

## Discourse, Values and Voting: Political Value Priorities of the Turkish Public

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### Abstract

There are many approaches to analyzing past elections in critical countries, but no valid standardized method yet. The significant effort focuses on the uncommitted voters in the studies and how they were won. This paper investigates the elections in the Republic of Turkey between 2002-2011. It focuses on determining the level of attitudes and expectations of Turkish voters based on the value priority of politics. The investigation answers how people voted as they did based on their gender, age, education, income and region. A quantitative research method has been designed to establish a correlation among these variables by collecting data from 4268 voters. The findings resulted in the formation of an analysis method, called the Scale of Political Values. The scale has three sub-dimensions: the first one is stability and order-oriented, strong power expectation, the second is developmental, honest, solution-oriented policy expectation, and the last is strong leadership expectation. Increasing age and decreasing education and income levels resulted in an increased strong power expectation. As age, education, and income levels increased, the expectation for developmental, honest, solution-oriented policy received the highest score. This dimension had a linear relation to age, education, and income level. Gender did not affect both sub-dimensions.

*Key Words:* Value, political discourse, voting, Turkish politics, elections

### Söylem, Değer ve Oy Verme: Türk Halkının Siyasal Değer Öncelikleri

#### Öz

Kritik ülkelerdeki geçmiş seçimleri analiz etmek için birçok yaklaşım bulunmakla birlikte, geçerli bir standartlaştırılmış yöntem henüz yoktur. Çalışmalar özellikle kararsız seçmenlere ve bu seçmenlerin siyasi partiler tarafından nasıl ikna edildiğine odaklanmaktadır. Bu makale, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde 2002-2011 arasında yapılan seçimleri arařtırmaktadır. Seçimlerde Türk seçmenlerinin tutum ve beklentilerinin, siyasetin değer önceliği temelinde belirlenmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Arařtırma, insanların nasıl oy verdiklerini cinsiyet, yaş, eğitim, gelir ve bölge gibi faktörlere dayanarak açıklamaktadır. 4268 seçmenden veri toplayarak bu değişkenler arasında bir ilişki kurmak için nicel bir arařtırma yöntemi tasarlandı. Bulgularla Siyasal Değerler Ölçeği adlı bir ölçek oluşturuldu. Bu ölçek üç alt boyuttan oluşmaktadır: İlk alt boyut, istikrar ve düzen odaklı güçlü iktidar beklentisini, ikinci alt boyut gelişimsel, dürüst, çözüm odaklı politika beklentisini ve son boyut güçlü liderlik beklentisini ifade etmektedir. Arařtırmada yaşın artması ve eğitim ile gelir düzeyinin azalması sonucunda istikrar ve düzen odaklı güçlü iktidar beklentisinin arttığı saptanmıştır. Yaş, eğitim ve gelir düzeyi arttıkça kalkındırma, dürüst ve çözüm odaklı politika beklentisi en yüksek puanı almıştır. Çözüm odaklı politika beklentisini ifade eden boyut yaş, eğitim ve gelir düzeyi ile doğrusal bir ilişkiye sahiptir. Cinsiyet, her iki alt boyut üzerinde de etkili olmamıştır.

*Anahtar Kelimeler:* Değer, siyasal söylem, oy verme, Türkiye politikası, seçim

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## Introduction

This research aims to answer the following questions: what are the attitudes and expectations of the Turkish voters based on the value priority of politics after 2000? How do demographic variables affect the attitudes and expectations of the value priorities of politics in Turkey? These questions were studied using an original scale that fed the political rhetoric in Turkey. This research assumed that political discourses highly regarded by society had convincing power and that values affected the political decisions of the public. The research did not attempt to measure nor predict the intention and the tendency for future elections. To establish conclusive data for the results, the relationship between the value-loaded discourses of politicians' speeches in the media and the political attitudes and expectations of the voters in Turkey, was also examined using an analytical model. The research focused on how these political values appeared in the media and affected voting behavior in terms of demographic variables. The attitudes toward political values were researched based on the voters' gender, age, educational background, income level, and region. The results showed that values affect political discourses and decisions.

To reveal this, we first analyzed the discourse of politicians' statements in the newspapers in terms of values in the elections of 2002, 2007, and 2011 (early election). The values that dominated the political discourse of Turkey during these elections were determined and reported (Köse, 2016; 2019). A qualitative content analysis utilizing 10 basic values (self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, benevolence, and universalism) as stated in the Schwartz Value Scale (1992) was conducted. Then a scale defined as "the scale of political values" (SPV) was fed through the political rhetoric in the investigations. In turn, this was utilized as a tool to measure the attitudes and expectations of the voters on the values that dominated politics (Köse, Yılmaz, Kezer, and Arslan, 2018). Some studies used European Social Survey (ESS) data for investigating similar cases (Başlevent & Kirmanoğlu, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2014), however, this research is vastly different because it is based entirely on an original, newly-developed scale that fed with the political rhetoric in Turkey and utilized in various sample groups in 2017. This date is important because, after the 2017 constitutional amendment referendum, Turkey's long-standing parliamentary system was exchanged for a presidential system in June 2018.

Earlier studies on the relationship between values and politics in Turkey show that values are related to the political views of the voters. Başlevent and Kirmanoğlu (2010) investigated the role played by Turkish people's basic personal values in their political choices by using the European Social Survey (ESS). They adopted Schwartz's (1992) theory of basic values. They focused on how the values affect the decisions to vote for Turkey's two major political parties, namely the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and the Republican People's Party (CHP). These researchers find that the decision to vote for the AKP is negatively related to openness to change and self-transcendence and the opposite is the case for the CHP. In their study of 15 countries, which includes Turkey, Schwartz et al. (2014) analyze the data they collect using eight core political values and 10 basic personal values. The research showed that individual differences in basic personal values play a critical role in political thinking. Caprara et al. (2018) examined the extent to which religiosity accounts for ideological orientations in 16 countries from five continents. They found that the contribution of religiosity to ideology was substantial only in countries where religion played a prominent role in the public sphere, such as Spain, Poland, Greece, Italy, Slovakia, and Turkey.

Exploring the basic personal values and the meaning of right-left political orientation in 20 countries, Piurko, Schwartz, and Davidov (2011), compared the personal values with the socio-demographic variables that were decisive in political orientation. Lane and Ersson (2005) examined the values, that were influential in politics and pointed to the fact that the boundary between political values and political ideologies was definite and the values that were valid in politics changed as the politics of the period changed. Caprara et al. (1999), who examined the elections in Italy in 1994, found there was a significant relationship between voters' characteristics and political preferences. Again Caprara et al. (2006) used Schwartz's basic theory of personal values to test whether two aspects of personality, i.e. personal traits, and values, affect political preferences. Barnea and Schwartz (1998), in their study of the 1988 Israeli elections, found that the personal values of individuals were a distinctive feature among various political party voters. Studying the 2006 elections in Italy, Schwartz, Caprara, and Vecchione (2010, s.423) tested how the motivational structure of the core values restricts and imparts coherence to political values, assuming that political values are the manifestations of the basic personal values in the field of politics.

Waheed et al. (2011) analyzed differences and similarities in using values in the political speeches of six politicians from three different developed and developing countries. They determined that the most

present basic values in all speeches, regardless of the country being developed or developing, were benevolence, universalism, stimulation, self-direction, and achievement. The most frequently used basic values in the speeches from developed countries were universalism and benevolence while in the speeches from developing countries, they were self-direction and stimulation. In another study in which they examined news texts in 10 countries in terms of values, Waheed et al. (2013) put forth that the four most frequently used values in politics were the same in developed and developing countries, but the positive and negative use of these values varied.

