Research Article

Factors Affecting Voter Behaviours

Seçmen Davranışlarını Etkileyen Faktörler

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Abstract

Determining the factors that affect the political participation behaviours of voters who are defined as consumers today is important for political parties and candidates. In this respect, each vote of voters, who are political consumers, is important for the continuation of the political life of political parties or candidates. In this context, the purpose of the current study is to determine the factors that affect the political participation behaviours of the Syrian immigrants who live in Turkey and have the right to vote and be elected. A total of 202 questionnaires administered in the current study were analyzed using the SPSS 26 program package. According to the results of the analysis, the participants were affected by the campaigns made during the election time, the leader of the party, his/her promises, program, immigration policy and social media activities. Political parties and candidates speaking the same language with the voters in their party activities and giving importance to immigration policies and promises in line with the wishes and needs of the voters can contribute to increasing their votes.

Keywords: Voter, Voter Behaviour, Political Participation, Voting Behaviour, Syrian Immigrants

Öz

Günümüzde bir tüketici olarak tanımlanan seçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışlarında etkili olan faktörlerin belirlenmesi siyasi partiler ve adaylar için önemli bir unsurdur. Bu açıdan siyasi tüketici olan seçmenlerin her bir oyu, siyasi partilerin ya da adayların siyasi hayatlarının devamı için önemlidir. Bu kapsamda Türkiye'de yaşayan ve seçme ve seçilebilme hakkına sahip olan Suriyeli göçmen seçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışlarında etkili olan faktörlerin tespit edilmesi yapılan bu çalışmanın amacını oluşturmaktadır. Çalışma kapsamında yapılan anketlerden elde edilen 202 adet veri SPSS 26 programı kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Yapılan analiz sonuçlarına göre, katılımcıların seçim zamanında yapılan kampanyalardan, partinin liderinden, vaatlerinden, programından, göçmen politikasından ve sosyal medya faaliyetlerinden etkilendikleri tespit edilmiştir. Siyasi partiler ve adaylar yapacakları parti faaliyetlerinde seçmenlerle aynı dili konuşmaya ve seçmenlerin istek ve ihtiyaçları doğrultusunda göçmen politikalarına ve vaatlerine önem vermeleri oy oranlarının artmasına katkıda bulunabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Seçmen, Seçmen Davranışı, Siyasal Katılım, Oy Verme Davranışı, Suriyeli Göçmenler

1. Introduction

Today, issues related to politics are constantly discussed among voters. In these discussions, voters talk about issues such as why they will or will not vote for which political party or candidate. We can define this situation as an indispensable passion of our country's voters (Armutcu and Tan, 2023, p.21).

Among the main reasons why politics has become a part of people's lives is that it plays an important role in the implementation of policies that cover all of the rules, laws and principles which can positively or negatively affect the lives of people (Heywood, 2007, p.3). Thus, the policies that political parties and candidates put forward can change the attitudes and behaviours of voters and affect their political participation behaviours (Filiz, 2019, p.1-2).

There are many sources motivating political participation decisions and behaviours of voters. In this connection, political parties and candidates directly affect their success or failure in the elections with the activities they will perform or the policies they put forward. As these activities and policies affect the behaviours of voters, examining the political participation behaviours of voters is important for the success of political parties and candidates (Gökçe, 2022, p.2).

Since Turkey's transition to a multi-party political life, the political participation behaviour of every voter who has the right to vote for the election of political parties and candidates has been of great importance. In this respect, political parties and candidates that perform effective election activities, offer promises to address the wishes and needs of voters and carry out effective political marketing campaigns are more successful than rival political parties and candidates (Armutcu and Tan, 2022, p.80).

In the election of political parties and candidates, it is important to determine the political participation behaviours of voters who have the right to vote. In this context, the purpose of the current study is to determine the factors that affect the political participation behaviours of Syrian immigrants who live in Turkey and have the right to vote and be elected. In this way, this study not only offers important implications for political marketing activities but also makes significant contributions to raising awareness of the importance of political participation. Moreover, this study will make important contributions to both the existing literature and the development of studies on the political participation and voting behaviour of voters by determining the factors that affect the political participation behaviours of voters.

In this context, this study primarily investigates the effects of leadership characteristics, promotional activities, party activities, candidate characteristics and voting behaviours in explaining the political participation behaviour of voters. In addition, this study evaluates the factors that affect the voting behaviour of Syrian immigrant voters in Turkey in relation to their demographic characteristics.

In line with the main purpose of this study, it is important to determine the political participation behaviours of Syrian immigrants who play an important role in the election of political parties and candidates in Turkey. In this connection, in the second part of the study, the factors and basic elements that affect voter behaviour and political participation are explained under the title of factors affecting political participation and voting behaviour. In the third part of the study, explanations about the Arab Spring and the Syrian migration movement are given in accordance with the purpose and subject of the study. Following the theoretical framework given in accordance with the subject and scope of the study, comprehensive information about the purpose, importance, scope, model and method of the study is given under the title of methodology in the fourth part of the study. In the fifth part of the study, the findings obtained from the analyses and the discussion are presented. Finally, in the sixth part of the study, results and suggestions are given.

2. Factors Affecting Political Participation and Voting Behaviour

The concept of political participation refers to the involvement of the governed citizens in the decision-making process and their ability to influence the decision-making process. This concept manifests itself in the political arena as the rights that the governed citizens have obtained by participating in the political processes (Turan, 1986, p.86). Although there is no commonly accepted definition, political participation is defined as the process in which individuals who have the right to vote and to be elected take part in activities to influence political actors and decision-making processes in line with their wishes and needs at the national or local level (Dursun, 2013, p.109-111; Güven, 2017, p.176).

Political participation is a democratic right that all the citizens in contemporary countries have. The levels of political participation of those governed are not the same for all individuals (Baykal, 1970, p.80). The greatest share in the determination of those who govern (political parties and candidates) in the political process belongs to those who are governed (voters). In this regard, it is important to identify

the factors that affect voters' political participation and voting behaviours for political parties. The basis of the political participation behaviours of voters is to intervene in the decision-making processes of political parties and candidates (Dursun, 2013, p.110). In this way, voters have a say in determining the political parties and candidates that will govern them (Atabey and Hasta, 2018).

There are many factors that affect the political participation behaviour of voters. Identifying and revealing these factors are of vital importance in the policies and activities of political parties and candidates, as well as in the continuation of their political life (Armutcu and Mavi, 2022, p.178). Thus, it is seen that voters are the main pillar of elections and democracy. Political parties and candidates want to influence the preferences of voters by determining the factors that affect the voting behaviour of these voters and by developing or changing the policies in this direction (Banger, 1995). When we examine the factors affecting the political participation behaviours of voters in the relevant literature, it is seen that they are grouped under the headings of demographic factors, psychological factors, socio-cultural factors and economic factors. Among the mentioned factors, demographic factors are an important factor affecting voter behaviour.

Among the demographic factors that affect the political participation behaviours of voters are basic factors such as gender, age, income, education and occupation (Banger, 1995). As these demographic factors are effective on the political participation behaviours of voters, these factors are frequently used by political parties and candidates in public opinion and market research (Damlapınar and Balcı, 2005). The gender factor which is among the demographic factors that affect the political participation behaviours of voters has a significant effect on the political attitudes and behaviours of women (Çarkoğlu and Toprak, 2006) because the belief that politics is men's work is common in societies and therefore there is no gender equality among political decision-making mechanisms (Wintringham, 2005).

The education factor also has an important role on the political participation behaviours of voters. There is a significant correlation between the education level of voters and their political attitudes and behaviours (Özer, 2004). In addition, it is known that the income levels of voters have a direct effect on their political preferences. Political participation level of societies and voters with high income level is always higher than those with low income level because voters with high income levels want to maintain their income levels by ensuring political stability with their political participation (Narlı and Dirlik, 1996, p:151).

