Developing the Political Values Scale:
A Validity and Reliability Study[1]

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Abstract

In this study, a scale was developed in order to determine the place of "value" which has a place in international literature and which is one of the signifiers of understanding universal basic needs such as biological, social and welfare-related ones, in Turkish political discourse and to understand the social correspondence of the value dimensions embedded in the discourses of political actors in the media. Data were obtained from a group of 400 people in the city of Ankara. For validity and reliability studies, gender and education level ratio were taken into consideration, and data were obtained from a group of 400 people in the city of Ankara via a firm which provides support within the context of the project. Exploratory factor analysis and confirmatory factor analysis were used for the validity of the instrument. Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficient, corrected-item correlation and item-total correlation were examined for

reliability proofs. The analyses showed that the scale had three-factored dimensions, which explained 42.33% of the total variance. C-A reliability concerning the totality of the scale was determined to be 0.89, C-A reliability coefficients belonging to factors were determined to be 0.88, 0.90 and 0.76, respectively. The confirmatory factor analysis indicated that the fit indexes were at acceptable levels for the appropriateness of the structure. It is thought that Political Values Scale, which was designed to determine the social correspondence of value priorities of politics in Türkiye, the society's expectations for values, and the society's relationship with values in terms of voting behavior, and which was proven to be valid and reliable, would be helpful for researchers who want to study political value and the relationship between politics and values.

Keywords: Value; Political discourse; Scale development; Value scale; Political values.

Siyasal Değer Ölçeği'nin Geliştirilmesi:

Geçerlik ve Güvenirlik Çalışması

Öz

Bu araştırmada, uluslararası alanyazında da yeri olan, bireylerin biyolojik, sosyal ve refah gibi evrensel temel gereksinimlerini anlamanın bir göstergesi olan "değer" kavramının Türk siyaset söyleminde nasıl karşılık bulduğunu belirlemek ve bu doğrultuda siyasal aktörlerin medyaya yansıyan söylemlerine gömülü değer boyutlarının toplumdaki karşılığını anlamak üzere bir ölçek geliştirmek istenmiştir. Araştırmanın ön deneme uygulaması farklı meslek ve yaş gruplarından (öğrenci, akademik personel, hizmetli, güvenlik görevlisi, kamu personeli, kafe çalışanı vb.) 50 kişilik bir grupta yapılmıştır. Geçerlik ve güvenirlik çalışmaları için evrendeki cinsiyet ve eğitim düzeyi oranları dikkate alınarak Ankara ilinde 400 kişilik bir gruptan veri toplanılmıştır. Ölçme aracına ait geçerlik kanıtları elde edilirken açımlayıcı faktör analizi ve doğrulayıcı faktör analizinden yararlanırken, güvenirlik kanıtları için Cronbach Alpha güvenirlik katsayısı, madde kalan ve madde toplam korelasyonları incelenmiştir. Analizler sonucunda üç faktörlü olarak elde edilen yapının, varyansın %42.33'ünü açıkladığı görülmüştür. Ölçeğin tamamına ait C-A güvenirlik 0.89, faktörlere ait C-A güvenirlik katsayıları 0.88, 0.90 ve .076 olarak tespit edilmiştir. Doğrulayıcı faktör analizi sonrasında uyum indekslerinin yapının doğruluğu için kabul edilebilir düzeyde olduğu saptanmıştır. Türkiye'de siyasetin değer önceliklerinin toplumdaki karşılığını, toplumun değer konusunda beklentisini ve ilişkisini oy verme davranışları çerçevesinde belirlemeye yönelik geliştirilen ve geçerli ve güvenirlik olduğuna ilişkin kanıtlar elde edilen Siyasal

Değerler Ölçeği'nin siyaset ve değer ilişkisi, siyasal değer çalışmak isteyen araştırmacılar için faydalı olacağı düşünülmektedir.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Değer; Siyasal söylem; Ölçek geliştirme; Değer ölçeği; Siyasal değer.

Introduction

Studies focusing on understanding political preferences and voter behavior have been on the rise, because of politics, which forms the power relations in society, influence directly economic, sociological, psychological, cultural, historical, and religious domains. Therefore, each of these domains has tried to answer this question from their perspective; and on the one hand they made guesses and evaluations regarding the choice of the voter, and on the other hand they try to shed light on the prospective elections by analyzing behavior from different angles. Studies that try to explain politics and political behavior through values are among these.

