

Supplementary Materials:
Backlash Boys? Understanding The Gender Gap in
Radical-Right Support Among Young People

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Data

Data source and sample design

- British Election Study (BES) Internet Panel, Waves 16–28.
- Participants were recruited by YouGov from an opt-in online panel, using quota sampling to approximate the British adult population in terms of age, gender, region, and social grade.
- Panelists were retained across multiple waves, with periodic refreshment samples added to address attrition and maintain representativeness.
- Eligible participants were residents of Great Britain, aged 18 or older, with internet access.

Fieldwork dates and sample sizes

- Wave 16: 24 May–18 June 2019. 37,959 respondents (65% retention from Wave 15); included a panel refresh.
- Wave 17: 1–12 November 2019. 34,366 respondents (59% retention from Wave 16).
- Wave 18: 13 November–11 December 2019. 37,825 respondents (74% retention from Wave 17).
- Wave 19: 13–23 December 2019. 32,177 respondents (69% retention from Wave 18).
- Wave 20: 3–21 June 2020. 31,468 respondents (55% retention from Wave 19).
- Wave 21: 7–25 May 2021. 30,281 respondents (53% retention from Wave 20).
- Wave 22: 26 November–15 December 2021. 28,113 respondents (64% retention from Wave 21).
- Wave 23: 6–26 May 2022. 30,949 respondents (72% retention from Wave 22).
- Wave 24: 1–14 December 2022. 15,439 respondents (42% retention from Wave 23); this was a supplemental wave.
- Wave 25: 5–23 May 2023. 30,407 respondents (63% retention from Wave 23; 74% retention from Wave 24).
- Wave 26: 3–22 May 2024. 30,064 respondents (65% retention from Wave 25).
- Wave 27: 24 May–7 June 2024. 30,445 respondents (74% retention from Wave 26).
- Wave 28: 10 June–3 July 2024. 31,582 respondents (76% retention from Wave 27).

Variables and Measures

This section describes the variables used in the analysis and their corresponding survey items from the British Election Study (BES). Where applicable, scales were created by averaging multiple items, with Cronbach's alpha (α) reported for reliability.

Authoritarian-Libertarian Values Scale

Variable: `al_scale` (W20, W21, W22, W23, W24, W25-26, W27-29)

A composite scale provided on the BES dataset measuring authoritarian versus libertarian values.

Left-Right Economic Values Scale

Variable: `lr_scale` (W20, W21, W22, W23, W24, W25-26, W27-29)

A composite scale provided on the BES dataset measuring economic left-right values.

Opposition to Equity

Survey Items: Do you think these efforts have gone too far or not far enough in Britain? (W23, W27)

- `blackEquality`: Attempts to give equal opportunities to ethnic minorities
- `femaleEquality`: Attempts to give equal opportunities to women
- `gayEquality`: Attempts to give equal opportunities to gays and lesbians

Response set: 1 Not gone nearly far enough; 2 Not gone far enough; 3 About right; 4 Gone too far; 5 Gone much too far.

Scale: Mean score calculated ($\alpha = 0.85$)

Opposition to DEI Policies

Survey Items: (W25, W26, W27)

- `cwLanguage`: Too many people are easily offended these days over the language that others use.
- `cwStatues`: Statues of prominent historical figures should not be taken down, even if they profited from the slave trade.
- `cwTraining`: Workplaces should end mandatory diversity training.
- `cwAuthors`: School and university curricula should include fewer white male authors and more female and non-white authors.
- `cwTrans`: Transgender women (someone who was biologically male at birth but now identifies as a woman) should be allowed to compete in female-only sports.
- `cwParents`: BBC children's TV shows should portray more families with same-sex parents.

Response set: 1 Strongly disagree; 2 Disagree; 3 Neither agree nor disagree; 4 Agree; 5 Strongly agree.

