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Editors:

Prof. Dr. Monika Eigmüller, Europa-Universität Flensburg, Germany, Jun.-Prof. Dr. Vincent Gengnagel, Otto-von-Guericke-Universität Magdeburg, Germany, Prof. Dr. Klarissa Lueg, University of Southern Denmark (SDU), Denmark

Editor in Chief:

Prof. Dr. Monika Eigmüller, (V.i.S.d.P.), Europa-Universität Flensburg, Seminar für Soziologie, Auf dem Campus 1b, 24943 Flensburg, Germany, E-Mail: cpe@nomos-journals.de

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APPENDIX “Care or control in times of crisis?”

A1: Keywords for Facebook data collection

Spanish keywords: aborto, pro vida, provida, igualdad de genero, igualdaddegenero, derechos de mujeres, derechosdemujeres, feminismo, sexismo, antifeminismo, ideología de género, ideologiadegenero, identidad de género, identidaddegenero, violencia de género, violenciadegenero, homofobia, transfobia, niunamenos, lenguaje inclusivo, lenguajeinclusivo, feminazi, brecha de género, brechadegenero, patriarcado

English translations: abortion, pro-life, gender equality, women’s rights, feminism, sexism, antifeminism, gender ideology, gender identity, gender-based violence, homophobia, transphobia, #NiUnaMenos (“Not One Less”), inclusive language, feminazi, gender pay gap, patriarchy

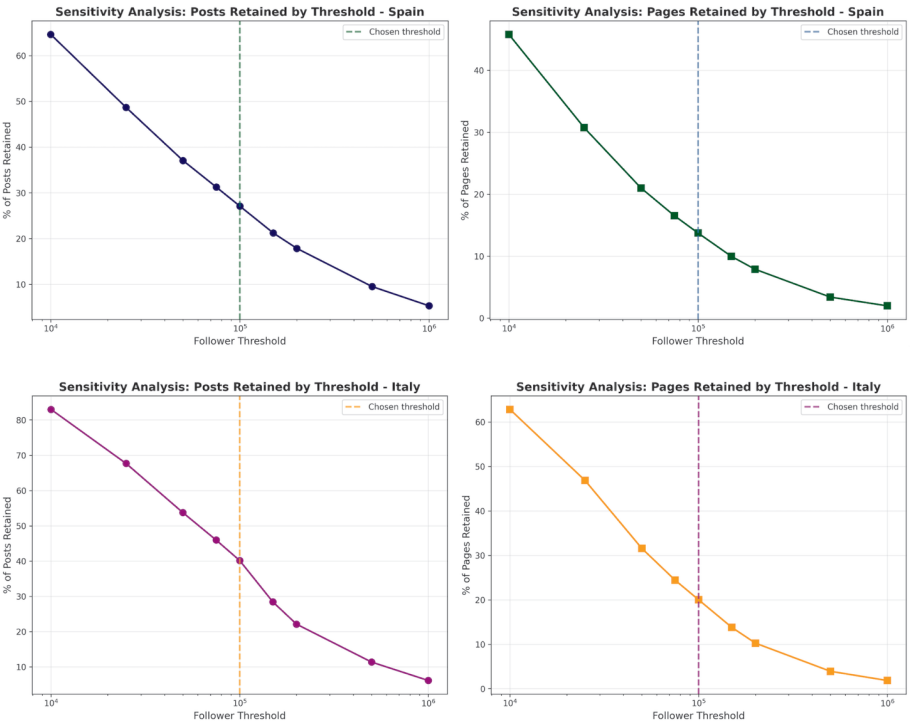
Italian keywords: aborto, ivg, provita, uguaglianza di genere, uguaglianzadigenere, diritti delle donne, dirittidelledonne, femminismo, sessismo, antifemminismo, ideologia gender, ideologiagender, identità di genere, identitàdigenere, violenza di genere, violenzadigenere, omofobia, transfobia, non una di meno, nonunadimeno, linguaggio inclusivo, linguaggioinclusivo, schwa, nazifemminismo, disparità salariale, disparitàsalariale, patriarcato

English translations: abortion, voluntary termination of pregnancy (IVG), pro-life, gender equality, women’s rights, feminism, sexism, antifeminism, gender ideology, gender identity, gender-based violence, homophobia, transphobia, #NonUnaDiMeno (“Not One Less”), inclusive language, schwa (proposed gender-neutral, non-binary symbol “ə”), feminazi, gender pay gap, patriarchy