Another important factor affecting the political participation levels of the voters is the occupational groups they belong to. When the reasons affecting the political participation decisions of voters according to the occupational groups are examined, it is seen that the voters who are exposed to more political activities or who have to be more interested in politics because of their field of activity have higher levels of political participation (Doğan and Göker, 2010, p.177).

Another factor affecting the political participation levels of voters is the age factor. While the voters who are members of generations X and Y mostly support the political party and candidate with a conservative ideology, the voters who are the members of generation Z support the political parties and candidates promising for change and development (Negiz, 2007, p.52-54).

Along with the age factor, socio-cultural factors also have an important place among the factors affecting the voting behaviour of voters. The socio-economic development levels of voters affect their voting attitudes and behaviours. In fact, the main factors underlying the attitudes and behaviours of voters in their voting behaviour are cultural factors (Çinko, 2006, p.111). When socio-cultural factors are evaluated from this point of view, it can be stated that political parties and candidates have an important place in the formation of election policies.

Wells (1972) defines culture as "the elements or behaviours such as knowledge, skills, beliefs, morals, behaviours, customs and traditions that we gain from people with whom we are constantly together such as parents, relatives, friends and acquaintances". In this context, we can state that cultural characteristics are kept alive by people and that cultural characteristics of people can affect each other's decisions, in other words, their political attitudes and behaviours.

Religious belief, which is among the socio-cultural factors affecting the political attitudes and behaviours of voters, is an important element. While voting, voters evaluate political parties and candidates on the basis of their own religious beliefs and can change their voting behaviour depending on similarities or differences between the beliefs (Kaban, 1995, p.69). On the other hand, the family

structure, which has an effect on the voting behaviour of voters, is also a socio-cultural factor because voters are brought up under the influence of their families' political attitudes and behaviours. Thus, the voting behaviours and even private lives of voters are similar to those of their family members (Polat et al., 2004).

Another socio-cultural factor that is effective in the political attitudes and behaviours of voters is regional differences. In today's political life of Turkey, regional differences can significantly affect preferences for political parties and candidates. While political parties belonging to the left wing are more dominant in the coastal areas, the Central Anatolia region is dominated by voters supporting more conservative and nationalist parties. On the basis of this difference lies ethnic and sectarian characteristics and the ethnic and sectarian characteristics of voters have an effect on their political party preferences (Narlı and Direk, 1996, p.151).

Reference groups, interest groups and opinion leaders are among the other socio-cultural factors that affect the political attitudes and behaviours of voters. Individuals or groups who are well-connected with the public and have gained the affection of people are an important factor in influencing the voting behaviour of voters. These individuals or groups have the political power to influence voters in supporting a particular political party or candidate (Erkan and Bağlı, 2005, p.187). In addition, interest groups consisting of individuals or groups that have come together for a specific purpose can also be influential on the voting behaviour of voters. Interest groups support political parties and candidates that align with their own interests or provide them with what they desire by carrying out ideological activities that aim to change the opinions and beliefs of their members (Canaktan et al., 2007, p.203). Furthermore, in many elections, it is observed that the political parties and candidates supported by opinion leaders, who have a significant influence on the voting behaviour of voters, are also supported by individuals who admire those opinion leaders (Doğan and Göker, 2010, p.160). Also, socio-psychological factors of voters, such as opinion leaders who are effective in voter behaviour, are also an important factor.

Psychological factors that affect the political participation behaviours of voters are as effective as the demographic and socio-cultural factors. Kotler and Armstrong (1991) state that among the psychological factors affecting the voting behaviour of voters, the personality of voters, and their sense of class belonging and lifestyles are important factors. The personality of each voter is different. The personal differences of voters undoubtedly affect their political attitudes and behaviours (Öcal et al., 2011, p.406). The attitudes and behaviours of voters are seen as a reflection of their personality traits (Akgün, 2007, p.27).

While voting, voters evaluate factors such as the size, ideology, likelihood of winning the election, political structure and human capital of a political party. If they perceive the party they intend to support as inadequate in these factors, they may abstain from voting or become indifferent towards elections. Voters' behaviour of abstaining from voting or becoming indifferent towards elections is considered as a psychological factor (Sitembölükbaşı, 2005, p.13). Voters convince themselves on the basis of psychological factors that the political party and candidate they want to vote for are not likely to win the elections and that the vote they will use will not change the results of the general elections. As a result, they may not participate in political activities and may even cause other people not to participate either (Bakırtaş, 2007). Thus, we can state that the voting behaviour of voters is affected by psychological factors. Voters psychologically establish an emotional bond with some candidates or political parties, and in this direction, they can support those political parties or candidates in the elections (Özkan, 2010). Another factor that influences voters to support political parties or candidates is economic factors.

Economic factors are among the most influential factors on the political participation behaviour of voters because economic factors directly affect the lives of voters (Armutcu and Tan, 2022). Especially in the case of increased failures in economic policies, it is seen that economic factors are a determining factor both in the increase in the political participation levels of voters and in their voting behaviour (Çinko, 2006, p.113).

High unemployment, low per capita income, high inflation and high interest rates are among the reasons why voters are affected by economic factors. These macroeconomic factors directly affect the lives of voters. Voters change their voting behaviour parallel to positive and negative developments in their personal income (Ercins, 2007, p.37).

Voters take into consideration the implementations or promises of political parties and candidates in economic policies. While voters reward the political parties and candidates who implement or promise successful economic policies, they punish their unsuccessful economic policies at the ballot box (Armutcu, 2021).

This voting approach of the voters is evaluated within the scope of economic voting theory in the literature and voters support political parties and candidates who maximize their personal expectations while voting (Temizel, 2012, p.36).

3. Arab Spring and Syrian Migration Movement

The Arab Spring process, which first started in Tunisia in 2010, spread across many countries in the region and showed significant effects in these countries (Yılmaz and Özer, 2022, p.283). This effect has caused great waves of immigration, which has become a danger for all countries of the world outside the region. The most dramatic example of this is the Syrian civil war. With the Syrian civil war, the people's search for democracy has led to mass movements that suddenly turned into a search for a country to migrate to (Canyurt, 2018, p.1104). The rightful actions of the peoples, which started as the Arab Spring in 2010 and influenced the Arab geography, were attempted to be suppressed with the use of force and weapons by the authority (Acar and Acar, 2021).

These uprisings and rebellions, which manifested themselves in the Arab geography, created a great conflict and chaos environment and turned into a big problem that affected Turkey and other countries in the region (İçduygu, 2015). Due to the chaos and turmoil, hundreds of thousands and even millions of people fled from the regime and the regime forces, causing a great migration movement towards countries such as Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, which are the closest countries. In this process, Turkey has followed an open door policy by not condoning the deaths of millions of people with its immigration policy and has hosted many refugees in a dignified manner (UNHCR, 2021; Gülerce and Demir, 2021, p.185). In this context, temporary protection status was given to the immigrants for their position in the country and it was ensured that they were taken under control.

Migration is an important phenomenon that has taken place continuously between countries and regions from past to present. In addition, migration can occur individually as well as collectively. Migration can be voluntary as well as forced. Depending on the severity of the factors causing migration, migration can be permanent or temporary (Bartram et al., 2017). Among the factors that cause migration, there are major problems such as food crises, civil wars, economic crises which are important and make people's lives more difficult (Naghiyeva, 2019). In this respect, migration, the factors that cause migration and the changes in the behaviour of immigrants after migration are important factors that need to be examined and clarified. Migration is defined as follows according to the Geneva Convention signed in 1951: *"These are individuals who, due to their race, religious affiliation, membership in a particular social group, or political beliefs, have a justified fear of persecution and are unable or unwilling to seek protection from their country of origin, or they do not wish to return there due to fear of persecution."*

When the above-mentioned definitions are examined in general, migration can be defined as a forced or voluntary departure from their place of origin temporarily or permanently and moving to another settlement due to problems such as famine, war, economic problems, political problems, education-related problems, climate problems and natural disasters.