Scale: Last three items reverse coded and mean score of all six items calculated ($\alpha = 0.82$)

Racial Resentment

Survey Items: How much discrimination is there for or against the following groups? (0 = a lot in favour, 10 = a lot against; W25, W27)

- `discrimBME`: Black and Asian people
- `discrimWhite`: White British people

Scale: Difference score calculated (`discrimWhite` - `discrimBME`)

Immigration Disapproval

Survey Items:

- `immigEcon`: Do you think immigration is good or bad for Britain's economy? (1 = bad, 7 = good; W20-W27)
- `immigCult`: And do you think that immigration undermines or enriches Britain's cultural life? (1 = bad, 7 = good; W16, W17, W20, W24, W27)

Scale: Items reverse coded and mean score calculated

Hostile Sexism

Survey Items: (W19, W27)

- `hostileSexism1`: Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
- `hostileSexism2`: Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
- `hostileSexism3`: Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

Response set: 1 Strongly disagree; 2 Disagree; 3 Neither agree nor disagree; 4 Agree; 5 Strongly agree.

Scale: Mean score calculated ($\alpha = 0.80$)

Most Important Issue

BES Variable: `small_mii_cat_llm` (W19-W27)

Satisfaction with Democracy

BES Variable: `satDemUK` (W19, W20, W27): On the whole, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way that democracy works in The UK as a whole? (1 Very dissatisfied; 2 A little dissatisfied; 3 Fairly satisfied; 4 Very satisfied)

Support for a Strong Leader

BES Variable: strongLeader (W20, W27): The best way to run the country would be to have a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament or elections (1 Strongly disagree; 2 Disagree; 3 Neither agree nor disagree; 4 Agree; 5 Strongly agree)

Trust in MPs

BES Variable: trustMPs (W19-W27): How much trust do you have in Members of Parliament in general? (1 = No trust; 7 = A great deal of trust)

Personal Financial Situation

BES Variable: econPersonalRetro (W19-W27): Now, a few questions about economic conditions. How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago? Has it: 1 Got a lot worse, 2 Got a little worse, 3 Stayed the same, 4 Got a little better, or 5 Got a lot better?

Voting Intention for Reform

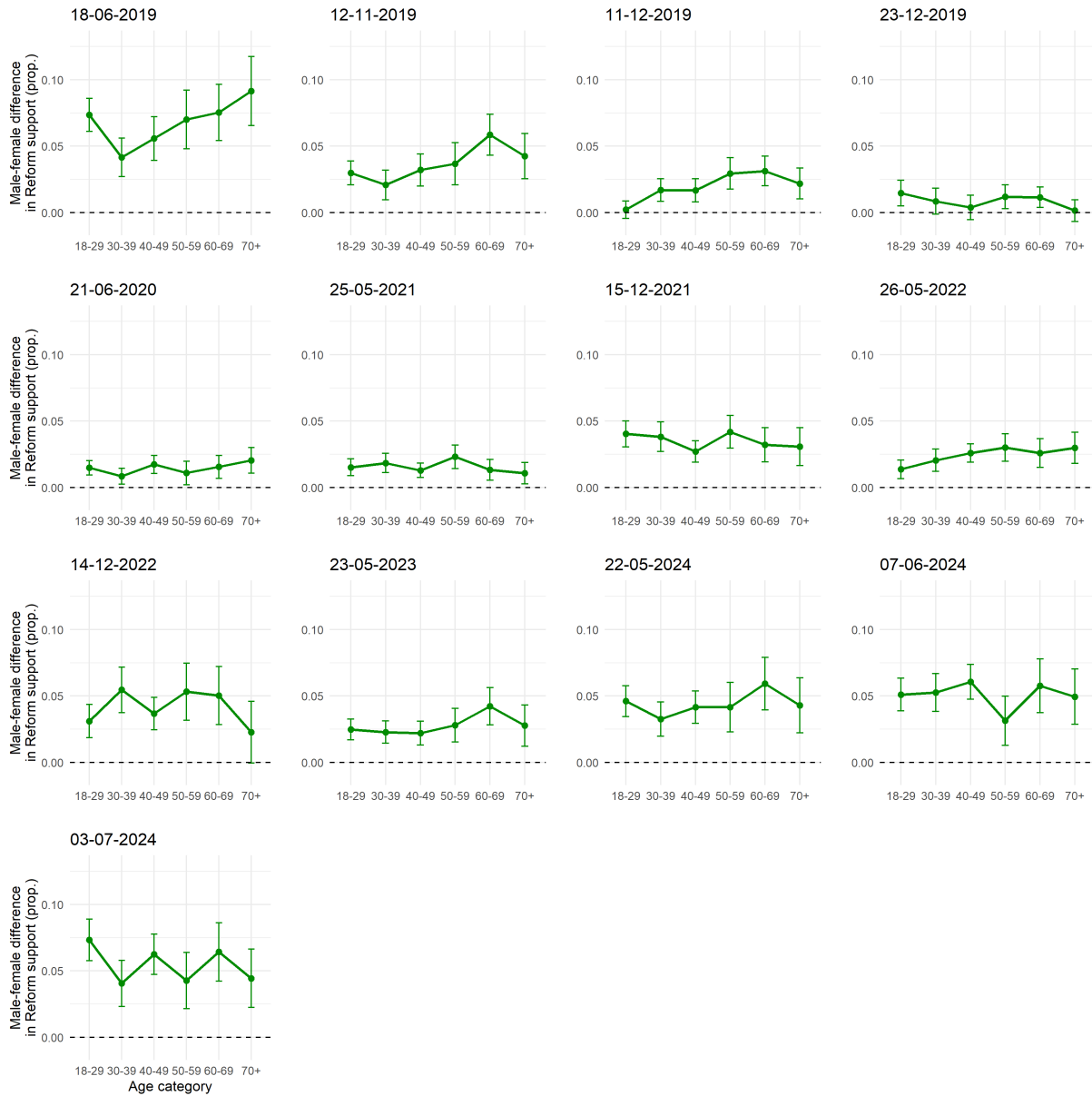
BES Variable: generalElectionVote (W19-W28): And if there were a UK General Election tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