Studies on political preferences and voter behavior are increasing rapidly due to the influence and decisiveness of politics on power relations in society. While the public opinion polls conducted before the election try to predict the election results, studies on the political discourse and propaganda techniques are subject to various analyses ensuing the elections. This study approaches the relationship between the values and political attitudes originally way to sound strategic answers using a quantitative method.

### **Method, Participants, and Data Collection**

The focus of this research is to determine the level of attitudes and expectations of Turkish voters in terms of different variables as set against the values embedded in the election rhetoric in Turkey after 2000. Correlational studies were done to determine the relationship between two or more variables without the intervention of the variables as earlier studied (Fraenkel, Wallen & Hyun, 2012).

The research population comprises the citizens of the Republic of Turkey, over the age of 18 who are entitled to vote. Accordingly, the number of participants was determined to be 4268, at the 95% confidence interval and with +/- 1,5% margin of error. The Turkey Classification of Territorial Units for Statistics (IBBS-1) has been referred to in sampling. Within the scope of this classification, the sampling was carried out in 12 regions which are known and thought to represent the whole region. Thus, to get a balanced representation, Turkey Statistical Area Classification, age, gender, and quotas are carefully designated. The sampling of the study was formed by a random method provided that it was kept within quotas.

The participants were balanced gender-wise. 2062 of the participants were women and 2126 were men. Looking at the distribution of the age of the participants, 27.90 percent (f=1191) of them are in the 18-29 age range, 32.85 percent (f=1402), in the 30-44 range; 23.20 percent (f=990) is in the range of 45-59. 16.05 percent (f=685) of the participants were 60 years or older. When education levels were evaluated, the majority were high school graduates with 42.79 percent (f=1825). Then, respectively, 23.66 percent (f=1009) with undergraduate and 19.06 percent (f=813) followed by secondary school graduates. The rate of primary school graduates participating in the research is 11.16 percent (f=476) and the rate of postgraduates is 3.33 percent (f=142). The participants stated their income levels within the ranges based on minimum wage. Household income levels from the highest frequency to the lowest are as follows, respectively: 2101-3500 Turkish Liras (31.96%), 1401-2100 TL (29.22%), 3501-4900 TL (15.25%), less than 1400 TL (11.72%). The range of people with more than TL 4900 remained below 10 percent. 13 participants did not specify their income level. Most of the participants (91.85%) stated their mother tongue to be Turkish. After Turkish, eight participants stated a different mother tongue other than Kurdish, Laz, Circassian, and Arabic. Three of the eight participants indicated English as their mother tongue, while the remaining 5 indicated German, Albanian, Bulgarian, Persian, and French. 14 participants did not specify their mother tongue.

In the research, SPV was used as the data collection tool. This scale consists of two parts. In the first part, there are questions about basic demographic information and in the second part, there are statements about measuring values. In the first part of demographic questions, there are questions about age, gender, education, income, place of residence, and ethnic identity. Value expressions consist of three dimensions. Explained variances for factors are 21.12%, 13.72%, and 7.54%. The three-factored construct explains 42.33% of the variance in total. Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficients concerning factors are determined to be 0.88, 0.90, and 0.76, respectively; and the Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficient for the totality of the scale is 0.89. It was seen that item-total correlations vary between 0.453 and 0.805. First, under the “developmental, honest, solution-oriented policy expectation” factor, which collects the highest number of items on the scale, there are expressions where politics is defined through measurable actions and achievements, referring to the skills required to achieve the results expected by society. These expressions, which correspond to the individual needs and welfare expectations of human beings as biological organisms, provide answers to the questions "What do you think a political party has to do for you to deem it successful, or what promises of a party would make you vote for it? Second, “The Expectation of Stability and Order-Oriented Powerful Government” is the dimension that contains statements expressing the expectation of

regular social interaction and includes power-based statements that prioritize control over people and resources. Third, expressions based on the understanding that links politics and the power of political actors to personal charisma and the support they receive from society formed the dimension of “Strong Leadership Expectation”. The scale consists of 39 items. T-test for independent samples, one-way analysis of variance, and Kruskal Wallis H test were used to analyze the data. Multiple comparisons were used to investigate the source of difference between average scores.

### Results

Firstly, descriptive statistics were calculated for the three sub-dimensions of SPV: Stability and Order-Oriented Strong Power Expectation (SOSPE), Developmental, Honest, Solution-Oriented Policy Expectation (DHSPE), and Strong Leadership Expectation (SLE) as they are used to determine the values that affect the voting behaviors of individuals.

**Table 1.** Descriptive Statistics on the Total Scores of the SPV Sub-dimensions

<i>Statistics</i>	<i>SOSPE</i>	<i>DHSPE</i>	<i>SLE</i>
Minimum	20.00	31.00	5.00
Maximum	68.00	90.00	25.00
Range	48.00	59.00	20.00
Mean	43.79	71,34	15.77
Median	44.00	72.00	16.00
Mode	44.00	76.00	14.00
Standard Deviation	8.50	9.09	4.17
Variance	72.25	82.55	17.43
Skewness	0.005	-0.670	0.018
Kurtosis	-0.452	0.631	-0.425

The mean was  $43.79 \pm 8.50$  for the 14-item SOSPE dimension;  $71.34 \pm 9.09$  and  $15.77 \pm 4.17$  for the 18-item DHSPE and for the 5-item SLE dimensions, respectively. The skewness coefficients, in the range of (-1, + 1), and kurtosis coefficients, in the range of (-3, +3), are considered as evidence for the normality of the data (Çokluk, Şekercioglu & Büyüköztürk, 2012). When the skewness and kurtosis coefficients are analyzed, it is seen that the data are normally distributed in all three dimensions.

Since the number of items in the dimensions was different, the mean scores were calculated by taking the ratio of the total scores of the participants to the number of items in the dimensions. Descriptive statistics of mean scores are given in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Descriptive Statistics on the Mean Scores of the SPV Sub-dimensions

<i>Statistics</i>	<i>SOSPE</i>	<i>DHSPE</i>	<i>SLE</i>
Minimum	1.43	1.72	1.00
Maximum	4.86	5.00	5.00
Range	3.43	3.28	4.00
Mean	3.13	3.96	3.15
Median	3.14	4.00	3.20
Mode	3.14	4.22	2.80
Standard Deviation	0.61	0.50	0.83
Variance	0.37	0.26	0.70
Skewness	0.005	0.670	0.018
Kurtosis	-0.452	0.631	-0.425

When the dimensions in the scale were evaluated in terms of mean scores, the mean scores of the DHSPE dimension (3.96) were higher than the other two dimensions. It can be said that the participation rates in this dimension, which consists of expressions for individual needs and welfare expectations that will enable human survival as biological organisms, are higher than in other dimensions.

#### 1. Comparison of the attitudes of individuals toward political values by gender

The mean scores obtained by the participants from the dimensions of the scale of political values according to their gender are as follows. The scores of the male and female participants in the sub-dimensions of SPV are parallel to each other.

