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Impact of Acculturation, Online Participation and Involvement on Voting Intentions

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the extent to which acculturation and enculturation orientations affect online political participation, political involvement and voting intentions among a sample of Turkish-Dutch immigrants. The study uses data from Turkish-Dutch participants. Structural Equations Modelling (SEM) is employed for assessing the relationships in the conceptualized model. The findings show that enculturation and acculturation influence online participation and involvement, which in turn, are related to voting intentions. The study further examines the mediating role of political involvement and online political participation. Political involvement mediates the

relationships between enculturation and acculturation and voting intentions. The results further indicate the effect of online participation on voting intentions is mediated by political involvement. The study findings provide insights into offline and online cultural and civic engagement tendencies among an important immigrant segment that policy makers should consider in the future.

1. Introduction

Worldwide migration patterns, globalization and demographic changes have contributed towards culturally diverse societies across Western countries (Jamal, Peñaloza, & Laroche, 2015; Sobol, Cleveland, & Laroche, 2018) with important public policy implications, such as e-government policies and civic engagement programs, promoting wider political participation and handling digital divide (Deursen and Dijk, 2009; Helbig, Gil- García & Ferro, 2009; Vasta, 2007).

In a related domain, a stream of research identifies and reports the influence of immigrants' social media use and civic engagement, such as involvement (Kizgin, Jamal, Rana & Weerakkody, 2018c). Others have investigated the extent to which immigrants' consumption patterns and identities align with heritage, host and global cultures using acculturation framework, which denotes the view of changes in culture resulting from interaction between culturally different individuals and environments (Laroche & Jamal, 2015). Such studies report different outcomes of acculturation with some immigrants assimilating, others integrating and a few separating or marginalizing in the context of interplay between heritage, host (Kizgin et al., 2018a; Peñaloza, 1994) and global consumer cultural contexts (Askegaard, Arnould, & Kjeldgaard, 2005). However, such literature generally treats acculturation as a more desirable outcome

than enculturation, ignoring the potential contribution of enculturation to business and public policy making.

The growth of immigrant subcultures and the subsequent influence on the politics and public policy making of host countries raises questions about the potential political importance of immigrants, including political power (Branton, 2007). Hence, it is essential to create a better understanding of the way cultural tendencies interact with online participation, political involvement and political engagement among immigrant groups. However, empirical research exploring political engagement among immigrant groups is quite scarce. This is an important shortcoming in at least three ways. Firstly, there is an increase in size of ethnic immigrant subcultures and rising buying power guided by a heightened sense of political and cultural awareness (Jamal, 2003; Jamal et al., 2015). Secondly, immigrants represent media-savvy, socially empowered and culturally driven individuals, who are younger than the rest of the population, seeking an expressive but inclusive multicultural identity allowing them to maintain heritage and host cultural identities simultaneously (Neilson Market Report, 2015).

Thirdly, while it is well documented that media acts as an important agent of change in the cultural adaptation process (Hmida, Ozcaglar-Toulouse, & Fosse-Gomez, 2009; Peñaloza, 1994; Raman & Harwood, 2008), little is known about the extent to which online political participation affects political involvement and voting intentions among immigrants. Internet and social media use has seen an exponential growth in recent years, making it a fundamental part of lifestyle (Alalwan, 2018; Alalwan et al., 2017; Arora et al., 2019; Cao & Yu, 2019; Dwivedi et al., 2015; Janssen et al., 2018; Kamboj et al. 2018; Kapoor et al. 2018; Muhammad et al., 2017; Nisar et al., 2018; Shareef et al., 2019). Sports clubs' use of social media to increase spectator interest.

International Journal of Information Management, 43, 188-195.). Social media usage has become an element of civic and political engagement (Grover et al. 2018; Hossain et al. 2018; Kapoor & Dwivedi, 2015; Pirannejad & Janssen, 2019) as 66% of social media users in the USA have been reported to post their views about political and civic issues, to react to others' postings, force friends to act on issues and vote, follow candidates, 'like' and link to others' content, and be part of the groups built on social networking sites (Pew Report, 2012). Social media has marked a change for citizens from passive to active co-creators of public action (Aladwani & Dwivedi, 2018; Dwivedi et al., 2017a; Gil-Garcia, Zhang and Puron-Cid, 2016), transforming the relationship between public agencies and technology platform providers (Mergel, 2013). Social media is also being used by government organisations, citizens and other relevant stakeholders for managing disaster and emergency situations (Elbanna et al., 2019; Jamali et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2018; Pogrebnyakov & Maldonado, 2018; Singh et al., 2017).

While the use of smartphone applications (e.g., email, social bonding, listening to music etc.) is higher among immigrants than mainstream population (Bartikowski, Laroche, Jamal, & Yang, 2018; Gutierrez, O'Leary, Rana, Dwivedi, & Calle, 2019; Kaushik, Mishra, Rana, Dwivedi, 2018; Nielsen, 2012; Zickuhr & Smith, 2012), we do not know the level of immigrants' participation and engagement in the civic life of host and ancestral cultures in online and offline contexts. Do immigrants seek separate political existence or integration within the host society's institutional framework? What roles do acculturation, internet and social media play in political involvement, promotion and immigrant community participation?