Turkey has been the country most affected by the migration movements stemming from the Arab Spring because the last part of the Arab Spring events took place in the Syrian lands neighbouring Turkey and a great migration movement started from Syria to Turkey (Öztürk ve Boyacı, 2021, p.1811).

Despite many negotiations between Turkey and Syria, the civil war did not end and immigration could not be prevented. This immigration has been recorded in history as the largest immigration since World War II. In addition, this immigration movement has caused fundamental problems in many areas in Turkey, especially in the political, economic and social areas. In the last decade, Turkey has established stronger commercial, political and cultural ties with the Arab world ever since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, contributing to Turkey's creation and implementation of well-established and grounded policies (Philips, 2012). Also, this is not the first problem between Syria and Turkey. Many

problems such as the Hatay problem, the terrorism problem and the water problem have been experienced between Syria and Turkey (Özçağlar, 2016).

Due to the internal turmoil, crises and civil war that started in Syria in 2011, an immigration movement has started to Turkey, which is a bordering country. Immigrants coming to Turkey with this immigration movement are defined as Syrian immigrants. The number of Syrian immigrants living in Turkey is expressed by the Directorate of Migration Management as approximately 3.6 million people (www.goc.gov.tr). In addition, there are 230,998 Syrian immigrants in Turkey having the right to vote and be elected (www.multeciler.org.tr, 2022).

4. Methodology
4.1. Research Method

The purpose of the current study is to determine the factors that affect the political participation behaviours of Syrian immigrant voters who have the right to vote and be elected in Turkey. The participants of the study were selected by using the convenience sampling method. In the convenience sampling approach, the researcher starts by selecting the respondents who are the easiest to reach until the required sample size is reached. It is sought to reach varied participantsaudiences in as many different areas as feasible while doing convenience sampling since the sample should correctly represent the main population (Cohen et al., 1988). The most widely employed and acknowledged sampling technique in quantitative research is convenience sampling (Suri, 2011; Benoot et al., 2016). The survey was conducted between 08.07.2022 and 15.04.2023. A pilot study was conducted to reduce the effects of common method bias. A structured questionnaire was sent to Syrian immigrants in Turkey who have the right to vote in order to measure the factors affecting their political participation behaviours. Although the participants have the right to vote and be elected, it is seen that the majority of them refrain from voting. It is thought that this behaviour may be because of their past experiences in Syria. On the other hand, increasing criticisms levelled to Syrian immigrants in Turkey is causing them to avoid engaging in political behaviours. Despite all these negative factors, the questionnaire was administered online and face-to-face, and a total of 202 questionnaires were obtained when the erroneous and incomplete questionnaires were excluded from the analysis. In order to obtain more accurate answers, the questionnaire was translated from Turkish to Arabic with the support of researchers with doctoral degrees who are fluent in both languages, and the participants were asked to give the answers most appropriate to them. There were multiple-choice and open-ended questions in the questionnaire. The collected data were analyzed using IBM SPSS 26 program package. The questionnaire items used in the current study were taken from the studies of Armutcu and Mavi (2022), Yılmaz (2014), Keresteci (2006) and Erdoğan (2019) and were used after being revised in accordance with the purpose of the current study. In the first part of the questionnaire used in the study, there are questions to elicit information about some demographic features of the participants and in the second part, there are questions to determine the factors affecting the voting behaviour of the participants. The participants were informed that the collected data would only be used for scientific purposes and the security of the data was ensured. This study was conducted with the permission of Gaziantep University Ethics Committee numbered 193940.

4.2. Literature Review and Hypothesis Development

In this part of the study, the findings of the studies conducted on voter behaviour and the hypotheses and model of the current study will be included. Niemi et al. (2001) found that the family is an effective factor in political attitudes and behaviours of their children. Likewise, Ventura (2011) stated that parents encourage their children to support political parties or candidates they prefer. Göktaş and Çarıkçı (2015), on the other hand, found that voters are affected by the political discourses and leadership characteristics of leaders. Çağlar and Asığbüldür (2017) argue that social media is an effective factor in voter behaviours. Erdoğan (2019) revealed that the political attitudes and behaviours of voters differ according to the age groups they belong to. On the other hand, Varlık and Sümer (2022) state that social media has a guiding effect on the preferences of voters. Armutcu and Mavi (2022) found that party ideology, immigration policy, leadership characteristics and political marketing are influential on the political behaviour of immigrant voters. Armutcu and Tan (2023) determined that the mass media and leadership characteristics are effective in voter behaviours. Based on the literature review, the hypotheses

established in accordance with the purpose of determining the factors affecting the voting behaviour of Syrian immigrant voters who have the right to vote and be elected in Turkey and the model proposed in the study (see Figure 1) are as follows;

H1: Syrian immigrant voters' perceptions of candidate characteristics vary significantly depending on their income level.

H2: Syrian immigrant voters' perceptions of party activities vary significantly depending on their income level.

H3: Syrian immigrant voters' perceptions of promotions vary significantly depending on their income level.

H4: Syrian immigrant voters' perceptions of voting behaviour vary significantly depending on their income level.

H5: Syrian immigrant voters' perceptions of leadership characteristics vary significantly depending on their income level.

Figure 1: Conceptual research model
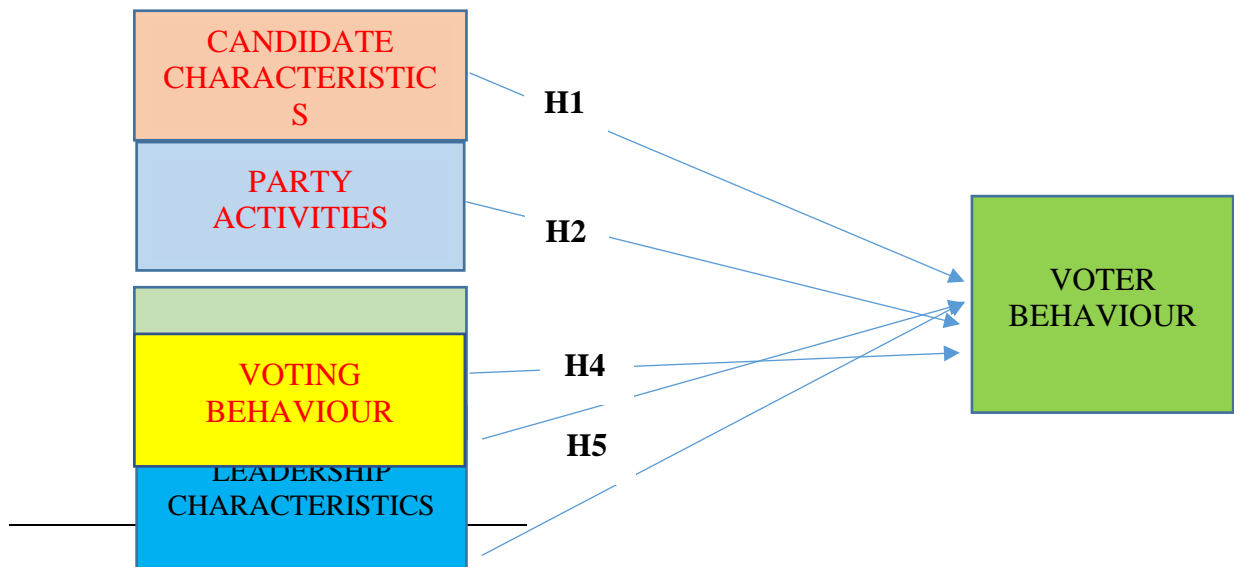
5. Findings and Discussion

In this part of the study, the analysis of the data collected with the questionnaire administered to Syrian immigrant voters in Turkey to determine the factors that affect their political participation behaviours and the findings obtained from this analysis are presented. First, the reliability test results of the variables and the normality test results are presented.

