



# The Influence of Societal Challenges on Anti-Democratic Attitudes: Results from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave of the Study "People in Germany"

#### Katrin Brettfeld & Peter Wetzels

University of Hamburg, Faculty of Law, Institute of Criminology

Paper presented at ASC Conference November 16, 2023: Philadelphia

Research funded by:



# MOTRA - Monitoring System & Transfer Platform Radicalisation

German research consortium funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research and the Federal Ministry of the Interior and Community.

https://www.motra.info



Menschen in Deutschland



Junge Menschen in Deutschland



Menschen in Deutschland: International







# The Study "People in Germany" (Menschen in Deutschland MiD)



Menschen in Deutschland

https://www.mid.uni-hamburg.de

#### **Research Interest:**

Analyses of the prevalence, social distribution, risk factors and time trends of:

- political extremist attitudes (anti-democratic, right-wing extremism, Islamism)
- intolerance and group-related prejudices (xenophobia, islamophobia, antisemitism)
- attitudes towards politically motivated violence

#### **Method:**

- Annually repeated, representative surveys of persons aged 18+ living in Germany.
- Sample of general population (n  $\approx$  2000) with oversamples of Muslims (n  $\approx$  1000) and non-Muslim Migrants (n  $\approx$  1000).
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Wave conducted in Spring 2023 (n=3990)





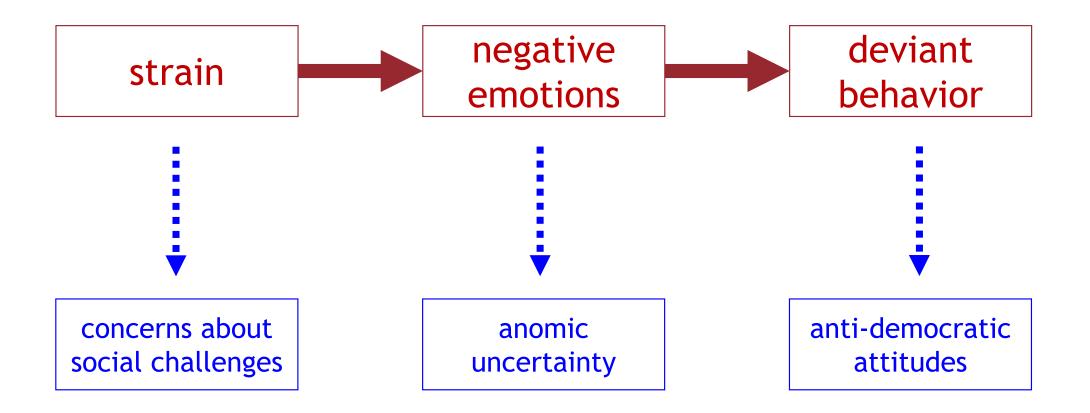
# Theoretical Background

- General Strain Theory (Agnew 2006)
  - postulates the relationship between strain, negative emotions and deviant behaviour
  - names possible factors that make deviant behaviour more likely
- We try to:
  - applicate the GST to political, anti-democratic attitudes (instead of deviant behavior)
  - identify relevant strains to explain anti-democratic attitudes
  - examine the significance of uncertainty and fear as a precursor to the typical negative emotion of anger
  - identify possible moderators





# Application of the theoretical Model



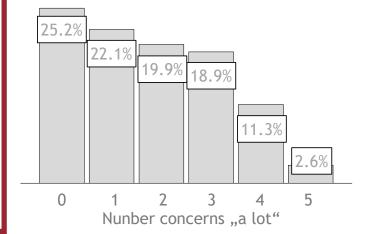




#### Measures

#### Level of concern due to:

- number of refugees entering into our country
- economic crises leads to more poverty
- Corona pandemic will continue for a long time
- Germany could be drawn into military conflicts
- life is no longer affordable because of inflation
- (1) not at all, (2) not much, (3) slightly, (4) a lot
- $\Rightarrow$  Sum of answers with "a lot" (min = 0 to max = 5)