Values are standards that people use to understand and explain behaviors of themselves and others, the world, and the things they experience, and to determine what is desired and not, what is right or wrong, and what is good or bad (Schwartz, 1992; Fichter, 1990). Values are adopted, cared about, preferred, and they are also qualities that are not inherent in the objects, phenomena, or the events but are ascribed to them by the individual (Özlem, 2002). In other words, values are reference criteria or accepted standards in a society which are determinants of a person's behavior and actions. In another definition, values are defined as generalized and abstract behavior principles that are formed out of the emotional attachment of the members of a society (Theodorson, 1979). Taking all these definitions into consideration, it is possible to say that the attempt to understand the individual and society is an important step in solving the mental structure of that particular society.

Some researchers indicate that values are critical in determining the voting behavior and that values have replaced group loyalty and social structural position (Caprara and Zimbardo, 2004; Caprara et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2010). Studying basic personal values and left-right political tendencies in 20 countries and using the data provided in European Social Research between the years 2002-2003, Piurko, Schwartz and Davidov (2011) compared the socio-demographic variables which are determinant in personal values and political orientation. At the end of the study, it was determined that values are a stronger determinant than socio-demographic variables in guessing political tendencies in liberal countries, and values and socio-demographic variables

have equal footing in traditional countries. In their study where they examine values that are influential in politics, Lane and Ersson (2005) found out that the line between political values and political ideologies was a sharp one and that values regarding politics change as real political change.

Caprara et al.'s study on 1994 Italian elections (1999) showed that there was a significant relationship between voters' personal characteristics and their political choices. In another study, Caprara et al. (2006) used personal values theory to test whether personal characteristics and values influence political choices or not. In their study on the 1988 Israeli elections Barnea and Schwartz (1998) determined that personal values of individuals are distinctive characteristics among various political party voters. Schwartz, Caprara and Vechione (2010) investigated the Italian election of 2006 and theorized that political values express basic personal values in the domain of politics.

Waheed et al (2011) analyzed differences and similarities in the use of values of political speeches of six politicians from three different developed and developing countries. They determined that the most present basic values in all speeches, regardless of the country is developed or developing, are benevolence, universalism, stimulation, self-direction, and achievement. Moreover, it was seen that the most frequently used basic values in the speeches from developed countries are universalism and benevolence while in the speeches from developing countries they are self-direction and stimulation. In another study in which they examine news texts in 10 countries in terms of values Waheed et al. (2013) put forth that the four most frequently used values in politics are the same in developed and developing countries, but the positive and negative use of these values varies.

Studies conducted in different times and countries by different researchers, notably Schwartz et al., to reveal the relationship between values and politics indicate that personal values directly influence political preferences and voting behavior. The most frequently used scale is the Schwartz Values Scale. Taking his cue from the surveys developed by Hofstede (1980, 1991), Rokeach (1967, 1973) and Inglehart (1977, 1997), Schwartz developed a survey in his name (1992). Starting from Rokeach's (1973) contention that values can come into being as a result of basic biological and social needs, Schwartz added the need for welfare to this. Thus, believing that the humankind has three universal needs, he came up with 10 "basic values" (self-direction, sti-

mulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, benevolence and universalism) that are different and with general characteristics.

This study was shaped with the notion that values, which are criteria that tell the individual what is right and wrong in their preferences and decisions, influence political discourse and political decisions, and thus political discourse that addresses socially accepted values have a high conviction. To this end, on which values does the political field make itself exist was tried to be answered. Within this frame, values embedded in the discourses of political actors in the newspapers before 2002, 2007 and 2011 elections were determined. Which values were referred to by the political actors based on their aim of meeting the expectations of the voter and convincing them were examined. In this respect, first of all a qualitative content analysis was realized to determine the valid values in politics. Then a field study was realized to determine individuals' attitudes and expectancy levels concerning value priorities. After qualitative analyses, a scale was decided to be designed to determine what "value" as a concept, which is a sign of understanding basic universal needs such as biologic, social, and welfare ones, which are also part of international literature, denotes in Turkish political discourse and hence to understand the social manifestation of the value dimensions that are embedded in the discourses of political actors in the media. Thus, the aim was to understand what the social manifestation of political discourse that is visible in the media.

