

## What Explains Voting for DENK: Issues, Discrimination or In-group Favouritism?

Sanne van Oosten<sup>a</sup>, Liza Mügge<sup>b</sup>, Armen Hakhverdian<sup>b</sup> and Daphne van der Pas<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford, Oxford, UK; <sup>b</sup>Political Science Department, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, the Netherlands

### ABSTRACT

Why do ethnic and religious minorities vote for DENK? DENK is the first pro-Turkey and pro-Islam party represented in Dutch parliament, led by Turkish- and Moroccan-origin politicians who openly profess to practicing Islam. Drawing on an original survey ( $N = 905$ ) among Dutch voters in which we oversampled those with Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese roots, we put three possible explanations to the test: issues, discrimination and in-group favouritism. Each subsample is religiously mixed and includes Muslims and/or Christians and voters who are not religious. While ethnic in-group favouritism, feelings of belonging in the Netherlands, experiences with discrimination and issues sometimes explain voting for DENK, Muslim in-group favouritism is the decisive factor. These findings contribute to understanding voting behaviour in increasingly religiously diverse European immigration societies.


### KEYWORDS

Ethnicity; Islam; voting behaviour; religion; representation

## Introduction

In 2014, two Dutch-Turkish and Muslim members of parliament, Tunahan Kuzu and Selçuk Öztürk, founded the political party DENK (meaning ‘Think’ in Dutch, and ‘Equality’ in Turkish). A few months earlier, Kuzu and Öztürk were expelled from the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) for criticising a minister from their party on his integration policy. DENK successfully participated in the next parliamentary elections of 2017, winning three seats. In addition to the two founders, Dutch-Moroccan Farid Azarkan was elected as an MP for DENK (Kiesraad, 2017). Azarkan became leader of the party in March 2020. Since their entry into parliament, DENK has retained three seats and established a considerable presence in Dutch municipalities (Kiesraad, 2022). In 2023, Stephan van Baarle replaced Azarkan, winning three seats again, with the highest number of votes ever (Kiesraad, 2023). The Netherlands has a proportional electoral system with a low threshold compared to other European countries, contributing to

**CONTACT** Sanne van Oosten

 Supplemental data for this article can be accessed online at <https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893.2024.2387011>.

This article has been corrected with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.

© 2024 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

DENK's success. While these electoral conditions are unique, the Dutch electorate is not. Across Europe, there are similar electorates, but no parties like DENK to vote for and to represent minoritised electorates in parliament.

DENK is outspoken on a wide range of issues, including discrimination, Islamophobia, geopolitical relations with Turkey, and Muslim rights (de Zoeten and Nij Bijvank, 2021). The politicians of DENK are different from the Muslim politicians in mainstream parties, where they are often included for symbolic reasons and tend to be less likely to speak out in favour of the topics Muslim voters care about (Dancygier, 2017). DENK combines 'descriptive' and 'substantive' representation (Pitkin, 1967), whereas Muslim politicians are otherwise electorally incentivised to broaden their electoral appeal by distancing themselves from their minority group (i.e. *Broadstancing*, see van Oosten, 2024). They are present as Turkish-Dutch, ethnic minorities and/or Muslim MPs and claim to act in the interests of Turkish-Dutch, ethnic minorities and/or Muslims. In their representative work, DENK responds to the anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim rhetoric that has become so prevalent in political debates and policies of the last decades (Vermeulen, 2018, 2). DENK's tough language and the platform they offer to their constituents are seen as an emancipatory process of 'talking back' (hooks as cited in Loukili, 2021a, 119).

Extant scholarship finds that Dutch citizens with a Muslim (Otjes & Krouwel, 2019) and migration (Vermeulen et al., 2020) background are more likely to vote for DENK, but we do not know much about the underlying mechanisms. In this paper, we outline three possible explanations: (1) policy issues and personal attitudes (as suggested by Otjes & Krouwel, 2019, p. 1159; Vermeulen et al., 2020, p. 445), (2) recent experiences with discrimination and feelings of belonging (as suggested by Azabar et al., 2020), and (3) ethnic or religious in-group favouritism (as suggested by van Oosten, 2023).

In our original survey data, we oversampled three ethnic minority groups. Our survey contains 905 Dutch citizens, of which 201 have a background in Turkey, 136 in Morocco and 251 in Surinam. Our findings reveal that Muslim in-group favouritism strongly explains voting for DENK. Turkish or Moroccan in-group favouritism, discrimination, belonging and issues only do so to a much smaller degree. These findings contribute to scholarship on affinity voting in general (Bird et al., 2016; Dolan, 2008; van der Zwan et al., 2020) and Muslim affinity voting in particular (Azabar et al., 2020; Heath et al., 2015; Otjes & Krouwel, 2019). Given the unique presence of a party like DENK, the Netherlands serves as a laboratory for all countries with similar electorates. This study reveals what drives these otherwise hidden electorates and furthers our understanding of minority voting behaviour and affinity voting.

## Theoretical Framework

Why do ethnic (Turkish and Moroccan-origin) and religious (Muslim) minorities vote for DENK? Although the literature suggests ethnic (Vermeulen, 2018) and religious (Otjes & Krouwel, 2019) minority citizens of the Netherlands tend to vote DENK, we do not know much about the mechanisms that underlie this trend. In order to outline possible explanations, we turn to three distinct but related literatures: (1) the role of issues in voting behaviour of ethnic minority citizens, (2) the role of discrimination and feelings of belonging, and (3) social identity theory.

## Issues

Some researchers have attributed the tendency of ethnic minority citizens to vote for left-wing parties to their attitudes towards economic redistribution (Bird et al., 2010, pp. 10–11), though many have questioned this claim (Baysu & Swyngedouw, 2020; Bergh & Bjørklund, 2011; Sobolewska, 2006, pp. 206–207). Given the growing salience of cultural issues, such as immigration and Islam (Abou-Chadi & Helbling, 2018; Abou-Chadi & Wagner, 2019; van der Brug & van Spanje, 2009), it comes as no surprise that these issues play a much larger role in explaining voters' choice for DENK than economic issues do (Otjes & Krouwel, 2019, p. 1159, 1152; Vermeulen et al., 2020, p. 445, 448). Many of these issues directly influence the way citizens with a Turkish, Moroccan and/or Muslim background see their place in society (Loukili, 2021a, 2021b). Immigration policy determines the chances of family reunification, while Islamophobia and anti-discrimination measures influence inclusion in the labour market, and so on. It makes sense that these issues would impact voters with a Turkish, Moroccan and/or Muslim background.

In the literature on affinity voting, researchers often argue that voters assume descriptive representatives will represent them substantively (Bird et al., 2010, p. 10; Cutler, 2002; Lee, 2008, p. 469). Especially in low-information elections, voters use heuristics based on ethnicity to fill in which policy they expect from politicians (Arnesen et al., 2019; Lau & Redlawsk, 2001; McDermott, 1998), especially when they share the same background characteristics with these politicians (Lerman & Sadin, 2016). This could also impact voting for DENK amongst Turkish-/Moroccan-origin and/or Muslim voters: since the representatives of DENK share their background characteristics, they assume they will also stand for their individual interests. All in all, the literature offers plenty of reasons to believe that issues might mediate voting for DENK, although extant research tells us issues do not explain all of it (Otjes & Krouwel, 2019; Vermeulen et al., 2020). That is why we also turn to discrimination and in-group favouritism as possible explanatory factors.

## Discrimination

Dutch citizens of Turkish or Moroccan origin experience exceptionally high levels of discrimination in their daily lives (FRA, 2017, 30). Indeed, racism and Islamophobia are widespread (Awan, 2014; Fernández-Reino et al., 2023; Mansouri & Vergani, 2018), mobilised electorally (Schmuck & Matthes, 2019, p. 739) and, in turn, predictive of voting behaviour (Jardina & Stephens-Dougan, 2021; Weller & Junn, 2018). Even those with more positive attitudes towards immigrants are far more critical towards Muslims (Helbling & Traunmüller, 2018), suggesting that discrimination based on religion is much more accepted than discrimination based on ethnicity. The feeling of being discriminated against based on a group membership helps voters 'gravitate to one of their own' (Goodyear-Grant & Tolley, 2019, p. 143). In line with this, the effect of descriptive representation increases when discrimination becomes salient in an election (Sullivan & Johnson, 2008, p. 60).

Feelings of discrimination drive Muslim affinity voting (Azabar et al., 2020, p. 8), above and beyond religious participation: Muslims who practice their faith more actively do not necessarily vote for Muslim candidates more often (idem), but Muslims who feel excluded based on their religion are significantly more likely to vote for a fellow Muslim

(idem). Indeed, experiences with discrimination shape political views (Nandi & Platt, 2020), also amongst Muslims (Grewal & Hamid, 2022; Phalet et al., 2010). Therefore, Dutch Muslims may be more likely to vote for DENK as this party addresses discrimination and Islamophobia in national politics.

