

Vote choice in the Istanbul Greater City Municipality Elections of 2019

27 September 2019

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BİLİM AKADEMİSİ



KOÇ ÜNİVERSİTESİ



Q-Step

A step-change in
quantitative social
science skills

Funded by the
Nuffield Foundation,
ESRC and HEFCE



- **Why was this an important election?**

- Erdogan's control of the Istanbul municipality was uninterrupted since 1994

- His career started in Istanbul and he used his mayorship as a stepping stone into the national politics

- AKP/AK Parti's tenure continues since 2002

- Istanbul with 15.4 million residents (18% of Turkey) and about 500,000 refugees as well as an even larger segment of the economic activity in the country is a critical province

- Istanbul is also the cultural and media sector's center

- Not only symbolically but financially Istanbul is critical for any party to generate (patronage) resources to mobilize voters not only in Istanbul but also over the whole country

- **How was this Project shaped?**

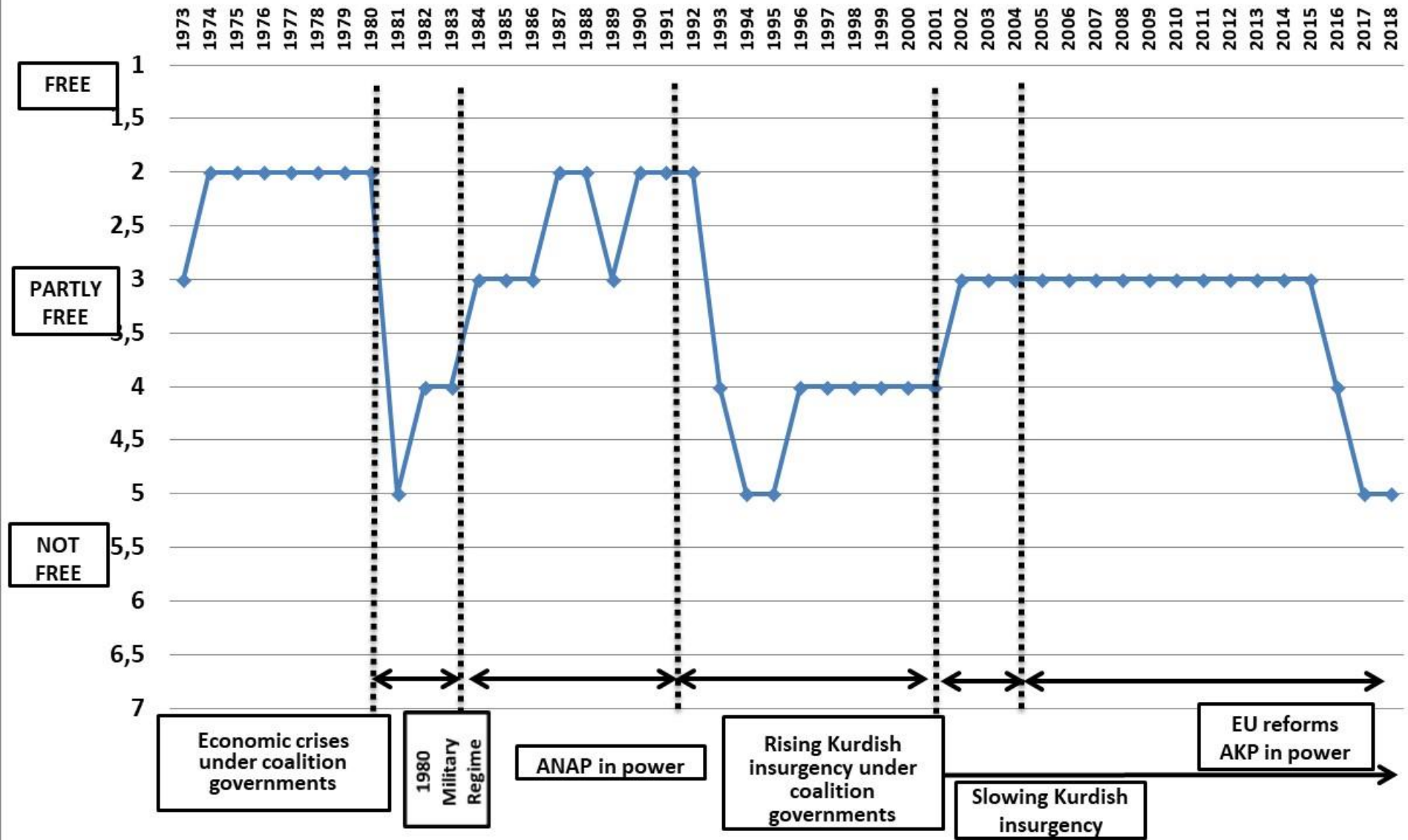
- we secured funding from the University of Exeter for a panel study and Voting Advice Application (VAA) in the Istanbul local elections of March 31st, 2019 [funded by Global Challenges Research Fund).