A2: Posts metrics by threshold of page followers ≥100K

Metric	Spain	Italy	Total
Total posts	1,99,818	2,10,503	4,10,321
Total unique pages	15,975	23,638	39,613
Posts from pages ≥100K	54,125	84,557	1,38,682
Posts from pages <100K	1,45,693	1,25,946	2,71,639
Unique pages ≥100K	2,196	4,731	6,927
Unique pages <100K	13,949	19,434	33,383
% of posts retained with 100K threshold	27.09 %	40.17 %	33.79 %
% of pages retained with 100K threshold	13.75 %	20.01 %	17.48 %

Source: Own source



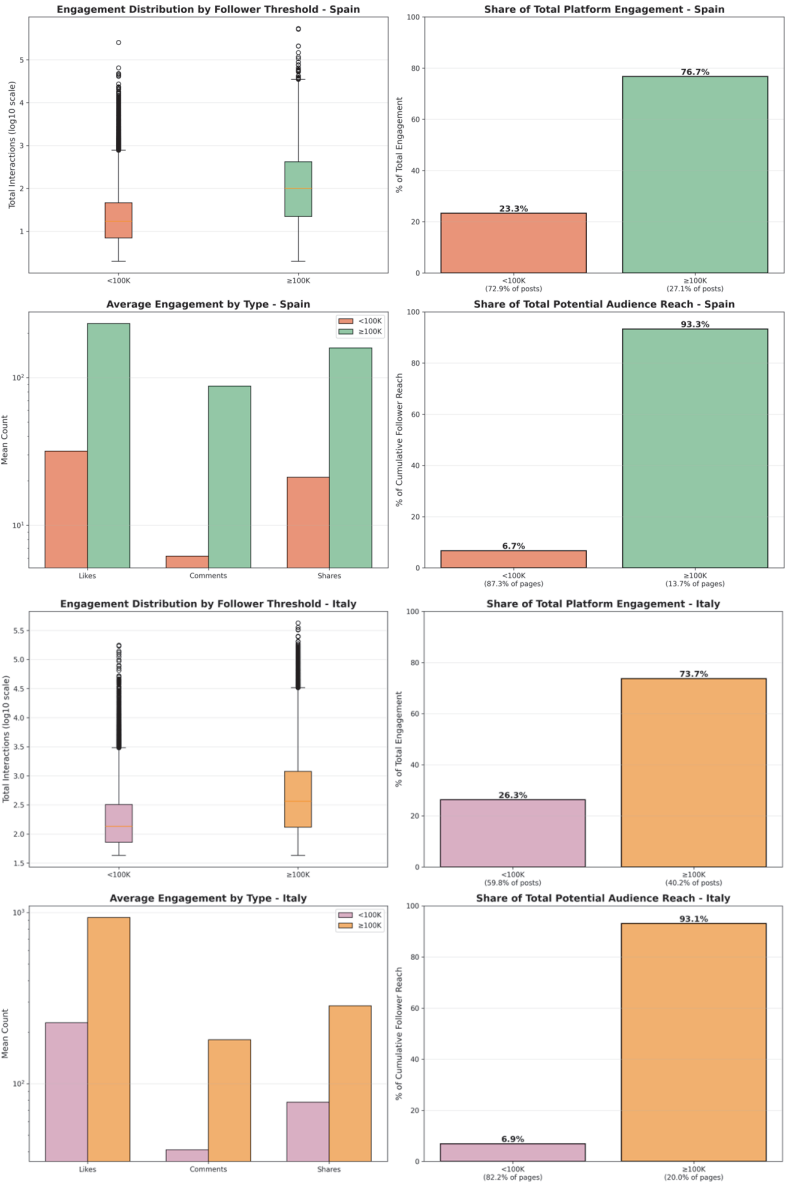
A3: Engagement metrics by threshold of page followers $\geq 100K$

Top Left Panel: Engagement distribution measures the distribution of total interactions (likes + comments + shares) for pages with followers $\geq 100K$ and $< 100K$ on a logarithmic scale.

Top Right Panel: Share of total platform engagement measures the percentage of all engagement in the dataset for each group.

Bottom Left Panel: Average engagement by type measures average likes, comments, and shares for each group.

Bottom Right Panel: Share of total potential audience reach measures the cumulative follower reach of each group, calculated by summing the follower counts across all posts for each group.



Appendix A4: Lexicon-based post filtering process of gender political posts

The first filter identified posts containing gender-related keywords (e.g., *mujer/ donna, feminismo, violencia de genero/violenza di genere, familial/famiglia, 8M, aborto, igualdad/uguaglianza, LGBTQ*). The second filter required co-occurrence of these terms with political-context indicators (e.g., names of political parties and leaders,

ley/legge, gobierno, política, derecho/diritto, institutional hashtags). This dual-keyword strategy ensured retention of posts discussing gender in a political or institutional context, while filtering out personal, commercial, or entertainment content. To validate this filtering procedure and assess potential bias, a random sample of 100 excluded posts from each country case was manually reviewed. Results confirmed that 98 % of posts were correctly excluded (lifestyle content, commercial advertising). Among the 2 % of edge cases, most involved implicit gender references in welfare or education debates without explicit political framing.