Demographic Variables

- **Age:** 6 categories (“18–29”, “30–39”, “40–49”, “50–59”, “60–69”, “70 and older”)
- **Country:** “England”, “Scotland”, “Wales”
- **Ethnicity:** 3 categories (“White British”, “Other White (e.g., Irish, European, or other non-British)”, “Black, Asian, or other ethnic minority (BAME)”)
- **Occupational Grade:** 4 categories
 - “AB” – Higher and intermediate managerial, administrative, or professional occupations
 - “C1” – Supervisory, clerical, and junior managerial, administrative, or professional occupations
 - “C2” – Skilled manual occupations
 - “DE” – Semi-skilled and unskilled manual occupations, unemployed, and lowest-grade occupations
- **Religion:** 5 categories (“No religion”, “Church of England/Anglican”, “Roman Catholic”, “Other Christian denomination”, “Other religion”)
- **Education Level:** 6 categories
 - “Below GCSE” – No formal qualifications or below GCSE level
 - “GCSE” – General Certificate of Secondary Education (or equivalent)
 - “A-Level” – Advanced Level qualification (or equivalent)
 - “Undergraduate” – Bachelor’s degree or equivalent

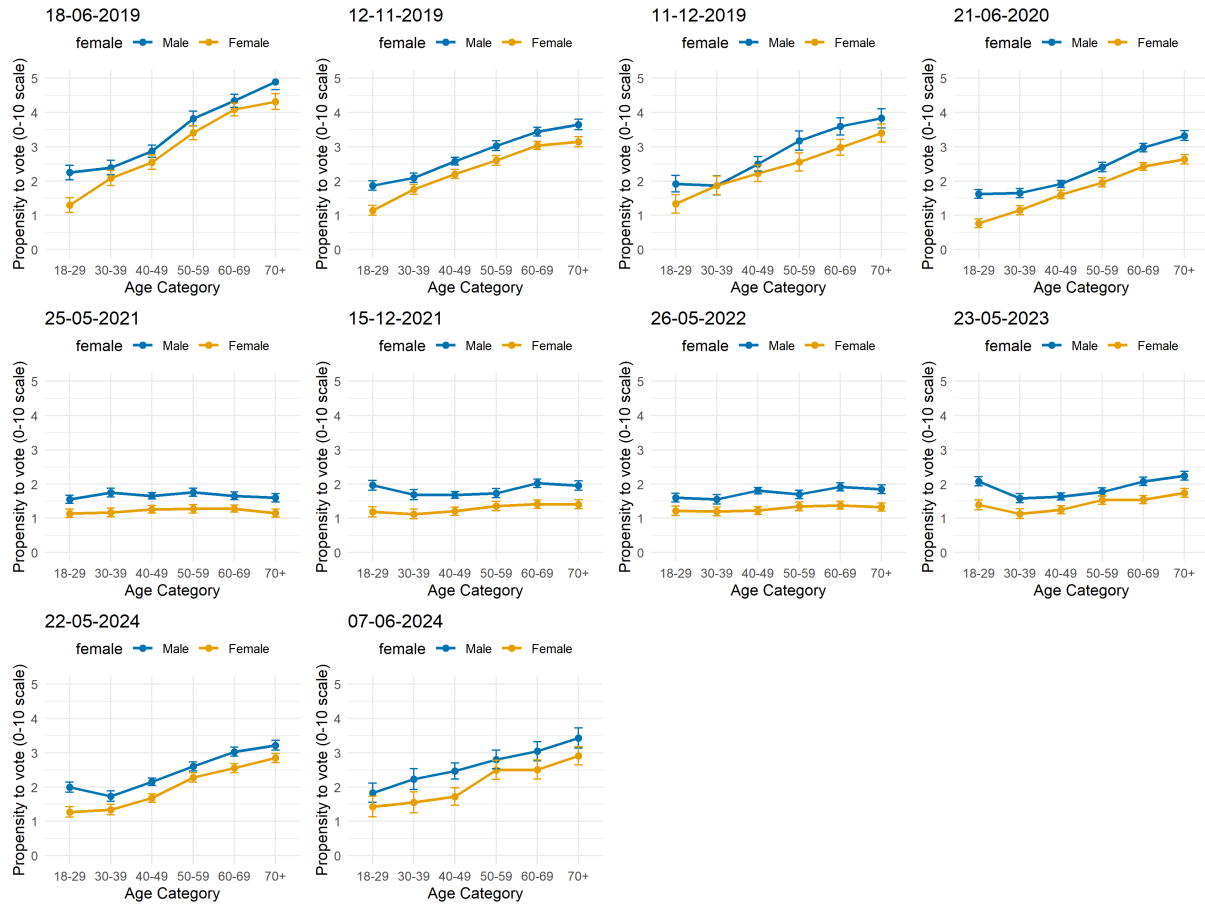
- “Postgraduate” – Master’s degree, PhD, or other postgraduate qualification
- “Other Tech/Prof” – Other technical or professional qualifications

Figure S1. Trends in Reform Support Gender Gap (2019–2024)



