

**T.C.**  
**ANTALYA BILIM UNIVERSITY**  
**INSTITUTE OF POSTGRADE EDUCATION**

**GLOBAL POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**  
**MASTER'S THESIS**

**EMOTIONAL FACTORS**  
**AS DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:**  
**A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF YOUTH IN ANTALYA, TURKEY**

**Ayberk Erdem ÇİFTÇİ**

**JANUARY 2023**

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## **DECLARATION**

Master's thesis of this study named "EMOTIONAL FACTORS AS DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF YOUTH IN ANTALYA, TURKEY", which I presented, I declare that scientific moral principles were followed in the preparation of this study, in case of benefiting from the works of others, reference is made in accordance with scientific norms, no falsification has been made in the data used, and that any part of this study is not presented as another academic study.

... / ... / 2023

Ayberk Erdem ÇİFTÇİ

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**ABSTRACT**  
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**Ayberk Erdem ÇİFTÇİ**

**MA Thesis in Global Politics and International Relations**

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The aim of this study is to analyze the emotional factors affecting the different forms of political participation of Turkish youth. The Turkish youth included in this study are aged between eighteen and thirty-five, they reside in three central municipalities of Antalya (Konyaaltı, Muratpaşa and Kepez), and they are either a party member or not. Qualitative research methods, especially in-depth interviews, are used in the study to evaluate the impact of emotional factors on the forms of political participation. Political participation forms are examined in two categories as conventional political participation and non-conventional/alternative political participation. Antalya and its three central municipalities were selected by convenient sampling method to control for contextual factors. In-depth and group interviews were used to collect data. Thirty-five people, eighteen of whom are party members and seventeen of whom are not members of political parties, participated in the study. The findings of the study show that positive emotional factors are effective in party members' preference for conventional political participation methods such as attending party rallies, taking roles in youth wings and participating in civil society activities. On the other hand, the non-members' preferences on conventional and unconventional modes are affected by the level of feeling of positive and negative emotional factors. Other factors that are focused apart from emotional factors are the number and effectiveness of peer relationships, alienation, problem-focused motivations, socio-economic status, and perception of civic duty.

**KEYWORDS:** Emotion, Political Participation, Political Party Membership, Youth

**COMMITTEE:** Assoc. Prof. Dr. Cerem I. CENKER-ÖZEK

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## ÖZET

### SİYASİ KATILIMI BELİRLEYEN DUYGUSAL FAKTÖRLER: ANTALYA, TÜRKİYE'DEKİ GENÇLER ÜZERİNE NİTEL BİR ARAŞTIRMA

Ayberk Erdem ÇİFTÇİ

Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Küresel Siyaset ve Uluslararası İlişkiler

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Ocak 2023; 76 sayfa

Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye’de gençlerin farklı siyasi katılım biçimlerini etkileyen duygusal faktörleri analiz etmektir. Bu çalışmada yer alan gençler, yaşları on sekiz ile otuz beş arasında değişen; bir siyasi partiye üye olan veya olmayan; ve Antalya’nın üç merkez belediyesinde (Konyaaltı, Muratpaşa ve Kepez) ikamet edenlerden oluşmaktadır. Duygusal faktörlerin siyasi katılım biçimleri üzerindeki etkisini değerlendirmek için çalışmada, özellikle derinlemesine görüşmeler olmak üzere nitel araştırma yöntemleri kullanılmaktadır. Siyasal katılım biçimleri ise geleneksel siyasal katılım ve geleneksel olmayan/alternatif siyasal katılım olmak üzere iki kategoride incelenmektedir. Antalya ve üç merkez belediyesi, bağlamsal faktörleri kontrol etmek için uygun örnekleme yöntemiyle seçilmiştir. Veri toplamak için derinlemesine ve grup görüşmeleri kullanılmıştır. Araştırmaya on sekizi parti üyesi, on yedisi ise siyasi parti üyesi olmayan toplam otuz beş kişi katılmıştır. Araştırmanın bulguları, parti üyelerinin parti mitinglerine katılma, gençlik örgütlerinde üst düzey roller alma ve sivil toplum faaliyetlerine katılma gibi geleneksel siyasal katılım yöntemlerini tercih etmelerinde olumlu duygusal faktörlerin etkili olduğunu göstermektedir. Öte yandan üye olmayan katılımcıların geleneksel veya geleneksel olmayan siyasi katılım yöntemlerine katılımlarını, olumlu ve olumsuz duygusal faktörlerin hissedilme seviyeleri etkilemektedir. Duygusal faktörler dışında ölçülen diğer faktörler ise şunlardır: akran ilişkilerinin sayısı ve etkililiği, yabancılaşma, problem odaklı motivasyon, sosyo-ekonomik düzey ve yurttaşlık görevi anlayışı.