Appendix A5: Codebook for identity narratives on Facebook

This codebook is designed to label Facebook posts related to gender and politics during crises (e.g. COVID-19), with a focus on identity narratives. It operationalises the distinction between control and care narratives, as well as other communicative features of identity narratives.

1. Is Gender-Political Post?

Does the post address topics involving gender, feminism, masculinity, LGBTQ+, or sexual/reproductive rights in a political context? Posts are classified as gender-political if they refer to laws, policies, or institutional actors (e.g., mentions of gender violence legislation, ministries, political parties' positions on gender issues); make explicit normative claims about how gender relations should be organised (e.g., traditional family advocacy, feminist calls for equality) and discuss public events or political movements related to gender (e.g., 8M demonstrations, feminist protests, anti-gender rallies). Posts are classified as not gender-political (false) if they discuss gender in purely personal/lifestyle contexts without political framing; mention women/men without engaging questions of power, policy, or collective identity; and constitute entertainment, celebrity news, or commercial advertisements. The variable is coded as:

- *True*: Post discusses gender in relation to laws, institutions, public policy, social roles, or identity politics
- *False*: Post is personal, entertainment-related, or unrelated to gender and politics

If False, coding stops here.

2. Identity Narrative

What is the overarching narrative strategy used to build identity? Narratives are conceptualised as relational identity constructions that link actors, events, and meanings through **five** constitutive dimensions: *relationality* (how actors position themselves and others within networks of belonging and threat), *causal plot* (the temporal logic linking past events, present crises, and projected futures), *selective appropriation* (which events, actors, and emotions are foregrounded or erased), *moral*

evaluations (justification of inherent "right" or "wrong", moving discourse from policy to ethical grounds) and *temporality* (whether the narrative orients toward restoration, continuity, or transformation). This framework guides coding of two ideal-typical modes of narratives that organise collective identity in fundamentally different ways:

- *Identity control*: These narratives employ restorative plots. They selectively appropriate crisis as evidence of moral rupture, relationally position an endangered in-group against external or internal enemies (feminists, migrants, elites), and orient temporally toward recovering a lost hierarchical order. The causal plot is linear: idealised past → threatening present → redemptive future achieved through exclusion and authority.
- o For example, consider the post by page named Actual, a conservative Spanish digital news outlet known for its activism regarding pro-life reproductive issues, traditional family values, and Catholic identity: "Cuando la mujer despierte de la gran manipulación a la que la han sometido, entonces caerá progresivamente el aborto" ("When women awaken from the great manipulation to which they have been subjected, then abortion will gradually decline."). This demonstrates the restorative plot structure with the construction of women's identity through an idealised past (reference to a time before "manipulation" when women made "natural" choices), a threatening present (women are currently under "great manipulation" by feminism) and a redemptive future (abortion will progressively fall). Clear narrative categories can be observed, including selective appropriation (framing abortion as result of manipulation, not women's agency), relationality (positions pro-life defenders as truth-tellers vs. feminist manipulators), morality (women are victims who need awakening, not agents making choices) and temporality (linear restoration logic that once manipulation is exposed, the order will return).
- *Identity care*: These narratives employ reflective plots. They selectively appropriate crisis as exposure of structural inequalities, relationally position the self and others as interdependent and vulnerable, and orient temporally toward reconfiguring power relations. The causal plot is open-ended: shared vulnerability → recognition of injustice → collective reimagining through solidarity and reciprocity.
- o For example, consider this post by page named Casa Internazionale delle Donne, an Italian feminist organisation promoting women's rights, culture, knowledge and political participation: "Per dirla con Silvia Federici, tutto ciò che riproduce e sostiene la vita di ogni giorno non interessa a media, istituzioni e imprese... è nata la rete femminista East" [*Full text in link*] (In Silvia Federici's words, everything that reproduces and sustains everyday life is of no interest to the media, institutions, and businesses... This is the context in which the feminist network East (Essential Autonomous Struggles Transnational) was born.). This demon-

strates the reflective plot structure with the construction of feminist identity through shared vulnerability (care work is universally devalued and invisible), recognition of structural injustice (powerful institutions are indifferent to care work), and collective reimagining (transnational feminist network emerges as response). Clear narrative categories can be observed, including selective appropriation (centres reproductive labour as foundational yet systematically ignored), relationality (links Italian feminists to Eastern European struggles through shared recognition of care work's devaluation), morality (care workers as interdependent agents building solidarity), and temporality (open-ended transformation logic as the network is an ongoing project connecting struggles across borders rather than restoring a past order).