In this research, we identify how the relationship between acculturation and enculturation affects online political participation, offline political involvement and

voting intentions among a sample of Turkish-Dutch immigrants. People of the Netherlands, including the Turkish-Dutch, are exposed to cultures nearby and afar due to a continual flow of individuals, products and media exposure (e.g., Sobol et al., 2018), and global consumer culture (Askegaard et al., 2005). Turkish-Dutch are the most evident immigrant group (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2007) in the Netherlands and existing scholarly work (e.g. Josiassen, 2011; Kizgin et al., 2018a; 2018b) points to a mixed pattern of acculturation. Hence, we also expect to identify a mixed pattern with those showing preference for acculturation to Dutch culture engaging more in the political life of Dutch society than those who show a preference for enculturation.

The size of ethnic minority voters has considerably increased in recent years (Caramani and Strijbis, 2013; Eurostat, 2015). We aim to contribute to previous research that investigates acculturation orientations among migrants (e.g., Askegaard et al., 2005); the influence of ethnic, racial and religious factors on civic life in general (e.g., Alesina & La Ferrara, 2000; 2002; Costa & Kahn, 2003; Putnam, 2007); and political participation in particular (e.g., Hill and Leighley, 1999; Ismagilova, Dwivedi, Slade, Williams, 2017; Ismagilova, Dwivedi, Slade, 2019; Kohfield & Sprague, 2002; Schlicting et al., 1998).

The remainder of the paper is organised into five sections. In the next section, the literature regarding two dimensions of cultural orientation, i.e. enculturation and acculturation, is discussed. Then, the influences on online political engagement and voting intentions are reviewed. Hypotheses are developed in the following section (i.e., Section 2). The next section describes the research methods, followed by the data and empirical analyses to test the hypotheses in the subsequent section (i.e. Section 4). The final section concludes with discussion, conclusions, managerial implications, and provides future research directions.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Acculturation and Enculturation

Acculturation refers to phenomena that result when culturally different individuals and groups meet and interact with each other on a regular basis (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Accordingly, acculturation is about learning a new culture whereby one gains new knowledge and skills and develops culturally relevant attitudes that assist in coping with a different cultural environment (Peñaloza, 1994). Acculturation is normally interpreted as a form of adaptation to a new cultural environment (Jamal, et al., 2015) such that highly acculturated individuals show significant tendencies to learn and adapt to the new cultural environment (Kizgin et al., 2018a; 2018b). Enculturation, on the other hand, is the process of learning the heritage culture (Schwartz et al., 2010) and is generally a function of socialization practices within the perspective of family (e.g., Moschis & Churchill, 1978). Accordingly, highly enculturated individuals demonstrate strong tendencies and preferences for maintaining their own cultural identity and consumption practices (Kizgin et al., 2018a; 2018b).

Substantial research identifies acculturated immigrants' adoption of the host, i.e. mainstream, culture to the extent of immigrants' sense of identification associated with assimilation strategies (Berry, 1980). In contrast, enculturated immigrants hold onto their home (i.e. heritage ethnic) culture while they circumvent interactions with the host culture associated with separation strategy (Berry, 1997). Integration occurs when there is an interest in both maintaining one's heritage culture and having daily interactions with other cultural groups.

Scholars have long investigated whether immigrants' consumption patterns reflect their heritage culture or the mainstream culture (e.g., Askegaard et al., 2005;

Jamal, 2003; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994; Wallendorf & Reilly, 1983). A key conclusion is that the process of culture change is more than a linear development from one culture to another and that the adaptation process does not cause the loss of one's ancestral cultural identity (Laroche, Kim, Hui & Joy, 1996). A further conclusion is that various acculturation agents (e.g., family, media, friends, religious and social institutions) associated with host and heritage cultures (Peñaloza, 1994), entrenched subcultures (Wamwara-Mbugua, Cornwell & Boller, 2008) and global consumer culture (Askegaard et al., 2005) play an important role in impacting identity projects followed by immigrant consumers. In other words, immigrants constantly negotiate identity projects depending on their knowledge of and willingness to adopt or reject pull (push) effects linked with each of the acculturation agents.

Prior consumer research implicitly uses spatial metaphors (e.g., Featherstone et al., 2007; Visconti, 2015) as reflected in the distinctions made between mostly 'here' and 'there' and 'elsewhere'. Accordingly, an immigrant's identity is seen as an expression of some physical space, as mentioned in terms of, 'country of origin' and 'destination' (Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994). The difficulty with this approach is that it undermines the role of space in identity creation, especially given the fact that space can not only be physical but also cultural, social, geopolitical, ideological (Visconti, 2015) and even virtual in nature (e.g., internet as a cyber space – Kellerman, 2016). Visconti (2015) argues that physical space reflects ideologies of how different immigrants are entitled to be part of a nation, use welfare systems, contribute to the cultural life and access and play in markets either empower or repress immigrants. The Netherlands allows foreign inhabitants voting rights at local level and the four largest ethnic immigrant subcultures are marginally represented in the municipal councils of the four largest cities (Fennema & Tillie, 2004). Therefore, Turkish-Dutch are expected

to be sensitive to their political identity and the extent to which state and mainstream policies facilitate inclusion and equality in the marketplace. Accordingly, they may seek power positions (both in political and ideological terms) via interpersonal discussions and political engagement (Gil de Zúñiga, Puig-i-Abril, & Rojas, 2009) in online and offline contexts.

