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**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS ON VOTING  
BEHAVIOR OF GENERATIONS X, Y, AND Z: ANKARA  
CASE**

MASTER THESIS

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Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences

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I hereby declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work; otherwise I accept all legal responsibility.

Ahmet BAYKAL

## ABSTRACT

### A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS ON VOTING BEHAVIOR OF GENERATIONS X, Y, AND Z: ANKARA CASE

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The number of studies analyzing voting behavior has increased considerably in Turkey in recent years. Especially, the high number of elections held in recent years and the high participation rates in these elections are the main reasons for the increase in the number of researches. On the other hand, the fact that voting behavior is a dynamic and multidimensional phenomenon extends the scope of the researches in this field. In this context, important researches measuring voting behavior are carried out in many areas from political science to sociology, from economy to psychology, from marketing to communication. When the literature on voting behavior in Turkey is reviewed, it is observed that the studies focus on the different dimensions of voting behavior. However, there are a limited number of studies that test the relationship between voting behavior and generations.

In this study, the voting behavior of the three most populous generations of Turkey (Generations X, Y and Z) is analyzed comparatively. The main hypothesis of the study suggests that voting behavior varies across generations. In order to scientifically test this hypothesis, a survey study was conducted on 400 people and it was attempted to measure the significant relationship and differences between voting behavior of generations. In particular, significant differences have been identified between the voting behavior of young people in Generation Z and the voting behavior of older individuals.

**Key Terms:** Generation X, Generation Y, Generation Z, Voting Behavior.

## ÖZET

### X, Y VE Z KUŞAKLARININ OY VERME DAVRANIŞLARI ÜZERİNE KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR ANALİZ: ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ

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Türkiye’de seçmenlerin oy verme davranışlarını ölçmeye yönelik araştırmaların sayısı son yıllarda bir hayli artmıştır. Özellikle son yıllarda gerçekleştirilen çok sayıda seçim ve bu seçimlere katılım oranlarının çok yüksek olması araştırma sayılarındaki artışın temel nedenidir. Öte yandan oy verme davranışının dinamik ve çok boyutlu bir olgu olması, bu alana yönelik araştırmaların kapsamını da genişletmektedir. Bu bağlamda siyaset biliminden sosyolojiye, ekonomiden psikolojiye, pazarlamadan iletişime kadar birçok alanda oy verme davranışının ölçülmesine yönelik önemli araştırmalar yapılmaktadır. Oy verme davranışına ilişkin Türkiye’de yapılan araştırmalar incelendiğinde, araştırma konularının birbirinden farklı boyutlara odaklandığı görülmektedir. Buna karşın oy verme davranışı ile kuşaklar arasındaki ilişkiyi test eden sınırlı sayıda çalışma bulunmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye’nin en kalabalık üç kuşağının (X, Y ve Z Kuşakları) oy verme davranışları karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın temel hipotezi oy verme davranışının kuşaklar arasında farklılık gösterdiğini öne sürmektedir. Bu hipotezi bilimsel olarak test etmek amacıyla 400 kişiye bir anket çalışması uygulanmış ve kuşakların oy verme davranışları arasındaki anlamlı ilişki ve farklılıklar ölçülmeye çalışılmıştır. Özellikle Z Kuşağı’ndaki gençlerin oy verme davranışları ile daha yaşlı bireylerin oy verme davranışları arasında önemli farklılıklar tespit edilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Oy Verme Davranışı, X Kuşağı, Y Kuşağı, Z Kuşağı.

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## **CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION**

One of the most important factors shaping the future of countries is elections. Individuals choose the politicians they wish to represent themselves through elections and entrust the administration of their country to these elected representatives. The increasing number of people who want to take on this responsibility turns elections into a race and creates a great competition. This competition takes the importance of elections to another dimension.

The elections have many dimensions and actors. In this context, one of the most important actors of the election is the voter. Looking at the focal points of democracy, representation and electoral theories, voter is seen at the center of all of them. Because the voter is the people themselves and the election is an action which the people elect their representative. This collective action is called as democracy. Therefore, elections and voters are essential elements of democracy.

In the contemporary world, comprehensive studies are carried out in almost every field related to elections. Many disciplines focus on electoral issues from political science to sociology, from marketing to psychology, from communication to law. This popularity of electoral studies shows the importance of elections for the societies and countries. On the other hand, each discipline focuses on a different dimension of the elections and analyzes different factors related to the elections. But there is one issue that almost all disciplines dealing with elections focus on: "Voting Behavior".

The relationship between elections and voters, which is the basis of democracy, has been the subject of different studies for many years. The researches focus on how voters' voting behavior is shaped. Each discipline on the subject has various statements regarding different factors. For example, while political science tries to lay out theoretical approaches to the subject, sociology focuses on sociological factors such as culture, ethnicity, and religion that influence voting behavior. Psychology focuses on how voters identify

themselves with parties as an important factor (party-identification), while the areas of communication and marketing focus on the effects of image studies on voting behavior.

Looking at the recent studies on voting behavior, it is seen that studies aimed especially at young people and new voters have gained weight. Especially considering the transformations of societies in recent years due to the impact of technology and globalization, it is curious how the political behavior of young people newly included in the voter cluster is formed. Although the behavior of voters who have voting experience is predictable to a certain extent, it is not known how young people will vote. This increases interest in youth studies.

When the literature on voting behavior is reviewed, it is observed that many studies have been done about young people's voting behavior. Each of these studies focus on different factors affecting young people's voting preferences. However, a limited number of studies have been identified in the literature that examine young people's voting behavior in comparison with previous generations (Carlsson & Karlsson, 1970; Jennings & Niemi, 2014; Lyons & Alexander, 2000; Maggini, 2017; Resnick & Casale, 2014; Van der Brug, 2010). This is a significant lack for the literature. Although current studies focus on factors affecting young people's voting behavior, it remains unclear which factors are more decisive for young people. So much so that a factor that is said to be effective in young people's voting behavior can be similarly effective on voters in a different age group. In one study, for example, it is said that factors related to the image of the leader or candidate are decisive over young people's voting behavior. This statement may apply to young people. But the same statement may apply to individuals in Generation X. This makes it necessary to conduct more detailed research on the relevant factor as well as to comparatively analyze the behavior of individuals of different age groups. In this way, the determining factors for each age group can be identified more clearly.

In Turkey, where the political participation rate is very high, the issue of voting behavior is on the agenda of researchers. However, literature on the subject is very limited in Turkey (Akgün, 2007; Çaha, 2008; Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2007; Erişen, 2018; Sayarı & Esmer, 2002). It is noted that studies on the subject have increased especially after the 2000s. When the current literature in Turkey is reviewed, there is no study comparing voting behavior among generations.

In this study, the voting behavior of the Generations X, Y and Z in Turkey is analyzed comparatively. In this study, it is tried to determine the effective factors on the voting behavior in Turkey, where politics and elections are very important. In particular, it is aimed to reach the factors that determine the voting behavior of the young voters of Turkey, which has a very young population. Because the main hypothesis of this study claims that voting behavior varies across generations. The main justification behind this claim is the idea that the political behavior and participation pattern are differed greatly between young and older voters. Indeed, the results of this study confirm this hypothesis.

## **1.1. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **1.1.1. Subject of the Research**

In this study, the voting behavior of the Generations X, Y and Z is analyzed comparatively.

The first part of the study includes research methodology. In this section, research's subject, purpose, model, hypotheses, scope, limitations, population, sampling and methods of data collection and analysis are explained in detail.

The second part of the study contains the conceptual and theoretical framework of the research. In this section, information about the concept of the generation and the generational theory are given first. Later, chronological classifications and generational cohorts are mentioned in the literature. In this section, it is focused on the characteristic features and priorities of the generations. In the second part of the conceptual and theoretical framework section, theoretical approaches about voting behavior are mentioned. Accordingly, the generally accepted sociological model, socio-psychological model and rational-choice models are outlined in the literature. In addition, approaches such as strategic voting, issue voting, and retrospective voting are briefly addressed under the heading rational-choice model.

In the third part of the study, the findings and results of the research are given. In this section, the data collected from the surveys applied within the scope of the research is analyzed and the results of the research are presented under separate headings in accordance with the research model.

In the fourth and final part of the study, evaluations of the findings of the research are given. In this part, the results of the research are summarized. According to the results of this study, voting behavior varies across generations. Because the generations' level of interest in politics and values, attitudes and perceptions are greatly different. In addition, family, social circle, political parties, leader-candidate image, political communication and media use are other important factors supporting this difference.

### **1.1.2. Purpose and Importance of the Research**

Election and voting are one of the most important dynamics of democracy. Many researchers consider election and democracy as indispensable for each other. In many countries, studies on how the voting behavior of individuals are shaped with the institutionalization of elections have started. Studies which initiated by researchers in the United States have spread throughout the world over time. As of today, almost all of the countries that have the right to vote have been working on voting behavior. These studies about the elections and voting behavior are on the agenda of many fields ranging from political science to sociology and psychology to marketing.

Today, the opportunities offered by information technologies have made it very easy to access and analyze data. In this way, work on voting behavior is increasing every day. However, the transformation of voting as a form of behavior also continues. As a result of this transformation, which takes place under the influence of numerous variables, new dimensions of voting, which is a multidimensional and dynamic action, emerge.

On the other hand, one of the most prominent areas of work in the recent period is generations. Generational studies are also on the agenda of many different disciplines such as voting behavior studies. When the literature on generational studies is reviewed, it is observed that current studies mostly focus on the behavioral similarities or differences of generations. These disciplines aim to measure the effects of social, political and economic changes on individuals of different age groups through their studies. In this way, they try to understand society through the tendency of individuals.

In this study, the voting behavior of individuals belonging to different generations in Turkey is analyzed comparatively by combining the two different disciplines mentioned above. The main reason this issue is central to the study is the scarcity of research in the literature that comparatively analyzes the voting behavior of different generations. Especially when the literature on voting behavior in Turkey is reviewed, no such study has



been found. In this context, such a study is intended to contribute to the elimination of this deficiency.

One of the reasons for the selection of the research topic concerns the turnout of the elections in Turkey. Turkey has a very high turnout especially considering the elections held in the last ten years. Turnout is close to 90 percent in almost every election. The participation of such a high rate of voters in the elections also makes it a wonder how their voting behavior is shaped. This study analyses the voting behavior of voters who are highly committed to going to the polls.

Another important reason for the selection of the research topic concerns the assumption that intergenerational differences are increasing in Turkey. According to this assumption, parents and children in the same house have different value judgments. This situation causes to emergence of different behaviors on many issues. In the context of this study, the focus is on the effects of said differentiation on voting behavior. In this way, it is aimed to identify similarities and differences between voting behaviors of individuals belonging to different generations.

Another important reason for the selection of the research topic concerns the multitude of unknowns about the voting behavior of youth in Turkey. Especially in Turkey, where more than one million young people are added to the cluster of voters every year, how these young people's political preferences are formed is frequently debated. These discussions focus on the impact of many factors. However, it is not clear which factor has the effect at which level. While these unknowns make it difficult to understand young people's voting behavior, they also reveal the need for qualified studies on this subject. This study aims to respond to the need by contributing to the literature on young people's voting behavior.

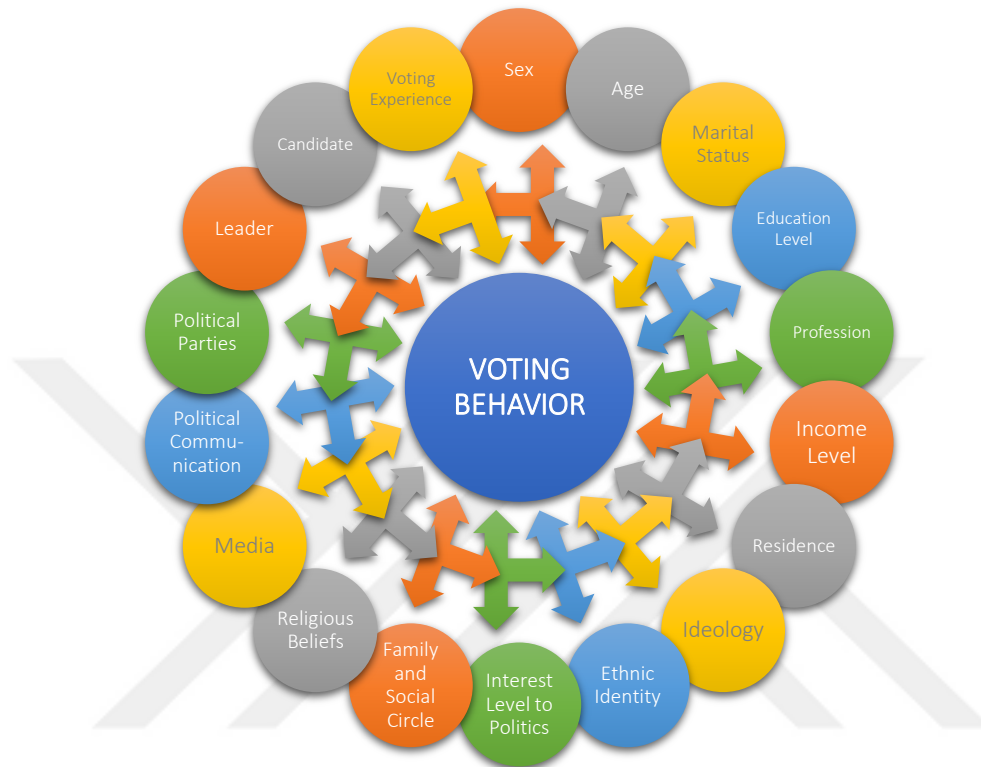
### **1.1.3. Research Model and Hypothesis**

#### ***Research Model***

Voting behavior is a multidimensional and dynamic concept. In this context, the factors that influence on voting behavior need to be carefully analyzed while conducting research on the issue. In addition, the impact levels of these factors on voting behavior are as important as the factors affecting voting behavior.

This study focuses on structural (long-term) and instrumental (short-term) factors that affect the voting behavior of Generations X, Y and Z. According to this, demographic,

sociological, psychological and economic factors, factors related to political parties, factors related to leaders and candidates, factors related to media and political communication form the main lines of the research model. The research model developed through these factors is as follows:



**Figure 1. Research model**

***Research Hypotheses***

**H1: Personal values, attitudes and perceptions vary across generations.**

- **H1-a:** Political ideologies / opinions vary across generations.
- **H1-b:** The attitude of dissimulation of political ideology / opinion varies across generations.
- **H1-c:** Indispensable values vary across generations.
- **H1-d:** The impact level of ideology, ethnic identity, religious belief and residence on voting behavior varies across generations.

**H2: The level of interest in politics varies across generations.**

- **H2-a:** The major problems of the country vary across generations.
- **H2-b:** Confidence level to institutions varies across generations.
- **H2-c:** Priority policy areas vary across generations.

**H3: The impact level of family and social circle on voting behavior varies across generations.**

- **H3-a:** The impact level of father on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H3-b:** The impact level of mother on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H3-c:** The impact level of sibling on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H3-d:** The impact level of spouse on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H3-e:** The impact level of entourage on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H3-f:** The impact level of relatives on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H3-g:** The impact level of school on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H3-h:** The impact level of congregations in voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H3-i:** The impact level of NGOs on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H3-j:** The impact level of personal decisions on voting behavior varies across generations.

**H4: The impact of factors related to political parties on voting behavior varies across generations.**

- **H4-a:** The impact level of the political parties' ideology on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H4-b:** The impact level of the political parties' leader on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H4-c:** The impact level of the political parties' elites / executive team on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H4-d:** The impact level of political parties' manifesto and lines on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H4-e:** The impact level of political parties' candidates on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H4-f:** The impact level of political parties' projects and promises on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H4-g:** The impact level of political parties' past practices on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H4-h:** The impact level of political parties' political performance against political dissidents on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H4-i:** The impact level of political parties' approach to current issues on voting behavior varies between generations.

**H5: The impact level of factors related to leader / candidate image on voting behavior varies across generations.**

- **H5-a:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's ideology on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-b:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's education level on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-c:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's sex on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-d:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's age on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-e:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's ethnic identity on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-f:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's religious belief on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-g:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's eloquence on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-h:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's political experience on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-i:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's physical characteristics on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-j:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's party on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-k:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's political performance against his/her political dissidents on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-l:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's approach to current issues on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-m:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's wording on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-n:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's fairness on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H5-o:** The impact level of leader's / candidate's discourse on voting behavior varies across generations.

**H6: The impact level of factors related to political communication on voting behavior varies across generations.**

- **H6-a:** The impact level of parties' / candidates' electoral campaigns on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H6-b:** The impact level of parties' / candidates' media visibility on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H6-c:** The impact level of parties' / candidates' rallies on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H6-d:** The impact level of parties' / candidates' banners, booklets, and electoral songs on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H6-e:** The impact level of parties' / candidates' radio and television performance on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H6-f:** The impact level of parties' / candidates' social media performance on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H6-g:** The impact level of face-to-face meeting with party delegates / candidates on voting behavior varies across generations.

**H7: The impact level of factors related to media use on voting behavior varies across generations.**

- **H7-a:** The impact level of newspaper on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H7-b:** The impact level of radio on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H7-c:** The impact level of television on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H7-d:** The impact level of Facebook on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H7-e:** The impact level of Instagram on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H7-f:** The impact level of Twitter on voting behavior varies across generations.

**1.1.4. Population and Sample of the Research**

In this research, six metropolitan districts of Ankara, the capital city in the center of Turkey, with a population of over 500 thousand, were selected as research population. These districts are Çankaya, Keçiören, Yenimahalle, Mamak, Sincan and Etimesgut. The main reason for choosing Ankara as a research population is that it contains people from all walks of life in Turkey. There are almost all kinds of ethnicity, ideology, occupation, gender and

age groups in Ankara and the districts mentioned, although their densities are different. Another reason for the selection of the mentioned districts as a research universe is the results of the previous elections. The fact that the voters of all the political parties that have a group in the TGNA (TBMM) in these districts chosen as universes has certain weights increases the validity and reliability of the research.

The socio-economic status of these districts selected as research population is different from each other. Each district reflects different aspects of Ankara and Turkey with its characteristics. The socio-economic status ranking of the six districts selected as the research population is as follows: Çankaya, Yenimahalle, Etimesgut, Keçiören, Mamak and Sincan [TurkStat (Turkish Statistical Institute), 2018]. Çankaya is the most populous district of Ankara and Turkey. The population of this district is more than population of 57 provinces in Turkey. Keçiören is the second most populous district in Ankara and Turkey after Çankaya. Yenimahalle is the third most populous district in Ankara after Çankaya and Keçiören. These districts are followed by Mamak, Etimesgut and Sincan respectively (TurkStat, 2018).

Looking at the past election results of the districts in the research population, the Republican People's Party (CHP) stands out in Çankaya and Yenimahalle. The Justice and Development Party (AK Party) stands out in Keçiören, Mamak and Sincan. In Etimesgut, the AK Party stands out in the general elections while the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) stands out in the local elections.

Because of the group to be analyzed in the study is not homogeneous, convenience sampling method was used as one of the non-probability sampling methods in order to collect data faster, easier and more economically. When the sample was formed, it was aimed to reach a total of 387 people with 95% confidence interval and 5% error margin. Therefore, a total of 500 surveys were applied considering the number of samples to be sufficient for the research. However, 58 surveys were not analyzed because some participants stopped responding. In addition, 42 surveys were excluded from the study by not being analyzed in order to obtain healthy data. Because, it was determined that the questions were answered randomly in these 42 surveys. Totally, it was tried to analyze the voting behavior of Generations X, Y, and Z on 400 surveys and 100 surveys that were excluded from the research.

**Table 1. Information of sample and population**

Districts		Generation X	Generation Y	Generation Z	Total
<b>Çankaya</b> (920 890)	Turnout	15	62	17	<b>94</b>
	Population	203 558	302 500	196 594	<b>702 652</b>
<b>Keçiören</b> (909 787)	Turnout	29	38	25	<b>92</b>
	Population	195 121	290 851	269 241	<b>755 213</b>
<b>Yenimahalle</b> (663 580)	Turnout	12	40	13	<b>65</b>
	Population	144 063	214 499	181 322	<b>539 884</b>
<b>Mamak</b> (647 252)	Turnout	20	20	18	<b>58</b>
	Population	136 735	215 559	194 121	<b>546 415</b>
<b>Etimesgut</b> (570 727)	Turnout	17	19	9	<b>45</b>
	Population	122 408	199 845	168 852	<b>491 105</b>
<b>Sincan</b> (518 893)	Turnout	24	8	14	<b>46</b>
	Population	104 093	173 300	169 654	<b>447 047</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>Turnout</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>400</b>
	<b>Population</b>	<b>905 978</b>	<b>1 396 554</b>	<b>1 179 784</b>	<b>3 482 316</b>

Source: TurkStat, 2018.

Participants were determined in accordance with the generational distribution in the research population. Accordingly, population distributions in each district were taken into account. However, there are at least Generation Z participants in the research. Because there are only two age groups in Generation Z who can be voters. There are approximately 144 368 young people aged 18-19 living in six districts, although not all are voters. The equivalent of this population in the sample is 23 participants. However, this number of participants is not possible to make comparisons between generations in this way. Therefore, it is aimed to reach more participants from Generation Z. The distribution of the participants by generations and districts is detailed in the table above.

#### **1.1.5. Scope and Limitations of the Research**

In the research phase of this study, which aims to compare the voting behavior of Generations X, Y, and Z, a number of difficulties and limitations have been encountered. At the beginning of these constraints are time, data, information, etc. material resources come from. However, while there are many factors that affect voting behavior, the aim of the study is to measure the difference between generations' voting behavior. In this context, research has been limited to achieving the objectives set out in the first place and it is important not to go outside the subject.

One of the difficulties encountered during the research is the limitation of Turkish literature on the subject. Although there are some studies about different generations in the literature, no comparative studies have been encountered. This has made it difficult to compare the findings from this research with different studies.

#### **1.1.6. Data Collection Method and Analysis of the Data**

Primary and secondary sources on voting behavior were used in this research. In this context, literature on the subject is reviewed in depth, while many academic articles, books, reports and blogs are reviewed. The data collected from these sources were used in the conceptual and theoretical framework section of the thesis. In addition, these resources were used in the preparation of the survey form applied within the scope of the research and in the interpretation of the data collected from the surveys.

On the other hand, data was obtained through the survey method, which is one of the quantitative data collection techniques. The applied survey is designed to consist of eight separate sections to measure the different dimensions of voting behavior. The survey used in data collection consists of the following sections:

- a. Demographic Information*
- b. Information on Personal Values, Attitudes and Perceptions*
- c. Information on the Level of Interest in Politics*
- d. Information on Family and Social Circle*
- e. Information on Political Parties*
- f. Information on Leader and Candidate Image*
- g. Information on Political Communication*
- h. Information on Media Use*

In the first part of the survey form, demographic information such as gender, age, marital status, education level, profession, personal and family income levels, number of household individual and district of residence were studied. In the second part of the survey, the factors affecting voting behavior such as personal values, attitudes and perceptions, ideology, religious belief, ethnic identity and residence were tried to be measured. In the third part of the survey, some questions related to the agenda are given in order to measure the level of interest in politics for individuals from different generations. In this context, data



was collected on the most important issues in Turkey, the confidence level to institutions and the policy areas that should be given priority.

In the fourth part of the survey, the effect of family, social circle and groups on voting behavior was tried to be measured as a sociological value. In this context, questions with a set of questions prepared using a five-point Likert scale were presented to participants. Accordingly, the participants were asked to what extent their father, mother, sibling, spouse, entourage, relatives, school, congregations, NGOs and their decisions were effective. The participants were asked to answer these questions with one of the scales that were not effective at all [(1) Strongly Disagree; (2) Disagree; (3) Neutral; (4) Agree; (5) Strongly Agree].

In the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth sections of the survey, the level of instrumental factors, political party, leader / candidate, political communication and media's influence on the voting behavior of the participants were tried to be measured. In these sections, as in the fourth section, the five-point Likert Scale was used.

The surveys were prepared by taking the opinions of academicians and experts who are interested in the studies on voting behavior. A pilot study was made with 50 people from different age groups before applying the survey sampling. As a result of the study, no change was made in the statements in the survey and it was decided that the survey should be used in its final form.

After the survey forms were sampled, the collected data were analyzed with the help of SPSS package program and tried to be interpreted. In this context, data were analyzed by frequency analysis, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and chi-square analysis as required by the relevant variables.

## **CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL and CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1. GENERATIONS**

From the beginning of humanity to the present, there has been an everlasting change and transformation. However, this change and transformation took place at different levels and speeds in each period. In the 21st century, more rapid and radical changes emerged with the effect of many other variables, especially globalization and technology. On the other hand, these changes and transformations not only affected the values, traditions and cultures of the societies but also the characteristic structures, behaviors and attitudes of the individuals.

Rapid changes in many areas, from culture to art, from economics to politics, from science to technology, affect every society and individual differently. Each society's reaction to change and transformation is different because of its characteristic structure. The same applies to individuals. Changes and transformations do not affect each individual at the same level. This makes it difficult for scientific studies to reach generally accepted conclusions. In order to overcome this challenge, scales are required that make it possible to evaluate individuals in groups.

Age is one of the most commonly used variables when classifications are made in scientific studies based on society. Because age is an important variable in terms of understanding how people born in the same period react to common events. The transformation of age into a means of understanding society in this way has revealed a new discipline called "sociology of generations".

The main factor that has brought forth and made the sociology of generations important is that the speed of the changes and transformations experienced in the last century has reached advanced levels (Edmunds & Turner, 2002: p. 2). Especially considering the last fifty years, a development that closely concerns humanity has emerged at almost every moment. This situation makes it necessary to get to know the society and individuals more closely. At this point, the generation studies are very important to determine how the

developments affect people, as it will facilitate the meaning of periods in terms of historical, political, cultural and economic aspects.

### **2.1.1. The Concept of Generation**

Studies on the concept of generation, which are closely related to many disciplines, are historically based on very ancient periods (Khera & Malik, 2014, p. 2; J. Martin, 2006, p. 5). Such that some of the studies about the concept of the generation are referred to texts in the ancient Greek period (Nash, 1978), while others are referred to texts in Ancient Egypt (Burnett, 2012, p. 9). But however, the context of the concept of generation used today is different. The modern use of the concept of generation has meaning beyond expressing a certain age range (Bristow, 2015, p. 20). When the literature is reviewed, it is seen that today's generation concept offers comprehensive information on many aspects of historical, social, political, cultural and economic, beyond expressing age range (Buahene & Kovary, 2003, p. 5).

TDK (Turkish Language Association) defines the concept of generation in its simplest form as “a group of individuals who form age clusters of about twenty-five and thirty years”. However, this definition is insufficient to explain the concept of the generation which is the subject of scientific studies today. In another definition made by the TDK, the concept of generation is described as “a group of people who were born in approximately the same years, shared the conditions of the same age, therefore similar troubles, fates, and were obliged to do similar tasks”. In this definition, some conditions are mentioned in order to express a community as a generation. Accordingly, besides being born in the same years, it is very important to have experienced similar difficulties and to be obliged with similar responsibilities.

“The concept of generation, like all language, is mutable.” (Burnett, 2012, p. 1). Hence, when the literature on generation studies is reviewed, many definitions and dimensions related to generational concept are encountered. In this study, generations are defined as groups “born in the same years” (Grubb, 2016, p. 15; O'Donnell, 1985, p. 2; Parry & Urwin, 2011, p. 81; Purhonen, 2016, p. 97; Pyöriä et al., 2017, p. 2; Turner, 2002, p. 15), “lived in the same period and in similar social, political and economic conditions” (Kupperschmidt, 2000, p. 66; Mannheim, 1952, p. 280; McCrindle & Wolfinger, 2011, pp. 1–2; Tolbize, 2008, p. 1; Williams & Page, 2011, p. 2) and “had common attitudes and experiences” (Edmunds & Turner, 2002; Martin, 2006, pp. 5–6; Zemke et al., 2000, p. 16).

### **2.1.2. Theory of Generation**

The first researches about the generations were carried out between 1830 and 1840 by the French sociologist Auguste Comte (Jaeger, 1985, p. 275). Comte stated that generational changes are the forces acting in the historical process, and that social progress can only be achieved through the accumulations that one generation will transfer to the next (Burnett, 2012, p. 33). According to Comte, generations pass on their experiences to the next generation, making their shared learning permanent. The experiences gained by one generation are transferred to the next generation and social order is provided. These experiences can be the result of social suffering, or they can be a means of accomplishing a work or making something possible (Mannheim, 1952, pp. 277–278).

The first comprehensive study of generations was by Karl Mannheim. Mannheim used scientific research methods in generational studies to establish the links between the social status of generations and the appropriate behavior patterns. In the seventh chapter of his work *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (1952), Mannheim defined the concept of generations as a community of people sharing similar habits and common culture and placed generations within social history (Joshi et al., 2011, pp. 180–181). Mannheim has suggested that, in explaining the social status of generations, each generation is able to elicit patterns of behavior appropriate to situations in their own period. Mannheim has stated that the concept of generation does not only mean a chronological or biological age distinction, and he has argued that generations are both the product of social order and one of the cornerstones that make it happen (Pilcher, 1994, pp. 482–484).