- *None*: No identity narrative is identifiable. The post lacks the relational-temporal-moral structure necessary for organising collective identity through narrative.
- o For example, consider this post by page named Izquierda Unida, a political movement in Spain bringing together several left-wing political organisations: “#ModernizarLaInspección Yolanda Díaz ✓ Hoy el Consejo de Ministros aprueba el Plan Estratégico de la Inspección de Trabajo y Seguridad Social (2021–2023)... Procurar tanto la igualdad efectiva entre hombres y mujeres como la no discriminación por cualquier motivo o condición personal en el ámbito laboral...” (“#ModernisingTheInspection Yolanda Díaz ✓ Today the Council of Ministers approves the Strategic Plan for the Labour and Social Security Inspectorate (2021–2023)... To ensure both effective equality between men and women and non-discrimination for any reason or personal condition in the workplace...”). This post is gender-political as it mentions gender equality policies in employment, but it lacks a narrative identity construction because there is no relational positioning (doesn't construct “we” vs “them”), no selective appropriation of crisis (lists technical policy objectives without framing them as response to moral rupture or structural injustice), no morality (uses administrative framing without attributing moral virtue that constructs the group as heroes or victims) and no temporal plot (doesn't organise past-present-future through restoration or transformation logic).

3. Identity morality

What moral identity role is the narrative constructing for the in-group through relational positioning? Moral framings assign virtue, victimhood, heroism, or stewardship to “us” while attributing blame, threat, or deviance to “them” (eg., victimhood and defence, solidarity and recognition, justice and transformation). These framings justify action and mobilise emotion by making group identity morally legible. Captured as 1–2 word descriptors.

4. Communicative stance

What is the strategic intent of the message in terms of group dynamics?

- *In-group mobilisation*: Energising or affirming one's ingroup (e.g. actors calling transnational unity), coordinating within ingroup members (e.g. associations, unions, events).
- *Out-group attack*: Explicitly discrediting, blaming, or targeting an outgroup (e.g. against machismo/patriarchy or feminists, feminists against).
- *Information broadcast*: Descriptive, factual, informative, raising awareness without direct attack.

5. Event

Thematic events discussed in the narrative, such as gender-based violence, reproductive rights, traditional family, equality, LGBTQ+ issues, immigration, sexual education, historical memory, etc. Captured as 1–2 word descriptors.

6. In-group and out-group

Who is the identity narrative representing as "we" (ingroup) and "they" (outgroup)? Captured as 1–2 word descriptors (e.g., women, Spaniards, traditional families, workers, feminists, immigrants, left, far right).

A6: Prompt used in Python for LLM-based classification of actor type

Actor-level classification assigned each unique Facebook account to one of three research groups based on its primary orientation toward gender politics. For each actor, the LLM analysed a dossier containing page metadata and a random sample of 10 posts.

Prompt:

You are a political discourse analyst specialising in political discourse in [Spain/Italy].

Your task is to categorise a Facebook actor into one of three specific research groups. Analyse the entire dossier to determine the actor's primary identity and purpose. Be strict in your definitions.

{actor_dossier}

****Research Group Definitions:****

1. ****Feminist_Actor****: Pages whose primary purpose is advocating for gender equality and

feminist causes in gender-political posts. This includes official political parties, dedicated media and influencers, and public figures.

2. ****Anti-Gender_Actor****: Pages whose primary purpose is to criticise, oppose, or mock gender equality or feminism, especially as “gender ideology”, in gender-political posts. This includes official political parties, dedicated media and influencers, and public figures.
3. ****Other****: Any page that does not clearly and primarily fit into one of the two groups above (e.g., general media, artists, sports clubs, businesses, minor political parties, etc.).

****Response Format****

Respond ONLY with a valid JSON object with three keys:

- "research_group": one of the four categories above
- "confidence": low, medium, or high
- "reasoning": a concise, one-sentence explanation for your choice

Dossier construction:

For each unique actor, a dossier was constructed containing:

- Page Name
- User Name
- Page Category (Facebook’s classification)
- Page Description
- Sample Posts: Up to 10 randomly sampled posts from the actor’s gender-political content

python

```
def aggregate_text_for_llm(page_name, full_df, actor_info):
```

```
    """Creates the data dossier for the LLM."""
```

```
    actor_posts = full_df[full_df['Page Name'] == page_name]
```

```
if actor_posts.empty:
    return ""
sample_messages = actor_posts['Message'].dropna()
if sample_messages.empty:
    messages = ""
else:
    messages = ' | '.join(
sample_messages.sample(n=min(10, len(sample_messages)), random_state=42)
)
dossier = f"""
- Page Name: "{actor_info.get('Page_Name', '')}"
- User Name: "{actor_info.get('User_Name', '')}"
- Page Category: "{actor_info.get('Page_Category', '')}"
- Page Description: "{actor_info.get('Page_Description', '')}"
- Sample Posts: "{messages}"
"""
return dossier.strip()
```

