French Ethnic Minority and Muslim Attitudes, Voting, Identity and Discrimination (EMMAVID)

EMMAVID Data France

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Introduction

This is the data gathered in France for the PhD dissertation of Sanne van Oosten: Minority Voting and Representation, The impact of religion, migration background and gender on voter preferences for in- and out-group politicians in France, Germany and the Netherlands (2024). It includes sections on the survey questions used, the sampling strategy implemented, pre-registration details, and ethical review documentation. The data provides valuable insights into political attitudes, voting intentions, identification with ethnic and religious groups, feelings of national belonging, and perceived discrimination. We invite everyone to use this data for their own research. Harvard Dataverse has a very similar dataset available for Germany and the Netherlands as well.

Keywords

Migration Background, Attitudes, Political Trust, Internal Efficacy, External Efficacy, Political Interest, Voting History, Propensity to Vote, Conjoint, Ethnic Identity, National Belonging, National Attachment, Social Distance, Identity, In-group Favouritism, Perceived Discrimination, Benevolent Sexism, Religion, Muslims, Islam, Christians, Christianity, Turkey, Türkiye, North-Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, LREM, LR, PS, MoDem, FI, PCF, RN, MR

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Open Science Information

This research has been funded by Dr. Liza Mügge's NWO-VIDI grant [Grant number 016.Vidi.175.355]

Declarations of interest: none

This data collection has brought forward the following papers:

- van Oosten, S. Who favor in-group politicians? In-group voting in France, Germany and the Netherlands and the challenges to the descriptive and substantive representation of Muslims. OSF Pre-prints (2023). https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/rkejd

- van Oosten, S. What shapes voter expectations of Muslim politicians' views on homosexuality: stereotyping or projection? Electoral Studies 80, 1-20 (2022). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2022.102553

For the code of these papers, see this Harvard Dataverse.

Verifiable open science information:

1. Sampling strategy: the research accountability and data can be verified and obtained through contacting Kantar Public – Tel: +31(0)20-5225 444 - Email: info@kantarpublic.com - with reference number: H6764 – contact person is Ingmar Doeven.

2. Ethics approval: the studies were conducted in compliance with relevant laws and were approved by the appropriate institutional and/or national research ethics committee. If interested in confirming the ethics approval in the appendix please put in a request at the Academic Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR) – Tel: +31(0)20-525 2262 - Email: aissr@uva.nl - ERB number 2018-AISSR-9546 – Review carried out by Alix Nieuwenhuis.

3. Pre-registration: the (non-anonymous) pre-registration can be viewed here: osf.io/jtdqw – Titel: An MP Who Looks Like Me - How do race, religion and gender influence preferences for political representatives amongst individual citizens in France, Germany and the Netherlands?

Survey codebook

PART1
Where was your mother born?
[drop-down-menu]
Where was your father born?
[drop-down-menu]

PART2
The tax rate for the rich must be lower[i]
[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]
Our government should lower the support for the unemployed[ii]
[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

Our government should do less to combat climate change than now[iii]
[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]
Our government needs to lower fuel prices[iv]
[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

Immigrants are a burden to our country[v]
[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]
Islam should be restricted by law
[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

That men and women receive equal pay for equal work should not be regulated by law[vi]
[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]
Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children[vii]
[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

Please answer the following questions:

1. How interested would you say you are in politics?[viii]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Not at all interested-very interested]

2. Can people like you have an influence on politics?

[0-10=11-point-scale/Not at all-A great deal]

3. Generally, how much do you trust politicians?

[0-10=11-point-scale/No trust at all-Complete trust]

Please indicate the likelihood that you will ever vote for the following parties. If you are certain that you will never vote for this party then choose 0; if you are certain to vote for this party someday, then enter 10. Of course you can also choose an intermediate position[ix].

- LREM: [0-10=11-point-scale/Will never vote-Certain to vote]
- LR: [0-10=11-point-scale/Will never vote-Certain to vote]
- PS: [0-10=11-point-scale/Will never vote-Certain to vote]
- MoDem: [0-10=11-point-scale/Will never vote-Certain to vote]
- FI: [0-10=11-point-scale/Will never vote-Certain to vote]
- PCF: [0-10=11-point-scale/Will never vote-Certain to vote]
- RN (previously Front National): [0-10=11-point-scale/Will never vote-Certain to vote]

- MR: [0-10=11-point-scale/Will never vote-Certain to vote]

Did you vote at the last French legislative elections in 2017?
- Yes
- No
- Don’t know

Did you vote in the first round, second round or both?
- First round
- Second round
- Both

In the first round, what were the most important reasons for your choice of Constituency MP (not Presidential Candidate)?
- Candidate is a woman
- The candidates ethnic background
- The candidates religion
- Best candidate
- Supports certain interests
- Is from neighbourhood/region
- Knew candidate personally
- The political party the candidate is affiliated with
- Strategic vote
- Other reason, namely… [specify]
- Don't know

In the first round, which Constituency MP (not the Presidential Candidate) did you vote for? [open-text-box]
- Don’t know
- Prefer not to state

In the second round, what were the most important reasons for your choice of Constituency MP (not Presidential Candidate)?
- Candidate is a woman
- The candidates ethnic background
- The candidates religion
- Best candidate
- Supports certain interests
- Is from neighbourhood/region
- Knew candidate personally
- The political party the candidate is affiliated with
- Strategic vote
- Other reason, namely… [specify]
- Don't know

In the second round, which Constituency MP (not the Presidential Candidate) did you vote for? [open-text-box]

- Don't know
- Prefer not to state

PART3a

You will see a number of profiles of potential politicians. Imagine these are politicians in the French parliament. The profiles are very short, so it might be hard to answer. Please try to answer the questions the best you can.