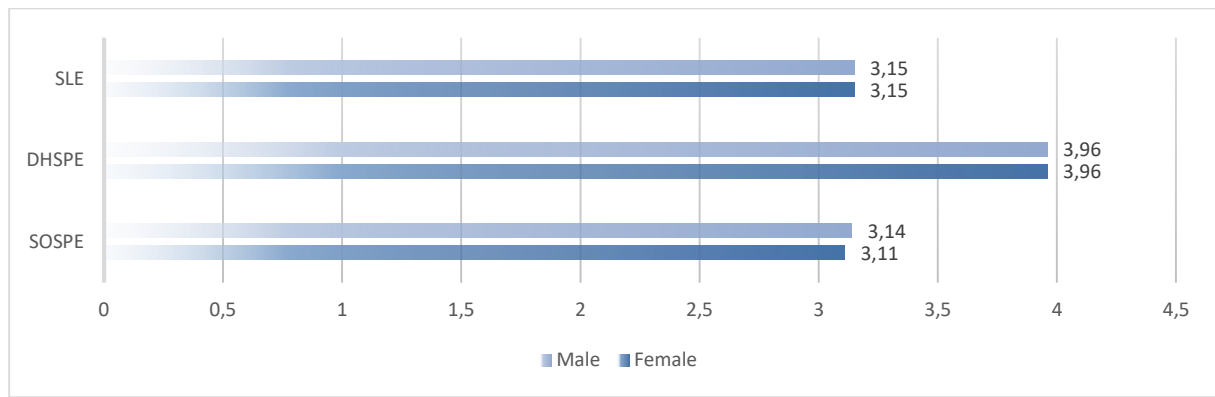


Figure 1. Distribution of SDL Mean Scores by Gender

Also, the lowest mean score for both men and women was in the SOSPE dimension, and the highest mean score was in the DHSPE dimension. It is seen that both men and women have a similar attitude in terms of support for the understanding of DHSPE, which refers to their ability to do what is necessary to achieve the results expected by society. The results of the analysis regarding whether the data obtained from the value scale differ according to gender are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Results of the T-Test on the SPV scores

	N	X	S	df	T	Sig.
<b>SOSPE</b>						
Female	2142	3.112	0.606	4266	1.767	0.077
Male	2126	3.144	0.608			
<b>DHSPE</b>						
Female	2142	3.963	0.502	4266	0.106	0.915
Male	2126	3.964	0.508			
<b>SLE</b>						
Female	2142	3.153	0.834	4266	0.031	0.975
Male	2126	3.154	0.836			

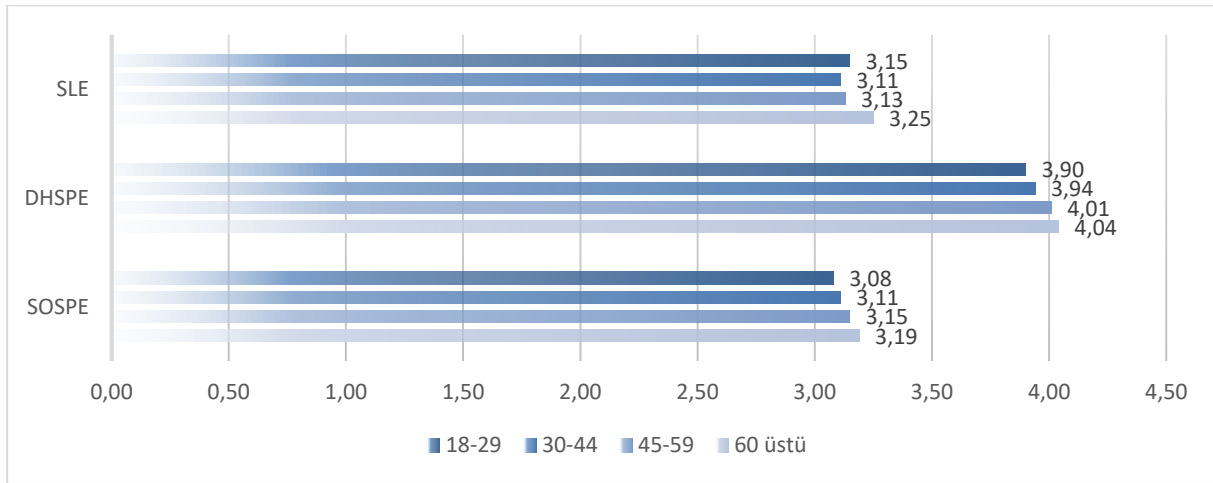
We found that the mean scores obtained from the Political Value Scale did not differ significantly in three sub-dimensions according to gender ( $t_{(4266)}=1.767$ ,  $p=0.077$ ;  $t_{(4266)}=0.106$ ,  $p=0.915$ ;  $t_{(4266)}=0.031$ ,  $p=0.975$ ). In other words, both women and men participating in the study have similar responses in each one of the three dimensions.

## 2. Comparison of the attitudes of individuals towards political values according to age

The distribution of the mean scores obtained from the Scale of Political Values according to age ranges is as follows. After that, the mean scores obtained by the participants from the scale of political values in three sub-dimensions are presented below.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics of SPV Mean Scores by Age Range

Age Range	SOSPE		DHSPE		SLE	
	N	$X \pm S_x$	N	$X \pm S_x$	N	$X \pm S_x$
18-29	1191	3.08±0.60	1191	3.90±0.51	1191	3.16±0.83
30-44	1402	3.12±0.60	1402	3.94±0.53	1402	3.11±0.82
45-59	990	3.15±0.62	990	4.02±0.48	990	3.14±0.84
60 and over	685	3.20±0.61	685	4.04±0.45	685	3.25±0.87
Total	4268	3.13 ±0.61	4268	3.96±0.51	4268	3.15±0.84



**Figure 2.** *Distribution of SDL Mean Scores by Age*

The mean score of the participants from the DHSPE dimension was higher than those of the other two dimensions. In addition, the mean scores for this dimension were the highest in every age range. According to the high mean scores, it can be said that the participants of each age group attach more importance to this dimension as it explains politics by associating it with the performances and achievements that meet the individual needs and welfare expectations of the people. This is because, as Kalender (2005, s.19) puts forward, people give priority to the individual living space rather than considering general and universal criteria in their choices and decisions and focus on finding the best solution to their problems. Based on these data, it is possible to say that the participants in the 45-59 age group give more importance to developmental and progressive politics than other age groups. In terms of age, the DHSPE dimension is the most effective one for the age group sixty and over in voting behavior. When the data in Table 4 is examined, the scores obtained in the SOSPE and DHSPE dimensions increase as the age range increases. The notable meaning is the mean of participants aged 60 years and over in the SLE dimension. Whether the scores obtained differed statistically according to the age range in all three dimensions were analyzed and the results of the analysis were presented in Table 5.

**Table 5.** *ANOVA Results by Age Range of SPV Scores*

<i>Variance Source</i>	<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Difference</i>
<b>SOSPE</b>						
Between Groups	6.806	3	2.269	6.177	0.000	18-29/45-59,
Within Groups	1566.193	4264	0.367			18-29/60+,
Total	1573.000					45-59/60+
<b>DHSPE</b>						
Between Groups	11.723	3	3.908	15.492	0.000	18-29/45-59,
Within Groups	1075.466	4264	0.252			30-44/45-59,
Total	1087.189	4267				18-29/60+,
						45-59/60+
<b>SLE</b>						
Between Groups	9.448	3	3.149	4.529	0.004	18-29/60+,
Within Groups	2965.253	4264	0.695			45-59/60+
Total	2974.701	4267				