A7: Actor classification by country

Actor	Italy	Spain	Total
Feminist	975	1377	2352
Anti-gender	415	275	690
Other	1536	2349	3885
Total	2926	4001	6927

Source: Own source

A8: Prompt used in Python for LLM-based classification of narrative identity

```
def build_prompt(post_text):
    return f"""
```

You are a political discourse analyst coding Facebook posts using a strict codebook about gender identity narratives in Spain. Follow these rules EXACTLY and return only a valid JSON object:

1. ****is_gender_political****
 - true if the post discusses gender, feminism, masculinity, LGBTQ+, or reproductive rights IN A POLITICAL OR SOCIAL CONTEXT.
 - false otherwise. If false, set all other fields to null.
2. ****identity_macro****
 - 'control' → authority, tradition, punishment, exclusion, order, historical victimhood.
 - 'care' → empathy, solidarity, inclusion, reciprocity, equality, historical justice.
 - 'none' → no clear identity framing.
3. ****identity_morality****
 - short phrase like "Victimhood and defence", "Solidarity and recognition", "Justice and transformation".
4. ****stance****
 - 'in_group_mobilisation' → rallying or affirming one's own side.
 - 'out_group_attack' → blaming, mocking, or discrediting another group.
 - 'information_broadcast' → neutral sharing.
5. ****topics****
 - lowercase terms, separated by semicolons (e.g. "violencia_de_género;igualdad;derechos_reproductivos").
6. ****ingroup_primary****
 - 1–2 words naming who is defended/praised (e.g. "mujeres", "víctimas").
7. ****outgroup_primary****
 - 1–2 words naming who is blamed/opposed (e.g. "feministas", "izquierda").
 - If no enemy implied, set to null.

Return ONLY this JSON structure:

```
{{  
  "is_gender_political": true/false,  
  "identity_macro": "...",  
  "identity_morality": "...",  
  "stance": "...",  
  "topics": "...",  
  "ingroup_primary": "...",  
  "outgroup_primary": "..."
```

"outgroup_primary": "..."

}}

Codebook:

{codebook_text}

Examples:

{seed_examples}

Now code this post:

Text: {post_text}

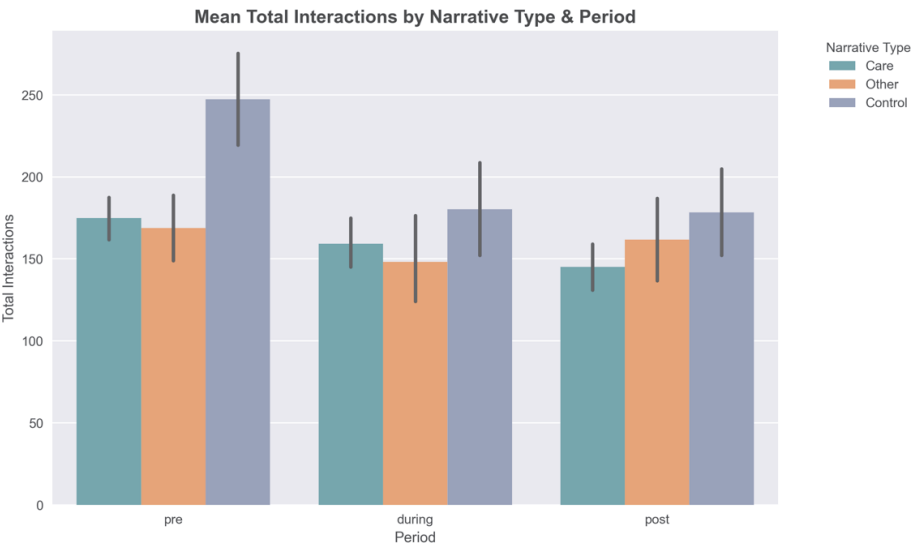
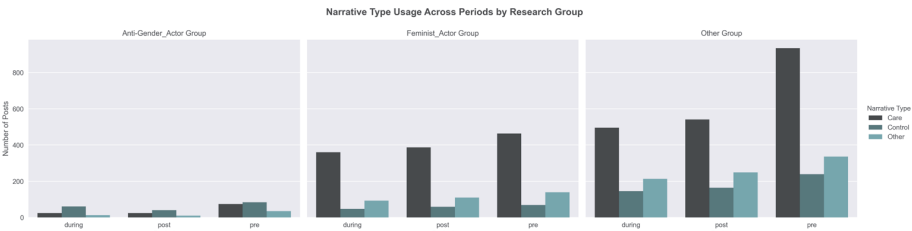
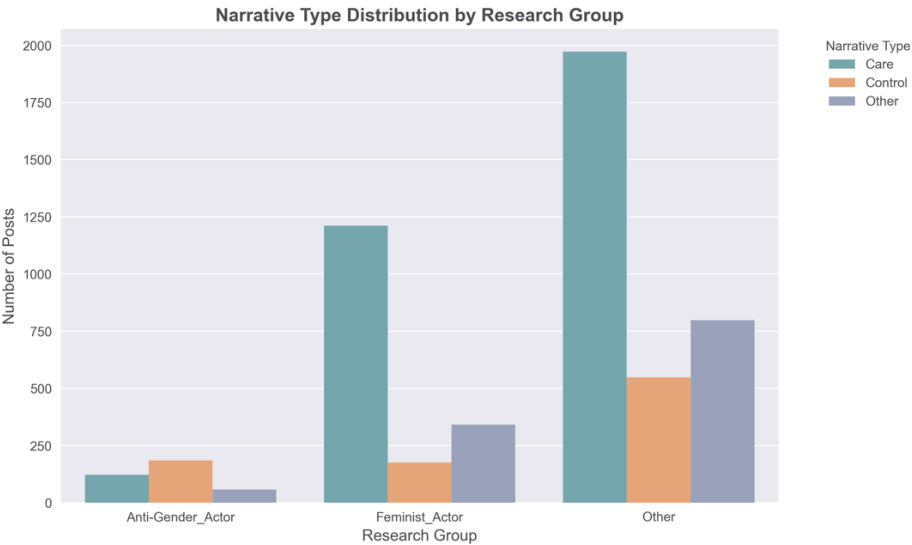
"".strip()