Method

Participants

The population of this study consists of Turkish citizens who are over 18 and have the right to vote. Türkiye's population over the age of 18 is 53852152 according to Address Based Population Registration System of TUIK 2013. With 95% confidence levels and 0.05 deviations, approximately 385 people are estimated as a sample. Pilot applications were conducted in Ankara, the capital of Türkiye, taking into consideration economic, social, cultural and geographical variables, to provide representation on a national level in this study which takes politics, political discourse and political behavior as its subject matters which are topics that concern the whole society. The pre-trial application was done with a group of approximately 50 people who are students, academic and administrative staff and contractual workers (those

who provide security, cleaning, cafeteria, etc. services) within Kocaeli University. For validity and reliability studies, gender and education level ratios were taken into consideration and data were obtained from a group of 400 people in the city of Ankara via a firm which provides support within the context of the project. The gender distribution of the data group is given in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of Participants According to Gender

Gender	n	%
Female	197	49.25
Male	203	50.75
Total	400	100.00

As can be seen in Table 1, 49.25% of the participants are female (n=197), and 50.75% of the participants (n=203) is male. Looking at the percentage, it can be said that there is an even distribution according to gender. Education level distribution of the participants is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Distribution of Participants According to Education Level

Educational Level	n	%
Primary school	57	14.25
Secondary school	84	21.00
High school	187	46.75
University graduates	64	16.00
Graduate school	8	2.00
Total	400	100.00

As can be seen in Table 2, 14.25% of the group of 400 (n=57) is primary school graduates, 21.00% of them (f=84) is secondary school graduates, 46.75% of them (n=187) is high school graduates, 16.00% of them (n=64) is university graduates, and 2.00% of them (n=8) is graduate school graduates. Distribution concerning the household income of the participants is given in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of Participants According to Household Income

Household Income	n	%
0 - 1400	38	9.50
1401 - 2100	127	31.75
2101 - 3500	165	41.25
3501 - 4900	57	14.25
4901 - 6300	11	2.75
6301 - 8400	2	0.50
8400 - 12000	0	0.00
12000 -	0	0.00
Total	400	100.00

When the total household income of participants was examined, it was seen that the accumulation is in the 1401-3500 TL bracket (73.00%, n=292). No participant indicated having a house income of more than 8400 TL. Again, as can be seen in Table 3, there is only 0.50% of the group in the 6301-8400 TL bracket. Distribution concerning the mother tongue of the participants is given in Table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of Participants According to Their Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	n	%
Turkish	381	95.25
Kurdish	12	3.00
Laz language	7	1.75
Arabic	0	0.00
Other	0	0.00
Total	400	100.00

A majority of the participants (95.25%, n=381) expressed Turkish to be their mother tongue. 3.00% of the participants (n=12) said Kurdish is their mother tongue and 7.00% of them said Laz is their mother tongue.

Data Collection

In order to determine the "value priority" concerning the election periods, speeches of political actors in the newspapers were examined, and their most-frequently referenced values were determined. Thus, the value hierarchies of Turkish politics in the post-2000 Türkiye were tried to be determined. What these values mean specifically in the election period was tried to be concretized by the examples from the discourse of political actors.

A total of 450 daily newspaper news and 2089 pages of news in which there were speeches of different political actors were examined taking into consideration the October 3, 2002, July 22, 2007 and June 12, 2011 elections. As a result of all these analyses, it was determined that there are 46.489 values embedded in the speeches of the political actors. Considering this data, with a general look to the totality to 2002, 2007 and 2011 election periods, it was seen that in all three periods there is a significant weight of the following motivational goals and values in the political discourse: choosing own goals, achievement, honest, and responsible. Indeed, the case is not different as far as the basic value dimensions are concerned, either. Priorities were lined as follows: benevolence, self-direction, power, security and achievement. The corresponding higher-level dimensions are self-improvement, self-transcendence, being open to change, and protection. With this in mind, it was seen

that political actors with different political ideologies display a similar attitude in expanding, strengthening and sharing the popular uniting political values of Turkish political culture.

Values that were obtained as a result of the content analysis and the expressions were written down to create an item pool. When expressions of the scale were written down, discourses of political actors and political parties, which ran in the elections and were represented in the parliament, were taken into consideration. 317 expressions were written down for the 10 values and the basic and higher-level values including them and these expressions expressed one single judgment, they were short and clear, did not invite social desirability, had the same rhetorical quality and there were also negative expressions. In this process, percentages of the values that come to the fore in the discourse of political actors were taken into consideration and 6-8 expressions were given to measure each value. The excess of values in scale expressions, which have remained the same in both the discourse of different political actors and in all three election periods, namely, successful, honest, responsible and choosing own goals, increased the ratio of the expressions that measure basic value levels (benevolence, self-direction, power, security and achievement), which include these values and the expressions that measure higher-level value types (self-improvement, self-transcendence). In addition to this, even though they were not frequently used in political discourse, expressions such as equality, freedom, independent, social justice that concern the values, and expressions such as universalism and conformity that concern the basic value types were also given in the scale to understand the social repercussion of the discourse of political actors. This was done so that an evaluation of values that do not find a place within the political discourse although they have a social correspondence could be done.

