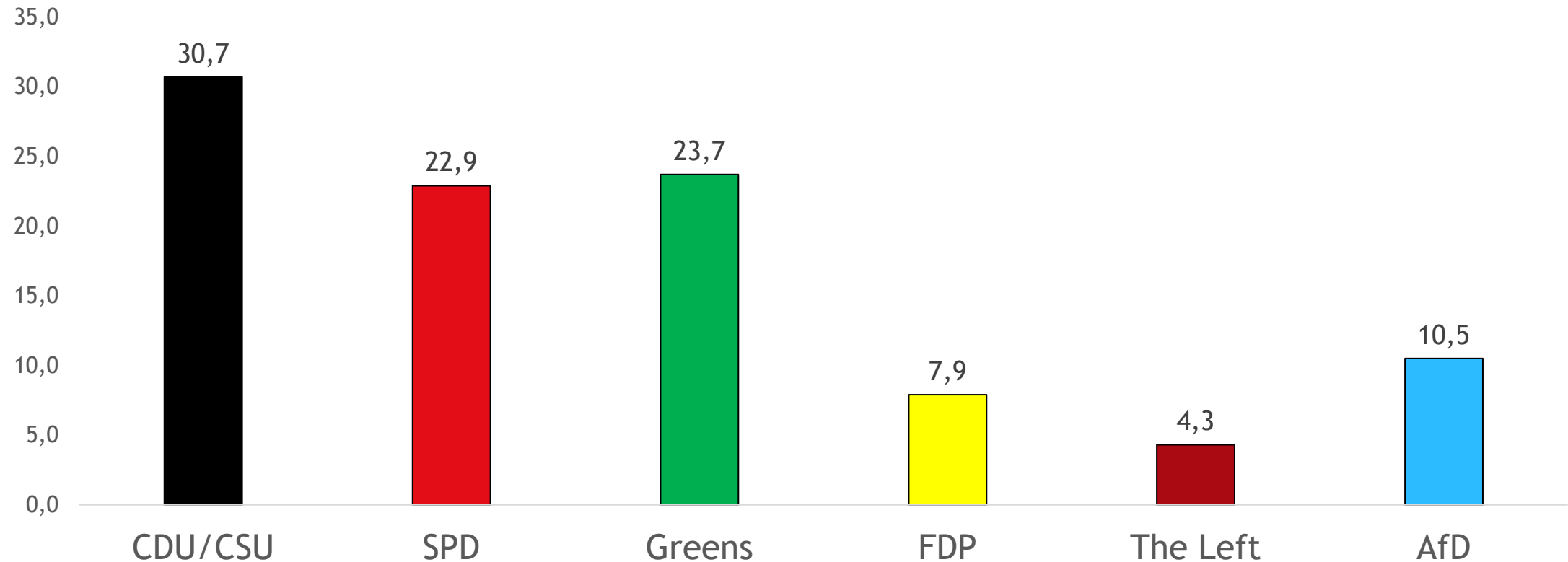
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