### *In-group Favouritism*

According to Social Identity Theory, humans strive towards a positive self-image, and a central strategy to achieve this is *in-group favouritism*, which is the tendency to prefer members of one's own group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). US-context data shows that voters prefer politicians from their racial/ethnic in-group (van Oosten et al., 2024a) and in the Netherlands Muslim voters prefer Muslim politicians (van Oosten, 2023). The context in which voting for DENK takes place is an optimal environment for in-group favouritism according to Social Identity Theory: DENK propagates ethnic and religious group differences as 'illegitimate' and 'unstable', providing a context in which minority individuals are more likely to choose 'social competition' leading to 'direct and open in-group favouritism' (Haslam, 2001, 25). This mechanism is evocative of the description of DENK as 'politically emancipating' (Vermeulen & Kranendonk, 2019, pp. 197–198) and 'fighting fire with fire' (Loukili, 2021b, p. 21). Voters with high ethnic favouritism are much more likely to practice affinity voting (Pérez, 2015; Schildkraut, 2013), so we expect that in-group favouritism will drive support for DENK amongst Turkish/Moroccan and/or Muslim voters.

Initially, voters with a background in Turkey were more inclined to vote for DENK (Vermeulen et al., 2020; Vermeulen & Kranendonk, 2019), but in the 2021 national elections the number of these voters reduced, replaced by voters with a Moroccan background (Lubbers & Spierings, 2021, p. 135). A possible factor contributing to this could have been the internal strife within the party following a scandal involving the former Turkish-Dutch leader Kuzu, which ultimately led to his replacement by the Dutch-Moroccan politician Azarkan in March 2020. The timing of this scandal and succession coincided with the data-gathering period for this study. As the leader of the party switched from someone with a Turkish background to someone with a Moroccan background, Moroccans might have become more inclined to support DENK as compared to their Turkish counterparts.

Rather than ethnic affinity voting, Muslim affinity voting may be the primary driver behind voting for DENK, as the party was headed by a Muslim politician at the time of data collection. Many Dutch citizens with a migration background from Turkey or Morocco are also Muslim and it can be challenging to distinguish which in-group they favour. It is possible that citizens with a migration background from a Muslim-majority country prefer politicians with the same migration background because they are Muslim, rather than because of their ethnicity. In other words, is ethnic affinity voting actually a proxy for Muslim affinity voting (as suggested by Di Stasio et al., 2021; Fisher et al., 2014, p. 900)? Therefore, treating in-group favouritism as a scale could help disentangle ethnic and religious affinity voting, enabling a comparison of how significant either factor is to the voter who identifies as both Turkish/Moroccan *and* Muslim. Voting for DENK is an excellent way to examine ethnic and religious in-group favouritism because, at the time of data-collection, their parliamentary representatives are almost all openly Muslim and of Turkish/Moroccan descent.

## Methods

Between March and June 2020, we conducted a survey, administered by survey agency Kantar Public, among 905 Dutch citizens, 597 of whom have a migration background in Turkey, Morocco and Surinam, of which 234 identify as Muslim (see dataset at van Oosten et al., 2024b, 2024c, 2024d). The survey agency knows the country of birth of the parents of the respondents from previous research, and oversampled respondents with a background in Turkey, Morocco or Surinam. Through government requests for research, Kantar had permission to gather data using the GBA (*Gemeentelijke Basisadministratie*, the municipal personal files of all inhabitants) as a sampling frame. It is very uncommon for researchers to have access to the GBA; usually, they have to rely on far less exhaustive sampling frames. After recruiting respondents for government research, Kantar is allowed to save the contact information of the respondents in their survey panel for future research. The survey agency invited respondents of their panel to join our survey through an email with a link to the survey, and there was an overall response rate of 54%. Participants received the equivalent of two euros for their participation, which they could use to buy small items in a gift shop. Even though approaching respondents via email might exclude some potential respondents, the unique reliance on the only possible complete sampling frame in the Netherlands (GBA) makes Kantar's sampling superior to most other research.

We asked all respondents about their ethnic and religious identification. For ethnic identification we asked: 'In terms of my ethnic group, I consider myself to be ... (max. 2 answers)'. We presented our respondents a list of 13 answer categories, including Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Hindustani and Dutch (see Appendix 1 for the full list). The last questions of the survey were about religious identification. We asked: 'Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular religion or denomination?' If the respondent answered yes, we followed up with 'Which one?' allowing respondents to answer 'Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, Other, [specify]' (European Social Survey, 2016). Respondents were able to indicate that they identified with a max of two ethnic groups, of which one could be 'Dutch', and one religion. Table 1 shows the exact number of each group of respondents based on their migration backgrounds, and the percentage of which identified as Dutch, an ethnic minority group or belonging to a religion.

For each ethnic group and religion respondents selected, the respondents then received a list of four statements with answers ranging from 0 (disagree) to 10 (agree), which together form an ethnic in-group favouritism scale (Bizumic et al., 2009). Respondents received this

**Table 1.** The exact number of each group of respondents based on their migration backgrounds, and the percentage of which identified as Dutch, an ethnic minority group or belonging to a religion.

Most common ethnic and religious identification per migration background					
Migration background	Ethnic		Religious		
	Dutch	Other	Muslim	Christian	N
Netherlands	98%		0%	31%	308
Turkey	53%	Turkish: 81% / Kurdish: 2%	63%	3%	201
Morocco	48%	Moroccan: 55% / Berber: 24%	63%	0%	136
Surinam	63%	Surinamese: 44% / Hindustani: 31%	7%	15%	251
Other					9
Total					905

Note: The respondents could answer one or two ethnic groups, which is why the percentages can add up to numbers greater than 100.

**Table 2.** Descriptive statistics of our in-group favouritism variables.

	Level of In-group Favouritism Amongst Dutch Citizens who Identify as ...					
	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Median
Muslim	234	0.30	0.23	0.02	0.98	0.27
Christian	143	0.27	0.21	0.02	1.00	0.24
Turkish	161	0.35	0.21	0.02	1.00	0.34
Moroccan	74	0.22	0.17	0.02	0.76	0.20
Surinamese	119	0.25	0.19	0.02	1.00	0.22
Hindustani	77	0.30	0.21	0.02	1.00	0.27

Notes: Levels of ethnic and religious in-group favouritism on a scale from 0 to 1. We asked respondents to answer the following questions on an 11-point scale: (1) In general, I prefer doing things with [ethnic or religious group] people. (2) The world would be a much better place if all other groups are like [ethnic or religious group] people. (3) I don't think it is good to mix with people from other groups. (4) We should always put [ethnic or religious group] interests first and not be oversensitive about the interests of others. We conducted principal component analysis and the Chronbach Alpha for the ethnic scale was 0.87 and for the religion scale it was 0.80.

battery of four statements between zero and three times, depending on how many ethnic or religious groups they identified with. Table 2 lists these four statements measuring ethnic in-group favouritism. Respondents who did not indicate any ethnic group or Christian/Muslim religion were coded with zero on ethnic or Christian and Muslim in-group favouritism, respectively. Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics of our in-group favouritism variables.

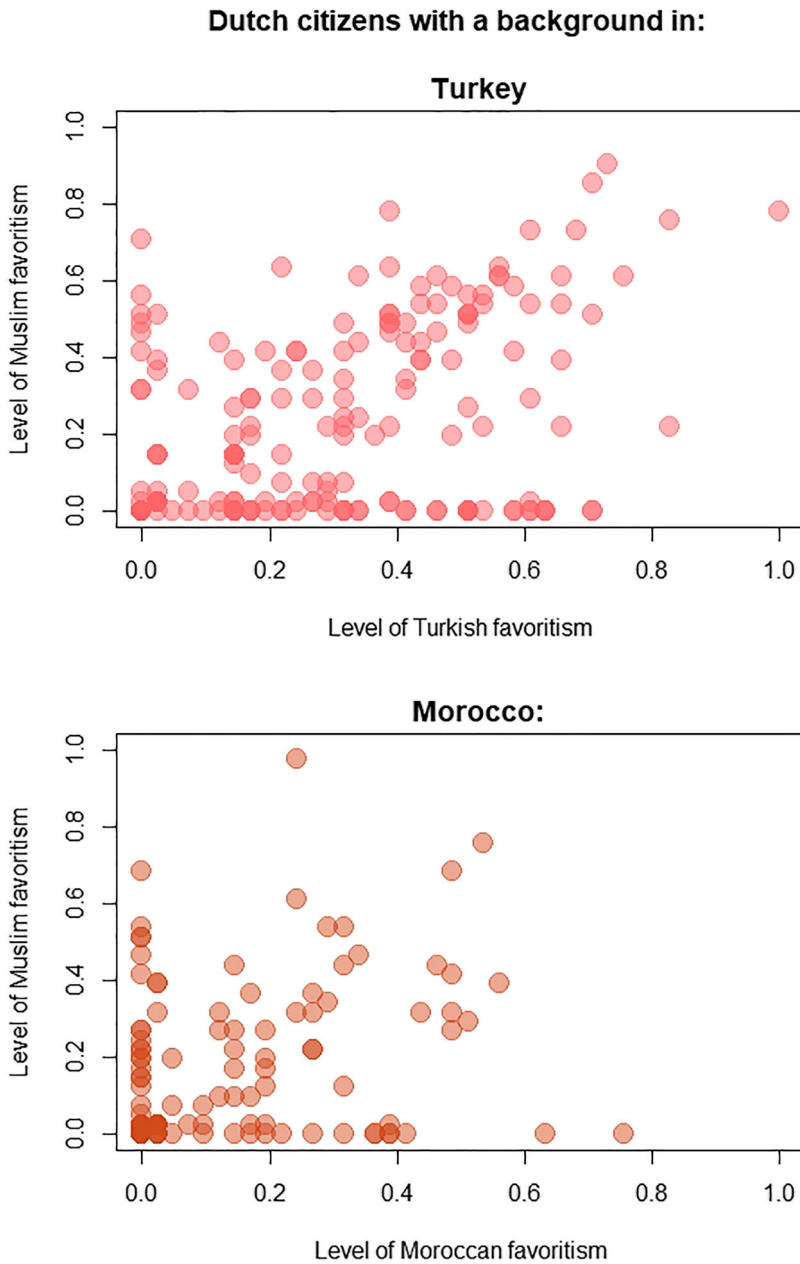
Figure 1 demonstrates the relationship between ethnic and religious in-group favouritism. Ethnic and religious in-group favouritism are mildly related amongst Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch citizens, yet there is ample evidence of citizens scoring high on one factor, and low on the other.