- our plan was to have about 2000 respondents in the pre-election and about 1000 respondents in the post-election phases.

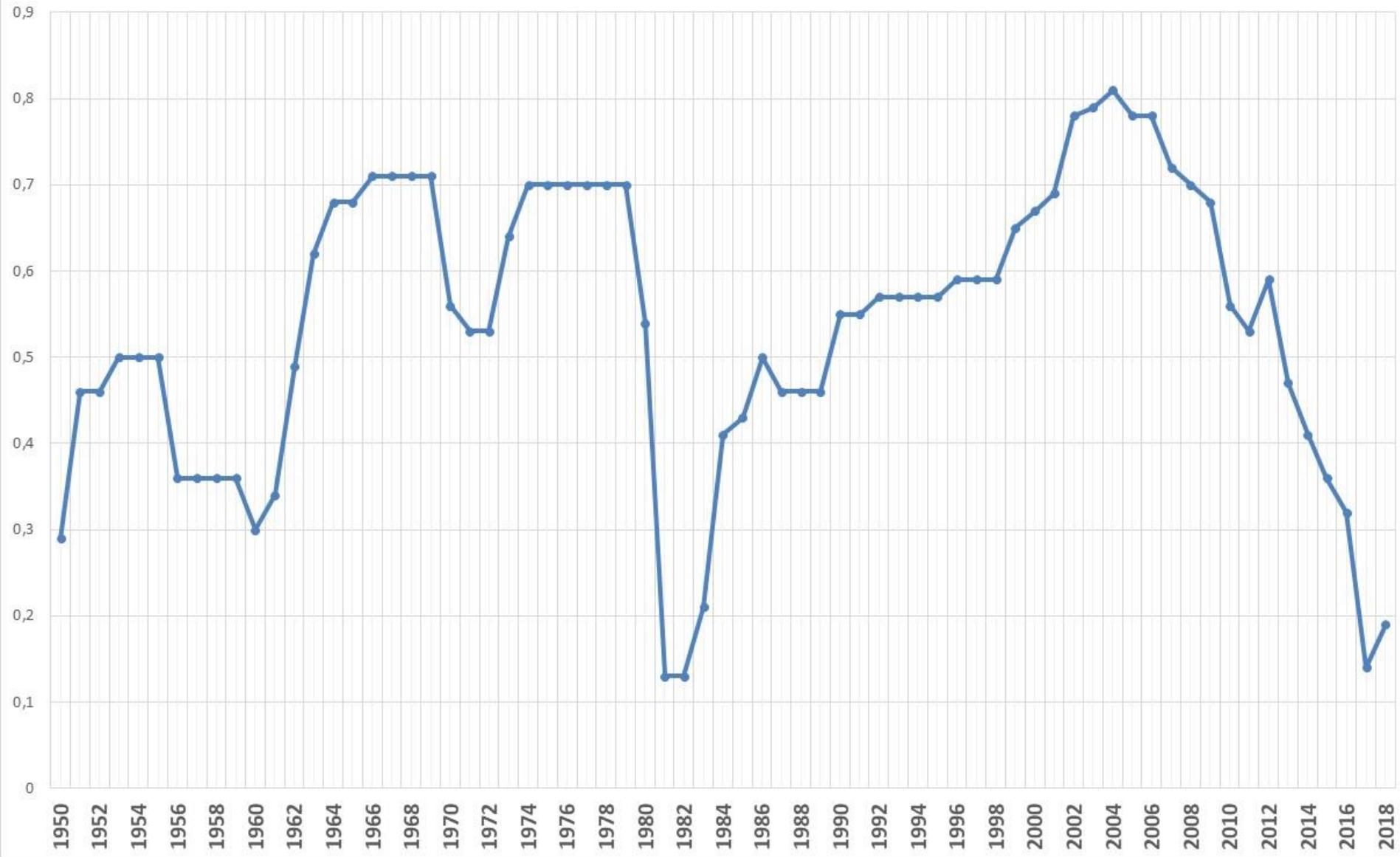
- when the Istanbul Greater City Municipality mayorship election got cancelled our second leg gained a new significance.