Table 1: Cronbach's Alpha Coefficients of the Sub-Scales in the Questionnaire

Voting Behaviour	**0.840**
Leadership Characteristics	**0.819**
Candidate Characteristics	**0.916**
Party Activities	**0.872**
Promotions	**0.916**

The Cronbach's Alpha reliability coefficients of the sub-scales used in the study are given in Table 1. The Cronbah's Alpha values of the above-mentioned sub-scales are 0.840, 0.819, 0.916, 0.872 and

0.916, respectively, and these values are above 0.70, which is considered the lower limit for the Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient (Hair et al., 1998; Özdemir, 2004). After the reliability test, the normality test was first performed. While performing the normality test, the results of the Skewness and Kurtosis tests were checked. As a result of the tests, it was determined that the Skewness and Kurtosis values were between -2 and +2 (Skewness: .171; Kurtosis: .341) and it was decided that the data were normally distributed according to these values (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2013). Thus, it was decided to use the t-Test and ANOVA test to test the hypotheses created in the current study.

5.1. Descriptive Findings related to the Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

In this part of the study, detailed information about the results of the analysis of the demographic information of the Syrian immigrants is given in Table 2. It is seen in Table 2 below that the highest percentages of voters are in the age groups of 36-45 (36.1%) and 26-35 (31.7%). In Table 2, it is seen that 76.7% (155) of the participants are male and 23.3% (47) are female. Of the participants, 154 (76.2%) are married and 44 (21.8%) are single. When the education level of the participants is examined, it is seen that 95 hold a bachelor's degree, 28 are high school graduates, 33 are middle school graduates, 26 hold a master's degree and 9 hold a doctorate degree. On the other hand, 72 of the participants have an income of 3001-7000TL, 40 of them have an income of 1001-3000TL, 37 of them have an income of 1000TL and less and 32 of them have an income of 10.000 TL and more. In addition, 19.8% of the participants are NGO workers, 19.8% are private business owners and 14.2% are workers in the private sector. Finally, 61.4% of them live in Gaziantep, 24.3% in İstanbul, 2.5% in İzmir and 2% in Konya.

Table 2: Findings on the Democratic Characteristics of the Participants

	n	**%**
Age		
16-25	33	16.3
26-35	64	31.7
36-45	73	36.1
46-55	22	10.9
56 and older	10	5.0
Total	**202**	**100**
Gender		
Female	47	23.3
Male	155	76.7
Total	**202**	**100**
Marital Status		
Single	44	21.8
Married	154	76.2
Divorced	4	2.0
Total	**202**	**100**
Education Level		
Middle School	33	16.3
High School	28	13.9
Associate's Degree	11	5.4
Bachelor's Degree	95	47.0

Master's Degree	26	12.9
Doctoral Degree	9	4.5
Total	**202**	**100**
Income Level		
1000TL and Less	37	18.3
1001-3000TL	40	19.8
3001-7000TL	72	35.6
7000-10.000TL	21	10.4
10.000TL and More	32	15.8
Total	**202**	**100**
Occupational Status		
NGO Worker	40	19.8
Teacher	20	9.9
Business Owner	40	19.8
Student	23	11.4
Housewife	22	10.9
Worker in the Private Sector	30	14.9
Worker in the Public Sector	14	6.9
Unemployed	7	3.5
Retired	1	5
Other	5	2.5
Total	**202**	**100**
Place of Residence		
Gaziantep	124	61.4
İstanbul	49	24.3
Konya	4	2.0
İzmir	5	2.5
Kilis	4	2.0
Şanlıurfa	3	1.5
Bursa	2	1.0
Antalya	3	1.5
Kahramanmaraş	1	.5
Kırıkkale	1	.5
Mersin	4	2.0
Ankara	2	1.0
Total	**202**	**100**

5.2. Findings on the Political Views of the Participants

In this part of the study, the findings obtained from the answers given to the questions created to determine the political views of the Syrian immigrant voters are given in Table 3. As seen in Table 3, 71.3% (144) of the participants stated that they voted in the elections, while 20.3% (41) stated that they did not vote in the elections although they had the right to vote in the elections. On the other hand, when asked how they would shape their political participation behaviour if there was no candidate or party to vote for in elections, 49% (99) of them stated that they would choose the candidate closest to their political views, while 40.1% (81) stated that they would not vote. It is seen in Table 3 that while 104 of the participants were not affected by the news in the media, 48.5% (98) were affected by the news in the media and their beliefs in political actors weakened. When they were asked the question "How does it affect you when you see the candidate/party you support arguing with the rival candidate/party in an offensive manner on television?", 91 of the participants state that it does not affect them, 67 of them stated that the aggressive style of the candidate creates question marks in their minds and 39 of them stated that their confidence in the candidate/party they support would increase.

Table 3: Findings on the Participants' Views about Political Events

Views	n	%
Do you vote in the elections?		
Yes	144	71.3
No	41	20.3
Sometimes	17	8.4
Total	**202**	**100**
What would you do if there weren't a party/candidate to vote for?		
I do not vote	81	40.1
I chose the one not having been tried so far	8	4.0
I choose the best of the bad	14	6.9
I choose the one closest to my political view.	99	49.0
Total	**202**	**100**
Does the news in the media have an effect on the decrease in your belief in the politician or the party?		
Yes	98	48.5
No	104	51.5
Total	**202**	**100**
How does it affect you when you see the candidate/party you support arguing with the rival candidate/party in an offensive manner on television?		
It doesn't affect me	91	45.0
It increases my confidence in the candidate/party I support	39	19.3
The aggressive style of the candidate creates question marks in my mind	67	33.2
I feel a sense of affinity towards the rival candidate/party.	5	2.5
Total	**202**	**100**
When do you decide which party to vote for?		

One year before the election campaign	39	19.3
Two-three years before the election campaign	36	17.8
During the election campaign	56	27.7
I do not change my political party preference	71	35.1
Total	**202**	**100**
How do you support the party you vote for?		
With a vote	196	97.0
With membership fee	1	.5
With donations	4	2.0
Total	**201**	**99.5**
Where do you learn about the ideas and policies of the parties?		
Party program	94	46.5
Brochures	12	5.9
Election manifestos	24	11.9
Media	70	34.7
Meetings and trips	1	.5
Banners	1	.5
Total	**202**	**100**

As seen in Table 3, 35.1% of the participants stated that they never change the party they vote for, while 27.7% stated that they decide which party they will vote for during the election campaign and 39% one year before the election campaign. On the other hand, it is seen that 97% (196) of the participants support the political party by voting and 2% (4) support it by making donations. Finally, to the question of "where do you learn about the ideas and policies of the parties?" 94 of the participants stated that they learn from the party program, 70 from the media, 24 from election manifestos and 12 from brochures.

5.3. Sources Used by the Participants to Follow Political Developments according to their Education Level

In this part of the study, the findings about the sources used by the participants to follow political developments according to their education level are given in Table 4 below. When the answers of the participants given to the question of "Which sources do you use to follow political developments?" are examined according to their education level, it is seen that 75% of the participants holding a bachelor's degree follow political developments from newspapers/magazines, 50% of the participants holding a master's degree follow from websites of parties and 40% of the participants who are high school graduates follow from the radio. On the other hand, 25% of the participants holding a doctoral degree follow from the websites of parties.

Table 4: Findings on the Sources Used by the Participants to Follow Political Developments according to their Education Level

			Which sources do you use to follow political developments?					
			TV	Newspaper/Magazines	Radio	Internet	Party websites	Total
		N	23	0	1	8	1	33

Education Level									
Education Level	Middle School	%	20.2%		0.0%	20.0%	10.7%	**25.0%**	
	High School	N	17		1	2	8	0	28
		%	14.9%		25.0%	**40.0%**	10.7%	0.0%	
	Associate's degree	N	7		0	0	4	0	11
		%	**6.1%**		0.0%	0.0%	5.3%	0.0%	
	Bachelor's Degree	N	49		3	2	41	0	95
		%	43.0%		**75.0%**	40.0%	54.7%	0.0%	
	Master's Degree	N	14		0	0	10	2	26
		%	12.3%		0.0%	0.0%	13.3%	**50.0%**	
	Doctoral Degree	N	4		0	0	4	1	9
		%	3.5%		0.0%	0.0%	5.3%	**25.0%**	
Total		N	114		4	5	75	4	202
		%	56,4%		2.0%	2.5%	37.1%	2.0%	100.0%

5.4. Features the Participants Look for in a Political Party according to their Education Level

In this part of the study, the findings on the features the participants look for in a political party according to their education level are given in Table 5 below. When the answers of the participants given to the question of "Which features do you look for in a political party?" are examined according to their education level, it is seen that 60% of the participants holding a bachelor's degree look for a good party program, 33.% of the participants who are middle school graduates find the human capital of the party important and 25% of the participants who are high school graduates and the participants who hold an associate's degree find the party's views on democracy and closeness to the society important. In addition, it was determined that 15.3% of the participants with a master's degree attach importance to the ideology of the party, while 11.1% of the participants with a doctoral degree attach importance to its views on democracy.