**ANAHTAR KELİMELER:** Duygu, Gençlik, Siyasal Katılım, Siyasal Parti Üyeliği

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

P2P : Peer-to-peer

SES : Socio-economic statuses

PEFs : Positive emotional factors

NEFs : Negative emotional factors

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## **PREFACE**

First of all, I am grateful to all of the participants of the present study who patiently and courageously showed their consents and volunteered to join the analysis.

Second, I sincerely would like to thank my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Işıl Cerem CENKER, for her unlimited patience, precious feedbacks and motivations to keep me working on the study.

Lastly, I am most sincerely grateful to my brother, and my parents for their endless love and support.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Political participation refers to set of actions that are about the involvement of individuals in the political system. Political participation is generally divided into two categories. (Dalton & Klingemann, 2007; Milbrath & Goel, 1977; Norris, 2002; Norris et al., 2005; van Deth, 2016). One of them is conventional political participation methods. Norris and her collaborators (2005) consider voting, political party membership, political campaigning and lobbying to be conventional methods. The activities in this conventional mode are mostly community-based activities that ensure the governing of the political system in democratic regimes. On the other hand, non-conventional methods of political participation generally include demonstrations, boycotts, signing petitions and methods like internet activism, clicktivism and political consumerism (de Rooij & Reeskens, 2014; Gundelach, 2020; Kaim, 2021; van Deth, 2016). In the study, all of these different modes of participation are asked to interviewees.

Emotions have no consensual definitions among psychologists, as mentioned by many researchers (Kagan & Kagan, 2007; Kleinginna & Kleinginna, 1981; Strongman, 2003). It is a situation which represents the difficulties of analyzing emotions within different academic fields, such as political science. As the present study aims to examine the emotional factors that affect young people's political participation modes, it is needed to establish a conceptual basis that makes sense to work on emotions, politics and political behaviors together. This basis is the fact that both emotions and political behaviors share a certain cognitive processing of individuals (Milbrath & Goel, 1977; Simon, 1960).

Emotions and political participation are related on people's cognitive capacities (Adler & Goggin, 2005; Heywood, 2013; Leftwich, 2015; Ranci re, 1992). Also, political participation methods include political behaviors that are subject to cognitive evaluations of individuals (Dalton & Klingemann, 2007; Milbrath & Goel, 1977; Norris et al., 2005; van Deth, 2016). There are many researchers who attribute the formation and interpretation of emotions to the necessity of a certain cognitive activity (Bandura, 1991; Lazarus & Lazarus, 1994; Lazarus & Smith, 1988; Lerner et al., 2015). For example, Lazarus and Lazarus (1994) explain determination of an emotion with a cognitive appraisal process of the self. They argue that emotions need instantaneous cognitive evaluations of the physiological changes experienced by a person due to an event he/she encounters, depending on the subject of the event (Lazarus & Lazarus, 1994). The psycho-evolutionary theory of emotion (Plutchik, 1982; Plutchik & Kellerman, 1980) is used to describe the emotional expressions that are observed among the interviewees in this study. The theory argues that emotions emerge from eight basic emotions by making use of contextual dimensions that include cognitive evaluations. This evolutionary perspective on emotions is important for the research in order to explain the emotional expressions that are identified during the data collection process.

The analytical framework of the study benefits from the functional analysis of Milbrath and Goel (1977). This functional analysis includes a multidimensional analysis of the factors that may influence an individual's decision to participate in political activities. Newer works in literature such as Norris (2002) and van Deth (2016), provide conceptual

and analytical frameworks that make use of several elements of Milbrath and Goel's (1977) functional analysis. Furthermore, emotion based political participation studies such as Manning and Holmes (2014) also make use of the functional framework of Milbrath and Goel (1977). The capacity to expand the scope of the political stimulus function has opened up new areas of investigation into the study of political participation (Bee & Chrona, 2017; Robles-Morales & Córdoba-Hernández, 2019; van Deth, 2016; Young, 2021).