Democratic backsliding as the
background to local elections

Freedom House Political Rights Ratings, 1973-2018 Turkey



Freedom of expression index, Varieties of Democracy (VDem Data)-Turkey



Despite the advantages that the hegemonic party system created for the AK Parti it nevertheless failed to win the Istanbul elections twice.

We aim here to find an answer to the question as to why such a big loss took place in Istanbul?

And how differential use and influence of media sources played a role in this big loss?

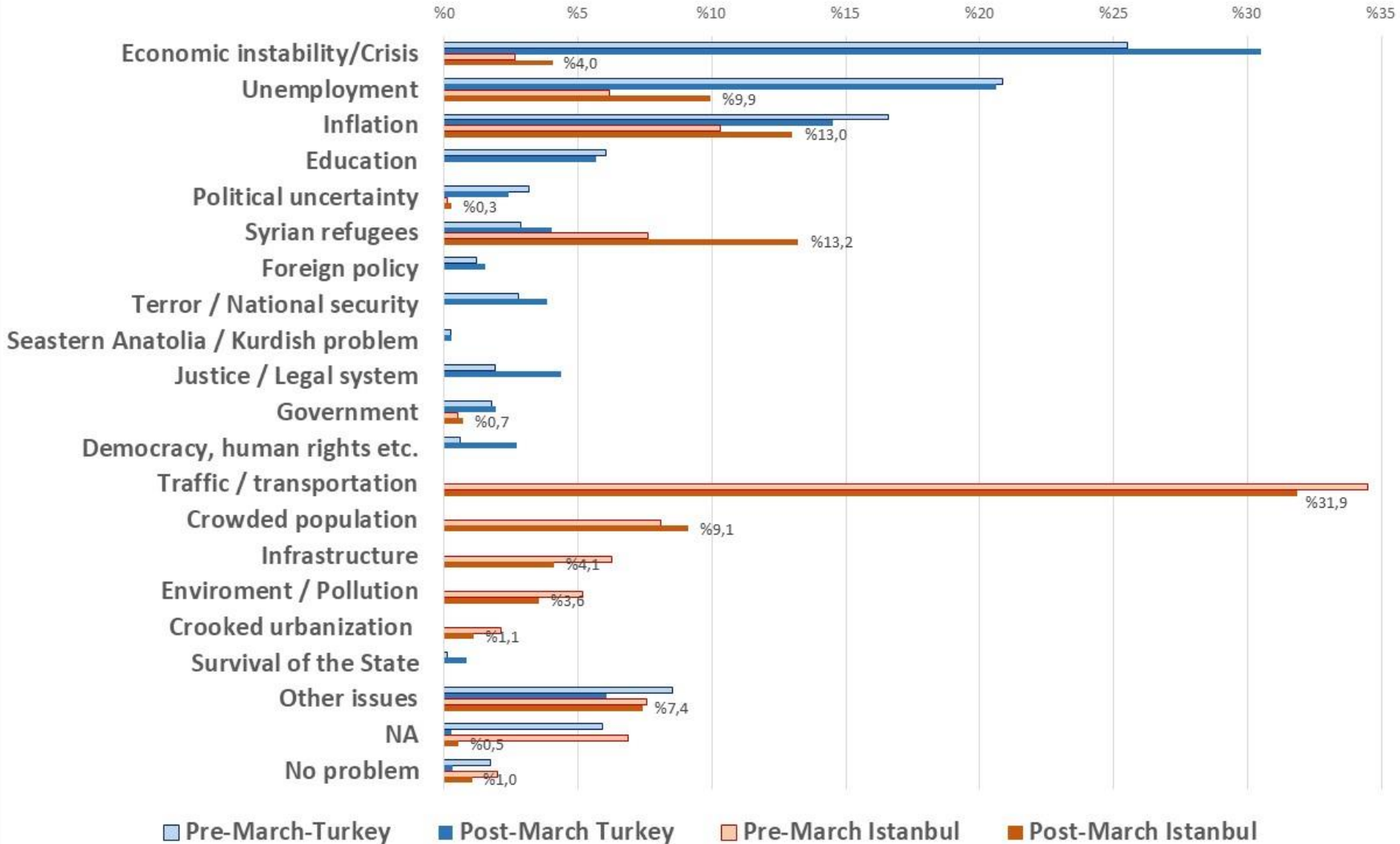
Background Information on the Survey Fieldwork