According to Mannheim, the basic condition of the existence of generations is continuity. Mannheim, constructing his theorization of generations on this condition, states that new individuals should emerge and some of the existing individuals should disappear in the process. As a result of the continuation of this cycle, intergenerational flow will continue and certain values will be transferred from generation to generation continuously through cultural heritage (Mannheim, 1952, p. 292).

Mannheim has put the concepts of “common location” and “common experiences” at the center of generation studies (Gilleard, 2004, pp. 108–109). In addition, another point in Mannheim’s approach is particularly important to address the contrast between class and generation, namely the horizontal and vertical segments of society from a historical perspective (Jaeger, 1985, p. 278).

Mannheim stated that generations are communities in which individuals of the same age group are interconnected with important historical events. The commitment to these historical events is related to the common sharing of generations within themselves (Vincent, 2005, p. 581). As a matter of fact, the expectation of the future changes with the values and experiences shared by society. In this respect, Mannheim frequently emphasized how the members of the generation perceive the world differently than their predecessors (Mannheim, 1952, p. 306). For example, he emphasized that in order to examine the political attitudes of middle-aged generations, the political environment, dominant political ideology, trends and problems in their youth should be analyzed. Mannheim's approach has once again demonstrated that generations are a cultural, social, political and economic concept beyond the "age" phenomenon.

One of the major contributions to generation theory has come from two American historians. William Strauss and Neil Howe published a book called "Generations: The History of America's Future, 1584 to 2069" in 1991, in which they systematically focused on the theory of generation. According to Strauss and Howe, the main reason that individuals exhibit similar behavior and have common value judgments is that they were born in the same period. According to this theory, individuals born in the same periods exhibit similar characteristics with each other and are distinguished from individuals born in a different period with distinct lines in terms of behavior, attitude and action.

Strauss and Howe (1991, p. 64) classified the generations according to their birth years, but stipulated the existence of a number of common characteristics in order to mention the generations. Accordingly, generation members must share a common era and age group that includes similar historical events and social orientations. The provision of this charter will ensure that generation members have common characteristics. In addition, the tendency of generation members to share common values about facts such as culture, tradition and faith was deemed necessary for generation formation. Finally, it was deemed necessary by Howe and Strauss to create a sense of belonging among the generation members who shared the same period.

Strauss and Howe (1997, pp. 89–90) emphasized that for the existence of generations, three different qualities should get together: perception of belonging, common belief and common space. While Strauss and Howe developed their theories around these principles, they were inspired by the famous sociologist Talcott Parsons to phase out generational cycles

that spawned generations. At the basis of this differentiation, the level of need for social order is the most decisive factor. According to this, on average, there are four main cycles covering processes ranging from fifteen to twenty years each, and generations are the product of these cycles. The first cycle is called as “High”. The second cycle has been called “Awakening”, while the third cycle has been described as “Unraveling” and finally the fourth cycle as “Crisis”.



**Figure 2. Generational Turnings**

Generational cycles developed by Strauss and Howe (1997) make it easy to identify generations and their characteristic features. These cycles are briefly described as follows (Kuran, 2018, pp. 20–21):

- ***The First Turning is a High:*** *In this cycle, the existence of social order and the demand for this entity is quite high. Institutions are strong, individuality is weak. Society is determined to go collectively to the goal it wants to achieve. There is trust in institutions and authority.*
- ***The Second Turning is an Awakening:*** *The presence of social order is high in this cycle, but the demand for this order is decreasing. Autonomy comes to the fore. While institutions are criticized, individuality becomes increasingly stronger.*

- ***The Second Turning is an Unraveling:*** *The existence and demand for social order in this cycle is low. The belief in institutions is weak. Social turmoil increases and spreads day by day.*
- ***The Fourth Turning is a Crisis:*** *In this cycle, the existence of the social order has been gradually reduced, but the demand for the order is increasing. Citizenship awareness is strengthened. Although individuality does not disappear, great importance is attached to social goals.*

Studies on the generation theory developed by Mannheim, Howe and Strauss continued in the following period and the generation theory was further developed. In this context, one of the important contributions to generation theory was presented by Edmunds and Turner (2005). While Edmunds and Turner emphasized the sociological definition of the concept of generation, they underlined that the phenomenon of generation cannot be shaped only by the developments taking place within national boundaries (2005, p. 559). According to them, the concept of “global generation” is very important in sociology of generation, and considering the interaction of people in different geographies in today’s world, it is not possible to confine generations to geographical boundaries. This argument of Edmunds and Turner was supported by many other researchers interested in the subject.

In conclusion, the common point of the studies on theory of generation is the assumption that individuals born within a certain period of time have similar characteristics in terms of perception, behavior, value, tradition and life styles. This approach, agreed upon by almost all researchers contributing to the literature, enable to make historical classification through events that simulate and converge groups of individuals as they divide into generational periods. However, given the fact that different events can affect each community, it should be noted that this approach brings with it some difficulties.

### **2.1.3. Classification of Generations**

There is no problem when we consider generations as a phrase that defines only certain age groups. However, such an approach to the concept of generation would be inadequate certainly. Because the generation is a multidimensional phenomenon that enables to analyze certain periods of society from several perspectives beyond specifying age ranges. However, there is no irreversible norm on what other variables, apart from age, are classifying generations. Although some de facto rules are mentioned based on some theories and research, this is not a properly valid approach. Because just as the events that affect each

society are different, the impact level of global events and developments on each society is different. Therefore, it should not be ignored that there are some problems and difficulties in the studies related to the classification of generations.

There is no clear agreed on the definition of the concept of generation in the literature. Researchers who do generational studies often use abstract expressions in their descriptions of generational concepts and do not clearly express the boundaries of generations. The situation causes that many researchers mention different time periods in the generational classification. However, many researchers also reveal different data on the number of generations.

When generational studies are reviewed, there are usually five main generations. These are Traditionalists (-Silent Generation), Baby Boomers, Generation X, Generation Y, and Generation Y, respectively. With these main generations, especially in the recent period, the fact that social changes and transformations have been much faster lead some researchers to work on alternative generation groups. As a matter of fact, some researchers see the Generation M as a transition between the Generations Y and Z (Baysal Berkup, 2015, p. 54). However, Generation M isn't evaluated in this study due to the difficulties of analysis about a clearly undefined generation.

**Table 2. Some classifications related with generations in different sources**

	<b>Traditionalists (Silent Generation)</b>	<b>Baby Boomers</b>	<b>Generation X</b>	<b>Generation Y</b>	<b>Generation Z</b>
<b>Zemke et al. (2000)</b>	1922 – 1943	1943 – 1960	1960 – 1980	1980 – 1999	-
<b>Howe and Strauss (2000)</b>	1925 – 1943	1943 – 1960	1961 – 1981	1982 – 2000	-
<b>Washburn (2000)</b>	1926 – 1945	1945 – 1964	1965 – 1981	1982 – 2003	-
<b>Lancaster and Stillman (2003)</b>	1900 – 1945	1946 – 1964	1965 – 1980	1981 – 1999	-
<b>Martin and Tulgan (2002)</b>	1925 – 1942	1946 – 1960	1965 – 1977	1978 – 2000	-
<b>Arsenault (2004)</b>	1922 – 1943	1944 – 1960	1961 – 1980	1981 – 2000	
<b>Oblinger and Oblinger (2005)</b>	... – 1946	1947 – 1964	1965 – 1980	1981 – 1995	1995 - ....
<b>Kyles (2005)</b>	1900 – 1945	1946 – 1964	1965 – 1979	1980 – 1999	-



<b>Hammill</b> (2005)	1922 – 1945	1946 – 1964	1965 – 1980	1981 – 2000	2001 and after
<b>Crumpacker and Crumpacker</b> (2007)	1929 – 1945	1946 – 1964	1965 – 1976	1980 – 1999	-
<b>Tapscott</b> (2008)	-	1946 – 1964	1965 – 1975	1976 – 2000	-
<b>Haerberle et al.</b> (2009)	1930 – 1944	1945 – 1964	1965 – 1979	1980 – 1999	-
<b>Williams and Page</b> (2011)	1930 – 1945	1946 – 1964	1965 – 1976	1977 – 1994	1994 – ...

Source: Adapted from Reeves & Oh, 2008.

When we look at the time intervals in the table, it is not possible to talk about a clearly agreed interval. Therefore, there is no absolute classification in the studies on generations. Starting from this point, the following classification will be used in this study by taking into consideration the recent history of Turkey:

**Table 3. Chronological generation classification preferred in the study**

<b>Generations</b>	<b>Chronological Generation Classification</b>
<b>Traditionalists (Silent Generation)</b>	1900 – 1945 (1923 – 1945)
<b>Baby Boomers</b>	1946 – 1964
<b>Generation X</b>	1965 – 1979
<b>Generation Y</b>	1980 – 1999
<b>Generation Z</b>	2000 and after

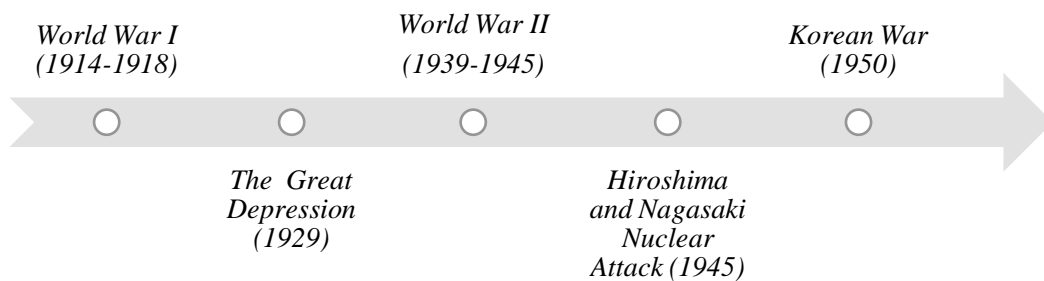
#### **2.1.4. Types of Generations**

##### **2.1.4.1. Traditionalists / Silent Generation (1900 – 1945)**

In order to understand the effects of social developments on society and the tendency of society, Traditionalists take place in the first step of the generational classifications. This generation which is called with various names such as The Silent Generation, Veterans, Seniors, GIs Mature, Epic Generation, Greatest Generation, Builders, War Generation in different sources, is composed of individuals who were born between 1900 and 1945 (Burnett, 2012; Dorsey, 2010; McCrindle & Wolfinger, 2011; Van den Bergh & Behrer, 2011; Zemke et al., 2000). On the other hand, because of the fact that the generation of

Traditionalists represents a very wide age range, some researchers have divided this generation into two sub-groups within itself. But the lines of this distinction are not apparent either. In many studies, the chronological classifications of the sub-groups of Traditionalists differ from each other. However, age ranges are not sufficient to classify generations as mentioned in the generational theory section. The developments that deeply affect society and create a collective memory between individuals are also important in the classification of generations.

It is quite important to consider collective memory in generational classifications. The most significant factor that constitutes collective memory is certainly important socio-cultural, political and economic developments. In this context, when looking at the date ranges that define the Traditionalists, the important events that shaped the world history are seen. At this point, some of the developments that become prominent and concern all world states on a global scale are as follows (Zemke et al., 2000, p. 16):



Considering both the international literature and the studies in Turkey, it would be appropriate to use the history of 1923 when specify the sub-groups of the generation of Traditionalists. This history represents an important turning point in Turkish political history as well as its correspondence to other histories in the international literature. Accordingly, it is possible to divide the generation of Traditionalists in Turkey into the two groups as Greatest Generation (1900 – 1922) and Silent Generation (1923 – 1945).

**Table 4. Core values of traditionalists / silent generation**

Core Values	
Dedication/sacrifice	Patience
Hard work	Delayed reward
Conformity	Duty before pleasure
Law and order	Adherence to rules
Respect for authority	Honor
Discipline	

Source: (Hammill, 2005; Zemke et al., 2000)

The historical events mentioned are of great importance in shaping the personalities of the individuals of this period and in determining the common characteristics of the generation. This generation has seen two World Wars and felt the effects of these wars deeply. Parents of this generation did not want to have children because of economic and political turmoil. Therefore, this generation is the most underpopulated generation of this century.

The characteristic features of this generation, who have spent most of their lives under the devastating effects of wars and economic hardship, are also shaped in this framework. The famine created by the wars and the Great Depression caused the members of this generation to be commemorated with savings. Members of Traditionalists like saving and prefer a simple life with the effect of period conditions (Dorsey, 2010, p. 36). For members of this generation who have faced serious economic difficulties, financial security is very important. This generation, whose creativity has developed due to the harsh conditions, has preferred content with what they had as far as possible.

On the other hand, another important characteristic that defines members of the generation of Traditionalists is patriotism (McCrindle & Wolfinger, 2011, p. 54). National and familial values are very important to members of this generation who were born and raised by war. They are disciplined, bound by rules and respectful of authority due to the circumstances of the period in which they lived (Zemke et al., 2000, pp. 39–40). Among the current generations, the most loyal to authority are the Traditionalists. For the members of this generation, who are used to making sacrifices for their country and their families in the environment they grew up in, the rules are everything. Traditionalists see rules, order, discipline and balance as vital.

This generation, referred to as Traditionalists because of their strict adherence to traditions, is considered to be the most patient and most compatible generation. Members of this generation do not like change and have difficulty keeping up with changes (Bejtkovský, 2016, p. 119). On the other hand, Traditionalists see work as an obligation to live.

Because of their loyalty and respect for authority, the members of this generation avoid defiance of authority and order (Zemke et al., 2000, p. 18). They perceive the existence of order as the fundamental condition of their own existence.

Members of the Traditionalists attach importance to direct and planned communication. Members of the generation, who see this as a part of the disciplined life they are accustomed, prefer a simple method of communication that focuses on the core issue. On the other hand, this generation is the furthest away from technology when the conditions of the period are taken into account (Rosen & Lara-Ruiz, 2015, p. 48).

The family structures of the Traditionalists, who attach great importance to the family and the traditional values that come from the family, are also traditional. While men work in this generation, women are busy with raising children at home. For members of this generation who marry at an early age, other social networks such as kinship and neighborhood within society are also very valuable.

**2.1.4.2. Baby Boomers (1946 – 1964)**

The members of Baby Boomers were born between 1946-1964. Birth rates also increased rapidly with the onset of social normalization following the World Wars. The reason why this generation has the phrase “boom” in its name is that the birth rates in this period are very increased (Bristow, 2015, p. 7).

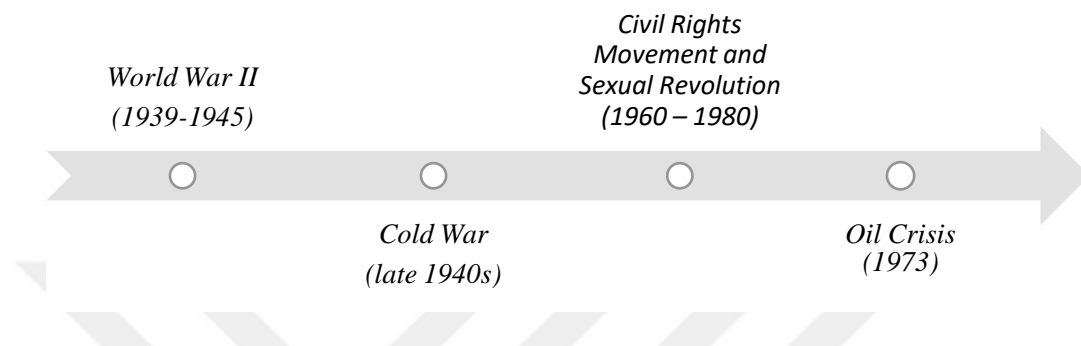
The Baby Boom generation is also referred to in the literature as the BB or Me Generation shortly. This generation is also called as Sandwich Generation (Khera & Malik, 2014), Selfish Generation (Leach et al., 2013). The reason why members of this generation are called Me Generation is that they focus solely on their own future, unlike their parents, who are loyal to authority, love to share, and see the interests of the state above their own (Lancaster & Stillman, 2003). The Baby Boom generation is also divided into two sub-groups by some researchers. Accordingly, generation members born between 1940 and 1950 were called first-halfers (or “the first-wave baby boomers”), while generation members born between 1950 and 1960 were called the second-halfers (or “the second-wave baby boomers” (Burnett, 2012; Zemke et al., 2000, p. 71).

**Table 5. Core values and key attributes of baby boomers**

Core Values		5 Key Attributes
Optimism Team orientation Personal gratification Health and wellness	Personal growth Youth Work Involvement	The lucky generation The affluent generation The large generation The selfish generation The reckless generation

Source: (Bristow, 2015; Zemke et al., 2000)

The Baby Boom generation is interpreted as the main generation that shaped today's society due to the large numbers of its members (Anderson & Kennedy, 2006, p. 8). This generation is also known as "Cold War Generation" (Tapscott, 2008, p. 13). Some important events that determine the personalities of the members of this generation and the common characteristic features of the generation are as follows (Barford & Hester, 2011, p. 65; Zemke et al., 2000, pp. 16–24):



The members of the Baby Boomers, who came into the world in the years of increasing prosperity and changes in the political structures of countries in the wake of many years of wars and economic crises, have more flexible characteristics than their parents due to these positive conditions. Members of the Baby Boomers, like their parents, are respectful of authority but believe that authority must also act within its limits (Bickel & Brown, 2005, p. 206). In other words, they follow the rules and own the order, but react when the rules interfere with their own areas of freedom. In this sense, they are more skeptical to authority and rules than traditionalists (Buahene & Kovary, 2003, p. 13).

One of the most characteristic features of members of the Baby Boomers that distinguishes them from other generations is individualism. Especially members of the Traditionalists who had experienced serious difficulties in the past periods danced attendance on their children who were members of the Baby Boomers (Sandeem, 2008, pp. 14–15). The members of the Baby Boomers, who have received such intense attention by their families, have alternated between individualism and selfishness (Delahoyde, 2009, p. 34). Because the members of this generation see their own future as the first priority.

Another important characteristic of members of the Baby Boomers is their competitiveness. Considering that millions of babies were born in the post-war period, it is understandable that the members of this generation are competitive. Because members of this generation have to take advantage of opportunities among millions of people (Westerman & Yamamura, 2007, p. 152).

Another important feature of the baby boom generation is that they think that everything is possible. Unlike their families, they are not pessimistic and believe the world can change. The members of this generation, who were born at a time when reforms were being made on issues such as gender equality, the struggle against racism and environmental sensitivity, believed that everything could be regulated (Strauss & Howe, 1991, p. 335).

The members of the Baby Boomers, seen as the generation with social consciousness, productive and most useful to society, are free-spirited, have high feelings of loyalty, contented, hardworking and idealistic (Altuntuğ, 2012, p. 208). The best expression that defines this generation, whose self-confidence is high and who are fond of independence, is the optimist (Salahuddin, 2010, p. 2). In addition, members of this generation place great importance on the concept of honesty, while they are less ambitious than other generations (Arsenault, 2004, p. 137). On the other hand, as the children of the post-war and economic crisis period, the members of the Baby Boomers who approach consumption rationally and have a sense of loyalty towards the product they are satisfied with are abstemious. Health, energy, and goodness are seen as key aims for this generation (Williams & Page, 2011, p. 5).

Despite the relatively rising economic prosperity in the post-war period, families did not see their single source of income as sufficient. This has also paved the way for the participation of women members of the Baby Boomers in business life. However, equality between men and women and women's economic freedom by participating in the business life has revealed a new dynamic. Accordingly, members of the Baby Boomers became the first generation to see divorces become widespread.

The Baby Boomers is the first generation to grow up under the influence of television. This quickly and deeply affected their cultural tendencies (Kundanis, 2003, pp. 37–38). The first interaction of these and previous generations with television, which did not have a similar media tool before, was the first sign of a major social transformation (Hamilton & Hamilton, 2006, p. 1; Tapscott, 2008, pp. 13–14). On the other hand, unlike their parents, members of the Baby Boomers prefer not to communicate in writing, but via telephone or face-to-face. With all this, members of the Baby Boomers, who have a hard time adapting to technology, due to not growing up in an online age, they are remain aloof to technologies while learning about the world. However, the relationship of younger members of the

generation to technology is more advanced than older members (Kumar & Lim, 2008, p. 570). Because some members of the Baby Boomers are happy to use new technologies.

#### **2.1.4.3. Generation X (1965 – 1979)**

Generation X is generally defined in the literature as the generation of individuals born between 1965 and 1979. This generation is also called as Xers, Lost Generation, Shadow Generation, Baby Busters, 13ers, Post-Boomers, Slackers, The Thirteenth Generation (Burnett, 2012; Lee, 1996; McCrindle & Wolfinger, 2011; Zemke et al., 2000).

The members of Generation X are also in the shadow of the members of the Baby Boom generation, and are also referred to as the “Shadow Generation” (Zemke et al., 2000, pp. 93–94). The cultural and political passivity of the generation has also led to the naming of Generation X as the “Lost Generation” (Bristow, 2016, p. 11). Generation X has also been referred to as the “Baby Bust / Baby Busters” generation (Grubb, 2016, p. 18; Tapscott, 2008, p. 14). In the previous section, it was mentioned that women of the Baby Boom generation were starting to participate in business. This caused the parents of Generation X members to work at the same time. As such, Generation X has been referred to as “Latchkey Child / Kids” (Baysal Berkup, 2014, p. 221; Marshall, 1997, p. 399; Zemke et al., 2000, p. 98).

The Canadian writer Douglas Coupland, who first used the term Generation X, referred to in his 1991 book, *Generation X: Tales for An Accelerated Culture* (Rosen & Lara-Ruiz, 2015, pp. 20–21). “The X refers to a group that feels excluded from society and entered the labor force only to find that their older brothers and sisters had filled all the positions.” (Tapscott, 2008, p. 14). This definition of Coupland led to be mentioned the generation as other generations that followed the Generation X with the letters Y and Z, respectively (Baysal Berkup, 2015, p. 80).

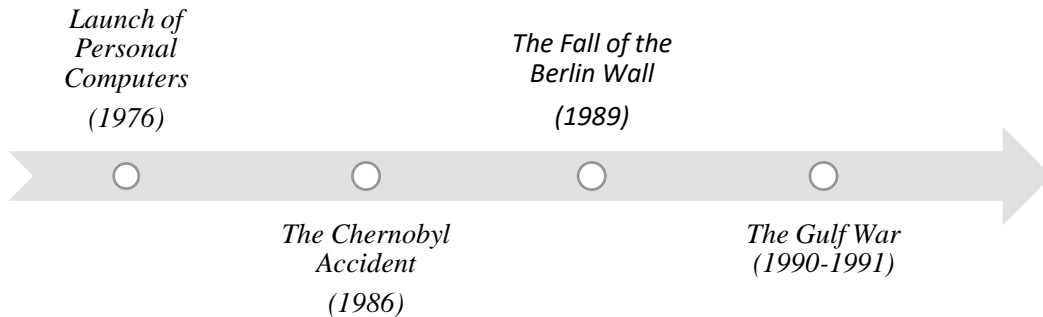
Although it is seen that Generation X members have some similar characteristics with members of the Baby Boom Generation, the main similarity of the generation is with Traditionalists. The main reason for this similarity is that both generations are overshadowed by following generations. Thus, Generation X is therefore considered as a link generation between the two crowded and active generations.

**Table 6. Core values of generation x**

Core Values	
Diversity	Fun
Thinking globally	Informality
Balance	Self-reliance
Techno-literacy	Pragmatism
Skepticism	Fun
Informality	

Source: (Hammill, 2005; Zemke et al., 2000)

Generation X members were born and raised at a time when the term in economic development reversed and new value systems began to emerge. Social, political and economic changes have taken place during the growth phase of this generation. This situation has caused the members of Generation X to become a more generous, socialist, loyal and idealist generation as opposed to the previous generation. The following are some of the developments that allow the formation of the characteristics of the members of Generation X:



Members of Generation X have grown in an environment where technological developments are accelerating day by day, they have been greatly affected by these developments (Mitchell et al., 2001, p. 5). This generation, seen as a transition generation, is less competitive as it has a smaller population than its predecessor. Generation X, considered the first generation to think globally, has been deprived of the interest of families due to the work of its parents (Baysal Berkup, 2015, p. 82). This led them to stand on their own feet, thus transforming them into creative and skillful individuals. Generation X members consider individuals to be easily adaptable (Zemke et al., 2000, p. 110).

On the other hand, members of Generation X, which are growing in a fast and constantly changing environment, they question to authority, traditions and rituals unlike their parents (El-shamy, 2004, p. 6). However, members of Generation X, which is skeptical,



sensitive and responsive to social events (Grubb, 2016, p. 18). It is not generally acceptable being conformist in society. The members of Generation X who are very open minded due to the conditions of the period they grew up are also very tolerant of the differences. The fact that they grew up in the changing period has enabled the members of this generation to have a flexible character.

For the members of Generation X, also known as the “Carpe Diem” generation, it is important to experience the moment, to have fun and to avoid formality (Marston, 2011, p. 165). In this sense, they differ from their grandparents and their parents. Because it is very important to work both for Traditionalists and members of the Baby Boom generation. Therefore, members of Generation X are seen as lazy by their parents (El-shamy, 2004, p. 4). However, members of Generation X are often seen as unconcerned, pessimistic and aimless individuals (Wolburg & Pokrywczynski, 2001, p. 37; Wong et al., 2008, p. 880).

Generation X members like to think independently, and aim and result oriented. However, for Generation X members, the family is very important and for many, the family is more valuable than friends. Members of this generation enjoy spending time with their families (Bickel & Brown, 2005, p. 206).

On the other hand, financial control and balance are important for Generation X members. The fact that their parents were unemployed due to various economic problems made this generation members cautious. When the members of Generation X spend money, they have been non-wasteful like to save money and make permanent investments. Unlike their parents, they acted not with the idea of living to work, but with the idea of working to live. Career and working under better conditions are among the priorities of this generation members. Therefore, unlike their parents, their loyalty towards their institutions is weaker.

The relationship of the members of this generation with technology is better than the previous generations (Hansen & Leuty, 2012, p. 35). Because the speed of technological developments in this generation period has enabled members of Generation X to be more interested in technology. This also affected the communication skills of the members of Generation X. Unlike their parents, members of Generation X who have largely abandoned traditional ways of communication have preferred communication methods such as e-mail, answering machine and mobile phone.

The phenomenon of globalization that emerged with the development of technology in the 1980s has deeply affected Generation X. As a result of the development of communication opportunities, individuals in different countries could easily interact with each other. This has made Generation X members a globally thinkable generation (Reeves & Oh, 2008, p. 301).

**2.1.4.4. Generation Y (1980 – 1999)**

Members of Generation Y, the first technological and global generation, are considered to have been born between 1980 and 1999. Generation Y is the generation on which researchers who are interested in generational studies focus most in many respects. Generation Y is also referred to by many different names like other generations. However, when we look at the literature for Generation Y, it is seen that a very large part of the nomenclature refers to the technological aspect of the generation. Examples of such nomenclature are Digital Generation, Generation www, Net Generation (Gen N). In addition, Generation Y is also known as “Millennials”, “Generation Next”, “Nexters”, “Gen Wired”, “We Generation”, “Digital Natives”, “Generation Search”, “Echo Boomers” and “Trophy Kids” (Jain & Pant, 2012; Parry & Urwin, 2011; Piper, 2012; Van den Bergh & Behrer, 2011; Williams & Page, 2011; Zemke et al., 2000).

One of the most striking nomenclature for Generation Y is “Why Generation”. This nomenclature refers to the interrogation of the generation. In addition, the word “Why” and the letter “Y” are pronounced in the same way and this generation is called Generation Y (Baysal Berkup, 2014, p. 222).

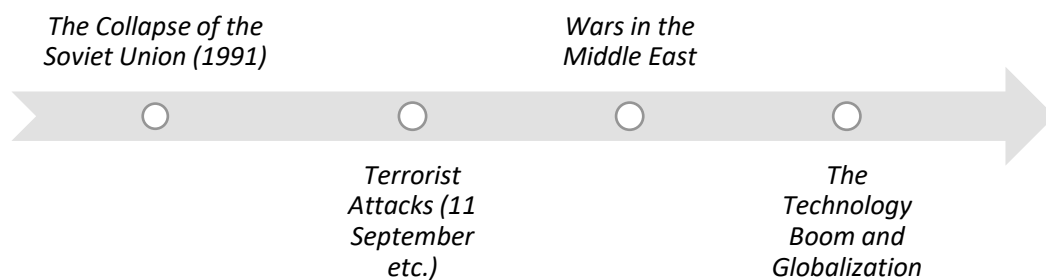
**Table 7. Core values of generation y**

Core Values	
Optimism	Choice
Civic duty	Customization
Confidence	Scrutiny
Achievement	Integrity
Sociability	Collaboration
Morality	Speed
Street smarts	Entertainment
Diversity	Innovation

Source: (Williams & Page, 2011; Zemke et al., 2000)

When the characteristics of Generation Y are analyzed, it is remarkable that they are quite similar to the members of the Baby Boom generation. For this reason, Generation Y is also known as “Echo Boomers” and “Next Boomers”. Generation Y, the population of which is much more than X, is the most populous generation after the Baby Boom Generation. This generation represents the transition from a traditional society to a new one. The main reason behind this statement is the proximity of this generation to technology. Technology is a very important element for the members of this generation who have been busy with technology since their birth.