Politician 1 has a North-African background and she practices Islam.

What do you think her policy position is most likely to be?

A. Homosexual couples should <u>not</u> be allowed to adopt children[x]
B. Homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children[xi]
C. I don't know

Politician 2 has a Sub-Saharan background and she does not practice any religion.

What do you think her policy position is most likely to be?

A. Islam should <u>not</u> be restricted by law
B. Islam should be restricted by law
C. I don't know

PART3b

You will see a number of profiles of potential politicians. Imagine these are politicians in the French parliament and please answer the questions. After you answer the questions, you will be given the chance to explain why, although you certainly do not have to offer any reasons.

Politician 3 has a Turkish background and practices Islam. He says the tax rate for the rich must be higher[xii]

- Do you think this politician represents you?

[0-10=11-point-scale/No-Yes]

- How much do you trust this politician?

[0-10=11-point-scale/not at all-very much]

- How capable do you think this politician is to perform well on the job?

[0-10=11-point-scale/Not at all-Very much]

Politician 4 has a North-African background and does not practice any religion. She says our government should do less to combat climate change than now[xiii]

- Do you think this politician represents you?

[0-10=11-point-scale/No-Yes]

- How much do you trust this politician?

[0-10=11-point-scale/not at all-very much]

- How capable do you think this politician is to perform well on the job?

[0-10=11-point-scale/Not at all-Very much]

Which politician are you most likely to vote for?

A. Politician 3
B. Politician 4

Politician 5 has a Turkish background and practices Islam. He says in order to reduce traffic jams, the government must invest in public transport, instead of investing in new roads[xiv]

- Do you think this politician represents you?

[0-10=11-point-scale/No-Yes]

- How much do you trust this politician?

[0-10=11-point-scale/not at all-very much]

- How capable do you think this politician is to perform well on the job?

[0-10=11-point-scale/Not at all-Very much]

Politician 6 has a North-African background and does not practice any religion. She says the financial state support for the unemployed should be lowered[xv]

- Do you think this politician represents you?

[0-10=11-point-scale/No-Yes]

- How much do you trust this politician?

[0-10=11-point-scale/not at all-very much]

- How capable do you think this politician is to perform well on the job?

[0-10=11-point-scale/Not at all-Very much]

Which politician are you most likely to vote for?

A. Politician 5
B. Politician 6

Politician 7 has a Turkish background and practices Islam. He says the government must invest in public transport, instead of investing in new roads[xvi]

- Do you think this politician represents you?

[0-10=11-point-scale/No-Yes]

- How much do you trust this politician?

[0-10=11-point-scale/not at all-very much]

- How capable do you think this politician is to perform well on the job?

[0-10=11-point-scale/Not at all-Very much]

Politician 8 has a completely French background and does not practice any religion. She says the government support for the unemployed should be lowered[xvii]

-

- Do you think this politician represents you?

[0-10=11-point-scale/No-Yes]

- How much do you trust this politician?

[0-10=11-point-scale/not at all-very much]

- How capable do you think this politician is to perform well on the job?

[0-10=11-point-scale/Not at all-Very much]

Which politician are you most likely to vote for?

C. Politician 7
D. Politician 8

Do you have any comments?

Table A1: All names randomized in conjoint experiment
French:
• Male First Name: Gabriel, Raphael, Paul, Louis, Arthur, Alexandre, Victor, Jules, Lucas
• Female First Name: Louise, Lea, Charlotte, Gabrielle, Eva, Heloise, Léonie, Lena, Agathe
• Surname: Martin, Bernard, Thomas, Petit, Robert, Richard, Durand, Dubois, Moreau
French North-African:
• Male First Name: Mehmet, Mustafa, Ahmet, Ali, Hüseyin, Ibrahim, Ismail, Osman, Mohammed, Omar, Ahmed, Youssef, Nabil, Younes, Anass, Khalid, Rachid
• Female First Name: Zehra, Ayse, Emine, Hatice, Zeynep, Elif, Meryem, Serife, Mariam, Malak, Fatima, Nour, Asmae, Ikram, Karima, Saloua, Oumaima, Layla
• Surname: Yilmaz, Demir, Yildiz, Yildirim, Aydin, Arslan, Polat, Yavuz, Tekin, Aksoy, Çelik, el Ahmadi, Boughazzouli, Sabri, el Moussaoui, Tahiri, Abdi, Hussein, Said, Farah, Loukili, el Idrissi, Aziz, Coulibaly, Diaby, Traoré, Condé, Daramy, Dembélé, Cissé, Darboe, Keita, Touré, Kyenge, Diakité, Desailly, Camara
French Sub-Saharan African:
• Male First Name: Patrick, Samuel, Eric, Jean, Paul, Charles, Yves, Olivier, Nicolas, Joaddan, Yaya
• Female First Name: Olivia, Anna, Audrey, Vanessa, Alice, Patricia, Pauline, Ruth, Sophie, Claudine, Lisa, Claudia, Keya
• Surname: Coulibaly, Diaby, Traoré, Condé, Daramy, Dembélé, Cissé, Darboe, Keita, Touré, Kyenge, Diakité, Desailly, Camara