To gauge whether discrimination explains voting for DENK, we measured feelings of belonging and experiences with discrimination. First, we asked people to answer a very broad question on a scale from 0 to 10: 'Do you feel generally accepted as belonging to the country you live in?' Second, we asked more specific questions about real-life experiences with discrimination: 'In your day-to-day life, do any of the following things happen to you?' and offered 10 possible ways in which people could feel discriminated, ranging from 'You are treated with less courtesy than other people are' to 'People act as if they are afraid of you'. If respondents indicated having such experiences, they received a follow-up question: 'What do you think is the main reason for these experiences?' with the possibility to answer many reasons, including 'Your ancestry or national origin', 'Your race' or 'Your religion'. We recoded these three answers in three dummy variables, for ancestral, racial and religious discrimination, respectively.

We measured issue stances in both the cultural and economic dimensions, split into eight issues: taxing the rich, social benefits, climate change, fuel prices, immigration, Islam, equal pay for men and women, and LGB rights. We standardised all independent variables to run from 0 to 1. For our exact measurements of issues, belonging in the Netherlands and experiences with discrimination, age, gender and level of education, see the full list of survey questions in Appendix 1.

As the dependent variable, we measured propensity to vote (PTV) for DENK by asking respondents:

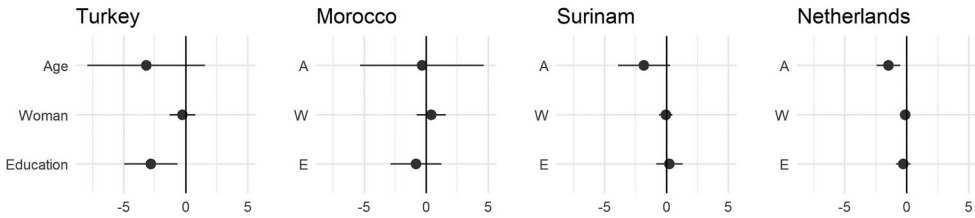
Please indicate the likelihood that you will ever vote for the following parties. If you are certain that you will never vote for this party then choose 0; if you are certain you will vote for this party someday, then enter 10. Of course you can also choose an intermediate position. (as formulated in LISS, 2018)



**Figure 1.** Levels of ethnic and religious in-group favouritism on a scale from 0 to 1. We asked respondents to answer the following questions on an 11-point scale: 1) In general, I prefer doing things with [ethnic or religious group] people. 2) The world would be a much better place if all other groups are like [ethnic or religious group] people. 3) I don't think it is good to mix with people from other groups. 4) We should always put [ethnic or religious group] interests first and not be oversensitive about the interests of others. We conducted principal component analysis and the Chronbach Alpha for the ethnic scale was 0.87 and for the religion scale it was 0.80.



Do age, gender and education explain voting for DENK? Amongst voters with a migration background in...



**Figure 2.** Coefficients returned from linear regression model. Adjusted R-squared, Turkey: 0.01968, Morocco: 0.01485, Surinam: 0.001435, Netherlands: 0.02272. Dependent variable: PTV for DENK – Propensity to vote for DENK measured on a scale from 0 to 10. Error bars represent the 95% confidence interval.

We also measured the PTV for all other parties in parliament at the time of gathering data, allowing for a relative PTV measure as well (see Appendix 3). In Appendix 4 we replicate the analyses with this relative PTV measure for robustness.

We prepared our data using the R-package ‘tidyr’ (Wickham, 2020) and visualised regression models with ‘ggplot2’ (Wickham et al., 2020). We present a series of models, ranging from how age, gender and education explain voting for DENK, to which ethnic and religious groups are most likely to vote for DENK, followed by *why* they are most likely to do so using mediation analysis. In all models, we control for age, gender and education.

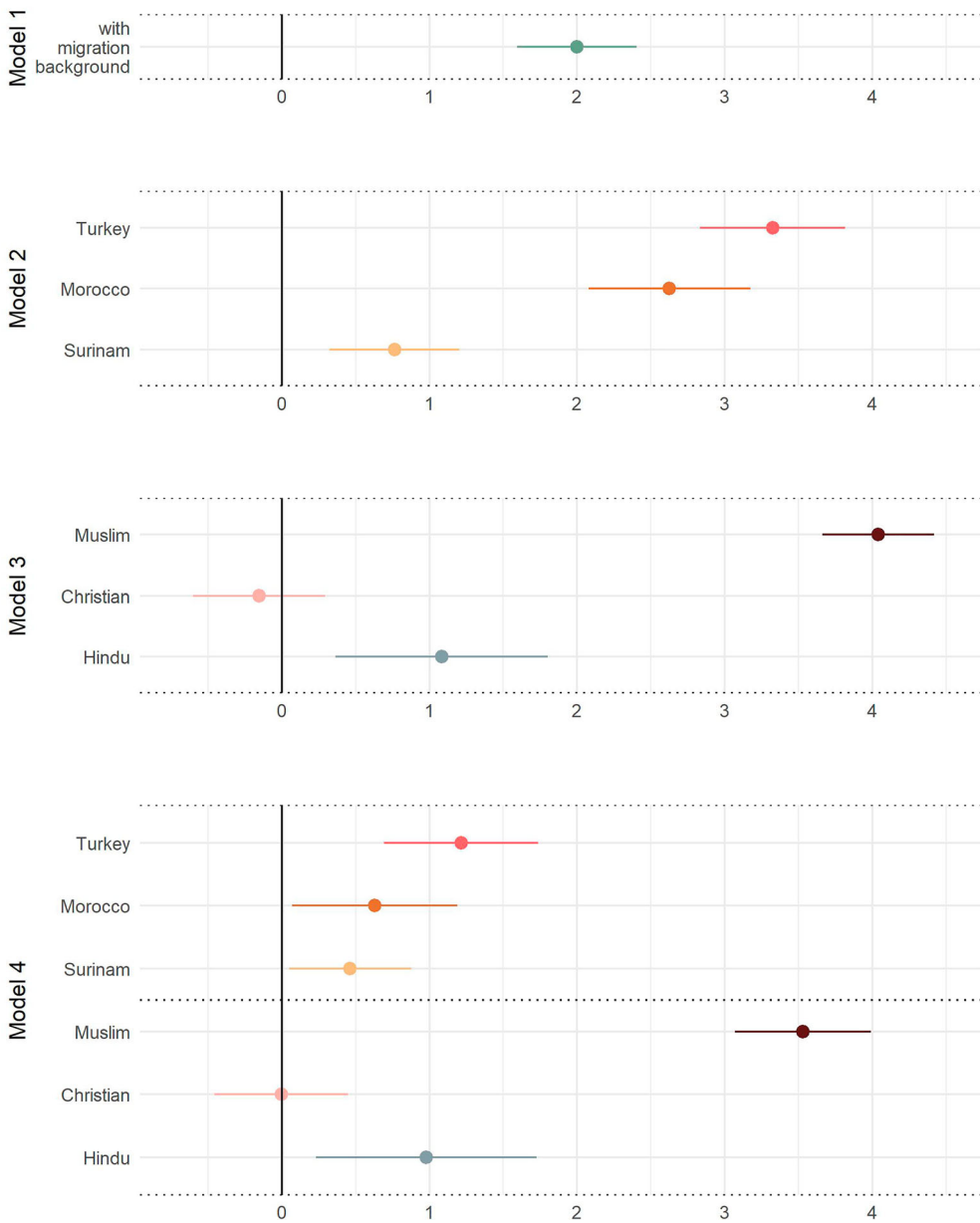
## Results

To answer *why* ethnic (Turkish- and Moroccan-origin) and religious (Muslim) minority voters tend to vote for DENK, we take a number of steps. In Figure 2, we first review the impact of three demographic control variables – age, gender and education – which offer little explanation of voting for DENK. In Figure 3, we present four models showing that migration background and religion indeed impact voting for DENK. We then inspect what explains the impact of migration background and religion, by adding issues to the model in Figure 4, followed by discrimination in Figure 5, and in-group favouritism in Figure 6. Lastly, we present the full model with control, issue, discrimination and in-group favouritism variables for a subset of Muslim voters in Figure 7. Muslim in-group favouritism is shown to be by far the largest driver of voting for DENK.