Members of Generation Y consist of highly educated individuals who are extremely fond of their freedom (Sandeem, 2008, pp. 21–22). Compared to previous generations, it has the feature of being the generation with the highest literacy rate. Generation Y, which has different characteristics than other generations, is also a mix of previous generations. Indeed, this generation has witnessed many political and economic turmoil. Developments in this period have reached all over the world with the effect of technology. This has made that the effects of these developments are globally. Here are some important developments that are effective in the generation of the characteristics of Generation Y:



Generation Y benefited from three previous generations. They took their loyalty and trust from the Traditionalists, their reliability and optimism from the Baby Boom Generation and their skepticism from the Generation X (Bourne, 2009, p. 55). Technology is the most fundamental factor that distinguishes Generation Y from other generations, which has such mixed values. Growing up in a period of intensification of the effects of globalization with the development and expansiveness of technology affected the members of Generation Y (Tulgan, 2009, p. 6).

Faced with change from the moment when they were born, members of Generation Y are individuals who are open to change and can easily adapt. Members of this generation see change as a constant part of their lives. With the influence of technology, the members of this generation who are fond of speed are hasty and impatient (Khera & Malik, 2014, p. 3).

On the other hand, Generation Y, which is more flexible towards differences due to the impact of globalization, also strongly opposes negative discrimination on issues such as race, gender and ethnicity (Buahene & Kovary, 2003, p. 8). Freedom is one of the essential values of this generation. Although they have been faced with various problems, they are more optimistic than previous generations (Fisher & Crabtree, 2009, p. 657).

Members of Generation Y are seen as the most sensitive to the society and environment when compared to the previous generations. Members of this generation are socially conscious people who like to participate in charity campaigns and take protective actions towards the environment (Greenberg & Weber, 2008, pp. 28–29). On the other hand, they have adopted the principle of reaching a target in their works. Generation Y, who like research and have curious personalities, are against strict rules and extravagant discipline (Gursoy et al., 2008, p. 453). Members of this generation place great importance on the views of their parents and peers when making important decisions about their lives.

The members of Generation Y who have grown under the intense interest of their families have high self-confidence (Tulgan, 2009, p. 8). In this way, they do not accept the concept of impossible in almost many issues. On the other hand, moral norms are very important for the members of this generation (Khera & Malik, 2014, p. 3). There is a close connection between Generation Y members who gave great importance to their families and other family members (Barnes, 2009, p. 60). Family and moral norms as well as religion and values are very important for this generation members.

Although new technologies shape the habits of Generation Y members, television is still an important tool for members of this generation. Because members of Generation Y spent most of their childhood busy with television (Williams & Page, 2011, p. 9). However, it can be said that their relationship with television is weaker compared to the members of Baby Boomers and Generation X. By day, this generation is abandoning television and turning to new media tools (Thrall & Goepner, 2015, p. 5).

When consumption behavior of Generation Y members is analyzed, it is seen that it differs from previous generations. This generation, which has a high brand awareness, has less brand loyalty and members of this generation have a complex consumer behavior (Van den Bergh & Behrer, 2011, pp. 76–77). However, members of Generation Y who are open-minded, give importance and priority to their individual preferences. On the other hand,

members of this generation who are fond of freedom are uncomfortable with authoritarian approaches (Williams & Page, 2011, p. 8).

Generation Y, which prioritizes spiritual values rather than material values, has ideals to change the world. It is important for these generation members who like to dream, to take responsibility and to be constantly active. Members of this generation enjoy competing to show themselves.

The communication style of the members of Generation Y, also known as the Digital Generation, is quite different from the previous generation. The impatient Generation Y members prioritize the rapid and direct communication with technology. They like to communicate via computers, mobile phones or other technological devices. However, they prefer to be constantly online and accessible (Kilber et al., 2014, p. 82). At this point, social media is of great importance for the Generation Y. Younger members of the generation like to socialize through social media (Sandeem, 2008, p. 22).

#### **2.1.4.5. Generation Z (2000 and later)**

Today, the last cohort that generational studies focus on constitutes Generation Z, consisting of individuals born in 2000 and beyond. This generation has not experienced the process of getting used to technology. The members of Generation Z who were born with technology are also referred to by different names. Most of the nomenclature for this generation refers to the generation's relationship with technology. In this respect, Generation Z is similar to Generation Y. However, the main difference that separates Generation Z from Generation Y is that the members of Generation Z were born with technology. In addition, the levels of technological advances in the growth periods of Generation Y and Generation Z are quite different. Generation Z is called as "Post-Millennials", "Crystal Children", "Instant Online", "Net Gen", "iGen", "Internet Generation" and "Google Generation". In addition, Generation Z is also called "The New Silent Generation" because of their lifestyle (Giunta, 2017; Grubb, 2016; Howe & Strauss, 2000).

Generation Z is seen highly complex by researchers and there is not much information about them yet. The oldest member of this generation is 19 years old as of 2019. Technology is the most effective factor on Generation Z, although its characteristic features are not clear due to their being very young (New Strategist Publications, Inc., 2010, p. 7). Members of this generation have met with technology from the moment they first opened their eyes to

the world (Giunta, 2017, p. 91). Considering the technological advances that occurred after 2000, it appears that members of Generation Z have witnessed very rapid and radical changes. While a new development is emerging every day at a dizzying pace, members of Generation Z can easily adapt to these developments.

As mentioned in the previous sections, generations are affected by events in their own time at different levels. Each development is effective in the formation of the characteristic features of generations at a certain level. Accordingly, developments affecting the characteristic features of Generation Z are as follows:

- *Technology and Internet*
- *E-Commerce*
- *Multiculturalism*
- *Globalization*
- *New Media (Social Media)*

Generation Z sees technology as part of their natural life. This generation is regarded as an internet-oriented generation. The Internet is seen as the basic need for members of this generation (Cho et al., 2018, p. 4). In this context, members of Generation Z place an emphasis on social networks to build and maintain friendship relationships (Mishra et al., 2012, pp. 96–97). On the other hand, another feature that stands out for members of Generation Z, where technology has a huge impact on personality traits, is impatience. The attention span of this members of Generation Z is short and their concentration is quite low. However, they also have the ability to do more than one job at a time (Golovinski, 2011, p. 48; Levickaite, 2010, p. 173). Therefore, the Generation Z is defined as “multitaskers” (Maioli, 2016, p. 4).

**Table 8. Core values of generation z**

Core Values		
Technology Independence	Social media Pragmatic	Stubborn Hasty – Impatient

Source: (Giunta, 2017).

According to Koulopoulos and Keldsen (2014), Generation Z is “simple, hyperconnected, educated and unified generation”. On the other hand, the generational

markers of Generation Z are listed as independent, diverse, engaged, knowledge managers, pragmatic, personal brands, collaborative by Witt and Baird (2018, pp. 19–20).

The members of Generation Z, who are highly creative personalities, are passionately committed to innovation and change. The members of Generation Z, who live in almost all their work focused on results, are not easily satisfied and are very ambitious. Members of Generation Z, who like to act independently and individually, are self-confident and active. The members of Generation Z, whose thresholds for satisfaction and liking are very high, are extremely keen on consumption. These individuals do not have brand loyalty.

Generation Z is the most diverse and multicultural among all generations. “Generation Z can be characterized as an open-minded, caring, and diverse generation grounded in a sense of integrity and tenacity” (Seemiller & Grace, 2019, pp. 25–33).

**Table 9. Major characteristics of generation z**

<b>Major Characteristics of Generation Z</b>			
<b>Integrity</b>	<b>Openness</b>	<b>Tenacity</b>	<b>Care</b>
Honesty Fairness Loyalty Responsibility Judgment	Creativity Open-Mindedness Humor Curiosity Sense of Adventure Spontaneity Perspective-Taking Tolerance	Eagerness Hard work Motivation Determination Competition Drive	Understanding Others Thoughtfulness Compassion Kindness

Source: (Seemiller & Grace, 2019)

The communication style of Generation Z is completely different from older generations (Grubb, 2016, p. 129). Even in the same room, they use their smart phones to communicate with their friends. In spite of that, face-to-face communication is also important for Generation Z (Seemiller & Grace, 2019, p. 61).

Generation Z’s relationship with television is not entirely over. However, compared to previous generations, this relationship is quite low. Members of Generation Z tend to watch television online and they prefer more dedicated video platforms (Seemiller & Grace, 2019, p. 42).

## 2.2. VOTING BEHAVIOR

Democracy is one of the concepts and values that humanity has thought about the most since the ancient Greek period when it emerged. So much so that thousands of books and articles have been written about democracy, and there have been long discussions about democracy directly or indirectly. In the simplest terms, democracy is the direct or indirect self-government of the people. The point that needs to be emphasized in this definition is what is the indirect self-government of the people. This phrase means the people elect their representatives to govern themselves. There is an election and participation and these facts are seen as the basic principles of democracy. In this context, one of the most important approaches in which democracy is commemorated with elections belongs to Joseph Schumpeter. Schumpeter defined democracy as the method by which people elected representatives in competitive elections to carry out their will in his book “Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy” (1943) (2013). In addition, Robert Dahl mentioned two important criteria such as “effective participation” and “voting equality” when counting the criteria of a democratic process in his book “On Democracy” (Dahl, 2008, p. 44). While Butler and others (1981, p. 1) interpreted elections as the heart of democracy; Verba and others (1995, p. 23) have stated that voting is the most common act of citizenship in democracies. Chapman and Palda (1981, p. 530) stated that the most important act of political participation by voters was voting behavior.

The fact that elections and voting are of great importance to democracy has raised the issue of how citizens vote in elections. Especially in the 1940s and after the Second World War, studies have been made on the subject more (Akgün, 2004, p. 76). In the early post-war period, influential studies were carried out on political communication, social cleavages and voting behavior. For example, studies conducted by scholars such as Lazarsfeld (*The People’s Choice*, (1944)), Berelson (*Voting*, (1954)), Downs (*An Economic Theory of Democracy*, (1957)) and Campbell (*The American Voter*, (1960)) formed the basis of the voting behavior literature and pioneered many subsequent studies (Goldberg, 2017, pp. 10–11). In each study, many variables that affect the voting behavior were analyzed and the main factors shaping the voting behavior were tried to be found. Since voting behavior is a multidimensional concept, it has many determinants. As a result of the studies carried out to explain these determinants, some theoretical approaches have been developed and the voting behavior has been tried to be analyzed through these approaches. The most important of these approaches are as follows:



- *Sociological Approach (Columbia School)*
- *Socio-Psychological Approach (Michigan School)*
- *Rational-Choice Approach (Economic Model)*

## **2.2.1. Theories of Voting Behavior**

### **2.2.1.1. Sociological Approach (Columbia School)**

The first systematic research to analyze voting behavior was conducted in the early 1940s by Paul Lazarsfeld and the accompanying Columbia University researchers. Lazarsfeld and his associates have continued the studies for a long time and have led to the emergence of a sociological approach known as Columbia School in the literature. Columbia School is crucial in that it is the first comprehensive theoretical approach to voting behavior.

The basic assumption of the sociological approach to voting behavior is that voting behavior occurs as a result of a group experience. According to Lazarsfeld and others, there are similar trends in voting behavior of people living together in different areas of life. In other words, individuals who share the same social circle are likely to prefer the same candidate or party (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944, pp. 137–149). Another assumption of the sociological approach is that voters have a high sense of loyalty towards the political parties they support. Accordingly, it is suggested that voters who act with partisan sentiments are certain of their voting preferences before they go to the polls (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944, pp. 37–39).

Since Columbia School considers voting behavior as a group experience, opinion leaders are considered to be an important factor in determining voting preference (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944, pp. 49–51). This approach is group oriented, it does not take into consideration the personal attitudes and values in determining the voting behavior. The indicators that are important for this approach are socio-economic status, residence and the group to which they belong. From this point of view, it is possible to say that the sociological approach focuses on political parties and groups rather than voters.

Lazarsfeld and others argue that the culture of coexistence is a very effective factor in the voting behavior of individuals. According to them, spouses and children who share the same house, individuals living in the same neighborhood, colleagues who share the same office or factory follow each other's preferences and are influenced by those preferences (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944, p. 140). This influence also occurs in the voting behavior of

individuals. In this way, it is argued that many other demographic features may facilitate estimation of voting behavior. In addition, since sociological approach reduces the basic motivation behind voting behavior to the thesis of belonging to a group, it considers voting behavior as a collective action. his approach assumes that individuals may tend to vote due to a sense of obligation according to the norms of society or sub-groups (Chapman & Palda, 1981, p. 530). Therefore, this approach suggests that the relationship between the party and the group is the determinant of the voting behavior rather than the voter-party relationship. In other words, according to Columbia School, social cleavages play a decisive role in determining voting behavior, and the religious, ethnic and professional differences of voters constitute the main source of social divisions.

On the other hand, the sociological approach suggests that emotions are also effective in voting behavior (Bartolini & Mair, 2007). According to this, two emotional phenomena such as “fear or anxiety” and “enthusiasm” can have different levels of effect on voting behavior. Based on this proposition, it is said that as anxiety or fear increases, the voters’ search for information increases and their preferences may differ. In contrast, enthusiasm is also regarded as an effective form of emotion on voting behavior. According to this approach, if people do not worry, they rely on the usual voting habits and do not change their preferences easily (Cottam et al., 2004, p. 139; Marcus & MacKuen, 1993).

The method of sociological approach continues to be used extensively for voting behavior studies even today. However, today, the formation of many new indicators that shape voting behavior, the transformation of individuals and society with the effect of technology and globalization began to reduce the validity of the assumptions of this approach. Particularly in many countries, the gradual decline in partisanship and loyalty to political parties undermines the propositions of this approach. Again, the proposition of the sociological approach that mass media and political campaigns have no significant effect on the voting behavior loses its validity with the introduction of technology and especially new media.

**Table 10. Factors accepted by sociological model in voting behavior**

Social Cleavages	Religious Loyalty	Social Class
Socio-economic Status	Residence	Ethnic Group
Group Membership	Family	Opinion Leaders

Source: (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944)

### **2.2.1.2. Social Psychological Approach (Michigan School)**

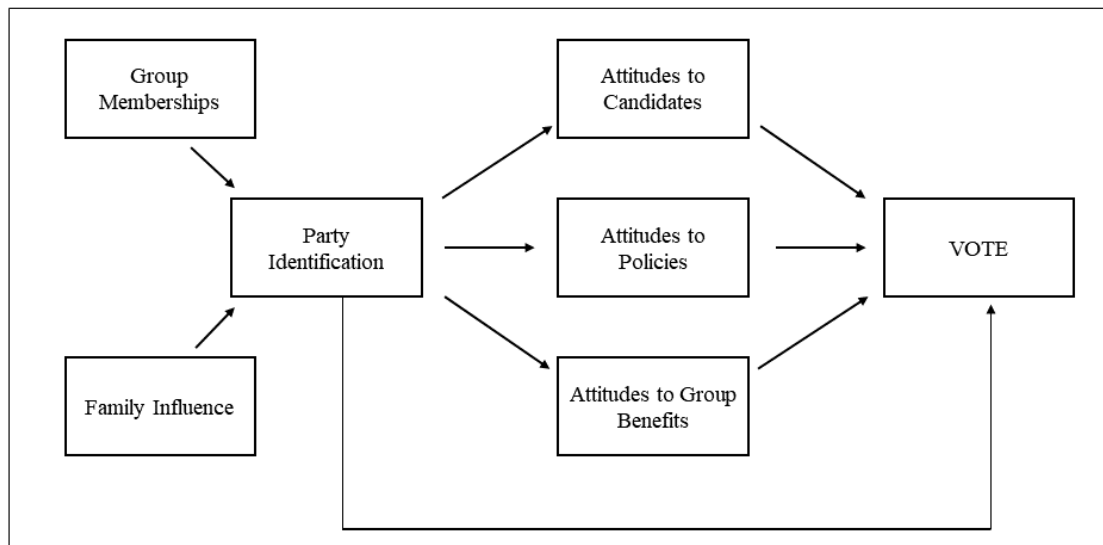
The socio-psychological approach was developed in the 1950s by Angus Campbell and accompanying University of Michigan researchers. The pioneering work of this approach is the work “the American Voter” (1960), put forward by Campbell and others. Also known as the Michigan School in literature, this approach places great emphasis on psychological tendencies as a determinant of voting behavior, and especially on proximity to the party. According to Michigan School, the most prominent feature in voters’ voting behavior is identification with the party. According to this approach, the main motivation behind identifying with the party is the influence of the family and social circle in which the individual belongs (Campbell et al., 1960, pp. 146–147).

Although the socio-psychological approach does not reject all the propositions of the sociological approach, it places the individual, not the groups, at the center of voting behavior. As a matter of fact, it is understandable that Michigan School makes voter-oriented propositions when it is considered that socio-psychological approach is put forward as a reaction to sociological approach. The main feature of the work of Campbell and other researchers, the pioneer of this approach, is that they associate voting behavior with the complex elements of voter’s motivation. The elements of motivation are identification with the party, subject and candidate partisanship.

The socio-psychological approach is also referred to in the literature as the party-identification model because it accepts the sympathy and commitment of the voter to a party as one of the main indicators of voting behavior. The basic assumption of the researchers that proposes the party identification model is that the partisan preferences of voters are shaped by various psychological elements. These psychological elements usually affect individuals before they reach the age of voting and lead them to a political quest. This orientation ultimately results in identification with a party and reflects the social circle of individuals (Campbell et al., 1960, pp. 146–167). In this way, party loyalty becomes stronger over time and continues almost for life (Akgün, 2007, p. 8).

The party-identification model, which focuses on individuals rather than groups, is based on the assumption that the political socialization process of individuals starting from their childhood is significantly effective. According to this approach, political attitudes and ideological orientations gained as a result of political socialization process are decisive in voting behavior. Therefore, this approach accepts that voting behaviors are realized as a

result of partisan interaction (Garzia, 2011, p. 704). On the other hand, socio-psychological approach assumes that identification with the party has a fixed structure and is not sensitive to the effects of political campaigns.



**Figure 3. Socio-psychological model of voting**

Source: Harrop & Miller, 1987

Another important aspect that Campbell and other researchers add to the voting behavior literature is that they classify voters as candidate-oriented, party-oriented, and issue-oriented (Campbell et al., 1960). According to this classification, candidate-oriented voters are concerned with the personal characteristics of candidates, while party-oriented voters care about the position of the political party. Subject-oriented voters, on the other hand, analyze the differences of both candidates and parties on political issues (Campbell et al., 1960, pp. 169–171).

### **2.2.1.3. Economic Approach (Rational Choice Model)**

The Economic Approach (also known as the Rational Choice Model) is the voting behavior approach proposed by Anthony Downs in 1957. According to this approach, since individuals know their own interests, they vote for them by evaluating the appropriate candidate or party (Downs, 1957). This approach largely ignores sociological and psychological factors, arguing that individuals make their own choices based on the information they have (Achen, 1992, p. 198). In the rational choice model, voters have a high degree of autonomy over their decisions. This autonomy can lead them to compare

information from reliable sources with their own information and make choices that contradict their party identities (Bartle, 2001, p. 26).

The rational choice model assumes that the only purpose of voters is interest maximization, which is defined as material interest. In the rational choice approach, evaluation of the past is an important indicator for voting behavior. As a matter of fact, according to this approach, voters evaluate the past and vote. This behavior is called retrospective voting in the literature (Akgün, 2004, pp. 78–79). According to this, voters calculate how much they have benefited from the past actions of their ruling parties and make political choices in this direction. Consequently, according to this approach, voters are result-oriented and deal with concrete elements beyond promises. Such an emphasis on past actions also renders the election campaigns of political parties that have failed to satisfy voters.

Since the rational choice model is an economically based approach, it is built on the methods and assumptions of neoclassical economic theory. Accordingly, the candidates / parties who have made successful promises and fulfilled their promises in the past are more preferable, considering that the most beneficial candidate or party is supported. In this sense, the policies, actions and performance of candidates and parties in the past form the basis of voting behavior according to this approach. However, the model of rational choice proposes a system based on the mutual benefit of the voter and the political party. According to this approach, voters vote for parties that meet self-interest and expectations, not by pressure or suggestion.

On the other hand, one of the most important contributions of the rational choice model to the literature of voting behavior is that it introduces the concept of issue voting. Issue voting means that having knowledge of the current political situation shapes voting behavior. The approach to voting on the issue, also described by Campbell and others as subject partisanship, is based on three basic criteria. Accordingly, voters should have an opinion on a particular political issue, know the opinion of the government on the subject being focused on, and be able to identify differences in the parties' approach to the issue. Furthermore, the voters' level of interest in a particular political issue also depends on the importance of the issue in their own lives. Therefore, the issue voting approach requires that the level of knowledge and interest of the voter be at a high level (Apsler & Sears, Margolis, and Omura, as cited in Akyüz, 2014).

Another important contribution of the rational choice model to the literature of voting behavior is the strategic voting approach. According to this approach, voters favor the party or candidate who benefit them more than any other party or candidate. On the other hand, according to this approach, voters can vote for the candidate who is likely to win in order to prevent the unpopular / unwanted party or candidate if the party or candidate they support is not likely to win the election. This attitude of the voter can be considered as an effort to optimize the benefit in the absence of benefit maximization, which forms the basis of the rational choice model (Van der Straeten et al., 2016).

The rational choice model is generally associated with the idea of responsibility of the voter. In other words, the voter holds the party/parties in power responsible for any positive or negative situation that has occurred or will occur in the country. Accordingly, the voter decides to support the ruling party/parties again if their economic performance is good. However, if its economic performance is poor, then the voter will hold the party/parties in the government accountable and withdraw their support in the next elections. On the other hand, voters of the ruling party or parties usually vote for past actions, while voters of the opposition parties mostly vote for future policy promises (Akgün, 2007; Fiorina, 1978).

On the other hand, in the rational choice model, the effect of emotional bonds or social circle is almost never taken into account in voting behavior. This approach, which excludes group influence, departs from the party identification model. In addition, although the rational choice model uses demographic data such as socio-psychological approach, it takes this data into account more in cost-benefit analysis. On the other hand, although the effects of economic motivations assumed by the rational choice model on voting behavior are generally accepted, the fact that this model limits the definition of benefit and purpose to material interest and ignores the non-economic factors and symbolic values that are important in politics leads to criticism of this approach (Dalton & Wattenberg, 1993).

### **2.2.2. Voting Behavior in Turkey: A Literature Review**

When the literature on voting behavior is reviewed, it is observed that a large number of studies have been done for many years. In contrast, literature on voting behavior in Turkey is very limited. There are very few studies on voting behavior in Turkey until the 2000s. However, there has been a significant increase in the number of studies on voting behavior in Turkey in recent years.

There are several reasons of boundedness of the voting behavior literature in Turkey. One of the most important reasons is the delay in Turkey's transition to multi-party period. So much so that Turkey was able to achieve transition to multi-party period in 1946. Hence, it is not possible to evaluate voting behavior in this kind of environment where are no elections. Another important reason of boundedness of voting behavior literature in Turkey is related to the developments after the process of the transition to multi-party period. Turkey has faced many anti-democratic actions until the early 2000s. During this period there were many social, political and economic problems and military coups were carried out against governments. These developments delayed the transition to democracy and prevented the consolidation of democracy. There has also been serious debate about the legitimacy of the elections. Both the conditions in the country in the past and the inability to institutionalize democracy have resulted in boundedness of academic studies on elections and voters.

The first important study on voting behavior in Turkey was authored by Nermin Abadan-Unat in 1966. Abadan-Unat analyzed the voting behavior in the 1965 general elections in her study. Abadan-Unat found that the political disorganization, economic instability and military coup were the most determinant factors on voting behavior in the 1965 elections (Abadan-Unat, 1966). Later, "Türk Seçmenlerinin Oy Verme Eğilimlerinde İktisadi Sebeplerin Önemi Üzerinde Bir Deneme" (*A Paper on the Importance of Economic Factors Behind Voting Behaviors of the Turkish Electorate*) was put forward by Tuncer Bulutay and Nuri Yıldırım in 1969. In this study, Bulutay and Yıldırım analyze the impact and weight of economic factors, as opposed to the view that social values are effective in voting behavior of Turkish voters (Bulutay & Yıldırım, 1969). These studies were followed by the book "Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey", written by Ergun Özbudun in 1975 and translated into English in 1976. This study is extremely important for the literature on voting behavior in Turkey. In this study, Özbudun analyses the effects of social changes and transformations in Turkey on political participation. The study focused on the effects of different variables such as socio-economic change, social cleavages, regional variations, urban-rural differences on the political participation of voters in Turkey (Özbudun, 1976).

Another important study of voting behavior in Turkey before 2000 was conducted by Ersin Kalaycıoğlu in 1983. Kalaycıoğlu compares the data about Turkey and different countries in his comprehensive study "Karşılaştırmalı Siyasal Katılma: Siyasal Eylemin

Kökenleri Üzerine Bir İnceleme” (*Comparative Political Participation: A Review of the Origins of Political Action*). According to Kalaycıoğlu, demographic and economic factors influence voting behavior at various levels. However, the primary factor determining the voting behavior in Turkey is the social circle and emotions (Kalaycıoğlu, 1983). In his work “Elections and Party Preferences in Turkey: Changes and Continuities in the 1990s” (1994), Kalaycıoğlu focused on the factors that determine voting behavior in Turkey in the 90s. Kalaycıoğlu concluded that gender, formal education, religiosity and ideological tendencies are the most determining factors on the voting behavior in Turkey. In another study, Kalaycıoğlu (1999) stated that deepening cultural and ideological differences is more effective in voting behavior than socio-economic factors. He also cited traditional religious and ethical values as other factors affecting voting behavior in Turkey. Kalaycıoğlu emphasized that the determining factors on voting behavior in the early and late 90s did not change much, and he mentioned about a polarization trend in Turkish politics.

Çarkoğlu (1997) stated that economic problems and conditions were an important dynamic on party preferences in Turkey between 1950-1995. Çarkoğlu stated that voters made retrospective evaluations on macro-economic factors such as unemployment and inflation. He was noted that voters decided to punish or reward the ruling party (or parties) as a result of this evaluation. Therefore, the economic performance of the ruling party is extremely important for voters in Turkey. For example, Çarkoğlu (2008) stated that the economic performance was effective on the Justice and Development Party’s success in the election and he suggested that economic pragmatism was more important for the AK Party voters than ideological predispositions.

Kalaycıoğlu (2000) stated that factors such as social and political organization membership, gender roles, age, political interest – knowledge and education level were the most effective factors on political behavior in Turkey between 1961 and 1980. He also emphasized that traditional values are more effective on political participation than socio-economic status. In another part of the study, Kalaycıoğlu and Sarıbay (2000) focused on factors that determine party support of primary school children. Accordingly, they concluded that there was a close relationship between children and parents’ party preferences. At this point, the influence of the father has been emphasized in particular. Another important result achieved is that the entourage has an effect on party preferences. It has also been mentioned that the mass media has an effect on party support of primary school children.



“Politics, Parties, and Elections in Turkey” (2002), edited by Sabri Sayarı and Yılmaz Esmer, is one of the most important studies on voting behavior in Turkey. In this study, where voting behavior is analyzed in different dimensions, Sayarı stated that there are vote shifts between parties. But he noted that these shifts are only between parties on the right and left of the political spectrum. In the second part of this work, which frequently references the center-periphery approach of Şerif Mardin (1973), Tachau described the problem of Turkish democracy as the lack of an absolute civilian authority over the military. He stated that this question is one of the most important dynamics shaping Turkish politics (Tachau, 2002, pp. 33–54). In the fifth part of the study, Esmer focuses on the “Protest Vote” and “Rise in Islamism” hypotheses when analyzing the 1995 and 1999 elections. Accordingly, he emphasized that social and economic inequalities and the rise of religiosity and religious values were determinants on voter preferences. In contrast, secularism is an important factor for voters on the center-left. From this point of view, attention was drawn to the continuing impact of the ideological cleavage such as left-right on voting behavior (Esmer, 2002, pp. 91–114). In the seventh part of the study, Güneş-Ayata and Ayata focused on the ethnic and religious bases of voting and they noted the increasing trend of ethnic-religious voting in Turkey. The various social and political cleavages in Turkey (Alevi-Sunni Muslims, Turks-Kurds, Islamists-secularists) have been emphasized to be very effective on voter preferences (Güneş-Ayata & Ayata, 2002, pp. 137–155).

Analyzing the political participation of young people between 1999 and 2003, Erdoğan (2003) stated that young people are not very keen on political and civic participation. At this point, he stated that the determinant of the political participation of young people is the stance on the face of political system. When the support of youth for the political system increases, conventional political participation (voting, party membership, etc.) and the political career trend increases. In contrast, unconventional participation (strikes, boycotts, protests, etc.) increases when the youth’s stance against political system increases.

Kalaycıoğlu and Çarkoğlu (2007) analyzed the voting behavior in the general elections held on 3 November 2002 from a historical perspective in the context of change, transformation and continuity. Kalaycıoğlu and Çarkoğlu emphasized that the lack of continuity, persistent high volatility and ever-increasing fragmentation of electoral preferences that emerged in the period before the 2002 general elections were due to the dominance of the military regime and its effects on Turkish politics. Kalaycıoğlu and

Çarkoğlu applied to different approaches such as Michigan school, tactical voting, retrospective voting while analyzing voting behavior in the 2002 general election. Accordingly, they analyzed the effects of factors such as religiosity and xenophobia along with ideological cleavages. They also highlighted that voter anger was a prominent factor in the 2002 general election. They pointed out that retrospective economic evaluations of the voters were highly effective on voting behavior.