- **A total of 1995 first stage face-to-face interviews were conducted in 35 districts of Istanbul. In four districts (Silivri, Çatalca, Şile and Adalar) that correspond about 2% of the provincial population we did not conduct any fieldwork.**
- **In randomly selected households we again randomly selected a voting age respondent to interview.**
- **A fieldwork company, Frekans Research coordinated the fieldwork interviews between 16 February to 24 March, 2019 for the first round and between 20 May to 14 June.**
- **Before the 31 March election we had 1,995 interviews.**
- **Before the second round in 23 June we were able to reach 1,352 of the first round interviews (67.7% response rate). Of these 1,352 interviews completed, 164 were contacted via telephone and asked only their approaching election preferences and a few of the demographic and other independent variables. Hence the face-to-face sample size was restricted to 1,188 (59.5% of the first-phase interviews).**

Demographic Characteristics of Our Sample		%
	Male	46,6
	Female	53,4
Age	18-27	21,4
	28-37	23,2
	38-47	21,6
	48-57	15,7
	58+	18,2
	Average age	41,7
	Education	Illiterate, no education
Literate but no diploma		3,5
Primary school (5 years)		29,3
Secondary school or 8 years primary school		16,7
High school		22,5
Highschool graduate / continues at university		2,4
University graduate		22,5
Average years of education		9,1
Alevi		13,9
Spoke Kurdish with parents		10,9
Either spoke Kurdish with parents or speaks Kurdish now	15,1	
Born in Black Sea provinces	19,9	

Most important problems of Turkey and Istanbul

What were the two most important problems for Turkey and for Istanbul?