concerns about social challenges

anomic uncertainty





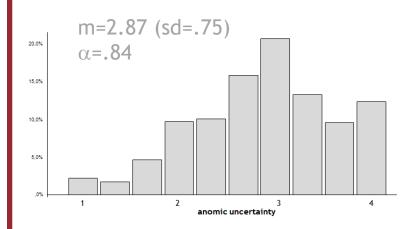
## Measures

#### **Level of Agreement:**

- These days, everything has become so uncertain. You have to be ready for anything.
- Looking at the events of the last few years makes you feel really insecure.
- Things today have become so difficult. You don't know what is going on.
- (1) Strongly disagree to (4) Completely agree
- $\Rightarrow$  mean (min = 1 to max = 4)

concerns about social challenges

anomic uncertainty







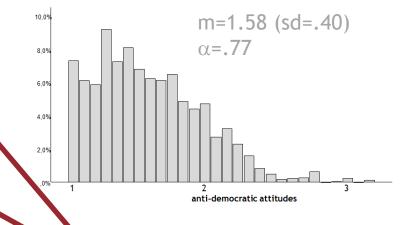
#### Measures

#### Rejection of:

- rights of freedom (opinion, assembly, press, speech)
- equal treatment (color, gender, religion, nationality)
- constitutional principles (regular elections, opposition, checks & balances, parliamentarism)
- (1) Strongly disagree to (4) Completely agree
- $\Rightarrow$  mean (min = 1 to max = 4)