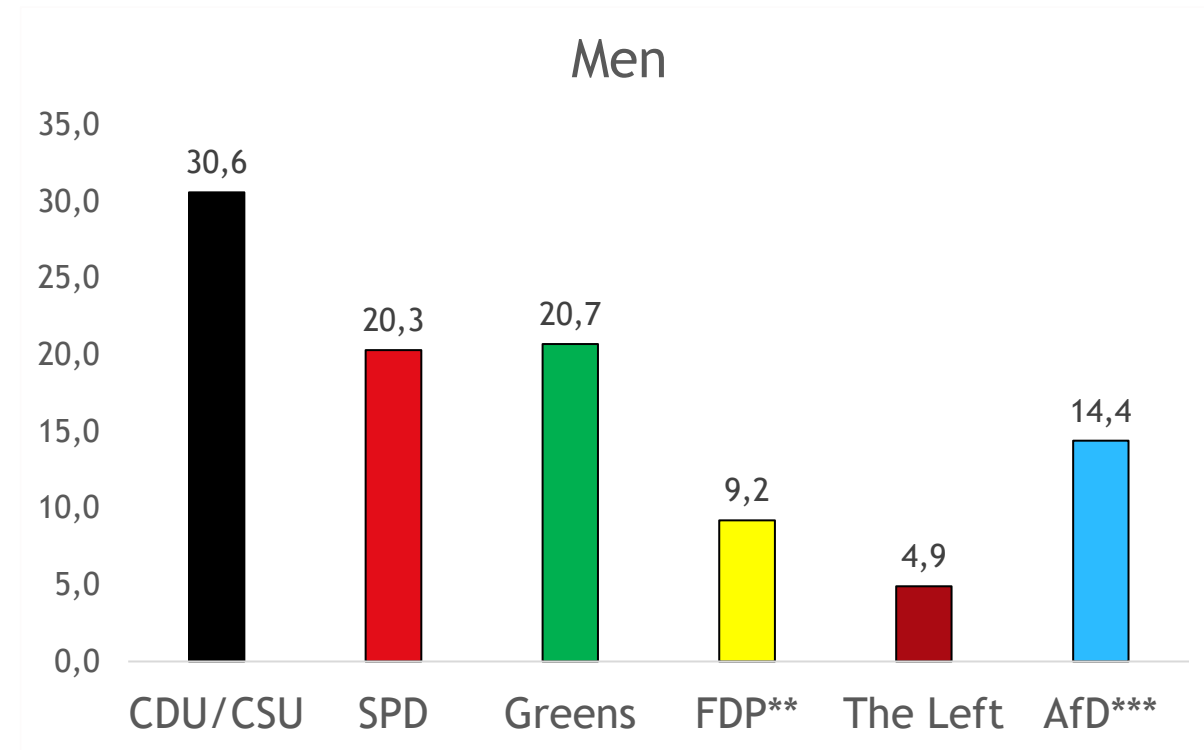
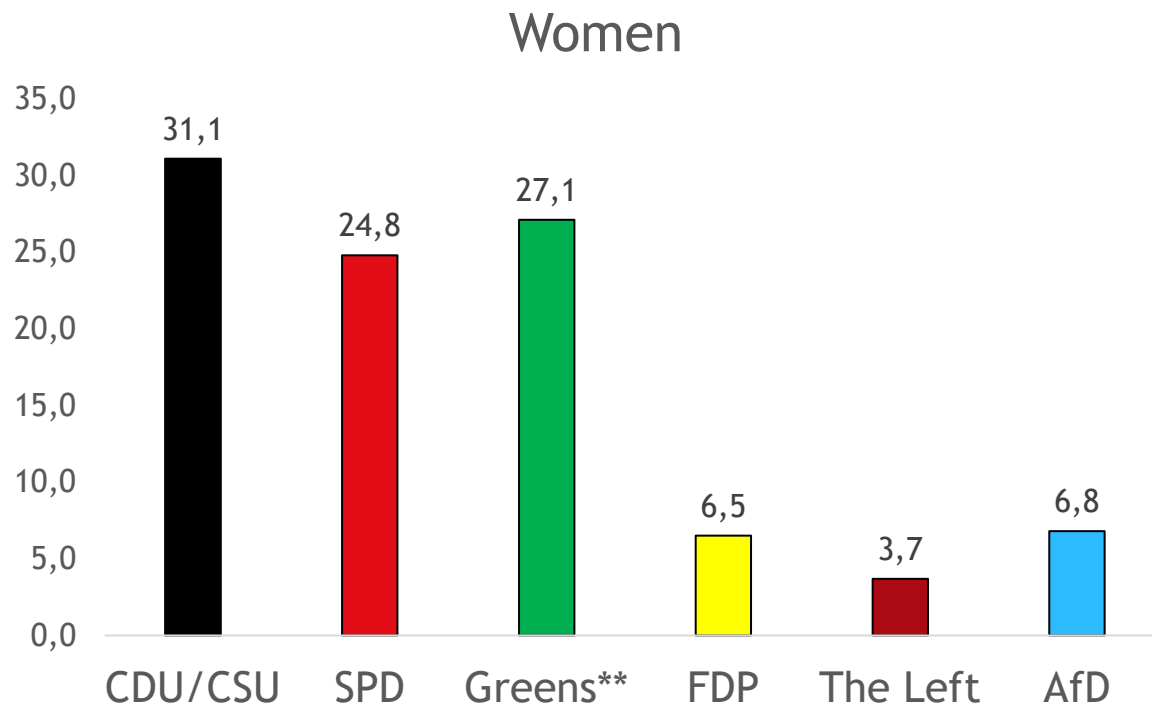
Voting intentions of German citizens in MiD 2023