2.2 Political Involvement

Scholarly work describes involvement as a consumer's individual interest in purchasing or using an item and an individual's degree of involvement lies in personal significance and the integral interests, individual values and needs that drive them towards the object of involvement (Evans, Jamal, & Foxall, 2009). An individual may have a sustained interest in an object (e.g., a product type or act of buying etc.) and, hence, he/she may experience an enduring involvement. When a person identifies something to be of personal importance and interest, it means that it is self-related and in some way instrumental in accomplishing specific values and life goals (Celsi & Olson, 1988).

Those having an interest in voter psychology (and behavior) in elections (Burton & Netemeyer, 1992; Newman & Sheth, 1985; O'Cass, 2002; Rothschild & Houston, 1979; Warjkentin, Sharma, Gefen, Rose & Pavlou, 2018) and political marketing (Burton & Netemeyer, 1992; Nakanshi, Cooper & Kassarjian, 1974; Newman, 1999; Singh, Leong, Tan & Wong, 1995; Swinyard & Coney, 1978) focus on voter decision-making and factors that affect voter decisions, including political involvement (O'Cass, 2002; 2003). Following O'Cass (2003), we define political involvement as 'the extent to which a voter views the focal object (an election and voting) as a central part of their life, a meaningful and engaging object in their life, and

important to them' (p.66).

Political involvement among immigrants is less well understood, especially when it comes to factors that drive political involvement. Generally speaking, immigrant voter literature reports lower participation and voting behavior among immigrant groups compared with mainstream voters (CBS, 2017).

Research investigating migrants' attitudes towards policies that direct immigrants and other parts of public policy indicates a lack of uniformity in political involvement among immigrants as a function of acculturation and enculturation. For example, Branton (2007) reports that less restrictive immigration policy is more likely to be supported by less acculturated Latinos than by more acculturated Latinos. Accordingly, the researcher emphasises that more recent immigrants with stronger cultural connections to their ancestral country are more supportive of policies that assist ethnic minorities. Others (de la Garza, Angelo, Garcia, & Garcia, 1993) find that Latinos who are more acculturated into U.S. society are more supportive of hiring preferences for citizens, less supportive of immigration preferences for Latin-American individuals, and more supportive of decreasing funds for programs targeting immigrants and refugees than are less acculturated Latinos.

Prior research also shows differences in immigrants' political attitudes toward the government as a foundation of acculturation/enculturation. For example, Michelson (2001) reports that more recent Mexican immigrants express their opinion of government in the U.S. by comparing it to Mexico's politics, which leads to a more positive view of American government than that of more acculturated Mexican Americans. Those showing preference for enculturation may feel detached from mainstream politics, becoming more interested in events in their home country (e.g., Barreto, 2005). Such migrants may experience prejudice and discrimination (Crul,

Schneider & Lelie, 2013; Luedicke, 2011), and thus feel hesitant to adapt to the mainstream culture (Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989). The respective levels of enculturation and acculturation exhibited by an individual consumer may potentially act as significant determinants in civic life, including political involvement (Putnam, 1993; 2000). Recent research has examined the moderating role of culture and political engagement and highlights the significant role of cultural orientation (Kizgin, Jamal, Rana, Dwivedi & Weerakkody, 2018c). The research found that acculturation strengthens the positive effect on political involvement, whereas enculturation weakens this effect. The empirical findings are in line with previous research on the impact of social networking sites and the role of enculturation/ acculturation (Kizgin et al., 2018b; Li & Tsai, 2015). Given this evidence, we propose that Turkish-Dutch individuals who show preference for acculturation into Dutch society are more likely to be involved in Dutch politics than those who show preference for enculturation. Accordingly, our first set of hypotheses:

H1. A significant positive relationship exists between Dutch acculturation and political involvement.

H2. A significant negative relationship exists between Turkish enculturation and political involvement.

2.3 Online Political Participation

Online political participation includes political activities such as sending emails to a politician online, subscribing to a political listserv online, volunteering for a campaign/issue online, sharing political messages via email or via social networking sites, writing to the editor of a newspaper online, and making a campaign contribution online (Baek, 2015; Gil de Zúñiga, Molyneux & Zheng, 2014). The Internet allows

individuals to participate in online actions, such as sharing opinion, emailing a politician or subscribing to a listserv and expressing opinions as a new form of media and political participation (Gil de Zúñiga, Molyneux & Zheng, 2014; Hoffman, Jones & Young, 2013; Wagner, Vogt & Kabst, 2016). Immigrants showing a preference for internalizing the values, beliefs, norms and attitudes current in the host culture may use Internet as a mechanism for political participation and political involvement. On the other hand, immigrants showing a preference for heritage cultural maintenance may engage less politically both in online and offline contexts. Accordingly, we propose the following set of hypotheses:

H3. A significant positive relationship exists between Dutch acculturation and online political participation.