A9: Narrative type by country

Narrative	Italy	Spain	Total
Care	1622	2754	4376
Control	630	1002	1632
Total	2252	3756	6008

Source: Own source

A10: Descriptive Results



A11: Regression Results

A11.1 Model 1 Actor Type → Control Narrative Identity

Variable	Log-Odds	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value	95 % CI (log-odds)	95 % CI (OR)
Intercept	-0.860	0.423	(0.783)	0.272	[-2.394, 0.675]	[0.091, 1.964]
Other Actor (ref: Feminist)	0.671***	1.956	(0.148)	0.000	[0.380, 0.962]	[1.463, 2.617]
Anti-Gender Actor (ref: Feminist)	2.133***	8.442	(0.377)	0.000	[1.394, 2.872]	[4.032, 17.676]
Spain (ref: Italy)	-0.382**	0.682	(0.144)	0.008	[-0.665, -0.100]	[0.514, 0.905]
Log(Followers)	-0.023	0.977	(0.060)	0.700	[-0.141, 0.095]	[0.868, 1.100]
Message Length	-0.000**	1.000	0.000	0.006	[-0.000, -0.000]	[1.000, 1.000]
Intercept	-0.860	0.423	(0.783)	0.272	[-2.394, 0.675]	[0.091, 1.964]
Other Actor (ref: Feminist)	0.671***	1.956	(0.148)	0.000	[0.380, 0.962]	[1.463, 2.617]

N = 6008 | Log-Likelihood = -3338.48 | Pseudo R² = 0.050 | AIC = 6688.96 | BIC = 6729.16

Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Reference categories: Feminist Actor, Care Narrative, Italy, Pre-crisis Period

Source: Own source

A11.2 Model 2a: Narrative Identity → Negative Emotion Ratio (NER)

Variable	Coefficient	SE	p-value	95 % CI
Intercept	0.123	(0.063)	0.050	[-0.000, 0.247]
Control Narrative (ref: Care)	0.146***	(0.008)	0.000	[0.131, 0.161]
Spain (ref: Italy)	0.045***	(0.010)	0.000	[0.025, 0.065]
Log(Followers)	-0.001	(0.005)	0.903	[-0.010, 0.009]
Message Length	-0.000***	0.000	0.000	[-0.000, -0.000]
Group Variance	0.007			

N = 6003 | Log-Likelihood = -170.30 | ICC = 0.112 | Residual Var = 0.0572

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Reference categories: Feminist Actor, Care Narrative, Italy, Pre-crisis Period

Source: Own source

A11.3 Model 2b: Narrative Identity → Positive Emotion Ratio (PER)