PART5

Please rank the characteristics which describe you best.[xviii]

- Being of a certain ethnic group
- Being a man/woman
- Being a mother/father
- The neighborhood I live in
- The music I listen to
- Being a vegetarian/vegan
- The city I live in
- The work I do
- My age
- The place I was born
- My religion
- The political party I vote for or am a member of
- My volunteer work
- The sports I do
- My ideas about the environment
- The media I consume
- Educational attainment
- Other [specify]

Do you feel generally accepted as belonging to the country you live in?
[0-10=11-point-scale/Not at all-Completely]
How emotionally attached do you feel to France?[xix]
[0-10=11-point-scale/Not at all-Completely]

How different or the same do you consider yourself to be from[xx]:
Native French people: [0-10=11-point-scale/Completely same-Completely different]
French North-African people: [0-10=11-point-scale/Completely same-Completely different]
French Sub-Saharan African people: [0-10=11-point-scale/Completely same-Completely different]
French Turkish people: [0-10=11-point-scale/Completely same-Completely different]
People who practice Islam: [0-10=11-point-scale/Completely same-Completely different]
People who practice Christianity: [0-10=11-point-scale/Completely same-Completely different]
People who do not practice any religion: [0-10=11-point-scale/Completely same-Completely different]

In terms of my ethnic group, I consider myself to be… (max. 2 choices possible)

- Algerian
- Berber
- Cameroonian
- Chadian
- Congo
- Cote D'Ivoirean
- French

- Gabonese
- Kurdish
- Malinke
- Manding
- Mauritanian
- Moroccan
- Other [specify]

Which two ethnic groups are the most important to you? Fill in the most important group to you under 1 and the other one under 2. If you cannot choose between the two, please tick the box.
1.
2.
O both groups are equally important to me

Answer the following questions about being [ethnicgroup-1]

1. In general, I prefer doing things with [ethnicgroup-1] people [xxi]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

2. The world would be a much better place if all other groups are like [ethnicgroup-1] people[xxii]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

3. I don't think it is good to mix with people from other groups[xxiii]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

4. We should always put [ethnicgroup-1]interests first and not be oversensitive about the interests of others[xxiv]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

Answer the following questions about being [ethnicgroup-2]

1. In general, I prefer doing things with [ethnicgroup-2] people [xxv]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

2. The world would be a much better place if all other groups are like [ethnicgroup-2] people[xxvi]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

3. I don't think it is good to mix with people from other groups[xxvii]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

4. We should always put [ethnicgroup-2]interests first and not be oversensitive about the interests of others[xxviii]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

In your day-to-day life, how often do any of the following things happen to you[xxix]?
1. You are treated with less courtesy than other people are.
2. You are treated with less respect than other people are.
3. You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores.
4. People act as if they think you are not smart.
5. People act as if they are afraid of you.
6. People act as if they think you are dishonest.
7. People act as if they're better than you are.
8. You are called names or insulted.

9. You are threatened or harassed.
10. You receive angry or hateful messages online
    - Almost every day
    - At least once a week
    - A few times a month
    - A few times a year
    - Less than once a year
    - Never

What do you think is the main reason for these experiences?
1. Your Ancestry or National Origins
2. Your Gender
3. Your Race
4. Your Age
5. Your Religion
6. Your Height
7. Your Weight
8. Some other Aspect of Your Physical Appearance
9. Your Sexual Orientation
10. Your Education or Income Level
11. Your Profession
12. Other [specify]

1. I'm a typical [man/woman][xxx]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

1. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them[xxxi].

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

2. Men are not complete without women.

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

3. Women often complain about being discriminated against for no good reason.

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular religion or denomination?[xxxii]
- Yes
- No

Which one?
- Christian
- Muslim
- Hindu
- Buddhist
- Jewish
- Other, [specify]

Do you consider yourself to be:

- Sunni
- Shia
- Alevi
- Other, [specify]

Do you consider yourself to be:

- Catholic
- Protestant
- Other, [specify]

1. In general, I prefer doing things with people from my own religion than with people from different religions[xxxiii]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

2. The world would be a much better place if all other religions are like mine[xxxiv]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

3. I don't think it is good to mix with people from other religions[xxxv]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

4. We should always put our religions interests first and not be oversensitive about the interests of others[xxxvi]

[0-10=11-point-scale/Disagree-Agree]

Sampling strategy

Written by Kantar Public

Research accountability Diversity in Political Representation
Projectnumber: H6764

Background

Commissioned by the University of Amsterdam (UVA), Kantar (Public Division) provided the data collection for the Diversity in Politics project. The work was carried out in 2019 and 2020. The survey was conducted online in three countries: the Netherlands, Germany and France. The survey was conducted online. All respondents received a personal email with a direct link to the online questionnaire.

The average time to complete the questionnaire in all countries was 15 minutes. In all countries the panel members are rewarded with special panel points for their participation in the study (LifePoints in the German and French panel and Nipoints in the Dutch panel). The system is in all three countries the same: the longer the interview time is, the more points they receive. For a questionnaire of 15 minutes, respondents receive points to the value of two euros. Panel members can periodically convert the saved points into an online gift card.