As a result of the analysis, it was seen that there was a significant difference between the mean scores of the participants in terms of age ( $F_{(3,4264)}=6.177, p<0.01$ ). As seen in Table 4, the lowest mean score in the sub-dimension is in the 18–29-year age range, and the highest mean score is in the age range 60 and over. There was a significant difference between the mean score of the participants between the ages of 18-29 and the mean score of the participants who were over 45 years old. Participants between the ages of 18-29 scored lower in this dimension than the participants aged 45 and over. Similarly, the mean scores of the participants in the 30-44 age group were significantly lower than the mean score of the participants aged 60 and over. It was observed that the age variable had a small effect on SOSPE scores ( $\eta^2=0.004$ ). The small effect size value obtained can be interpreted as the age variable does not have a significant effect, although the difference is statistically significant. The analysis results regarding the dimension of DHSPE are given below. We can see in Table 4 that the lowest score mean age range is 18-29, and the highest score mean age

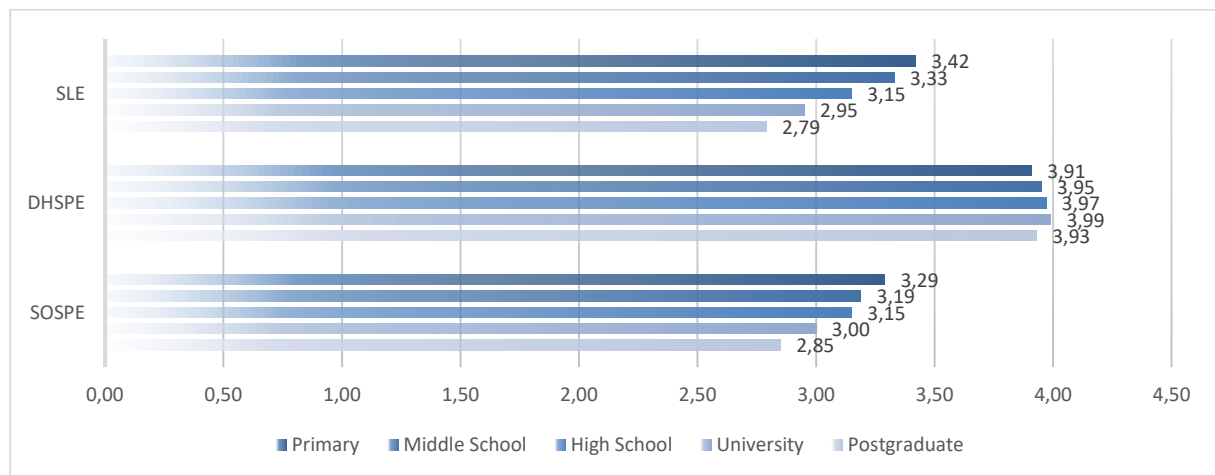
range is 60 and above in the DHSPE dimension. As a result of the difference comparison, the mean scores of the DHSPE dimension differ significantly according to age ranges ( $F_{(3,4264)}=15.492, p<0.01$ ). The effect size ( $\eta^2$ ) value was 0.011. As a result of multiple comparisons, there was a significant difference between the mean scores of the participants in the age ranges of 18-29 and 45-59 and above 60, as well as a significant difference between the mean scores of the participants in the age ranges of 30-44 and 45-59 and above 60. In the other dimensions, the age range with the lowest mean score was 30-44 in the SLE dimension. The following ranges in sequence are 45-59, 18-29, and 60 and above, respectively. As shown in Table 5, there is a significant difference between the mean scores ( $F_{(3,4264)}=4.529, p<0.01$ ). The source of the difference was found to be between the mean scores of the participants between the ages of 30-44 and 45-59 and the mean scores of the participants over 60 years of age. The eta-square ( $\eta^2$ ) correlation coefficient is calculated to find the effect size for the difference. Effect sizes ( $\eta^2$ ), at the level of 0.01, 0.06, and 0.14, are interpreted as small, medium, and large, respectively (Büyüköztürk, 2012). The effect size of the square value is 0.003. The calculated value shows that the differences obtained have a small effect and that the age variable does not have a significant effect on "strong leadership expectation" scores.

### 3. Comparison of the attitudes of individuals towards political values according to their educational status

The mean scores of the DHSPE dimension are higher than the other two dimensions at each educational level. The distribution of the mean scores obtained from the Scale of Political Values according to the educational status of the participants is as follows.

**Table 6.** Descriptive Statistics of SPV Mean Scores by Participants' Educational Status

Educational Status	SOSPE		DHSPE		SLE	
	N	X±Ss	N	X±Ss	N	X±Ss
Primary	476	3.29±0.60	476	3.91±0.54	476	3.42±0.81
Middle School	813	3.19±0.60	813	3.95±0.51	813	3.33±0.81
High School	1825	3.15±0.59	1825	3.97±0.49	1825	3.15±0.80
University	1009	3.00±0.61	1009	3.99±0.54	1009	2.95±0.86
Postgraduate	142	2.85±0.64	142	3.93±0.49	142	2.79±0.84
Total	4265	3.13±0.61	4265	3.96±0.51	4265	3.15±0.84



**Figure 3.** Distribution of SPV Mean Scores by Education

While there was a steady and limited (small) increase in the DHSPE dimension up to the graduate level, a difference was observed in postgraduate education, and the means decreased. Thus, it can be said that the tendency to define and vote through the actions and achievements that can be measured in politics, or the tendency to vote with rational expectations, is at the forefront at every education level. When the scores of the SOSPE sub-dimension were examined, it was seen that the mean scores decreased significantly when the education level increased. As education increases, the tendency to vote with individual needs and the expectation of prosperity increases, while the tendency towards strong power and leader-centeredness, shaped by the expectation of dominance and control and backed by authoritarian tendencies, decreases. Finally, while primary and secondary school graduates do not differ significantly between themselves, as the level of education increases for other groups, the mean SLE scores decrease significantly. In the SLE

dimension, there is a negative relationship between educational level and strong leadership expectations. As the level of education increases, the tendency to associate politics with the leader as an authority or power to be obeyed decreases. Findings regarding whether the mean scores have statistically significant differences are given in Table 7.

**Table 7.** ANOVA Results of SPV Scores by Education

Variance Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Difference*
<b>SOSPE</b>						
Between Groups	43.392	4	10.848	30.274	0.000	1-3, 1-4, 1-5, 2-4,
Within Groups	1526.493	4260	0.358			2-5, 3-4, 3-5, 4-5
Total	1569.885	4264				
<b>DHSPE</b>						
Between Groups	2.777	4	0.694	2.730	0.028	-
Within Groups	1083.570	4260	0.254			
Total	1086.347	4264				
<b>SLE</b>						
Between Groups	123.412	4	30.853	46.122	0.000	1-3, 1-4, 1-5, 2-3,
Within Groups	2849.686	4260	0.669			2-4, 2-5, 3-4, 3-5
Total	2973.097	4264				

\*1: Primary School, 2: Middle School, 3: High School, 4: University, 5: Postgraduate

According to the ANOVA results, there was a significant difference between the mean scores of SOSPE in terms of educational status ( $F_{(4,4260)}=30.274, p<0.01$ ). As a result of multiple comparisons, the mean scores of the postgraduates were significantly lower than those of the other categories. While the mean score of the postgraduate participants was 2.85, the mean of undergraduates, being the closest mean, was 3.00, and the mean of primary school graduates was 3.29, having the highest figure. Similarly, the SOSPE scores of undergraduates are significantly different from the mean scores of participants in other categories. The effect size value is 0.03. As can be seen in Table 6, there is no significant difference between the mean scores in the DHSPE dimension according to educational status ( $F_{(4,4260)}=2.730, p>0.01$ ). There is a significant difference between the mean scores of the SLE dimension according to the level of education ( $F_{(4,4260)}=46.122, p<0.01$ ). The eta square value (effect size) of the difference is 0.04. When the source of the difference is investigated, it was found there are significant differences between the mean scores of postgraduate and primary, secondary, and high school graduates, and there are differences between the same scores of the undergraduates and primary, secondary, and high school graduates. However, a significant difference was found between the mean scores of the primary and high school graduates against the high school, and again a significant difference between the high school and secondary school participants, against the high school.