H4. A significant negative relationship exists between Turkish enculturation and online political participation.

As per cultivation theorists, heavy use of a mass medium, such as television, often results in an inability to differentiate the 'reality' of television from objective reality (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, Signorielli & Shanahan, 2002). Others report that media use and exposure influence how viewers perceive the surrounding environment (Chen, Bennett & Maton, 2008; Tufekci, 2008). Acculturation research (Askegaard et al., 2005; Laroche & Jamal, 2015; Wallendorf & Reilly, 1983) provides support by reporting that immigrants engage in hyper-acculturation when they make inferences about host cultural lifestyle, values and traditions on the basis of host culture media usage. Use of internet allows immigrants greater opportunities for interpersonal association with others, relational satisfaction, and learning about other cultures (Croucher, 2011). Online political participation by immigrants will probably influence the extent to which they become involved in

mainstream politics; a cultivation effect that may influence their voting intentions. This outcome is framed as a hypothesis as follows:

H5. A significant positive relationship exists between online political participation and political involvement.

2.3 Voting Intentions

An immigrant's aspiration to vote for a particular candidate is defined as voting intentions. As per theory of reasoned action (Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), a migrant's actual political behavior can be approximated by his or her intentions to vote. Scholarly work argues that the dissemination of political attitudes is a result of interpersonal diffusion of ideas and mass media exposure (Zaller, 1987). The pervasive presence of mass media coverage may also act as a form of subjective norm influencing voting intentions (Singh, Leong, Tan & Wong, 1995).

In the context of internet use, prior research suggests that social networking site users score highly on political attitudes and behaviors, such as campaign interest, political interest and political efficacy (e.g., Kaye, 2011; Vitak et al., 2009). Time spent on online political participation (e.g., writing to a politician online, sending a political email) and higher political involvement may enhance self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982), thus increasing the perceived benefits of voting among immigrants. Moreover, Elin (2003) suggests that expression mobilizes individuals and increases voting intentions (Diaz, 2012). Consequently, immigrants may demonstrate a propensity to be mobilized by their social networks, increasing the likelihood to vote (Diaz, 2012). In addition, online political participation has been identified as fuelling political engagement (voting intentions) and political interest and involvement (Carlisle & Patton, 2013). Therefore, the next set of hypotheses is as follows:

H6. A significant positive relationship exists between online political participation and voting intentions.

H7. A significant positive relationship exists between political involvement and voting intentions.

3. Methodology

3.1 Sample and Data Collection

This research collected data from the largest ethnic minority group in the Netherlands i.e. Turkish-Dutch, which represents over 300,000 potential voters for the elections held in 2017. The Turkish-Dutch sample is chosen for this study because it represents the largest ethnic minority group in the Netherlands. This ethnic group is also considerable in size in a number of other European countries (CBS, 2017). Research demonstrates that Turkish-Dutch individuals in the Netherlands preserve strong connections with their heritage culture (Josiassen, 2011; Kizgin et al, 2018a; 2018b) and, hence, are worthy of further exploration given the aims and objectives of this research. We collected 514 questionnaires from respondents who met the condition of having a Turkish background. Respondents were recruited using a leading research company, Markeffect's panel, with a representative sample of minority and majority-group members participating in surveys. The representation by gender was approximately equal, i.e., 45.9% female.

Stratified sampling was the technique used to improve precision and conduct a random sample (Lavrakas, 2008). Approximately a third of Turkish-Dutch immigrants live in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. There are more Turkish-Dutch in Rotterdam than in the other three large cities. The sample includes representation from all regions in the Netherlands to avoid regional bias. The disparity of the

population of immigrants in the larger cities of the Netherlands is considered to ensure a representative Turkish-Dutch sample.

Given the diversity of the participating group defined by gender, age band, geographic location across the whole of the Netherlands, there is a high degree of confidence that this provides a reasonably representative group of Turkish consumers within this particular Western European national setting. Given the geographical spread of the participants, particularly its extension beyond the main conurbations of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and Eindhoven, the sampling approach has arguably proven more effective in comparison with other established techniques in similar studies, such as snowball sampling.

3.2 Survey Instrument/ Measures

The items in this study are drawn from previous research. Twenty items were used to measure host culture acculturation and heritage culture enculturation. The questions are based on Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver (2007), using the "two-statement method": the first assesses the respondent's behavior of his/her own ethnic heritage (e.g., "I often spend most of my social time with Turkish people"); and the second assesses the respondent's behavior in relation to the host culture (e.g., "I often spend most of my social time with Dutch people"). Each contains a balanced 7-point Likert scale, ranging from "1=strongly disagree" to "7=strongly agree" (Dwivedi, Rana, Janssen, Lal, Williams, & Clement, 2017b; Rana & Dwivedi, 2015, Rana, Dwivedi, Williams & Weerakkody, 2015; Rana, Dwivedi, Lal, Williams, & Clement, 2017).