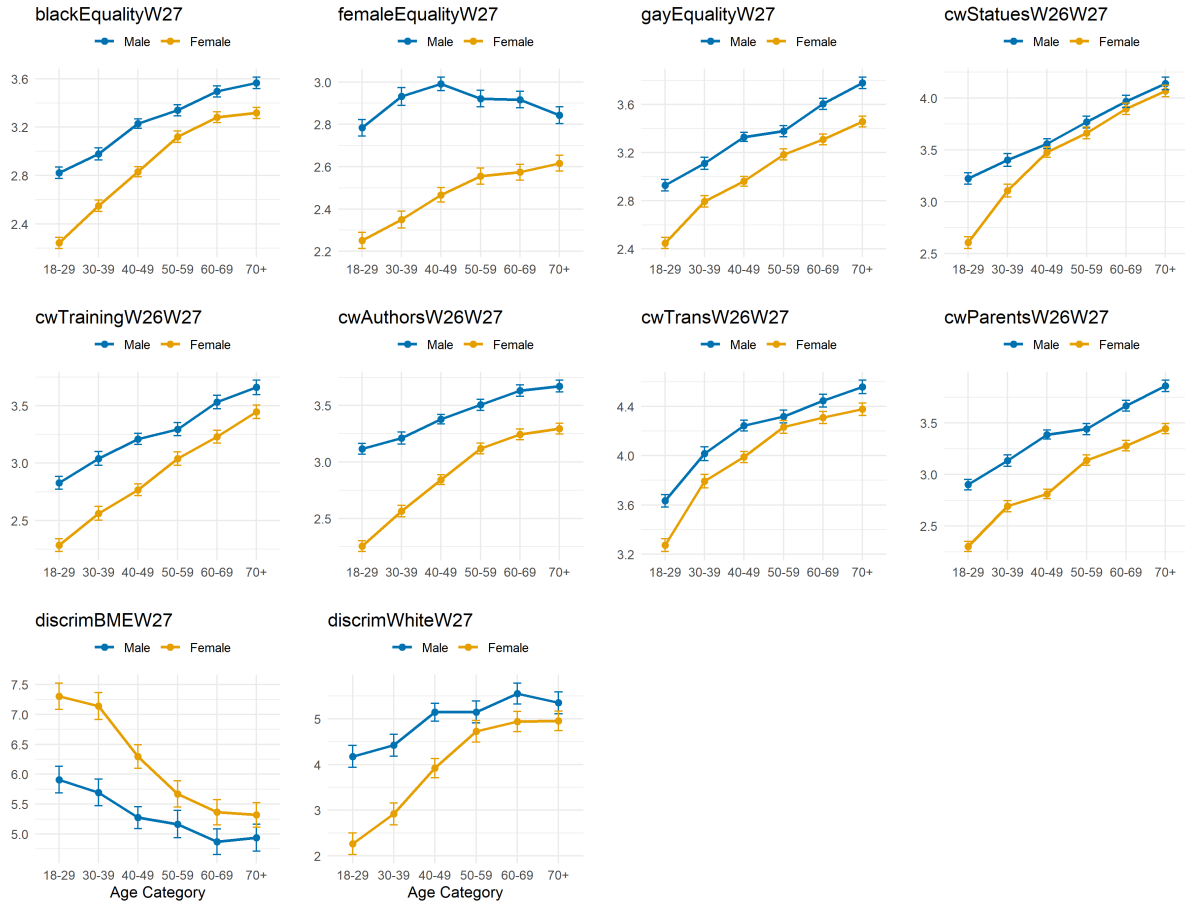
This figure presents the male-female difference in the proportion of the sample supporting Reform UK across 13 survey waves from June 2019 to July 2024, disaggregated by six age categories. Estimates are weighted but unadjusted for covariates. The December 2019 and July 2024 waves are pre-election polls. Each panel represents a different survey wave, with the date indicating the last day of fieldwork for that wave.

Figure S2. Trends in Propensity to Vote for Reform by Age and Gender (2019–2024)



This figure presents average propensity to vote for Reform (measured using a 0-10 response scale) from June 2019 to July 2024, disaggregated by six age categories and gender. Estimates are weighted but unadjusted for covariates. Each panel represents a different survey wave, with the date indicating the last day of fieldwork for that wave.

Figure S3. Specific Anti-DEI Items by Age and Gender (2024)



This figure shows levels of agreement with the specific items comprising our six-item opposition to DEI scale and three-item opposition to equity scale, measured in wave 27, June 2024. Estimates are weighted but unadjusted for covariates.