Akgün (2007) stated that economic factors such as inflation had a significant effect on voters in Turkey in his study “Türkiye’de Seçmen Davranışı, Partiler Sistemi ve Siyasal Güven” (*Voting Behavior in Turkey, Party Systems and Political Trust*). However, he pointed out that the strongest impact on voters in Turkey is related to political factors. In this context, referring to the Michigan school, Akgün emphasized that party identification was very effective on Turkish voters. He also suggested that cleavages such as rural-urban and conservatism-secularism along with ideologies were also influential in voting behavior.

Çaha (2008) pointed out that economic problems such as “unemployment and inflation” are determinants in the voting preferences in Turkey. He noted that voters prioritize a solution-oriented approach rather than ideological factors in party preferences. On the other hand, Çaha and Guida (2011) noted that the identity factor has increased the impact level on party preferences in Turkey in recent years. They emphasized that ethnic and religious factors are very effective especially on voters in the Eastern and Southeastern regions of Turkey. Like many researchers, Çaha and Guida referred to the center-periphery approach and pointed out that the cultural cleavages are one of the most determinant factors in voter preferences. Another important issue that Çaha and Guida are focusing on is political communication. While Çaha and Guida highlighted effects of communication tools such as television, printed media and the internet on voter behavior, they noted that parties in Turkey still prefer traditional methods in electoral campaigns.

Kıbrıs (2011) noted that voters were very sensitive about terrorism while she was analyzing the effects of terrorism on voting behavior in the 1991 and 1995 elections in her study. Accordingly, Kıbrıs has been stated that voters tend to blame the government in the face of the troubles caused by terrorism. Kıbrıs claims that terrorism has increased the orientation to right-wing parties. However, she highlighted the government would lose votes at a remarkable rate if the terrorism-related issues were repeated like the 90s.

Çarkoğlu (2012) emphasized that the center and periphery divide is a significant determinant in the preferences of Turkish voters in his work based on the center-periphery approach of Şerif Mardin. He suggested that ethnic and religious differences were determinant on the voting preference of the “periphery”, while education was determinant on the voting preference of the “center”. In addition, he noted that voters’ ideological predisposition still had an impact on their party preferences.

Erdoğan and Uyan-Semerci (2017) suggest that factors such as gender, economic status and living in rural or urban areas play a more important role in political participation than being young or old. Erdoğan and Uyan-Semerci emphasized the concept of “collective identities” in this study which analyzed the political participation of young people in Turkey. They concluded that collective identities are a more determinant factor in political participation than age.

Kayaoğlu (2017) stated that lifestyle is the most determinant factor in young people’s voting behavior. In addition, she pointed out that factors such as being female, having higher levels of education and residing in an urban area increase abstention of young people on political participation. On the other hand, Kayaoğlu stated that young people tend to vote economically and that they want to punish the government for economic troubles, either individually or in group.

Erişen (2018) stated that the political behavior of the voters in Turkey was heavily influenced by the collective emotions that emerged in the face of past developments. According to Erişen, emotions such as anger, fear, and enthusiasm clearly drive voters’ political attitudes and voting preferences. On the other hand, another important issue Erişen focuses on is charisma and leadership. According to Erişen, leadership charisma has a great importance on the voting behavior in Turkey. In addition, he highlighted that the political turmoil experienced by Turkey in recent years has made emotions an important factor in public opinion and political behavior.

## CHAPTER III: FINDINGS and RESULTS

### 3.1. Findings About Demographic Information

#### 3.1.1. Sex

Of the 400 respondents who participated in the survey on voting behavior of Generations X, Y and Z, 195 were men and 201 were women. Four participants did not want to answer the question of sex.

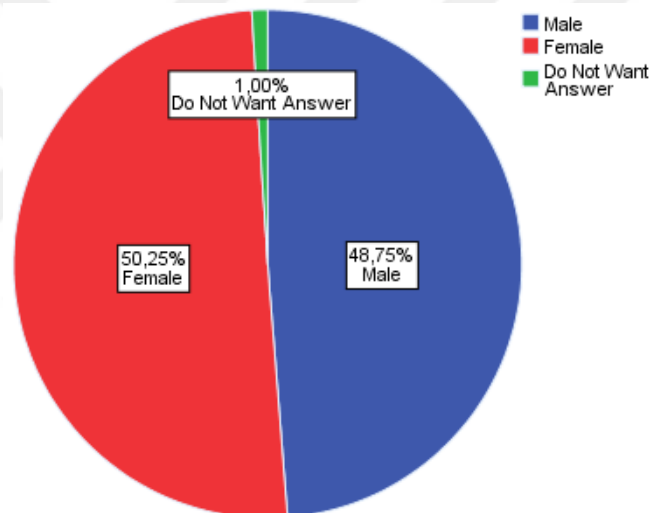


Figure 4. Sex distribution of participants

#### 3.1.2. Year of Birth and Generation Distribution

Of the 400 respondents who participated in the survey, 29.3 percent were members of Generation X, 46.8 percent were members of Generation Y and 24 percent were members of Generation Z. Since generation distribution in the research universe is taken into account in sample selection, the number of Generation Y participants in the survey is higher. However, in the survey form applied during the research, the other two generations other than Generation Z are divided into different groups according to their birth years. The goal

here is to find significant differences within the generations by considering certain periodic balances.

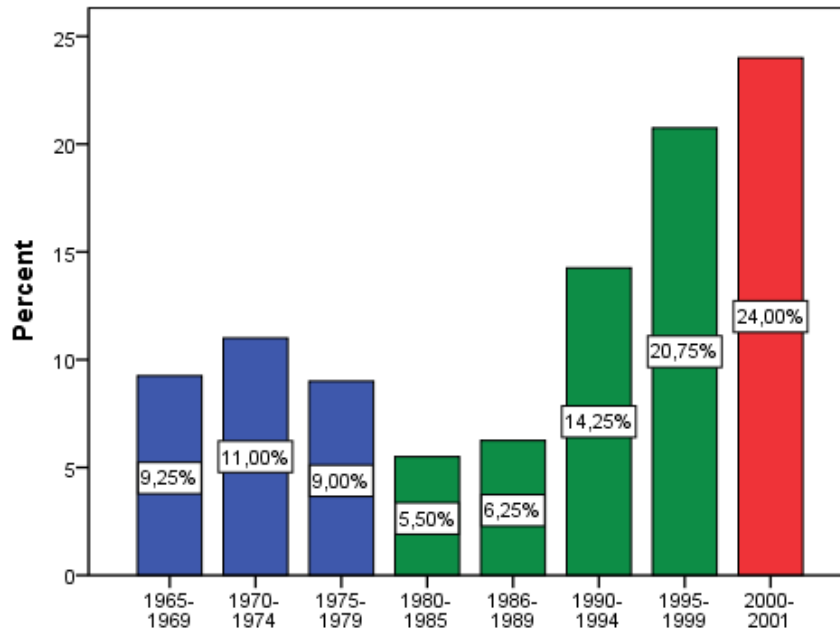


Figure 5. Year of birth and generation distribution of participants

### 3.1.3. Marital Status

Of the participants in the study, 58.5 percent were single while 38.5 percent were married. The remaining three percent are divorced or widowed. The reason for the high proportion of bachelors among the participants is that all members of Generation Z and most of the late-period Generation Y are single.

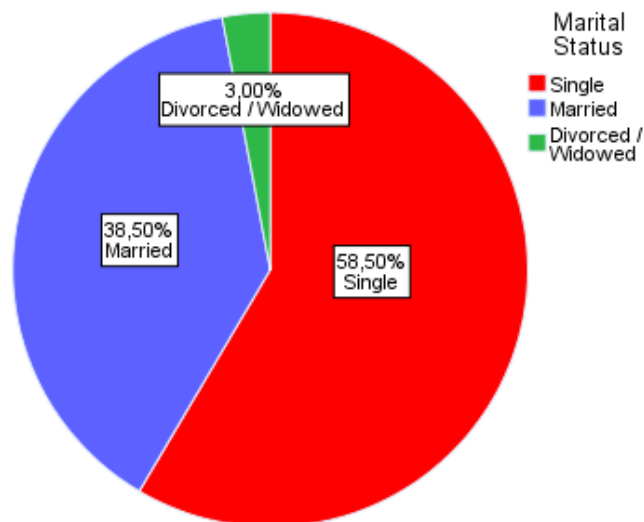


Figure 6. Marital status distribution of participants

### 3.1.4. Education Level

A significant number of the participants in the study were high school graduates, undergraduate graduates and undergraduate students. The proportion of participants at these three levels of education amounts to 63.8 percent of the sample. However, considering the target group to which the research is applied, the proportion of participants with graduate education levels is also remarkable. Accordingly, 17.3 percent of respondents have a level of postgraduate education. The total proportion of primary and secondary school level participants is 7.1 per cent.

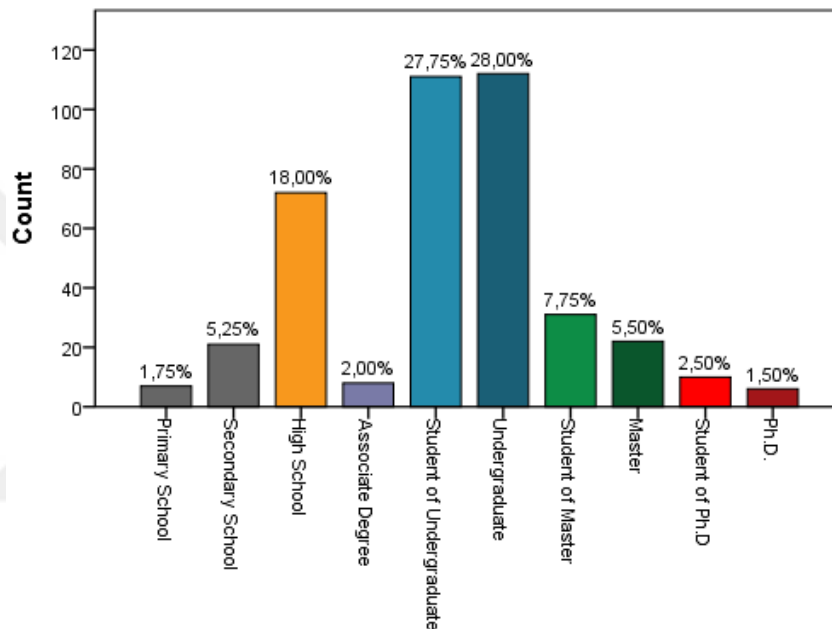
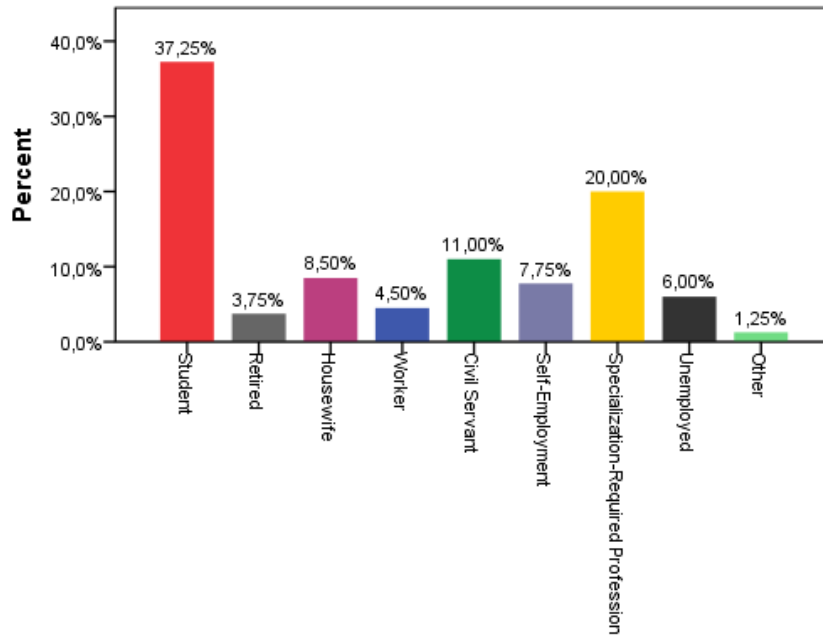


Figure 7. Education level distribution of participants

### 3.1.5. Profession

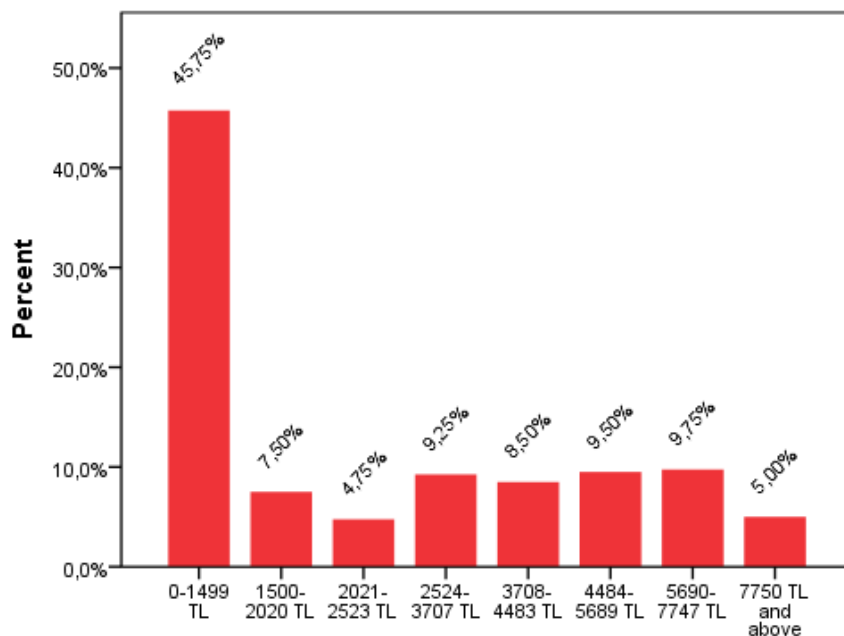
Among the participants in the study, the most intense group was the students, with a rate of 37.3 percent. Especially when the participants in Generation Z and the late-period Generation Y are taken into account, it is understandable that this ratio is high. On the other hand, the second most intensive group of participants is the “specialization-required professions” group. The intensity of this group is also understandable considering that a significant proportion of the participants have undergraduate and graduate education levels in the Education Level table. The data on other professional groups other than these two groups are given in detail in the table.



**Figure 8. Profession distribution of participants**

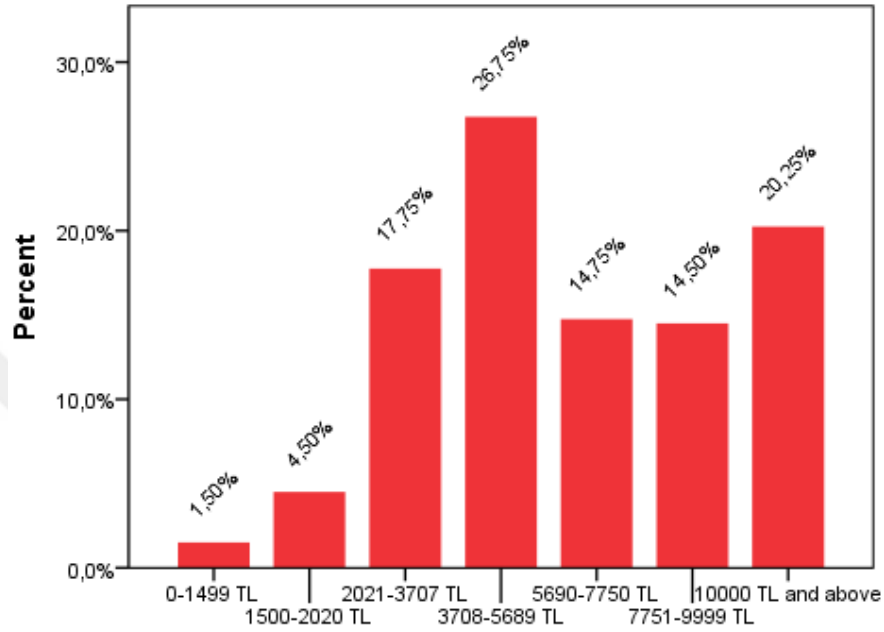
### 3.1.6. Personal Income & Family Total Income

The highest density was in the range of “0-1499 TL” in the distribution of monthly personal income levels of the participants in the study. The main reason for the concentration in this value is that the members of Generation Z and late-period Generation Y who participated in the research are still students. However, the housewives and unemployed participants were included in the “0-1499 TL” range as they had no monthly personal income. In other income groups other than the lowest income group, there is a balanced distribution.



**Figure 9. Monthly personal income distribution of participants**

On the other hand, another finding of income level is related to the total monthly income of the families. In contrast to Monthly Personal Income, this finding has the least density at the bottom two income levels. In this income level finding, the most intense group is the “3708-5689 TL” range. The distribution of all other income-level groups appears to be balanced, except for the two lowest income-level groups.



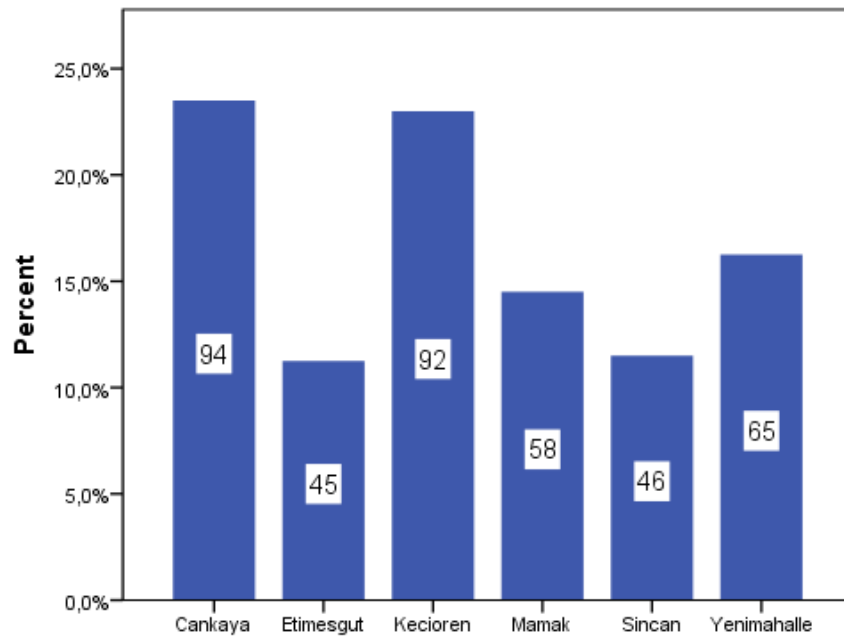
**Figure 10. Monthly family total income distribution of participants**

On the other hand, the options presented to the participants in the income level section in the survey form are compiled according to the official data. Accordingly, the groups other than the lowest income level were classified according to minimum wage, lowest civil servant pension, lowest civil servant salary, average civil servant salary, middle-senior civil servant salary and senior occupational salaries, respectively.

### **3.1.7. District of Residence**

While the sample was determined in this study, six districts of Ankara with a population of over 500 thousand were included in the study. In the selection of these districts, population and past election results were taken into account. From here, it is aimed to reach participants from every ideology and every party. However, since the average of the election results of these districts also reflects Ankara overall, the survey revealed significant findings in the name of voting behavior in the election of these districts.





**Figure 11. District of residence of participants**

The population data of the districts were analyzed from TurkStat before the survey was applied to the participants. Taking into account district populations and generational distributions, it is aimed to reach a certain number of participants from each district. This is the reason for the distribution difference between the districts when looking at the data in the table above. This difference is consistent with the reliability of the sample selection.

### **3.2. Findings on Personal Values, Attitudes and Perceptions of Generations**

In this study, which analyzed generational voting behavior comparatively, it is thought that personal values, attitudes and perceptions have an effect on voting behavior. In this respect, participants were asked what political ideology or opinion they felt close to or belonged to. Also, participants were asked whether they had to dissimulate their political ideology or views in the past. In another question, the participants were asked that ethnic identity they defined themselves. Also, in another question organized by the Likert scale, participants were asked how their ideology, ethnic identity, religious beliefs and the residence they lived in had an impact on voting behavior. The purpose of these questions posed to the participants is to test the validity of the research hypotheses given in the order below. Accordingly, the hypotheses related to this part of the research and the validity test results of these hypotheses are as follows:

**H1: Personal values, attitudes and perceptions vary across generations.**

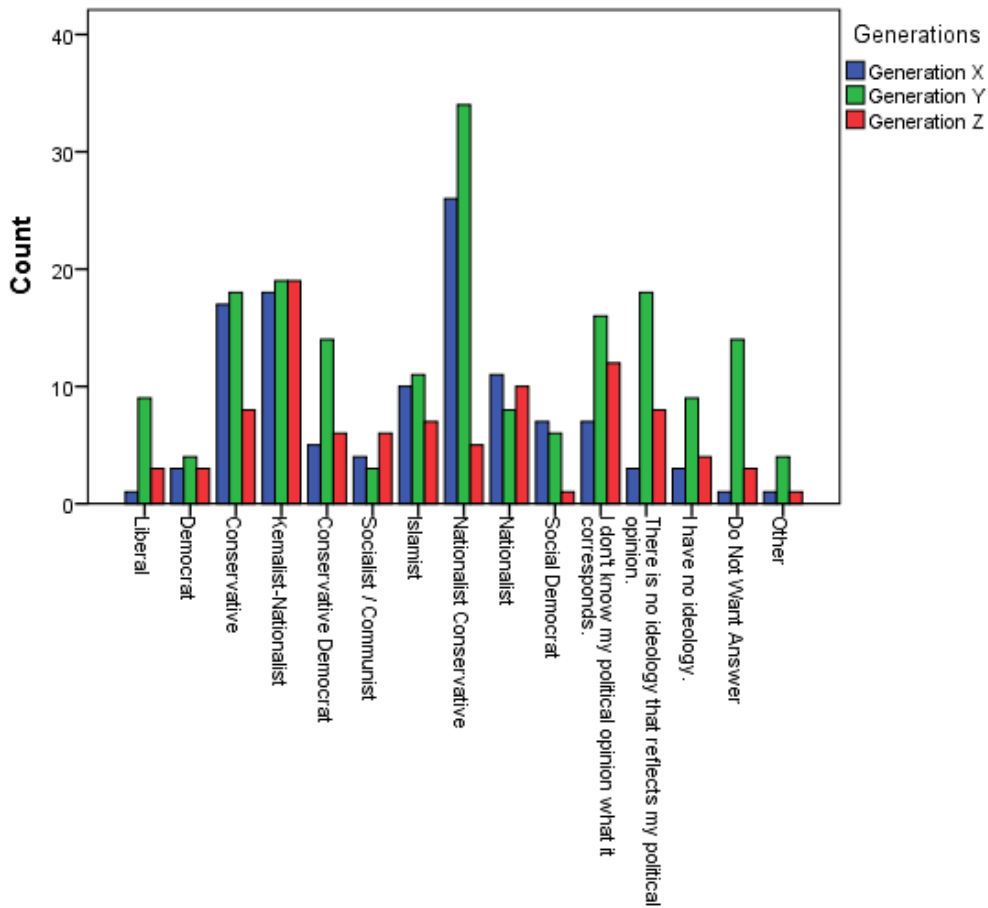
- *H1-a: Political ideologies / opinions vary across generations.*

In order to test this sub-hypothesis, chi-square testing was conducted between generations and political ideology / views that felt close or belonging. The value “,004 < ,050”, which came out according to the analysis, revealed that the relationship between generations and their ideology / opinion is significant.

**Table 11. Chi-Square tests of H1-a**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>52,110</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>,004</b>
Likelihood Ratio	57,508	28	,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	,910	1	,340
N of Valid Cases	400		

After the hypothesis was proved to be valid in Chi-square analysis, it was continued with the analysis of the difference between generations. Accordingly, it is possible to interpret the answers given by the participants as follows.



**Figure 12. Political ideology / opinion of participants**

The above table shows that when each generation is analyzed within itself, there is a significant difference between the ideology or opinions with which each generation is concentrated. The most concentrated ideology of Generation Z has been identified as “Kemalist-Nationalist”, while the most concentrated ideology of Generations X and Y has been identified as “Nationalist Conservatism”. Another data that stands out in the analysis relates to the level of ideological uncertainty of Generation Z. Accordingly, the total proportion of the members of Generation Z who answer “I don’t know my political opinion what it corresponds.”, “There is no ideology that reflects my political opinion.”, “I have no ideology.” and “Do Not Want Answer.” to the relevant question is 28.1 percent. A quarter of the participants in Generation Z were found to be unable to match themselves with any ideology or opinion. On the other hand, considering the average data of three generations, conservatism is an important factor.

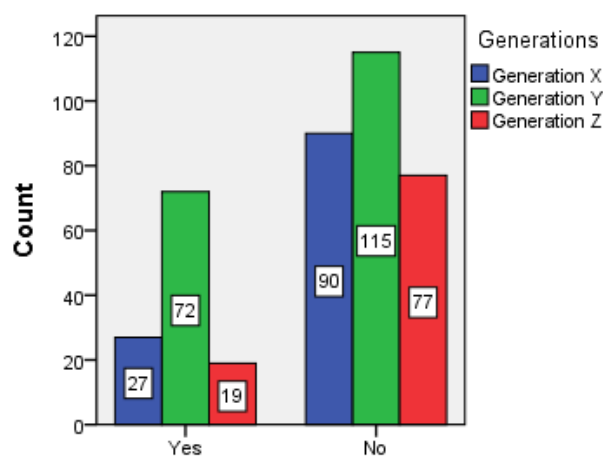
- *H<sub>1-b</sub>: The attitude of dissimulation of political ideology / opinion varies across generations.*

Chi-square analysis was applied to test the validity of the relevant hypothesis, and the results showed that the hypothesis was valid ( $,001 < ,050$ ).

**Table 12. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>1-b</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>13,959</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>,001</b>
Likelihood Ratio	14,066	2	,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	,074	1	,786
N of Valid Cases	400		

Upon understanding that the hypothesis is valid, the resulting data was analyzed.



**Figure 13. The attitude of dissimulation of political ideology / opinion**

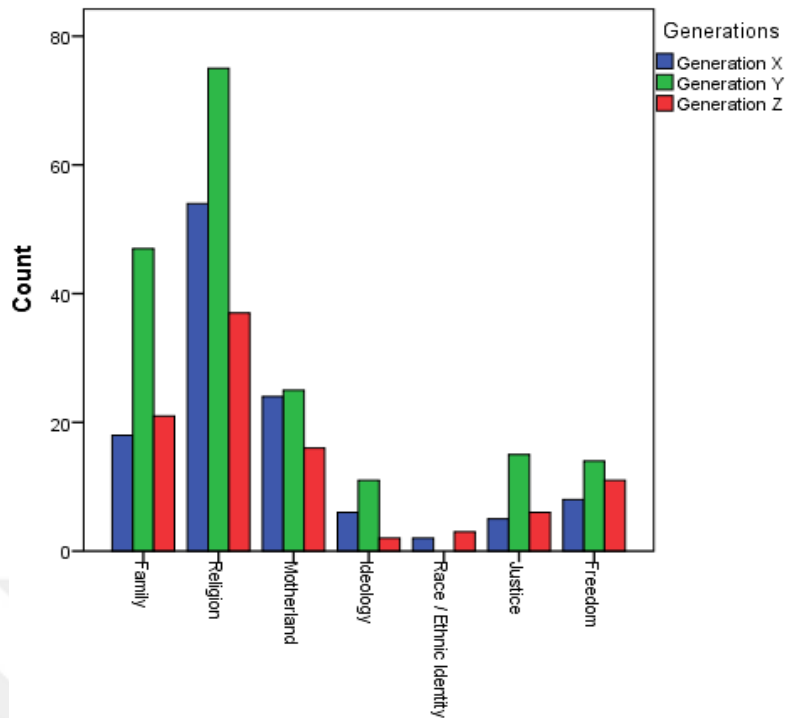
When the table above is analyzed, the tendency of Generation Y to dissimulate is remarkable. According to this, 38.5 percent of Generation Y participants stated that they had to dissimulate their political ideology or opinions. When this trend is tested between the Generations X and Z, it is not encountered at such a high rate. According to the data, approximately one-quarter of Generation X and one-fifth of Generation Z tend to dissimulate their ideology or views.

- *H<sub>1-c</sub>: Indispensable values vary across generations.*

In order to test the validity of the hypothesis, a chi-square analysis was performed and the results revealed that the hypothesis was valid. However, an important point should be noted here. The question regarding this hypothesis was asked on three separate levels, and participants were asked to rank values they could not give up from 1 to 3. The relationship that is significant in this context is seen in the answers given about the second value. However, it is important to analyze the first and third value responses here as well. Because this is important in terms of determining the difference between generations.