concerns about social challenges

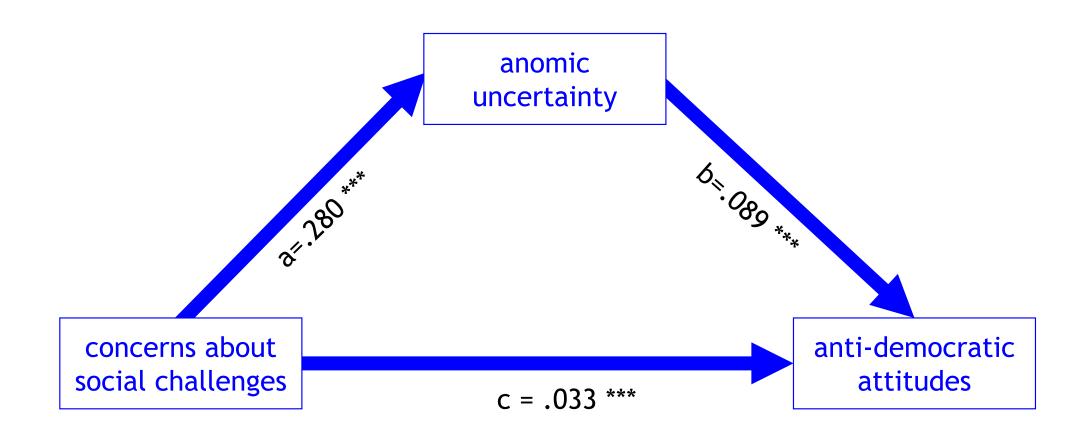
anomic uncertainty







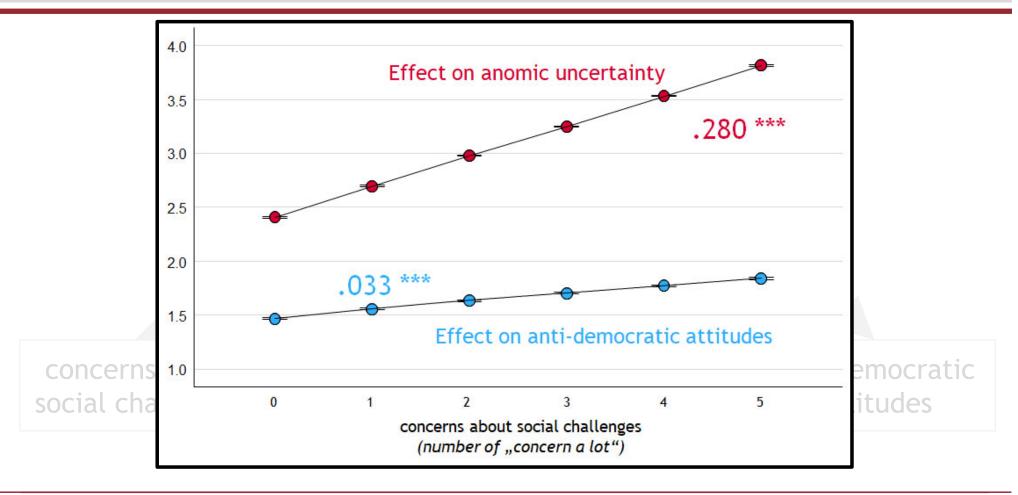
## **Test of Mediation**







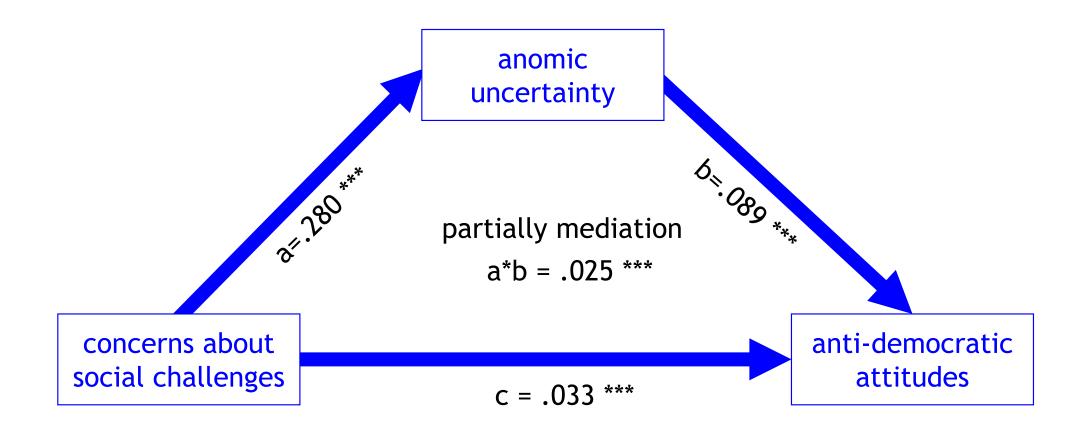
#### **Test of Mediation**







#### **Test of Mediation**







#### **Test of Moderators I**

(weighted data, controlled for age, sex & education, unstandardized coefficients)

#### Trust in state institutions (3 Items):

- Government, Parties, Public authorities
- (1) no confidence at all to (6) full confidence

 $\Rightarrow$  mean (1-6)=2.90, SD=1.10,  $\alpha$ =.84  $\Rightarrow$  % >3.5  $\Rightarrow$  0/1 (1=29.4%)