„Sonntagsfrage“:

If the German federal election would take place next Sunday, which party would you vote for?



More than the „Radical Right Gender Gap“?



* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Masculine Feelings of Group Threat

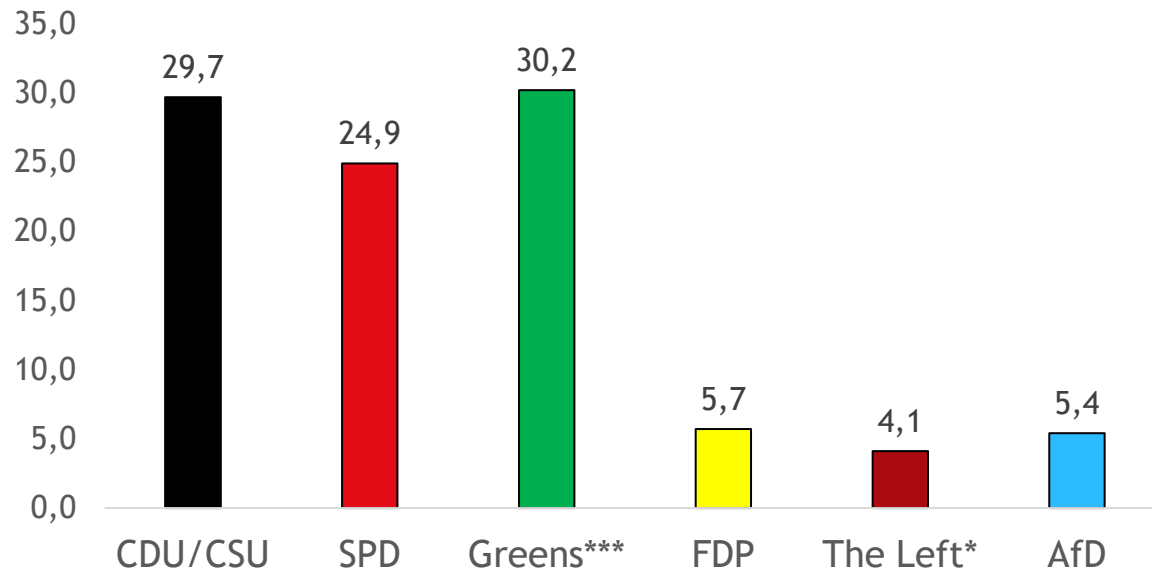
<i>The idea of what it means to be a real man is changing. Some people are concerned about such developments. What are your concerns regarding these developments?</i>	1 doesn't worry me at all	2 doesn't worry me much	3 slightly worries me	4 worries me a lot
That many men are behaving more and more like women...	56.4	23.2	11.2	9.2
That real men are being increasingly marginalised...	58.6	18.4	14.6	8.4
That we no longer have enough real men who know how to fight...	54.2	17.6	17.0	11.2
That male values such as strenght, courage, and honour are losing their importance...	47.9	18.2	20.0	13.9
That these days, men are more and more open about their feelings and emotions...	66.2	22.1	8.2	3.5
That the men in our society are becoming more and more effeminate...	51.8	18.4	19.2	10.6
Mean Scale		ω .90	Mean 1.78	SD .82

*The answer option 5 „I don't think that's true“ has been recoded to 1 „doesn't worry me at all“