**Table 13. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>1-d1</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>16,757a</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>,159</b>
Likelihood Ratio	18,701	12	,096
Linear-by-Linear Association	,517	1	,472
N of Valid Cases	400		

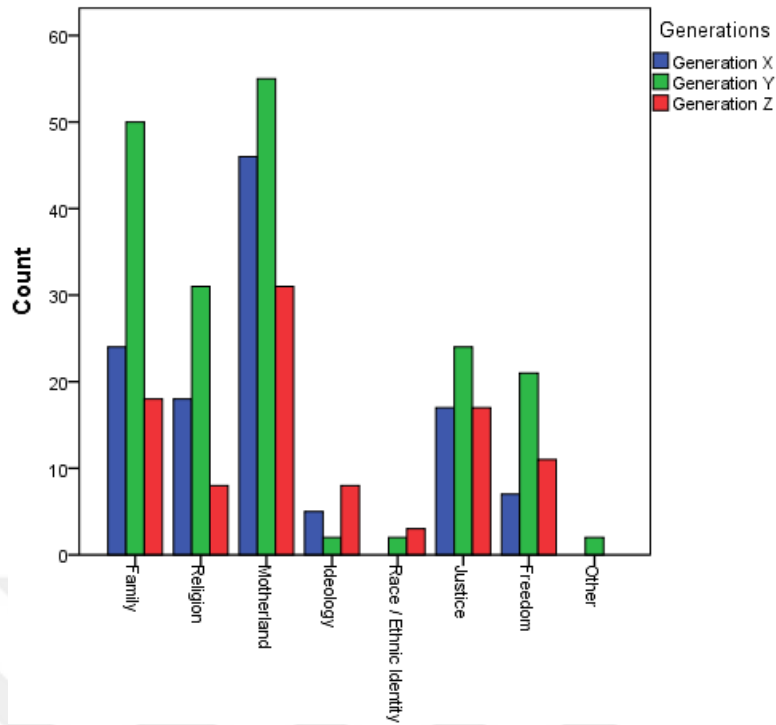


**Figure 14. The first indispensable value of participants**

Responses to the indispensable first value are concentrated in the “religion” option in all three generations. However, it has been identified as the least dense group Generation Z, which sees religion as indispensable. The most intense group that sees religion as indispensable is Generation X. The other two groups that are concentrated in this section are “family” and “motherland”.

**Table 14. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>1-a2</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>26,524<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>14</b>	<b>,022</b>
Likelihood Ratio	28,508	14	,012
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,333	1	,068
N of Valid Cases	400		

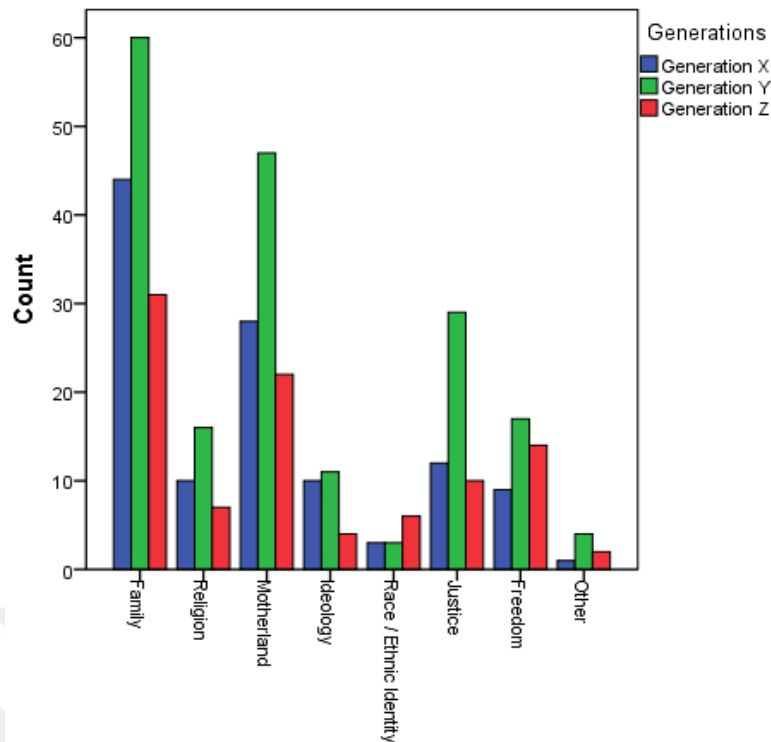


**Figure 15. The second indispensable value of participants**

Responses to the indispensable second value are concentrated in the “motherland” option in all three generations. Here, the second most intense group stood out as “family”, while the third most intense group was seen as “religion”.

**Table 15. Chi-Square tests of  $H_{1-d3}$**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>13,018<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>14</b>	<b>,525</b>
Likelihood Ratio	12,351	14	,578
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,780	1	,095
N of Valid Cases	400		



**Figure 16. The third indispensable value of participants**

The answers to the indispensable third value are concentrated primarily on the “family” option. The other two options for which responses have intensified are “homeland” and “justice”, respectively. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the values of “justice” and “freedom” stand out in the responses to the second and third values.

- ***H<sub>1-d</sub>: The impact level of ideology, ethnic identity, religious belief and residence on voting behavior varies across generations.***

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test the validity of the relevant hypothesis. According to the results from the ANOVA test, there was no significant difference between generations and the level of influence of ideology and ethnic identity on voting behavior. However, there is a significant difference between generations and religious beliefs and the level of influence of the living place on voting behavior.

**Table 16. One-way analysis of variance test for H<sub>1-e</sub>**

ANOVA		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Ideology)	Between Groups	2,453	2	1,227	1,204	,301
	Within Groups	404,307	397	1,018		
	Total	406,760	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Ethnic Identity)	Between Groups	3,412	2	1,706	1,076	,342
	Within Groups	629,298	397	1,585		
	Total	632,710	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Religious Belief</b> )	Between Groups	25,825	2	12,912	6,324	<b>,002</b>
	Within Groups	810,565	397	2,042		
	Total	836,390	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Residence / District / Neighborhood</b> )	Between Groups	25,488	2	12,744	9,980	<b>,000</b>
	Within Groups	506,949	397	1,277		
	Total	532,438	399			

As can be seen in the table, since the level of influence of ideology and ethnic identity was not significant, the analysis was continued with religious belief and place factors. In this respect, homogeneity testing was applied to these factors which were determined to have a significant difference and the factors were observed to be homogeneous.

**Table 17. Test of homogeneity of variances in H<sub>1-e</sub>**

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Religious Belief)	4,572	2	397	,011
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Residence / District / Neighborhood)	4,540	2	397	,011

After the factors were found to be homogeneous, Tukey analysis from Post Hoc tests were used to determine the source of the difference.



**Table 18. Multiple comparisons of dependent variables of H<sub>1-e</sub>**

**Tukey HSD**

<b>Dependent Variable</b>	<b>(I) Generations</b>	<b>(J) Generations</b>	<b>Mean Difference (I-J)</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Religious Belief)	Generation Z	Generation Y	<b>-,4898*</b>	,1794	,018
		Generation X	<b>-,6816*</b>	,1968	,002
	Generation Y	Generation Z	<b>,4898*</b>	,1794	,018
		Generation X	-,1919	,1684	,491
	Generation X	Generation Z	<b>,6816*</b>	,1968	,002
		Generation Y	,1919	,1684	,491
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Residence / District / Neighborhood)	Generation Z	Generation Y	-,1630	,1419	,484
		Generation X	<b>-,6440*</b>	,1556	,000
	Generation Y	Generation Z	,1630	,1419	,484
		Generation X	<b>-,4809*</b>	,1332	,001
	Generation X	Generation Z	<b>,6440*</b>	,1556	,000
		Generation Y	<b>,4809*</b>	,1332	,001

The results of this analysis showed a significant difference between the effect of religious belief factor on voting behavior of Generation Z and the effect of Generations X and Y on voting behavior. It was concluded that the factor of religious belief had a less decisive effect in Generation Z than in the other two generations.

Another factor to which Tukey analysis is applied is the effect of the place being experienced on voting behavior. According to the results obtained from this analysis, a significant difference was observed between the effect of place factor on the voting behavior of Generation X and the effect of Generation Y and Generation Z on voting behavior. Accordingly, it was concluded that the location factor experienced had a more decisive effect in Generation X than in the other two generations.

**3.3. Findings About Level of Interest in Politics**

In this study, where the voting behavior of the generations is analyzed comparatively, it is thought that the level of interest in politics has an effect on the voting behavior. Accordingly, the participants were asked to what level of their interest in politics. Sub-hypotheses were developed in order to analyze this main hypothesis in more detail. Accordingly, the participants were asked about the country issues they considered important and they were asked to rank these issues from 1 to 3 in order of importance. Another question

posed to the participants concerns the level of trust with the institution. In this question, the most trusted institutions were asked and they were asked to rank these institutions from 1 to 3 according to their trust level. In another question, the participants were asked about the policy areas that should be given priority and they were asked to rank these policy areas from 1 to 3. The purpose of these questions is to test the validity of the research hypotheses listed below. According to this, the hypotheses related to this part of the research and the validity test results of these hypotheses are as follows:

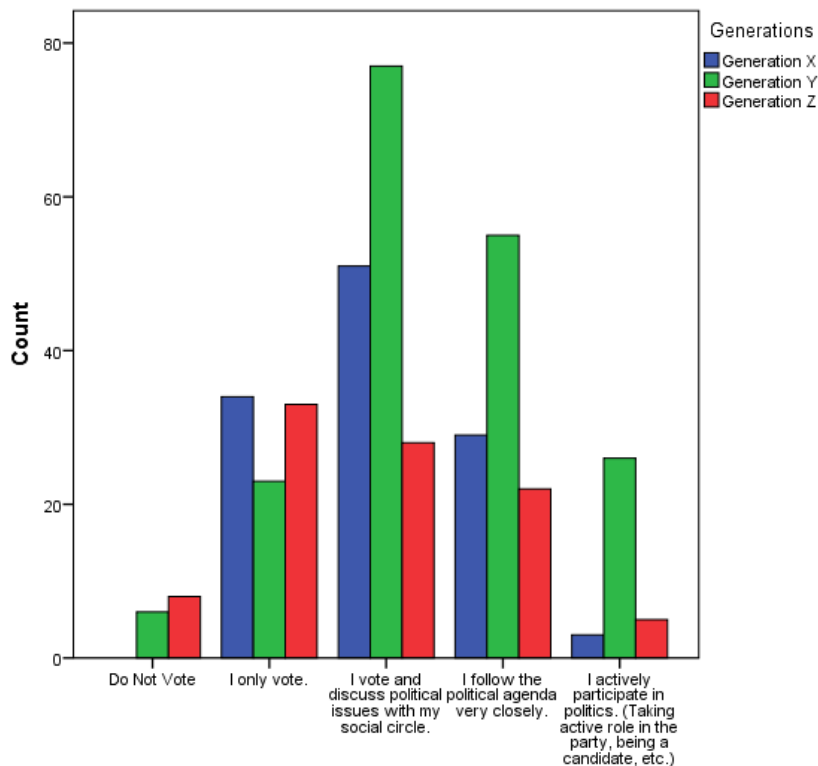
**H2: The level of interest in politics varies across generations.**

Chi-square analysis of the hypothesis was conducted and it was concluded that there was a significant relationship between the generations and their level of interest in politics. (p=,000).

**Table 19. Chi-Square tests of H2**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>44,380<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>8</b>	<b>,000</b>
Likelihood Ratio	48,563	8	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,123	1	,289
N of Valid Cases	400		

After the existence of a significant relationship was determined, the data was analyzed.



**Figure 17. Participants' level of interest in politics**

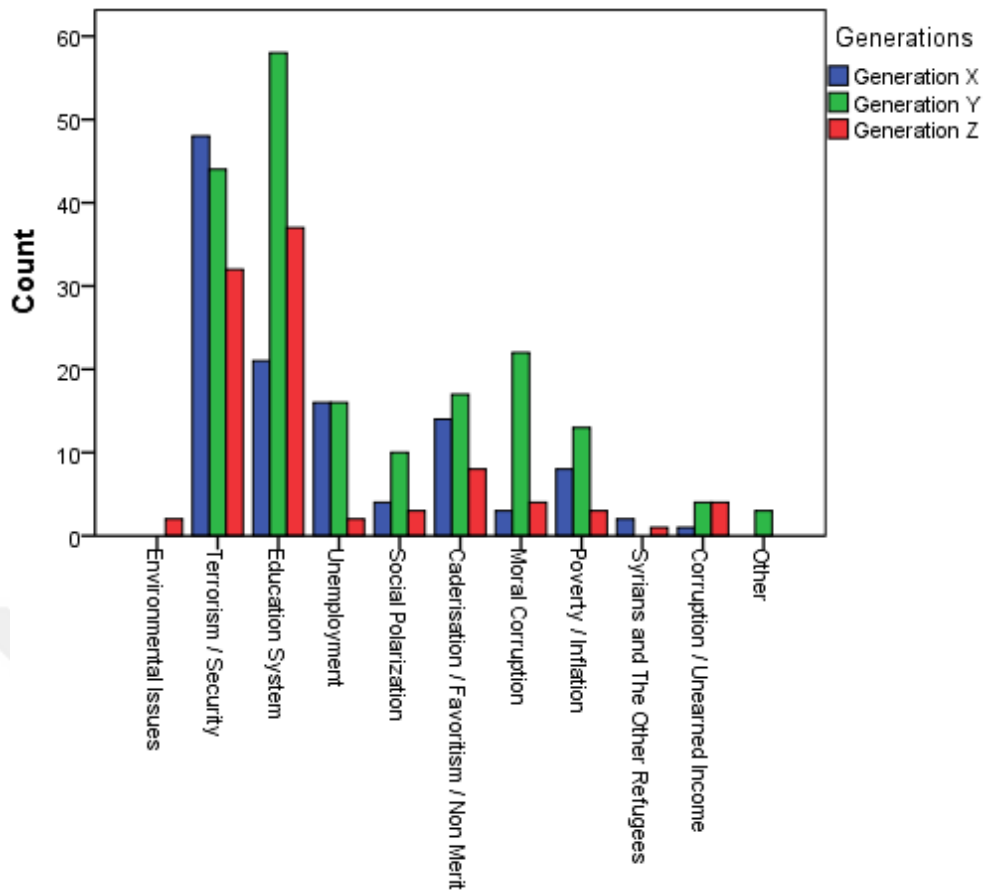
When the data in the table is analyzed carefully, it is seen that Generation Z has the lowest level of interest. On the other hand, the generation with the highest level of interest in politics is seen as the Generation Y. Another important result is that no non-voting participant is encountered in Generation X. This reveals that the level of participation in the elections in Generation X is higher than the Generations Y and Z. When the total values of all generations are averaged, it is seen that the interest levels of the participants are concentrated at the middle and middle-high level.

- *H<sub>2-a</sub>: The major problems of the country vary across generations.*

Chi-square analysis was performed to test the validity of the hypothesis and the result showed that the hypothesis was valid. However, it is necessary to mention an issue here. The question regarding this hypothesis was asked to the participants at 3 different levels and the participants were asked to rank the problems they care about from 1 to 3. In this context, the significant relationship is seen in the answers given to the first and third questions. Here, however, it is important to analyze the answers to the second question. This is important in terms of revealing the difference between generations.

**Table 20. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>2-a1</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>52,835<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>20</b>	<b>,000</b>
Likelihood Ratio	57,079	20	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	,048	1	,827
N of Valid Cases	400		

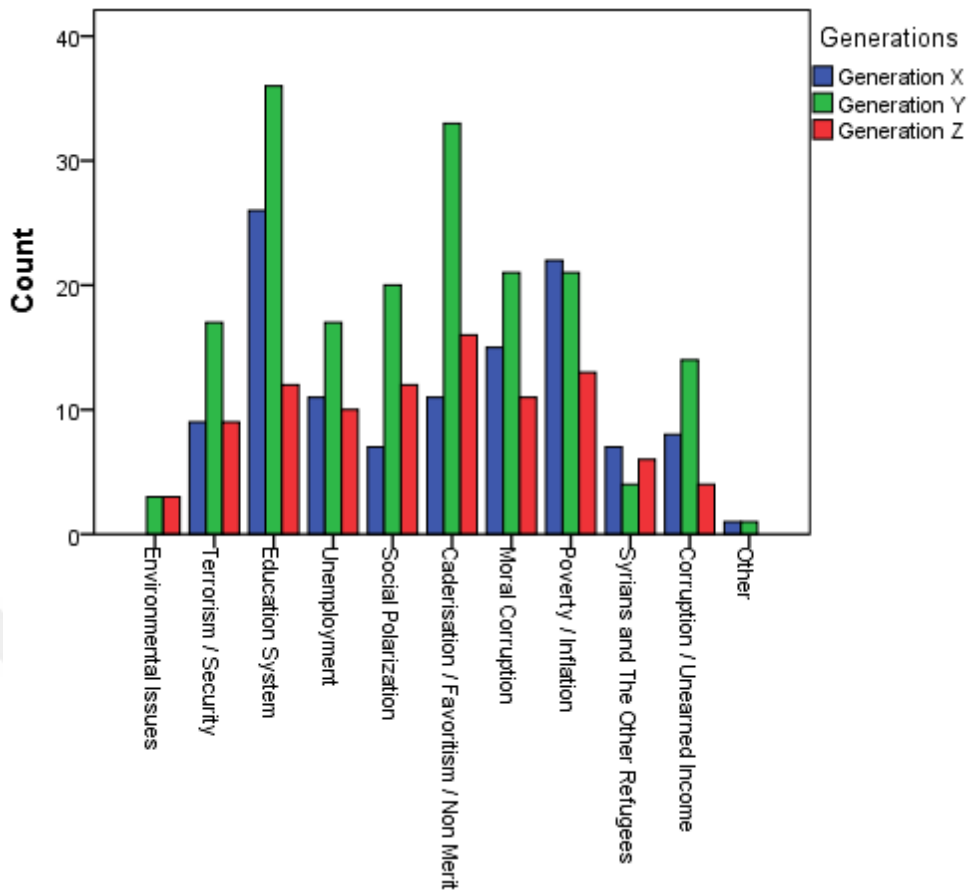


**Figure 18. The first most important problem of Turkey according to participants**

There is a significant difference between Generation X and Generations Y and Z in the responses to the first problem. Accordingly, Generation X sees the first problem as “terrorism / security”, while the first problem that Generations Y and Z care about is identified as “education system”. However, the second option where Generation X is concentrated is seen as the “education system”, while the second option where Generation Y and Generation Z are concentrated is identified as “terrorism / security”. These results reveal that “education” and “terrorism / security” issues are seen as the two most important issues for all three generations. The third option was “Caderisation / Favoritism / Non-Merit”, which all three generations cared about at a close level.

**Table 21. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>2-a2</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>21,417<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>20</b>	<b>,373</b>
Likelihood Ratio	24,139	20	,236
Linear-by-Linear Association	,793	1	,373
N of Valid Cases	400		



**Figure 19. The second most important problem of Turkey according to participants**

The distribution of the responses to the second issue is different from each other within each generation. The importance of “education” and “terrorism / security” options in the first problem area led the participants to different problem areas in this section. In this context, when the total values of all generations are averaged, it is observed that concentration occurs in “Caderisation / Favoritism / Non-Merit”, “Moral Corruption” and “Poverty / Inflation” options.

**Table 22. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>2-a3</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>40,492<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>20</b>	<b>,004</b>
Likelihood Ratio	40,693	20	,004
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,127	1	,289
N of Valid Cases	400		

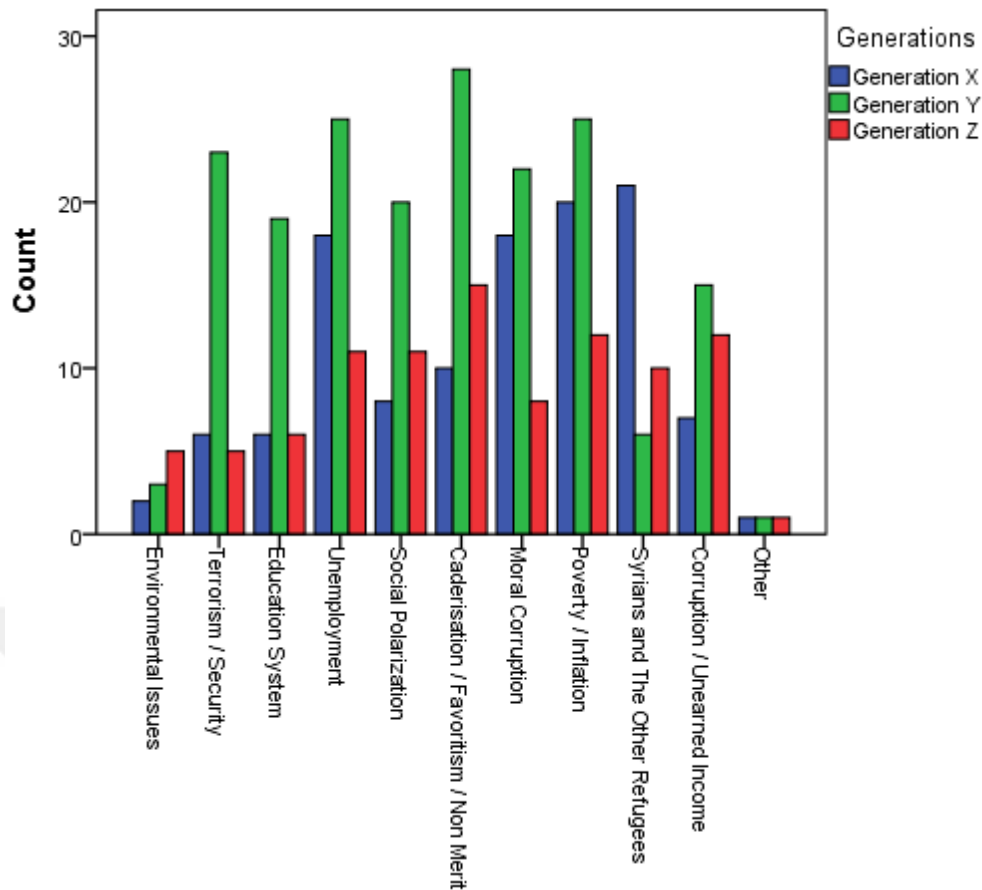


Figure 20. The third most important problem of Turkey according to participants

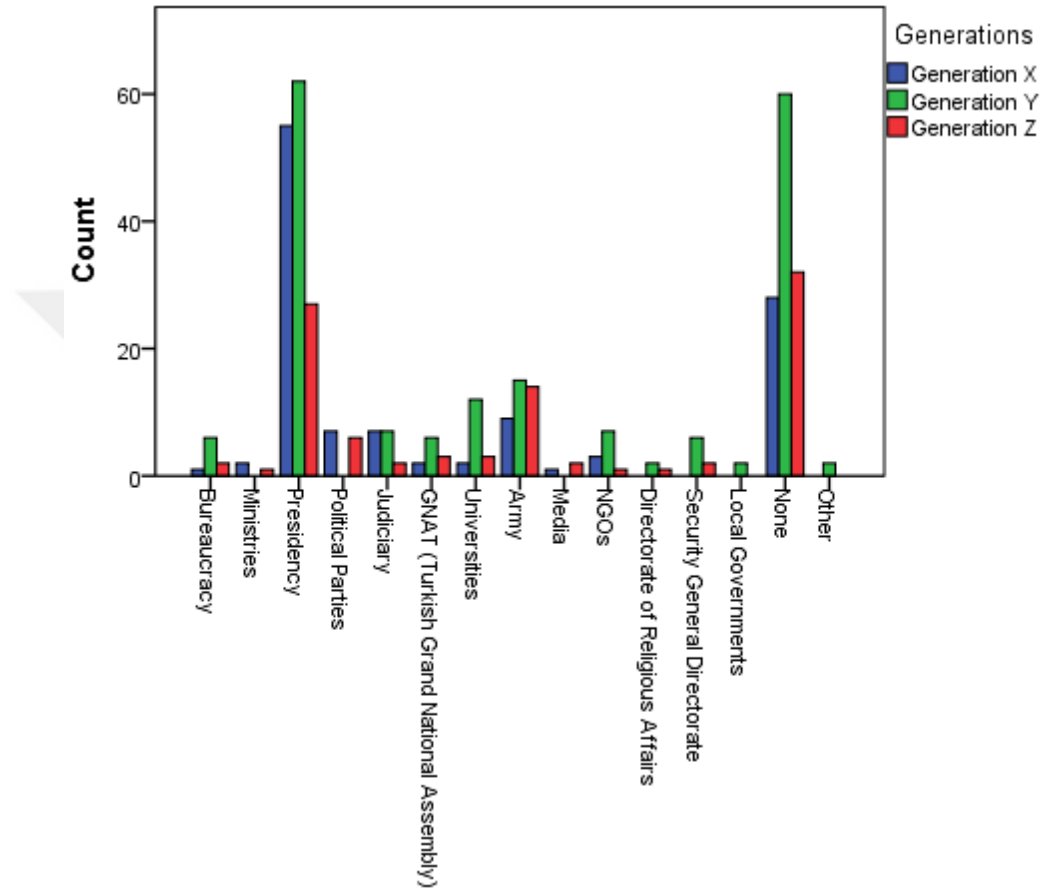
In the responses to the third issue, the problems that each generation cares about within itself have shown a balanced distribution in different areas. The important point here is that the answers given by the Generation X to the third important problem are mostly focused on economy-oriented problems. Another issue that stands out in the third problem area is that Generations X and Z are concentrated in the “Syrians and the Other Refugees” option.

- ***H<sub>2-b</sub>: Confidence level to institutions varies across generations.***

Chi-square analysis was performed to test the validity of the hypothesis and the result showed that the hypothesis was valid. However, it is necessary to mention an issue here. The question related to this hypothesis was asked to the participants at 3 different levels and the participants were asked to rank the trust institutions from 1 to 3. In this context, the significant relationship is seen in the answers given to the first and third institutions. However, it is also important to analyze the responses of the second institution. This is important in terms of revealing the difference between generations.

**Table 23. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>2-b1</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>49,430</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>,007</b>
Likelihood Ratio	60,961	28	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	6,652	1	,010
N of Valid Cases	400		

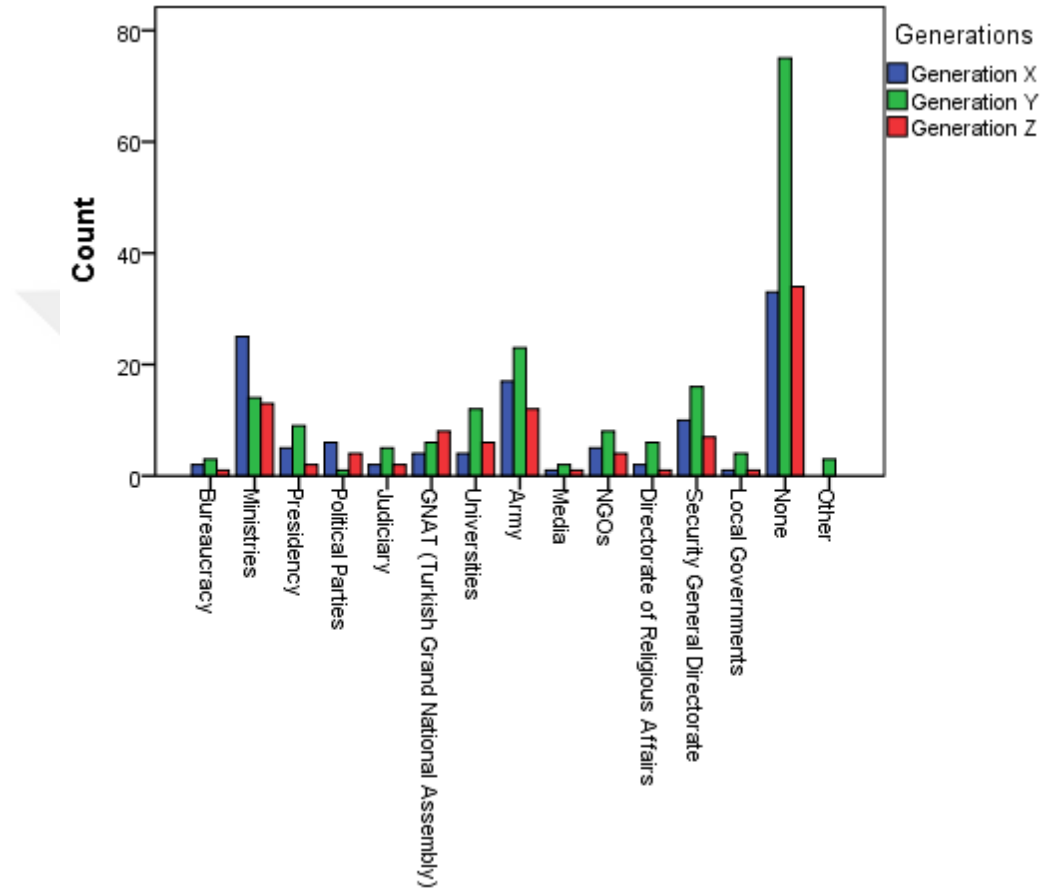


**Figure 21. Participants' confidence level to institutions (first institution)**

It is seen that responses to the first trusted institution are concentrated in the “Presidency” and “None” options in all three generations. However, at the level of trust in the “Presidency” institution, it appears that Generation X and Generations Y and Z are separated from each other. As a matter of fact, the “None” option was preferred more than the “Presidency” option at the level of trust of the members of Generation Z. However, at the level of trust in institutions of Generation Y members, the preference rate of “None” and “Presidency” options is very close to each other. On the other hand, the third option most concentrated in all three generations has been identified as “Army”. Especially considering that the trust rate for the “Presidency” institution in Generation Z is 28.1 percent, it is quite remarkable that the trust rate for the “Army” institution is 14.6 percent.