Six items adapted from Gil de Zúñiga et al. (2014) for Online Political Participation measured political engagement in online activities. Political involvement was measured using four items adapted from O'Cass (2004). Voting intentions items are from Rachmat (2010). All scales presented in this study incorporated a balanced 7-

point Likert scale and validated by previous studies (Zuiderwijk, Janssen, & Dwivedi, 2015).

4. Data Analysis

4.1 Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) and Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) were employed to test theory and hypotheses. The assessment of standardized factor loading, AVE and reliability score (Fornell & Larcker, 1981) showed satisfactory evidence to confirm the validity of the measurement model shown in Table 1. The reliability test results range from 0.892 to 0.948. The critical ratios (CRs) and AVEs are above the threshold of 0.70 and 0.50 respectively with all factor loadings of >0.5. Discriminant validity is assessed by comparing the AVE with the corresponding inter-construct squared correlation estimates (Fornell and Larcker, 1981). The square root of the AVE for all constructs is greater than the inter-correlations estimates for other corresponding constructs (Table 2), providing support of discriminant validity. The measurement model indicated a good overall fit (Parsimony fit x^2/df=2.682; Adjusted Goodness of Fit (AGFI)=0.827; Comparative Fit Index (CFI)=0.935; Incremental Fit Index (IFI)=0.935 and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA)=0.05).

[Insert Table 1 about here.]

[Insert Table 2 about here.]

4.2 Structural Equation Model

The structural equation analysis assessed the relationships (Figure 1 and Table 2). *Turkish enculturation (Dutch acculturation)* relates to *Online Participation*. *Turkish*

enculturation (Dutch acculturation) relates to *Political Involvement. Online Participation* relates to *Political Involvement and Voting Intentions.* The GOF statistics show an acceptable fit: x^2/df = 2.686, AGFI = 0.83, CFI = 0.93, IFI= 0.93 RMSEA = 0.05.

[Insert Figure 1 about here.]

4.2.1 Hypotheses Results

The structural parameter estimates (Table 1) show significance for all paths with the exception of H2. The analysis reveals a significant positive influence of *Acculturation on Political Involvement* (β=0.489, *p*=0.000) and a negative but non-significant influence of *Enculturation on Political Involvement* (β=-0.038, *p*=0.386). Therefore, H1 is accepted but H2 is rejected. Assessment of model paths indicates a significant positive influence of *Acculturation on Online Political Participation* (β=0.194, *p*=0.000) and a significant but negative influence of *Enculturation on Online Political Participation* (β=0.388, *p*=0.000), providing support for H3 and H4 (reverse sign). As hypothesized, the path between *Online Political Participation* and *Political Involvement* shows a positive and significant relationship (β=0.195, *p*=0.000), supporting H5.

Online Political Participation shows a negative and significant relationship with *Voting Intentions* (β=-0.247, *p*=0.000), providing support for H6 (reverse sign). Finally, the influence of *Political Involvement* on *Voting Intentions* is significant and positive (β=0.687, *p*=0.000); therefore, H7 is accepted.

[Insert Table 3 about here.]

4.2.2 Mediation analysis

The conceptual model presented in Figure 1 points to potential mediation effects. Therefore, post hoc mediation analysis is conducted to determine whether online political participation and political involvement act as mediators.

Preacher and Hayes (2004) recommend the bootstrapping methodology. Preacher and Hayes (2004) prescribe the mediating effect and evaluation of the confidence intervals (CIs). We examined *Political Involvement* and *Online Political Participation* as mediating variables and found 95% bias-corrected and accelerated bootstrap of CIs.

The mediation findings reported in Table 3 indicate that *Political Involvement* has a significant indirect influence on *Acculturation* and *Voting Intentions* and *Enculturation and Voting Intentions.* However, *Online Participation* shows a non-significant indirect effect in the relationship between *Acculturation* and *Voting Intentions and between Enculturation and Voting Intentions.*

The effect of *Acculturation* on *Voting Intentions* is significant and positive (β = .314, *p*= .000) with the mediating effect of *Political Involvement*. Accordingly, *Political Involvement* appears to strengthen the effect *Acculturation* on *Voting Intentions.* Similarly, the effect of *Enculturation* on the *Voting Intentions* is marginally significant and negative (β =-0.070, *p*=0.05). Therefore, *Political Involvement* appears to marginally weaken the effect of *Enculturation* on *Voting Intentions.*

The findings show that the effect of *Online Political Participation* on *Voting Intentions* is positive and significant (β=0.134, *p*=0.000) with the mediating effect of *Political Involvement*. Therefore, *Political Involvement* appears to strengthen the effect of *Online Political Participation on Voting Intentions*.

[Insert Table 4 about here.]

5. Discussion

The study set a particular question "What roles do acculturation, enculturation, online participation and political involvement play in promoting political engagement among immigrant consumers?"