Campaign and Media Use

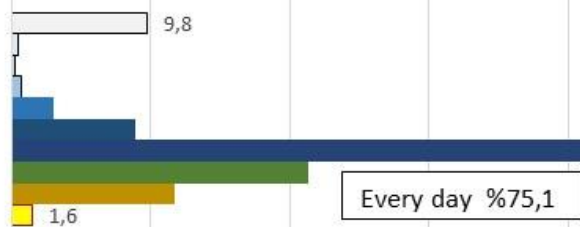
Media Use Frequency

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80

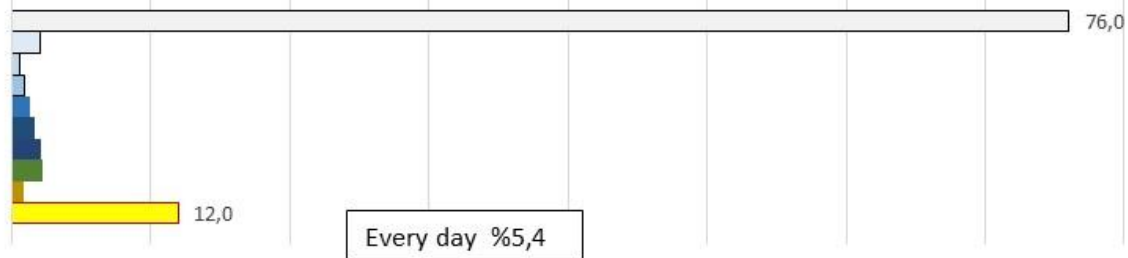
Newspapers (including the web issues)



TV stations (including the web issues)