When writing down the expressions reflecting the attitudes for different values, expert opinion from different fields was sought because each value had different dimensions and these corresponded to a different inclination in politics. Expressions were examined by an assessment-evaluation expert, a language expert and different experts from the field of politics and values; and at the first stage, it was decided for 85 expressions, then later 53 expressions to remain in the scale. Then, expressions were re-examined and revised in terms of the technical features of the items such as their comprehensibility,

dimension representability, and distinctiveness, etc. As a result of these studies, some questions on the scale regarding demographic information were changed. A pre-trial application was done with a group of approximately 50 people who are students, academic and administrative staff, and contractual workers (those who provide security, cleaning, cafeteria, etc. services) at Kocaeli University in order to examine the comprehensibility of the items, duration of the application, correspondence of what is understood from an item and tacit feature to be measured, incoherent concepts, what expressions would need an additional explanation, and concepts that would compromise the authenticity of the answers (things that would make the subject uneasy); and the scale was made ready for the pilot study. At the end of the applications and interviews, it was determined that there are no significant problems with the items of the scale or the application conditions. Two control items were added to the 53-item "Political Values Scale" to check whether subjects have given honest answers; and the scale was ready for the pilot study with 55 items.

Data Analysis

For the reliability and validity studies of the "Political Values Scale" designed in the study, first of all an Exploratory Factor Analysis was done. Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficients for the whole of the scale as well as the obtained sub-factors were calculated, and for each factor corrected item correlations and item total correlations were examined. Whether the factor construct can be confirmed or not was tested with the Confirmatory Factor Analysis. 3 items of the 53-item scale, disregarding the two control items, work in the opposite direction of the scaling of the scale in terms of the tacit factor they served, that is why these items were coded inversely and were included in the analysis.

Findings

First of all, the structural validity of the instrument designed within the scope of the study was examined. Whether or not it is suitable for Exploratory Factor Analysis was tested with Keiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Barlett's test of sphericity. The KMO value of the data was 0.89. KMO test is a test that is used to check whether or not data are large enough for Exploratory Factor Analysis. The closer the obtained value is to 1 the more perfect it is, and if it is below 0.50 it is considered to be insufficient (0.90 and over is perfect, 0.80 and over is very good, 0.70 and over is good, 0.60 and over is average, and 0.50 is bad) (Hair, Anderson, Babin, Black and Tahtam, 2006; Sharma, 1996).

KMO value obtained from the data of the study shows that the data set is "very good" for Factor Analysis. Barlett's test of sphericity value, which gives information regarding the normality of the data set, was found to be meaningful ($x^2=5652.21$, $p<0.01$). Total variance explained for the components as a result of Factor Analysis and the scree plot are given in Table 5 and Figure 2.

Table 5. Eigenvalue and Total Variance Explanined

Component	Initial Eigenvalues		
	Total	**% of Variance**	**Cumulative %**
1	7.815	21.121	21.121
2	5.076	13.719	34.840
3	2.789	7.538	42.378
4	1.301	3.517	45.895
5	1.199	3.241	49.135
6	1.160	3.135	52.270
7	1.099	2.969	55.239
…	…	…	…

When Table 6 is examined, it can be seen that the variance explained for the first factor as a result of the Exploratory Factor Analysis is 21.12%, the variance explained for the second factor is 13.72%, and the one explained for the third factor is 7.54%.
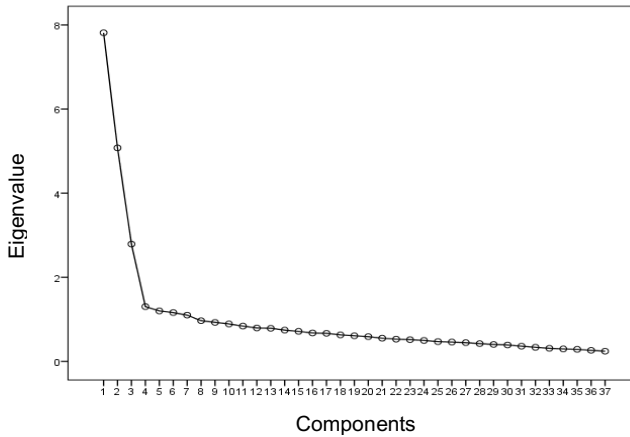