Table 5: Findings on the Features the Participants Look for in a Political Party according to their Education Level

			What are the features you look for in a political party?								Total
			Party Ideology	Leader of the Party	Human Capital of the Party	Party Program	Party Activities	Promises	Democracy	Closeness to the Public	
Education Level	Middle School	N	14	5	3	3	5	0	0	3	33
		%	14.3%	15.2%	**33.3%**	12.0%	25.0%	0.0%		9.1%	
	High School	N	13	5	2	3	3	0	1	1	28
		%	13.3%	15.2%	22.2%	12.0%	15.0%	0.0%	**25%**	8.3%	
	Associate's Degree	N	3	3	0	2	0	0	0	3	11
		%	3.1%	9.1%	0.0%	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**25.0%**	
	Bachelor's Degree	N	49	13	3	15	8	1	2	4	95
		%	50.0%	39.4%	33.3%	**60.0%**	40.0%	1.1%	50.0%	33.3%	

Master's Degree	N	15	5	1	2	2	0	0	1	26
	%	**15.3%**	15.2%	11.1%	8.0%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%	
Doctoral Degree	N	4	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	9
	%	4.1%	6.1%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	0.0%	**11.1%**	0.0%	
Total	%	103	186	117	100	192	183	39	135	202

5.5. General Findings related to the Participants' Opinions on their Political Participation Behaviours

In this part of the study, the findings obtained from answers given by the participants to the questions asked in order to determine the opinions of the participants about their political participation behaviours are given in Table 6. As seen in Table 6, while 51% of the participants stated that they trust the leader of the political party they vote for, 44.1% stated that they trust the party they vote for. In addition, it was determined that 41.1% of the participants follow the political agenda on the internet and 40.1% have sufficient information about the political party they support. In addition, 36.1% of the participants stated that they follow the political issues that constitute the political agenda of the country, 35.6% follow the political agenda from TV news, and 34.7% stated that they vote for the leader they trust, no matter which party he/she is in.

Table 6: General Findings related to the Participants' Opinions on their Political Participant Behaviours

Statements	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Undecided		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
I trust the party I vote for	4	2.0	6	3.0	23	11.4	80	39.6	89	**44.1**
I trust the leader of the political party I vote for	6	3.0	6	3.0	19	9.4	68	33.7	103	**51.0**
I vote for the leader I trust, no matter what party he/she is in.	22	10.9	25	12.4	27	13.4	58	28.7	70	**34.7**
I follow the political issues that constitute the political agenda of the country	13	6.4	14	6.9	40	19.8	73	**36.1**	62	30.7
I follow the political agenda from TV news	17	8.4	32	15.8	36	17.8	72	**35.6**	45	22.3
I follow the political agenda on the internet	11	5.4	12	5.9	34	16.8	83	**41.1**	62	30.7
I have sufficient knowledge about the political party I support	10	5.0	15	7.4	43	21.3	81	**40.1**	53	26.2

5.6. Findings of the t-Test Conducted to Determine Whether the Participants' Perceptions of Voting Behaviours Vary Depending on Gender

In this part of the study, the findings regarding the differences between the participants' perceptions of voting behaviours according to their gender are given in Table 7. The participants' perceptions of party program show a significant difference depending on their gender ((t{200}=-2.923; p<0,10). The perceptions of the male participants (X=4.19) towards party programs are more positive than the female participants (X=3.66).

Table 7: The Effect of Gender on the Participants' Perceptions of Voter Behaviours

Variables	Groups	N	X	ss	t-Test		
					t	sd	p
Party	Female	47	4.08	0.97	-1.112	200	0.268
	Male	155	4.26	0.96			
Leader	Female	47	4.17	0.78	-0.240	200	0.811
	Male	155	4.21	1.13			
Local Candidate	Female	47	3.44	1.09	-0.008	200	0.994
	Male	155	3.44	1.36			
Party Program	Female	47	3.66	1.22	-2.923	200	0.004*
	Male	155	4.19	1.05			
Party Ideology	Female	47	3.87	0.89	-1.530	200	0.128
	Male	155	4.13	1.06			
Human Capital of the Party	Female	47	3.53	1.15	-0.522	200	0.602
	Male	155	3.63	1.24			
Party's Conception of Democracy	Female	47	3.91	1.08	0.229	200	0.819
	Male	155	3.87	1.17			
Party's Previous Activities	Female	47	4.19	0.82	-0.241	200	0.810
	Male	155	4.23	1.06			
Party's Promises	Female	47	4.23	0.78	2.153	200	0.033*
	Male	155	3.80	1.06			
Party's Immigration Policies	Female	47	4.70	0.58	1.797	200	0.074*
	Male	155	4.40	1.07			

Note: * denotes a significance level of 10% (0.10).

The participants' perceptions of the party's promises vary significantly depending on gender (t{200}=2.153; p<0.10). The female participants' perceptions of the party's promises (X=4.23) are more positive than those of the male participants (X=3.80). Finally, according to the results of the t-Test analysis, it is seen in Table 7 that the participants' perceptions of the immigration policies of the party vary significantly depending on gender (t{200}=1.797; p<0.10). In other words, it can be stated that the female participants' perceptions of the party's immigration policies (X=4.70) are more positive than those of the male participants (X=4.40).

5.7. Findings of the ANOVA Conducted to Determine Whether the Participants' Perceptions of Voter Behaviours Vary Depending on Income Level

In this part of the study, the findings regarding the differences between the participants' perceptions of voter behaviours according to their income level are given. When Table 9 below is examined, it is seen that there is a significant difference in the participants' perceptions of the party's activities according to their income level (F=3.739; p<0.05). According to the results of the TUKEY test conducted to determine the source of this difference, the perceptions of the participants having an income level of 1001-3000TL (X=3.53) are significantly higher than those of the participants having an income level of 1000TL and less (X=3.01) and the perceptions of the participants having an income level of 3000-7000TL (X=3.51) are significantly higher than those of the participants having an income level of 1000TL and less (X=3.01).

Table 9: The Effect of Income Level of the Participants' Perceptions of Voter Behaviours

Variables	Income Level	N	X	SS	F	p	Significance Level
Candidate Characteristics	1000TL and less (1)	37	4.11	0.83	0.482	**0.749**	**Insignificant**
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	4.25	0.66			
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	4.10	0.90			
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	4.00	0.90			
	10.000 and more (5)	32	4.03	0.59			
Party Activities	1000 TL and less (1)	37	3.01	0.91	3.739	**0.006***	**2>1; 3>1**
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	3.53	0.83			
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	3.51	0.79			
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	3.20	0.95			
	10.000 and more (5)	32	3.09	0.62			
Promotions	1000 TL and less (1)	37	3.49	0.77	2.798	**0.027***	**1>4**
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	3.72	0.85			
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	3.54	0.99			
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	2.97	1.15			
	10.000 and more (5)	32	3.26	0.82			
Voting Behaviour	1000 TL and less (1)	37	3.88	0.74	0.792	**0.531**	**Insignificant**
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	3.94	0.77			
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	4.03	0.79			
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	4.17	0.46			
	10.000 and more (5)	32	4.08	0.47			
Leader Characteristics	1000 TL and less (1)	37	3.69	0.72	0.712	**0.584**	**Insignificant**
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	3.98	0.71			
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	3.87	0.88			
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	3.81	0.64			
	10.000 and more (5)	32	3.85	0.70			

Note: * denotes a significance level of 5% (0.05).