The panels

In France, the online Kantar panels (Kantar Profiles Division) were used. These are actively managed panels, composed of people who made a conscious decision to participate in online surveys through a double opt-in registration process. In addition, we worked with the panel partners Lucid, Bilendi, Market Cube and Toluna. These partners work in the same qualitative way as Kantar. By working with panel partners, Kantar can also involve difficult target groups or specific countries in research.

Several methodologies are used by Kantar to recruit panelists to its international panels, including opt-in email, co-registration, e-newsletter campaigns, and traditional banner placements, as well as both internal and external affiliate networks. Social media are included as a recruitment channel. To build a high-quality panel, it is necessary to use many panel recruiting partners. That's why Kantar works in partnership with both broad-reach portals and special interest sites, resulting in a diversity of panelist profiles. Our partnerships enable us to target and recruit hard-to-reach source groups when required. Employing different recruitment messages further diversifies the panel composition. We also leverage social media as a recruitment source. Respondents can also register themselves for the international panels.

In contrast to the Dutch panel, respondents do not receive a personal email invitation for their participation in research. In both the German and French panels the surveys are portal driven, meaning that when respondents receive a invite they are directed to the Profiles portal, where they have the opportunity to fill in the specified survey or another survey. Panelists can also open the portal on their own initiative, to see if there are any interesting studies for which they qualify. This means a respondent can also fill in a survey for which he qualifies *without* receiving an invite. So, there is no direct relation between invites sent and respondents being exposed to the survey. Therefore, we can't calculate the exact response rate, like we do in the Dutch panel NIPObase. For the German and French fieldwork, we specify the success rate, based on the number of respondents that entered the questionnaire.

Pilot phase: the development of the questionnaire

The development of the questionnaire had two phases: a pilot phase and the final execution phase. In the pilot phase a draft questionnaire was first developed. This questionnaire was sent out to a small sample of n=107 Dutch respondents in NIPObase in the period from 27 August 2019 to 29 September 2019. All participating respondents were able to provide feedback on the draft questionnaire. The feedback was used by the UVA to develop the final questionnaire, which was ready in December 2019. The final questionnaire was translated into French and German in January 2020. The translations were carried out and coordinated by Kantar Public Belgium.

Fieldwork in France

The fieldwork in France ran from June 19 to August 4, 2020. During fieldwork no reminders were send out. Like in the German panel the French panel the ethnic origin of the respondents isn't known. In the questionnaire was asked what the country of birth of both the mother and the father of the respondents was. In this way, the ethnic origin of the respondents was determined. The target groups in France were: native French, French from Turkish descent, from North-Africa and from Subsahara-African descent. Like in Germany small samples of invites to potential respondents were sent out during the fieldwork period. It was checked every day whether the target had already been reached. As soon as a target of a specific target group was reached, a stop was placed on this target group within the questionnaire.

Kantar Profiles managed in France to interest N=18.023 panelists to participate in the study (net reach). In total 16.283 persons were screened out because the quota on the target group was full. The total drop-out rate during fieldwork in France was 3%, meaning that 3% of the invited sample had started the questionnaire but didn't finish it (n=541).

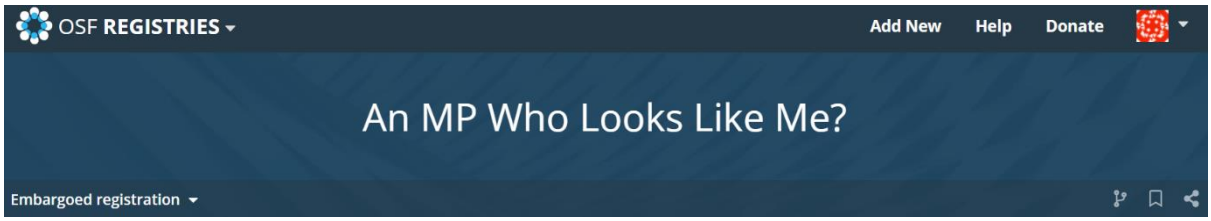
The distribution of the response for the total group in Germany is as follows:

	abs	**%**
Net sample of reached panelists	18.023	100
Non-successful		
- quota full	16.283	90
- drop-out	541	3
Success rate (net response)	**1.199**	**7**

The following table shows the figures per target group:

Target group	**Target**	**Net response (abs)**
Native French	n=250	n=459
Turkish French	n=85	n=85
Subsaharan-African French	n=250	n=160
North-African French	n=250	n=308
Other	-	n=187
Total	n=835	n=1.199

The distribution of the net response (n=1.199) per panel used in France is as follows: Kantar Profiles (61%), Market Cube (12%), Bilendi (12%) and Toluna (15%).



Contributors

Sanne van Oosten

Description

How do race, religion and gender influence preferences for political representatives amongst individual citizens in France, Germany and the Netherlands?

Registration type

OSF Preregistration

Date registered

March 20, 2020

Date created

March 20, 2020

Registered from

osf.io/jtdqw

Category

Project

Publication DOI

No publication DOI

Subjects

No subjects

Affiliated institutions

This registration has no affiliated institutions

License

No license

Tags

No tags

Citation

Study Information

Title

An MP Who Looks Like Me? How do race, religion and gender influence preferences for political representatives amongst individual citizens in France, Germany and the Netherlands?