#### 4. Comparison of individuals' attitudes towards political values according to income level

Another important variable of the research is income level. Table 8 shows the distribution of the mean scores of the participants according to income level. The mean scores obtained by the participants from the scale are shown in Figure 4.

**Table 8.** Descriptive Statistics of SPV Mean Scores by Income Level

Income Level (TL)	SOSPE		DHSPE		SLE	
	N	$\bar{X} \pm S_s$	N	$\bar{X} \pm S_s$	N	$\bar{X} \pm S_s$
Less than 1400	500	3.19±0.60	500	3.90±0.56	500	3.28±0.84
Betw. 1401-3500	2611	3.14±0.60	2611	3.96±0.49	2611	3.19±0.81
Betw. 3501-6300	966	3.09±0.61	966	3.97±0.49	966	3.04±0.87
More than 6301	178	2.94±0.68	178	4.08±0.60	178	2.88±0.87
Total	4255	3.13±0.61	4255	3.96±0.50	4255	3.15±0.83



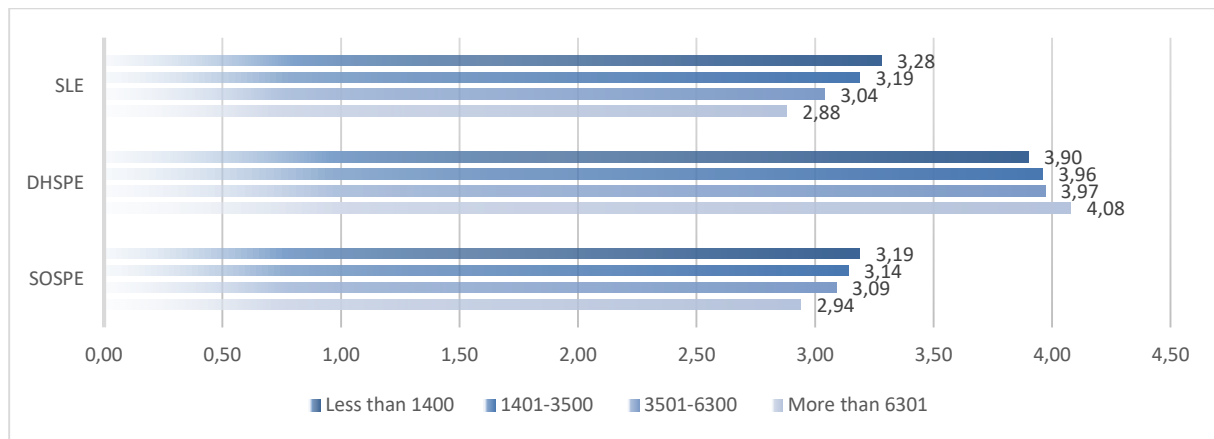


Figure 4. Distribution of SPV Mean Scores by Income Level

The highest mean scores of all income groups was the DHSPE dimension just like age and education variables. In terms of this dimension, the mean score of individuals with income less than 3500TL is significantly lower than those with income of more than 6301TL. The higher income levels, the higher the tendency to vote with the expectation of concretizing abstract concepts such as development and progress through actions, that is, to vote with rational expectations. This increase is more visible in the upper-income group, which has more than 6301TL income.

When the means of the SOSPE sub-dimension are examined, the groups with income less than 3500TL do not differ significantly among themselves, but the means decrease significantly as the income level increases in the other groups. Similarly, in the SLE dimension, the mean scores of the groups with income less than 3500TL are significantly higher than the groups with income more than 3501TL. It can be said that there is a reverse relationship between SOSPE and SLE dimensions and income. In other words, as the income increases, the expectation of strong power shaped by authoritarian tendencies and leader-centered tendencies decreases, and the same tendency increases as the income decreases. Table 9 shows whether the mean scores in the three sub-dimensions differ according to income level.

Table 9. ANOVA results of SPV Scores by Income Level

Variance Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Difference*
<b>SOSPE</b>						
Between Groups	9.610	3	3.203	8.759	0.000	1-3, 1-4, 2-4, 3-4
Within Groups	1554.640	4251	0.366			
Total	1564.250	4254				
<b>DHSPE</b>						
Between Groups	4.171	3	1.390	5.493	0.001	1-4, 2-4
Within Groups	1075.897	4251	0.253			
Total	1080.067	4254				
<b>SLE</b>						
Between Groups	35.717	3	11.906	13.317	0.000	1-3, 1-4, 2-3, 2-4
Within Groups	2922.572	4251	0.688			
Total	2958.289	4254				

\*1: Less than1400TL, 2: Betw.1401-3500TL, 3: Betw. 3501-6300TL, 4: More than 6301TL

It is seen that there is a significant difference between the mean scores obtained by the participants in the sub-dimension of SOSPE in terms of their income level ( $F_{(3,4251)}=8.759$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). The conspicuous difference is especially between the mean points of the participants who have more than 6301TL and other participants. While the groups with income less than 3500TL do not differ significantly between themselves, the mean scores of SOSPE decrease significantly as the income level increases in the other groups. This finding indicates that the lower-income group is more likely to seek stability and power than the middle- and upper-income groups. Similarly, there is a significant difference between the mean scores of the participants' DHSPE dimension according to the income levels of the participants ( $F_{(3,4251)}=5.493$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). The mean score of individuals with income less than 3500TL is significantly lower than those with income higher than 6301TL. The expectation of progressive and developmental policies of the upper-income group is significantly higher than the other lower- and middle-income groups. Finally, again, there is a significant

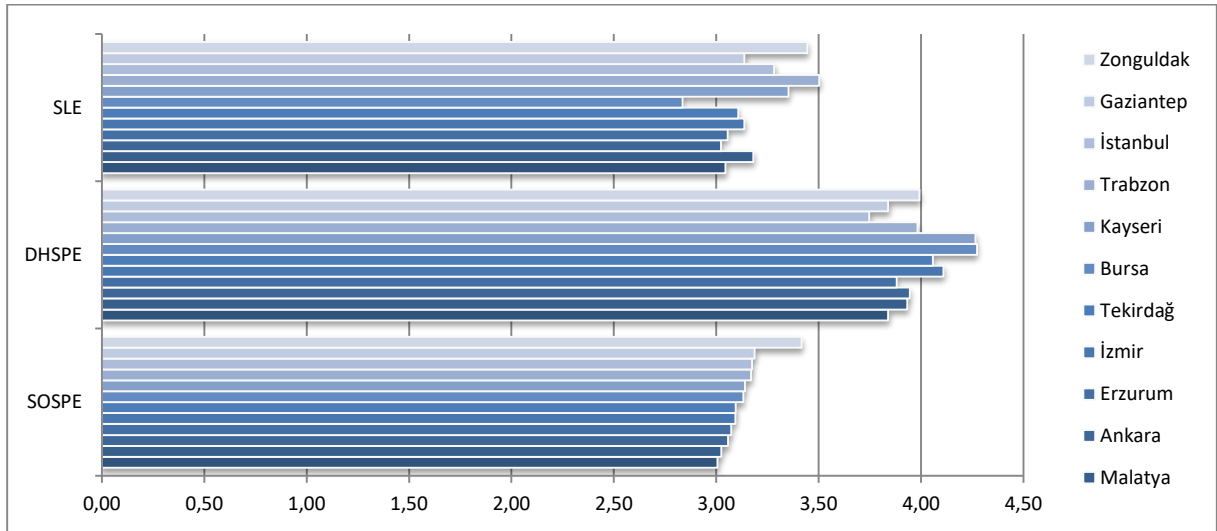
difference in the scale mean scores of the participants according to the income level of the participants ( $F_{(3,4251)}=13.317, p<0.01$ ). The mean score of the groups with income less than 3500TL is significantly higher than the groups with income more than 3500TL. In other words, the expectation of strong leadership in the lower-income group is higher than those of the middle- and upper-income groups. Impact sizes for the three sub-dimensions are 0.006, 0.004, and 0.012, respectively. These values show that income level has a small/weak effect on the sub-dimensions of the scale of political values.

