

Based on joint work with Dennis C. Spies and Sabrina J. Mayer

Slides on achimgoerres.de

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Who supports Erdogan in Germany? The
Major Differences within the Turkish
Community in Germany

Achim Goerres

IMGES

The gist of my findings

1. Only a minority of all Turkish citizens in Germany (**23.5 %**) voted for Erdogan in June 2018.
2. Alevis and Kurds, two sizeable communities in Germany, are distinctly anti-Erdogan.
3. Second-generation Germans of Turkish descent show higher support for Erdogan than first-generation.
4. Religiosity and regional origin are the key explanatory factors for Erdogan support.
5. There is a niche for a pro-Erdogan German party (Allianz Deutscher Demokraten) that got 12 % of the Turko-German vote in NRW.

Who in Germany could and did vote for Erdogan? The real percentages

	In thousands	
Turkish and non-German citizens aged 18+ in 2017	1,425	
Dual citizens: Turkish and German citizens aged 18+ in 2017 (est.)	200	
Sum	1,625	
Registered voters for 2018 election	1400	23.5 %
Unaccounted difference (not registered in consulate)	225	27.3 %
Actual votes cast	610	62.8 %
Votes for president Erdogan	383	

Dual Citizens: Hypothetical Vote in autumn 2017

	All dual citizens	Dual citizens, 1 st generation	Dual citizens, 2 nd generation
AKP	16	3	29
Other party	72	82	62
Abstain	12	15	9
	100	100	100

„Which party would you vote for in Turkey if there would be an election next week?“

German citizens of Turkish descent and dual citizens: Turkish referendum April 2017

	Dual citizens (actual voters)	Only German citizens (hypothetical voters at ref.)	1 st Gen	2 nd Gen	Alevis	Kurds
In favour (evet)	22	16	12	21	3	12
Against (hayır)	78	84	88	79	97	88
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Pro-Erdogan German party - Allianz Deutscher Demokraten



- 12 % of German voters of German descent in NRW voted for ADD at 2017 Bundestag election
- ADD voters more likely to be
 - Second-generation
 - Female
 - Not Kurdish and not Alevi

Source: https://twitter.com/Nieuwsprik_neus/status/905909107986767872

German citizens of Turkish descent and dual citizens: evaluation of Erdogan

All	1 st Gen	2 nd Gen	Alevis	Kurds
-2.5	-2.9	-2.1	-4.3	-3.7

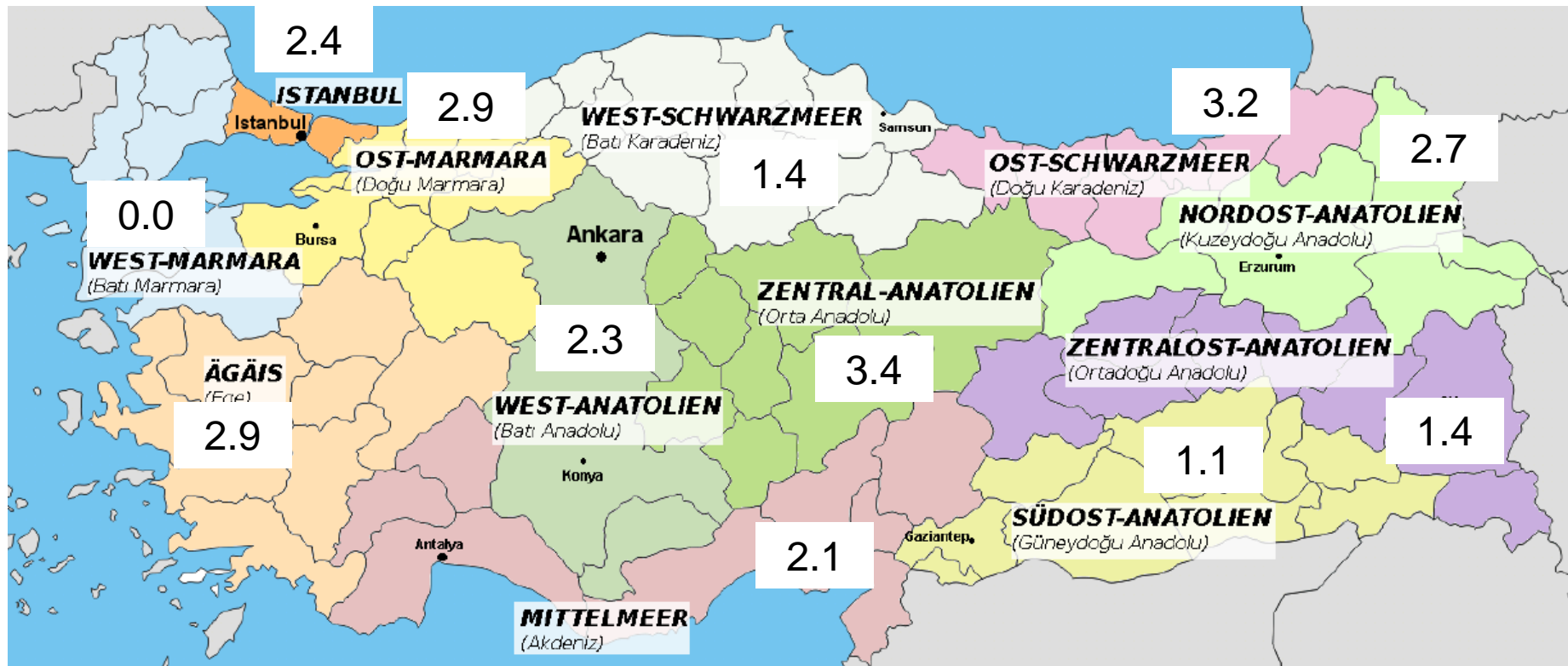
Please tell me what you think about some leading politicians. Please use the scale from +5 to -5. +5 means that you have a very positive opinion of the politician; -5 means that you have a very negative opinion of the politician.

A Statistical Model of Erdogan support in Germany

- Dependent variable between -5 and +5, $R^2=26\%$

	Estimated Effect
Not an Alevi → Alevi	-2.0
Not a Kurd → Kurd	-1.2
Not religious at all → very religious	3.4
Further variables with no precise effects	Gender, education, age, immigrant generation, left-right ideology

A Statistical Model of Erdogan support: with regional origin



$R^2=34.7\%$

- Lots of heterogeneity in Erdogan support in Germany
- Major pockets of dislike in Kurdish and Alevi communities
- Second immigrant generation Turks somewhat more in Erdogan's direction with religiosity as the key explanatory variable
- Regional origin still matters: family traditions and networks?
- Wrong evidence dominant in German public discourse, Erdogan support is actually rather weak in Germany

Only 23.5 % voted for Erdogan



Source: Handelsblatt, 15.3.2017