Authors

Description

Contributors: - Dr. Liza Mügge - Supervisor and PI. This research is supported through her Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NOW)-VIDI grant. (Grant number 016.Vidi.175.355) - Dr. Armen Hakhverdian - Co-supervisor - Dr. Daphne van der Pas - Co-supervisor

Description

Do citizens care that representatives look like them? Using unique survey experiments, we seek to answer how intersections of race, religion and gender influence expectations and experiences of representation. In our theoretical framework, we combine approaches from political psychology, critical race studies and political science. We except to find that shared identification and intersectionality shapes notions of representation. We present our participants hypothetical profiles of politicians combining randomly drawn racial, religious and gender characteristics with policy positions. Afterwards, we inquire about their feelings of representation, trust, capabilities and vote choice. We combine this with detailed information on identification saliency with race, religion and gender. We oversample racial minority groups with a novel method that is in complete accordance with the strict European privacy regulations (GDPR) that have inhibited such research in the past. We present unique data shedding light on the importance of shared identification between voters and their representatives, especially with regard to racial/ethnic and religious minority groups.

Hypotheses

H1. Elected official perspective

- H1.a. Respondents prefer racial/ethnic minority politicians equally to racial and ethnic majority politicians.

- H1.b. Respondents prefer Muslim politicians equally to Christian and non-religious politicians.

- H1.c. Respondents prefer female politicians equally to or more than male politicians.

H2. Shared identification perspective

- H2.a. Racial/ethnic minority respondents prefer politicians of their own racial/ethnic minority group to politicians of a different group.

- H2.b. Muslim respondents prefer Muslim politicians to non-religious and Christian respondents.

- H2.c. Female respondents prefer female politicians to male respondents.

- H2.d. The more a respondent identifies with a politician's racial or religious attribute, the more they prefer a politician from their in-group.

H3. Policy expectations

- Respondents use candidate characteristics (heuristics) more than their own policy positions (projection) to infer policy positions of politicians.

H4. Descriptive or substantive

- Respondents prefer politicians with similar policy positions to politicians with similar descriptive characteristics.

H5. Violating expectations

- H5.a. Respondents prefer politicians who do not violate expected policy positions to politicians who violate policy positions.

- H5.b. The more a respondent identifies with his/her race or religion, the more they prefer racial and religious in-group politicians who do not violate expected policy positions, compared to those in-group politicians who do.

- H5.c. Respondent preferences show higher variance when politicians hold unexpected compared to expected policy positions.

Design Plan

Study type

Experiment - A researcher randomly assigns treatments to study subjects, this includes field or lab experiments. This is also known as an intervention experiment and includes randomized controlled trials.

Blinding

- No blinding is involved in this study.

Is there any additional blinding in this study?

No response

Study design

We will field a survey experiment. The experiment consist of a factorial design with repeated measures. We will run a mixed, between-subjects and within-subjects design. We assign each participant one unique condition and repeat other unique conditions a few times. Participants do not see all conditions as there are many unique profiles: France: 4(migration backgrounds)x3(religions)x2(genders)x8(policy positions)x2(for or against the policy positions)= 384 unique profiles Germany: 3(migration backgrounds)x3(religions)x2(genders)x8(policy positions)x2(for or against the policy positions)= 288 unique profiles Netherlands: 4(migration backgrounds)x3(religions)x2(genders)x8(policy positions)x2(for or against the policy positions)= 384 unique profiles We show participants 8 profiles. In the first two profiles we exclude policy positions and ask which policy position they expect the politician to have. In the last six profiles we show personal characteristics (race, religion, gender) and policy positions together and ask participants to evaluate the politicians. As we repeat measures, participants might learn how to do the test better, there might be ordering effects. Therefore, we completely randomize the design. But I need to do clustering, to make my standard errors more robust. Furthermore, this is a cross-sectional stratified sample. See the attachment for an overview of the questionnaire.

- Van Oosten et al. - Questionnaire - An MP Who Looks Like Me - FR DE NL.pdf

Randomization

No response

Sampling Plan

Existing Data

Registration prior to accessing the data
Explanation of existing data

As we pre-register, the survey company is collecting data in the Netherlands. We will receive this data on March 25 2020. Data collection in Germany and France will take place on a later date.
Data collection procedures

For an overview of the subgroups sample sizes, see below. Here we expand on our sampling strategies. One important challenge of this research is the legal restrictions in all three countries concerning the saving of data on race or ethnicity. We therefore use a novel method that is in complete accordance with the strict European privacy regulations that have inhibited such research in the past. We will employ a large scale filter question to the Kantar panel in the Netherlands and another similar panel in France and Germany. That means that we will send a very large sample of a panel a mini-survey. The first and only question of this mini-survey asks where their mother and father were born. If either one of their parent are part of a group we want to oversample, they are immediately redirected to the survey. If they are part of a group we do not want to oversample, only a small percentage of the mini-survey participants are redirected to the survey. In sum, this will enable us to form sizable groups of citizens with a migration background for our final survey. If one or both of the parents were born in one of the countries/regions mentioned below, they are all automatically redirected to the full survey. If neither of the parents were born in one of the countries/regions mentioned below, only a small percentage is redirected to the full survey.