Table S1. Logit models of Reform support (wave 28), part 1

	1	2	3	4	5
Intercept	-3.62 (.21)***	-6.82 (.27)***	-4.13 (.24)***	-6.69 (.24)***	-5.27 (.57)***
Male	1.26 (.20)***	1.25 (.23)***	1.31 (.23)***	1.03 (.22)***	1.65 (.54)**
Age 30-39	.69 (.21)***	.28 (.24)	.75 (.24)**	.26 (.23)	1.15 (.55)*
Age 40-49	.88 (.19)***	.43 (.22)*	.93 (.22)***	.27 (.21)	1.27 (.53)*
Age 50-59	1.28 (.19)***	.75 (.22)***	1.32 (.22)***	.67 (.21)**	1.96 (.52)***
Age 60-69	1.25 (.19)***	.74 (.21)***	1.23 (.21)***	.64 (.20)**	1.90 (.51)***
Age 70+	1.22 (.19)***	.68 (.22)**	1.18 (.22)***	.60 (.21)**	1.70 (.52)***
Ethn: Other White	.09 (.17)	.27 (.18)	.11 (.17)	-.09 (.18)	-.00 (.35)
Ethn: White British	.64 (.10)***	.70 (.11)***	.59 (.10)***	.35 (.11)***	.48 (.20)*
Occ Grade: C1	.09 (.06)	.11 (.06)	.15 (.06)*	.09 (.06)	.05 (.12)
Occ Grade: C2	.33 (.06)***	.24 (.07)***	.41 (.07)***	.13 (.07)	.30 (.13)*
Occ Grade: DE	.24 (.06)***	.21 (.07)**	.33 (.07)***	.07 (.07)	.14 (.13)
Educ: GCSE	.08 (.07)	.07 (.08)	.06 (.07)	.19 (.08)*	-.06 (.14)
Educ: A-Level	-.09 (.08)	.06 (.08)	-.12 (.08)	.32 (.08)***	-.19 (.16)
Educ: Undergrad	-.56 (.07)***	-.15 (.08)	-.60 (.08)***	.13 (.08)	-.64 (.15)***
Educ: Postgrad	-.73 (.10)***	-.17 (.11)	-.77 (.11)***	.18 (.11)	-.56 (.21)**
Educ: Other Tech	-.08 (.09)	.17 (.09)	-.14 (.09)	.40 (.10)***	-.02 (.17)
Rel: CoE/Ang	.34 (.05)***	.11 (.05)*	.34 (.05)***	.12 (.05)*	.15 (.10)
Rel: Catholic	.26 (.08)**	.12 (.09)	.30 (.09)***	.16 (.09)	.25 (.17)
Rel: Other Chr	.09 (.09)	-.15 (.09)	.05 (.09)	.02 (.09)	-.16 (.19)
Rel: Other	-.04 (.10)	-.17 (.11)	-.05 (.11)	.02 (.12)	-.76 (.25)**
Country: Scot	-.88 (.10)***	-.78 (.11)***	-.79 (.10)***	-.91 (.11)***	-1.10 (.22)***
Country: Wales	.00 (.09)	.03 (.09)	.05 (.09)	-.10 (.10)	-.19 (.19)
Male × Age 30-39	-.71 (.25)**	-.53 (.28)	-.77 (.28)**	-.62 (.27)*	-1.37 (.62)*
Male × Age 40-49	-.61 (.22)**	-.56 (.25)*	-.67 (.25)**	-.34 (.25)	-1.25 (.58)*
Male × Age 50-59	-.92 (.22)***	-.85 (.25)***	-.99 (.25)***	-.77 (.24)**	-1.66 (.57)**
Male × Age 60-69	-.84 (.22)***	-.83 (.25)***	-.88 (.25)***	-.68 (.24)**	-1.56 (.57)**
Male × Age 70+	-.92 (.22)***	-.98 (.25)***	-.97 (.25)***	-.79 (.24)***	-1.47 (.57)**
Authoritarianism		.94 (.03)***			
Econ values			.24 (.03)***		
Immig Disapproval				.74 (.02)***	
Sexism					.52 (.05)***
N	21410	18762	19383	20710	5243

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table S2. Logit models of Reform support (wave 28), part 2