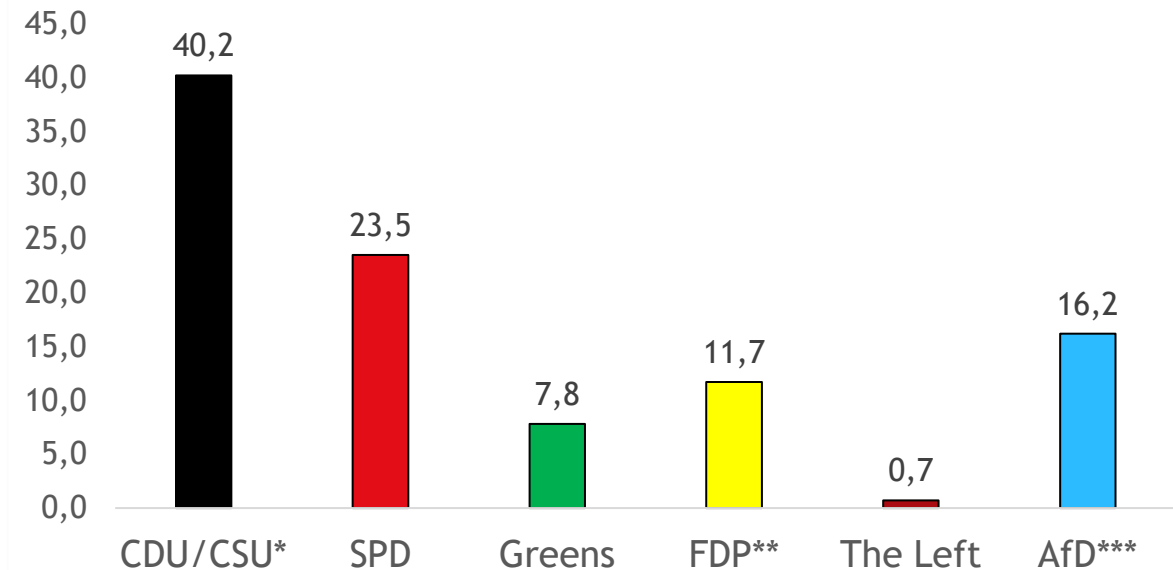
18.3% experience high amounts of Masculine Feelings of Group Threat (Values > 2.5)
15.8% of women and 21.0% of men

Women's voting intentions by levels of Masculine Feelings of Group Threat

Low Masc. Feelings of Group Threat
(Values ≤ 2.5)



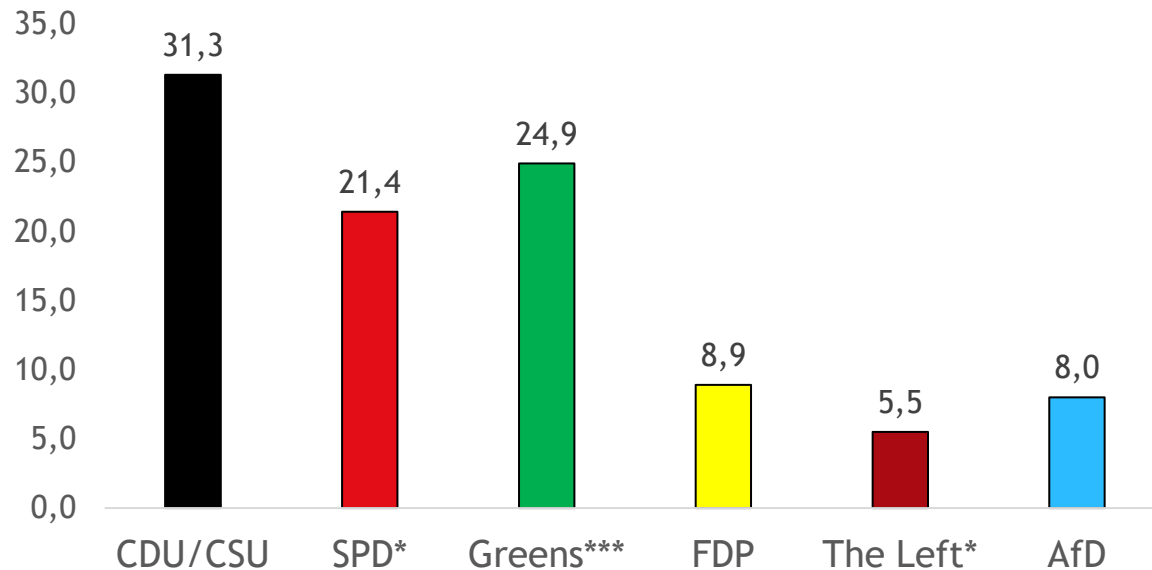
High Masc. Feelings of Group Threat
(Values > 2.5)



