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# Master's Thesis

The electoral relevance of female emancipatory values in contemporary Dutch parliamentary elections

June 21th, 2020

Erasmus School of Social & Behavioural Sciences

Politics & Society | 2019-2020

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June 21th, 2020

The academic year of 2019-2020

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# Abstract

*This research analyses the strategic usage of female emancipatory values in the Dutch parliamentary elections of 2017. In doing so, it tests the remaining electoral relevance of feminism in the politics of the largely egalitarian country of the Netherlands as well. The European Social Survey has been used for conducting the quantitative analysis. Contrary to expectations, findings show that the female electorate is less likely to vote for a party that has implemented female emancipatory values in its program. This voting preference was found not be influenced by experience with gender-discrimination. Also, one's beliefs in political efficacy did not prove to be of influence either. The analysis introduces an alternative model, in order to determine the predictors for voting preference for a party that has incorporated female emancipatory values. Secularism and gender appear to contribute to an individual's voting preference for such a party. Implementations of social movements in party programs, here feminism, are argued to be more about party positioning.*

Keywords: Feminism, gender, secularism, strategic party positioning, voting preference

# Preface

Seven years have passed since I received my high school diploma in a small church, somewhere north from Rotterdam's city centre. The strategy back then was rather simple. I would study Integral Security Management for four years, after which I planned on working. The seventeen year-old high school graduate back then would have never guessed which directions his life would eventually take. From failing my first year of Integral Security Management, I went on to study Cultural and Societal Development. The policies of the faculty were to 'keep it simple' and 'keep it impersonal'. Social work has given me the opportunity to work with refugees, students and the psychiatric field . However, not being able to work with something larger than myself left me dissatisfied. The rhetoric of social work implied that my daily life would revolve around habits and incidents. I knew that regularity would lead to a stagnation of my interests. Liberating myself from the forces of habit, I enrolled in the premaster's program for Sociology and was determined to end my studying career on a topic that truly grasped my interest.

The church in which I received my high school diploma was eventually demolished to make way for a luxury apartment complex. This could be considered harmful to the sentiment surrounding that period. Yet, the weight of my *havo*-diploma does not compare against my current ambitions on the field of politics and sociology. I wish all those who are about to read this study the most pleasure in doing so, for I have not only enjoyed the last months of writing this research, but also the past seven years of gradually finding the directions for my efforts and aspirations.

David D. Henneveld, Rotterdam, June 21st 2020

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# 1. Introduction

*Feminism as part of politics*

The 20th and 21st century gave rise to new ideologies that would reshape prior conceptions about society and politics. The movement of feminism was among these and strived to enhance women's rights on multiple playing fields. The first feminist wave is argued to have occurred in the late nineteenth century. The ideology primarily focussed on legal equality between men and women. The implementation of women's voting rights in 1920 in the United States would be the starting point for a rising awareness of the cultural division between the genders (O'Reilly, 2012). Research on the rise of feminism by Meijer (1996) suggested that the 1960's can be seen as the pivotal point from which women's emancipatory rights start to become part of politics. It was argued that an increase in individual freedom allowed for this cross-contamination between the personal and the formal institutions. Meijer (1996) stated that it was from this point that individual identities and politics became intertwined irreversibly.

*Feminism and media coverage*

The foundation of what the 'feminist ideology' would become evolved through decades of critical revision of gender-norms and traditional role division. Research by Ogletree, Diaz and Padilla (2017) concluded that 'inclusiveness' and 'equality' were the main ideological pillars of the feminist movement. It was found that increasing the emancipatory values for women in society was the primary objective throughout the century in which the movement developed. Gill (2016) found that there had been a noticeable rise in attention for women's rights in Western media. She argued that the rise in attention for the issue of female emancipation exemplified the increase in political awareness for feminism. It became clear that the mainstream parties felt the need to adapt to this core message of equality. It would prove that the emancipation of women was intertwined with political action. Research from McBride and Mazur (2010) confirms this premise by Gill (2016). Their comparative research found that the feminist movement from the 1960's onwards had been successful in influencing politics to benefit the emancipatory cause. Varying fractions of the movement were found to be efficient in changing policy directions towards the feminist paradigm in general, specifically in Western post-industrial societies (McBride & Mazur, 2010).

*Traditional voting preferences and the new gender gap*

Personal preferences were gradually becoming part of the political preferences of the individual (Meijer, 1996). The movement of feminism developed parallel to shifts in traditional voting behaviour in Western society. Women were found to vote more conservative before the 1970's,

and began to vote more leftist or social-democratic in the decades following (Abendschön & Steinmetz, 2014). This development in the 'gender gap in voting preference' led to a higher share of women in the electorates of progressive parties. This concept of the 'gender gap' initially described the differences between men and women in their voting preference. Manow and Emmenegger (2012) found that the traditional gender gap in voting preference was explained by religiosity and class-voting. The lack of 'pro-feminist' stances of religious party programs has led to lower voter turnouts for these parties over time as well. Women were found to identify less with their traditional religious party as a result of this lack of female emancipation goals. This argument is backed up by Inglehart and Norris' (2000) findings on gender and voting preference. Research concluded that the decline of societal classes reduced direct identification with certain political parties. The shift in voting preferences for women was presumed to be accompanied by the decline of class-voting. This would therefore lead to individuals voting based on their personal preferences, instead of the social group they belonged to. However, this development has been argued to stagnate over time.

The concept of the gender gap in voting preference has been challenged throughout the past decades. Conover (1988) stated in the 1980's that there was barely a significant difference in voting preference between men and women. The transition was defined by Inglehart and Norris in their piece *The developmental theory of the gender gap* (2000). It became visible that the differences between genders in voting preferences were gradually disappearing. The presumed gender gap in voting preference was closing. This conclusion was reached again by Giger (2009), adding that there is no clear understanding of the direction in which this development would lead. However, all research indicated that gender became less relevant as an explanatory factor for voting preference.

*The remaining relevance of feminism in politics*

Research by Hayes (1997) confirmed the development of the closing gender gap in voting preferences. Gender was found to become irrelevant according to Hayes's (1997) research on electoral behaviour in Great Britain. Feminist attitudes of political parties were found to be a major factor in predicting voter turnout however. In line with Hayes (1997), Inglehart and Norris (2000) also stated that political parties need to keep incorporating feminist ideals in their campaigns. Both authors imply the importance of adopting female emancipatory values into a party's program.

It is here that there is a noticeable  discrepancy within these findings. Although the gender gap in voting preference is said to have been closed, it is still found that feminism

remains an important factor in politics of Western society. Adams, Haupt and Stoll (2009) hypothesized that modern parties are consistently shifting their ideological stances in order to adapt to new public debates. It was found that the formation of public opinion, for example through media, is a strong incentive for parties to rephrase their opinions and programs on. Their conclusion is in line with the necessity of including feminism in a party program. The paradigm of feminism would be used as a strategic measure to ensure that the party remains relevant to the female voter (Hayes, 1997). This raises the question how the strategic use of feminism works in countries that are presumed to be largely egalitarian. With a barely significant gender gap in voting preference, it can be deemed remarkable that parties would deliberately question egalitarian progress to enhance their turnout of the female electorate.


