Introduction

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"Monitoring System and Transfer Platform Radicalization" (MOTRA) is a research association funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research in Germany. The project was developed for the early detection, prevention and combating of extremism and terrorism over the course of five years (11/2019 - 10/2024). (https://www.motra.info/)

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- Data source
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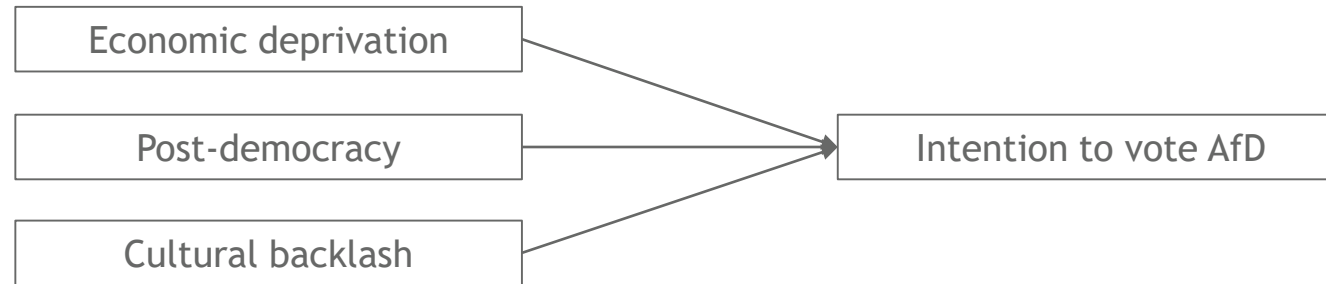 (https://www.mid.uni-hamburg.de/en/startseite.html)

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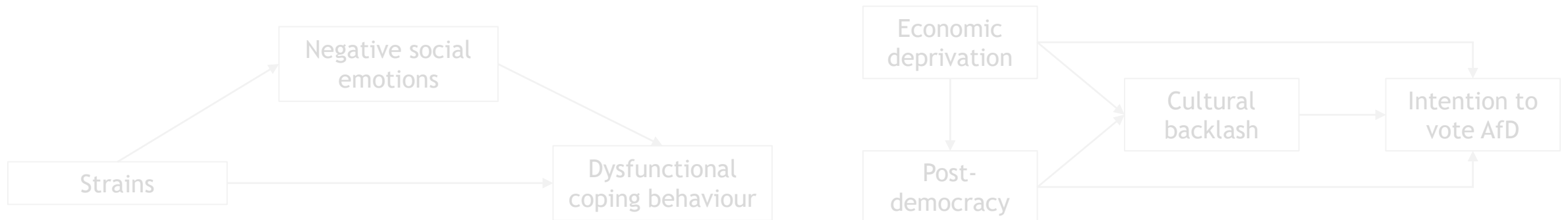 (N = 4 483; participation rate = 23.6)

Main ideas

1) **To test the competing relevance of three predictors of the intention to vote AfD in Germany**

```
┌──────────────────────────┐
│   Economic deprivation   │────────┐
└──────────────────────────┘        │
                                     │
┌──────────────────────────┐        ▼
│      Post-democracy      │──────▶┌──────────────────────────┐
└──────────────────────────┘       │   Intention to vote AfD  │
                                    └──────────────────────────┘