Trust

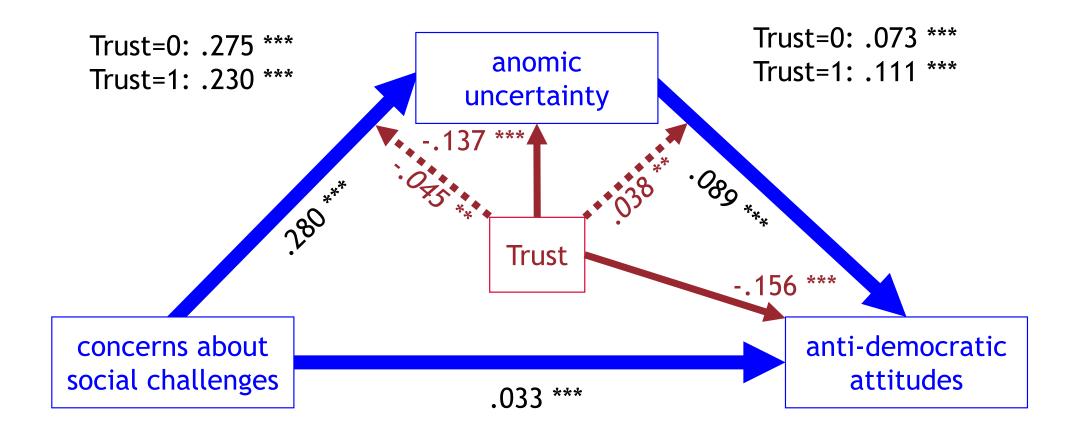
concerns about social challenges

.033 \*\*\*





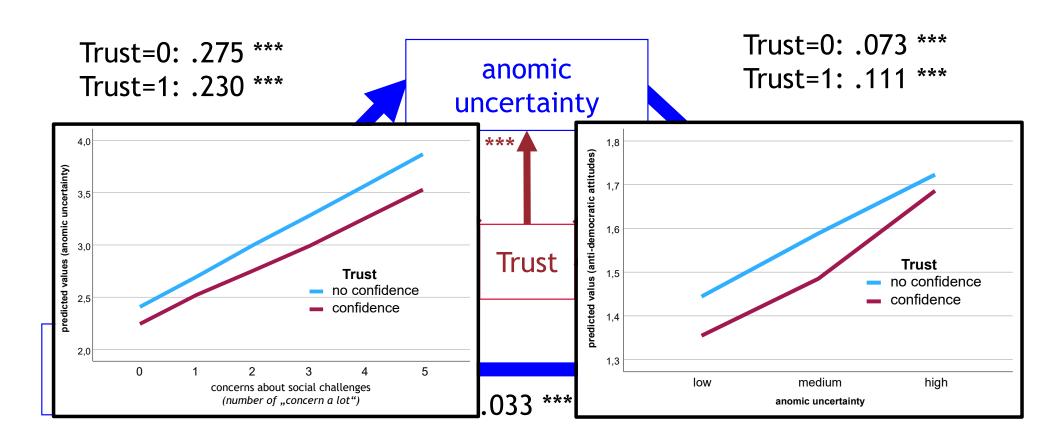
## **Test of Moderators I**







#### **Test of Moderators I**







#### **Test of Moderators II**

(weighted data, controlled for age, sex & education, unstandardized coefficients)

#### **Conspiratory mindset (6 Items):**

- Influence on political decisions by secret organisations, secret power or media
- Origin of the Coronavirus, Invasion of Ukraine, Climate change
- (1) Strongly disagree to (4) Completely agree
- $\Rightarrow$  mean (1-4)=2.00, SD=.76,  $\alpha$ =.88  $\Rightarrow$  % >2.5  $\Rightarrow$  0/1 (1=23.5%)