In the relevant academic literature, the Turkish youth and their political participations as a case is generally analyzed within the youth's citizenship perceptions and voting behaviors. These studies are valuable, yet the number of studies that focus on the relationship between emotional factors and political participation are fewer. The existing literature is important in terms of its focus on both political actors and society, and the changes in the Turkish youth's perceptions of political actors since the foundation of modern Turkey.

The reason for selection of sample from Turkey is the present study's goal to contribute to the political participation literature in Turkey. There are numbers of quantitative analysis on youth participation in Turkey, yet once again the main focus of these research are not the relationship between emotions and political participation. (see Aktükün et al., 2022; Erdoğan, 2021; *KONDA Gençlerin İnsan Hakları Algısı: Kamuoyu Araştırması*, 2022). Consecutively, the present study uses qualitative research methods, particularly in-depth interviews, to understand the layered meanings of the young people in Turkey for attributing to their political participation behavior.

The total number of sample in the research is thirty-five. While eighteen of the interviewees are officially party members, the rest (seventeen) does not have any political party membership at the time of the interviews. The political members are selected from both the governing parties and the opposition parties. Among the political party members, the majority of the interviewees are members of the five largest parties which are currently in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. In addition, there are party members who are from two minor parties that are rivals of each other.

The findings of the present study suggest that there are two different groups of factors which affect youth political participation in Turkey. The first group contains positive emotional factors (PEFs) which include trust and enthusiasm; and negative emotional factors (NEFs), which contains distrust, dissatisfaction, fear and future concerns. There are also other factors that include numbers and strength of peer-to-peer (p2p) relations, alienation issue-based motivations, socio-economic status of participants, and perception of civic duty. The next chapter will provide a review of relevant literature to illustrate the present thesis' analytical structure.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 What is Political Participation?

In a narrow perspective, political participation refers to the citizens' either collective or individual actions such as expressing their opinions about politics; influencing the governments, or taking part in the process of formulation and implementation of policies in the political system of their state (Dalton, 2008; Heywood, 2013; Milbrath & Goel, 1977; van Deth, 2016). Because of these basic features of political participation as a term, it is more crucial for democratic regimes than the other types of political regimes. For instance, van Deth (2016) sees political participation as "indispensable feature of democracy" (van Deth, 2016, p. 2). Intertwined relationship between democratic regimes and political participation comes from the rights and legitimacy aspect of democracy, because public involvement in politics is central in democratic regimes and it is also the source on which the regime's legitimacy rests (Dalton, 2008). The linkage between democracy and political participation is also influential on the academic literature's development, because numbers of earlier and contemporary research in the field put significant emphasis on the political activities that are crucial for a democratic regime ( see Briggs, 2017; Dalton, 2008; Kaase & Newton, 1995; Milbrath & Goel, 1977; Nie & Verba, 1972; Norris 2002; van Deth, 2005).

In general, there are two types of political participation modes. These are conventional political participation and unconventional political participation. Conventional political participation refers to activities that involves individuals in the political process in the society, and are typically related to elections and statutory political institutions. They include such activities as voting, working for campaign activity, attending electoral meetings, fund raising activities, party membership (Almond & Verba, 1963; Dalton, 2008; Milbrath & Goel, 1977; Norris, 2002; Norris et al., 2005; van Deth, 2016). Alternatively, unconventional political participation are not in-line with social norms as conventional forms do and they are generally focusing on expression of dissents, disapprovals, and provocations about political or moral/ethical matters. Such actions like protesting, demonstrations, boycotts and buycott as well as the recent internet activism fit in the unconventional forms (Dalton, 2014; Gundelach, 2020; Kovalev et al., 2021; Norris, 2002; Norris et al., 2005; Robles-Morales & Córdoba-Hernández, 2019; van Deth, 2016).

Nie and Verba (1972) examines political participation in four different dimensions that are the type of influence, the scope of the outcome, the conflict dimension and initiative required. Their research focuses on four modes of political participation, which are voting, campaign activity, cooperative activity and citizen-initiated contacts, and all of the four participation dimensions are in contact with the modes. The type of influence from the effects of political actions' on leaders, as the acts " (...) can exert pressure or communicate information about the preferences of citizens, or both (Nie & Verba, 1972, p. 47)." As they exemplify that, voting creates high pressure on leaders for being elected/re-elected but exchanges low information about the voters' exact preferences. The scope of outcome can be collective or particularized, depending on numbers of the actors, their preferences and abilities, types of issues and the context of the situations. For example, Nie and Verba (1972)

see campaign activity requires individuals' initiative but provides collective outcomes for the political party. The conflict dimension emerges from the competition of the actors whether in groups or individual (depending on the context) for obtaining benefits in the political system. The last dimension which they call as initiative required, depends on the participatory action's requirements to be taken by the individuals and also "(...) how much initiative is needed by the individual in choosing when to act and how to act (Nie & Verba, 1972, p. 51)."