**5. Comparison of the attitudes of individuals towards the scale of political values by region**

As in age, education, and income, the dimension with the highest mean scores by region is DHSPE. This finding shows that the values that the participants take into consideration in their voting behavior are the values corresponding to the problems and expectations of daily life, such as the economy in terms of sustaining their lives and security in terms of living away from threat perception. The mean scores of the participants from the Scale of Political Values according to their regions are shown in Table 10 and Figure 5.

**Table 10.** Descriptive Statistics of SPV Mean Scores by Region

Region	SOSPE		DHSPE		SLE	
	N	$\bar{X}\pm Ss$	N	$\bar{X}\pm Ss$	N	$\bar{X}\pm Ss$
Ankara	421	3.06±0.63	421	3.94±0.59	421	3.02±0.79
Antalya	533	3.01±0.61	533	3.84±0.52	533	3.04±0.83
Bursa	419	3.13±0.62	419	4.27±0.48	419	2.84±1.02
Erzurum	111	3.07±0.45	111	3.88±0.31	111	3.06±0.73
Gaziantep	363	3.19±0.65	363	3.84±0.62	363	3.14±0.67
Istanbul	814	3.17±0.49	814	3.75±0.44	814	3.28±0.72
İzmir	592	3.09±0.71	592	4.11±0.37	592	3.14±0.93
Kayseri	213	3.14±0.56	213	4.27±0.36	213	3.35±0.86
Malatya	185	3.03±0.57	185	3.93±0.48	185	3.18±0.82
Tekirdağ	201	3.09±0.54	201	4.06±0.47	201	3.11±0.82
Trabzon	151	3.17±0.68	151	3.98±0.50	151	3.50±0.77



**Figure 5.** Distribution of SPV Mean Scores by Region

When the mean scores of the Political Value Scale were examined by region, the mean scores of the participants in the study of Zonguldak were the highest in terms of SOSPE. The lowest mean score for the dimension belongs to the participants in Antalya as shown in Figure 5. When the mean scores of the DHSPE sub-dimension are considered, the highest mean scores are observed in Bursa and Kayseri regions, while a lower mean is observed in İstanbul as compared to other regions. Finally, participants in Trabzon and Zonguldak score higher in the SLE sub-dimension, while participants in Antalya, Ankara, and Bursa have lower scores.

**Table 11.** ANOVA Results of SOSPE and SLE Scores by Region

Variance Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Difference*
<b>SOSPE</b>						
Between Groups	38.752	11	3.523	9.773	0.000	1-12, 2-12, 3-12, 4-12, 5-12,
Within Groups	1534.247	4256	0.360			6-12, 7-12, 8-12, 9-12, 10-12,
Total	1573.000	4267				11-12, 1-6, 2-6, 2-5, 6-9
<b>SLE</b>						
Between Groups	120.961	11	10.996	16.400	0.000	1-6, 1-8, 1-11, 1-12, 2-3, 2-6, 2-8, 2-11, 2-12, 3-5, 3-6,
Within Groups	2853.741	4256	0.671			3-7, 3-8, 3-9, 3-10, 3-11, 3-12, 4-11, 4-12, 5-6, 5-11, 5-12, 6-12, 7-11, 7-12, 9-11, 9-12, 10-11, 10-12
Total	2974.701	4267				
*1: Ankara		5: Gaziantep			9: Malatya	
2: Antalya		6: İstanbul			10: Tekirdağ	
3: Bursa		7: İzmir			11: Trabzon	
4: Erzurum		8: Kayseri			12: Zonguldak	

The findings of the analysis indicate that there is a significant difference between the mean scores of SOSPE by regions ( $F_{(11,4246)}=9.773$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). When the source of the difference is examined by multiple comparisons, a significant difference is found in favor of Zonguldak among all regions. Participants from Zonguldak had the highest “expectation of stability and order-oriented strong power” (3.41). Similarly, there are significant differences between Istanbul and Ankara, and Antalya and Malatya, respectively. The mean score of the participants in Ankara is 3.06, the mean score of the participants in Antalya is 3.01, the mean score of the participants in Malatya is 3.02 and the mean score of the participants in Istanbul is 3.17. In this sub-dimension, the mean scores of the participants in Istanbul are significantly higher than the mean scores in the other three regions. Finally, the difference between the mean scores of Antalya and Gaziantep is significant against Antalya. Although the participants in Antalya have the lowest mean, they do not have a significant difference in the mean scores in other regions except Gaziantep, Istanbul, and Zonguldak. For the comparison, the eta square value was calculated as 0.03. This value indicates that the region variable has little effect on the dependent variable.

According to Table 11, the highest mean score in the SLE dimension belongs to the participants in Trabzon and the lowest one belongs to the participants in Bursa. There is a significant difference between SLE mean scores of the regions ( $F_{(11,4246)}=16.400$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). As a result of multiple comparisons made to the source of the difference, it is seen that the participants with the highest scores in the Trabzon region scored significantly higher than the participants in Istanbul, Zonguldak, and Kayseri. The participants in the Zonguldak region, which also has a high score, scored significantly higher than the participants in all regions except Kayseri and Trabzon. The mean scores of the participants with the lowest score in terms of strong leadership expectation in the Bursa region are significantly lower than the mean scores of the participants in 9 regions except Ankara and Erzurum. The eta square value of the difference is 0.04. The results of the analysis regarding whether the DHSPE dimension mean scores differ according to regions are as follows.

**Table 12.** Kruskal Wallis Test results of DHSPE scores by regions

Region	N	Mean Rank	df	$\chi^2$	sig.
Ankara	421	2124.22	11	554.880	0.000
Antalya	533	1869.28			
Bursa	419	2916.70			
Erzurum	111	1799.39			
Gaziantep	363	1910.02			
Istanbul	814	1529.92			
İzmir	592	2483.90			
Kayseri	213	2903.54			
Malatya	485	2044.22			
Tekirdağ	201	2424.78			
Trabzon	151	2264.34			
Zonguldak	265	2122.65			

As a result of the analysis, a significant difference was found between the mean scores of the participants in the DHSPE ( $\chi^2_{(11, 4268)}=554.880$ ,  $p=0.000$ ). The effect size of the difference was found to be 0.12. This value shows that the provincial variable has a moderate effect on the total variance in DHSPE scores. Bonferroni (Dunn’s) test, one of the nonparametric multiple comparison methods, was used to

investigate the source of the difference. As a result of multiple comparisons, a significant difference was found in favor of Bursa with 10 regions except Bursa and Kayseri. The mean scores of the participants in Bursa is higher than the mean score in other regions except Kayseri. Similarly, the mean scores of the participants in Kayseri are significantly higher than those of the other participants in the other 10 regions except Bursa. There is a significant difference between the mean scores of the participants in İzmir and the mean scores of the participants in 9 regions except Tekirdağ and Trabzon. When the mean of the rankings in Table 12 is examined, it is seen that the DHSPE scores of the participants in the İzmir region are lower than the mean scores of the Bursa and Kayseri regions and they are higher than the mean scores of other regions. The difference between Tekirdağ and Gaziantep, Antalya, Erzurum, Istanbul, Kayseri, and Bursa is significant. It is seen that the mean score of the participants in the Tekirdağ region is lower than the mean score of the Bursa and Kayseri regions and it is higher than the mean score of other regions.