## 2. Research objective

Theory indicates that there is no general understanding of the usage feminism in contemporary parliamentary elections. The aforementioned literature suggests that political parties can use the feminism paradigm for strategic purposes. This phenomenon is remarkable in countries that have high rates in egalitarianism. The Netherlands are among the countries that are presumed to have high levels of equality between men and women. Portegijs and Van den Brakel (2018) found that the economic independency and labour market participation for women were steadily increasing. Additional to this development is the finding that the gap in payment and part-time employment is decreasing as well in the Netherlands.

After the 2017 elections there has been a noticeable shift in the distribution of parliamentary seats. Two new parties entered the parliamentary chamber, whilst the traditional labour party suffered a significant loss at the hands of both moderate conservatives and religious parties. Multiple explanations have been given to the shifts in voting behaviour, yet feminism was not mentioned to be a factor. However, half of all Dutch parliamentary parties mention feminism in their programs. Seeing the country rise in gender equality (Portegijs & Van den Brakel, 2018), the question of how and why feminism is used in the political arena applies in this context.

This research will analyse if Dutch political parties use the feminist paradigm for strategic purposes. With this is meant that they implement female emancipatory values in their programs in order to attract more female voters. It will also analyse relevant factors in order to form an understanding on why feminism remains relevant in the political arena of egalitarian countries like the Netherlands. Coming to a research question to analyse this perceived

phenomenon, this study asks: *How do political parties in the Netherlands use a female emancipatory agenda and why is this a relevant factor for the electorate?* The analysis will determine if the nature of including feminism in politics has a strategical goal in context with the Dutch electorate. The objective is hence not only to find strategic benefits of implementing the feminist cause. This research also analyses why feminism has remained a relevant factor in the political arena of an egalitarian country like the Netherlands. The European Social Survey (ESS, 2018) will be providing the sample for this study.

## 2.1 Theoretical frames and hypotheses

*Strategic usage of feminism*

The works of Hayes (1997) and Adams, Haupt and Stoll (2009) indicate that the usage of the feminist paradigm in politics has a direct goal. Parties are found to aim to increase female voter turnouts by implementing female emancipatory values. These values are argued to increase the relevance of the party among its female voters.

Gill and Scharff (2011) state in their book *New femininities* that it is barely possible to form a concrete definition of feminist ideals in the 21st century. The authors explain that feminism has gained a broad definition throughout its development. It is stated that this has been the result of al linkage with personal necessities. This means that individuals started to adopt feminism in their own contexts on a global scale. However, Swirsky and Angelone (2016) find in their studies that feminism has had three major lines that prove to be consistent throughout the development of the movement. These consistent ideals of feminism are: "(1) the need to recognize and disseminate the historical exploitation, devaluing, and oppression of women; (2) the goal of improving women's social standing while working toward equality for all genders and groups; and (3) the active criticism of traditional intellectual pursuits and gender ideologies." (Swirsky & Angelone, 2016, p. 2). Later research by Ogletree, Diaz and Padilla (2017) found that these three major lines were also found in attitudes on feminism in adolescent females. Equality and inclusiveness were discovered to be the most relevant terms associated with feminism, which corresponds with the latter two points of Swirsky and Angelone (2016). The authors stated that values concerning the emancipation of women were the main goals that incorporated both equality and inclusiveness. Swirsky and Angelone's (2016) first indicator of historical awareness of gender-role division is also incorporated in these two concepts as an incentive for parties to implements these strategies. Hence, female emancipatory values will be defined as policy goals that seek to improve upon the inclusiveness and equality of women. The concept of female emancipatory values will be abbreviated to 'F.E.V.' from this point.

The definition of West and Zimmerman (1987) will be used for defining the concept of gender. It distinguishes two sides of a spectrum, that is specified by stereotypical male and female behaviour. It signifies that gender is not the same concept as biological sex. The theoretical expectation is that F.E.V. is implemented to achieve relevance within the female electorate (Adams, Haupt & Stoll, 2000; Hayes, 1997; Inglehart & Norris, 2000). To analyse if this occurs in the Dutch parliamentary elections, the first hypothesis (H[1]) is: *Women are more likely to vote for parties that incorporate F.E.V. in their programs*. This hypothesis determines if parties that have included F.E.V. have higher rates of female voters. It would therefore provide evidence for the strategic usage of the feminist paradigm in order to achieve relevance within the female electorate.

The outcomes of this hypothesis could indicate that F.E.V. implementations would not result in higher female voter turnouts. This would conclude that the usage of F.E.V. has no strategic purpose in the Dutch parliamentary elections. Another option would be that F.E.V. is not relevant in the Dutch elections. Research by Laver (2011) on 'vote-seeking' might provide an explanation when the premise of the first hypothesis is found to be unsupported. His study concludes that parties that adapt their stances to contemporary public issues, have more risk of being 'too close' to their electorate. Effects of this 'vote-seeking' behaviour would include the inability to attract new voters to the party. By doing so, the party's electorate would consist solely of those who were already voting in their favour (Laver, 2011). These findings fall in line with the frameworks by Adams, Haupt and Stoll (2009) on party positioning. Yet, Laver (2011) concludes that this manner of adaptation would not work in the benefit of the F.E.V. party.

*Secularism*

Multiple individual characteristics are included in this analysis in order to determine if these contribute to the remaining relevance of feminism in the Dutch electorate. Hayes' (1997) research on British electorates found that religion proved to be non-significant in the analysis when contesting whether gender and voting preferences were related. However, Christianity is mentioned as the primary factor in having an effect on voter turnout for F.E.V. parties by Manow and Emmenegger (2012). The works of Ghazal Read (2003) confirm this conclusion. The author states that traditionalism among women of Muslim and Christian religious denominations is higher when compared to secular women. The research found that gender-roles in line with traditional religious practices were relevant for these women. The concept of religiosity will therefore be analysed in context with the Dutch parliamentary elections of 2017.

It is expected that secular women are more likely to vote for parties that have included F.E.V. in their party programs. With this is meant that secularism influences the main relation between femininity and voting for an F.E.V. party. The second hypothesis (H²) therefore is: *Women are more likely to vote for F.E.V. parties and are more so if they are secular*. Positive significant results for this hypothesis would indicate that women who do not identify with a religion are voting more often for F.E.V. parties. The analysis concludes that religion is not a relevant factor in the initial relation between gender and F.E.V. parties if the results show non-significance.

*Political efficacy*

The works of Meijer (1996) suggest that individuals consider whether voting would make a societal difference. Condon and Holleque (2013) also conducted research on the relation between beliefs in political efficacy and whether the individual would vote or not. The authors found that the perception 'self-efficacy' contributes to the action of voting. With this is meant that an individual is more likely to vote when he or she perceives the chance of making an impact on society. The concept of efficacy implies the linkage between personal beliefs and voting behaviour (Meijer, 1996). It does not however include the link between the ideology of feminism and voting preferences. The individual efficacy is not enough to theoretically form an understanding of political efficacy.