It is seen in Table 9 that there is a significant difference in the participants' perceptions of the party promotions depending on their income level (F=2,798; p<0.05). According to the results of the TUKEY test conducted to determine the source of this difference, the perceptions of the participants having an income level of 1000TL and less (X=3.49) are significantly higher than those of the participants having an income level of 7001-10.000TL (X=2.97). In addition, Table 10 shows the results related to the acceptance and rejection of the hypotheses created in relation to the effect of income level on the participants' perceptions of voter behaviours.

Table 10: Results for the Hypotheses Created in relation to the Effect of Income Level on the Participants' Perceptions of Voter Behaviours

	Hypotheses	Result
H1	Syrian immigrant voters' perceptions of candidate characteristics vary significantly depending on their income level.	**Rejected**
H2	Syrian immigrant voters' perceptions of party activities vary significantly depending on their income level.	**Accepted**
H3	Syrian immigrant voters' perceptions of promotions vary significantly depending on their income level.	**Accepted**
H4	Syrian immigrant voters' perceptions of voting behaviours vary significantly depending on their income level.	**Rejected**
H5	Syrian immigrant voters' perceptions of leadership characteristics vary significantly depending on their income level.	**Rejected**

5.8. The Effect of Income Level on the Participants' Perceptions of Voting Behaviours

In this part of the study, the findings regarding the differences between the participants' perceptions of voting behaviours according to their income level are given in Table 11. Here, it was determined that there is a significant difference in the perceptions of the participants regarding voting behaviour according to their income level. According to the results of the TUKEY test conducted to determine the source of this difference, significant differences based on income level were found in their perceptions of "Party Program" (F=3.841; p<0.05), "Party Ideology" (F=2.508; p<0.05), "Human Capital of the Party" (F=3,576; p<0.05) and "Party's Immigration Policies" (F=2.377; p<0.05).

Table 11: The Effect of Income Level on the Participants' Perceptions of Voting Behaviours

Variables	Income	N	X	SS	F	p	Significance Level
Party	1000 TL and less (1)	37	4.21	0.91			
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	4.05	1.17			
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	4.19	0.95	0.763	**0.550**	**Insignificant**
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	4.42	0.87			
	10.000 and more (5)	32	4.37	0.83			
Leader	1000 TL and less (1)	37	4.16	0.95			
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	4.02	1.20			
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	4.25	1.03	0.559	**0.693**	**Insignificant**
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	4.42	1.07			
	10.000 and more (5)	32	4.21	1.09			
Local Candidate	1000 TL and less (1)	37	3.24	1.25			
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	3.62	1.25			
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	3.56	1.28	0.772	**0.545**	**Insignificant**
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	3.28	1.41			

						F	p	
	10.000 and more (5)	32	3.28	1.41				
Party Program	1000 TL and less (1)	37	3.45	1.28				
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	4.27	0.98				
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	4.12	1.08	3.841	**0.005***	**2>1; 3>1; 4>1; 5>1**	
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	4.38	0.86				
	10.000 and more (5)	32	4.18	1.09				
Party Ideology	1000 TL and less (1)	37	3.83	0.95				
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	3.97	1.20				
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	4.00	1.11	2.508	**0.043***	**4>1**	
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	4.61	0.58				
	10.000 and more (5)	32	4.28	0.81				
Human Capital of the Party	1000 TL and less (1)	37	3.27	1.23				
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	3.82	1.15				
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	3.68	1.23	3.576	**0.014***	------------	
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	3.71	1.14				
	10.000 and more (5)	32	3.53	1.31				
Party's Conception of Democracy	1000 TL and less (1)	37	3.75	1.16				
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	3.77	1.32				
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	4.00	1.12	0.466	**0.760**	**Insignificant**	
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	4.00	1.04				
	10.000 and more (5)	32	3.88	1.02				
Party's Promises	1000 TL and less (1)	37	4.13	0.88				
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	3.62	1.42				
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	4.02	1.21	1.636	**0.167**	**Insignificant**	
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	3.52	1.47				
	10.000 and more (5)	32	3.96	0.86				
Party's Immigration Policies	1000 TL and less (1)	37	4.62	0.82				
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	4.12	1.22				
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	4.41	1.08	2.377	**0.053***	------------	
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	4.66	0.65				
	10.000 and more (5)	32	4.75	0.67				
Party's Previous Activities	1000 TL and less (1)	37	4.10	0.96				
	1.001-3.000 (2)	40	4.10	1.12				
	3.000-7.000 (3)	72	4.11	1.16	1.996	**0.097**	**Insignificant**	
	7.001-10.000 (4)	21	4.66	0.48				
	10.000 and more (5)	32	4.46	0.67				

Note: * denotes a significance level of 5% (0.05).

It is seen in Table 11 that there is a significant difference in the participants' perceptions of the party program according to their income level (F=3.841; p<0.05). When the source of this difference is

examined, it is seen that the perceptions of the participants having an income level of 1001-3000TL (X=4.27), 3000-7000TL (X=4.12), 7001-10.000TL (X=4.38) and 10.000TL and more (X=4.18) are significantly higher than that of the participants having an income level of 1000TL and less (X=3.45). On the other hand, the perceptions of the participants having an income level of 7001-10.000TL (X=4.61) about the party ideology are significantly higher than those of the participants having an income levels of 1000TL and less (X=3.83).

5.9. Participants' Perceptions of the Use of Social Media Networks to Follow Political News according to their Age

In this part of the study, the findings regarding the differences between the participants' perceptions of the use of social media networks to follow political news according to their age are given in Table 12. In this context, when Table 12 below is examined, it is seen that there is an age-based significant difference between the participants' perceptions of the use of Facebook to follow political news (F=3.739; p<0.05). According to the results of TUKEY test conducted to determine the source of this difference, the perceptions of the participants in the age group of 26-35 about Facebook (X=3.53) are significantly higher than those of the participants in the age group of 36-45 (X=3.51) and the participants in the age group of 16-25 (X=3.01).

Table 12: Participants' Perceptions of the Use of Social Media Networks to Follow Political News According to their Age

Social Media Network	Age	N	X	SS	F	p	Significance Level
Youtube	16-25 (1)	33	4.11	0.83			
	26-35 (2)	64	4.25	0.66			
	36-45 (3)	73	4.10	0.90	0.482	**0.749**	**Insignificant**
	46-55 (4)	22	4.00	0.90			
	56 and older (5)	10	4.03	0.59			
Facebook	16-25 (1)	33	3.01	0.91			
	26-35 (2)	64	3.53	0.83			
	36-45 (3)	73	3.51	0.79	3.739	**0.006***	**2>1; 3>1**
	46-55 (4)	22	3.20	0.95			
	56 and older (5)	10	3.09	0.62			
Twitter	16-25 (1)	33	3.49	0.77			
	26-35 (2)	64	3.72	0.85			
	36-45 (3)	73	3.54	0.99	2.798	**0.027***	**1>4**
	46-55 (4)	22	2.97	1.15			
	56 and older (5)	10	3.26	0.82			
Instagram	16-25 (1)	33	3.88	0.74			
	26-35 (2)	64	3.94	0.77			
	36-45 (3)	73	4.03	0.79	0.792	**0.531**	**Insignificant**
	46-55 (4)	22	4.17	0.46			
	56 and older (5)	10	4.08	0.47			
Tik-tok	16-25 (1)	33	3.69	0.72	0.712	**0.584**	**Insignificant**

	26-35 (2)	64	3.98	0.71			
	36-45 (3)	73	3.87	0.88			
	46-55 (4)	22	3.81	0.64			
	56 and older (5)	10	3.85	0.70			
Mobil News Channels	16-25 (1)	33	3.88	0.74			
	26-35 (2)	64	3.94	0.77			
	36-45 (3)	73	4.03	0.79	0.792	**0.531**	**Insignificant**
	46-55 (4)	22	4.17	0.46			
	56 and older (5)	10	4.08	0.47			
Twich	16-25 (1)	33	3.69	0.72			
	26-35 (2)	64	3.98	0.71			
	36-45 (3)	73	3.87	0.88	0.712	**0.584**	**Insignificant**
	46-55 (4)	22	3.81	0.64			
	56 and older (5)	10	3.85	0.70			

As seen in Table 12, there is an age-based significant difference between the participants' perceptions of the use of Twitter to follow political news (F=2.798; p<0.05). According to the results of TUKEY test conducted to determine the source of this difference, the perceptions of the participants in the age group of 16-25 (X=3.49) are significantly higher than those of the participants in the age group of 46-55 (X=2.97).