Figure 2. Scree Plot

When the eigenvalues given in Table 6, explained variances, and the scree plot in Figure 2 are taken into consideration, it can be seen that the scale was gathered in three factors. These three factors explained 42.38% of the total variance belonging to the latent variable. In the analysis, the varimax method, which is one of the methods of orthogonal rotation, was used. In the factor analysis, factor loadings that each item should have in order to be under

any factor is 0.32 (Tabachnick and Fidel, 2007) and bearing this in mind, items with low factor loadings, namely items 2, 10, 22, 30, 31, 44, 46, 47, 48, and 49, were taken out of the scale. In addition to this, items with the difference between their loadings smaller than 0.10 (items 36 and 37) (Çokluk, Şekerci-oğlu and Büyüköztürk, 2012) were taken out of the scale because they have cyclical factor loadings. By taking out items 18, 26, 38 and 53 because they do not fit theoretically, a total of 37 items were gathered under three factors. Factor loadings and common factor variances are given in Table 7.

When Table 7 is examined, it can be seen that the highest factor loading is 0.822 (item 51), and the lowest factor loading is 0.410 (item 1). It can also be seen that there are 14 items in the first factor, 18 in the second, and finally 5 items in the third factor. When the items in the factors were examined, 14 items composing the first factor were called "stability and order-centered strong rulership expectation" 18 items composing the second factor were called "improvement-based, honest, solution-centered politics expectation," and the 5 items composing the third factor were called "strong leadership expectation."

Table 6. Factor Loadings and Common Factor Variances of the Items of Political Values Scale

Item	F1	F2	F3	Common Factor Variance	Item	F1	F2	F3	Common Factor Variance
M51	0.822	-0.031	-0.032	0.678	M6	0.009	0.619	0.033	0.384
M42	0.746	-0.108	0.037	0.570	M25	0.115	0.601	0.178	0.406
M5	0.744	-0.035	-0.230	0.608	M9	-0.144	0.586	0.096	0.373
M35	0.735	0.118	0.089	0.562	M33	0.021	0.557	-0.022	0.311
M17	0.713	0.009	0.186	0.543	M27	0.022	0.556	0.125	0.325
M28	0.684	0.239	0.023	0.526	M29	0.295	0.541	0.044	0.382
M21	0.676	-0.079	0.156	0.488	M23	0.015	0.539	0.012	0.291
M8	0.673	-0.006	0.096	0.462	M3	-0.043	0.526	0.073	0.284
M43	0.671	0.120	-0.081	0.471	M11	0.176	0.511	0.158	0.317
M40	0.581	0.174	0.002	0.368	M7	0.254	0.458	0.154	0.298
M45	0.547	0.115	0.210	0.357	M4	0.102	0.457	-0.076	0.225
M52	0.516	0.221	-0.374	0.455	M50	0.170	0.445	-0.242	0.285
M34	0.506	0.160	0.196	0.320	M1	-0.040	0.410	0.314	0.268
M32	0.487	0.033	0.354	0.364	M39	0.094	-0.028	0.765	0.595
M16	0.036	0.694	0.081	0.489	M41	-0.100	-0.019	0.755	0.580
M12	-0.121	0.678	0.020	0.475	M24	0.158	0.171	0.647	0.473
M14	0.145	0.655	-0.030	0.451	M20	0.191	0.131	0.624	0.443
M15	0.054	0.651	0.014	0.427	M19	0.167	0.286	0.558	0.421
M13	0.121	0.625	0.073	0.411					

Explainend Variance, F1:21.121, F2:13.719, F3:7.536, Total:42.328

Expressions under the "Improvement-based, honest, and solution-centered politics expectation" factor, under which the most items were gathered in the scale, are expressions that refer to the skills of doing what is required to achieve the results the society expects and in which politics is defined through measurable deeds and successes.