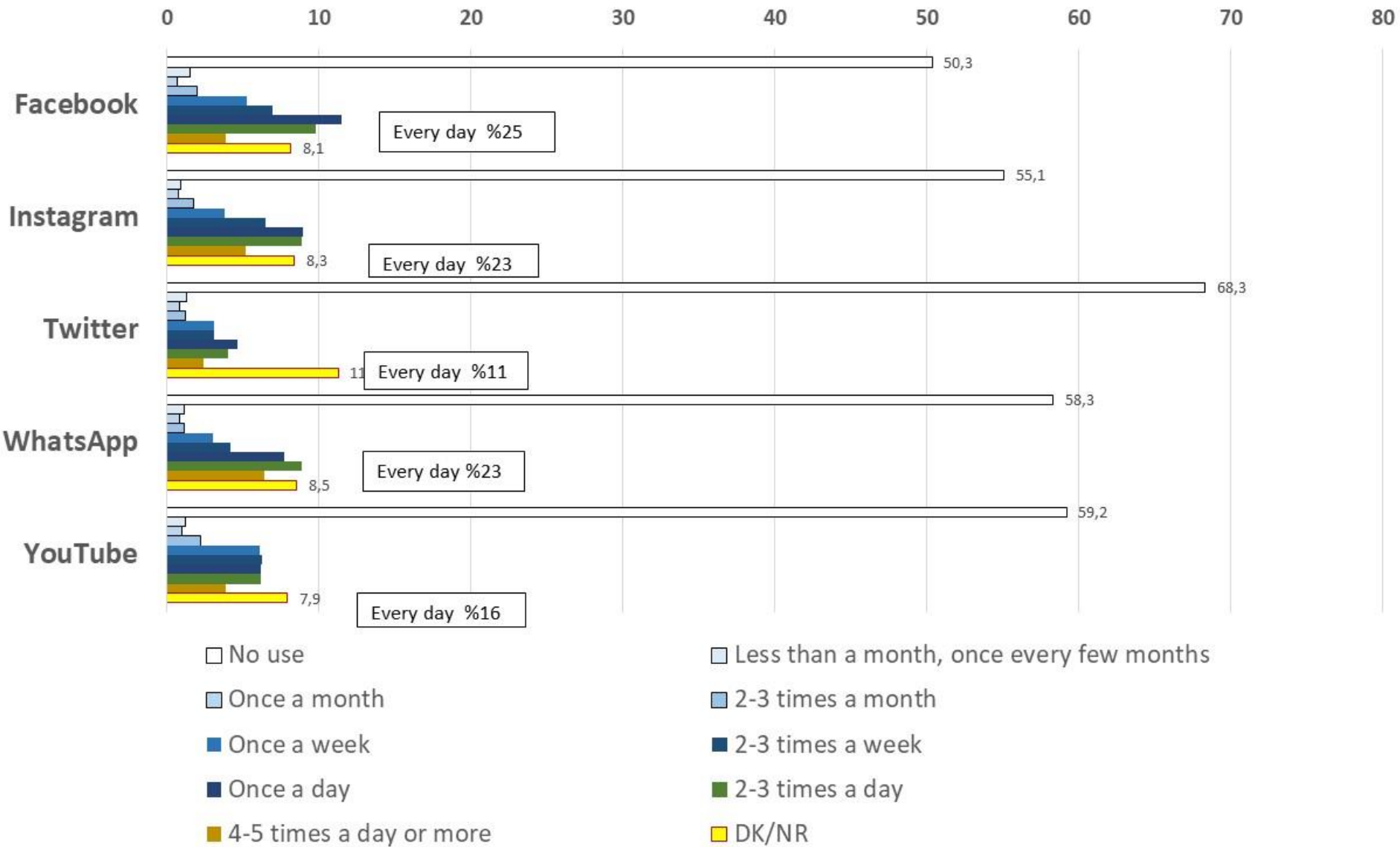


Radia stations (including the web issues)

