



www.achimgoerres.de

ResearchGate Project site

Measurement Problem or Incomplete Political Integration?
Analysing Patterns of Missing Values on Key Electoral Variables among Russian Germans and Germans of Turkish Descent in the IMGES

Achim Goerres

IMGES

The two most popular members of the two most numerous immigrant groups in Germany

Mesut Özil



Helene Fischer



Sources: <http://www.helene-fischer-fans.com/start/>, <https://www.deutschland.de/de/topic/leben/mesut-oezil>

The argument



- First survey of immigrant voters in Germany in 2017
Russian Germans very high likelihoods of answering don't know or refuse to answer in central electoral variables
- Models of electoral behaviour need to explicitly model these patterns
- Not disengagement from public sphere
- Covariation with immigrant variation and length of stay in Germany, some with education, lots with political knowledge and political interest
- Significant pockets of Russian Germans mentally outside of mainstream politics

The two most numerous immigrant voter groups

| | K | In % |
|---|--------|------|
| All eligible voters | 61 500 | 100 |
| Voters without immigrant background (DoM) | 55 200 | 89.8 |
| Voters with immigrant background (1st/2nd gen) | 6 300 | 10.2 |
| Voters with a Turkish background (DTÜR) | 730 | 1.2 |
| Voters with Soviet/Post- Soviet background (DRUS) | 1 950 | 3.2 |

- DFG-finanziertes Forschungsprojekt von Oktober 2016 – März 2020: Achim Goerres (Duisburg-Essen) & Dennis Spies (Odense), Projektmanagerin Sabrina Jasmin Mayer (Duisburg-Essen)
- Grundgesamtheit: deutsche Staatsbürger >16 Jahre türkischer/ex-sowjetischer Herkunft
 - Selbst oder mindestens eins der Elternteile in einem dieser Ländern geboren (1. und 2. Generation)
 - Zwei wichtigsten Migrantengruppen, 2,3 Mio. (40 %) der 6,3 Mio. Wähler mit Migrationshintergrund

Quantitative Hauptstudie



- Hier: F2F, Nachwahl, abgestimmt mit GLES
- Feldzeit Okt.-Dez. 2017
- Befragung mit 1.000 Personen – 500 pro Gruppe
- Stichprobenziehung: 150 Sampling Points, anschließend 1.000 zufällige Adressen der Einwohnermeldeämter, onomastische Klassifikation
- 60 min persönliche Befragung auf Deutsch (Russisch/Türkisch am PC CASI möglich, 2-5 %)
- Iffas Bonn + Humpert/Schneiderheinze