**Table 24. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>2-b2</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>33,558</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>,216</b>
Likelihood Ratio	35,518	28	,155
Linear-by-Linear Association	2,709	1	,100
N of Valid Cases	400		



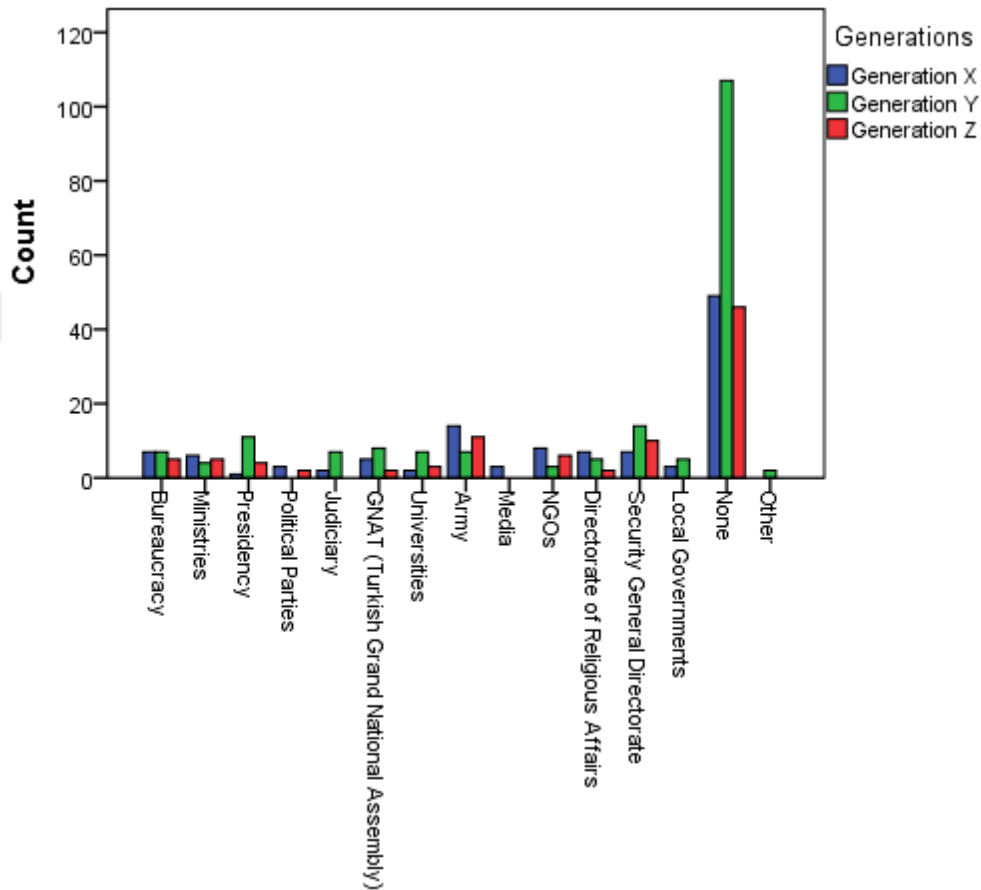
**Figure 22. Participants' confidence level to institutions (second institution)**

Responses to the second trusted institution are concentrated in “Ministries”, “Army” and “None” in all three generations. Here all three generations have chosen for the “None” option in the most intensive way and this shows that the level of trust of individuals in institutions is extremely low, regardless of the generational distinction. Since the “Army” option is seen as a relatively reliable institution in the first institution field, it is understandable that it is found to be reliable in this field as well. What draws attention here is the partial concentration seen in the “Ministries” option. It has been observed that the individuals who provide the concentration here prefer the “Presidency” institution in the first trusted area.



**Table 25. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>2-b3</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>52,119</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>,004</b>
Likelihood Ratio	60,999	28	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	,284	1	,594
N of Valid Cases	400		



**Figure 23. Participants' confidence level to institutions (third institution)**

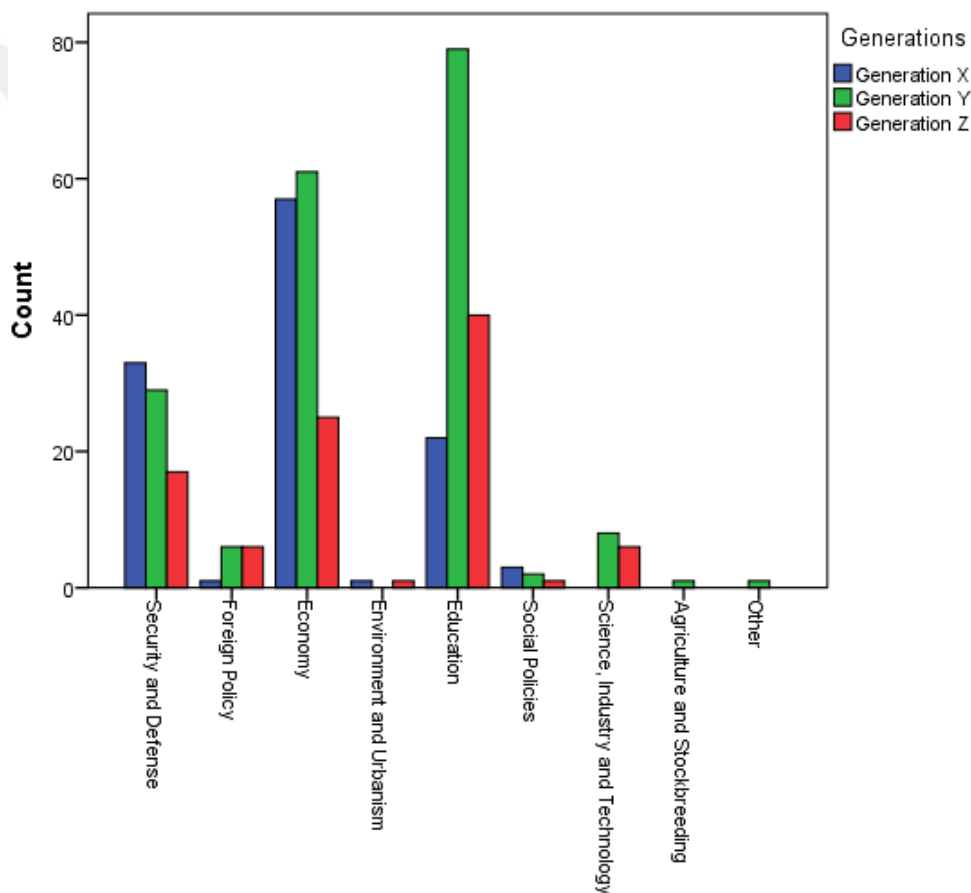
Responses to the third trusted institution are concentrated in the “None” option by almost 50 percent in all three generations. Other options with limited concentration in all three generations have been identified as “Army” and “Security Directorate General”. However, it should be noted that the preferred rates of these two institutions remain below 10 percent. The most important point about the third trusted institution is that half of the participants do not trust any institution regardless of generation.

- *H<sub>2-c</sub>: Priority policy areas vary across generations.*

Chi-square analysis was performed to test the validity of the hypothesis and the result showed that the hypothesis was valid. The question related to this hypothesis was asked to the participants at 3 different levels and the participants were asked to rank the policy areas they prioritized from 1 to 3.

**Table 26. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>2-c1</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>43,921</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>,000</b>
Likelihood Ratio	50,289	16	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	14,313	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	400		



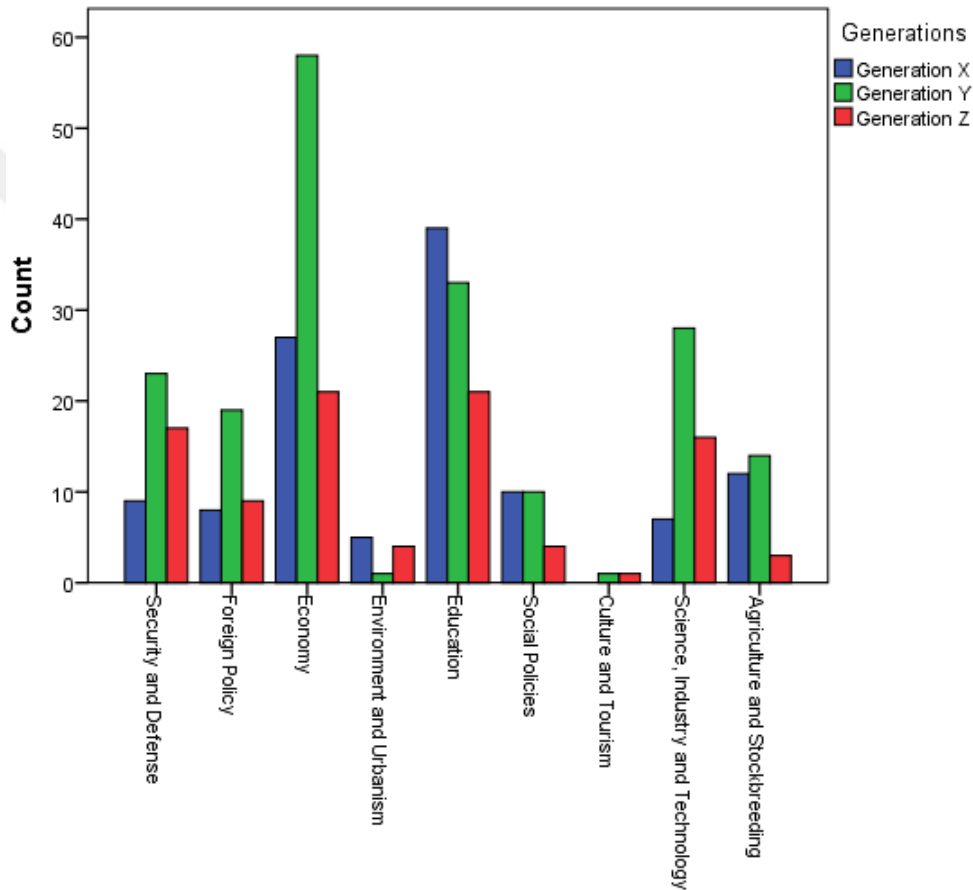
**Figure 24. The first priority policy areas**

It is seen that the answers given to the first policy to be prioritized focus on separate options in Generation X and on separate options in the Generations Y and Z. Accordingly, while members of Generation X first think that “Economy” and “Security and Defense” policies should be given priority, members of Generations Y and Z think that “Education” and “Economy” policies should be given priority. Each generation has the first three places

in the mentioned policy areas, but the first priority of these policy areas is different according to the generations.

**Table 27. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>2-c2</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>33,997</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>,005</b>
Likelihood Ratio	36,335	16	,003
Linear-by-Linear Association	1,760	1	,185
N of Valid Cases	400		

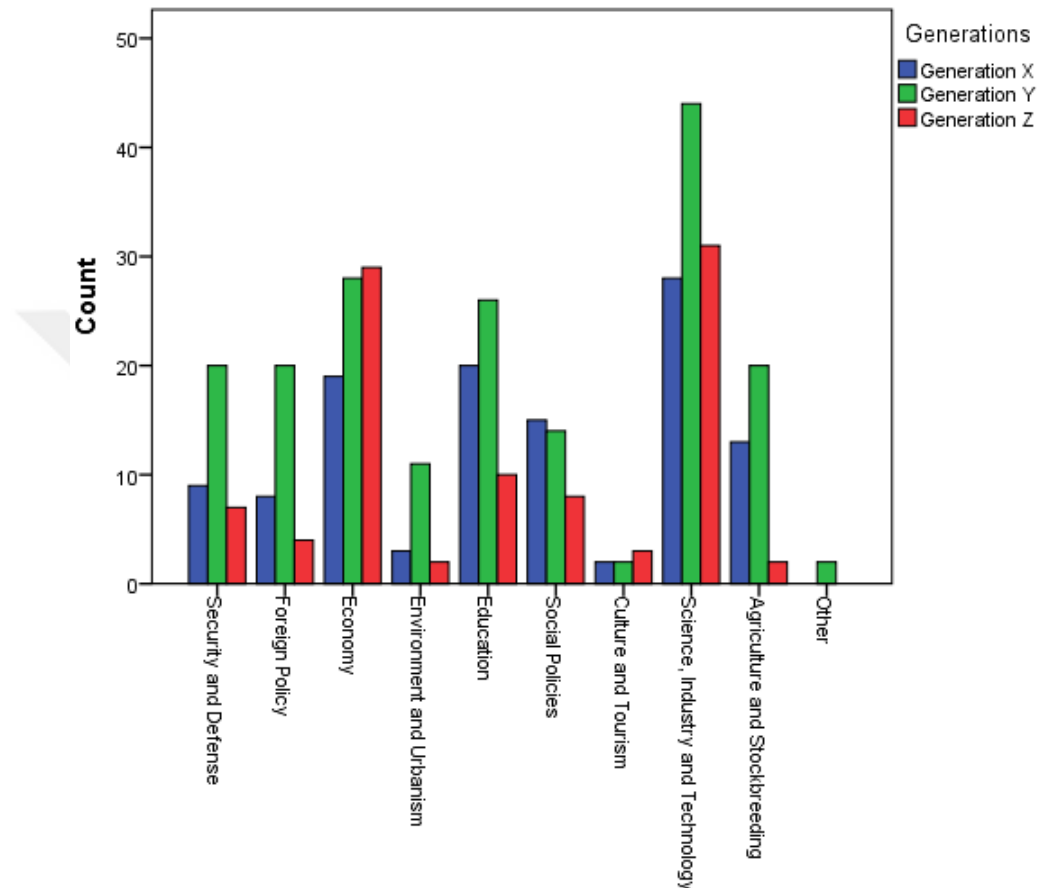


**Figure 25. The second priority policy areas**

In this context, the members of Generation X think that “economy-oriented” policies should be given priority, whereas Generations Y and Z think that “Science, Industry and Technology” policies should be given priority. In addition, it should be noted that the policies of “Education”, “Security and Defense” and “Economy” are clustered at the top priority in this field.

**Table 28. Chi-Square tests of H<sub>2-c3</sub>**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Pearson Chi-Square</b>	<b>32,699</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>,018</b>
Likelihood Ratio	34,681	18	,010
Linear-by-Linear Association	,772	1	,380
N of Valid Cases	400		



**Figure 26. The third priority policy areas**

Responses to the third policy to be prioritized are concentrated on the first priority in the “Science, Industry and Technology” option in all three generations. The rate of the members of Generation Z choosing this option is over 30 percent. Another important point here is that more than 30 percent of the members of Generation Z prefer “Economy” policies. Given that this area is the “third priority policy area”, it is understood that members of Generation Z do not yet have much economic concerns.

### **3.4. Findings on The Impact of Family and Social Circle on Voting Behavior**

The family and social circle are thought to have an effect on voting behavior in this study, in which the voting behavior of generations is analyzed comparatively. In this context, participants were asked what level of influence their family members and social circles had on voting behavior. In the survey, this question was prepared using a five-point Likert scale and participants were asked to rank the impact level of each family member or group from 1 to 5 as “1-Strongly Disagree” and “5-Strongly Agree”. The purpose of these questions posed to the participants is to test the validity of the research hypotheses given in the order below. According to this, the hypotheses related to this part of the research and the validity test results of these hypotheses are as follows:

**H<sub>3</sub>: The impact level of family and social circle on voting behavior varies across generations.**

- **H<sub>3-a</sub>:** The impact level of father on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>3-b</sub>:** The impact level of mother on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>3-c</sub>:** The impact level of sibling on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>3-d</sub>:** The impact level of spouse on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>3-e</sub>:** The impact level of entourage on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>3-f</sub>:** The impact level of relatives on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>3-g</sub>:** The impact level of school on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>3-h</sub>:** The impact level of congregations in voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>3-i</sub>:** The impact level of NGOs on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>3-j</sub>:** The impact level of personal decisions on voting behavior varies across generations.

The validity of these hypotheses has been tested through one-way variance analysis (ANOVA) of the collected data. When the data were tested for ANOVA, the p value (significance) for the “sibling” factor, which constitutes only the H<sub>3-c</sub> hypothesis, was greater

than ,050. Accordingly, it was concluded that there was no significant difference between the influence of generations and siblings on voting behavior. Therefore, the relevant hypothesis is considered invalid and the analysis of other valid hypotheses has been continued.

**Table 29. One-way analysis of variance test for H<sub>3-a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j</sub>**

ANOVA		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Father)	Between Groups	19,187	2	9,593	6,472	,002
	Within Groups	552,874	373	1,482		
	Total	572,061	375			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Mother)	Between Groups	32,973	2	16,486	15,499	,000
	Within Groups	391,437	368	1,064		
	Total	424,410	370			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Sibling)	Between Groups	4,072	2	2,036	2,108	,123
	Within Groups	350,540	363	,966		
	Total	354,612	365			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Spouse)	Between Groups	57,278	2	28,639	26,628	,000
	Within Groups	328,034	305	1,076		
	Total	385,312	307			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Entourage)	Between Groups	34,601	2	17,300	16,097	,000
	Within Groups	395,512	368	1,075		
	Total	430,113	370			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Relatives)	Between Groups	11,308	2	5,654	11,182	,000
	Within Groups	184,558	365	,506		
	Total	195,867	367			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (School)	Between Groups	29,062	2	14,531	18,249	,000
	Within Groups	267,540	336	,796		
	Total	296,602	338			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Congregations)	Between Groups	6,493	2	3,247	7,788	,001
	Within Groups	122,142	293	,417		
	Total	128,635	295			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (NGOs)	Between Groups	10,713	2	5,356	7,378	,001
	Within Groups	219,241	302	,726		
	Total	229,954	304			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Personal Decisions)	Between Groups	6,817	2	3,408	4,794	,009
	Within Groups	275,173	387	,711		
	Total	281,990	389			

Homogeneity testing was first applied to the variances that constitute valid hypotheses. According to the resulting values, it was concluded that all other valid hypotheses other than the H<sub>3-f</sub> hypothesis were homogeneous. Accordingly, the homogeneous ones from the variances were analyzed with the Tukey test, while the inhomogeneous ones were analyzed with the Games-Howell test.

**Table 30. Test of homogeneity of variances in H<sub>3</sub> – a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, j**

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Father</b> )	4,088	2	373	,018
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Mother</b> )	16,978	2	368	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Spouse</b> )	45,045	2	305	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Entourage</b> )	5,076	2	368	,007
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Relatives</b> )	2,730	2	365	,067
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>School</b> )	25,645	2	336	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Congregations</b> )	28,670	2	293	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>NGOs</b> )	13,208	2	302	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Personal Decisions</b> )	6,320	2	387	,002

**Table 31. Multiple comparisons of dependent variables of H<sub>3</sub> - a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, j**

Dependent Variable		(I) Generations	(J) Generations	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Father</b> )	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,3118	,1564	,115
			Generation X	,6176*	,1719	,001
		Generation Y	Generation Z	-,3118	,1564	,115
			Generation X	,3058	,1487	,101
		Generation X	Generation Z	-,6176*	,1719	,001
			Generation Y	-,3058	,1487	,101
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Mother</b> )	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,2913	,1329	,074
			Generation X	,7936*	,1462	,000
		Generation Y	Generation Z	-,2913	,1329	,074
			Generation X	,5023*	,1271	,000
		Generation X	Generation Z	-,7936*	,1462	,000
			Generation Y	-,5023*	,1271	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Spouse</b> )	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	-,6758*	,1521	,000
			Generation X	-1,1579*	,1587	,000
		Generation Y	Generation Z	,6758*	,1521	,000
			Generation X	-,4822*	,1358	,001
		Generation X	Generation Z	1,1579*	,1587	,000
			Generation Y	,4822*	,1358	,001
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Entourage</b> )	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,6958*	,1345	,000
			Generation X	,1786	,1472	,446
		Generation Y	Generation Z	-,6958*	,1345	,000
			Generation X	-,5172*	,1271	,000
		Generation X	Generation Z	-,1786	,1472	,446
			Generation Y	,5172*	,1271	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Relatives</b> )	Games- Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	,0188	,0908	,977
			Generation X	-,3714*	,1088	,002
		Generation Y	Generation Z	-,0188	,0908	,977
			Generation X	-,3902*	,0912	,000
		Generation X	Generation Z	,3714*	,1088	,002
			Generation Y	,3902*	,0912	,000

**Table 32. Multiple comparisons of dependent variables of H<sub>3</sub> - a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, j (table in progress)**

Dependent Variable		(I) Generations	(J) Generations	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>School</b> )	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,6252*	,1187	,000
			Generation X	,7298*	,1338	,000
		Generation Y	Generation Z	-,6252*	,1187	,000
			Generation X	,1046	,1170	,644
		Generation X	Generation Z	-,7298*	,1338	,000
			Generation Y	-,1046	,1170	,644
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Congregations</b> )	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	-,0957	,0934	,562
			Generation X	-,3787*	,1030	,001
		Generation Y	Generation Z	,0957	,0934	,562
			Generation X	-,2830*	,0890	,005
		Generation X	Generation Z	,3787*	,1030	,001
			Generation Y	,2830*	,0890	,005
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>NGOs</b> )	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,3114*	,1212	,029
			Generation X	-,1053	,1334	,710
		Generation Y	Generation Z	-,3114*	,1212	,029
			Generation X	-,4167*	,1158	,001
		Generation X	Generation Z	,1053	,1334	,710
			Generation Y	,4167*	,1158	,001
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior ( <b>Own Decision</b> )	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,0165	,1083	,987
			Generation X	,2991*	,1179	,031
		Generation Y	Generation Z	-,0165	,1083	,987
			Generation X	,2827*	,0999	,014
		Generation X	Generation Z	-,2991*	,1179	,031
			Generation Y	-,2827*	,0999	,014

***Interpretation of Valid Sub-Hypotheses***

- ***H<sub>3-a</sub>: The impact level of father on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, the father’s influence on voting behavior is greater in Generation Z than in Generation X.

- ***H<sub>3-b</sub>: The impact level of mother on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, the impact of the mother on voting behavior is greater in Generations Y and Z than in Generation X.

- ***H<sub>3-d</sub>: The impact level of spouse on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, the spouse’s influence on voting behavior is



greater in Generation X than in Generations Y and Z. According to another data, the spouse's influence on voting behavior is greater in Generation Y than in Generation Z.

- ***H<sub>3-e</sub>: The impact level of entourage on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation Y where the influence of entourage on voting behavior is minimal. In other words, the entourage effect of Generations X and Z on voting behavior is greater than that of Generation Y.

- ***H<sub>3-f</sub>: The impact level of relatives on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation X where the impact level of relatives on voting behavior is greatest.

- ***H<sub>3-g</sub>: The impact level of school on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, school has the most impact on the voting behavior of Generation Z among the generations.

- ***H<sub>3-h</sub>: The impact level of congregations in voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation X where the impact of congregations on voting behavior is greatest.

- ***H<sub>3-i</sub>: The impact level of NGOs on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation Y where the impact of NGOs on voting behavior is minimal.

- ***H<sub>3-j</sub>: The impact level of personal decisions on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation X where participants' own decisions have the least impact on voting behavior.

### **3.5. Findings on The Impact of Factors Related to Political Parties on Voting Behavior**

In this study, where the voting behavior of generations is analyzed comparatively, factors related to political parties are thought to have an effect on voting behavior. In this respect, participants were asked what level of influence various factors related to political parties had on voting behavior. In the survey, this question was prepared using the five-point Likert scale and participants were asked to rank the impact level of each factor from 1 to 5 as “1-Strongly Disagree” and “5-Strongly Agree”. The purpose of these questions posed to the participants is to test the validity of the research hypotheses given in the order below. According to this, the hypotheses related to this part of the research and the validity test results of these hypotheses are as follows:

**H<sub>4</sub>: The impact of factors related to political parties on voting behavior varies across generations.**

- **H<sub>4-a</sub>:** The impact level of the political parties’ ideology on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>4-b</sub>:** The impact level of the political parties’ leader on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>4-c</sub>:** The impact level of the political parties’ elites / executive team on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>4-d</sub>:** The impact level of political parties’ manifesto and lines on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>4-e</sub>:** The impact level of political parties’ candidates on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>4-f</sub>:** The impact level of political parties’ projects and promises on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>4-g</sub>:** The impact level of political parties’ past practices on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>4-h</sub>:** The impact level of political parties’ political performance against political dissidents on voting behavior varies across generations.
- **H<sub>4-i</sub>:** The impact level of political parties’ approach to current issues on voting behavior varies between generations.

The validity of these hypotheses has been tested through one-way variance analysis (ANOVA) of the collected data. When the data were tested for ANOVA, the p value (significance) of the variances forming the hypotheses [ $H_{4-a}$ ,  $H_{4-c}$ ,  $H_{4-d}$ ,  $H_{4-e}$ ,  $H_{4-g}$  and  $H_{4-i}$ ] was greater than ,050. Accordingly, it was concluded that there was no significant difference between the ideologies, management positions, programs and policies of the political parties, candidates, past actions and the impact of their approach to current issues on voting behavior. Therefore, the relevant hypotheses are considered to be invalid and the analysis of other valid hypotheses has been continued.

**Table 33. One-way analysis of variance test for  $H_{4-a}$ ,  $H_{4-b}$ ,  $H_{4-c}$ ,  $H_{4-d}$ ,  $H_{4-e}$ ,  $H_{4-f}$ ,  $H_{4-g}$ ,  $H_{4-h}$ ,  $H_{4-i}$**

ANOVA		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Ideology of Party)	Between Groups	1,891	2	,945	1,022	,361
	Within Groups	367,087	397	,925		
	Total	368,977	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Leader of Party)	Between Groups	6,715	2	3,357	4,640	,010
	Within Groups	287,223	397	,723		
	Total	293,938	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Elites / Executive Team of Party)	Between Groups	3,190	2	1,595	1,919	,148
	Within Groups	329,920	397	,831		
	Total	333,110	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Manifesto and Lines of Party)	Between Groups	3,085	2	1,543	2,008	,136
	Within Groups	304,915	397	,768		
	Total	308,000	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Candidates of Party)	Between Groups	,275	2	,137	,156	,855
	Within Groups	349,235	397	,880		
	Total	349,510	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Project and Promises of Party)	Between Groups	8,623	2	4,311	5,485	,004
	Within Groups	312,075	397	,786		
	Total	320,697	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Past Practices of Party)	Between Groups	2,990	2	1,495	1,941	,145
	Within Groups	305,808	397	,770		
	Total	308,798	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Political Performance of Party)	Between Groups	6,371	2	3,186	3,310	,038
	Within Groups	382,126	397	,963		
	Total	388,497	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Approach to Current Problems)	Between Groups	2,461	2	1,231	2,051	,130
	Within Groups	238,179	397	,600		
	Total	240,640	399			

Homogeneity testing was first applied to the variances that constitute valid hypotheses. According to the results, the variances of the  $H_{4-b}$  hypothesis are not homogeneous; it was concluded that the variances of the  $H_{4-f}$  and  $H_{4-h}$  hypotheses are homogeneous. Accordingly, the homogeneous variance was analyzed by the Tukey test, while the inhomogeneous variance was analyzed by the Games-Howell test.

**Table 34. Test of homogeneity of variances in H<sub>4-b, f, h</sub>**

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Leader of Party)	,675	2	397	,510
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Project and Promises of Party)	3,668	2	397	,026
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Political Performance of Party)	8,620	2	397	,000

**Table 35. Multiple comparisons of dependent variables of H<sub>4-b, f, h</sub>**

Dependent Variable	(I) Generations	(J) Generations	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Leader of Party)	Games-Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	-,1956	,1153	,209
		Generation X	Generation Y	-,3568*	,1190	,009
	Games-Howell	Generation Y	Generation Z	,1956	,1153	,209
		Generation X	Generation Y	-,1612	,0935	,198
	Games-Howell	Generation X	Generation Z	,3568*	,1190	,009
		Generation Y	Generation X	,1612	,0935	,198
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Project and Promises of Party)	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,3158*	,1113	,013
		Generation X	Generation Y	,0422	,1221	,936
	Tukey HSD	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,3158*	,1113	,013
		Generation X	Generation Z	-,2736*	,1045	,025
	Tukey HSD	Generation X	Generation Z	-,0422	,1221	,936
		Generation Y	Generation X	,2736*	,1045	,025
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Political Performance of Party)	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,2620	,1232	,086
		Generation X	Generation Y	,0171	,1351	,991
	Tukey HSD	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,2620	,1232	,086
		Generation X	Generation Z	-,2449	,1156	,087
	Tukey HSD	Generation X	Generation Z	-,0171	,1351	,991
		Generation Y	Generation X	,2449	,1156	,087

***Interpretation of Valid Sub-Hypotheses***

- ***H<sub>4-b</sub>: The impact level of the political parties' leader on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, the influence of leaders of political parties on voting behavior is greater in Generation X than in Generation Z.

- ***H<sub>4-f</sub>: The impact level of political parties' projects and promises on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation Y where the projects and promises of political parties have the least impact on voting behavior. In other words, the

impact of political parties' projects and promises on voting behavior is greater in Generations X and Z than in Generation Y.

- *H<sub>4-h</sub>: The impact level of political parties' political performance against political dissidents on voting behavior varies across generations.*

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, the highest impact level of the political parties' performance against their political dissidents on the voting behavior is seen on the Generation Z. However, the lowest impact level of this factor is seen on the Generation Y.