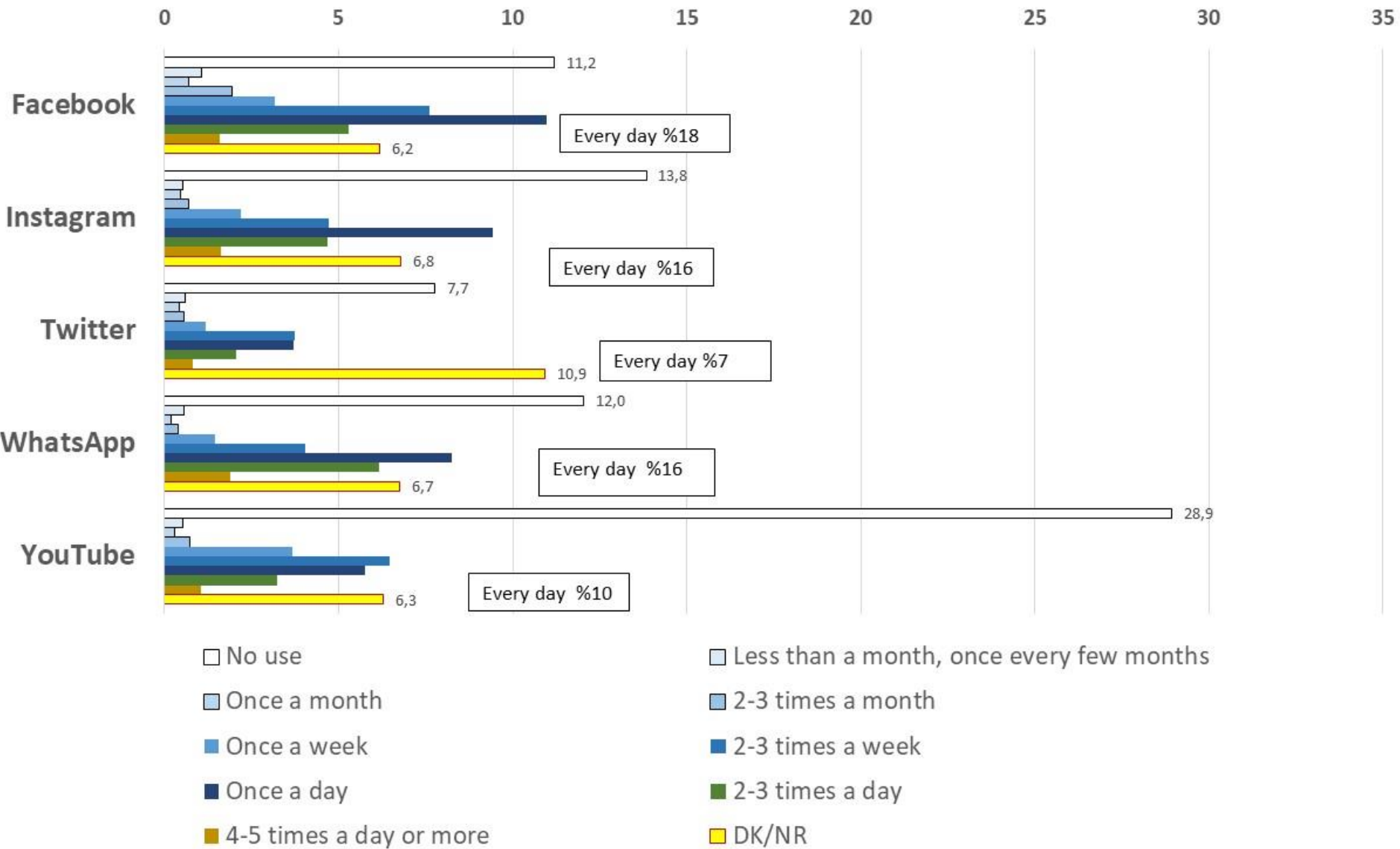


- No use
- Less than a month, once every few months
- Once a month
- 2-3 times a month
- Once a week
- 2-3 times a week
- Once a day
- 2-3 times a day
- 4-5 times a day or more
- DK/NR

Social networks use frequency



How frequently would the social networks be used to share political content?



Candidate preferences and shifts therein

		Panel repondents						
		What was the vote choice in March?						
What will be the vote choice in March?		People Alliance	Nation Alliance	Other	No one	Protest Vote	NR	
	People Alliance	84,1%	7,3%	0,4%	0,2%	0,0%	7,9%	100,0%
	Nation Alliance	4,4%	90,7%	0,4%	0,0%	0,0%	4,6%	100,0%
	Undecided	33,0%	36,8%	0,0%	0,0%	1,9%	28,3%	100,0%
	NR	17,5%	20,0%	2,5%	1,3%	3,8%	55,0%	100,0%

		Panel repondents							
		What will be the vote choice in June?							
What will be the vote choice in March?		People Alliance	Nation Alliance	Other	No one	Protest Vote	Undecided	NR	
	People Alliance	73,2%	14,4%	0,2%	0,8%	0,0%	3,5%	7,8%	100,0%
	Nation Alliance	2,5%	92,6%	0,0%	0,4%	0,0%	0,8%	3,8%	100,0%
	Undecided	19,3%	40,3%	0,0%	0,8%	0,8%	15,1%	23,5%	100,0%
	NR	9,0%	28,1%	2,2%	1,1%	2,2%	3,4%	53,9%	100,0%

		Panel repondents							
		What will be the vote choice in June?							
What was the vote choice in March in the Pre-June sample?		People Alliance	Nation Alliance	Other	No one	Protest Vote	Undecided	NR	
	People Alliance	81,4%	9,8%	0,0%	0,4%	0,0%	6,4%	1,9%	100,0%
	Nation Alliance	0,5%	97,8%	0,0%	0,2%	0,0%	0,3%	1,2%	100,0%
	Other	12,5%	25,0%	50,0%	12,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
	Protest vote	0,0%	16,7%	0,0%	0,0%	66,7%	16,7%	0,0%	100,0%
	NR	3,0%	6,8%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	3,8%	86,5%	100,0%

		What will be the vote choice in March?				
		People A.	Nation A.	Undecided	NR	
24 June 2018 vote consistency in Parliamentary and presidential elections	Inconsistent voters	%13,5	%27,5	%23,3	%35,6	%100
	AKP	%79,8	%9,0	%9,2	%1,9	%100
	CHP	%0,8	%95,4	%2,7	%1,1	%100
	HDP	%3,2	%91,9	%1,6	%3,2	%100
	IYIP	%8,8	%76,5	%14,7	%0,0	%100
	MHP	%76,3	%15,3	%6,8	%1,7	%100

		What was the vote choice in March?						
		People A.	Nation A.	Other	No one	Protest Vote	NR	Total
24 June 2018 vote consistency in Parliamentary and presidential elections	Inconsistent voters	%20,7	%45,0	%1,7	%0,4	%2,5	%29,8	%100
	AKP	%76,3	%13,8	%0,4	%0,2	%0,2	%9,1	%100
	CHP	%1,7	%94,0	%0,6	%0,0	%0,0	%3,7	%100
	HDP	%0,0	%98,1	%0,0	%0,0	%0,0	%1,9	%100
	IYIP	%4,8	%85,7	%0,0	%0,0	%0,0	%9,5	%100
	MHP	%63,4	%22,0	%0,0	%0,0	%0,0	%14,6	%100