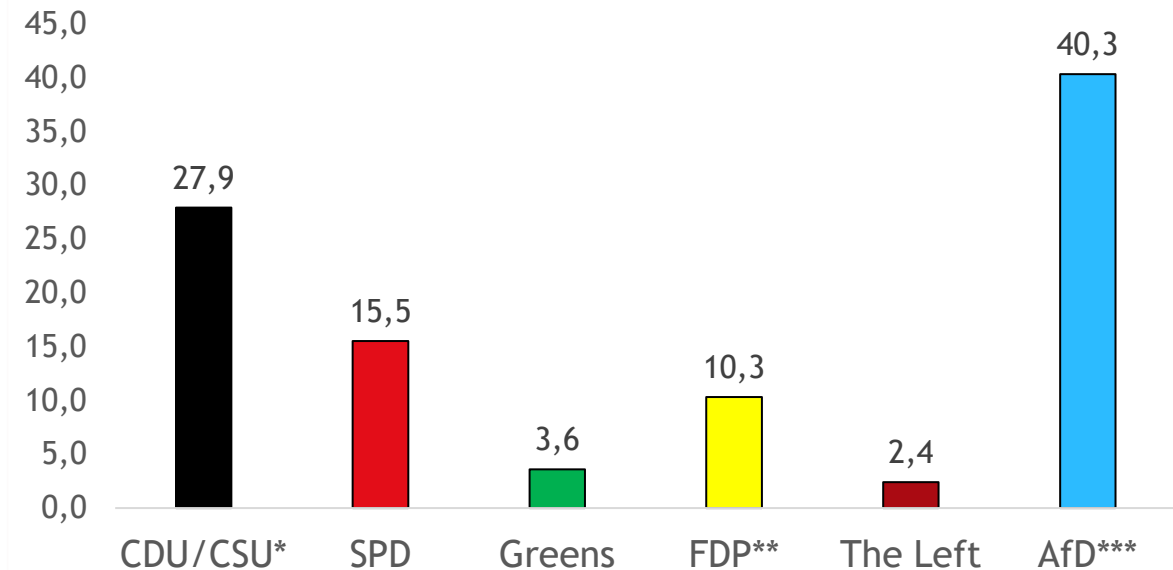
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Men's voting intentions by levels of Masculine Feelings of Group Threat

Low Masc. Feelings of Group Threat
(Values ≤ 2.5)



High Masc. Feelings of Group Threat
(Values > 2.5)



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Additional Variables

Economic Stress (Sumindex)

Likert-Scale 1 „very unlikely“ to 4 „very likely“

<i>In your opinion, how likely is it that in the next 6 months...</i>	likely/ very likely
...you will no longer be able to pay your rent?	14.5
...you will no longer be able to pay for heating and electricity?	26.2
...you will have to restrict your purchases of basic food items?	47.2
...you will have to restrict your spending on leisure and entertainment?	60.3
...you will no longer be able to service your debts?	15.3
...you will lose your job?	7.9

Collective Marginalisation (Mean Scale)