No files selected
Sample size

We will sample a maximum 250 respondents of the following groups: France, at least one parent born in: - North-Africa - French-speaking Subsaharan-Africa - Turkey Germany, at least one parent born in: - Turkey - Former Soviet Union (FSU) Netherlands, at least one parent born in: - Turkey - Morocco - Surinam We aim to sample approximately 1000 participants without a migration background of each country as well.
Sample size rationale

No response
Stopping rule

No response

Variables

Manipulated variables

H1, H2, H3, H4, H5: see Q4.1 in attached questionnaire. We use migration background as a proxy-variable for racial/ethnic minorities. We manipulate the variables migration-background, religion and gender. These variables have the following values: Migration background-variable: France: - Turkey - North-Africa - Subsaharan-Africa - France Germany - Turkey - Former Soviet Union - Germany The Netherlands - Turkey - Morocco - Surinam - The Netherlands Religion-variable (same for all three countries): - Muslim - Christian - Non-religious Gender-variable (same for all three countries): - female/she - male/he H3, H4, H5: See above and Q2.1 and Q3 in attached questionnaire.

No files selected

Measured variables

H1, H2, H4: see Q4.1 in attached questionnaire. H3: see Q3 in attached questionnaire. H5: see Q3 and Q4.1 in attached questionnaire. We test H1, H2, H4 and H5 with four dependent variables, each with the same independent variables as specified above. The four dependent variables are the evaluations and forced-choice questions we ask after the profiles, see Q4.1 in questionnaire. We also test H3 and H5 with the expected policy statements in the questionnaire, listed under Q3 in the attachment.

No files selected
Indices

H1: we will weigh the respondents according to the general population. H2d and H5a: we will use Principal Component Analysis to combine the four variables in Q5.6, Q5.7 and 5.16 in attached questionnaire.

No files selected

Analysis Plan

Statistical models

We will run OLS regressions with standard errors corrected for the clustering in respondent. We use p-values of 0.05 for our tests of significance. In the attached file, we provide our hypothesis tests and regression formulae that correspond with the hypotheses as stated under "Design Plan".

- Van Oosten et al. - formulae and hypothesis tests - An MP Who Looks Like Me - FR DE NL.pdf

Transformations

No response
Inference criteria

No response
Data exclusion

No response
Missing data

No response
Exploratory analysis

Although we do not know of much similarly designed experimental data to back this up, we construe from various qualitative and interpretivist studies that shared identification and intersectionality play an important role in political representation. The literature is not clear enough to pre-register any more hypotheses meant for confirmatory analysis than we already do (e.g. H2.d., H5.b. in which we refer to shared identification). However, we do want to state up front that shared identification and intersectionality are aspects that we will explore more thoroughly than our hypotheses might suggest.

Other

Other

No response

Ethics approval

An MP who looks like me? Intersections of gender, race/ethnicity and religion in the representational relationship between citizens and politicians

Project details

ERB number 2018-AISSR-9546
ID 9546
Title An MP who looks like me? Intersections of gender race/and ethnicity and religion in the representational relationship between citizens and politicians
Department Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR)

Status Approved
Created 2018-10-03 14:23:00
Modified 2019-04-30 19:44:54

Project collaborators

Sanne van Oosten
Liza Mügge
Armen Hakhverdian
Daphne van der Pas

General

Responsible researcher
Sanne van Oosten

Who conducts the research?
Sanne van Oosten

Research location
Online survey through an existing research panel, that is Kantar International. The survey experiments will be conducted by Kantar International by using their panels in the Netherlands, Germany and France.

Brief project description

In which instances and how do intersections of gender, race/ethnicity and religion shape the expectations and experiences of representation among individual citizens? I will test this with original survey experiments across the Netherlands, Germany and France. Representational relationships are not simple and linear: I do not assume that Dutch, German or French Turkish citizens will feel represented when there are enough parliamentarians of Turkish descent. While I emphasize that expectations and experiences of representation are shaped by identities, I move beyond the assumption that identities are tidy, top-down categories. I analyze identities from a bottom-up perspective and consider them to be mutually reinforcing, varying in degrees of membership, and influenced by group status and political positioning. I will oversample ethnic minority citizens in each of the three countries, thus enabling a quadruple comparative design: not only are countries compared, but ethnic groups are also compared to each other, to the majority group and differences within ethnic groups are uncovered through this design. Intersections of gender and ethnicity shape evaluations of representatives and thus political equality and democracy. Despite the fact that our societies are diverse, our politics are far from equal. We need this data to help understand and overcome this.

Expected duration of the project

The data collection will take place from September 2nd to October 6th. Below you will find a time-table with all the dates and deadlines. 2-sep Start of soft launch (a small number of potential respondents are contacted for a technical check 9-sep Kantar sends data from soft launch to Sanne van Oosten 17-sep Start of full launch 23-sep Kantar sends potential respondents reminders 30-sep More reminders 7-okt Kantar sends data to Sanne van Oosten

Expected number of participants

In total we expect to sample 2750 participants. We will oversample specifically chosen ethnic groups in order to be able to compare and contrast between and within groups of ethnic minority/majority citizens of the Netherlands, Germany and France. In the Netherlands, the oversample of groups of ethnic minority citizens will consist of 250 Dutch citizens with a Turkish background, 250 Dutch citizens with a Moroccan background and 250 Dutch citizens with a Surinamese background. Dutch citizens with no migration background will also be sampled in a similar number as the other groups in order to compare and contrast to the other groups. In Germany, the oversample of groups of ethnic minority citizens will consist of 250 German citizens with a Turkish background and 250 German citizens with a background in the former Soviet Union. German citizens with no migration background will also be sampled in a similar number as the other groups in order to compare and contrast to the other groups. In France, the oversample of groups of ethnic minority citizens will consist of 250 French citizens with a North-African background (Morocco, Tunisia,

Algeria), 250 French citizens with a Sub-Saharan African background (Niger, Mauritania, Ivory Coast, French Sudan, Senegal, Chad, Gabon, Cameroon, Congo) and 250 French citizens with a Turkish background. French citizens with no migration background will also be sampled in a similar number as the other groups in order to compare and contrast to the other groups.