	1	6	7	8	9
Intercept	−3.62 (.21)***	−8.44 (.27)***	−6.14 (.24)***	−3.08 (.73)***	−3.48 (.22)***
Male	1.26 (.20)***	.27 (.23)	.71 (.22)**	1.78 (.73)*	1.18 (.21)***
Age 30-39	.69 (.21)***	.07 (.23)	.43 (.22)	1.43 (.74)	.70 (.21)***
Age 40-49	.88 (.19)***	.06 (.21)	.51 (.20)*	1.40 (.72)	.83 (.19)***
Age 50-59	1.28 (.19)***	.28 (.21)	.87 (.20)***	1.93 (.71)**	1.23 (.19)***
Age 60-69	1.25 (.19)***	.12 (.21)	.82 (.20)***	1.97 (.71)**	1.19 (.19)***
Age 70+	1.22 (.19)***	.10 (.21)	.75 (.20)***	1.67 (.71)*	1.16 (.19)***
Ethn: Other White	.09 (.17)	−.35 (.20)	−.06 (.18)	−1.12 (.42)**	.10 (.17)
Ethn: White British	.64 (.10)***	.32 (.11)**	.45 (.10)***	−.22 (.21)	.65 (.10)***
Occ Grade: C1	.09 (.06)	.12 (.07)	.12 (.06)*	−.00 (.13)	.07 (.06)
Occ Grade: C2	.33 (.06)***	.32 (.07)***	.25 (.07)***	.27 (.14)	.32 (.06)***
Occ Grade: DE	.24 (.06)***	.28 (.07)***	.26 (.07)***	.18 (.15)	.23 (.06)***
Educ: GCSE	.08 (.07)	.08 (.08)	.04 (.08)	−.09 (.16)	.07 (.07)
Educ: A-Level	−.09 (.08)	−.15 (.09)	−.04 (.08)	−.22 (.17)	−.08 (.08)
Educ: Undergrad	−.56 (.07)***	−.33 (.09)***	−.36 (.08)***	−.58 (.17)***	−.57 (.08)***
Educ: Postgrad	−.73 (.10)***	−.49 (.12)***	−.43 (.11)***	−.63 (.23)**	−.75 (.10)***
Educ: Other Tech	−.08 (.09)	−.09 (.10)	−.04 (.09)	−.12 (.19)	−.10 (.09)
Rel: CoE/Ang	.34 (.05)***	.14 (.06)*	.16 (.05)**	−.00 (.12)	.34 (.05)***
Rel: Catholic	.26 (.08)**	.01 (.10)	.12 (.09)	.25 (.19)	.25 (.08)**
Rel: Other Chr	.09 (.09)	−.18 (.10)	−.11 (.09)	−.20 (.21)	.06 (.09)
Rel: Other	−.04 (.10)	−.08 (.12)	−.14 (.11)	−.50 (.26)	−.12 (.11)
Country: Scot	−.88 (.10)***	−1.02 (.12)***	−.95 (.10)***	−1.21 (.25)***	−.88 (.10)***
Country: Wales	.00 (.09)	−.01 (.10)	−.01 (.09)	−.17 (.21)	.01 (.09)
Male × Age 30-39	−.71 (.25)**	−.36 (.28)	−.54 (.27)*	−1.79 (.80)*	−.66 (.25)**
Male × Age 40-49	−.61 (.22)**	−.07 (.25)	−.34 (.24)	−1.51 (.77)*	−.53 (.23)*
Male × Age 50-59	−.92 (.22)***	−.31 (.25)	−.66 (.24)**	−1.80 (.76)*	−.83 (.23)***
Male × Age 60-69	−.84 (.22)***	−.19 (.25)	−.56 (.23)*	−1.84 (.75)*	−.75 (.22)***
Male × Age 70+	−.92 (.22)***	−.30 (.25)	−.61 (.23)**	−1.38 (.75)	−.83 (.22)***
Oppose DEI		1.60 (.04)***			
Oppose Equity			.97 (.03)***		
Racial Resent				.21 (.01)***	
Financ Situation					−.03 (.02)
N	21410	17815	20564	4690	21133

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$