┌──────────────────────────┐        ▲
│     Cultural backlash     │────────┘
└──────────────────────────┘
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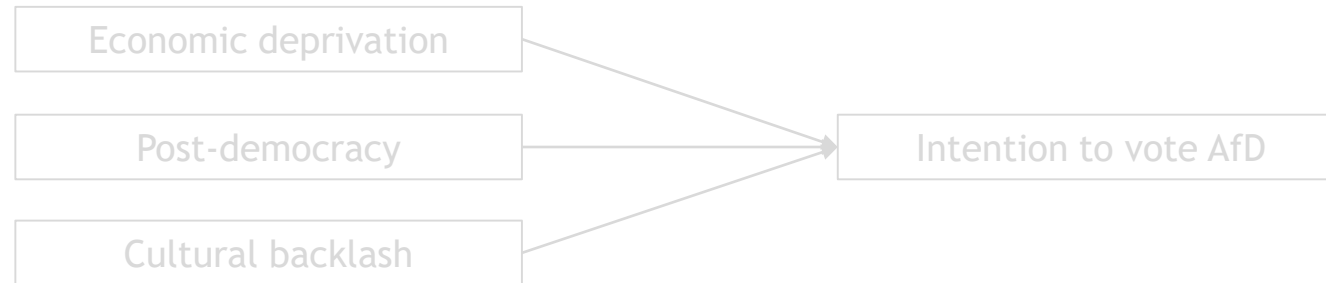
2) **To test a conceptual mediation model on intention to vote AfD including these three predictors and inspired by Agnew's General Strain Theory of Terrorism (GSTT)**
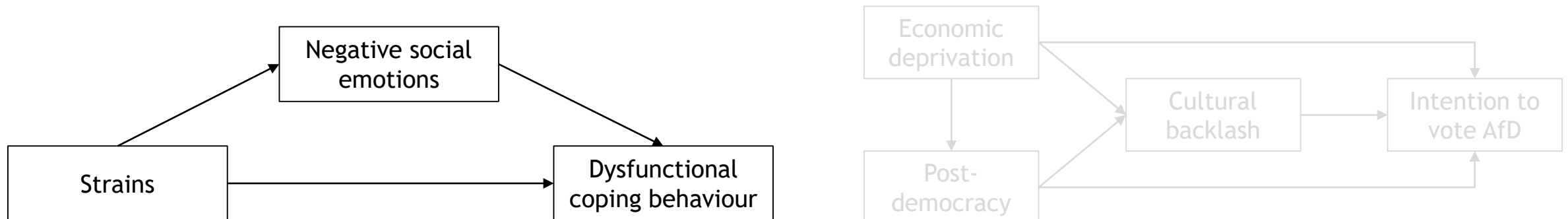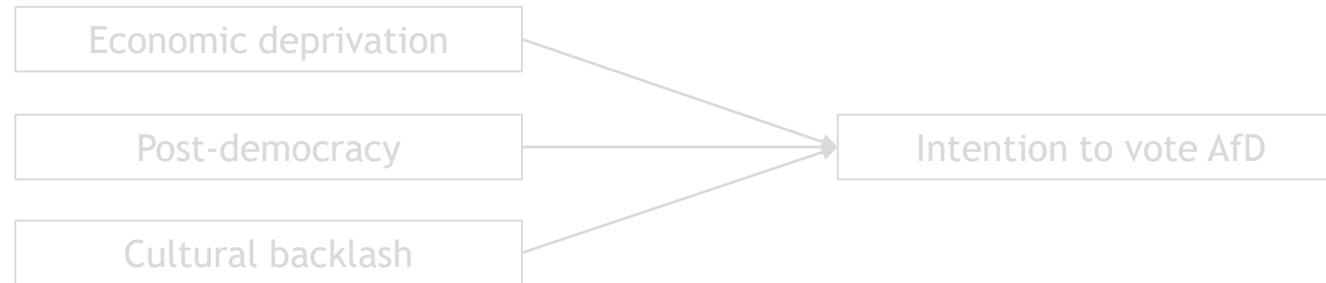
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            ┌──────────────────┐                                    ┌──────────────────┐
            │  Negative social │                                    │     Economic     │
            │     emotions     │                                    │    deprivation   │──────┐
            └──────────────────┘                                    └──────────────────┘      │
                                                                             │                 ▼
┌──────────┐                    ┌──────────────────┐                        ▼           ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│  Strains │────────────────────│   Dysfunctional  │               ┌──────────────┐     │   Cultural   │──────│ Intention to │