The works of Anderson (2010) on the *Sense of community index* are included to provide context for the feminist paradigm. The theoretical idea implies that this perceived political efficacy is strengthened by the ideological correspondence to a societal movement or group. Feminism would serve as such a community in this context. This falls in line with the usage of politics to enable personal goals (Manow and Emmenegger, 2012; Meijer, 1996). This theoretical framework provides reason to assume that an individual's perception of political efficacy contributes to voting for a specific party. It is expected that F.E.V. in a party's program works as an incentive for the electorate to vote for that specific party. This study tests whether political efficacy influences the relation between femininity and voting for an F.E.V. party. It is expected that an increased belief in political efficacy strengthens the likelihood of women voting for F.E.V. parties. The third hypothesis (H³) is therefore: *Women are more likely to vote for F.E.V. parties and are more so when they perceive high political efficacy*. An outcome of non-significance for this hypothesis would indicate that the voter's preference is not or not fully based on political efficacy. It would suggest that the party's usage F.E.V. has not convinced the electorate that the party's program is relevant when it comes to feminism. This could contribute

to the general understanding of the remaining relevance of the strategic use of feminism in parliamentary elections of egalitarian countries.

*Experience with gender-based discrimination*

Research has shown that the perceived amount of discrimination on gender-basis has declined over the past decades. Kehn and Ruthig (2013) found that an ever declining perception of this form of discrimination is found in both older and young women. The authors concluded that the decline of reported gender-discrimination was present over a span of six decades. Although Kehn and Ruthig (2013) found a decrease in perceived discrimination, it is still uncertain if perceptions of discrimination have remained a static concept over time. The electorate of the Netherlands of 2017 might differ in this context. It is suspected that perceptions have shifted through an increase in media attention for inequality issues as well (Gill, 2016). The variable of experience with gender-discrimination might influence the relation between women and voting for an F.E.V. party. This would serve to clarify if the perception one has on gender-discrimination contributes to women voting for an F.E.V. party. Participating in the electorate would in this case be to achieve one's goal of overcoming this form of discrimination. The concept is expected to increase the likelihood of women voting for an F.E.V. party. Hence, the fourth hypothesis (H⁴) is: *Women are more likely to vote for F.E.V. parties and are more so if they perceive gender-discrimination*. In line with Kehn and Ruthig (2013), a possible non-significant outcome for this hypothesis indicates an apparent decrease in perceived gender-discrimination. It would imply that this issue does not contribute to the remaining relevance of feminism in politics.

## 2.2 Scientific relevance

The theoretical framework of this analysis exemplifies that earlier research was primarily focussed on either feminism or electoral preference. The case of the Dutch parliamentary elections holds some speculations about the effects of female emancipatory agendas in largely egalitarian countries. Theory describes the significance of feminism in contemporary politics. Yet, it shows that there is no general understanding of this paradigm in context with the parties involved. Although some Dutch parliamentary parties make use of it, the question remains whether the strategic usage of the feminist ideology leads to electoral relevance among women. This research also establishes an understanding of how the ideology has remained relevant in Western politics. It therefore contributes to the existing literature of political strategies on the basis of public opinion. Although Hayes (1997) indicated the importance of feminism in a party's program, this research attempts to explain the underlying reasons for the paradigm's

remaining relevance. It sheds light on the individual's conceptions of societal goals in relation to voting behaviour. The theoretical phenomenon of the gender gap in voting preference might find new life on an ideological dimension.

## 2.3 Societal relevance

There is an increase of objective egalitarianism in Dutch society (Portegijs & Van den Brakel, 2018). With this is meant that there are no legal distinctions between men and women in countries like the Netherlands for example. Yet, an increase in attention for emancipatory rights has shaped the way concepts like equality are being perceived (Gill, 2016). The influx of concern for equality raises questions about earlier notions of egalitarianism. It questions whether public opinions correspond with the outcomes of testing egalitarianism (Portegijs & Van den Brakel, 2018), as well as the premise that gender-based discrimination has declined since the 1960's (Kehn & Ruhtig, 2016).

Public opinion is expected to become increasingly relevant in politics (Adams, Haupt & Stoll, 2009). The intertwine between personal attitudes and voting preference (Meijer, 1996) has led policy makers to adapt to the rise of salient issues. This study contributes to their understanding of relevant contemporary topics. Those translating societal concerns into political policy might benefit from insights given in this analysis. This study could enable policy makers and social scientists to gain understanding of the remaining relevance of feminism in the political arena. With this, the societal movement of female emancipation is also challenged on its political strategic efficacy. The parliamentary political parties might therefore also benefit from insight in the mechanisms upholding the relevance of the feminism.

# 3. Methodology

## 3.1 Data description

*European Social Survey*

The 2018 dataset from the European Social Survey will be used for this analysis. This survey has been developed since the year 2002, and includes European countries and 'guest countries'. It uses individual respondent's answers to specific questions on varying topics (ESS, 2018). The European Social Survey will be abbreviated to the 'ESS' from this point.

## 3.2 Operationalisation

*Female emancipatory values*

Voting preference will be described in correspondence with the ESS from 2018. The survey has asked the respondents to choose between 14 political parties within the Dutch national

parliament in accordance with their voting preference. Voting preference is defined by the respondent's individual choice of vote for one specific party for the Dutch parliamentary elections of 2017.

The analysis on the strategic usage of the feminism will include a dichotomous division of the 14 parties that were campaigning for the Dutch parliamentary election of 2017. The categorization will be based on parties that have included F.E.V. in their programs, and those that did not. It is important to formulate criteria of what contemporary feminist attitudes are defined by in order to make a division in party programs. The aforementioned Swirsky and Angelone (2016) conducted research on the ideals that consistently described feminism throughout the decades it developed. The research by Ogletree, Diaz and Padilla (2017) corresponds with these criteria and combines them into 'equality' and 'inclusiveness'. These indicators are found to be most relevant in the contemporary definition of the feminist paradigm. Therefore, the criteria for determining whether a party's program incorporated F.E.V. will be based on (1) the mentioning of egalitarian values for men and women, and (2) the mentioning of efforts to construct inclusivity for women in society. The list of F.E.V. parties can be found in Appendix A (Table A1). This dependent variable *Voting for an F.E.V. party* will be constructed as dichotomous and therefore indicates whether the respondent voted for an F.E.V. party or not. The variable in the ESS (2018) holding the 14 parliamentary parties for the Dutch elections of 2017 will be recoded to ascribe a value of '1' tot F.E.V. parties and '0' to the parties that have not incorporated F.E.V. in their programs. A filter will be applied for only including Dutch respondents (N = 1190) in this research as well. In total, 48 percent (571 respondents) of the sample has voted for an F.E.V. party.

The analysis excludes respondents that have not voted or voted blank. The non-voting respondents are also represented among the missing values for the variable of voting preference. These groups are left out of the analysis, for this research focusses on voting preferences. With no preference in voting, these cases have no additional value when conducting the tests. A total of 483 respondents is therefore not included in the analysis. Women and men are almost equally distributed amongst non-voters, with the percentage of women for this group being 53.8 percent.

*Gender*

The ESS (2018) includes a variable for determining the respondent's gender. Those who identify as 'male' or 'female' in the ESS (2018), are assumed to do this in accordance with their behavioural identification overall (West & Zimmerman, 1987). A binary logistic regression

analysis will be conducted for determining whether women are more likely to vote for F.E.V. parties (H¹). The variable *Gender* (N = 1190) will be recoded to ensure that the category for women (581 respondents, 50.2 percent) holds the value of '1', with men as reference category having a value of '0'.