### Conclusion and Discussion

The purpose of this paper was to examine the attitudes and expectations of Turkish voters based on the value priority of politics after 2000 and how demographic variables affect the attitudes and expectations on the value priorities of politics in Turkey. The period after 2000 is important because Turkish politics was dominated by a single party in power for the longest period since 1946, the beginning of the multi-party-political life in Turkey. Founded in 2001, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power on November 3, 2002, and it is still in power for the longest period.

The 2000s are also the years of major problems and changes in politics and economy. Turkey entered the 2000s with high inflation, recession, rising domestic and external debt, and other economic problems such as unemployment triggered by a financial crisis (Köse and Yılmaz, 2012: 248). Some events that took place before 2000 accelerated the formation of this situation. The deep state formations were revealed with the Susurluk Accident in 1996, the developments ensuing the coup on February 28, 1997, considered a post-modern coup, and the Marmara earthquake in 1999, which undermined the public's trust in politicians. The economic crisis in 2001 caused the depreciation of the stock market by 29,3 percent, of the Turkish lira, by 130 %, inflation, by 90 %, and the unemployment of 1,5 million people, leading to a deeply affected society (Akşin, 2006: 180). In the 2002 election, which was attended by 18 parties reflecting different colors of the political spectrum, only two parties the newly established AKP and the CHP (Republican People's Party) were able to overcome the 10 % election threshold.

This research assumed that political discourses highly regarded by society had convincing power and that values affected the political decisions of the public. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the manifestation of the value-oriented discourses of political actors reflected in the media, in ordinary people through demographic variables. For this general purpose, we looked for answers to the following questions.

- Do individuals' attitudes toward political values differ significantly by gender?
- Do individuals' attitudes toward political values differ significantly according to their educational background?
- Do individuals' attitudes toward political values differ significantly according to their income levels?
- Do individuals' attitudes toward political values differ significantly according to age ranges?
- Do individuals' attitudes toward political values differ significantly according to the regions in which they live?

Our main finding is that values such as self-direction, power, security, and achievement have maximum consideration in the voting behavior of the Turkish electorate, regardless of gender, age, education, income, and region. These are the individualistic values relating to meeting rational expectations such as facilitating everyday life, finding solutions to the problems they experience, and meeting the welfare expectations. In this paper, we categorized these values in the dimension of “developmental, honest, solution-oriented politics” which corresponds to basic materialistic values such as the physical needs of people, the need for security, and the need to maintain a sustainable life, which has priority in the hierarchy of needs. In earlier studies (Başlevent, Kirmanoğlu & Şenatarlar, 2009; Başlevent & Kirmanoğlu, 2016), a consistent relationship was found between economy and value priorities. When these data are evaluated in line with Turkey's recent economic, political, and social problems, it is understandable that the voter prioritizes values addressing the expectations of finding solutions to daily problems. Also, the problems experienced by Turkey and the diversity and intensity of the criteria that the political institution sees as

success in terms of development, progress, and solution of problems and used as arguments in the process of convincing the voters have placed this dimension at the top of the list of priorities. It is possible to explain the high average scores of the "developmental, honest, solution-oriented politics expectation" with the diversity of values collected in this dimension and the fact that it corresponds to the basic value priorities of benevolence, security, success, and self-management in the discourses of political actors.

When the distribution of the mean scores of the Scale of Political Values by gender is examined, it is seen that the mean scores of the male and female participants do not differ in all three sub-dimensions. In every age group, the highest scores are for the "developmental, honest, solution-oriented" policy expectations that correspond to people's needs and welfare expectations. Especially as the age increases, the mean scores in this dimension increase. Similarly, the mean scores of the "expectation of stability and order-oriented strong power" dimension, which corresponds to the expectation of strong power to control and control people and resources, increases with age. As for "strong leadership expectation", the mean scores of the 18-29 age group decrease as the age increases, and the mean scores of the leader-centered policy understanding dimension are significantly higher than the other age groups, especially in the group of the participants aged 60 years and over. In other words, strong leadership expectations over 60 years of age are higher on voting tendencies than in other age groups.

With increasing education levels, the tendency to vote with individual needs and the expectation of prosperity become stronger. Again, with increasing income levels, the tendency to support strong power and leadership which is shaped by the expectation of dominance and control, becomes weaker. As income rises, the tendency to vote with the expectation of concretization of abstract concepts, such as development and progress through actions, increases. There is a reverse correlation between the income level, and the "expectation of stability and order-oriented power" and "expectation of strong leadership." As income increases, the strong power expectation and leader-centered trends, which are shaped by authoritarian tendencies, decrease, and vice versa.

In short, regardless of gender, as age, education level, and income increase, the expectation for the "developmental, honest, solution-oriented policy", the policy expectation that will produce solutions to daily problems and increase welfare, increases. Again, regardless of gender, as age increases, education level decreases and income decreases; the expectation of stability and order-oriented strong power- the expectation of strong power to ensure order and stability in the country, increases. Especially for voters 60 and older and young people (18-29), as the level of education and income decrease, "strong leadership expectation" and leader-centeredness increase.

Finally, since the value expressions corresponding to different and even conflicting motives, motivations and expectations in the Schwartz Value Scale are collected under a single factor categorized as "developmental, honest, solution-oriented policies" and show a scale structure, this dimension is called "Popular Political Culture Value Scale". New and different studies using this scale can contribute to the field by providing up-to-date information about the relationship between political values and voter behavior.

### **Ethical Declaration**

During the writing process of the study titled "*Discourse, Value and Voting: Political Value Priorities of the Turkish Public*", scientific rules, ethical and citation rules were followed; no falsification was made on the collected data and this study was not sent to any other academic publication environment for evaluation. The necessary ethics committee permissions were obtained at the meeting of the Karadeniz Technical University Presidency of Social and Human Sciences Ethics Committee dated 03.04.2014 and numbered 17841272/000/338.

### **Statement of Contribution Rate of Researchers**

The contribution rates of the authors in the study are equal.

### **Declaration of Conflict**

There is no potential conflict of interest in the study.