These expressions, which correspond to people's personal needs and welfare expectations that would help them survive as biological organisms, are like answers to such questions as "What should a political party do for you to consider it successful?" or "What should a party promise to do for you to vote for it?". At this point, because success as a concept is defined through different aspects such as wealth, welfare, honesty and freedom and because activity as a concept has aspects from other value areas, expressions gathered in this dimension are expressions that define success through different values.

These value areas are choosing their own goals, successful, honest, responsible, and national security. Corresponding to achievement, benevolence, self-direction, and security in terms of basic values, these values correspond to self-improvement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and protection in the higher level value dimensions, the first two being the most frequent. With these results, it was concluded that this dimension can be called the "Popular Political Cultural Values Survey" because the value expressions corresponding to different and sometimes opposing impulse, motivation, and expectations according to Schwartz's value scale. This dimension is one under which expressions that define successful rulership that would provide improvement and advancement, find solutions to problems, and increase social welfare are gathered. Alsoit is a dimension that singularly corresponds to the value priorities in the discourses of political actors and displays a scale structure.

Expressions gathered under the factor titled "Stability and order-centered strong rulership expectation" are those that are mobilized by people's expectations of regular social interaction and are basically power-based that would prioritize having control and dominion over people and resources. The fact that demands and interests in society are too varied and too many, conflict is inevitable. In this environment, politics means the struggle between social groups and actors on power, sharing of power, and rulership (Çebi, 2002). On the one hand, politics is a site of "conflict" due to the existence of conflicting ideas, demands and interests; it is, on the other hand, a site of "cooperation" due to the necessity of working with others in order to ensure the sustaining

of rules or having an effect on these rules (Heywood, 2015). In this respect, these expressions which are heavy with a search for power supported by authoritarian tendencies indicate that a political decision should be evaluated in terms of a social common benefit and its effect on the voting behavior should be scaled. These expressions, which explain what is included in the ability to do whatever is required to meet the consistency and order expectations of the society, rely on the *social power, preserving my public image, social order, authority, national security* and *freedom* motivational types. Evaluated according to the cyclic structure of values, basic value areas that these expressions, which cause harmonious behavior and attitude, correspond to are the power and security dimensions. These basic values, which underline the status quo and avoiding change, and in this respect to overcoming threats by keeping under control the relations and resources (Schwartz, 1992), corresponding to the *self-improvement* and *conservation* dimensions as far as higher values are concerned. This dimension, which designates the collective expectations such as stability, harmony, and security of the society of which the individual is part and of the people with whom he is in a relation, is closely related to authority that would realize all these expectations; in other words, this dimension is closely related to the power value.

Expressions gathered under the dimension titled "Strong leadership expectation" are based on an understanding that relates politics and the power of the political actors to personal charisma and the support they receive from society. According to this understanding, the leader is a power and an authority because of the personal respect and charm he or she has. "Charismatic legitimacy" that the leader personally has becomes the source of rulership (Duverger, 2002). The reason for this is that in each society certain personal characteristics would be on the fore and these characteristics would be effective on the leadership perception of individuals belonging to that social structure. Weber's concept "charismatic authority" is significant at this point. Examining the legal-rational authority in modern societies, Weber indicates that the legitimacy of leaders lies in the law and institutions and is based on the consent of the ruled in democracies. Arguing that the charismatic leader takes his or her power not from traditions or history but from character traits and the qualities ascribed to them by the followers, Weber draws attention to the similarity between religious leadership and charismatic leadership (Weber, 1968, cited in Taggart, 2004, p.127-128). A charismatic leader sees a religious dedication and a faith-based loyalty from his followers. Willner, on the other

hand, argues that the followers are loyal to the charismatic leader with dedication, reverence, respect, and faith, in other words, with emotions similar to religious faith (Willner, 1984, cited in Taggart, 2004, p.128). These expressions that describe a leader-centered understanding of politics correspond to the authority, social power, social recognition, and successful values dimension in Schwartz's Value Scale; achievement and success basic value dimension, and the self-improvement higher values dimension.

Cronbach Alpha (C-A) reliability coefficient for the whole scale was calculated to be 0.89. This value shows that the scale has a high internal consistency. Because the scale has three factors, Cronbach Alpha coefficients for each factor, corrected-item-total correlation, and item-total correlation were calculated (Table 8). The reliability coefficient for the factor titled "Consistency and order-centered powerful rulership expectancy" was calculated to be 0.90 and the reliability coefficient for the factor titled "Improvement-based, honest, solution-centered politics expectation" was calculated to be 0.88 and the reliability coefficient for the "strong leadership expectation" was calculated to be 0.76. Corrected item-total correlations which show the relationship between items and total score of the scale and can be interpreted as the item distinctiveness index (Büyüköztürk, 2012) and item-total correlations are given in Table 8.