Milbrath and Goel (1977) represent an analytical work on political participation on numbers of earlier influential works, which provide cross-national datasets (for instance, Almond & Verba, 1963; Verba et al., 1971). Milbrath and Goel (1977) examines individual level of analysis to find out how and why people join political participatory actions. They point out that a person makes two decisions when he/she participates in the political system. The first decision is about whether or not to get involved in politics. The second decision is about the course of political action, and both of the decisions of people are influenced by their individual assets – such as emotions, beliefs, attitudes and characteristics, socio-economic statuses, and environmental factors. Milbrath and Goel's (1977) study also provides a conceptual framework that includes conventional and unconventional modes of political participation and defines four different functions, which are: function of stimuli, function of personal factors, function of social position, function of environmental variables. These functions are effective to understand the various factors that makes people participate.

Function of stimuli refers to political stimuli which generate emotional reactions in response to political objects such as actors, institutions or events; hence which play a central role in the formation of individuals' political participatory act (Milbrath & Goel, 1977). Furthermore, the number of political stimuli exposure is also an influential factor that affects the person's political perceptions, interests and abilities to cognitively understand the political events, actors and the governance of his/her community due to flow of information. Consecutively, the presence of political stimuli and their numbers in the person's environment can control the course of political action, political interests and beliefs, but similar to emotions individuals do not necessarily obtain or express any political action in their community. Milbrath and Goel (1977) interrogate a dilemma on the association between stimuli and the political actions in terms of their efficiency on the formation of political action, which shows another perspective to how stimuli' functioning. They question that "Does an individual expose himself more to stimuli about politics because he is more interested in politics than others, or does he become more interested in politics as a result of lots of talk about politics in environment?" (Milbrath & Goel, 1977, p. 36). Because as they mention that with a great number of mass media agents, technological revolution and increasing popularity of televisions, there is significant increase in the numbers of political exposures but also there are apathetics that have no political interest or participatory acts due to their cognitive and emotional reactions on the political stimuli. In order to answer this dilemma, the authors present the concept of a person's perceptual screens. Milbrath and Goel (1977) refer to perceptual screens of people, as an evaluative function that arises from the individual characteristics of people which are detailed in other functions of their framework. This evaluation structure focuses on the way people's appraisals of external stimuli related to

politics. It can be observed that the perceived political stimuli are picked up or shut down by the self as related to function of stimuli.

Function of personal factors on the other hand pays attention to the individuals' personal assets that are effective on their political decisions and actions. Milbrath and Goel (1977) expands personal assets as people's attitudes, beliefs, and personality traits<sup>1</sup> that explains political actions, and writes as: "Beliefs and attitudes are up close to behavior. Personality is a more general background factor (...) and finds expression as beliefs and attitudes" (p.43). So that, these notions aim to describe the causes and the political behaviors themselves in the individuals' political perceptions, because Milbrath and Goel (1977) further explain them in causal clauses with the assistance of several works. For instance, Table.2.1 shows examples of their causal predispositions on beliefs and attitudes and their effects on political participation.

**Table.2.1:** Causal Relations of Beliefs and Attitudes on Political Participation

<b>Beliefs and Attitudes</b>	<b>Cause</b>	<b>Effect</b>	<b>Reference Pages*</b>
Psychological Involvement	More interests on politics; intense preferences or seek of benefits	More likely to be a participant	(p.46)
Sense of Civic Obligation	More perception of civic duty	More likely to participate	(p.49)
Party Identification	Strong bonds with any political party; high level of affiliation to political elites/leaders	More likely to participate	(p.54)
Group Identification	Strong group identification	More likely to participate	(p.57)
Political Efficacy Feelings	High sensation of being politically effective	More likely to participate	(p.58)
Alienation, Cynicism, Distrust	"estrangement, rejection, negativism and unhappiness with the political system"	Lower political participation	(p.64)
Alienation And Unconventional Political Participation	Low political trust	More likely to extremist methods of political participation with the help of political efficacy	(p.73)

(\*) Examples taken from Milbrath & Goel, 1977, pp. 46–74 (continues)

<sup>1</sup> Personality traits is not referred in the present research, because of the lack of academic proficiency in psychology field to examine the personalities of participants.