In Figure 3, we present the impact of migration background and religion on the likelihood of voting for DENK across four models. Model 1 of Figure 3 shows that, indeed, citizens with a migration background score significantly higher on the DENK PTV score. On a scale from 0 to 10, they report a 2.00 points higher propensity to vote for DENK than citizens without a migration background. When distinguishing between countries of origin in Model 2, we see that there are large differences between voters of Surinamese descent on the one hand and voters of Turkish or Moroccan descent on the other. Although voters of Surinamese descent still score a statistically significant 0.76 points higher on the DENK PTV score than voters without a migration background, voters of Turkish or Moroccan descent score, respectively, 3.28 and 2.72 points higher than voters without a migration background. Model 3 of Figure 3 shows that Muslim

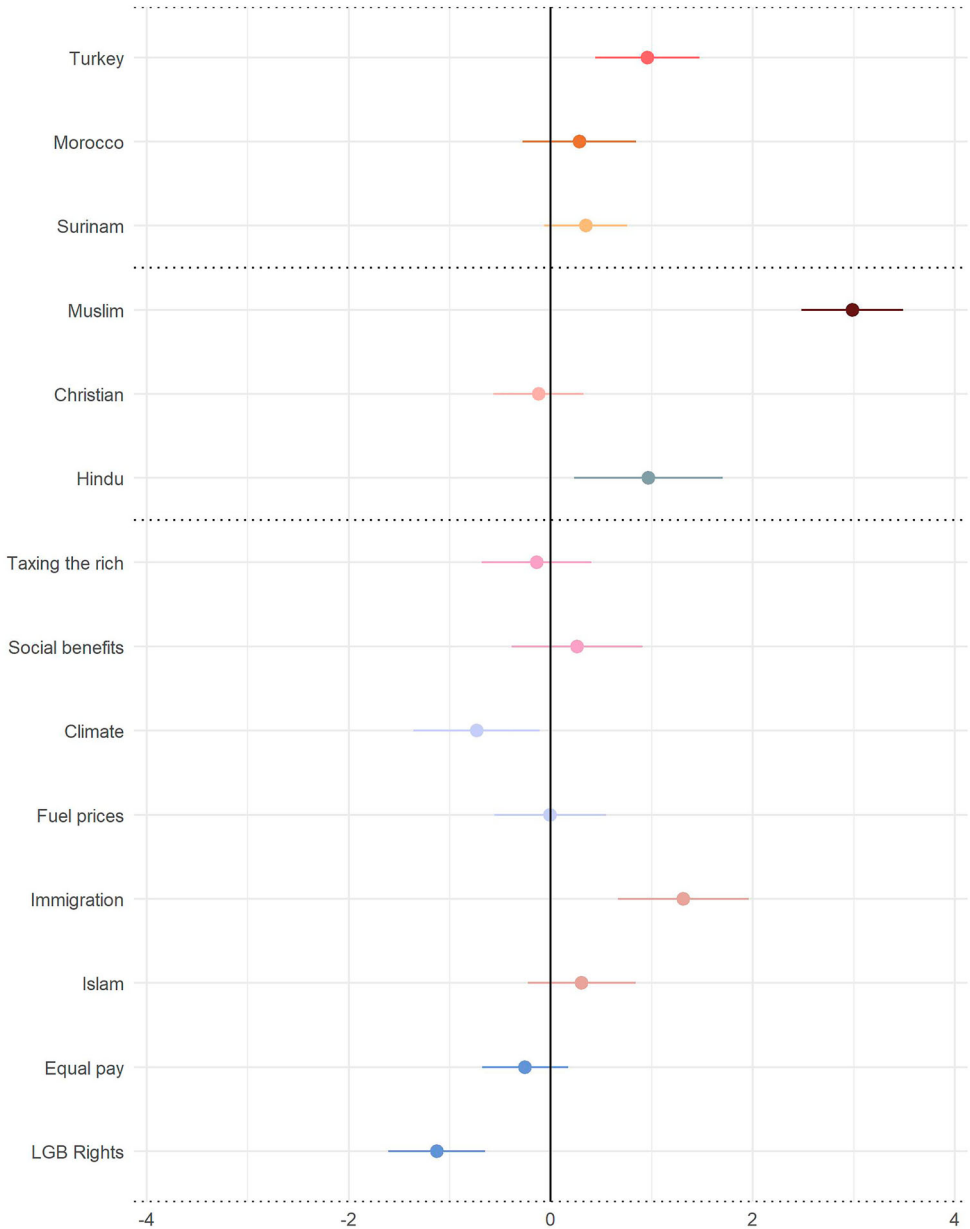


### How do migration background, ethnicity and religion predict DENK-vote?



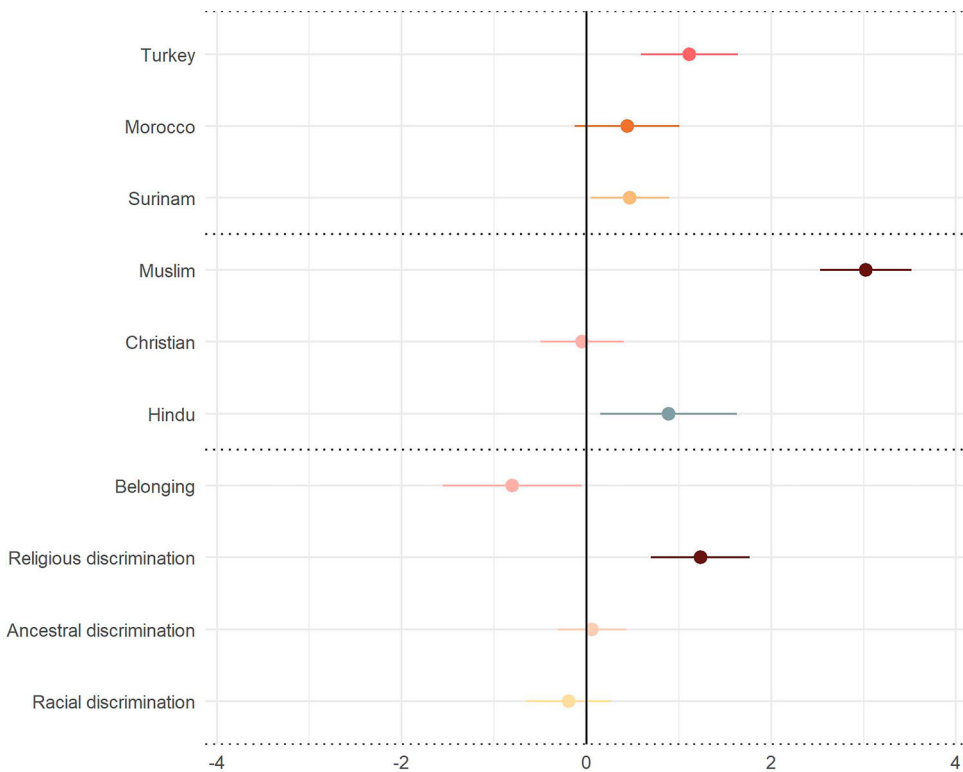
**Figure 3.** Coefficients returned from linear regression model. Dependent variable: PTV for DENK – Propensity to vote for DENK measured on a scale from 0 to 10. Controlled for age, gender and education. Error bars represent the 95% confidence interval. Adjusted R-squared, model 1: 0.1539, model 2: 0.2608, model 3: 0.3135, model 4: 0.3296. Reference categories consist of respondents without a migration background (models 1 and 2), non-religious respondents (model 3) or non-religious respondents without a migration background (model 4).

Do issues explain voting for DENK?



**Figure 4.** Coefficients returned from linear regression model. Dependent variable: PTV for DENK: Propensity to vote for DENK measured on a scale from 0 to 10. Error bars represent the 95% confidence interval. The higher the issue-scores, the more leftist (higher taxes, higher fuel prices, more immigration, more equal pay, etc). Adjusted R-squared: 0.4321. Controlled for age, gender and education. Reference categories consist of non-religious respondents without a migration background.