└──────────┘                    │ coping behaviour │               │     Post-    │─────▶│   backlash   │      │   vote AfD   │
                                └──────────────────┘               │   democracy  │      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
                                                                   └──────────────┘
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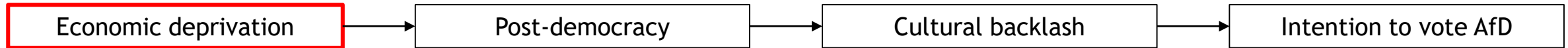
Main ideas

1) To test the competing relevance of three predictors of the intention to vote AfD in Germany

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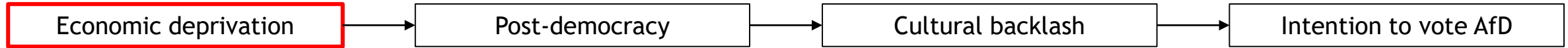
Operationalisations

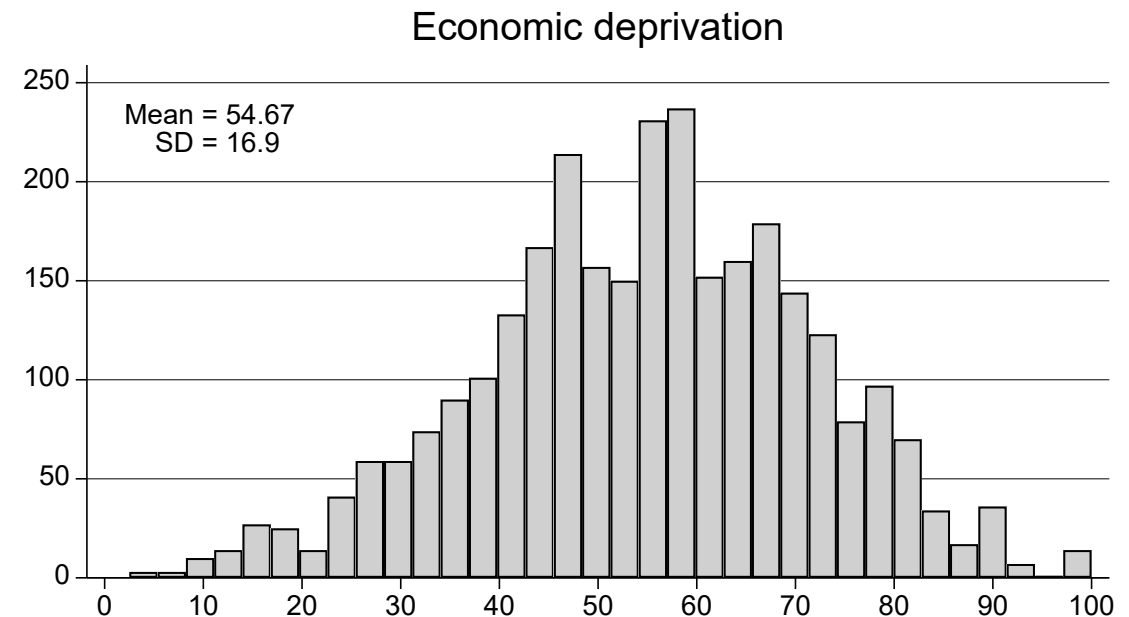| Economic deprivation	→	Post-democracy	→	Cultural backlash	→	Intention to vote AfD

- **Objective: Socio-economic Status (SES):**
  - Dimension 1: education
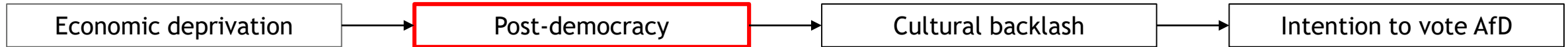 - Dimension 2: profession
  - Dimension 3: income

- **Subjective: economic worries:**

  To what extent are you worried about the following social developments and their impact on your life?
  - That increasing digitalisation and computerisation could lead to job losses.
  - That economic crises could lead to more poverty.