If the analysis proves that there is a significant positive effect (at the 95% confidence interval level), it means that there is evidence to assume parties incorporate F.E.V. in order to achieve relevance among the female electorate. This would confirm the strategical use of the feminist paradigm in order to attract female voters. The visualisation of this effect is found in Figure 1 in Appendix B.

The main relation between *Gender* and *Voting for an F.E.V. party* will be moderated by three variables that will be described from this point. These variables are introduced to analyse if and how they influence the relevance of feminism in parliamentary elections of egalitarian countries.

*Secularism's effect on women voting for F.E.V. parties*

Theory indicates that there are reasons to assume secularism is a significant influence in the relation between *Gender* and *Voting for an F.E.V.* party. (H²). This assumption is based on the theory describing voting preferences over the past decades. *Secularism* is added to moderate for the main effect between *Gender* (independent variable) and *Voting for an F.E.V. party* (dependent variable). Therefore, the first model for moderating the main relation will include *Secularism* (Model 1). This connection is also visualised in Figure 1 (Appendix B). The dataset from the European Social Survey (2018) holds that 84.7 percent of religious Dutch respondents falls under the Christian denomination. The second largest group of religious respondents are Muslims. These two religions are the major denominations in the ESS-dataset, as the Muslim group represents 12 percent of the total sample size. The theory provided by Ghazal Read (2003) stated that there is no notable difference in gender attitudes between Muslim and Christian women. The variable of *Secularism* is included as dichotomous, for it is theoretically feasible that these two major religions correspond in their stances on female emancipation in context with traditionalism. The variable in which the respondents indicate whether they are religious or not is recoded. Non-religious respondents (815 total, 68.5 percent) are ascribed with the value of '1', with religious respondents (375) having a value of '0'. The expectation is that this moderating variable correlates positively to the main relation. This would imply that secularist women are more likely to vote for a party that has implemented F.E.V. in its program. Model 1 will be tested through a binary logistic regression analysis as well.

*Political efficacy's effect on women voting for F.E.V. parties*

Political efficacy is assumed to contribute to the remaining relevance of feminism in politics as well (H³). The second model for moderating the relation between *Gender* and *Voting for an F.E.V. party* incorporates the variable *Political Efficacy* (Model 2). *Political Efficacy* is expected to correlate positively to the main effect between *Gender* and *Voting for an F.E.V. party*. A scale of four items is used to determine if the respondent perceives political efficacy ($\alpha = .753$). The four items on the scale are: 'Political system allows people to have a say in what government does'; 'Able to take active role in political group'; 'Political system allows people to have influence on politics' and 'Confident in own ability to participate in politics'. The answering range varies from '1' stating 'not at all' to '5' stating 'a great deal'. The Cronbach's Alpha analysis on internal reliability is represented in Table B1 in Appendix B.

The construct of political efficacy implies that incentives to political participation increase the likelihood of voting for a party that adheres to the feminist ideology. This would partially explain the remaining relevance of feminism in politics. The theoretical expectation is that the effect of political efficacy increases women's voting preference for F.E.V. parties. The modelling is represented in Figure 1 in Appendix B. The effect of the moderator for political efficacy will be tested by adding it to the binary logistic regression analysis as a moderating effect on the main relation between *Gender* and *Voting for an F.E.V. party*.

*Perceptions of gender-based discrimination on women voting for F.E.V. parties*

There will be a variable added for indicating the respondent's perceptions of discrimination based on gender (see Appendix B, Figure 1). *Gender Discrimination* (Model 3) is expected to have a positive effect on the main relation (H⁴). This means that the individual is more likely to vote for an F.E.V. party when he or she believes that gender-discrimination is a salient issue. The ESS (2018) asks the respondent whether he or she has ever experienced discrimination on the basis of gender. The variable is also recoded to be dichotomous. Perceived gender-discrimination is assumed to contribute to feminism remaining relevant among the Dutch electorate. Respondents that claim to have experienced gender-discrimination are recoded as '1' (18 cases, 1.5 percent). The other 98.5 percent of respondents (1172 in total) have indicated that they have never experienced gender discrimination. This group is recoded as '0'.

It is noteworthy to mention that the total amount of respondents that has indicated to have experienced this type of discrimination rises to 19 total when incorporating non-voters as well. However, no male respondents are marked here as '1'. This implies that no men within the dataset have experienced discrimination on the basis of gender. This imbalance in frequency

distribution might shift the overall effect of the variable itself. The analysis' results will have to indicate whether it becomes problematic to incorporate *Gender Discrimination* in the analysis.

*Combined modelling*

The analysis will end with the introduction of a combined model of all four variables (Model 4). With this model it is tested whether the included moderating variables compete with one another in their relation to the main effect. Model 4 is also represented in Figure 1 in Appendix B.

## 3.3 Ethics & privacy considerations

The ESS (2018) upholds that respondents are not obligated to answer questions in the survey if they prefer not to do so. This study will not reveal the identities of respondents as well. Further considerations are included in the CHECKLIST ETHICAL AND PRIVACY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH, which is added in Appendix C for clarification.

# 4. Results

The binary logistic regression analysis has been conducted after recoding the variables and constructing the scale for *Political Efficacy*. The first analysis will describe the initial relationship between *Gender* and *Voting for an F.E.V. party*, after which the main effects of *Secularism*, *Political Efficacy* and *Gender Discrimination* are tested (Table 2). With this is meant that these variables will be tested in direct effect to *Voting for an F.E.V. party*, before the interaction effects (Appendix B, Figure 1) are added through models 1-4 (Table 3). Based on the findings in this result sections, additional changes to the models can be made to form the best explanatory model. Table 1 introduces descriptive information of all the variables beforehand.

Table 1.

*Frequencies of independent variable Gender, dependent variable F.E.V. Vote and moderators Secularism, Political Efficacy and Gender Discrimination*

|  | Gender (F) | F.E.V. Vote | Secularism | Political Efficacy | Gender Discrimination |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **N** | 1190 | 1190 | 1190 | 1190 | 1190 |
| **Mean** | .49 | .48 | .69 | 9.9 | .02 |
| **Std. deviation** | .50 | .50 | .47 | 3.54 | .12 |
| **Range** | .00 - 1.00 | .00 - 1.00 | .00 - 1.00 | 1 - 19 | .00 – 1.00 |

*Main effect of Gender and Voting for an F.E.V. party*

Table 2 introduces the main effect between *Gender* and *Voting for an F.E.V. party*. The three independent variables *Secularism*, *Political Efficacy* and *Gender Discrimination* are tested after this section.

The first hypothesis set out to test the relation between *Gender* and *F.E.V. voting*. The relation shows to be significant $(\chi^2(1) = 24.094, p < .001)$ with a maximum confidence interval of 99.9 percent. However, the coefficient between the dependent and independent variable appears to be negative (Exp(B) = .564). The negative coefficient of *Gender* (Table 2) indicates that the premise of women being more likely to vote for an F.E.V. party is reversed. For the main effect of *Gender* on *Voting for an F.E.V. party*, women are found to be less likely to vote

for a parliamentary party that has implemented female emancipatory values in its party program. There is no support found for the first hypothesis (H[1]).