		What will be the vote choice in June?							
		People A.	Nation A.	Other	No one	Protest Vote	Undecided	NR	Total
24 June 2018 vote consistency in Parliamentary and presidential elections	Inconsistent voters	%13,0	%50,8	%1,5	%0,8	%1,5	%5,0	%27,5	%100
	AKP	%64,8	%20,3	%0,0	%0,6	%0,0	%5,4	%8,9	%100
	CHP	%0,9	%96,0	%0,0	%0,0	%0,0	%0,9	%2,3	%100
	HDP	%0,0	%93,9	%0,0	%0,0	%0,0	%0,0	%6,1	%100
	IYIP	%0,0	%90,9	%0,0	%0,0	%0,0	%0,0	%9,1	%100
	MHP	%41,9	%34,9	%0,0	%4,7	%0,0	%2,3	%16,3	%100

Determinants of Vote Switch from «Core» voters to the Nation Alliance candidate

Core voters are defined as those who voted for People Alliance parties and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in June 2018 elections.

Who switches votes to the Nation Alliance

	B	.	p(B	B	.	p(B	B	.	p(B	B	Sig.	B	B	Sig.	B	B	Sig.	B	B	Sig.	B	B	Sig.	(B)		
Women DV	-,10	,59	,90																							
Age in years	-,03	,00	,97																				-,02	,05	,98	
Education in years	-,07	,02	,93																							
Kurds DV				-,43	,25	,65																				
Alevis DV				-,38	,32	,69																				
Religious practice (1 to 8 declining)				-,04	,39	,96																				
Worsened placement on social ladder DV				-,14	,59	,87																				
Left-Right (0 to 10)				-,11	,00	,89																	-,07	,37	,94	
Absolute dist. to People Alliance (LR)							-,05	,23	,95																	
Absolute dist. to Nation Alliance (LR)							-,15	,00	,86															-,21	,02	,81
Sum of negative economic evaluations (0-5)										,13	,01	1,14												,03	,79	1,03
Freq. Of Usage for social networks													,01	,21	1,01											
Freq. Of posting politics on social networks													,00	,49	1,00											
Newspapers-Hürriyet																,02	,97	1,02								
Newspapers-Posta																,39	,27	1,48								
Newspapers-Sabah																,10	,79	1,11								
Newspapers-Sözcü																-2,30	,03	,10						-2,69	,01	,07
Newspapers-Ahaber																,23	,61	1,26								
TV stations-ATV																,63	,08	1,89						1,35	,00	3,84
TV stations-Fox																-,07	,84	,93								
TV stations-TRT																-,87	,25	,42								
TV stations-ShowTV																,72	,16	2,06								
Pre-Post Economy as most important-TR																			1,66	,00	5,26	-19,45	1,00	,00		
Pre-Post Syrian issue as most important-TR																			0,28	0,67	1,32					
Pre-Post Security issue as most important-TR																			-1,31	0,20	0,27					
Pre-Post Municipal services as most important for Istanbul																			0,36	0,09	1,44	,10	,78	1,10		
Pre-Post Economy as most important for Istanbul																			,56	,02	1,74	,71	,07	2,03		
Pre-Post Syran issue as most important for Istanbul																			0,56	0,13	1,75					
Constant	-,94	,05	,39	-1,56	,00	,21	-1,79	,00	,17	-2,74	,00	,06	-2,56	,00	,08	-2,72	,00	,07	-4,22	0,00	0,01	-,91	,20	,40		
-2 Log likelihood	885			504			525			796			673			448			825			272				
Cox & Snell R Square	,01			,01			,01			,00			,00			,03			,04			,08				
Nagelkerke R Square	,02			,02			,03			,01			,00			,07			,11			,18				

Thanks, questions...?