## Does discrimination explain voting for DENK?



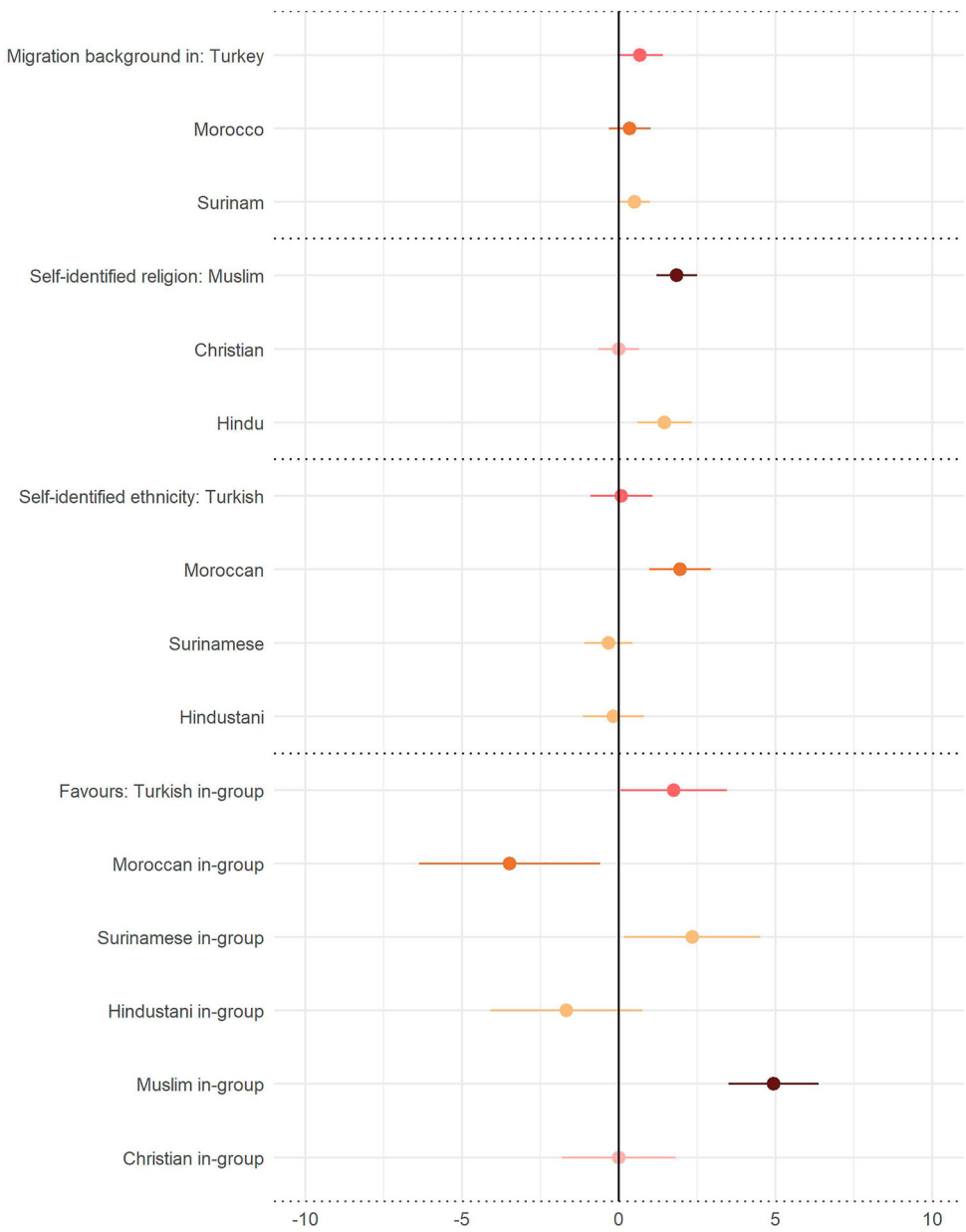
**Figure 5.** Coefficients returned from linear regression model. Dependent variable: PTV for DENK: Propensity to vote for DENK measured on a scale from 0 to 10. Error bars represent the 95% confidence interval. On belonging, higher scores indicate a higher feeling of belonging. Adjusted R-squared: 0.4389. Controlled for age, gender and education. Reference categories consist of respondents without a migration background, non-religious respondents or respondents who never experienced religious, ancestral or racial discrimination.

voters, on average, indicate a 4.06 points higher propensity than non-religious voters to vote for DENK. Hindu voters score 1.08 points higher and Christian voters score slightly lower than non-religious voters.

In Model 4 of [Figure 3](#), we add ethnic and religious background characteristics to the model. The effect of ethnicity is severely diminished compared to Model 2, whereas the effect of religion remains roughly the same compared to Model 3. This suggests that religion partially mediates the effect of ethnicity. In other words, religion explains most of the effect of ethnicity we see in Model 2 of [Figure 3](#), while ethnicity does not explain the effect of religion we see in Model 3 of [Figure 3](#).

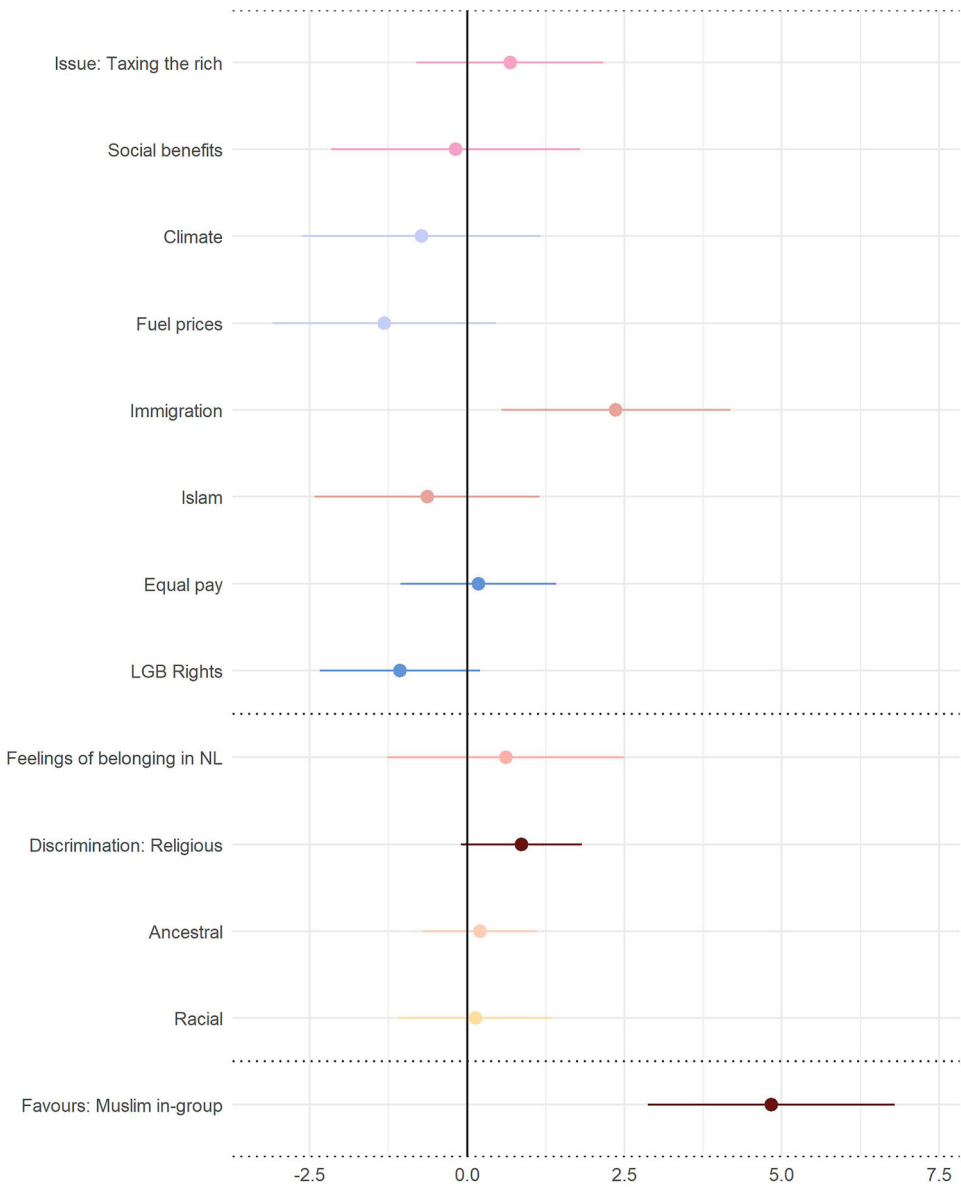
In [Figure 4](#) we analyse whether issue preferences explain voting for DENK. Besides the religion and ethnicity variables, we added eight economic and cultural issue positions of respondents. The only statistically significant issue positions are those on climate change, immigration and LGB rights. The more a respondent believes that immigrants are an

### Does in-group favouritism explain voting for DENK?



**Figure 6.** Coefficients returned from linear regression model. Dependent variable: PTV for DENK: Propensity to vote for DENK measured on a scale from 0 to 10. Error bars represent the 95% confidence interval. On in-group favouritism, higher scores indicate higher levels of in-group favouritism. Adjusted R-squared: 0.4567. Controlled for age, gender and education. Reference categories consist of non-religious respondents without a migration background.

## Why do Muslims vote for DENK: issues, discrimination or in-group favouritism?



**Figure 7.** Coefficients returned from linear regression model. Dependent variable: PTV for DENK: Propensity to vote for DENK measured on a scale from 0 to 10. Error bars represent the 95% confidence interval. The higher the issue-scores, the more leftist (higher taxes, higher fuel prices, more immigration, more equal pay, etc). On belonging, higher scores indicate a higher feeling of belonging. Experiencing religious, ancestral and racial discrimination is indicated with a 1, reference categories did not experience any of these three forms of discrimination. On in-group favouritism, higher scores indicate higher levels of in-group favouritism. See [Table 2](#) for an overview of what items this score consists of.

asset to the Netherlands, the more likely they are to vote for DENK. The more a respondent believes in the need to combat climate change and supports same-sex adoption, the less likely they are to vote for DENK and vice versa. Further analyses, reported in Appendix 4, show that the impact of climate change views on DENK voting is driven mostly by respondents with a Moroccan background, while the impact of views on LGB rights are mostly driven by their Turkish counterparts. Appendix 4 also reveals that respondents with a Surinamese background and those without a migration background are most likely to reveal a positive relationship between immigration views and voting for DENK, while this is much less likely amongst respondents with a Turkish and Moroccan background.

Most importantly, adding the eight issues to the model only reduced the coefficient of Muslim religion by 16%, from 3.57 to 3.01. Likewise, the coefficients of Turkish, Moroccan or Surinamese descent scores are only reduced a little, by 0.25, 0.35 and 0.10 points, respectively. The impact of a Moroccan and Surinamese background lost its significance after adding the variables, though only a small reduction in the effect size was necessary to make this happen. The impact of identifying as Hindu remained the same. Thus, there is little evidence to support the claim that issue positions substantially mediate the relationship between ethnic or religious background characteristics and voting for DENK.