Enculturation and Acculturation Preferences

The findings show the significant role of enculturation and acculturation in immigrants' political engagement. A key finding is that, while acculturated individuals become politically active and involved in both online and offline contexts, enculturated individuals engage in political activities mainly via online context. With its emphasis on the integrative effects of enculturation and acculturation, this research contributes profoundly to the literature on culture change dynamics beyond the traditional offline context, providing better insights into the key role played by cultural orientation in promoting civic engagement among immigrant consumers. Accordingly, and in line with previous research (e.g. Barreto, 2005; Berry et al., 1989), this research sheds light on the debate about the role of immigrants' cultural orientation in civic life.

Within a Dutch context, our findings reveal significant and positive relationships between acculturation and political involvement and between acculturation and online political participation. We advance Branton's (2007) work by arguing that acculturation not only plays a significant positive role in predicting political involvement, but also in predicting online political participation. Contrary to our expectations, our study finds a positive link between enculturation and online political participation. It may be that the use of internet, especially via smartphone applications, is higher among enculturating individuals (e.g., Bartikowski et al., 2018), making online political participation an attractive and convenient option for them.

Nonetheless, findings imply that online participation in political terms (Gil de Zuniga et al., 2009) is relevant for enculturating Turkish-Dutch consumers.

Participation and Involvement

This study finds that online political participation positively affects political involvement, suggesting Turkish-Dutch consumers' strong interest in politics through the use of Internet. It may be that the use of internet allows Turkish-Dutch consumers greater opportunities for interpersonal connection with others, relational satisfaction, and a way to learn about the surrounding cultural milieu (Croucher, 2011). Accordingly, it appears that time spent on online political participation (e.g., writing to a politician online, sending a political message via email) enhances political efficacy (e.g., Kaye, 2011; Vitak et al., 2009) to the extent that Turkish-Dutch become strongly interested in Dutch politics.

Voting Intentions

Our study also finds a positive relationship between political involvement and voting intentions but a negative link between online political participation and voting intentions. Political-efficacy represents the personal perception of external political factors (e.g., Bandura, 1982), including an individual's belief in making a difference via voting behaviors. Our findings imply that online political participation per se may actually reduce Turkish-Dutch beliefs in their ability to make a positive difference via voting behaviors. This may be due to the fact that use of internet and social networking sites influences how Turkish-Dutch perceive the Dutch culture and its political environment, including Dutch immigration policies, prompting a cultivation effect that negatively influences their voting intentions. Future research is, however required to

fully comprehend the psychological dynamics of online political participation and the potential influence on voting intentions.

6. Public Policy Implications

According to recent forecasts, European population, and a growing segment of eligible voters in Western countries, will become more diverse (Eurostat, 2015; Crull et al., 2013). The findings of this study will benefit politicians and steer governments in understanding immigrant voters in a call to reaching out and engaging with them.

The Netherlands comprise various cultures, with Turkish-Dutch being the largest growing, non-Western, ethnic group (Vasta, 2007). Accordingly, it is to the benefit of those involved in public policy making to understand the dynamics of culture change and the extent to which they can develop meaningful and insightful relations with Turkish-Dutch voters. In addition to being very supportive and considerate to the Dutch-Turkish ethnic group and their demands, the public policy makers need to use Dutch supporters to influence the Turkish-Dutch ethnic group to turn the tide in their favour. The Dutch government need to avoid diplomatic incidents such as the one that took place in March 2017, where Turkey broadcast a series of measures following a Dutch decision to block Turkish ministers from campaigning for a referendum (BBC News, 2017). Any such row would leave the Dutch government in unprecedented turmoil with regard to their efforts to attract support from the Turkish-Dutch ethnic group.

Taken together, our findings reveal an important political segment comprising Turkish-Dutch acculturating individuals who have a sustained interest in Dutch politics. They embrace virtual media, such as internet, in a powerful way, seeking political participation via online activities such as writing to a Dutch politician, making a

campaign contribution, signing up to volunteer for political campaigns and sending political messages to others via social networking sites. For such individuals, higher interest and political involvement in Dutch politics mean they are very likely to vote in upcoming Dutch elections.

Our findings also point to a second important political segment, comprising Turkish-Dutch enculturating individuals who value maintenance of their heritage cultural traditions and actively engage online via internet and social networking sites for political participation. They are likely to be cynical about Dutch politics and government (Michelson, 2003) and may avoid civic actions, such as voting behaviors. Enculturating individuals normally belong to collectivist cultures (Jamal, 2003) showing high levels of group consciousness, which refers to a group maintaining a sense of affection and group identification with other group members, generating a collective alignment to become more politically active (Garcia, 2003). Accordingly, the best way to enhance voting intentions among such individuals is promoting adherence to group norms that can heighten political interest and involvement. It is probable that ethnic identity is highly relevant to the political attitudes and behaviors of such Turkish-Dutch enculturating individuals; thus, policy makers could emphasise ethnic identity when targeting such voters.