When corrected item-total correlations and item-total correlations are examined, it can be seen that corrected item-correlations vary between 0.363 and 0.755; and item-total correlations vary between 0.453 and 0.805. Apart from two items, all correlations were obtained over 0.40. As is indicated in the literature, 0.40 and over item distinctiveness indexes are considered to be perfect; hence, it can be argued that items in the scale are highly distinctive (Ebel, 1965).

A Confirmatory Factor Analysis was done to see whether the three-factor contsruct obtained as a result of Exploratory Factor Analysis can be verified or not. Confirmatory Factor Analysis is a statistics that tests whether the latent construct can be verified with the related data set (Tabachnick and Fidel, 2007); verification of the model is dependent upon the collective presentation of the goodness of fit statistics and the proofs related to the construct validity (Hair, Anderson, Babin, Black and Tahtam, 2006; Schumacker and Lomax, 2004). The diagram related to the construct is given in Figure 3. With the modifications suggested as a result of Confirmatory Factor Analysis, one

modification between item 39 and item 41 was defined, and because it was also theoretically acceptable, these two items were connected to each other. The said items are "I would be sure of the honesty of a politician if I believe that the said politician is religious, and I would vote for them" and "I would find a political leader whom I believe to have faith, I would support them with my vote." Item 39 brings to the fore having a strong faith and being committed to religious rules as a sign of the honesty value, and it tries to explain voting behavior through this. Item 41, on the other hand, is an expression of attitude regarding the definition of success through religion and faith, and the measurement of the effect of religion and faith on voting behavior. These two items are in an intimate relation structurally and they measure a similar feature; that's why they are connected to each other.

Table 7. Corrected item-total Correlations and Item-Total Correlation Coefficients

Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Item-Total Correlation	Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Item-Total Correlation
M1	0.366	0.453	M24	0.472	0.663
M3	0.453	0.521	M25	0.554	0.617
M4	0.402	0.484	M27	0.492	0.572
M5	0.651	0.716	M28	0.633	0.689
M6	0.554	0.621	M29	0.504	0.571
M7	0.436	0.516	M32	0.453	0.533
M8	0.608	0.689	M33	0.479	0.551
M9	0.502	0.567	M34	0.475	0.551
M11	0.476	0.549	M35	0.681	0.737
M12	0.574	0.636	M39	0.624	0.805
M13	0.561	0.625	M40	0.523	0.586
M14	0.591	0.660	M41	0.581	0.768
M15	0.582	0.646	M42	0.674	0.739
M16	0.630	0.688	M43	0.610	0.672
M17	0.661	0.731	M45	0.514	0.572
M19	0.434	0.619	M50	0.363	0.454
M20	0.530	0.696	M51	0.755	0.804
M21	0.609	0.680	M52	0.440	0.501
M23	0.462	0.531			

In testing the appropriateness of the model, such indexes as Chi-square (x^2)/sd value Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI), Incremental Fit Index (IFI), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR), Normed Fit Index (NFI), Non-Normed Fit Index (NNFI) are used (Byrne, 1994; Hair, Anderson, Babin, Black and Tahtam, 2006; Kline, 2000; Tabachnick and Fidel, 2007).

When the fit indexes regarding the appropriateness of the model are examined, it can be seen that its Chi-square/sd is 2.48. In literature, this value