*Secularism, Political Efficacy and Gender Discrimination as main effect*

Continuing to test the included variables individually in Table 2, it is found that *Secularism* proves to be significant ($p < .001$) in its main effect towards *Voting for an F.E.V. party*. This model is also significant ($\chi^2(1) = 30.435$, $p < .01$). Secularists are 2.012 times (Exp(B)) more likely to vote for an F.E.V. party when *Secularism* is implemented individually. Table 2 indicates that the explained variance is 3.4 percent (Nagelkerke Pseudo-R²).

 *Political Efficacy* is also found to be significant ($p < .001$) as an independent variable towards *Voting for an F.E.V. party* as well. The model using these two variables exclusively is also significant ($\chi^2(1) = 6.961$, $p < .01$). The coefficient for Political Efficacy is marginal (Table 2), with an explained variance of .8 percent (Nagelkerke Pseudo-R²).

 The results from Table 2 indicate that the independent variable *Gender Discrimination* did not reach significance in direct relation towards *Voting for an F.E.V. party*. The model is also found to be non-significant ($\chi^2(1) = 2.591$, $p > .05$). The explained variance is .3 percent (Nagelkerke Pseudo-R²). The following analyses will introduce the interaction effects of the moderating variables on the main effect between *Gender* towards *Voting for an F.E.V. party*. These will give insights in our remaining hypothesis.

Table 2.

*The direct effect of Secularism, Political Efficacy and Gender Discrimination towards Voting for an F.E.V. party*

| (N = 1190) | | Main Relation | | Exp(B) | Nagelkerke Pseudo-R² |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **B** | **S.E.** | | |
| | **Constant** | .211 | .083 | .564 | .027 |
| | Gender (F) | -.573*** | .117 | | |
| | **Constant** | -.564 | .107 | 2.012 | .034 |
| Independent variables | Secularism | .699*** | .128 | | |
| | **Constant** | -.509 | .173 | 1.044 | .008 |
| | Political Efficacy | .043*** | .017 | | |
| | **Constant** | -.092 | .058 | 2.193 | .003 |
| | Gender Discrimination | .785 (n.s.) | .503 | | |

*Secularism, Political Efficacy and Gender Discrimination in interaction with the main effect between Gender and Voting for an F.E.V. party*

Table 3 shows the moderators of model 1-4, including the added independent variables. By testing these in relation to the main effect, the interaction effect of *Secularism, Political Efficacy* and *Gender Discrimination* towards *Voting for an F.E.V. party* is determined. Model 1 includes: *Gender, Secularism* (moderating) and *Voting for an F.E.V. party* (dependent). Model 2 includes: *Gender, Political Efficacy* (moderating) and *Voting for an F.E.V. party* (dependent). Model 3 includes: *Gender, Gender Discrimination* (moderating) and *Voting for an F.E.V. party* (dependent). Model 4 includes all moderating effects, including the dependent variable *Voting for an F.E.V. party* and independent variable *Gender*.

The first model (Model 1) tested the moderating effect of *Secularism* on the F.E.V. voting for women. Table 3 indicates that the interaction effect of *Secularism* is insignificant. However, the independent variable of *Secularism* correlates positively towards F.E.V. vote (p < .01). The model itself is significant ($\chi^2(3)$ = 58.338, p < .001) and indicates that secularists are 1.8 times (Exp(B)) more likely to vote for an F.E.V. party. The explained variance (Nagelkerke Pseudo-$R^2$) changes from 2.7 to 6.4 percent when compared to the main effect. These results lead to confirming H[2] partially, for findings indicate that secularists are more likely to vote for an F.E.V. party. However, women are found not to vote more often for these parties (H[1]).

Model 2 (Table 3) is found to be significant ($\chi^2(3)$ = 37.202, p < .001), yet unable to provide relevant indicators for explaining the variances in F.E.V. voting. *Political efficacy* is found to have no significant effect on the main relation. There is therefore no support found for the third hypothesis (H[3]). This implies that neither being a woman, nor being a woman with high beliefs in political efficacy, increases the likelihood of voting for a political party that has implemented F.E.V. in its party program.

Model 3 (Table 3) introduced the moderating effect of *Gender Discrimination* to the main relation. The model itself appears to be significant ($\chi^2(2)$ = 25.098, p < .001). However, the independent variable for *Gender Discrimination* proves to be non-significant. More so, the moderating effect of *Gender Discrimination* was found to be redundant in its frequency distribution. This has led to the moderating variable (*Gend. Disc. * Gender*) being excluded from the analysis. Results from Table 3 (and Table 2) indicate that there is no significance for *Gender Discrimination* as an individual variable. Therefore, the fourth hypothesis (H[4]) is also left with no support. These results imply that neither women, nor women that have experienced gender discrimination, are more likely to vote for an F.E.V. party.

Table 3.

*The effect of moderators Secularism, Political Efficacy and Gender Discrimination on the main relation between Gender and Voting for an F.E.V. party*

N = 1190

| | | Main Relation | | Model 1. | | Model 2. | | Model 3. | | Model 4. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B | S.E. | B | S.E. | B | S.E. | B | S.E. | B | S.E. |
| **Main effect** | **Constant** | .211 | .083 | -.354 | .146 | -.535 | .254 | .196 | .085 | -1.007 | ,280 |
| | Gender (F) | -.573*** | .117 | -.449* | .217 | -.246 (n.s.) | .356 | -.558 *** | .118 | -.197 (n.s.) | ,401 |
| Independent variables | Secularism | | | .615** | .188 | (n.s.) | | | | .610*** | .188 |
| | Political Efficacy | | | | | .040 | .022 | | | .039 (n.s.) | .023 |
| | Gender Discrimination | | | | | | | .497 (n.s.) | .507 | .340 (n.s.) | .521 |
| Moderators in main effect: Model 1-4 | Secularism * Gender | | | .240 | .260 | | | | | .205 (n.s.) | .261 |
| | Gender | | | (n.s.) | | | | | | | |
| | Pol. Eff. * Gender | | | | | .040 | .034 | | | .033 (n.s.) | .035 |
| | Gender | | | | | (n.s.) | | | | | |
| | Gend. Disc. * Gender | | | | | | | - | - | - | - |
| | Gender | | | | | | | | | | |
| | **Nagelkerke Pseudo-R²** | .027 | | .064 | | .041 | | .028 | | .076 | |

\* p < .05 , \*\* p < .01 , \*\*\* p < .001

Main effect: Gender, Voting for an F.E.V. party (dependent)

When combining all moderating effects in Model 4 (Table 3), it is found that *Secularism* remains as the only significant independent variable. *Gender* becomes insignificant again. The model itself is significant ($\chi^2(6) = 69.422$, p < .001), with an explained variance (Nagelkerke Pseudo-R²) of 7.6 percent. However, all but one variable has proven to be significant. The combined Model 4 indicates that *Secularism* holds the most relevance in relation to the main effect. *Gender* as an independent variable has been found to correspond with *Secularism* best in Model 1. The following analysis will introduce an alternative model in order to determine the best model for predicting whether the individual would vote for an F.E.V. party.

*Best model fit*

Considering the results from Table 3, we find that *Secularism* and *Gender* are the only two significant predictors for F.E.V. voting in Model 1. Table 2 indicates that *Secularism* has the highest explained variance (Nagelkerke Pseudo-R²) when compared independently to *Gender* as the main variable. An apparent relation between those two independent variables has led to speculation about the possibility of a different model. Table 4 introduces an alternative for fitting *Gender* and *Secularism* in relation to *Voting for an F.E.V. party*.