Likert-Scale 1 „strongly disagree“ to 4 „completely agree“

<i>Where we live, people like me are...</i>	mostly/ completely agree
...not acknowledged for what they achieve.	41.6
...held back from getting on in life.	25.9
...often not valued much by others.	34.0
...disadvantaged regarding receiving social benefits.	30.2
...treated disrespectfully by authorities.	23.1
...not taken seriously by politicians.	58.4
...treated unfairly by police.	12.5

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Logistic Regression Models I

Intention to vote for The Greens (DV)	Model I	Model II
Economic Stress	1.31 ^{-1***}	1.22 ^{-1**}
Collective Marginalisation	1.34 ^{-1*}	1.08 ⁻¹
Masculine Feelings of Group Threat		3.00 ^{-1***}
Pseudo R ²	.08	.13
N	2 376	

*Models are also controlled for Age, Education (High=1), Gender (Male=1) Migrant background (Yes=1)

**Likelihood-reducing effects are shown as reciprocal 1/OR in exponential notation

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Logistic Regression Models II

Intention to vote for the AfD (DV)	Model I	Model II
Economic Stress	1.28**	1.18
Collective Marginalisation	2.48***	1.98**
Masculine Feelings of Group Threat		2.31***
Pseudo R ²	.14	.20
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Conclusions & Outlook

- Masculine Feelings of Group Threat are a strong predictor for voting intentions for both the *AfD* and *The Greens*
- Findings point toward a deeply gendered cultural divide between two distinct voting blocks
- Provides further support for the *Cultural Backlash* thesis rather than economic explanations for populist radical right parties' support
- Development of survey instruments measuring attitudes towards actual issues men face (e.g. falling behind in education)
- Possible opportunity to identify narratives that can dissuade men from voting for radical right populist parties?

Related Literature

Articles on the relation between Masculine Feelings of Group Threat, Male Role Norms, and far-right extremism:

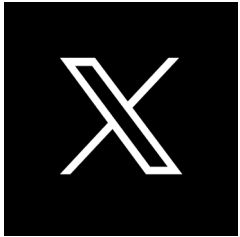
- Fischer, J.M.K. (2024). Traditionelle Männlichkeitsnormen und rechtsextreme Einstellungen bei jungen Menschen: Hegemoniale Männlichkeit(en) als identitärer Kitt zwischen „Volk“ und „Geschlecht“. In: H. Schüttler, P. Lutz, M. Werner, L. Steinl, I. Schuchmann, Y. Krieg, D. Çelebi, & T. Bartsch (Hrsg.). Gender & Crime – Sexuelle Selbstbestimmung und geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur kriminologischen Forschung, S. 63-80. Baden-Baden: Nomos. <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748941262-63>
- Fischer, J.M.K. & Farren, D. (2023). Männliche Opfernarrative und rechtsextreme Einstellungen bei jungen Menschen: Validierung und Anwendung eines Instrumentes zur Erfassung maskulistischer Bedrohungsgefühle. Monatsschrift für Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform. <https://doi.org/10.1515/mks-2022-0017>

MiD Research Reports:

- Wetzels, P., Fischer, J.M.K., Farren, D., Brettfeld, K. & Endtricht, R. (2023). Menschen in Deutschland 2023. Dritte Welle der bundesweit repräsentativen Befragung: Durchführung, Rücklauf, Erhebungsinstrument und Codebuch. [MOTRA-Forschungsbericht No. 12](#) aus dem Institut für Kriminologie an der Fakultät für Rechtswissenschaft. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg. <https://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.13846>
- Endtricht, R., Farren, D., Brettfeld, K., Fischer, J.M.K., & Wetzels, P. (2023). People in Germany 2021. First wave of the German national representative survey: Methodology, survey design and sampling. [MOTRA Research Report No. 1](#). Hamburg: Universität Hamburg. <http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.12244>
- Farren, D., Brettfeld, K., Endtricht, R., Fischer, J.M.K. & Wetzels, P. (2023). Young People in Germany 2022 (JuMiD): Methodology, survey design, description of the sample, and codebook of the national representative survey JuMiD 2022. [MOTRA Research Report No. 2](#). Hamburg: Universität Hamburg. <https://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.13058>

Thank you!

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