Operationalisations

Economic deprivation → Post-democracy → Cultural backlash → Intention to vote AfD

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Economic deprivation

Mean = 54.67
SD = 16.9

Operationalisations

Economic deprivation	→	Post-democracy	→	Cultural backlash	→	Intention to vote AfD

Dimension A. Basic rights of freedom
- Every citizen should have the right to go out and demonstrate for what they believe in.
- Strikes and demonstrations pose a danger to public order and should be banned.
- The freedom of the press in our country must be protected.
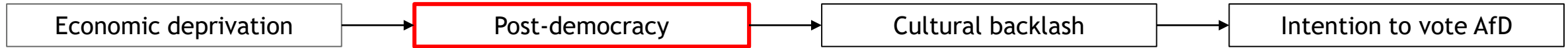- All minorities should have the right to freely express their views.

Dimension B. Constitutional principles of democracy
- Those who lose out in an election should not be allowed to criticise the business of government.
- If a government is doing a good job, there is no reason to hold a new election after four years.
- If Parliament makes a decision, it cannot be allowed to be overturned by a court.
- In order to have strong political leadership in Germany, Parliament should have less influence.

Dimension C. Equal rights
- People should not be discriminated against because of their skin colour.
- Women and men should receive equal pay for doing the same work.
- Foreigners should not be treated differently to native citizens regarding allocation of housing.
- Muslims must be allowed to pursue their religion in the same way as Christians, Jews or followers of other religions.

Operationalisations

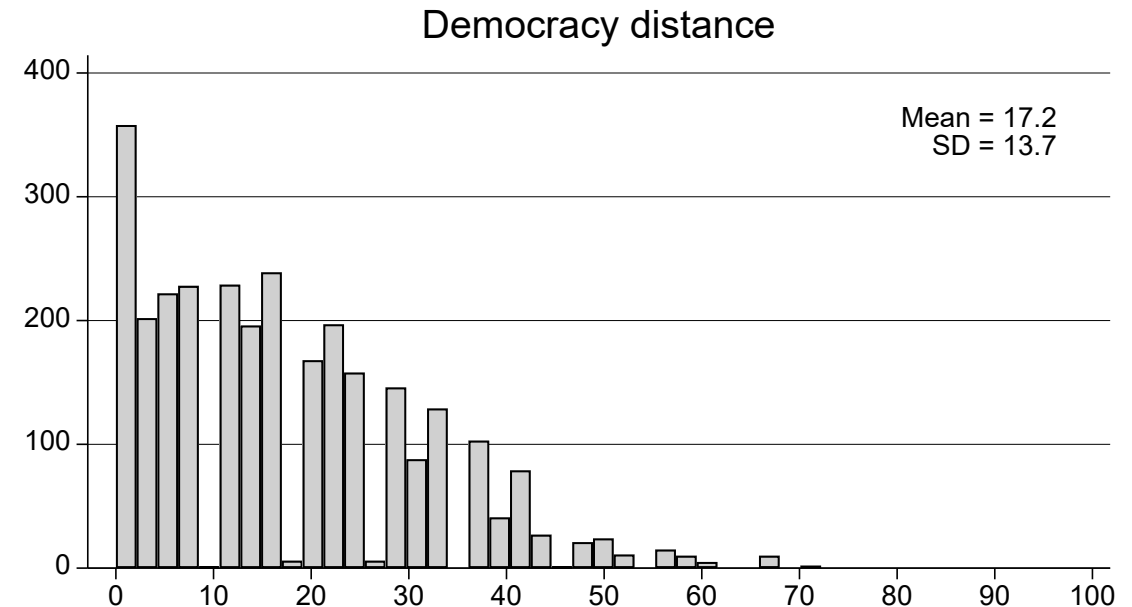| Economic deprivation	→	**Post-democracy**	→	Cultural backlash	→	Intention to vote AfD

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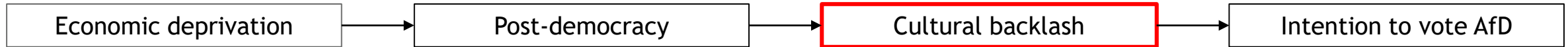*Dimension B. Constitutional principles of democracy*
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Democracy distance

Mean = 17.2
SD = 13.7

Operationalisations

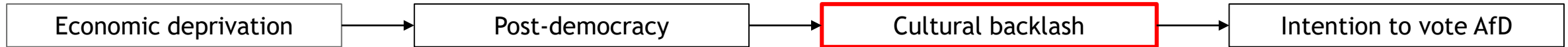| Economic deprivation	→	Post-democracy	→	Cultural backlash	→	Intention to vote AfD

Dimension A. Xenophobia
- The mixing of so many people with different origins in Germany cannot work.