In [Figure 5](#) we analyse whether discrimination explains voting for DENK, by adding the belonging scale and three discrimination items to the model with religion and ethnic background (Model 4 of [Figure 3](#)). Feeling accepted as belonging in the Netherlands negatively predicts voting for DENK by 0.75 points, meaning that the less you feel accepted, the higher you indicate your likelihood of voting for DENK. Ancestral and racial discrimination do not have significant independent effects on voting for DENK. Experiences with religious discrimination predict propensity to vote DENK by 1.18 points, which is in line with the party's position on discrimination against Muslims. Adding these discrimination items to the model slightly reduced the effect of being Muslim, by about half a point or 15%. Thus, similar to issue positions, religious discrimination only slightly explains why Muslim voters tend to vote for DENK. Meanwhile, the reduction in the effects of being of Turkish or Moroccan descent resulting from adding the discrimination items was negligible, suggesting that Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch DENK voting is not substantially mediated by experiences with discrimination.

In [Figure 6](#) we analyse whether in-group favouritism explains voting for DENK. To do this, we added ethnic identification variables and in-group favouritism scales to the model with religion and ethnicity (Model 4 of [Figure 3](#)). We also controlled for respondents who identified with other religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism or others), which resulted in a model in which the reference category consists of only non-religious respondents without a migration background.

Turkish, Surinamese and Hindustani identification does not have an independent effect on voting for DENK, but Moroccan identification does. At the same time, however, Moroccan in-group favouritism has a negative effect on DENK vote propensity. Thus, there is a positive baseline effect of identifying as Moroccan, but the stronger a Moroccan identifier expresses in-group favouritism, the more this positive effect is cancelled out. Less surprisingly, Turkish and Surinamese levels of in-group favouritism impact voting for DENK positively. Most importantly, though, Muslim identification



and in-group favouritism impact voting for DENK positively, by 1.91 and 4.88 points, respectively. Muslim in-group favouritism has by far the highest effect size of all models. The more a voter favours their Muslim in-group, the more likely they are to vote for DENK.

Most notably, the effect of identifying as Muslim drops substantially when adding these identification and in-group favouritism measures to the model: from 3.56 to 1.91 points, or a reduction of 46%. Moreover, the effect of being of Turkish descent drops by more than half a point and is no longer significant when adding these variables. The impact of being of Moroccan descent also loses significance, though this effect was not high to begin with. As the effect of being Muslim is still statistically significant, in-group favouritism does not explain *all* of the Muslim effect, but the difference is still considerable. Indeed, in-group favouritism explains why Muslims vote DENK much more clearly than discrimination and issues do.

The analyses that we have presented thus far comprised the entire sample of respondents, with non-religious respondents without a migration background forming the reference category to the migration background and religious variables. To zoom in specifically on why Muslims vote DENK, we now analyse a subset of only the Muslim respondents. Figure 7 comprises all the explanatory independent variables of our analyses in one model: issues, discrimination and in-group favouritism. Taken together, we find only two variables significantly explain why Muslims vote for DENK: position on immigration (2.36 points) and Muslim in-group favouritism (4.83 points). We also analyse the impact of issues, discrimination and identification on Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Dutch subsets of the sample. For the minority subsets, Muslim in-group favouritism also turns out to be the explanation for DENK voting with the highest explanatory power, overall issue and discrimination variables.

## Discussion

The outcomes of this research contribute to the literature on affinity voting (Bird et al., 2016; Dolan, 2008; van der Zwan et al., 2020). In-group favouritism and, to a lesser extent, experiences with discrimination and views on immigration are key to understanding why minority citizens vote for DENK, a party consisting of members of parliament of Turkish or Moroccan descent and/or Muslims. In-group favouritism, discrimination and issues should become a standard part of understanding the electoral behaviour and attitudes of minority citizens as they reveal how they experience their relationship to – and what sets them apart from – majority citizens. In-group favouritism and discrimination could also shape how minority citizens relate to the society around them and should therefore receive careful consideration beyond the literature of affinity voting as well (as already done by Fischer-Neumann, 2014; Fleischmann et al., 2011; Leszczensky et al., 2020; Scuzzarello, 2015; Simon & Ruhs, 2008; Sloopman, 2016, 2018, 2019; Sloopman & Duyvendak, 2015; van Heelsum & Koomen, 2016; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009). In this section, we discuss the caveats to this study and implications for future research.

First, it is striking that we did not find that positions on the Islam-related issue variable explain why minority Dutch citizens vote for DENK. One explanation might be that the issue we studied, i.e. ‘Islam should be restricted by law’, was particularly broad or difficult to interpret. More specific and clear statements might explain voting for DENK more

fully, e.g. we need to do more to end Islamophobia/discrimination, cartoons with the prophet Mohammed should be forbidden, or halal meals should be available in schools. More ethnonationalist-related items might also relate to voting for DENK, e.g. we should not criticise Erdoğan, the Armenian genocide never took place, the Grey Wolves are not a danger to Turkey, or Turkish and Moroccan Dutch citizens should be allowed to have two nationalities.

Second, the discrimination and in-group favouritism variables are vulnerable to endogeneity. In this paper, we have assumed that the causality runs from ethnic background measured through parental place of birth (an unquestionably exogenous variable) and religious background (less exogenous, but still very much a product of the family you were born in) to experiences of discrimination and in-group favouritism (both arguably endogenous), all leading to voting for DENK. The causality could also be the other way around: voting for DENK could raise awareness of discrimination, making voters more likely to state they have experienced it. Voting for DENK could also heighten Muslim in-group favouritism because the party puts Islamophobia on the agenda. Particularly due to the lagged effect experiences of discrimination tend to have (Fleischmann et al., 2019), multiple waves of panel studies over time are needed to clear up in which direction the causality runs: is DENK expressing or fuelling discontent amongst voters (to borrow the terminology from Rooduijn et al., 2016)?

Third, the primacy of Muslim in-group favouritism underlines an important step in the continually relevant ‘identity-to-politics-link’ (Lee, 2008). Future research should not only understand identity as a top-down category, but also ask respondents what they consider to be their in-group and to what extent they favour one in-group over the other. One cannot understand the relationship between identity and politics if one is not critical about *what* in-group, amongst many possible in-groups (Muslim, Moroccan, Dutch, Rotterdammer, Amsterdammer, immigrant), they favour. This research indicates that Muslim in-group favouritism is much more important than ethnic favouritism in understanding voting for DENK, which already shows that merely seeing citizens in terms of their migration background is improvident. Expanding the categories one can identify with even further might be a fruitful avenue for further research.

The in-group favouritism scale consisted of four separate items, see Table 2. In an exploratory analysis, we examined all four of these statements separately. We found that the in-group favouritism score for voting for DENK is mostly driven by the statement ‘We should always put Muslim interests first and not be oversensitive about the interests of others’, followed by ‘The world would be a much better place if all other groups are like Muslim people’, ‘In general, I prefer doing things with Muslim people’, and ‘I don’t think it is good to mix with people from other groups’. The latter three only have a very marginal impact on voting for DENK, pointing towards the importance of interest representation for Muslim voters.

Moreover, the importance of Muslim interest representation also points towards what sets DENK apart from almost all political parties in Europe. Although the Netherlands has a particularly rich history of descriptive representation of ethnic minority politicians in parliament (Bloemraad, 2013, p. 659; Fernandes et al., 2016, p. 2), this does not mean that this always included proud and open Muslim politicians, as many party selectors opt for symbolic inclusion of Muslim politicians who do not

profess their faith openly (Dancygier, 2017). For various reasons, not all Muslim politicians are always open about their faith (Aktürk & Katliarou, 2021, p. 392), while the parliamentarians of DENK have always been active advocates of Islam (Loukili, 2021a, 2021b).

DENK thereby combines *descriptive* representation of Muslims with *substantive* representation. Mainstream parties struggle with dilemmas of inclusion (Dancygier, 2017): Left-wing parties are more inclined to (have voters who) value diversity, yet they fear adding Muslim politicians to their party lists will upset their voters who also value gender equality, freedom of expression and gay rights. They are therefore more likely to opt for representatives who do add to the diversity of their list, but who do not openly and unapologetically profess their Muslim faith (idem). DENK shows that the unique combination of descriptive and substantive representation (terminology from Pitkin, 1967) might enhance the extent to which voters feel represented and therefore are more likely to vote for in-group politicians. Future research on affinity voting should include variables on in-group favouritism, whilst also scrutinising whether descriptive or substantive representation is driving voting.

## Conclusion

Why do ethnic and religious minorities vote for DENK? We outlined three possible explanations: issues, discrimination and in-group favouritism. Our findings reveal that Muslim in-group favouritism drives the DENK vote the most, followed by immigration attitudes and experiencing discrimination for being Muslim, while other issues only offer a very limited explanation for voting for the party. We find that religious background explains much of the effect of ethnic background. Dutch citizens of Turkish or Moroccan descent tend to vote DENK mostly because of being Muslim, not because of their migration background. Relatedly, only religious discrimination explains voting for DENK, while ancestral or racial discrimination do not. Indeed, Muslim in-group favouritism is what is driving results: even when controlling for experiences with religious discrimination and the effect of a lack of feeling accepted as belonging in the Netherlands, Muslim in-group favouritism persists above and beyond any other explanatory variable.