Before introducing the alternative model, *Secularism* will be selected as the independent variable in the main effect. Figure 2 (Appendix B) visualises this new model (Main Relation 2). The outcome of the binary logistic analysis (Table 4) indicates that *Secularism* is significant as the independent variable in direct relation to *Voting for an F.E.V. party* (p < .001). The model of Main Relation 2 is also found to be significant ($\chi^2(1) = 30.435$, p < .001). We find that secularists are more than twice (Exp(B) = 2.012) as likely to vote for an F.E.V. party than non-secularists. This finding corresponds with earlier findings in Table 2 and earlier conclusions on the second hypothesis (H²).

The Alternative Model introduces *Gender* as an independent variable to the Main Relation 2 (Table 4). This new model is visualised in Figure 2 (Appendix B). *Gender* is found to be significant (p < .001) The explained variance (Nagelkerke Pseudo-R²) rises from 3.4 to 6.3 percent for the complete model. This Alternative Model is found to be significant ($\chi^2(2) = 57.489$, p < .001) as well. Both *Secularism* and *Gender* appear to strengthen in their relation to the dependent variable when applied together independently. These results indicate that secularists are more likely to vote for an F.E.V. party, as well as that women are less likely to do so.

Returning to the first and second hypothesis (H[1] and H[2]), results indicate that although both premises are rejected, there is evidence on the relation towards *Voting for an F.E.V. party* of *Gender* and *Secularism*. Findings show that both variables add explanatory strength to one another.

Table 4.

*Alternative modelling for the relation between Gender and Secularism towards F.E.V. voting*

| N = 1190 | Main Relation 2 | | Alternative Model | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **B** | **S.E.** | **B** | **S.E.** |
| **Constant** | -.564 | .107 | -.279 | .121 |
| Secularism | .699 *** | .128 | .742*** | .130 |
| Gender | | | -.617*** | .119 |
| .. | | | | |
| **Nagelkerke Pseudo-R²** | .034 | | .063 | |

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

Main Relation 2: Secularism (independent), Voting for an F.E.V. party (dependent)

Alternative Model: Secularism (independent), Gender (independent), Voting for an F.E.V. party (dependent)

*Chances of voting for an F.E.V. party*

The results for the Alternative Model have indicated that the best model for determining *Voting for an F.E.V. party* is constructed by implementing *Secularism* and *Gender* as independent variables. The Alternative Model will be adopted as the best fitting model. Implications for the first hypothesis conclude that although women are less likely to vote for an F.E.V. party (H[1]), gender itself is a significant predictor. It is therefore that the aforementioned partial support for the second hypothesis is highlighted (H[2]). Secularists are found to be more likely to vote for an F.E.V. party, with the notion that there is a correspondence to the individual's gender. When conducting the calculation conform the regression formula (1), secular men are found to have a chance of 46.3 percent of voting for an F.E.V. party. When adding the coefficient for women ($\beta^2$ = -.617), the odds of voting for an F.E.V. party decrease to minus 15 percent. These outcomes correspond with our rejection of the first hypothesis (H[1]), which led to the conclusion that women are actually less likely to vote for a party that has implemented female emancipatory values in its program.

$$F.E.V.^{vote} = \frac{\Sigma \, Intercept + (\beta^1 * \chi^1 Sec.) + (\beta^2 * \chi^2 Gend.)}{\Sigma \, Intercept + (\beta^1 * \chi^1 Sec.) + (\beta^2 * \chi^2 Gend.) + 1}. \tag{1}$$

# 5. Conclusions

The analyses that were conducted in this research set out to clarify the strategic usage of female emancipatory values, as well as the mechanisms behind the remaining relevance of the feminist paradigm in contemporary politics. The research question remains: *How do political parties in the Netherlands use a female emancipatory agenda and why is this a relevant factor for the electorate?*

Results from the binary logistic analysis have shown that women are less likely to vote for a party that has implemented female emancipatory values in its party program. This finding is contradicting our theoretical expectations on the strategic usage of the feminist paradigm in politics. The explained variance of gender was less compelling when compared to the influence of secularism on voting preference. The results from the analysis indicate that secularists are more likely to vote for a party that has implemented F.E.V. in its party program. More so, secularism has proven to be stronger in its influence when compared to gender.

The remaining results about political efficacy and gender discrimination were found to be insignificant predictors for voting for an F.E.V. party. Although the dataset indicated the possible problematic nature of the variable for gender discrimination, it was also contradicting to earlier theoretical expectations to find that the belief in political efficacy failed to reach significance in the models.

 Findings show no strategic usage of the feminist paradigm in the Dutch parliamentary election of 2017. Women were found to be less likely to vote for a party that implemented female emancipatory values in its party program. However, the remaining relevance of female emancipation is partially explained. Gender and secularism are still found to be significant contributions to an individual voting for a party that has implemented female emancipatory values. This electoral relevance is prevalent among both secularists and men.

# 6. Discussion

*Theoretical implications*

The parliamentary elections of 2017 in the Netherlands led to speculation about the underlying themes that contributed to the major shifts in seats. According to research from Hayes (1997), Abendschön and Steinmetz (2014), and Inglehart and Norris (2000), there was reason to suspect that the electoral relevance of feminism was perhaps more complex when considering the closing gender gap in voting preference. Hayes' (1997) empirical findings have been confirmed, being that female emancipatory values draw women and men alike to vote for certain parties.

Gender has become less of a significant factor in voting preference, whereas religiosity remained relevant in determining voting behaviour. Manow and Emmenegger's (2012) works are hence highlighted through this research. Introducing this study, the premise of feminism being used strategically to remain relevant for the female electorate was argued to have been a feasible approach. Yet, findings show that the opposite is true.

Another suggestion as to why the strategic usage of feminism has remained unsupported, is found in the aforementioned works over Laver (2011). It has been argued by the author that 'vote-seeking' would lead to policy being too strongly corresponding with the current electorates of F.E.V. parties. In doing so, these parties would disable new voters from growing familiar with the party's ideological stances. Converted to this context, it would imply that F.E.V. parties fail to attract new female voters, for their strong stances on female emancipation are felt to be more of a niche. Since the European Social Survey has not included motivations for respondent's voting behaviour, this argument cannot be fully made.

Theory indicates that the closing gender gap in preferential voting is becoming less about gender, and more about traditionalist beliefs versus progressive movements. Adams, Haupt and Stoll (2009) found that politics are shifting alongside the development of social movements. Their premise of opinion-based party positioning is perhaps in this context not focussed on men and women. Rather, parties position themselves according to the progressiveness or conservativeness of their electorate. This is not a mere reflection of opinion, but a larger paradigm in which religiousness and secularism form an alternative voting gap.

*Gender discrimination*

The incorporation of gender-discrimination for this research was based on the suspicion that beliefs about the definition of discrimination had shifted throughout the decades. The 1.5 percent respondents in the ESS that claimed to have experienced gender discrimination fall in line with the theoretical frame by Kehn and Ruthig (2013). In this line of deduction, gender-based discrimination has become less and less feasible to take into account when conducting such research.