### **3.6. Findings on The Impact of Factors Related to Leader / Candidate Image on Voting Behavior**

In this study, which the voting behavior of generations is analyzed comparatively, the factors related to the leader/candidate are thought to have an effect on the voting behavior. Accordingly, questions were asked to participants to determine the impact level of various factors related to the leader / candidate image on voting behavior. In the survey, this question has been prepared by using the Likert scale of 5 and participants have been asked to rank the impact level of each factor from 1 to 5 as "1-Strongly Disagree" and "5-Strongly Agree". The purpose of these questions posed to the participants is to test the validity of the research hypotheses given in the order below. According to this, the hypotheses related to this part of the research and the validity test results of these hypotheses are as follows:

**H<sub>5</sub>: The impact level of factors related to leader / candidate image on voting behavior varies across generations.**

- *H<sub>5-a</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's ideology on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-b</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's education level on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-c</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's sex on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-d</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's age on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-e</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's ethnic identity on voting behavior varies across generations.*

- *H<sub>5-f</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's religious belief on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-g</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's eloquence on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-h</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's political experience on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-i</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's physical characteristics on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-j</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's party on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-k</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's political performance against his/her political dissidents on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-l</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's approach to current issues on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-m</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's wording on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-n</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's fairness on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>5-o</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's discourse on voting behavior varies across generations.*

The validity of these hypotheses has been tested through one-way variance analysis (ANOVA) of the collected data. When the data were tested for ANOVA, the p value (significance) of the variances forming the hypotheses [H<sub>5-a</sub>, H<sub>5-g</sub>, H<sub>5-k</sub>, H<sub>5-l</sub>, H<sub>5-m</sub>, H<sub>5-n</sub> and H<sub>5-o</sub>] was greater than ,050. Accordingly, it was concluded that there is no significant difference between the generations and the impact levels of the leader's / candidate's ideologies, eloquence, political performances, approaches to current issues, styles, fairness and the impact of their rhetoric on voting behavior. Therefore, the relevant hypotheses are considered to be invalid and the process of the analysis of other valid hypotheses has continued.

**Table 36. One-way analysis of variance test for H<sub>5</sub> - a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o**

ANOVA		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Ideology of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	1,220	2	,610	,710	,492
	Within Groups	341,217	397	,859		
	Total	342,437	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Education Level of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	9,679	2	4,840	4,442	,012
	Within Groups	432,498	397	1,089		
	Total	442,177	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Sex of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	8,249	2	4,124	3,150	,044
	Within Groups	519,751	397	1,309		
	Total	528,000	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Age of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	15,689	2	7,844	7,445	,001
	Within Groups	418,301	397	1,054		
	Total	433,990	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Ethnic Identity of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	9,814	2	4,907	3,290	,038
	Within Groups	592,176	397	1,492		
	Total	601,990	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Religious Belief of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	22,831	2	11,415	5,359	,005
	Within Groups	845,609	397	2,130		
	Total	868,440	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Eloquence of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	,268	2	,134	,149	,861
	Within Groups	356,669	397	,898		
	Total	356,938	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Political Experience of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	10,720	2	5,360	6,143	,002
	Within Groups	346,390	397	,873		
	Total	357,110	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Physical Characteristics of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	13,184	2	6,592	5,435	,005
	Within Groups	481,456	397	1,213		
	Total	494,640	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Party of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	8,018	2	4,009	3,844	,022
	Within Groups	414,060	397	1,043		
	Total	422,078	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Political Performance of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	,870	2	,435	,552	,577
	Within Groups	313,130	397	,789		
	Total	314,000	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Leader's / Candidate's Approach to Current Problems)	Between Groups	2,428	2	1,214	1,851	,158
	Within Groups	260,412	397	,656		
	Total	262,840	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Wording of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	1,684	2	,842	1,271	,282
	Within Groups	262,956	397	,662		
	Total	264,640	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Fairness of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	1,685	2	,843	1,506	,223
	Within Groups	222,155	397	,560		
	Total	223,840	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Discourse of Leader / Candidate)	Between Groups	1,721	2	,860	1,392	,250
	Within Groups	245,357	397	,618		
	Total	247,077	399			

Homogeneity testing was first applied to the variances that constitute valid hypotheses. According to the results, while the variances forming the hypotheses H<sub>5-c</sub>, H<sub>5-h</sub> and H<sub>5-j</sub> are homogenous, the variances forming the hypotheses H<sub>5-b</sub>, H<sub>5-d</sub>, H<sub>5-e</sub>, H<sub>5-f</sub> and H<sub>5-i</sub> are not

homogeneous. Accordingly, the homogeneous variances were analyzed with the Tukey test; the inhomogeneous variances were analyzed with the Games-Howell test.

**Table 37. Test of homogeneity of variances in H<sub>5</sub> – b, c, d, e, f, h, i, j**

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Education Level of Leader / Candidate)	1,402	2	397	,247
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Sex of Leader / Candidate)	6,704	2	397	,001
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Age of Leader / Candidate)	,425	2	397	,654
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Ethnic Identity of Leader / Candidate)	,565	2	397	,569
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Religious Belief of Leader / Candidate)	1,010	2	397	,365
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Political Experience of Leader / Candidate)	5,885	2	397	,003
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Physical Characteristics of Leader / Candidate)	,654	2	397	,520
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Party of Leader / Candidate)	9,397	2	397	,000

**Table 38. Multiple comparisons of dependent variables of H<sub>5</sub> – b, c, d, e, f, h, i, j**

Dependent Variable	(I) Generations	(J) Generations	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Education Level of Leader / Candidate)	Games-Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	,0982	,1349	,747
		Generation X	Generation Y	,3958*	,1429	,017
	Games-Howell	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,0982	,1349	,747
		Generation X	Generation Y	,2977*	,1195	,035
	Games-Howell	Generation X	Generation Z	-,3958*	,1429	,017
		Generation Y	Generation X	-,2977*	,1195	,035
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Sex of Leader / Candidate)	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	-,2029	,1437	,335
		Generation X	Generation Y	-,3950*	,1576	,034
	Tukey HSD	Generation Y	Generation Z	,2029	,1437	,335
		Generation X	Generation Y	-,1921	,1349	,329
	Tukey HSD	Generation X	Generation Z	,3950*	,1576	,034
		Generation Y	Generation X	,1921	,1349	,329
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Age of Leader / Candidate)	Games-Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	,2264	,1304	,194
		Generation X	Generation Y	-,2380	,1442	,227
	Games-Howell	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,2264	,1304	,194
		Generation X	Generation Y	-,4644*	,1208	,000
	Games-Howell	Generation X	Generation Z	,2380	,1442	,227
		Generation Y	Generation X	,4644*	,1208	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Ethnic Identity of Leader / Candidate)	Games-Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	,2515	,1578	,251
		Generation X	Generation Y	-,0986	,1703	,832
	Games-Howell	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,2515	,1578	,251
		Generation X	Generation Y	-,3501*	,1410	,036
	Games-Howell	Generation X	Generation Z	,0986	,1703	,832
		Generation Y	Generation X	,3501*	,1410	,036
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Religious Belief of Leader / Candidate)	Games-Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	-,1951	,1815	,531
		Generation X	Generation Y	-,6255*	,1943	,004
	Games-Howell	Generation Y	Generation Z	,1951	,1815	,531
		Generation X	Generation Y	-,4305*	,1711	,033
	Games-Howell	Generation X	Generation Z	,6255*	,1943	,004
		Generation Y	Generation X	,4305*	,1711	,033



**Table 39. Multiple comparisons of dependent variables of H<sub>5</sub> – b, c, d, e, f, h, i, j (table in progress)**

Dependent Variable	(I) Generations	(J) Generations	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Political Experience of Leader / Candidate) Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	-,1929	,1173	,228
		Generation X	-,4452*	,1286	,002
	Generation Y	Generation Z	,1929	,1173	,228
		Generation X	-,2523	,1101	,058
	Generation X	Generation Z	,4452*	,1286	,002
		Generation Y	,2523	,1101	,058
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Physical Characteristics of Leader / Candidate) Games- Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	,2579	,1404	,160
		Generation X	-,1587	,1537	,558
	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,2579	,1404	,160
		Generation X	-,4166*	,1288	,004
	Generation X	Generation Z	,1587	,1537	,558
		Generation Y	,4166*	,1288	,004
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Party of Leader / Candidate) Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,0554	,1282	,902
		Generation X	-,2708	,1406	,133
	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,0554	,1282	,902
		Generation X	-,3262*	,1204	,019
	Generation X	Generation Z	,2708	,1406	,133
		Generation Y	,3262*	,1204	,019

#### *Interpretation of Valid Sub-Hypotheses*

- ***H<sub>5-b</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's education level on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis has been accepted to be valid. Investigating at the data in the table, the effect of the leader's / candidate's education level on voting behavior is greater in Generations Y and Z than in Generation X.

- ***H<sub>5-c</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's sex on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis has been accepted to be valid. Investigating at the data in the table, the effect of the leader's / candidate's sex on voting behavior is greater in Generation X than in Generation Z.

- ***H<sub>5-d</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's age on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis has been accepted to be valid. Investigating at the data in the table, the effect of the leader's / candidate's age on voting behavior is greater in Generation X than in Generation Y.

- ***H<sub>5-e</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's ethnic identity on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis has been accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, the effect of the leader's / candidate's ethnic identity on voting behavior is greater in Generation X than in Generation Y.

- ***H<sub>5-f</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's religious belief on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis has been accepted to be valid. Investigating at the data in the table, the effect of the leader's / candidate's religious belief on voting behavior is greater in Generation X than in Generations Y and Z.

- ***H<sub>5-h</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's political experience on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis has been accepted to be valid. Investigating at the data in the table, the effect of the leader's / candidate's political experience on voting behavior is greater in Generation X than in Generation Z.

- ***H<sub>5-i</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's physical characteristics on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis has been accepted to be valid. Investigating at the data in the table, the effect of the leader's / candidate's physical characteristics on voting behavior is greater in Generation X than in Generation Y.

- ***H<sub>5-j</sub>: The impact level of leader's / candidate's party on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis has been accepted to be valid. Investigating at the data in the table, the influence of the leader's / candidate's party on voting behavior is greater in Generation X than in Generation Y.

### **3.7. Findings on The Impact of Factors Related to Political Communication on Voting Behavior**

In this study, where the voting behavior of generations is analyzed comparatively, it is thought that factors related to political communication have an effect on voting behavior. Accordingly, participants were asked to determine the level of influence of various factors related to political communication in voting behavior. In the survey, this question was prepared using the five-point Likert scale and participants were asked to rank the impact level of each factor from 1 to 5 as “1-Strongly Disagree” and “5-Strongly Agree”. The purpose of these questions posed to the participants is to test the validity of the research hypotheses given in the order below. According to this, the hypotheses related to this part of the research and the validity test results of these hypotheses are as follows:

**H<sub>6</sub>: The impact level of factors related to political communication on voting behavior varies across generations.**

- *H<sub>6-a</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' electoral campaigns on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>6-b</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' media visibility on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>6-c</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' rallies on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>6-d</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' banners, booklets, and electoral songs on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>6-e</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' radio and television performance on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>6-f</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' social media performance on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>6-g</sub>: The impact level of face-to-face meeting with party delegates / candidates on voting behavior varies across generations.*

The validity of these hypotheses has been tested through one-way variance analysis (ANOVA) of the collected data. When the data was subjected to the ANOVA test, all hypotheses were found to be valid.

**Table 40. One-way analysis of variance test for H<sub>6</sub> - a, b, c, d, e, f, g**

ANOVA		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Electoral Campaign of Party / Candidate)	Between Groups	15,873	2	7,937	8,093	,000
	Within Groups	389,317	397	,981		
	Total	405,190	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Media Visibility of Party / Candidate)	Between Groups	16,414	2	8,207	8,544	,000
	Within Groups	381,336	397	,961		
	Total	397,750	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Public Meeting of Party / Candidate)	Between Groups	23,737	2	11,868	8,716	,000
	Within Groups	540,561	397	1,362		
	Total	564,298	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Banner / Booklet / Music of Party / Candidate)	Between Groups	22,237	2	11,119	8,516	,000
	Within Groups	518,340	397	1,306		
	Total	540,577	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Radio / Television Performance of Party / Candidate)	Between Groups	20,005	2	10,002	8,220	,000
	Within Groups	483,073	397	1,217		
	Total	503,077	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Social Media Performance of Party / Candidate)	Between Groups	36,316	2	18,158	13,862	,000
	Within Groups	520,044	397	1,310		
	Total	556,360	399			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Face to Face Meeting with Party Delegate / Candidate)	Between Groups	13,579	2	6,790	5,426	,005
	Within Groups	496,781	397	1,251		
	Total	510,360	399			

Homogeneity testing was first applied to the variances that constitute valid hypotheses. According to the results, the variances forming the H<sub>6-c</sub>, H<sub>6-d</sub>, H<sub>6-e</sub> and H<sub>6-g</sub> hypotheses are homogenous while the variances forming the H<sub>6-a</sub>, H<sub>6-b</sub> and H<sub>6-f</sub> hypotheses are not homogeneous. Accordingly, the homogeneous variances were analyzed with the Tukey test; the inhomogeneous variances were analyzed with the Games-Howell test.

**Table 41. Test of homogeneity of variances in H<sub>6</sub> - a, b, c, d, e, f, g**

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Electoral Campaign of Party / Candidate)	1,510	2	397	,222
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Media Visibility of Party / Candidate)	2,116	2	397	,122
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Public Meeting of Party / Candidate)	7,159	2	397	,001
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Banner / Booklet / Music of Party / Candidate)	6,726	2	397	,001
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Radio / Television Performance of Party / Candidate)	3,052	2	397	,048
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Social Media Performance of Party / Candidate)	,966	2	397	,382
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Face to Face Meeting with Party Delegate / Candidate)	17,307	2	397	,000

**Table 42. Multiple comparisons of dependent variables of H<sub>6</sub> – a, b, c, d, e, f, g**

Dependent Variable	(I) Generations	(J) Generations	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Electoral Campaign of Party / Candidate)	Games- Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	,3373*	,1174	,012
		Generation X	Generation X	-,1004	,1239	,697
	Games- Howell	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,3373*	,1174	,012
		Generation X	Generation X	-,4378*	,1180	,001
	Games- Howell	Generation X	Generation Z	,1004	,1239	,697
		Generation Y	Generation Y	,4378*	,1180	,001
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Media Visibility of Party / Candidate)	Games- Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	,4099*	,1266	,004
		Generation X	Generation X	,0072	,1220	,998
	Games- Howell	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,4099*	,1266	,004
		Generation X	Generation X	-,4027*	,1078	,001
	Games- Howell	Generation X	Generation Z	-,0072	,1220	,998
		Generation Y	Generation Y	,4027*	,1078	,001
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Public Meeting of Party / Candidate)	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,0343	,1465	,970
		Generation X	Generation X	-,5120*	,1607	,004
	Tukey HSD	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,0343	,1465	,970
		Generation X	Generation X	-,5463*	,1375	,000
	Tukey HSD	Generation X	Generation Z	,5120*	,1607	,004
		Generation Y	Generation Y	,5463*	,1375	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Banner / Booklet / Music of Party / Candidate)	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	-,1593	,1435	,508
		Generation X	Generation X	-,6044*	,1574	,000
	Tukey HSD	Generation Y	Generation Z	,1593	,1435	,508
		Generation X	Generation X	-,4452*	,1347	,003
	Tukey HSD	Generation X	Generation Z	,6044*	,1574	,000
		Generation Y	Generation Y	,4452*	,1347	,003
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Radio / Television Performance of Party / Candidate)	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,1309	,1385	,612
		Generation X	Generation X	-,3916*	,1519	,028
	Tukey HSD	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,1309	,1385	,612
		Generation X	Generation X	-,5225*	,1300	,000
	Tukey HSD	Generation X	Generation Z	,3916*	,1519	,028
		Generation Y	Generation Y	,5225*	,1300	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Social Media Performance of Party / Candidate)	Games- Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	,6540*	,1426	,000
		Generation X	Generation X	,7652*	,1522	,000
	Games- Howell	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,6540*	,1426	,000
		Generation X	Generation X	,1112	,1339	,685
	Games- Howell	Generation X	Generation Z	-,7652*	,1522	,000
		Generation Y	Generation Y	-,1112	,1339	,685
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Face to Face Meeting with Party Delegate / Candidate)	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,3720*	,1405	,023
		Generation X	Generation X	,0051	,1540	,999
	Tukey HSD	Generation Y	Generation Z	-,3720*	,1405	,023
		Generation X	Generation X	-,3670*	,1319	,016
	Tukey HSD	Generation X	Generation Z	-,0051	,1540	,999
		Generation Y	Generation Y	,3670*	,1319	,016

***Interpretation of Valid Sub-Hypotheses***

- ***H<sub>6-a</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' electoral campaigns on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, Generation Y is the generation where the electoral campaigns of parties / candidates have the least impact on voting behavior. In other words, the influence of election campaigns on Generation X and Generation Z is greater than Generation Y.

- ***H<sub>6-b</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' media visibility on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation Y where media visibility of political parties / candidates has the least impact on voting behavior. In other words, the effect of media visibility on Generation X and Generation Z is greater than Generation Y.

- ***H<sub>6-c</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' rallies on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation X where the influence of public meetings of political parties / candidates on voting behavior is greatest.

- ***H<sub>6-d</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' banners, booklets, and electoral songs on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation X where the political parties' / candidates' banners, booklets and songs have the most impact on voting behavior.

- ***H<sub>6-e</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' radio and television performance on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation X where the radio and television performances of party delegates / candidates have the most impact on voting behavior.

- ***H<sub>6-f</sub>: The impact level of parties' / candidates' social media performance on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation Z where the social

media performances of political parties' / candidates' have the most impact on voting behavior.

- *H<sub>6-g</sub>: The impact level of face-to-face meeting with party delegates / candidates on voting behavior varies across generations.*

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation Y where face-to-face meeting with the political party / candidate has the least impact on voting behavior. In other words, a face-to-face meeting with the candidate has a greater impact on Generation X and Generation Z than on Generation Y.

### **3.8. Findings on The Impact of Factors Related to Media Use on Voting Behavior**

In this study, where the voting behavior of generations is analyzed comparatively, factors related to media use are thought to have an effect on voting behavior. Accordingly, participants were asked what level of influence different media instruments had on voting behavior. In the survey, this question was prepared using the five-point Likert scale and participants were asked to rank the impact level of each factor from 1 to 5 as “1-Strongly Disagree” and “5-Strongly Agree”. The purpose of these questions posed to the participants is to test the validity of the research hypotheses given in the order below. According to this, the hypotheses related to this part of the research and the validity test results of these hypotheses are as follows:

**H<sub>7</sub>: The impact level of factors related to media use on voting behavior varies across generations.**

- *H<sub>7-a</sub>: The impact level of newspaper on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>7-b</sub>: The impact level of radio on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>7-c</sub>: The impact level of television on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>7-d</sub>: The impact level of Facebook on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>7-e</sub>: The impact level of Instagram on voting behavior varies across generations.*
- *H<sub>7-f</sub>: The impact level of Twitter on voting behavior varies across generations.*

The validity of these hypotheses has been tested through one-way variance analysis (ANOVA) of the collected data. When the data were tested for ANOVA, the p value of the variances forming the [H<sub>7-b</sub>] hypothesis was greater than ,050. Accordingly, it was concluded that there was no significant difference between generations and the effect of radio on voting behavior. Therefore, this hypothesis is considered to be invalid and the analysis of other valid hypotheses has been continued.

**Table 43. One-way analysis of variance test for H<sub>7-a, b, c, d, e, f</sub>**

ANOVA		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Newspaper)	Between Groups	13,176	2	6,588	6,031	,003
	Within Groups	411,800	377	1,092		
	Total	424,976	379			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Radio)	Between Groups	2,701	2	1,351	2,002	,137
	Within Groups	251,016	372	,675		
	Total	253,717	374			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Television)	Between Groups	122,367	2	61,183	46,485	,000
	Within Groups	510,687	388	1,316		
	Total	633,054	390			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Facebook)	Between Groups	98,763	2	49,381	35,260	,000
	Within Groups	519,579	371	1,400		
	Total	618,342	373			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Instagram)	Between Groups	96,570	2	48,285	41,554	,000
	Within Groups	427,608	368	1,162		
	Total	524,178	370			
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Twitter)	Between Groups	114,446	2	57,223	32,769	,000
	Within Groups	658,343	377	1,746		
	Total	772,789	379			

Homogeneity testing was first applied to the variances that constitute valid hypotheses. According to the results, the variances forming the H<sub>7-c</sub>, H<sub>7-d</sub> and H<sub>7-e</sub> hypotheses are homogenous while the variances forming the H<sub>7-a</sub> and H<sub>7-f</sub> hypotheses are not homogeneous. Accordingly, the homogeneous variances were analyzed with the Tukey test; the inhomogeneous variances were analyzed with the Games-Howell test.

**Table 44. Test of homogeneity of variances in H<sub>7-a, c, d, e, f</sub>**

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Newspaper)	1,970	2	377	,141
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Television)	7,470	2	388	,001
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Facebook)	9,743	2	371	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Instagram)	3,226	2	368	,041
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Facebook)	,444	2	377	,642



**Table 45. Multiple comparisons of dependent variables of H<sub>7</sub> – a, c, d, e, f**

Dependent Variable	(I) Generations	(J) Generations	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Newspaper)	Games- Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	-,2923	,1309	,068
			Generation X	-,5260*	,1391	,001
		Generation Y	Generation Z	,2923	,1309	,068
			Generation X	-,2337	,1253	,151
		Generation X	Generation Z	,5260*	,1391	,001
			Generation Y	,2337	,1253	,151
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Television)	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,4934*	,1466	,002
			Generation X	-,8193*	,1602	,000
		Generation Y	Generation Z	-,4934*	,1466	,002
			Generation X	-1,3127*	,1362	,000
		Generation X	Generation Z	,8193*	,1602	,000
			Generation Y	1,3127*	,1362	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Facebook)	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	,5593*	,1556	,001
			Generation X	-,6402*	,1700	,001
		Generation Y	Generation Z	-,5593*	,1556	,001
			Generation X	-1,1994*	,1433	,000
		Generation X	Generation Z	,6402*	,1700	,001
			Generation Y	1,1994*	,1433	,000
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Instagram)	Tukey HSD	Generation Z	Generation Y	1,2020*	,1387	,000
			Generation X	1,1542*	,1562	,000
		Generation Y	Generation Z	-1,2020*	,1387	,000
			Generation X	-,0478	,1344	,933
		Generation X	Generation Z	-1,1542*	,1562	,000
			Generation Y	,0478	,1344	,933
Impact Level of ... on Voting Behavior (Twitter)	Games- Howell	Generation Z	Generation Y	1,2722*	,1696	,000
			Generation X	1,2957*	,1864	,000
		Generation Y	Generation Z	-1,2722*	,1696	,000
			Generation X	,0235	,1602	,988
		Generation X	Generation Z	-1,2957*	,1864	,000
			Generation Y	-,0235	,1602	,988

***Interpretation of Valid Sub-Hypotheses***

- ***H<sub>7-a</sub>: The impact level of newspaper on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation X where the newspaper’s impact on voting behavior is greatest.

- ***H<sub>7-c</sub>: The impact level of television on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation X where the impact of television on voting behavior is greatest. On the other hand, television influence in Generation Z is

greater than in Generation Y. Generation Y is the least affected by television among generations.

- ***H<sub>7-d</sub>: The impact level of Facebook on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, it is Generation X that has the most impact on Facebook's voting behavior. On the other hand, the impact of Facebook in Generation Z is greater than in Generation Y. Generation Y is the least affected by Facebook among generations.

- ***H<sub>7-e</sub>: The impact level of Instagram on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, Instagram has more impact on Generation Z's voting behavior.

- ***H<sub>7-f</sub>: The impact level of Twitter on voting behavior varies across generations.***

As a result of the tests applied to the relevant hypothesis, this hypothesis was accepted to be valid. Looking at the data in the table, Twitter has more impact on Generation Z's voting behavior.

**Table 46. General evaluations of research hypotheses**

Hypotheses	Acceptance / Rejection
<b>H<sub>1</sub>: Personal values, attitudes and perceptions vary across generations.</b>	
H <sub>1-a</sub> : Political ideologies / opinions vary across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>1-b</sub> : The attitude of dissimulation of political ideology / opinion varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>1-c</sub> : Indispensable values vary across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>1-d</sub> : The impact level of ideology, ethnic identity, religious belief and residence on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
<b>H<sub>2</sub>: The level of interest in politics varies across generations.</b>	
H <sub>2-a</sub> : The major problems of the country vary across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>2-b</sub> : Confidence level to institutions varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>2-c</sub> : Priority policy areas vary across generations.	Accepted
<b>H<sub>3</sub>: The impact level of family and social circle on voting behavior varies across generations.</b>	
H <sub>3-a</sub> : The impact level of father on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>3-b</sub> : The impact level of mother on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>3-c</sub> : The impact level of sibling on voting behavior varies across generations.	Rejected
H <sub>3-d</sub> : The impact level of spouse on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>3-e</sub> : The impact level of entourage on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>3-f</sub> : The impact level of relatives on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>3-g</sub> : The impact level of school on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>3-h</sub> : The impact level of congregations in voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>3-i</sub> : The impact level of NGOs on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>3-j</sub> : The impact level of personal decisions on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
<b>H<sub>4</sub>: The impact of factors related to political parties on voting behavior varies across generations.</b>	
H <sub>4-a</sub> : The impact level of the political parties' ideology on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>4-b</sub> : The impact level of the political parties' leader on voting behavior varies across generations.	Rejected
H <sub>4-c</sub> : The impact level of the political parties' elites / executive team on voting behavior varies across generations.	Rejected
H <sub>4-d</sub> : The impact level of political parties' manifesto and lines on voting behavior varies across generations.	Rejected
H <sub>4-e</sub> : The impact level of political parties' candidates on voting behavior varies across generations.	Rejected
H <sub>4-f</sub> : The impact level of political parties' projects and promises on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>4-g</sub> : The impact level of political parties' past practices on voting behavior varies across generations.	Rejected
H <sub>4-h</sub> : The impact level of political parties' political performance against political dissidents on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>4-i</sub> : The impact level of political parties' approach to current issues on voting behavior varies between generations.	Rejected
<b>H<sub>5</sub>: The impact level of factors related to leader / candidate image on voting behavior varies across generations.</b>	
H <sub>5-a</sub> : The impact level of leader's / candidate's ideology on voting behavior varies across generations.	Rejected
H <sub>5-b</sub> : The impact level of leader's / candidate's education level on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>5-c</sub> : The impact level of leader's / candidate's sex on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted
H <sub>5-d</sub> : The impact level of leader's / candidate's age on voting behavior varies across generations.	Accepted

<b>H<sub>5-e</sub>:</b> The impact level of leader's / candidate's ethnic identity on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>5-f</sub>:</b> The impact level of leader's / candidate's religious belief on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>5-g</sub>:</b> The impact level of leader's / candidate's eloquence on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Rejected</b>
<b>H<sub>5-h</sub>:</b> The impact level of leader's / candidate's political experience on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>5-i</sub>:</b> The impact level of leader's / candidate's physical characteristics on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>5-j</sub>:</b> The impact level of leader's / candidate's party on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>5-k</sub>:</b> The impact level of leader's / candidate's political performance against his/her political dissidents on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Rejected</b>
<b>H<sub>5-l</sub>:</b> The impact level of leader's / candidate's approach to current issues on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Rejected</b>
<b>H<sub>5-m</sub>:</b> The impact level of leader's / candidate's wording on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Rejected</b>
<b>H<sub>5-n</sub>:</b> The impact level of leader's / candidate's fairness on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Rejected</b>
<b>H<sub>5-o</sub>:</b> The impact level of leader's / candidate's discourse on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Rejected</b>
<b>H<sub>6</sub>: The impact level of factors related to political communication on voting behavior varies across generations.</b>	
<b>H<sub>6-a</sub>:</b> The impact level of parties' / candidates' electoral campaigns on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>6-b</sub>:</b> The impact level of parties' / candidates' media visibility on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>6-c</sub>:</b> The impact level of parties' / candidates' rallies on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>6-d</sub>:</b> The impact level of parties' / candidates' banners, booklets, and electoral songs on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>6-e</sub>:</b> The impact level of parties' / candidates' radio and television performance on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>6-f</sub>:</b> The impact level of parties' / candidates' social media performance on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>6-g</sub>:</b> The impact level of face-to-face meeting with party delegates / candidates on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>7</sub>: The impact level of factors related to media use on voting behavior varies across generations.</b>	
<b>H<sub>7-a</sub>:</b> The impact level of newspaper on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>7-b</sub>:</b> The impact level of radio on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Rejected</b>
<b>H<sub>7-c</sub>:</b> The impact level of television on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>7-d</sub>:</b> The impact level of Facebook on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>7-e</sub>:</b> The impact level of Instagram on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>
<b>H<sub>7-f</sub>:</b> The impact level of Twitter on voting behavior varies across generations.	<b>Accepted</b>

## **CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSION**

This part of the study includes assessments related to the results of the research. Firstly, findings about demographic information are presented. Then, the effects of factors related to personal values, attitudes and perceptions, level of interest in politics, family and social circle, political parties, leader / candidate image, political communication and media use on voting behavior are evaluated.