This project is comparable with the following submitted project (number)

Ethics Questions

1. Recruitment

Sampling strategies

In this research, we aim to oversample ethnic minority groups to be able to analyze difference within an between ethnic groups. Sampling frames including information on ethnicity are often limited to non-existent (Celis & Mügge, 2018, p. 206). There are legal restrictions in the Netherlands, Germany and France on saving information on ethnic background linked to an identifiable individual (Celis & Mügge, 2018, p. 206; Fassmann, Reeger, & Sievers, 2009; Mayer & Tiberj, 2016; Salentin & Schmeets, 2017; Simon, 2017). Legal restrictions that were similar yet different across European countries have now been equalized with the instatement of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in 2018 (European Commission, 2018). This poses challenges with regard to sampling (Bloch, 2007) as stratified sampling is impossible because there is no sampling frame to draw a sample from (Font & Méndez, 2013, p. 15). New techniques need to be employed to overcome sampling challenges. Therefore, we will employ a large scale filter question to the Kantar Public panels in the Netherlands, Germany and France. That means that we will ask a very large sample of a panel to participate in a mini-survey. The first and only question of this minisurvey asks where the respondents parent(s) were born. If either one of their parents are part of a group we want to oversample, they are immediately redirected to the main survey. If they are part of a group we do not want to oversample, only a small percentage of the mini-survey respondents are redirected to the survey. This will enable us to form sizable groups of ethnic minority citizens for our final survey. We will not save the personal information of the respondent and the answers respondents give will not be able to be traced back to the respondent. This way their anonymity is guaranteed, the research is in line with the GDPR and we attain the data we need to answer our research questions.

2. Concerns of others

My research is especially interested in studying how minority citizens evaluate politicians of the same minority group and how this relates to the social identities of racial/ethnic and religious minority groups in the Netherlands, Germany and France. While I emphasize that expectations and experiences of representation are shaped

by identities, I move beyond the assumption that identities are tidy, top-down categories. I analyze identities from a bottom-up perspective and consider them to be mutually reinforcing, varying in degrees of membership, and influenced by group status and political positioning. The way in which a racial/ethnic or religious minority citizen evaluates a politician who has similar background characteristics is often assumed to be a direct effect of their own background. I.e. a citizen with a Turkish background is assumed to positively evaluate a politician with a Turkish background automatically and without regard to the political statements said politician makes. However, we question this notion. Moving beyond the straightforward simplicity of this assumption, we want to map under which circumstances this is and is not the case. We want to show how pigeonholing clashes with group identities in a way that acknowledges the concerns of minority groups more than any research has done so far. In doing so, we see minority citizens as more than just their background or the place on their birth certificate. That is also why we refrain from calling anyone we study immigrants, or even calling them of immigrant descent. We study citizens, people who have just as much a right to have their concerns taken seriously in a democracy as anyone else. We understand that in order to do so we need to, partially step in the immigrant-descent frame. In order to oversample certain groups we need to ask where their parents were born. Nevertheless, this is necessary to be able to do any statistical analysis. This statistical analysis is warranted because we see this as the best way to unearth and thereby battle inequality of representation.

3. Harmful research

No

4. Informed consent

The survey experiment will commence with an informed consent procedure. This means that respondents will first receive information about the research and its goals. Then they have to show whether they have understood this and are willing to be part of this research.

5. Vulnerability

No

6. Anonymity

The data generated through this survey is in no way connected to the personal information of the respondents. As a researcher I will not be able to see this information and will in no way have access to it either. This ensures full anonymity.

7. Impact research

There are no negative consequences of participation in this survey experiment.

8. Negative consequences

Because there are no negative consequences of participation in this survey experiment I don't need protect myself and other researchers against any potential negative consequences.

9. Data privacy

The privacy of the respondents is ensured because I will not be able to see any of the personal information of my respondents and their answers will not enable tracking them down. Information on ethnicity will be saved, but because it is not possible to trace back to the person it is both ethical and in line with the GDPR. I will open up my data as soon as the first article is sent in to a journal. I will upload the datasets to the Harvard Dataverse website and all the online appendixes that journals require or even voluntarily provide. I will invite others to use it. I believe providing replication data is a very important aspect of quantitative research. I intend to provide my data through various outlets indefinitely. I will do justice to the data by inviting as many researchers as possible to work with my datasets and use it for theoretical perspectives I don't have. I believe that is the best way to do the data justice.