being smaller than 5 is regarded as a sign of a good fit (Haşlaman, 2005). This value was determined to be 0.83 for GFI, 0.93 for CFI, 0.80 for AGFI, 0.93 for IFI, 0.06 for RMSEA, 0.07 for SRMR, 0.88 for NFI, and 0.92 for NNFI. It means sufficient fit when the value is 0.90 and higher for CFI, IFI, NFI, NNFI, 0.85 and higher for AGFI and 0.10 and lower for RMSEA and SRMR (Jöroskog and Sörbom, 2001; Schermelleh-Engel and Moosbrugger, 2003; Sümer, 2000). When the fit indexes regarding the appropriateness of the model are examined, it can be seen that the model is at an acceptable level.
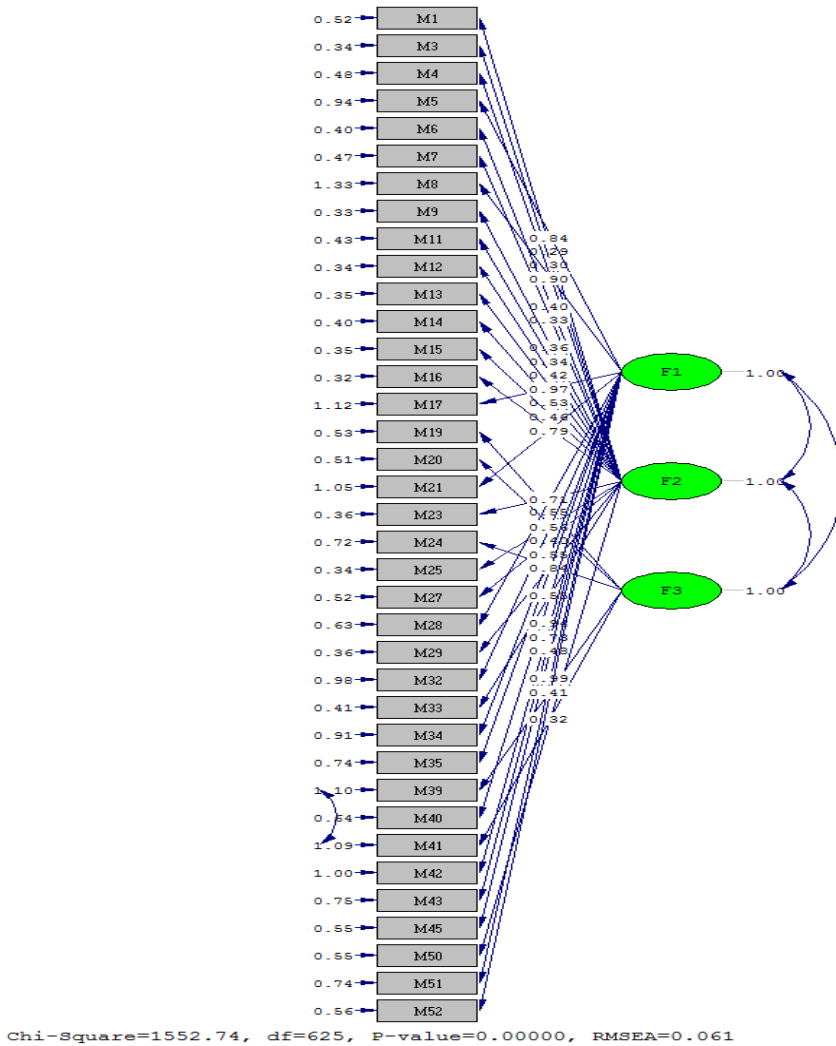

Figure 3. Diagram concerning the confirmatory factor analysis

Conclusion and Discussion

Within the scope of the study, value expressions were gathered under 9 titles, namely, improvement-based values, leadership power and populism, concrete/action-based success, loyalty and protective reaction, utilitarianism, structural change, democratic change, and security politics. As a result of the re-evaluation of these expressions in terms of political correspondence and as a result of reliability-validity studies, it was observed that the items under these 9 titles were gathered under 3 factors. Variances explained for factors were found to be 21.12%, 13.72%, and 7.54%. The three-factored construct explained 42.33% of the variance in total. It was determined that the results belonging to the scale were reliable. Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficients concerning factors were determined to be 0.88, 0.90 and 0.76, respectively; and Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficient for the totality of the scale was found to be 0.89. It was seen that item-total correlations vary between 0.453 and 0.805. 0.40 and over item distinctiveness indexes show that items in the scale are highly distinctive (Ebel, 1965).

It was noteworthy that value expressions belonging to structural change and democratic change factors, which were added to the scale to reflect different political values and to avoid making the scale one-dimensional in the design process, were left out of the scale. In this respect, it is possible to argue that discourses that are in the value field of a democratic and pluralist political understanding such as freedom and equality, which have not found much correspondence in recent political discourses, are not among the value priorities of society.

A Political Values Scale was created as a result of this study, which tried to understand the social correspondence of value priorities in Turkish politics; in other words, what values shape the voters' attitude and expectations with regards to politics. This scale, which was designed to determine the social correspondence of value priorities of politics in Türkiye, the society's expectations for values, and the society's relationship with values in terms of voting behavior, and which was proven to be valid and reliable, is believed to be helpful for researchers who want to study political value and the relationship between politics and values.

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