The outcomes of this research provide an addition to existing scholarship on the voting behaviour of minority citizens by indicating the importance of Muslim in-group favouritism over favouring of the ethnic in-group. This research also consolidates existing research pointing towards experiences with discrimination as a reason why Muslims tend to vote for Muslims (Azabar et al., 2020). All of this suggests the primacy of being Muslim in shaping voting behaviour. Future research needs to take voter religiosity into account more, while remaining attentive to the importance of alternate identities, as the salience of each identity depends on contextual factors. In the case of DENK voters, the context of widespread Islamophobic rhetoric has undoubtedly shaped the dynamics leading to the outcomes we find in this research. DENK's origin story underlines the importance of understanding the party as a reaction to widespread Islamophobia underpinning the conditions under which the founders of DENK were forced to leave the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA).

As far as we know there is no other political party in Europe like DENK: no other party in Europe has mostly Muslim politicians, maintains a sustained presence in parliament

and voices otherwise unheard policy positions in favour of Muslims and in reaction to Islamophobic narratives. The fact that DENK was able to emerge in the Netherlands could be characterised as a perfect storm: an unlikely consequence of structure (election system, prerogative to leave party and keep seats, proportional representation) and agency (the Dutch Labour Party minister of Social Affairs presenting themselves as an immigration-hardliner, the founders of DENK's criticism of their turn to the right, their refusal to back down when being threatened to be ousted from the Labour Party and their choice to remain in parliament under the header of DENK). This does not mean that the Dutch electorate is in any way unique. Across Europe there are Muslims who are likely to react similarly to a party like DENK, if they have the chance to vote for a party which represents them both descriptively and substantively as unreserved and unapologetic Muslims.

### Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

### Funding

This research is supported through Liza Mügge's NWO-VIDI grant (Grant number 016.Vidi.175.355) and Daphne van der Pas' NWO-VENI grant (Grant number 451-17-025).

### Notes on Contributors

*Sanne van Oosten* is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Oxford's Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS). Her PhD research focussed on how intersections of gender, race and religion shape the expectations and experiences of representation among individual citizens. Her postdoctoral research studies employment, housing and care discrimination against Muslim, Black and Roma citizens across Europe. Twitter: @SBvanOosten. E-mail: sanne.vanoosten@compas.ox.ac.uk

*Liza Mügge* is associate professor in political science at the University of Amsterdam. She is PI of a the 5-year research project 'Misrepresenting Diversity?' funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO) and co-founding editor of the European Journal of Politics & Gender. Her research expertise and interests include representation, mixed methods, gender equality, intersectionality and social safety in politics and academia. Twitter: @LizaMugge.

*Armen Hakhverdian* is associate professor in political science at the University of Amsterdam. His research focuses on representation, public opinion and inequalities. He has published in the Journal of Politics, Political Science Research and Methods, Political Studies, British Journal of Political Science, among others. Twitter: @Hakhverdian.

*Daphne van der Pas* is assistant professor at the Department of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. Her research focuses on the interaction between media and politics, political underrepresentation, political leadership, and gender in politics. She has published in the British Journal of Political Science, European Journal of Political Research, Political Communication and Journal of Communication, among others.

### Data Availability Statement

The data is available for peer-reviewers and will be made public upon publication.

## References

- Abou-Chadi, T., & Helbling, M. (2018). How immigration reforms affect voting behavior. *Political Studies*, 66(3), 417–436. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321717725485>
- Abou-Chadi, T., & Wagner, M. (2019). The electoral appeal of party strategies in postindustrial societies: When can the mainstream left succeed? *The Journal of Politics*, 81(4), 1405–19. <https://doi.org/10.1086/704436>
- Aktürk, S., & Katliarou, Y. (2021). Institutionalization of ethnocultural diversity and the representation of European Muslims. *Perspectives on Politics*, 19(2), 388–405. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720001334>
- Arnesen, S., Duell, D., & Johannesson, M. P. (2019). Do citizens make inferences from political candidate characteristics when aiming for substantive representation? *Electoral Studies*, 57(October 2018), 46–60. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2018.10.005>
- Awan, I. (2014). Islamophobia and twitter: A typology of online hate against Muslims on social media. *Policy & Internet*, 6(2), 133–50. <https://doi.org/10.1002/1944-2866.POI364>
- Azabar, S., Thijssen, P., & van Erkel, P. (2020). Is there such a thing as a Muslim vote? *Electoral Studies*, 66(April), 102164. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2020.102164>
- Baysu, G., & Swyngedouw, M. (2020). What determines voting behaviors of Muslim minorities in Europe: Muslim identity or left-right ideology? *Political Psychology*, 41(5), 837–60. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12653>
- Bergh, J., & Bjørklund, T. (2011). The revival of group voting: Explaining the voting preferences of immigrants in Norway. *Political Studies*, 59(2), 308–27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2010.00863.x>
- Bird, K., Jackson, S. D., McGregor, R. M., Moore, A. A., Stephenson, L. B. (2016). Sex (and ethnicity) in the city: Affinity voting in the 2014 Toronto Mayoral Election. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 49(2), 359–83. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423916000536>
- Bird, K., Saalfeld, T., & Wüst, A. M. (2010). Ethnic diversity, political participation and representation: A theoretical framework. In *The political representation of immigrants and minorities, voters, parties and parliaments in liberal democracies* (pp. 1–22). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203843604>
- Bizumic, B., Duckitt, J., Popadic, D., Dru, V. (2009). A cross-cultural investigation into a reconceptualization of ethnocentrism. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(6), 871–99. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.589>
- Bloemraad, I. (2013). Accessing the corridors of power: Puzzles and pathways to understanding minority representation. *West European Politics*, 36(3), 652–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2013.773733>
- Cutler, F. (2002). The simplest shortcut of all: Sociodemographic characteristics and electoral choice. *The Journal of Politics*, 64(2), 466–90. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2508.00135>
- Dancygier, R. M. (2017). *Dilemmas of inclusion*. Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1vwmgf2>
- de Zoeten, N., & Nij Bijvank, Coen. (2021). Onderzoek Denk-kiezers: 9 op de 10 voor verbod op spotprenten profeet Mohammed <https://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/collectie/13859/artikel/2370382-onderzoek-denk-kiezers-9-op-de-10-voor-verbod-op-spotprenten-profeet-mohammed>
- Di Stasio, V., Lancee, B., Veit, S., Yemane, R. (2021). Muslim by default or religious discrimination? Results from a cross-national field experiment on hiring discrimination. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47(6), 1305–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1622826>
- Dolan, K. (2008). Is there a ‘gender affinity effect’ in American politics? Information, affect, and candidate sex in U.S. House elections. *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(1), 79–89. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912907307518>
- European Social Survey. (2016). ESS Source Questionnaire Round 8 2016/2017. 01(2016).
- Fernandes, J. M., Morales, L., & Saalfeld, T. (2016). Pathways to power: The political representation of citizens of immigrant origin in eight European democracies. *Pathways Report* (February). Available at: <http://pathways.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Pathways-to-power-leaflet-FINAL.pdf>.

- Fernández-Reino, M., Di Stasio, V., & Veit, S. (2023). Discrimination unveiled: A field experiment on the barriers faced by Muslim women in Germany, The Netherlands, and Spain. *European Sociological Review*, 39(3), 479–97. <https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcac032>
- Fischer-Neumann, M. (2014). Immigrants' ethnic identification and political involvement in the face of discrimination: A longitudinal study of the German case. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(3), 339–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.847362>
- Fisher, S. D., Heath, A. F., Sanders, D., Sobolewska, M. (2014). Candidate ethnicity and vote choice in Britain. *British Journal of Political Science*, 45(4), 883–905. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123413000562>
- Fleischmann, F., Leszczensky, L., & Pink, S. (2019). Identity threat and identity multiplicity among minority youth: Longitudinal relations of perceived discrimination with ethnic, religious, and national identification in Germany. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 58(4), 971–90. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12324>
- Fleischmann, F., Phalet, K., & Klein, O. (2011). Religious identification and politicization in the face of discrimination: Support for political Islam and political action among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in Europe. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 50(4), 628–48. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02072.x>
- FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. (2017). *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS II): Main results*. <https://doi.org/10.2811/902610>.
- Goodyear-Grant, E., & Tolley, E. (2019). Voting for one's own: Racial group identification and candidate preferences. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 7(1), 131–47. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2017.1338970>
- Grewal, S., & Hamid, S. (2022). Discrimination, inclusion, and anti-system attitudes among Muslims in Germany. *American Journal of Political Science*, 68(0), 511–28. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12735>
- Haslam, S.A. (2001). *Psychology in Organizations, the Social Identity Approach*. SAGE Publications. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.162.3858.1167>
- Heath, O., Verniers, G., & Kumar, S. (2015). Do Muslim voters prefer Muslim candidates? Co-religiosity and voting behaviour in India. *Electoral Studies*, 38(2015), 10–18. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2015.01.005>
- Helbling, M., & Traunmüller, R. (2018). What is islamophobia? Disentangling citizens' feelings towards ethnicity, religion and religiosity using a survey experiment. *British Journal of Political Science*, 50(3), 811–28. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123418000054>
- Jardina, A., & Stephens-Dougan, L. (2021). The electoral consequences of anti-Muslim prejudice. *Electoral Studies*, 72(June), 102364. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2021.102364>
- Kiesraad. (2017). Officiële uitslag Tweede Kamerverkiezing 15 maart 2017. Available at: <https://www.kiesraad.nl/actueel/nieuws/2017/03/20/officiele-uitslag-tweede-kamerverkiezing-15-maart-2017> (accessed 22 March 2022).
- Kiesraad. (2022). Officiële uitslag Gemeenteraadsverkiezingen 2022. Available at: <https://www.verkiezingsuitslagen.nl/verkiezingen/detail/GR20220316> (accessed 2 February 2024).
- Kiesraad. (2023). Officiële uitslag Tweede Kamerverkiezing 23 november 2023. Available at: <https://www.kiesraad.nl/adviezen-en-publicaties/proces-verbalen/2023/12/04/proces-verbaal-van-de-uitslag-van-de-tweede-kamerverkiezing-2023> (accessed 2 February 2024).
- Lau, R. R., & Redlawsk, D. P. (2001). Advantages and disadvantages of cognitive heuristics in political decision making. *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(4), 951. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2669334>
- Lee, T. (2008). Race, immigration, and the identity-to-politics link. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11(1), 457–78. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.051707.122615>
- Lerman, A. E., & Sadin, M. L. (2016). Stereotyping or projection? How white and black voters estimate black candidates' ideology. *Political Psychology*, 37(2), 147–63. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12235>