**Source:** Milbrath, L. W., & Goel, M. L. (1977). *Political participation: How and why do people get involved in politics?* (2nd ed.). Chicago: Rand McNally College Pub. Co. <http://archive.org/details/politicalpartici00milb>

Function of social position refers to the individual's demographic and socio-economic assets, which are widely analyzed in in the political participation studies as Milbrath and Goel (1977) mention. They further explain that demographic variables or social assets of the people are "(...) so visible and so readily measured" ( p. 86). And they look from the person's relations and reactions within his/her social positions' effects that make him/her active or inactive participant, or non-participant. While doing so, Milbrath and Goel (1977) differentiate the social positions as central and peripheral due to most of the conceptualizations of social positions are dominantly focused on the social class and/or socioeconomic status (SES) of the person. Table.2.2 shows these agents and their relevant examples.

**Table.2.2:** Socioeconomic status or class and effects on political participation of people

Socio-Economic Status or Class	Effects on Political Participation	Reference pages*
Income	Wealthier income inclines more participant actions	(p.96)
Education	Higher education inclines more participant actions	(p.98)
Occupation	Higher status inclines more participant actions	(p.102)
Place of Residence	Rural residence inclines fewer participant actions	(p.106)
Organizational Involvement	Organizational membership inclines more participant actions	(p.110)
Community Identification	Longer residences and higher affiliation to society incline more participant actions	(p.113)
Age	Political participation inclines to increase until middle ages, then disinclines with older ages	(p.114)
Variations by Sex	Men are more inclined to participate politics than women	(p.116)
Religion	Jews more inclined than Catholics, Catholics are more inclined than Protestants	(p.118)
Black, Whites and Political Participation ( <i>ethnicity</i> )	Afro-Americans less likely to participate than whites ( <i>for the US context</i> )	(p. 119)

(\*) (Examples taken from Milbrath & Goel, 1977, pp. 96–122)

**Source:** Milbrath, L. W., & Goel, M. L. (1977). *Political participation: How and why do people get involved in politics?* (2nd ed.). Chicago: Rand McNally College Pub. Co. <http://archive.org/details/politicalpartici00milb>

Lastly, the function of environmental variables refers to the political system and its properties, priorities, and conditions. They are also significant factors that make individuals take part in or not in political matters. Milbrath and Goel (1977) propose that the environmental factors act like the drivers of the person's reactions to political stimuli exposures by shaping the political agenda and its functionality in any society, because they are the core specs of the system. For instance, the party system of a democratic regime practically shapes the variety of available political positions, and roles for the individuals; or electoral system naturally affects the participatory roles and methods for the people. Examples from Milbrath and Goel (1977) is indicated in Table.2.3.

**Table.2.3:** Environmental Variables and Effects on Political Participation

<b>Function of Environmental Variables</b>	<b>Affections on Individual's Political Participation</b>	<b>Reference Pages*</b>
<b>Level of Modernity</b>	Modernization is positively influential on people's participatory actions	(p.124-126)
<b>Modernization and Political Violence</b>	Lower levels of modernity incline more political violence	(p.126-128)
<b>Rules of the Game</b>	Least facilitation on electoral rules inclines least voting ( <i>more relevant with the US' different voting registration rules</i> ); high level of electoral thresholds inclines to minimize to vote	(p.128-132)
<b>Party System</b>	More competitive parties incline more political participation	(p.132-136)
<b>Characteristics of Specific Elections</b>	Depending on the specifications of the elections, participatory reactions of people changes	(p.136-141)
<b>Regional Differences</b>	Depending on each country, internal distributions of social groups affects individuals' political actions	(p.141-142)
<b>Nonelectoral and Nonparty Factors</b>	Political elites, political communication, interest, pressure and lobby groups effects individuals' political decisions and participation	(p.142-143)

(\*) Examples taken from Milbrath & Goel, 1977, pp. 124–144)