However, research by the aforementioned Gill (2016) has indicated that the rise in awareness for female emancipatory issues is prevalent throughout Western society. Recent research by Vigod and Rochon (2020) from the World Health Organisation have indicated that there is a gender gap in psychological wellbeing as a result of experience with gender-based discrimination. According to the study, women were more likely to suffer from mental health issues as a result of being discriminated on the basis of their femininity. Hence, this gives reason

to speculate about the marginal group of discriminated women in the ESS. Vigod and Rochon's (2020) research suggests that the reporting of gender discrimination is perhaps less prevalent that the actual frequency of perceived discrimination in the European Social Survey.

Research by Neyer and Stempel (2019) has also found that the major factor contributing to the gender wage-gap is the imbalance in labour division in households. Developed countries have been found to have more women doing domestic work, as a result of feeling excluded from the labour market. The authors suggest that either the inefficiency of women in the labour force, and the excessive participation of men, leads to a decrease in macroeconomic output. It is concluded that gender-based discrimination has an effect on a country's economic system. Clear suggestions about the influence and extent of women's perceptions of discrimination are found within these works. Hence, one can argue whether the distribution of the variable *Gender Discrimination* in the ESS is representative. The aforementioned studies suggest that there is a difference between the reporting of gender-discrimination and the actual amount happening that is not represented back in the survey's output.

*Following research*

This research has contributed to the general understanding of the strategic usage of female emancipatory values in contemporary politics. With the conclusion that the female gender is perhaps not a solid indicator of voting for a specific political party, the movements of political parties in accordance to public opinion are found to be more complex. Electoral relevance is a diverse and ever-changing field of study. Therefore, further research might focus on public opinion and party positioning in correspondence with social movements. The premise of strategic usage of female emancipatory values came from the general insight that politics and personal ideals are intertwined. The question resides, what moves an individual to claim partisanship to a specific social movement and corresponding political party.

*The future of parliamentary campaigning*

Findings from this study indicate that the adaptation of parties to the public debate is more complex than previously thought. Basing policy stances on contemporary issues has been proven to be the primary goal in order to seek votes from the electorate. Yet, as conclusions suggest, general ideological shifts are not to be taken lightly. The closing of the gender gap in voting preference marked the ending of an era in which personal characteristics were a solid indicator for partisanship.

Although this study contributes to the argument that general ideology among the electorate is a significant factor in voting preference, it is still not a complete explanation for

the division in partisanship in the Netherlands. Women were found to be less likely to vote for a party that has implemented female emancipatory values in their program. Yet, female emancipatory values are not solely explaining preferential voting between men and women. The sample from the European Social Survey also indicates that divisions in gender are varying between individual parliamentary parties. Some Dutch F.E.V. parties have an almost 50-50 distribution between genders (*D66*), whilst others have a significantly larger female electorate (*GroenLinks*). These distributions suggest that there is more to these parties than merely mentioning feminist values, in order to achieve relevance. As mentioned earlier, there is more to discover about the formation of political partisanship.

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# Appendix A. 2017-2021 Parliamentary Parties

Based on all the programs from the 2017 elections, the group of F.E.V. Parties consists of: *PvdA* (labour party); *SP* (socialist party); *D66* (social-democrats); *Groenlinks* (green leftists); *PvdD* (animal rights and green-socialist party), *Artikel1* (inclusiveness progressives) and *DENK* (multi-cultural progressive left). The remaining parties, which do not include F.E.V. in their 2017 electoral party program are: *VVD* (centre-right democrats); *PVV* (anti-immigrant conservative party); *CDA* (Christian democrats); *ChristenUnie* (Christian democrats); *SGP* (Reformed conservatives); *50PLUS* (socialist democrats elderly-party) and *FvD* (conservative democrats).

Table A1.

*Division of political parties in the Dutch parliamentary election, based on the F.E.V. in their party programs*

| Parties that did not include F.E.V. in their program for the 2017 parliamentary election | VVD | - Strong opposition to quotas for women in labour markets (*no implementation of inclusiveness*) |
|---|---|---|
| | PVV | - No mention of emancipatory values concerning gender (*no mention of F.E.V.*) |
| | CDA | - No mention of gender issues or social justice paradigm (*no mention of F.E.V.*) |
| | ChristenUnie | - Against abortion (*no implementation of equality through traditional beliefs on birth and pregnancy*) <br> - Opposes quota for women (*no implementation of inclusiveness*) <br> - Wishes to implement more traditional gender-role divisions (*no implementation of equality*) |
| | SGP | - Against abortion (*no implementation of equality through traditional beliefs on birth and pregnancy*) <br> - Favours traditional gender-role divisions (*no implementation of equality*) <br> - No further mention of emancipatory values (*no mention of F.E.V.*) |
| | 50PLUS | - No mention of emancipatory values (*no mention of F.E.V.*) <br> - Only mentions age-discrimination (*no mention of F.E.V.*) |
| | FvD | - No mention of emancipatory values to women specifically (*no mention of F.E.V.*) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parties that include F.E.V. in their program for the 2017 parliamentary election | PvdA | - | Wishes to implement quotas on women in certain functions (*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness and equality*) |
| | | - | Has aspirations to end gender-discrimination (*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness and equality*) |
| | | - | Wishes more women to join developmental work abroad (*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness*) |
| | SP | - | Strict control of labour- and income division between men and women(*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness and equality*) |
| | | - | Wishes to implement quotas for working environments (*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness and equality*) |
| | D66 | - | Explicitly mentions the wish to abstain from differentiating in gender (*mentioning implementation of equality*) |
| | GroenLinks | - | In favour of quotas for women in working environments (*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness and equality*) |
| | | - | Firm against gender-discrimination (*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness*) |
| | PvdD | - | In favour of quotas for women among civil servants and public offices (*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness and equality*) |
| | | - | Strongly opposes discrimination(*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness*) |
| | Artikel1 | - | Firmly against discrimination (*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness*) |
| | | - | In favour of equal payment and quotas for gender (*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness and equality*) |
| | | - | Promotes inclusiveness as a major point (*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness*) |
| | DENK | - | Implements equal payment for both men and women (*mentioning and equality*) |
| | | - | Strongly opposes discrimination of all denominations (*mentioning implementation of inclusiveness*) |