5. Results and Suggestions

The purpose of the current study is to determine the factors that affect the political participation behaviours of Syrian immigrant voters who are eligible to vote and to be elected in Turkey, and to present political suggestions for political parties and candidates. On the basis of the findings obtained from the analyses conducted within this context, it was determined that 71.3% of Syrian immigrant voters actively cast their votes in elections, 49% will vote for a political party or candidate that aligns with their political views if they do not have a preferred party or candidate, 48.5% feel that news coverage in the media weakens their belief in the political party or candidate they support and 45% are not influenced by the aggressive tone of the leader/candidate they vote for on TV. Other significant findings are that 27.7% of participants make their decision to vote during election campaigns, 97% show their support by voting for a political party and 81.2% learn about politicians' ideas and policies through media and party programs.

When how the participants follow political news was examined according to their education level, it was seen that 75% of the participants with a bachelor's degree follow political news from newspapers/magazines, while 50% of the participants with a master's degree follow it from party websites and 40% of the participants with a high school education follow it from radios. Additionally, when the characteristics the participants look for in a political party were examined in relation to their education level, it was found that 60% of participants with a bachelor's degree find the party program very important, while 33.3% of the participants with a middle school education find the human capital of the party important.

While 51% of the participants trust the leader of the political party they vote for, 44.1% trust the party they vote for. In addition, it was determined that 41.1% of the participants follow the political agenda on the internet and 40.1% have sufficient information about the political party they support. On the other hand, it was determined that the participants' perceptions of the party program vary significantly depending on their gender. According to the findings obtained in this context, the male participants'

perceptions of party programs are more positive than the female participants, the female participants' perceptions of party promises are more positive than the male participants and the female participants' perceptions of the immigration policies of the party are more positive than the male participants.

The participants' perceptions of voter behaviours were found to vary significantly depending on their income level. When the source of this difference was examined, it was found that the perceptions of the participants having an income level of 1001-3000TL about party activities are significantly higher than those of the participants having an income level of 1000TL and less and the perceptions of the participants having an income level of 3000-7000TL are significantly higher than those of the participants having an income level of 1000TL and less. Moreover, the perceptions of the participants having an income level of 1000TL and less about party promotions are significantly higher than those of the participants having an income level of 7001-10.000TL. In addition, the participants' perceptions of party program, party ideology, human capital of the party and immigration policies of the party were found to vary significantly depending on their income level.

As a result, it was determined that the participants were affected by the campaigns made at the time of the election, the leader of the party, the promises of the party, the program of the party, the immigration policy of the party and social media activities. Political parties and candidates should take care to speak the same language with the voters in their party activities, and it can be stated that producing content in the mother tongue of immigrants in social media posts and party programs will make a positive contribution to their political success. In addition, it can be stated that parties' giving importance to immigration policies and promises in line with the wishes and needs of voters may contribute to the increase in their votes.

The limitation of this study is that only Syrian immigrant voters were included as immigrant voters and these immigrant voters might have avoided answering the questions because of political concerns. In this context, it is suggested researchers who will work in this field should conduct research on immigrant voters of different ethnic origins and contribute to the relevant literature from different perspectives.

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Factors Affecting Voter Behaviours

Seçmen Davranışlarını Etkileyen Faktörler

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Genişletilmiş Özet

Günümüzde bir tüketici olarak tanımlanan seçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışlarında etkili olan faktörlerin belirlenmesi siyasi partiler ve adaylar için önemli bir unsurdur. Siyasi partiler ve adaylar için seçimleri kazanmak ve iktidarı ele geçirerek hükümeti yönetmek için siyasi bir tüketici olan seçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışlarında etkili olan faktörlerin tespit edilmesi önem arz etmektedir. Seçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışlarının tespit edilmesi siyasi partilerin ve adayların siyasal faaliyetlerinin devam edebilmesi için önemli bir unsur olması ile birlikte her bir seçmenin oyu siyasi partiler ve adayların siyasal faaliyetleri için hayati bir öneme sahiptir.

Siyasetin insanların yaşamlarının bir parçası haline gelmesinin temel nedenleri arasında, insanların hayatlarını ve yaşamlarını sürdürebilmeleri için konulan kuralların, yasaların ve ilkelerin tümünü kapsayan politikaların hayata geçirilmesinde önemli bir rol oynaması yer almaktadır (Heywood, 2014). Bu durum aynı zamanda seçmenlerin günlük yaşamlarını hem olumlu hem de olumsuz etkileyebilmektedir. Bu bağlamda düşünüldüğünde siyasi partilerin ve adayların gerçekleştirmek istedikleri veya ortaya koydukları politikalar seçmenlerin tutum ve davranışlarını değiştirebildiği gibi seçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışları üzerinde de önemli bir etkendir (Filiz, 2019).

Seçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışlarının ortaya çıkmasında birçok motivasyon kaynağı olduğu gibi seçmenlerin oy verme davranışları üzerinde ve kararlarında da bazı faktörlerin etkisi vardır. Bu doğrultuda, siyasi partiler ve adaylar yapacakları faaliyetlerde veya ortaya koydukları politikalarda seçimlerdeki başarılarını veya başarısızlıklarını doğrudan etkilemektedir. Çünkü bu faaliyetler ve politikalar seçmenlerin davranışlarını etkilediği için, seçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışlarının incelenmesi siyasi partiler ve adayların başarıları için önemlidir (Gökçe, 2022).

Türkiye'nin çok partili siyasi hayata geçmesiyle birlikte siyasi partilerin ve adayların seçilmesi için oy verme yetkisine sahip her seçmenin siyasal katılım davranışı büyük önem arz etmektedir. Bu açıdan oy verme yetkisine sahip olan seçmenlere yönelik etkili faaliyetler yürüten, seçmenlerin istek ve ihtiyaçlarına yönelik vaatler sunan ve etkili politik pazarlama kampanyaları yürüten siyasi partiler ve adaylar rakip siyasi partilere ve adaylara göre daha başarılı olmaktadır (Armutcu ve Tan, 2022).

Siyasal partilerin ve adayların seçilmesinde her oy verme yetkisine sahip seçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışlarının tespit edilmesi önemli bir unsur olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu kapsamda yapılan bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye'de yaşayan ve seçme ve seçilebilme hakkına sahip olan Suriyeli göçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışlarında etkili olan faktörleri tespit etmektir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma hem siyasi partilere ve adaylara hem de hükümeti yöneten siyasi parti yöneticilerine ve politika yapıcılara yapacakları politik pazarlama faaliyetleri için önemli çıkarımlar sunmakla kalmamakta, aynı zamanda seçmenlerin siyasal katılım algılarını değiştirerek ulusal ölçekte bilinçlendirme konusunda önemli katkılar sağlamaktadır.