- There are too many foreigners in Germany.
- If we are not careful, Germany will become an Islamic country.

Dimension B. Traditionalism
- Traditions that are important to me are given no room in this society.
- In this society, men are increasingly being denied the right to protect their families themselves.
- A people must have a homeland with its own traditions.
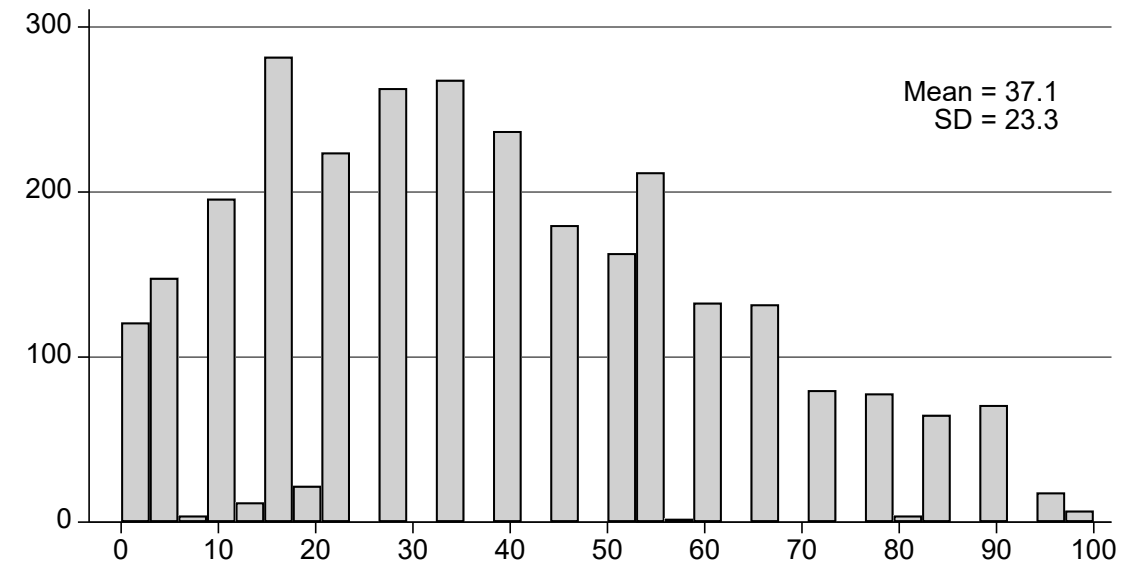
Operationalisations

Economic deprivation	→	Post-democracy	→	Cultural backlash	→	Intention to vote AfD

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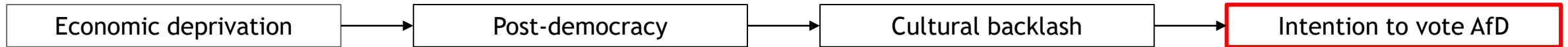— If we are not careful, Germany will become an Islamic country.