It is particularly important to understand the growing interest of immigrant segments in knowledge dissemination through social media and levels of information acquisition on matters relating to civic engagement, such as political involvement and voting intentions. Our findings highlight the need for activities and programs to engage Turkish-Dutch in policy-making decisions. Our findings imply that both acculturating and enculturating participants are active users of social networking sites, possessing a range of digital skills such as operational, formal, information and strategic skills

(Deursen & Dijik, 2009). They appear to be an Internet savvy and digitally connected segment of Dutch society who are seeking an expressive but inclusive multicultural identity, allowing them to simultaneously maintain heritage and host cultural identities (Neilson Market Report, 2015). Therefore, our participants are likely to be quite receptive to public policy initiatives such as e-democracy, digital government (e-government), and provision of online information and transaction services for government purposes (Deursen and Dijik, 2009; Helbig, Gil-García & Ferro, 2009).

In addition to acknowledging the transformational power of information technology in public policy making, we argue for consideration of the role of cultural orientation in promoting civic engagement among minorities in Dutch society. While policy makers can provide more inclusive public services, for example online advice, language affiliation etc. (Twizeyimana & Andersson, 2019), there is also a need to overcome cultural barriers in communication between Dutch-Turkish immigrants and public agencies in the Netherlands by hiring Dutch-Turkish staff to provide public information and services to enculturated Dutch-Turkish citizens. Such an initiative is likely to be effective, given that the social identification theory (Tajfel, 1979) argues that an individual's sense of who they are depends on the groups to which they belong. The strategy can be deployed in areas heavily populated by Dutch-Turkish citizens and in governmental hotlines and other government agencies that deal directly with the Dutch-Turkish citizens.

7. Limitations and future research

7.1 Limitations

This study acknowledges a number of limitations. The study considers one particular ethnic group i.e. Turkish-Dutch residents in the Netherlands. Given the data

for this research is collected from within the Netherlands, the results of this study would have limitations in applying them to other ethnic communities in the Netherlands or to any other European countries. Although the study findings show the influence online, the offline context in political engagement, interaction and participation in social networking sites were not included. This research has not examined the influence of moderating variables, such as age, gender and education, in terms of understanding Dutch-Turkish ethnic group's online participation, political involvement and eventually voting intentions. As per the statistics of the Republic of Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, more than six million Turkish people live outside the country, of which around 5.5 million people live in countries in Western Europe, including Germany, Austria and France, in addition to the Netherlands. However, this research has considered only the online political participation, political involvement and voting intentions of Turkish immigrants living in the Netherlands.

7.2 Future Research

This research highlights a number of interesting future research possibilities. The study examined the influence of culture orientation on online political participation and political involvement. However, the study does not examine whether attitudes towards immigrants and immigration (e.g. discrimination informing immigrant voters) play any role in promoting or decreasing civic engagement. Future research could include social networking sites in explaining political engagement. Future research could also collect data from other ethnic minority groups and examine the same model to understand the extent to which the findings from that research would be similar or different to the results obtained in this study. Future research could evaluate the influence of suggested moderating variables in the proposed research model. Further

research could also explore the online political participation, political involvement and voting intentions of Turkish ethnic minorities in some other countries where a large proportion of Turkish immigrants live. A comparative study of the Turkish ethnic community living in the four major countries could present interesting future research into understanding the similarities and differences in terms of voting intentions.

8. Conclusion

Internet allows users to post views about political and civic matters (Pew Report, 2012), providing an effective mechanism for political engagement (Gil de Zuniga et al., 2014), and our study provides support for both enculturating and acculturating individuals. In line with an emerging stream of research work (e.g., Visconti, 2015; Kellerman, 2016), a key conclusion is that the Turkish-Dutch consumer's identity is not only an expression of physical space but also a cyber space, entitling such consumers convenient and effective access to the Dutch nation and society. A further conclusion is that both enculturated and acculturated participants actively participate in online activities seeking political participation in Dutch society, although they differ in the extent to which they feel politically involved in an offline context. Both online political participation and offline political involvement affect voting intentions, although in opposing ways.

Policymakers and other stakeholders will find the study results and implications useful in designing strategies. It is particularly important to understand the growing interest of immigrant segments in knowledge dissemination through social media and levels of information acquisition on political issues. This research highlights the need for activities and programs to engage Turkish-Dutch in policymaking decisions. This contributes to existing scholarly work to develop a stronger relationship with

immigrants (Jamal, 2005). Policy makers could provide more inclusive public services; for example, online advice, language affiliation etc. (Twizeyimana & Andersson, 2019).

Social communication networks may inform government/policy makers in obtaining trends of behavior in immigrant societal groups. The influences of perceived in-group opinions and out-group pressure (Galam, 2007) create an understanding as to how attitudes towards the host culture are shaped. According to Sobkowicz, Kaschesky & Bouchard (2012), online social network effects exceed person-to-person influences and allow for strong identification with specific attitudes. Policy makers can design inclusive/intercultural activities and events by addressing the in-group, i.e. the heritage cultural group, combined with positive affect toward the out-group in order to avoid bias and prejudice (Brewer and Brown, 1998). This study advances academic findings that citizens react to perceived opinion and information assured on content within like-minded groups.