- Leszczensky, L., Maxwell, R., & Bleich, E. (2020). What factors best explain national identification among muslim adolescents? Evidence from four European countries. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(1), 260–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1578203>
- LISS. (2018). LISS panel data archive. Available at: <https://www.dataarchive.lissdata.nl/>.
- Loukili, S. (2021a). Fighting fire with fire? “Muslim” political parties in The Netherlands countering right-wing populism in the City of Rotterdam. *Journal of Muslims in Europe*, 9(1), 21–42. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22117954-12341409>
- Loukili, S. (2021b). Making space, claiming place social media and the emergence of the “Muslim” political parties DENK and NIDA in The Netherlands. *Journal for Religion, Film and Media*, 7(2), 107–31. <https://doi.org/10.25364/05.7>
- Lubbers, M., & Spierings, N. (2021). Nederlanders met een migratieachtergrond: Onvoldoende vertegenwoordigd?. In T. Sipma, M. Lubbers, T. van der Meer, N. Spierings, & K. Jacobs (Eds.), *Versplinterde Vertegenwoordiging, Nationaal Kiesonderzoek 2021* (pp. 125–39). Stichting KiesersOnderzoek Nederland (SKON). <https://www.dpes.nl/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/NKO-2021-Versplinterde-vertegenwoordiging.pdf>
- Mansouri, F., & Vergani, M. (2018). Intercultural contact, knowledge of Islam, and prejudice against Muslims in Australia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 66(June), 85–94. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2018.07.001>
- McDermott, M. L. (1998). Race and gender cues in low-information elections. *Political Research Quarterly*, 51(4), 895–918. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106591299805100403>
- Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2020). The relationship between political and ethnic identity among UK ethnic minority and majority populations. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(5), 957–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1539286>
- Otjes, S., & Krouwel, A. (2019). Why do newcomers vote for a newcomer? Support for an immigrant party. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(7), 1148–67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1427053>
- Pérez, E. O. (2015). Xenophobic rhetoric and its political effects on immigrants and their co-ethnics. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(3), 549–564. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12131>
- Phalet, K., Baysu, G., & Verkuyten, M. (2010). Political mobilization of Dutch Muslims: Religious identity salience, goal framing, and normative constraints. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66(4), 759–79. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2010.01674.x>
- Pitkin, H. F. (1967). *The concept of representation*. University of California Press.
- Rooduijn, M., Van der Brug, W., & de Lange, S. L. (2016). Expressing or fuelling discontent? The relationship between populist voting and political discontent. *Electoral Studies*, 43, 32–40. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2016.04.006>
- Schildkraut, D. J. (2013). Which birds of a feather flock together? Assessing attitudes about descriptive representation among Latinos and Asian Americans. *American Politics Research*, 41(4), 699–729. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X12466582>
- Schmuck, D., & Matthes, J. (2019). Voting “against islamization”? How Anti-Islamic right-wing, populist political campaign ads influence explicit and implicit attitudes toward Muslims as well as voting preferences. *Political Psychology*, 40(4), 739–57. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12557>
- Scuzzarello, S. (2015). Political participation and dual identification among migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(8), 1214–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1022517>
- Simon, B., & Ruhs, D. (2008). Identity and politicization among Turkish migrants in Germany: The role of dual identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(6), 1354–66. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0012630>
- Slotman, M. (2016). Substantive signifiers? Ethnic and religious identifications among second-generation immigrants in The Netherlands. *Identities*, 23(5), 572–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2015.1035722>
- Slotman, M. (2018). Social mobility allowing for ethnic identification: Reassertion of ethnicity among Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. *International Migration*, 56(4), 125–39. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12406>

- Slootman, M. (2019). Ethnic-minority climbers: Evaluating “minority cultures of mobility” as a lens to study Dutch minority student organizations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(5), 838–56. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2018.1467029>
- Slootman, M., & Duyvendak, J. W.. (2015). Feeling Dutch: The culturalization of citizenship and second-generation belonging in The Netherlands. In Nancy Foner & Patrick Simon (Eds.), *Fear, Anxiety and National Identity* (pp. 147–68). New York: The Russel Sage Foundation.
- Sobolewska, M. (2006). Ethnic agenda: Relevance of political attitudes to party choice. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*, 15(2), 197–214. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13689880500178781>
- Sullivan, J. M., & Johnson, M. S. (2008). Race is on my mind: Explaining black voter’s political attraction to Barack Obama. *Race, Gender & Class*, 15(3/4), 51–64.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 56–95). Brooks-Cole.
- van der Brug, W., & van Spanje, J. (2009). Immigration, Europe and the ‘new’ cultural dimension. *European Journal of Political Research*, 48(3), 309–34. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2009.00841.x>
- van der Zwan, R., Tolsma, J., & Lubbers, M. (2020). Under what conditions do ethnic minority candidates attract the ethnic minority vote? How neighbourhood and candidate characteristics affected ethnic affinity voting in the Dutch 2017 parliamentary elections. *Political Geography*, 77 (November 2019), 102098. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2019.102098>
- van Heelsum, A., & Koomen, M. (2016). Ascription and identity. Differences between first- and second-generation Moroccans in the way ascription influences religious, national and ethnic group identification. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(2), 277–91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1102044>
- van Oosten, S. 2022. What shapes voter expectations of Muslim politicians’ views on homosexuality: stereotyping or projection?. *Electoral Studies* 80, 102553. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2022.102553>.
- van Oosten, S. (2023). 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 Preprints*. <https://osf.io/preprints/osf/rkejd>.
- van Oosten, S. (2024). ‘Broadstancers hebben een electoraal voordeel. Binnenlands Bestuur 2024 (2). Binnenlands Bestuur B.V. <https://www.binnenlandsbestuur.nl/bestuur-en-organisatie/negatieve-voordeel-tegen-islamitische-politici-verdwijnt-helemaal-wanneer> (accessed 5 August 2024).
- van Oosten, Sanne, Mügge, L., Hakhverdian, A., van der Pas, D., & Vermeulen, F. (2024b). *French Ethnic Minority and Muslim Attitudes, Voting, Identity and Discrimination (EMMAVID) – EMMAVID Data France*. Harvard Dataverse. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/ULQEAY>
- van Oosten, S., Mügge, L., Hakhverdian, A., van der Pas, D., & Vermeulen, F. (2024c). *German Ethnic Minority and Muslim Attitudes, Voting, Identity and Discrimination (EMMAVID) – EMMAVID Data Germany*. Harvard Dataverse. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/GT4N9J>
- van Oosten, S., Mügge, L., Hakhverdian, A., van der Pas, D., & Vermeulen, F. (2024d). *Dutch Ethnic Minority and Muslim Attitudes, Voting, Identity and Discrimination (EMMAVID) – EMMAVID Data the Netherlands*. Harvard Dataverse. <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/BGVJZQ>
- van Oosten, Sanne, Liza Mügge and Daphne van der Pas. 2024a. Race/Ethnicity in Candidate Experiments: a Meta-Analysis and the Case for Shared Identification. *Acta Politica* 59 (1): 19–41. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41269-022-00279-y>
- Verkuyten, M., & Yildiz, A. A. (2009). Muslim immigrants and religious group feelings: Self-identification and attitudes among Sunni and Alevi Turkish-Dutch. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(7), 1121–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870802379312>
- Vermeulen, F. (2018). The paradox of immigrant political participation in Europe amidst crises of multiculturalism. In Cecilia Menjivar, Marie Ruiz, & Immanuel Ness (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Migration Crises* (pp. 800–16). Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190856908.013.26>

- Vermeulen, F., Harteveld, E., van Heelsum, A., van der Veen, A. (2020). The potential of immigrant parties: Insights from the Dutch case. *Acta Politica*, 55(3), 432–53. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41269-018-0123-z>
- Vermeulen, F., & Kranendonk, M. (2019). DENK. Factoren voor het succes, de kenmerken van de achterban en het bereiken van nieuwe stemmers. *Beleid en Maatschappij*, 46(1), 195–9. <https://doi.org/10.5553/benm/138900692019046001019>
- Weller, N., & Junn, J. (2018). Racial identity and voting: Conceptualizing white identity in spatial terms. *Perspectives on Politics*, 16(2), 436–48. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592717004285>
- Wickham, H. (2020). Package ‘tidyr’. 1.1.2. Cran. Available at: <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/tidyr/tidyr.pdf>.
- Wickham, H. (2020). Package ‘ggplot2’. 3.3.2. Cran. Available at: <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/ggplot2/ggplot2.pdf>