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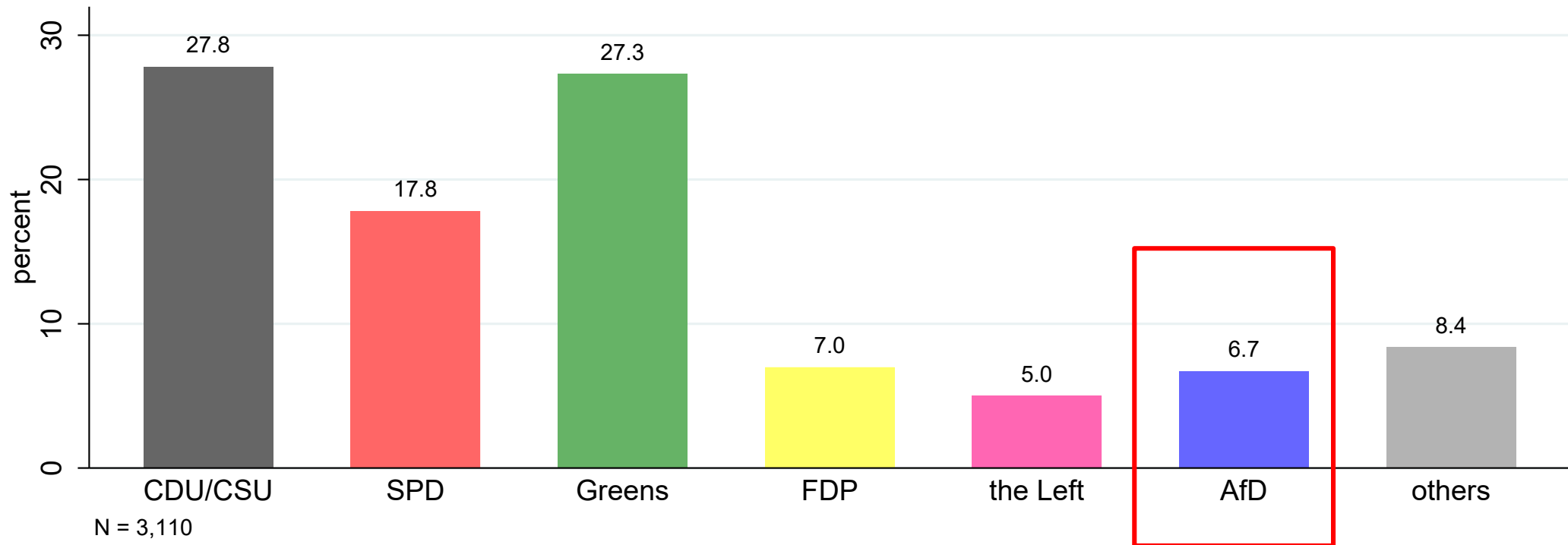— A people must have a homeland with its own traditions.

Cultural backlash

Mean = 37.1
SD = 23.3

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Monitoring System and Transfer Platform Radicalisation

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Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung

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Operationalisations

Economic deprivation	→	Post-democracy	→	Cultural backlash	→	Intention to vote AfD

If the German federal election was taking place next Sunday, who would you vote for?