### **4.1. Evaluation of Findings Related to Demographic Information**

In this study, 50.25 percent of the participants are male and 48.75 are female. 1 percent of participants did not want to answer the gender question. 29.3 percent of the participants are members of Generation X (1965-1979), 46.8 percent of participants are members of Generation Y (1980-1999) and 24 percent of participants are members of Generation Z (2000-2001). While 38.50 percent of the participants are married, 58.50 percent are single. 3 percent of participants are divorced or widowed. The personal income of most of the participants is between 0-1499 TL. When the education level of the participants is analyzed, the participants are mostly undergraduate graduates and undergraduate students. Mostly students participated in the research, while the least participation is from “Other Professions”. Participation to the research is mostly from Çankaya. The minimum participation is from Etimesgut.

### **4.2. Evaluation of Findings Related to Personal Value, Attitude and Perceptions**

Values, attitudes and perceptions vary from generation to generation. Even within the same generation, individuals have different values, attitudes and perceptions. Many factors such as sex, age, marital status, income level, education and residence are effective in the emergence of this difference. In addition, different dynamics are effective within each generation. These dynamics create different characteristics for each generation. The differentiation of the characteristic features leads to different behaviors. The values, attitudes and perceptions shaped by the influence of all these factors have an impact on the voting

behavior of individuals. The impact level of these factors on voting behavior varies across generations.

In this study, it was concluded that political ideologies or opinions vary across generations. While “Nationalist Conservatism” ideology was prominent for the participants of Generations X and Y, “Kemalist-Nationalist” ideology was prominent for the participants of Generation Z. In addition, there is a prevailing view within the members of Generation Z not to adopt any ideology. These results are consistent with generational theory. Because the ideological positioning of older members of Generations X and Y is more evident. The members of Generation Z do not have much idea about ideologies due to their age. In addition, it shouldn't also be forgotten that the impact of ideologies on young people who are fond of their freedom has been severely reduced.

In this study, it was concluded that the attitude of dissimulation of political ideology or opinion varies across generations. The attitude of dissimulation of political ideology or opinion was mostly observed within members of Generation Y. Generation Y is followed respectively by Generations X and Z. This attitude of Generation Y is closely related to the developments in Turkish political history. Especially, the events that took place between 1960 and 2000 (military coups, political violence, etc.) left important traces on the individuals living in that period. Due to this political turmoil, the parents advised their children to dissimulate their political ideologies and opinions. In that period, these advices were generally addressed to Generation Y. The attitude of dissimulation was seen among members of Generation Z the least. This is closely related to the fact that the members of Generation Z are both freedom lovers and multicultural and have not experienced the above-mentioned events. Another factor which is effective in the emergence of this result is the weakness of the ideological belonging of Generation Z members.

In this study, it has been concluded that the indispensable values differ proportionally between the generations. However, the priorities of all three generations are the same in terms of religion, homeland and family. In the research, religion has come to the fore as the indispensable first value. While the homeland stands out as the indispensable second value, the family stands out as the indispensable third value.

In addition, it was seen that generation Z preferred freedom at a considerable rate as an indispensable value. This finding is significant according to the generation theory. Because Generation Z members are freedom lovers.

In this study, it was concluded that the effect of religious beliefs and residence on voting behavior varied between generations. Accordingly, religious beliefs are mostly influential on the voting behavior of Generations X and Y. The fact that religious beliefs have less effect on the voting behavior of Generation Z is a significant finding according to generational theory. According to generational theory, the influence of religion among members of Generation Z is gradually decreasing.

On the other hand, the residence affects the voting behavior of Generation X mostly. The fact that the members of Generation X who were born between 1965 and 1979 have experienced neighborhood culture in the past has an effect on this result. In addition, considering that neighborhood culture is a traditional value, this result is in line with generational theory. According to generational theory, traditions are important for the Generation X.

#### **4.3. Evaluation of Findings Related to the Level of Interest in Politics**

In this study, it was concluded that the level of interest in politics differs from generation to generation. Accordingly, generation Y has the highest level of interest in politics. Generation X is the second generation with the highest level of interest in politics. Generation Z has the lowest level of interest in politics..

On the other hand, sub-hypotheses were developed in order to support the main hypothesis and the level of interest of the participants in politics was measured with different questions. First, questions were asked to the participants about the important problems of the country. According to the findings, the important problems of the country differ between generations. According to Generation X, the first problem is terrorism and security. According to Generations Y and Z, the first problem is education. Both the terrorist incidents that Generation X has experienced in the past and the priorities of the Generations Y and Z were effective in the emergence of this result. Another remarkable finding in this section is that the problems that Generation X cared about are economy oriented. For example, problems such as unemployment, poverty and inflation are important for the Generation X. The problems that Generation Z cares vary. Concern for the future of this generation, the

majority of which are students, has not yet emerge. Therefore, it is noteworthy that the members of Generation Z focus on different problem areas such as environmental issues and social polarization.

Another issue which measuring the level of interest in politics is participants' confidence level to the institutions. In this context, questions were asked to the participants about their confidence level to institutions. According to the findings, the confidence level in institutions varies across generations. Accordingly, the presidency is the first institution most trusted by the Generations X and Y. Although, there is a considerable confidence level in the presidency among the participants of Generation Z, the "None" option is ahead. The participants' response to the second and third institutions they most trusted was largely "None". It is remarkable that no institution except the Presidency is found reliable.

Another issue which measuring the level of interest in politics is participants' priority policy areas. Accordingly, questions were asked to the participants about the policy areas which they prioritized. According to the findings, priority policy areas vary across the generation. In this context, the first priority of Generation X participants is economic policies. The first priority of Generations Y and Z is education policies. In addition, each one of three generations think that priority should be given to defense and security policies. At this point, the policies which given priority by the participants are in line with the problems of the countries. It is particularly remarkable that Generations Y and Z have prioritized "Science, Industry and Technology" policies. This result is related to younger participants in Generations Y and Z.

#### **4.4. Evaluation of Findings Related to Family and Social Circle**

In this study, it was concluded that the effect of family and social circle on voting behavior varies across generations. This result was supported with sub-hypotheses. In this context, questions were asked to participants about the impact level of father, mother, sibling, spouse, entourage, relatives, school, congregations, non-governmental organizations and participants' personal decisions on voting behavior.

According to the findings, the impact of father and mother on voting behavior is seen mostly in Generation Z. This result is due to the fact that the voters of Generation Z are only 18-19 years old and live with their families. In all three generations, sibling has no significant effect on the voting behavior. On the other hand, the effect of spouses on voting behavior is



mostly seen in the Generation X. Here, housewives especially in the Generation X stand out. Their spouses have a significant influence on the voting behavior of housewives.

The effect of entourage on voting behavior is mostly seen in the Generations X and Z. The fact that entourage is less effective on voting behavior of Generation Y becomes clear when evaluated with the attitude of dissimulation of political opinions of this generation. Because, the members of Generation Y generally abstain from sharing their ideas about politics. The generation in which the relative is most influential on the voting behavior is the Generation X. Because, Generation X depends on traditions and their voting behavior is influenced by relatives as a traditional value.

According to the findings, the impact of school on voting behavior is seen mostly in Generation Z. Because, the members of Generation Z are still student. The impact of congregations on voting behavior is seen mostly in Generation X. It is known that the dependence of Generations Y and Z to traditional establishments as congregation is very low. The results of the research also confirm this statement. The effect of NGOs on voting behavior is mostly seen in Generations X and Z.

According to another finding obtained from the study, the impact of personal decisions on voting behavior is seen mostly in Generations Y and Z. The fact that these two generations who are fond of their freedom put forward their own personal decisions in voting behavior is a form of behavior in line with generational theory.

#### **4.5. Evaluation of Findings Related to Political Parties**

In this study, it was concluded that the impact of factors related to political parties on voting behavior varies across generations. This result was supported with sub-hypotheses. In this context, questions were asked to participants about impact level of political parties' ideology, leader, elites and executive team, manifesto and lines, candidates, projects and promises, past practices, political performance against political dissidents and approach to current issues on voting behavior.

According to the findings, the impact level of parties' leader and projects and promises on voting behavior varies across generations. Except these two factors, the other factors mentioned above are not distinctive between generations. Therefore, these factors are not included in the assessment. However, it should be noted that the excluded factors have a

high level of influence on the voting behavior of each generation. According to the results, the impact of the party leader on voting behavior is seen mostly in Generation X. The least impact of the parties' projects and promises on voting behavior is seen in Generation Y.

#### **4.6. Evaluation of Findings Related to Leader / Candidate Image**

In this study, it was concluded that the impact of factors related to leader / candidate image on voting behavior varies across generations. This result was supported with sub-hypotheses. In this context, questions were asked to participants about impact level of leader's / candidate's ideology, education level, sex, age, ethnic identity, religious belief, eloquence, political experience, physical characteristics, party, political performance against his/her political dissidents, wording, fairness, discourse and approach to current issues on voting behavior.

According to the findings, seven factors related to the leader / candidate image were excluded from the analysis as they did not have a differentiating effect on the voting behavior of the generations. According to this, the analysis was carried out by education level, sex, age, ethnic identity, religious belief, political experience, physical characteristics and party factors. Because the effect of these factors on voting behavior varies across generations.

According to findings obtained from the study, the impact of the leader's / candidate's education level on voting behavior is seen mostly in the Generations Y and Z. It has been found in previous findings that these two generations care about educational issues. Generations Y and Z prefer educated leaders / candidates.

The impact of leader's / candidate's sex, age, ethnic identity, religious belief, political experience, physical characteristics and party on voting behavior is seen mostly in the Generation X. This finding has a great importance for this research. Because, this result is consistent with the generational theory and it can be explained by the dependence of the Generation X members to the traditions. For example, members of the Generation X, who grew up during periods of low women's participation in politics, prefer male leaders / candidates more. On the other hand, members of Generation X consider experience necessary for politics and they care about the age of the leaders at this point. Ethnic identities and religious beliefs of leaders / candidates have a great effect on the members of Generation X who are closely dependent to traditional values. The physical characteristics of the leader are important for members of the Generation X who prefer charismatic leaders more. Finally,

the leader's / candidate's party has an effect on voting behavior of Generation X. This result is related to the high party-identification rates of individuals in the Generation X.

It is important that the effect of the above-mentioned traditional factors on the voting behavior of Generations Y and Z is less than Generation X. Because this is a consistent result according to the generational theory at the center of the research. According to the generation theory, the influence of traditions on the behaviors of Generations Y and Z is gradually decreasing. Generations Y and Z focus more on current issues and discourse.

#### **4.7. Evaluation of Findings Related to Political Communication**

In this study, it has been concluded that the effect level of factors related to political communication on voting behavior varies between generations. This result was supported by sub-hypotheses. According to this; the effect level of parties / candidates' election campaigns, media visibility, rallies, posters, brochures and election songs, radio and television performances, social media performances, and face-to-face interviews were asked on the voting behavior of the participants.

According to the findings, the generations which parties' / candidates' election campaigns and media visibility are most effective on voting behavior are the Generations X and Z. It is noteworthy that Generation Y, which has the highest level of interest in politics, is least affected by these factors.

Generation X is the generation where parties' / candidates' rallies, posters, brochures and election songs, radio and television performance are most influential on voting behavior. This finding is quite important. Because, it is meaningful that these factors, which are one of the traditional political communication techniques, have an effect on Generation X, the oldest group of the research. The effects of these factors on Generations Y and Z are decreasing day by day. Because members of these generations value new methods of political communication. In this context, the fact that the social media performances of the parties / candidates have more influence on the voting behavior of the Generations Y and Z than the Generation X confirms this proposition. The generation which the social media performance of the parties / candidates is most effective is the Generation Z.

According to another finding, the generations where the face-to-face meeting with the party representative or the candidate has the most effect on the voting behavior are the

Generations X and Z. It is not surprising that Generation X cares about face-to-face meetings. However, it is an important finding that members of Generation Z, who use new media tools extensively, also care about face-to-face communication. This finding is consistent with the generation theory. In some studies, it is emphasized that members of Generation Z care about face-to-face communication.

#### **4.8. Evaluation of Findings Related to Media Use**

In this study, it is concluded that the effect level of factors related to media use on voting behavior varies between generations. This result was supported by sub-hypotheses. According to this; the effect levels of the newspaper, radio, television, Facebook, Instagram and Twitter on the voting behavior of the participants were asked. According to the findings, the effect of the radio on voting behavior does not differ between generations and radio is not effective on the voting behavior of all three generations.

The generation that the newspaper has the most influence on the voting behavior is the Generation X. It is understandable that the newspaper, which is one of the traditional media tools, has an impact on the Generation X. Because the Generations Y and Z follow the agenda through different media tools.

The generations where television is most influential on voting behavior are the Generations X and Z. Again, it is not surprising that Generation X is influenced by television, a traditional media tool. However, it is noteworthy that Generation Z is influenced by television. The occurrence of this situation is usually caused by the fact that individuals in the Generation Z live with their families.

The generation in which Facebook is most influential on voting behavior is Generation X. Although not as much as Generation X, Facebook is also effective on Generation Z's voting behavior. Facebook's popularity among the Generations Y and Z is steadily declining, though it is one of the New Media tools. In addition, this platform has been more appealing to members of Generation X in recent years.

The generation in which Instagram and Twitter are most influential on voting behavior is the Generation Z. Considering the relationship between Generation Z and technology and social media, the result is consistent with generation theory.

From all these evaluations, it is seen that factors carrying traditional codes are generally determinant on voting behavior of Generation X. It has been found that personal decisions and balance are highly effective in the voting behavior of Generation Y. It is concluded that the Generation Z members differ in many ways from the Generations X and Y. Although members of the Generation Z have some traditional values, attitudes and perceptions due to the effect of living together with their families, they often have a unique personality. This characteristic of Generation Z is also reflected in their political behavior. Members of Generation Z who care about innovations and differences, do not reflect these traditional values in their political behavior even though they have traditional values.

The voting behavior of Generation X (1965-1979) and early-period Generation Y (1980-1994) is more influenced by social and political cleavages. In contrast, multiculturalism and innovative approaches are effective in the voting behavior of late-period Generation Y (1995-1999) and Generation Z (2000 and after). The attitude of young people towards different values and ideas seem to draw them away from the impact of cleavages. On the other hand, young people's tools and methods of knowledge acquisition differ greatly from older generations. This reveals a new form of politicization. Compared to past periods, young people are more socialized and politicized through social media. Indeed, this study also showed that social media tools are most effective on young people's voting behavior. In contrast, older generations still largely use traditional tools for the knowledge acquisition. The results of the research also confirm this evaluation.

In summary, the voting behavior varies across the generations in Turkey. Because of each generation has different values, attitudes and perceptions, the political behavior of these generations also differs concordantly. In the current political environment, where elections and voting are seen as the heart of democracy, the scant number of studies on this issue is remarkable. Therefore, this study is aimed to contribute to the literature on voting behavior. In addition, the results of this study shed light on the probable voting behavior of different generations in the future.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A. Survey Form

#### A. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

**1. Sex?**

- (...) Male                      (... ) Female  
(...) Do Not Want Answer

**2. Year of Birth?**

- (...) 2000 – 2001    (... ) 1995 – 1999  
(...) 1990 – 1994    (... ) 1986 – 1989  
(...) 1980 – 1985    (... ) 1975 – 1979  
(...) 1970 – 1974    (... ) 1965 – 1969

**3. Marital Status?**

- (...) Single                      (... ) Married  
(...) Divorced / Widowed

**4. Education Level?**

- (...) Primary School  
(...) Secondary School  
(...) High School  
(...) Associate Degree  
(...) Undergraduate  
(...) Student of Undergraduate  
(...) Master  
(...) Student of Master  
(...) Ph.D.                      (... ) Student of Ph.D.

**5. Profession?**

- (...) Student                      (... ) Retired  
(...) Housewife                      (... ) Worker  
(...) Civil Servant  
(...) Self-Employment  
(...) Specialization-Required Profession  
(Doctor, Engineer, Academician,  
Lawyer, Manager vb.)  
(...) Unemployed  
(...) Other .....

**6. Monthly Personal Income?**

- (...) 0-1499 TL                      (... ) 1500-2020 TL  
(...) 2021-2523 TL                      (... ) 2524-3707 TL  
(...) 3708-4483 TL                      (... ) 4484-5689 TL  
(...) 5690-7747 TL  
(...) 7750 TL and above

**7. Monthly Family Total Income?**

- (...) 0-1499 TL                      (... ) 1500-2020 TL  
(...) 2021-3707 TL                      (... ) 3708-5689 TL  
(...) 5690-7750 TL                      (... ) 7751-9999 TL  
(...) 10000 TL and above

**8. (If you are married...) Education Level of Your Spouse?**

- (...) Primary School  
(...) Secondary School  
(...) High School  
(...) Associate Degree  
(...) Undergraduate  
(...) Student of Undergraduate  
(...) Master  
(...) Student of Master  
(...) Ph.D.                      (... ) Student of Ph.D.

**9. (If you are married...) Profession of Your Spouse?**

- (...) Student                      (... ) Retired  
(...) Housewife                      (... ) Worker  
(...) Civil Servant  
(...) Self-Employment  
(...) Specialization-Required Profession  
(Doctor, Engineer, Academician,  
Lawyer, Manager vb.)  
(...) Unemployed  
(...) Other .....

**10. Which district of Ankara do you live in?**

- (...) Çankaya                      (... ) Etimesgut  
(...) Keçiören                      (... ) Mamak  
(...) Sincan                      (... ) Yenimahalle

**11. Which ethnic identity do you identify yourself with?**

- (...) Turkish                      (... ) Kurdish  
(...) Arab                      (... ) Zaza  
(...) Circassian  
(...) Do Not Want Answer  
(...) Other .....

**B. INFORMATION ON PERSONAL VALUES, ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS**

**1. Which political ideology / opinion do you identify yourself with?**

- (...) Liberal
- (...) Democrat
- (...) Conservative
- (...) Kemalist-Nationalist
- (...) Conservative Democrat
- (...) Socialist / Communist
- (...) Islamist
- (...) Nationalist Conservative
- (...) Nationalist
- (...) Social Democrat
- (...) I don't know my political opinion what it corresponds.
- (...) There is no ideology that reflects my political opinion.
- (...) I have no ideology.
- (...) Do Not Want Answer
- (...) Other .....

**2. Have you ever had to dissimulate your political ideology / opinion?**

- (...) Yes
- (...) No

**3. Which values are indispensable for you? Please sort from 1 to 3. (Select only one option in each row.)**

	Family	Religion	Motherland	Ideology	Race-Ethnic Identity	Justice	Freedom
Value 1							
Value 2							
Value 3							
Other							

**4. Please specify the impact level of the following factors on your voting behavior. (Select only one option in each row.)**

	1 – Strongly Disagree	2 – Disagree	3 – Neutral	4 – Agree	5 – Strongly Agree
Ideology					
Ethnic Identity					
Religious Belief					
Residence					

**C. INFORMATION ON THE LEVEL OF INTEREST IN POLITICS**

**1. Which option defines your level of interest in politics?**

- (...) Do Not Vote.
- (...) I only vote.
- (...) I vote and discuss political issues with my social circle.
- (...) I follow the political agenda very closely.
- (...) I actively participate in politics. (Taking active role in the party, being a candidate, etc.)

**2. What are the most important problems of Turkey? Please sort from 1 to 3. (Select only one option in each column.)**

Problems	1 <sup>st</sup> Problem	2 <sup>nd</sup> Problem	3 <sup>rd</sup> Problem
Environmental Issues			
Terrorism / Security			
Education System			
Unemployment			
Social Polarization			
Caderisation / Favoritism / Non-Merit			
Moral Corruption			
Poverty / Inflation			
Syrians and the Other Refugees			
Corruption / Unearned Income			
Other: .....			

**3. Which of the following institutions do you trust? Please sort from 1 to 3. (Select only one option in each column.)**

Institutions	1 <sup>st</sup> Institution	2 <sup>nd</sup> Institution	3 <sup>rd</sup> Institution
Bureaucracy			
Ministries			
Presidency			
Political Parties			
Judiciary			
TBMM (Turkish Grand National Assembly)			
Universities			
Army			
Media			
NGOs			
Directorate of Religious Affairs			
Security General Directorate			
Local Governments			
None			
Other: .....			

4. Which policy areas should Turkey prioritize? Please sort from 1 to 3. (Select only one option in each column.)

Policy Areas	1 <sup>st</sup> Policy Area	2 <sup>nd</sup> Policy Area	3 <sup>rd</sup> Policy Area
Security and Defense			
Foreign Policy			
Economy			
Environment and Urbanism			
Education			
Social Policies			
Culture and Tourism			
Science, Industry, and Technology			
Agriculture and Stockbreeding			
Other: .....			

#### D. INFORMATION ON VOTING BEHAVIOR

1. Who is more effective on your voting behavior?

Family Social Circle	1 – Strongly Disagree	2 – Disagree	3 – Neutral	4 – Agree	5 – Strongly Agree
Father					
Mother					
Sibling					
Spouse					
Entourage					
Relatives					
School					
Congregations					
NGOs					
Personal Decisions					

2. Please specify the impact level of following factors related to political communication on your voting behavior.

Parties' Candidate's ...	1 – Strongly Disagree	2 – Disagree	3 – Neutral	4 – Agree	5 – Strongly Agree
Electoral Campaigns					
Media Visibility					
Rallies					
Banners, Booklets, Electoral Songs					
Radio and TV Performance					
Social Media Performance					
Face-to-Face Meeting with Party Delegates / Candidates					

3. Please specify the impact level of following media tools on your voting behavior.

Media Tools	1 – Strongly Disagree	2 – Disagree	3 – Neutral	4 – Agree	5 – Strongly Agree
Newspaper					
Radio					
Television					
Facebook					
Instagram					
Twitter					
Other: .....					

4. Please specify the impact level of following factors related to political parties on your voting behavior.

Political Parties' ...	1 – Strongly Disagree	2 – Disagree	3 – Neutral	4 – Agree	5 – Strongly Agree
Ideology					
Leader					
Elites / Executive Team					
Manifesto and Lines					
Candidates					
Projects and Promises					
Past Practices					
Political Performance Against Dissidents					
Approach to Current Issues					

5. Please specify the impact level of following factors related to leader / candidate image on your voting behavior.

Leader's Candidate's ...	1 – Strongly Disagree	2 – Disagree	3 – Neutral	4 – Agree	5 – Strongly Agree
Ideology					
Education Level					
Sex					
Age					
Ethnic Identity					
Religious Belief					
Eloquence					
Political Experience					
Physical Characteristics					
Political Party					
Political Performance Against Dissidents					
Approach to Current Issues					
Wording					
Fairness					
Discourse					



## B. KİŞİSEL DEĞER, TUTUM ve ALGILAMALARA İLİŞKİN BİLGİLER

### 1. Kendinizi hangi siyasi ideolojiye / görüşe ait ya da yakın hissediyorsunuz?

- (...) Liberal
- (...) Demokrat
- (...) Muhafazakar
- (...) Atatürkçü / Ulusalçı
- (...) Muhafazakar Demokrat
- (...) Sosyalist / Komünist
- (...) İslamcı
- (...) Milliyetçi Muhafazakar
- (...) Milliyetçi
- (...) Sosyal Demokrat
- (...) Siyasi düşüncemin neye karşılık geldiğini bilmiyorum.
- (...) Siyasi düşüncemi yansıtan bir ideoloji yok.
- (...) Herhangi bir ideolojim yok.
- (...) Belirtmek istemiyorum.

### 2. Hiç siyasal ideolojinizi / görüşünüzü gizlemek zorunda kaldınız mı?

- (...) Evet
- (...) Hayır

### 3. Sizin için vazgeçilmez olan değerler hangileridir? 1'den 3'e kadar sıralayınız. (Her satırda yalnızca bir seçeneği işaretleyiniz.)

	Aile	Din	Vatan	İdeoloji	İrk – Etnik Kimlik	Adalet	Özgürlük	Diğer
Değer 1								
Değer 2								
Değer 3								
Diğer								

### 4. Oy tercihinizde hangi faktör ne kadar etkilidir? (Her satırda yalnızca bir seçeneği işaretleyiniz.)

	1 – Hiç Etkili Değil	2 – Etkili Değil	3 – Kısmen Etkili	4 – Etkili	5 – Çok Etkili
İdeoloji					
Etnik Kimlik					
Dini İnanç					
Yaşanılan Yer					

## C. SİYASETE İLĞİ DÜZEYİNE İLİŞKİN BİLGİLER

### 1. Siyasetle ne kadar ilgilisiniz?

- (...) Oy kullanmıyorum.  
(...) Sadece oy veririm.  
(...) Hem oy veririm hem de yakın çevremle siyasi konuları konuşurum.  
(...) Gündemi çok yakından takip ederim.  
(...) Aktif olarak siyasete katılırım.  
(Partide aktif görev almak, aday olmak, meclis üyeliği vb.)

### 2. Türkiye'nin karşı karşıya olduğu en önemli sorunlar nelerdir? Önem sırasına göre 1'den 3'e kadar sıralayınız. (Her sütunda yalnızca bir seçeneği işaretleyiniz.)

	1. Sorun	2. Sorun	3. Sorun
Çevre Sorunları			
Terör ve Güvenlik			
Eğitim Sistemi			
İşsizlik			
Toplumsal Kutuplaşma			
Kadrolaşma / Kayırmacılık / Liyakatsizlik			
Ahlaki Yozlaşma			
Yoksulluk / Enflasyon			
Suriyeliler ve Diğer Göçmenler			
Yolsuzluk / Rant			
Diğer: .....			

### 3. Aşağıdaki kurumlardan hangilerine güveniyorsunuz? En çok güvendiğiniz kurumları 1'den 3'e kadar sıralayınız. (Her sütunda yalnızca bir seçeneği işaretleyiniz.)

	1. Kurum	2. Kurum	3. Kurum
Bürokrasi			
Bakanlar			
Cumhurbaşkanlığı			
Siyasi Partiler			
Yargı			
TBMM			
Üniversiteler			
Ordu			
Medya			
STK (Dernek, Vakıf)			
Diyanet			
Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü			
Yerel Yönetimler			
Hiçbiri			
Diğer: .....			



4. Türkiye'nin öncelik vermesi gereken politika alanları hangileridir? Öncelik sırasına göre 1'den 3'e kadar sıralayınız.

	1. Politika Alanı	2. Politika Alanı	3. Politika Alanı
Güvenlik ve Savunma			
Dış Politika			
Ekonomi			
Çevre ve Kent			
Eğitim			
Sosyal Politikalar			
Kültür ve Turizm			
Bilim, Sanayi ve Teknoloji			
Tarım ve Hayvancılık			
Diğer: .....			

#### D.OY VERME DAVRANIŞINA İLİŞKİN BİLGİLER

1. Oy tercihinizde kim daha etkilidir?

	1 – Hiç Etkili Değil	2 – Etkili Değil	3 – Kısmen Etkili	4 – Etkili	5 – Çok Etkili
Baba					
Anne					
Kardeş					
Eş					
Arkadaş Çevresi					
Akraba					
Okul					
Cemaat					
STK (Dernek, Vakıf)					
Kendi Kararı					

2. Oy tercihinizde siyasal iletişime ilişkin faktörler ne kadar etkilidir?

	1 – Hiç Etkili Değil	2 – Etkili Değil	3 – Kısmen Etkili	4 – Etkili	5 – Çok Etkili
Partinin / Adayın Seçim Kampanyası					
Partinin / Adayın Medya Görünürlüğü					
Partinin / Adayın Mitingleri					
Partinin / Adayın Afiş, Broşür ve Seçim Şarkıları					
Partinin / Adayın Radyo – TV Performansı					
Partinin / Adayın Sosyal Medya Performansı					
Parti Temsilcisi / Aday ile Yüz Yüze Görüşme					

3. Oy tercihinizde medya araçları ne kadar etkilidir?

	1 – Hiç Etkili Değil	2 – Etkili Değil	3 – Kısmen Etkili	4 – Etkili	5 – Çok Etkili
Gazete					
Radyo					
Televizyon					
Facebook					
Instagram					
Twitter					
Diğer: .....					

4. Oy tercihinizde siyasi partilere ilişkin faktörler ne kadar etkilidir?

	1 – Hiç Etkili Değil	2 – Etkili Değil	3 – Kısmen Etkili	4 – Etkili	5 – Çok Etkili
Partinin İdeolojisi					
Partinin Lideri					
Partinin Yönetim Kadrosu					
Partinin Programı ve Politikaları					
Partinin Adayları					
Partinin Proje ve Vaatleri					
Partinin Geçmiş İcraatları					
Partinin Rakipleri Karşısındaki Politik Performansı					
Partinin Güncel Sorunlar Karşısındaki Tutumu					

5. Oy tercihinizde lider / aday imajına ilişkin faktörler ne kadar etkilidir?

	1 – Hiç Etkili Değil	2 – Etkili Değil	3 – Kısmen Etkili	4 – Etkili	5 – Çok Etkili
Liderin / Adayın İdeolojisi					
Liderin / Adayın Eğitim Düzeyi					
Liderin / Adayın Cinsiyeti					
Liderin / Adayın Yaşı					
Liderin / Adayın Etnik Kökeni					
Liderin / Adayın Dini İnanç					
Liderin / Adayın Hitabet Yeteneği					
Liderin / Adayın Siyasi Tecrübesi					
Liderin / Adayın Fiziksel Özellikleri					
Liderin / Adayın Partisi					
Liderin / Adayın Rakipleri Karşısındaki Politik Performansı					
Liderin / Adayın Güncel Sorunlar Karşısındaki Tutumu					
Liderin / Adayın Üslubu					
Liderin / Adayın Adil Oluşu					
Liderin / Adayın Söylemleri					