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Table 1: Item Loadings

	Standardized Loadings	C.R.
Enculturation		
(α = 0.948, Composite reliability= 0.937, AVE= 0.598)		
I often spend most of my social time with Turkish people	0.790	fixed
I very often ask help/advise from Turkish students/colleagues	0.796	19.969
I frequently eat with Turkish friends/colleagues	0.816	20.621
I very often participate in Turkish public celebrations	0.762	18.890
My preference is to speak Turkish language most of the time.	0.823	20.880
I very often speak in Turkish language with my Turkish friends	0.782	19.492
I very often speak in Turkish language with my parents and family members	0.700	16.939
I very often attend Turkish cultural performances (e.g., Theatres and concerts)	0.759	18.776
I very often watch Turkish movies	0.760	18.781
I very often listen to Turkish music	0.740	18.147
Acculturation		
(α = 0.938, Composite reliability= 0.917, AVE= 0.528)		
I often spend most of my social time with Dutch people	0.782	fixed
I often ask help/advise from Dutch students/colleagues	0.762	20.086
I frequently eat with Dutch friends/colleagues	0.833	20.441
I very often participate in Dutch public celebrations	0.658	15.447
My preference is to speak in Dutch language most of the time	0.755	18.219
I very often speak in Dutch language with Turkish friends	0.791	19.338
I very often speak in Dutch language with my parents and family members	0.719	16.985
I very often attend Dutch cultural performances (Theatres and concerts)	0.669	15.812
I very often watch Dutch language movies	0.668	15.776
I very listen to Dutch music	0.596	13.819
Online Political Participation		
(α = 0.892, Composite reliability= 0.925, AVE= 0.671)		
Writing to a politician online	0.801	fixed
Making a campaign contribution online	0.775	19.108
Subscribing to a political listserv online	0.855	21.873
Signing up to volunteer for a campaign/issue online	0.832	21.179
Sending a political message via email or via social networking sites	0.841	21.331
Writing a letter to the editor of a newspaper online	0.810	20.263
Political involvement		
(α = 0.937, Composite reliability= 0.932, AVE= 0.733)		
Dutch politics is a relevant part of my life	0.843	fixed
Dutch politics is significant to me	0.892	26.664
I am involved in Dutch politics	0.829	23.493
I am interested in Dutch politics	0.869	25.452
Dutch politics means a lot to me	0.843	24.178
Voting Intentions		
(α = 0.932, Composite reliability= 0.948, AVE= 0.821)		

I am planning to vote in upcoming general elections in the Netherlands	0.868	fixed
I am likely to vote in upcoming general elections in the Netherlands	0.928	31.326
I intend to vote in upcoming general elections in the Netherlands	0.946	32.601
I will probably vote in upcoming general elections in the Netherlands	0.881	28.035

Table 2: Construct correlation

	Enculturation	Acculturation	Online Political Participation	Political Involvement	Voting Intentions
Enculturation	(0.598)				
Acculturation	-0.207	(0.528)			
Online Political Participation	0.355	0.124	(0.671)		
Political Involvement	-0.065	0.523	0.239	(0.733)	
Voting Intentions	-0.146	0.409	-0.079	0.628	(0.821)

Note: AVE is listed in parentheses on the diagonal

Table 3: Structural Model Estimates.

		Estimates	Std. Error	C.R.	p	St. Estimates
H1	Dutch acculturation ➔ Political Involvement	0.574	0.055	10.464	0.000	0.489
H2	Turkish enculturation ➔ Political Involvement	-0.043	0.049	-0.867	0.386	-0.038
H3	Dutch acculturation ➔ Online political participation	0.195	0.045	4.328	0.000	0.194
H4	Turkish enculturation ➔ Online political participation	0.369	0.045	8.222	0.000	0.388
H5	Online political participation ➔ Political Involvement	0.228	0.054	4.196	0.000	0.195
H6	Online political participation ➔ Voting Intentions	-0.299	0.048	-6.212	0.000	-0.247
H7	Involvement ➔ Voting Intentions	0.710	0.047	15.097	0.000	0.687

Goodness-of-fit statistics of the model:
Chi square= 1461.170
degrees of freedom (df) 544, p=0.000
x^2/df = 2.686
Adjusted-Goodness-of-Fit-Index(AGFI) = 0.828
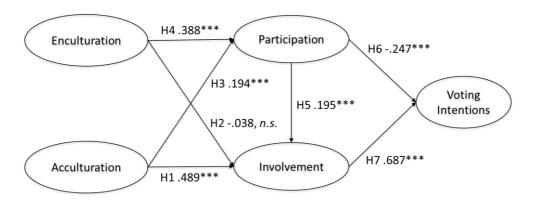*Comparative-Fit-Index (CFI) = 0.934*
Incremental Fit Index (IFI) = 0.934
Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = 0.05

Table 4: Mediation Analysis

		Confidence	
	β	Upper	Lower
Indirect paths			
Enculturation ➔ Voting intentions	-0.070*	-0.004	-0.134
Acculturation ➔ Voting intentions	0.314***	0.388	0.239
Online political participation ➔ Voting intentions	0.134***	0.193	0.078

*** Significant at the *p< 0.001*; *Significant at *p<0.05*

Figure 1: Structural Model

*** Significant at the *p*< 0.001, *n.s.*=non-significant