(undecided and non-voters excluded)

N = 3,110

Hypotheses

Competition of perspectives:

- H1: *Economic deprivation* is a relevant predictor of the *intention to vote AfD*
- H2: *Democracy distance* is a relevant predictor of the *intention to vote AfD*
- H3: *Cultural backlash* is a relevant predictor of the *intention to vote AfD*
- H4: The influence of *cultural backlash* on *intention to vote AfD* is bigger than the influence of *economic deprivation* and *democracy distance*

Conceptual mediation model:

- H5: The influence of *economic deprivation* on *intention to vote AfD* is at least partially mediated through *democracy-distance* and *cultural backlash*
- H6: The influence of *democracy distance* on *intention to vote AfD* is at least partially mediated through *cultural backlash*
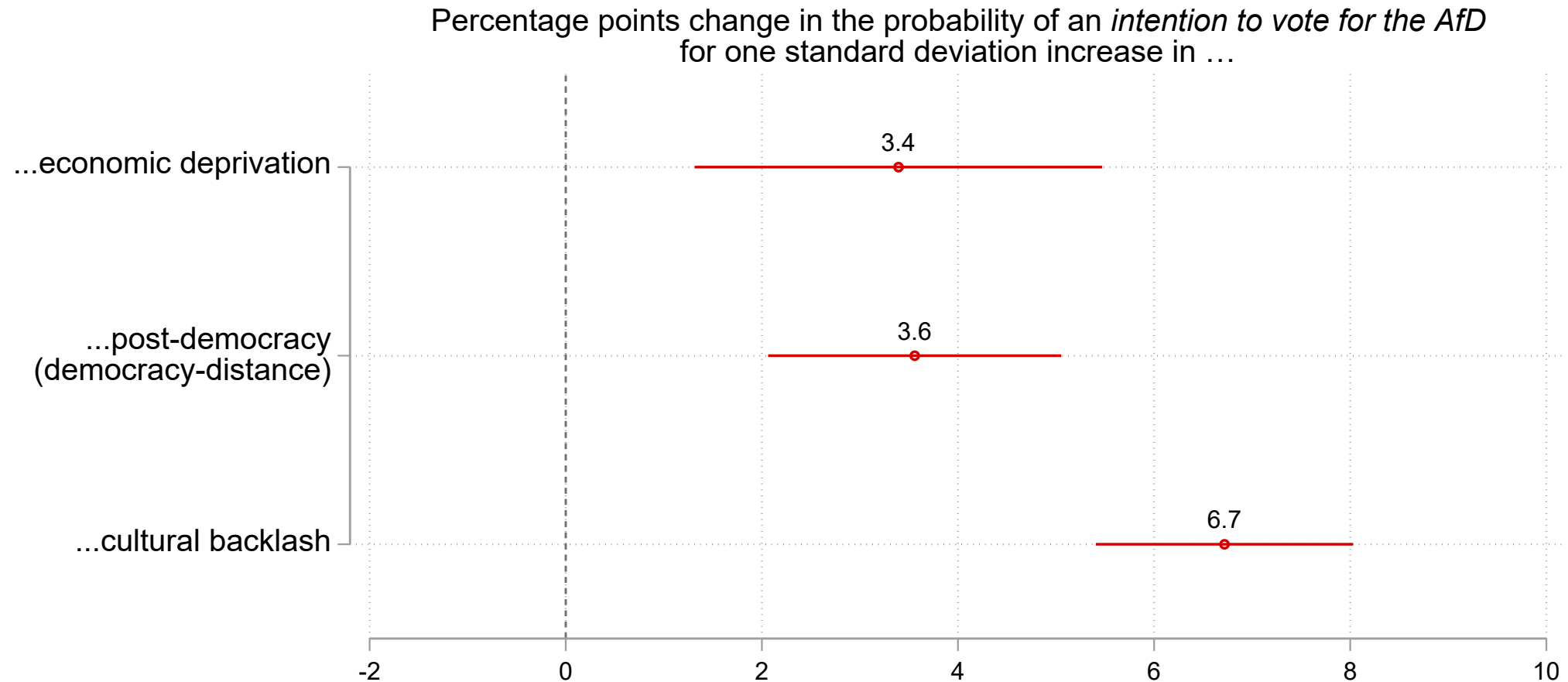
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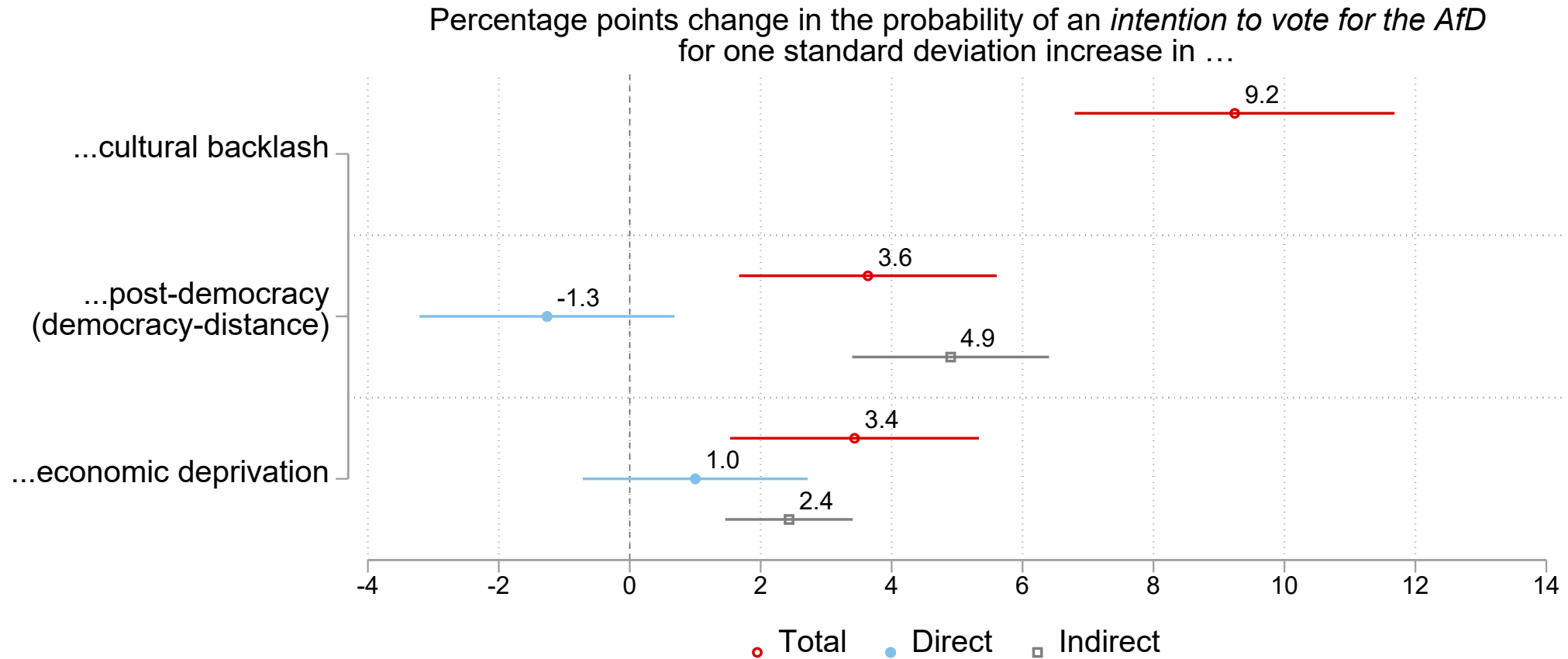
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Results 1: compared influences on intention to vote AfD

Percentage points change in the probability of an *intention to vote for the AfD*
for one standard deviation increase in …

...economic deprivation   3.4

...post-democracy
(democracy-distance)   3.6

...cultural backlash   6.7

-2   0   2   4   6   8   10

*controls = gender, age (6 categories), region (2 categories), migration status

Results 2: mediation model

Percentage points change in the probability of an *intention to vote for the AfD* for one standard deviation increase in …

...cultural backlash

...post-democracy (democracy-distance)

...economic deprivation

9.2

3.6

-1.3

4.9

3.4

1.0

2.4

-4 -2 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14

○ Total   ● Direct   □ Indirect

*controls = gender, age (6 categories), region (2 categories), migration status

Conclusions/Discussion

- *Cultural backlash* has the strongest impact on *intention to vote for the AfD* (H4)
- The impacts of *economic deprivation* and *post-democracy* on *intention to vote for the AfD* are completely mediated through *cultural backlash* (H5 & H6)

Contributions

1) New dataset
2) New measurements
3) New conceptual (mediation) model

Future

- Refine theory (Procedural Justice Theory maybe?)
- Test other statistical models (SEM with latent constructs maybe?)
- Define policy implications (long and short run)