10. Publication ethics

One very challenging aspect of this research is that I build on fields that have very distinct paradigms, epistemologies and methods, such as political and social psychology, political behavior, political representation, political theory, gender studies, migration and ethnic studies as well as critical race studies. These fields are not often jointly read and even less often are constructivist theoretical underpinnings researched with a quantitative research methodology. The issue of how to deal with social categories is contested. Often, identity categories are understood as straightforward bounded entities. However, this 'essentialist and primordial usage of categories' (Celis & Mügge, 2018, p. 209) has often been criticized. Within gender studies, Butler has rejected categories altogether as being 'phantasmatic ' and leading to the 'exclusion of some part[s] of the constituency that it simultaneously seeks to represent' (Butler, 1999, p. 181). Instead, Butler develops the notion of 'performativity' to explain how categories persist (Butler, 1999, p.163). Likewise, within ethnicity studies, it has been well established that ethnic groups are not bounded entities to which people naturally belong, but are rather social constructions that emerge from continuous social interaction s between minority and majority groups and within minority and majority groups themselves.

Some scholars reason that the concept of race and ethnicity should, therefore, be abandoned (Lewontin, 1995). Indeed, by emphasizing that group formation is an

activity that needs to be undertaken in order for the group to form, both in the minds of representatives and the represented, one corrects for misconceptions of minority groups as helpless victims of majority discrimination (Brubaker, Feischmidt, Fox & Grancea, 2006). However, the emphasis on avoiding essentialism and stipulating that identities are social constructions has been termed 'rabid deconstructionism' (Anthias, 2008) and has the downside that it 'leaves us without a rationale for talking about "identities" at all and ill-equipped to examine the "hard" dynamics and essentialist claims of contemporary identity politics' (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). In sum, even though categories might not be real, they are 'real in their consequences' (Thomas & Thomas 1928 as cited in Merton, 1995). While acknowledging a backdrop of 'phantasmatic' (Butler, 1999, p. 181) categories, I understand that categories produce very real consequences that are lived in the day to day lives of all citizens of any society and especially minority citizens the Netherlands, Germany and France.

Even though ethnic categories might be contested and unreal, the consequences of discrimination are real and the consequences of unequal representation are as well. I strive to, therefore, publish my research in journals that acknowledge and use quantitative methodologies as a relevant way to study social groups whilst importing ideas within-group differences. I expect others will be able to build on my research in a positive way. A way that will increase understanding of the position of minority groups in society in a way that does not blatantly categorize people to a monolithic block. I want to do research in a way that understands the differences within groups and point in the direction to improving the social position of minority groups. In doing so, one positive outcome is that the way in which we understand the dynamics surrounding minority representation can be improved.

Attachments

Optional attachments

No answer

Project history

2019-05-14 18:32:01 Project approved [by Alix Nieuwenhuis]

Dear Sanne van Oosten,

Thank you for your ethical reflection.

I hereby acknowledge receipt of your project, archived as 2018-AISSR-9546.

Please use this file number in future correspondence.

Your project has been reviewed and is hereby approved.

Modifications of the concerning project should be submitted to the Ethics Review Board for evaluation.

Wishing you good luck with your research.
Best regards,
Alix Nieuwenhuis,
Member of the Ethics Review Board.
2019-04-30 19:47:21 Project submitted for review. [by Sanne van Oosten]
2018-10-03 14:23:00 Project created [by Sanne van Oosten]

[ii] VAA European Elections 2014, similar items were also included in the VAA Dutch Elections 2017, VAA French Elections 2017
[iii] VAA German Elections 2017, a similar item was also included in the VAA Dutch Elections 2017

[v] European Voter Election Study (EVES) 2018
[vi] VAA German Elections 2017
[vii] VAA French Elections 2017
[viii] European Social Survey 2016
[ix] LISS 2018
[x] VAA French Elections 2017
[xi] VAA French Elections 2017
[xii] VAA Dutch Elections 2017, similar items were also included in the VAA French Elections 2017, VAA German Elections 2017
[xiii] VAA German Elections 2017, a similar item was also included in the VAA Dutch Elections 2017
[xiv] VAA Dutch Elections 2017, a similar item was also included in the VAA French Elections 2017
[xv] VAA European Elections 2014, similar items were also included in the VAA Dutch Elections 2017, VAA French Elections 2017
[xvi] VAA Dutch Elections 2017, a similar item was also included in the VAA French Elections 2017
[xvii] VAA European Elections 2014, similar items were also included in the VAA Dutch Elections 2017, VAA French Elections 2017
[xviii] Trajectoires et origines survey 2011

[xx] Liss panel 2009, Threatening Identities module, p.9
[xxi] Preference item of the Ethnocentrism Scale (Bizumic, Duckitt, Popadic, Dru, & Krauss, 2009)
[xxii] Superiority item of the Ethnocentrism Scale (Bizumic et al., 2009)

[xxiv] Exploitativeness item of the Ethnocentrism Scale (Bizumic et al., 2009)
[xxv] Preference item of the Ethnocentrism Scale (Bizumic et al., 2009)
[xxvi] Superiority item of the Ethnocentrism Scale (Bizumic et al., 2009)

[xxviii] Exploitativeness item of the Ethnocentrism Scale (Bizumic et al., 2009)
[xxix] The everyday discrimination scale (Williams, 2016)
[xxx] Idem
[xxxi] This scale measures Hostile and Benevolent Sexism, each in three different ways
(Glick & Fiske, 1997).
[xxxii] European Social Survey 2016
[xxxiii] Preference item of the Ethnocentrism Scale (Bizumic et al., 2009)
[xxxiv] Superiority item of the Ethnocentrism Scale (Bizumic et al., 2009)

[xxxvi] Exploitativeness item of the Ethnocentrism Scale (Bizumic et al., 2009)