Conspiracy

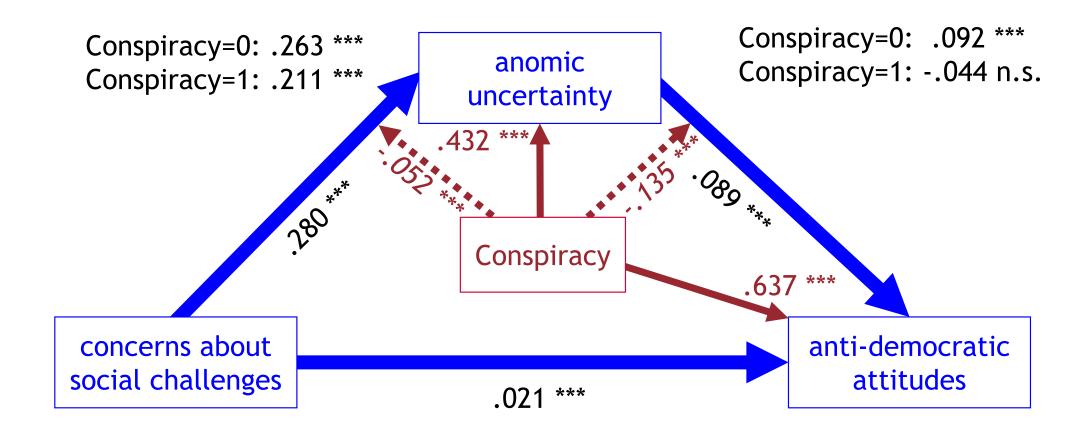
concerns about social challenges

.033 \*\*\*





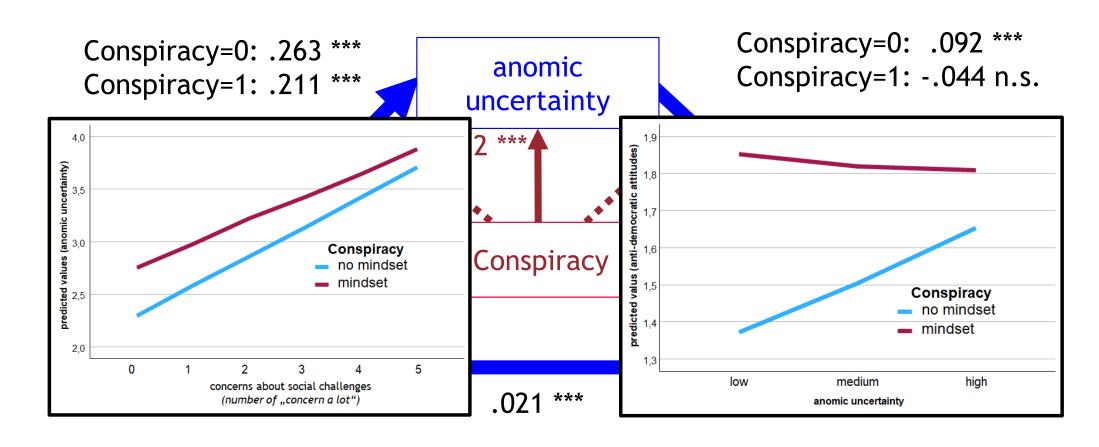
## **Test of Moderators II**







## **Test of Moderators II**







# **Summary**

- The effect of social challenges on anti-democratic attitudes <u>is partially mediated</u> by anomic uncertainty.
- Trust in state institutions:
  - <u>reduce</u> the effects on anomic uncertainty and on anti-democratic attitudes
  - moderates the effects on both sides of the mediation model
  - does not protect in case of high anomic uncertainty!
- A conspiratory-mindset:
  - <u>increase</u> the effects on anomic uncertainty and on anti-democratic attitudes
  - moderates the effects on both sides of the mediation model
  - For people who believe in conspiracy theories, the extent of anomic uncertainty has no effect (no mediation). They have anti-democratic attitudes regardless of the level of anomic uncertainty.
- Next steps:
  - Analysis of other strains and moderators
  - · Authoritarian attitudes and nationalism as dependent variable









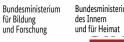
# Thank you for your attention!

Study "MiD"

https://www.mid.uni-hamburg.de/en/startseite.html

Research Consortium MOTRA https://www.motra.info/

Dr. Katrin Brettfeld katrin.brettfeld@uni-hamburg.de Prof. Dr. Peter Wetzels peter.wetzels@uni-hamburg.de



# Research Report and Homepage of the Studie MiD







#### **Research Report No. 1**

"People in Germany 2021"

First wave of the German national representative survey: Methodology, survey design and sampling

> Rebecca Endtricht, Diego Farren, Katrin Brettfeld, Jannik M.K. Fischer & Peter Wetzels



http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.12244



https://www.mid.uni-hamburg.de/en/startseite.html