# Appendix B. Conceptual modelling & Political Efficacy scale
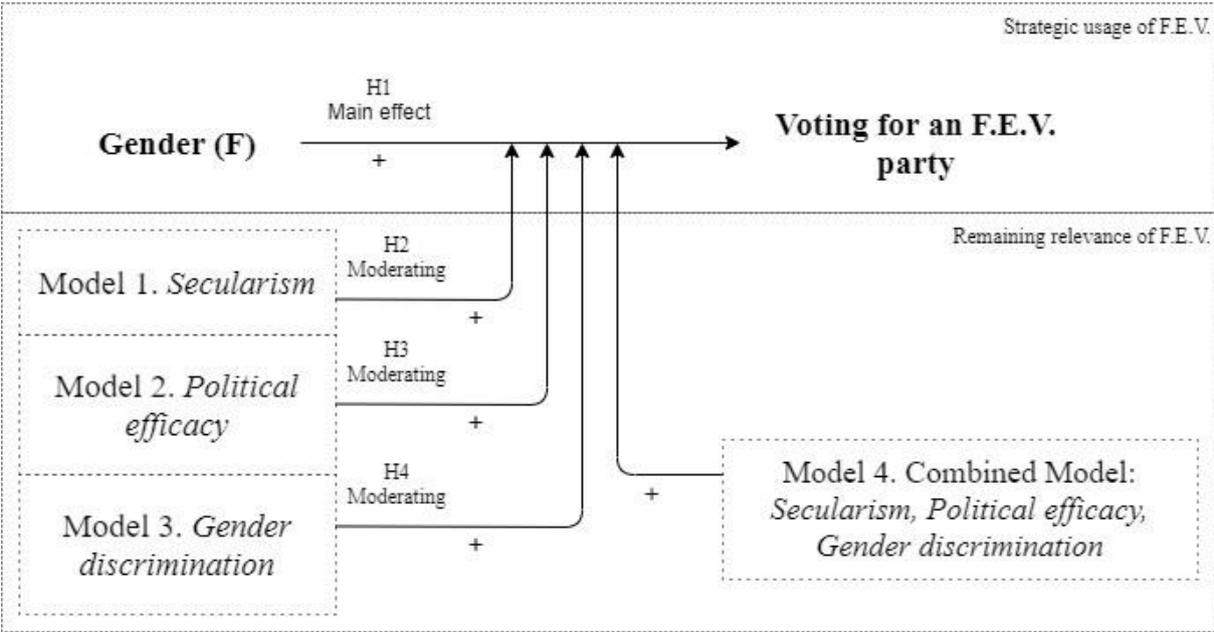


Figure 1.        *Conceptual model of the analysis, including moderating variables*
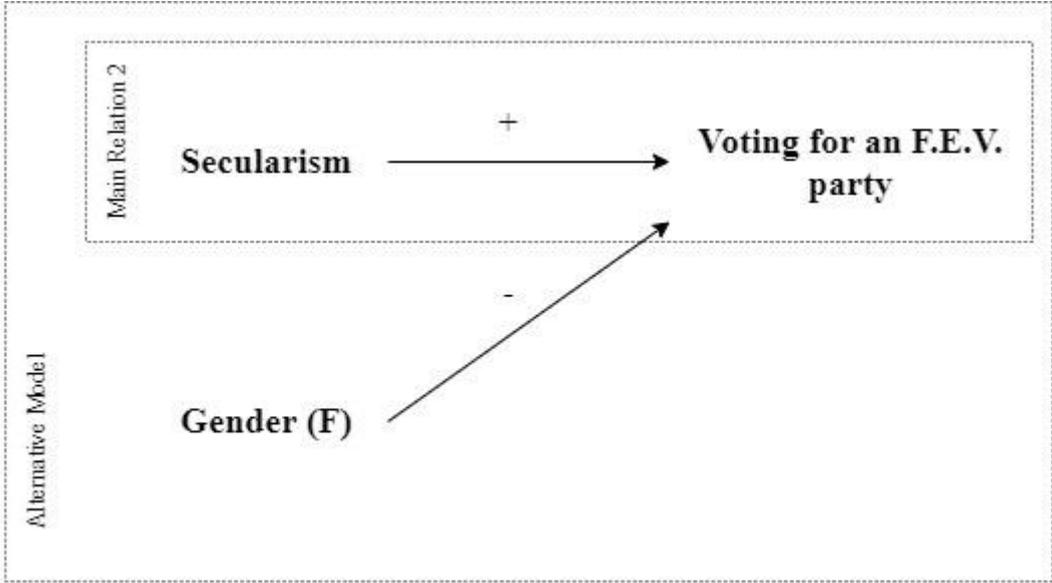


Figure 2.        *Main Model 2 and Alternative model*

Table B1.

*Internal reliability analysis if items on Political Efficacy scale (α = .753) were to be deleted*

| Individual items | Cronbach's Alpha if this item was deleted from the *Political Efficacy*-scale |
|---|---|
| Political system allows people to have a say in what government does | .735 |
| Able to take active role in political group | .678 |
| Political system allows people to have influence on politics | .680 |
| Confident in own ability to participate in politics | .684 |

# Appendix C. Checklist Ethical & Privacy Aspects of Research



*CHECKLIST ETHICAL AND PRIVACY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH*

*INSTRUCTION*

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website (http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page_id=17). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Jennifer A. Holland, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

*PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION*

Project title:    *4.5 Master Thesis*

Name, email of student: *David D. Henneveld , 512625dh@eur.nl*

Name, email of supervisor:    *dr. prof. Pearl A. Dykstra*

Start date and duration: *January 20$^{th}$, 2020*

Is the research study conducted within DPAS        YES - ~~NO~~

If 'NO': at or for what institute or organization will the study be conducted?

(e.g. internship organization)

## *PART II: TYPE OF RESEARCH STUDY*

Please indicate the type of research study by circling the appropriate answer:

1.     Research involving human participants.     YES                   -               ~~NO~~

        If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research?          ~~YES~~ - NO

*Research that falls under the Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act (WMO) must first be submitted to an accredited medical research ethics committee or the Central Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (CCMO).*

2.     Field observations without manipulations that will not involve

identification of participants.                              YES - ~~NO~~

3.     Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary            data
that has been anonymized by someone else).     YES - ~~NO~~

## *PART III: PARTICIPANTS* (not relevant)

(Complete this section only if your study involves human participants)

Where will you collect your data?

_____

_____

*Note: indicate for separate data sources.*

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

_____

_____

*Note: indicate for separate data sources.*

What is the size of the population from which you will sample?

_____

_____

*Note: indicate for separate data sources.*

1.      Will information about the nature of the study and about what participants can expect during the study be withheld from them?      YES - NO

2.      Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written 'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study?      YES - NO

3.      Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation at any time be withheld from participants?      YES - NO

4.      Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants?      YES      -      NO
*Note: almost all research studies involve some kind of deception of participants. Try to think about what types of deception are ethical or non-ethical (e.g. purpose of the study is not told, coercion is exerted on participants, giving participants the feeling that they harm other people by making certain decisions, etc.).*

Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by participants?      `      YES - NO

Will information be collected about special categories of data, as defined by the GDPR (e.g. racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, genetic data, biometric data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a person, data concerning mental or physical health, data concerning a person's sex life or sexual orientation)?      YES - NO

Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or other groups that cannot give consent?      YES - NO

Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study?      YES - NO

Can participants be identified by the study results or can the confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured?      YES - NO

Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study?      YES - NO

If you have answered 'YES' to any of the previous questions, please indicate below why this issue is unavoidable in this study.

What safeguards are taken to relieve possible adverse consequences of these issues (e.g., informing participants about the study afterwards, extra safety regulations, etc.).

_____

Are there any unintended circumstances in the study that can cause harm or have

negative (emotional) consequences to the participants? Indicate what possible circumstances this could be.

_____

*Please attach your informed consent form in Appendix I, if applicable.*

### *Part IV: Data storage and backup*

Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

*Safely on the researcher's laptop, as well as on the mail-server from the Eramus University*

Note: indicate for separate data sources, for instance for paper-and pencil test data, and for digital data files.

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?

*The researcher himself*

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?

*Any given day  on which there has been progress in the research and its analysis within the dataset*

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?

*(not relevant)*

## PART VI: SIGNATURE

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student: *D. D. Henneveld*          Name (EUR) supervisor: *P. A. Dykstra*

Date:   18-03-2020                       Date: 18-03-2020