Variable	Coefficient	SE	p-value	95 % CI
Intercept	0.049	(0.028)	0.083	[-0.006, 0.104]
Control Narrative (ref: Care)	-0.035***	(0.003)	0.000	[-0.040, -0.029]
Spain (ref: Italy)	0.006	(0.004)	0.161	[-0.002, 0.015]
Log(Followers)	0.002	(0.002)	0.365	[-0.002, 0.006]
Message Length	0.000***	0.000	0.000	[0.000, 0.000]
Group Variance	0.003			

N = 6003 | Log-Likelihood = 5951.52 | ICC = 0.273 | Residual Var = 0.0069

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Reference categories: Feminist Actor, Care Narrative, Italy, Pre-crisis Period

Source: Own source

A11.4 Model 3: Actor x Crisis x Country → Control Narrative

Variable	Log-Odds	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value	95 % CI (log-odds)	95 % CI (OR)
Intercept	-0.654	0.520	(0.781)	0.402	[-2.185, 0.877]	[0.112, 2.404]
Other Actor (ref: Feminist)	0.590***	1.804	(0.141)	0.000	[0.313, 0.867]	[1.368, 2.379]
Anti-Gender Actor (ref: Feminist)	2.073***	7.951	(0.357)	0.000	[1.373, 2.773]	[3.947, 16.014]
Spain (ref: Italy)	-0.407**	0.666	(0.145)	0.005	[-0.691, -0.122]	[0.501, 0.885]
Crisis Period (ref: Pre-crisis)	-0.502**	0.605	(0.167)	0.003	[-0.829, -0.174]	[0.436, 0.840]
Other Actor x Crisis	0.287	1.332	(0.196)	0.143	[-0.097, 0.671]	[0.908, 1.955]
Anti-Gender Actor x Crisis	0.226	1.254	(0.344)	0.512	[-0.449, 0.901]	[0.638, 2.462]
Log(Followers)	-0.027	0.973	(0.060)	0.655	[-0.145, 0.091]	[0.865, 1.095]
Message Length	-0.000**	1.000	0.000	0.005	[-0.000, -0.000]	[1.000, 1.000]

N = 6008 | Log-Likelihood = -3326.53 | Pseudo R-sq = 0.053 | AIC = 6671.06 | BIC = 6731.37

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Reference categories: Feminist Actor, Care Narrative, Italy, Pre-crisis Period

Source: Own source

A11.5 Model 4: Actor x Crisis x Country → Care Narrative

Variable	Log-Odds	Odds Ratio	SE	p-value	95 % CI (log-odds)	95 % CI (OR)
Intercept	-1.419	0.242	(0.850)	0.095	[-3.085, 0.246]	[0.046, 1.279]
Feminist Actor (ref: Anti-Gender)	2.073***	7.951	(0.357)	0.000	[1.373, 2.773]	[3.947, 16.014]
Other Actor (ref: Anti-Gender)	1.483***	4.408	(0.344)	0.000	[0.808, 2.158]	[2.244, 8.657]
Spain (ref: Italy)	0.407**	1.502	(0.145)	0.005	[0.122, 0.691]	[1.130, 1.996]
Crisis Period (ref: Pre-crisis)	0.276	1.318	(0.302)	0.360	[-0.315, 0.867]	[0.730, 2.379]
Feminist Actor x Crisis	0.226	1.254	(0.344)	0.512	[-0.449, 0.901]	[0.638, 2.462]
Other Actor x Crisis	-0.061	0.941	(0.318)	0.848	[-0.684, 0.563]	[0.504, 1.755]
Log(Followers)	0.027	1.027	(0.060)	0.655	[-0.091, 0.145]	[0.913, 1.156]
Message Length	0.000**	1.000	0.000	0.005	[0.000, 0.000]	[1.000, 1.000]

N = 6008 | Log-Likelihood = -3326.53 | Pseudo R-sq = 0.053 | AIC = 6671.06 | BIC = 6731.37

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Reference categories: Anti-gender Actor, Care Narrative, Italy, Pre-crisis Period

Source: Own source

A11.6 Model 5a: Anti-Gender Actor Overperformance

Variable	Coefficient	SE	p-value	95 % CI
Intercept	-38.413	(25.661)	0.134	[-88.707, 11.881]
Crisis Period (ref: Pre-crisis)	6.242	(4.349)	0.151	[-2.282, 14.767]
Post-Crisis Period (ref: Pre-crisis)	-3.958	(4.256)	0.352	[-12.299, 4.382]
Spain (ref: Italy)	4.895	(3.731)	0.189	[-2.416, 12.207]
Control Narrative (ref: Care)	1.748	(3.436)	0.611	[-4.987, 8.482]
Control x Crisis	-8.468	(5.425)	0.119	[-19.102, 2.165]
Control x Post-Crisis	1.896	(5.374)	0.724	[-8.636, 12.428]
Log(Followers)	3.123	(1.936)	0.107	[-0.673, 6.918]
Message Length	0.000	(0.004)	0.918	[-0.009, 0.008]
Group Variance	0.412			
N = 316 Log-Likelihood = -1360.37 ICC = 0.001 Residual Var = 352.8213				