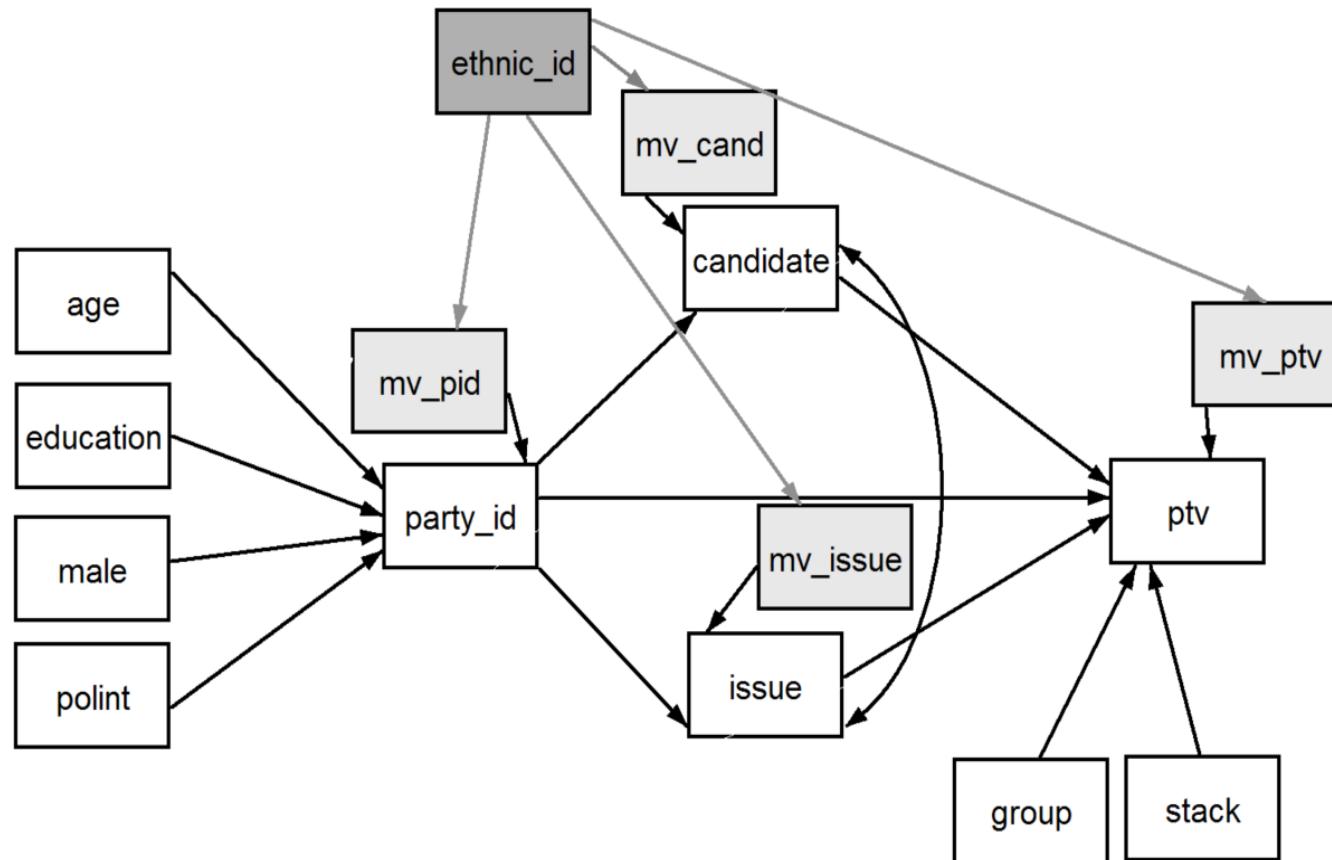
Some selected statistics on missing values

- % of don't knows, no answer

| | DTUR | DRUS | Natives |
|----------------------|------|------|---------|
| Party identification | 8 | 11 | 3 |
| Issue competence | 11 | 14 | 8 |
| Candidate evaluation | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| CDU/CSU | | | |
| ...SPD | 12 | 22 | 6 |
| ...Left | 26 | 36 | 17 |

H6: Immigrant-specific factors affect existence of political attitudes and attachments

- Path model including missing value dummies



Propensities to vote



| Party | dk party | dk | refuse |
|-------|-------------|----|--------|
| CDU | 0 | 7 | 3 |
| SPD | 1 | 7 | 3 |
| Linke | 2 | 8 | 3 |
| Grüne | 1 | 7 | 7 |
| FDP | 2 | 10 | 4 |
| AfD | 1 | 9 | 3 |

Propensities to Vote 2



| | for no party | 1 party | 2-6 parties | 7 parties |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| dk party | 95 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| dk | 95 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| refuse to answer | 95 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| any missing | 69 | 15 | 7 | 9 |

Covariation with non-attitudes in other public sphere items



| RECODE of sum_ptvan ymis | RECODE of q9 (Allgemeine wirtschaftliche Lage, aktuell) | | |
|--------------------------------|--|-------|-------|
| | 0 | 1 | Total |
| 0 | .6913 | .0016 | .6929 |
| 1 | .1518 | 0 | .1518 |
| 2 | .0644 | 0 | .0644 |
| 3 | .0868 | .0042 | .091 |
| Total | .9942 | .0058 | 1 |

Key: cell proportion

| | | AIC = 914 predicted average marginal effects | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---|---------|-------------|-----------|
| Increase in AIC immi variables | ind. V from 0 to 1 | for no party | 1 party | 2-6 parties | 7 parties |
| 12 | born in Germany | | | 16 | -35 |
| | years in Germany | | | | -35 |
| | understood few or no question | | | -7 | |
| | language skills limited or bad | | | | |
| Demographi cs | | | | | |
| | Age | | | | |
| | Female | -17 | 15 | | |
| 17 | Rf: Edu low | | | | |
| | Edu medium | | | | |
| | Edu high | 19 | -16 | | |
| | Edu other | 77 | | 13 | -90 |
| pol variables | | | | | |
| | RF: 5% treshold dk | | | | |
| | 5 % treshold corr | | | | -10 |
| | 5 % threshold | | | | |
| 35 | wrong | 21 | | -15 | |
| | pol interest | | | | 21 |