### **Contribution**

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## EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Siyasetin toplumdaki güç iliřkileri üzerinde etkili ve belirleyici olması nedeniyle, siyasal tercihler ve seçmen davranışını anlamaya yönelik arařtırmalar hızla artmaktadır. Seçim öncesi yapılan kamuoyu arařtırmalarıyla seçim sonuçları tahmin edilmeye çalışılırken, seçim sonrasında ise dönemin siyasal iletiřim çalışmaları ve propaganda teknikleri çeřitli analizlere konu olmaktadır. Siyasal tercihler ve seçmen davranışı konusu geçmişten günümüze ekonomik, politik, sosyolojik, psikolojik, kültürel, dinsel ve tarihsel yönü bulunan çok boyutlu bir konudur. Dolayısıyla her alan siyasete ve seçime iliřkin olarak farklı deđerlendirmeler yaparak

hem gerçekleşmiş davranışın nedenini anlamaya hem de yeni seçim dönemlerine hazırlanmaya çalışmaktadır. Değer ve siyaset ilişkisine odaklanan araştırmalar da bunlar arasında yer almaktadır. Zira davramışların ardındaki belirleyicilerden olan değerlerin siyasi yönelimlerin merkezinde olduğunu gösteren pek çok çalışma mevcuttur. “Söylem, Değer ve Oy Verme: Türk Halkının Siyasal Değer Öncelikleri” başlıklı bu çalışma ise “2000 sonrası Türkiye siyasetinin değer öncelikleri nelerdir?” sorusuna odaklanmaktadır. Araştırma kapsamında ayrıca “siyasetin değer önceliklerine karşı Türkiye toplumunun tutum ve beklenti düzeyleri nasıldır?; “demografik değişkenler siyasetin değer önceliklerine yönelik tutum ve beklentileri nasıl etkiliyor?” gibi sorulara cevap aranmıştır. Türkiye açısından 2000’li yıllar siyaset ve ekonomide büyük sorun ve değişimlerin yaşandığı yıllar olması nedeniyle araştırmada örnekle olarak seçilmiştir. Zira ülke 2000’lere yüksek enflasyon, durgunluk, artan iç ve dış borç, işsizlik gibi ekonomik sorunların tetiklediği iktisadi bir krizle girmiştir. Toplumsal ve ekonomik gelişmelerin siyasete yansımaları ise kaçınılmazdır. Araştırma siyasal aktörlerin medyaya yansıyan söylemlerini değerler açısından betimlemeyi ve bu değer yüklü söylemlerin sıradan insanlardaki karşılığını demografik değişkenler üzerinden çözümlenmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu genel amaç doğrultusunda ayrıca şu sorulara yanıt aranmıştır; Bireylerin siyasal değerlere yönelik tutumları, cinsiyete göre manidar farklılık gösteriyor mu? Bireylerin siyasal değerlere yönelik tutumları, eğitim durumlarına göre manidar farklılık gösteriyor mu? Bireylerin siyasal değerlere yönelik tutumları, gelir düzeylerine göre manidar farklılık gösteriyor mu? Bireylerin siyasal değerlere yönelik tutumları, yaş aralıklarına göre manidar farklılık gösteriyor mu? Bireylerin siyasal değerlere yönelik tutumları, yaşadıkları bölgelere göre manidar farklılık gösteriyor mu? Çalışmada değerlerin, siyasal söylemi ve siyasi kararları etkilediği ve dolayısıyla toplumda kabul gören değerlere hitap eden siyasal söylemlerin ikna ediciliğinin yüksek olduğu düşüncesinden hareket etmektedir. Bunu ortaya çıkarmak üzere 3 Kasım 2002, 22 Temmuz 2007 ve 12 Haziran 2011 seçim dönemlerinde siyasetçilerin gazetelere yansıyan söylemleri değer açısından incelenerek Türkiye siyaset söylemine egemen olan değerler belirlenmiş ve bu söylemlere dayalı olarak bir ölçek geliştirilmiştir: Siyasal Değerler Ölçeği. Bu seçim dönemleri Türkiye’nin en uzun süreli iktidarı olarak Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisinin iktidara geldiği ve oy oranlarını artırarak kitlesini genişlettiği yıllardır. Ayrıca 2010’ların ortalarından itibaren Türkiye gündeminin değişmesi ve sonrasında parlamenter sistemden partili cumhurbaşkanlığı sistemine geçilmesi nedeniyle bu dönemlerin incelenmesi Türkiye toplumu ve siyasetini anlamak açısından faydalı olacaktır. Araştırmada siyaset söyleminin değer önceliklerinin belirlenmesinin ardından bu değer önceliklerine karşı bireylerin tutum ve beklenti düzeylerini tespit etmeye yönelik Türkiye çapında bir alan araştırması yapılmıştır. Araştırmada ulusal ölçekte temsili sağlamak amacıyla ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel ve coğrafi yönlerden benzer illerin nüfus büyüklüğü dikkate alınarak oluşturulan Türkiye İstatistiki Bölge Birimleri Sınıflandırması’nı (İBBS-1) baz alınmıştır. 12 bölge birimini temsilen 12 ilde (İstanbul, Tekirdağ, İzmir, Bursa, Ankara, Antalya, Kayseri, Zonguldak, Trabzon, Erzurum, Malatya, Gaziantep) 4268 kişiden veri toplanmıştır. Çalışmada yaşanan bölge, yaş ve cinsiyet değişkenleri açısından kotalar uygulayarak dengeli bir temsil sağlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu yolla öncelikle medyada yer alan siyasal söylemler değerler açısından betimlenmeye ve ardından bu siyasal değerlerin demografik değişkenler üzerinden bir haritası çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Araştırmamız değer konusunda öne çıkan isimlerden olan Schwartz’ın geliştirdiği değer teorisini temel almaktadır. Analizler sonucunda siyaset söylemini şekillendiren değer ifadelerinin toplumdaki karşılığının üç boyut altında toplandığı saptanmıştır. Bu boyutlar faktörlerde yer alan maddelerin hangi değer boyutlarına denk geldiği göz önünde bulundurularak adlandırılmıştır. Ölçekte en fazla maddenin toplandığı *kalkındırmacı, dürüst, çözüm odaklı siyaset beklentisi* faktörü altında, siyasetin ölçülebilen icraatlar ve başarılar üzerinden tanımlandığı, toplumun beklediği sonuçları başarmak için gerekeni yapma becerilerine gönderme yapan, biyolojik organizmalar olarak insanların hayatta kalmalarını sağlayacak bireysel ihtiyaçlarına ve refah beklentilerine denk gelen ifadeler vardır. İnsanların düzenli sosyal etkileşim beklentisinin harekete geçirdiği, insanlar ve kaynaklar üzerinde hakimiyet kurmayı ve kontrol sağlamayı önceleyen güç temelli ifadelerin yer aldığı boyut *İstikrar ve düzen odaklı güçlü iktidar beklentisi* olarak adlandırılmıştır. Siyaseti ve siyasal aktörlerin gücünü kişisel karizmayla ve toplumdan aldığı destekle ilişkilendiren anlayışa dayanan ifadeler *güçlü liderlik beklentisi* boyutunu oluşturmuştur. Araştırma sonucunda her cinsiyet, yaş, eğitim, gelir ve bölgeden katılımcının ihtiyaçlar hiyerarşisinde ön sıralarda yer alan hayatı idame ettirmek için gereken fiziksel ihtiyaçlar ve güvenlik gibi materyalist temel değerlere denk

gelen “kalkındırmacı, dürüst, çözüm odaklı siyaset beklentisi” boyutuna katılım düzeyinin yüksek olduđu saptanmıřtır. Arařtırma sonuçları kısaca řunları ortaya koymuřtur; kadın-erkek farkı olmaksızın yař arttıkkça, eđitim düzeyi yükseldikçe ve gelir arttıkkça *kalkındırmacı, dürüst, çözüm odaklı siyaset beklentisinin* yani günlük sorunlara çare üretecek ve refahı artıracak siyaset beklentisinin arttıđı gözlenmiřtir. Yine cinsiyet farketmeksizin yař arttıkkça, eđitim düzeyi düřtükkçe, gelir azaldıkça *istikrar ve düzen odaklı güçlü iktidar beklentisinin* yani ÷lkede düzen ve istikrarı sađlayacak güçlü iktidar beklentisi artmaktadır. Özellikle 60 yař üzeri kesimde ve gençlerde (18-29), eđitim düzeyi düřtükkçe ve gelir azaldıkça *güçlü liderlik beklentisi* yani lider merkezlilik artmaktadır.