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Reference categories: Feminist Actor, Care Narrative, Italy, Pre-crisis Period

Source: Own source

A11.7 Model 5b: Feminist Actor Overperformance

Variable	Coefficient	SE	p-value	95 % CI
Intercept	19.573	(10.449)	0.061	[-0.907, 40.052]
Crisis Period (ref: Pre-crisis)	-3.011	(2.281)	0.187	[-7.482, 1.459]
Post-Crisis Period (ref: Pre-crisis)	-3.185	(2.054)	0.121	[-7.210, 0.840]
Spain (ref: Italy)	-4.251**	(1.482)	0.004	[-7.157, -1.345]
Care Narrative (ref: Control)	-2.780	(1.578)	0.078	[-5.873, 0.312]
Care x Crisis	5.244*	(2.494)	0.035	[0.356, 10.132]
Care x Post-Crisis	2.249	(2.276)	0.323	[-2.212, 6.711]
Log(Followers)	-1.134	(0.815)	0.164	[-2.730, 0.463]
Message Length	-0.001	(0.001)	0.293	[-0.002, 0.000]
Group Variance	89.815			
N = 2251 Log-Likelihood = -9718.49 ICC = 0.235 Residual Var = 292.7024				

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Reference categories: Feminist Actor, Care Narrative, Italy, Pre-crisis Period

Source: Own source

A11.8 Model 6: Narrative x Period → Engagement

Variable	Coefficient	SE	p-value	95 % CI
Intercept	2.453***	(0.436)	0.000	[1.598, 3.307]
Control Narrative (ref: Care)	0.265***	(0.061)	0.000	[0.145, 0.385]
Crisis Period (ref: Pre-crisis)	-0.060	(0.049)	0.220	[-0.157, 0.036]
Post-Crisis Period (ref: Pre-crisis)	-0.189***	(0.049)	0.000	[-0.285, -0.092]
Spain (ref: Italy)	-1.196***	(0.069)	0.000	[-1.331, -1.060]
Control x Crisis	-0.107	(0.096)	0.265	[-0.296, 0.081]
Control x Post-Crisis	-0.161	(0.090)	0.072	[-0.337, 0.015]
Log(Followers)	0.225***	(0.034)	0.000	[0.158, 0.292]
Message Length	0.000**	0.000	0.006	[0.000, 0.000]
Group Variance	0.598			
N = 4912 Log-Likelihood = -7919.78 ICC = 0.330 Residual Var = 1.2162				

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Reference categories: Feminist Actor, Care Narrative, Italy, Pre-crisis Period

Source: Own source

A11.9 Model 7: Narrative x Period x Country → Engagement

Variable	Coefficient	SE	p-value	95 % CI
Intercept	2.348***	(0.438)	0.000	[1.490, 3.206]
Control Narrative (ref: Care)	0.166	(0.119)	0.162	[-0.067, 0.399]
Crisis Period (ref: Pre-crisis)	0.028	(0.089)	0.754	[-0.147, 0.203]
Post-Crisis Period (ref: Pre-crisis)	-0.006	(0.089)	0.945	[-0.180, 0.168]
Spain (ref: Italy)	-1.077***	(0.098)	0.000	[-1.269, -0.885]
Control x Crisis	-0.059	(0.166)	0.723	[-0.384, 0.266]
Control x Post-Crisis	-0.030	(0.160)	0.853	[-0.343, 0.284]
Control x Spain	0.144	(0.139)	0.298	[-0.128, 0.416]
Crisis x Spain	-0.119	(0.107)	0.268	[-0.329, 0.091]
Post-Crisis x Spain	-0.270*	(0.106)	0.011	[-0.478, -0.062]
Control x Crisis x Spain	-0.063	(0.204)	0.758	[-0.464, 0.338]
Control x Post-Crisis x Spain	-0.190	(0.194)	0.327	[-0.569, 0.190]
Log(Followers)	0.227***	(0.034)	0.000	[0.160, 0.294]
Message Length	0.000*	0.000	0.014	[0.000, 0.000]
Group Variance	0.592			
N = 4912 Log-Likelihood = -7918.48 ICC = 0.328 Residual Var = 1.2151				

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Reference categories: Feminist Actor, Care Narrative, Italy, Pre-crisis period

Source: Own source