Bu çalışma bu bağlamda, öncelikle seçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışını açıklamada lider özelliklerinin, promosyon faaliyetlerinin, parti çalışmalarının, milletvekilliği özelliklerinin ve oy verme davranışlarının etkisini araştırmaktadır. Ayrıca bu çalışma Türkiye özelinde Suriyeli göçmen seçmenlerin oy verme davranışında etkili olan faktörleri demografik özelliklerine göre değerlendirerek kapsamlı bir sonuç ortaya koymaktadır. Yapılan bu çalışmanın ana amacı doğrultusunda Türkiye'yi yöneten siyasi partilerin ve adayların seçilmesinde önemli bir rol oynayan Suriyeli göçmenlerin siyasal katılım davranışlarının tespit edilmesi çalışmanın amacına ulaşması açısından önemlidir. Bu bağlamda bu çalışmada Türkiye'de yaşayan ve oy verme yetkisine sahip olan Suriyeli göçmen seçmenlerin oy verme davranışları ve bu davranışlarını etkileyen faktörler incelenecektir. Bu çalışmanın verileri kolayda örnekleme yoluyla toplanmıştır. Ortak yöntem yanlılığının etkilerini azaltmak için bir pilot çalışma gerçekleştirdik. Türkiye'deki oy kullanabilme yetkisine sahip Suriyeli göçmenlere siyasal katılım davranışlarını etkileyen faktörleri ölçmek için yapılandırılmış bir anket gönderildi. Katılımcıların seçme ve seçilebilme hakkına sahip olmalarına rağmen çoğunluğunun oy vermekten kaçındığı görülmektedir. Bu davranışın Suriye'deki baskıcı siyasal olaylardan dolayı halkın siyasal katılım sağlarken korkmalarından kaynaklanabileceği düşünülmektedir. Bununla birlikte Suriyeli göçmenlere karşı artan söylemler Suriyeli göçmenleri siyasi davranışlardan kaçınmaya yitmektedir. Tüm bu olumsuz unsurlara rağmen anket çevrimiçi ve yüz yüze yapıldı ve toplamda elde edilen hatalı ve eksik anketler analiz dışı bırakıldığında toplam 202 anket elde edildi. Daha doğru yanıtlar elde etmek için, anket Türkçe'den Arapça'ya her iki dile hakim olan doktora derecesine sahip araştırmacılardan destek alınarak çevrildi ve katılımcılardan kendilerine en uygun yanıtlamaları vermeleri istendi. Bununla birlikte çalışmada çoktan seçmeli ve açık uçlu sorulara yer verildi. Veriler, ölçüm modelini değerlendirmek için IBM SPSS 26 istatistik programı kullanılarak analiz edildi. Çalışmada kullanılan anketin ilk bölümünde katılımcıların demografik özelliklerine ait bilgileri tespit etmeye yönelik sorulara yer verilirken ikinci bölümde ise katılımcıların oy verme davranışlarında etkili olan faktörlerin tespit edilmesi ile ilgili sorulara yer verilmiştir. Araştırmanın sadece bilimsel amaçlarla kullanılacağı katılımcılara bildirilmiş ve verilerin güvenliği sağlanmıştır. Bu araştırma Gaziantep Üniversitesinin 193940 sayılı Etik Kurul izni ile yapılmıştır.

Bu kapsamda yapılan analizlerden edilen bulgulara göre Suriyeli göçmen seçmenlerin %71,3'nün seçimlerde aktif olarak oy kullandığı, %49'nun seçimlerde oylarını verecek bir siyasi parti veya aday yoksa kendi politik görüşlerine en yakın siyasi partiye veya adaya oy vereceğini, %48,5'nin medyada çıkan haberlerin tuttukları siyasi partiye veya adaya olan inancını zayıflattığını ve %45'nin oy verdiği liderin/adayın TV'deki saldırgan üslubundan etkilenmediği tespit edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte katılımcıların %27,7'sinin seçim kampanyaları sırasında oy verme davranışına karar verdiği, %97'sinin siyasi partiye oy vererek destek olduklarını ve %81,2'sinin ise siyasilerin fikir ve politikaları medya ve parti programları üzerinden öğrendikleri ortaya konulan bir diğer önemli bulgudur.

Katılımcıların eğitim durumlarına göre siyasi haberleri nereden takip ettikleri incelendiğinde lisans eğitim seviyesine sahip katılımcılardan %75'i siyasi haberleri gazete/dergilerden takip ederken, yüksek lisans eğitim seviyesine sahip katılımcıların %50'si parti web sitelerinden ve lise eğitim seviyesine sahip katılımcıların %40'ı ise radyolardan takip ettiğini görülmektedir. Ayrıca eğitim durumuna göre siyasi partide aradıkları özellikler incelendiğinde, lisans eğitim seviyesine sahip katılımcılardan %60'ı parti programına önem verirken ortaokul eğitim seviyesine sahip katılımcıların %33,3'ü partinin kadrosuna önem verdikleri tespit edilmiştir.

Katılımcıların %51'i oy verdiği siyasi partinin liderine güven duyarken %44,1'i ise oy verdiği partiye güven duyduğunu ifade etmektedir. Bununla birlikte katılımcıların %41,1'i siyasi gündemi internet üzerinden takip ettiğini ve %40,1'ininde desteklediği siyasi parti ile ilgili yeterli derecede bilgi sahibi olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte katılımcıların parti programına yönelik algıları cinsiyetlerine göre anlamlı bir farklılık gösterdiği tespit edilmiştir. Bu kapsamda elde edilen bulguya göre erkek katılımcıların parti programlarına yönelik algıları kadın katılımcılara göre, kadın katılımcıların partilerin vaatlerine yönelik algıları erkek katılımcılara göre ve kadın katılımcıların partinin göçmen politikalarına yönelik algıları, erkek katılımcılara göre daha olumlu olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Katılımcıların seçmen davranışlarına yönelik algılarında gelir durumlarına göre etkilenme düzeyleri arasında farklılıkların olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Bu farklılık incelendiğinde, 1001-3000TL arasında geliri olan katılımcıların parti çalışmalarına yönelik algıları, 1000TL ve Altı gelir elde eden katılımcılardan

ve 3000-7000TL geliri olan katılımcılar, 1000TL ve Altı geliri olan katılımcılarından daha yüksek olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Ayrıca 1000TL ve Altı arasında geliri olan katılımcıların parti promosyon faaliyetlerinde etkili olan faktörlere yönelik algıları, 7001-10.000TL arasında geliri olan katılımcılarından daha yüksek olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte katılımcıların oy verme davranışlarına yönelik algılarında gelir durumlarına göre etkilenme düzeyleri incelendiğinde parti programı, parti ideolojisi, parti kadrosu ve partinin göçmen politikası ifadelerde farklılık gösterdiği tespit edilmiştir.

Sonuç olarak elde edilen bulgulara göre katılımcıların seçim zamanında yapılan kampanyalardan, partinin liderinden, partinin vaatlerinden, partinin programından, partinin göçmen politikasından ve sosyal medya faaliyetlerinden etkilendikleri tespit edilmiştir. Siyasi partiler ve adaylar yapacakları parti faaliyetlerinde seçmenlerle aynı dili konuşmaya özen göstermeli ve sosyal medya paylaşımlarında ve parti programlarında göçmenlerin ana dillerinde içerik üretmeleri siyasi başarılarına pozitif bir katkı sağlayacağı ifade edilebilir. Bununla birlikte seçmenlerin istek ve ihtiyaçları doğrultusunda göçmen politikalarına ve vaatlerine önem vermeleri ve bu doğrultuda geliştirmeleri oy oranlarının artmasına katkıda bulunabileceği ifade edilebilir.

Yapılan bu çalışmanın sınırlılığı sadece göçmen seçmenler olarak Suriyeli göçmen seçmenlerin dahil edilmesi ve göçmen seçmenlerin siyasi konulardan dolayı cevap vermekten kaçınmalıdır. Bu kapsamda gelecekte bu alanda çalışma yapacak araştırmacıların farklı etnik kökene sahip göçmen seçmenler üzerinde araştırma yapmaları ve ilgili literatüre daha farklı açılardan katkı sağlamaları önerilmektedir.