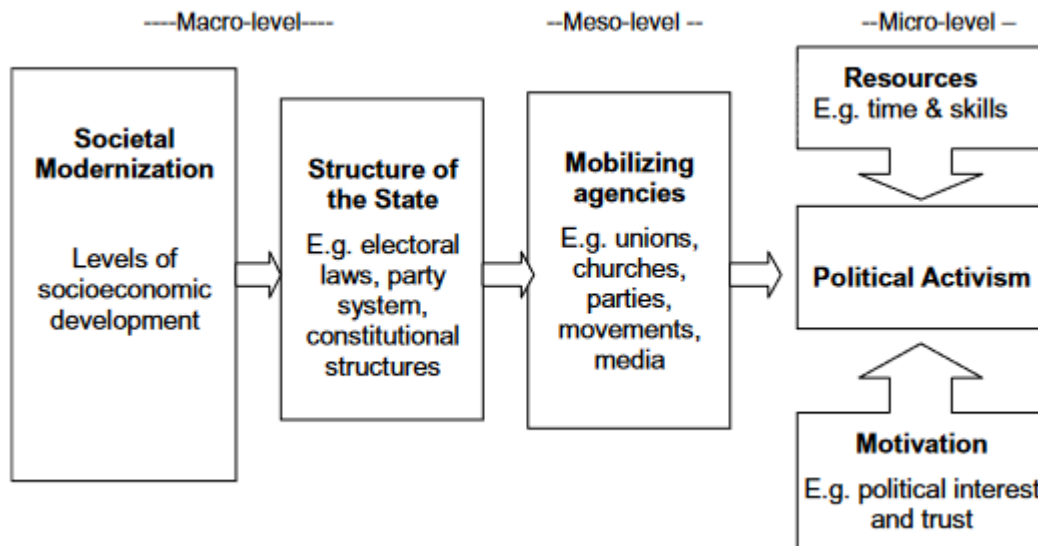
**Source:** Milbrath, L. W., & Goel, M. L. (1977). *Political participation: How and why do people get involved in politics?* (2nd ed.). Chicago : Rand McNally College Pub. Co.

<http://archive.org/details/politicalpartici00milb>

Norris (2002) presents another important contribution to literature of political participation studies. She interrogates a general commentary in the literature about a decline of political participation in democracies and seeks to examine that generalization through different political participation modes. To do that she empirically analyzes several political participation modes within a large cross-national data set of World Values Survey (WVS) from the post-war era. She focuses on voting turnout, party activism, civic activism, and political protests – with the effect of contemporary developments such as the internet. Party

and civic activism have common points as they increase the people's involvement in their societies, and they are important for the health of democratic regimes. Party activism refers to actions that are exercised through political party membership or volunteering works and contains activities such as, campaigning, discussion of party policies, selecting candidates, attending conferences, and organizing and mobilizing party support (Norris, 2002). Civic activism contains activities such as volunteering for civil society organizations and organizing group networks. Norris (2002) refers political protests "(...) seek to reform the law or influence the policy process as well as to directly alter systematic patterns of social behavior" (p.192). Furthermore, she points out that political protests such as demonstrations, occupations, and unofficial strikes generally "triggered by specific events and particular circumstances, depending upon the structure of opportunities generated by particular issues, specific events, and the role of leaders" (Norris, 2002, p. 194). She inspects all of these political modes within a theoretical framework which is presented in Figure.2.1.

**Figure.2.1:** Theoretical Framework of Norris (2002)



**Retrieved from:** Norris, P. (2002). *Democratic phoenix: Reinventing political activism*. Cambridge University Press.

Norris (2002) refers to several societal modernization theories that have common concept of democratization process of the societies as political participation and democratic regime is highly interrelated. In a narrow perspective, she refers to a linear flow of economic development which suggests a flow of economic capital and production lines from undeveloped means of production to advanced sectors which create significant changes in the SES. Norris (2002) points out that such kind of modernization process cannot always mean to foster democratization and consecutively political participation, as numbers of Asian and Latin American cases proves. Alternative to that linear theories of modernization, Norris (2002) mentions non-linear modernization theories which she refers as: "(...) a multitude of systemic-level trends – social, economic, demographic, and technological – transforming the

structure of societies from rural to industrialized, and from industrialized to postindustrial.” (p.21). Although each structural steps of societies creates changes in the SES, their impacts on political participation variates due to the different social trends of political participation.

The findings in her research suggest that societal modernization and democratization process are influential for different political participation modes such as voting, political party activism, civic activism, and protest politics. Although there are variable co-factors and differences among nations, in general, societal modernization changes individuals’ political resources and personal motivations in the political participation process. Norris (2002) mentions one particular example of such social trends that she refers from Inglehart suggest:

“Support for traditional hierarchical and bureaucratic organizations such as parties and churches has declined, but that the younger generation in affluent societies has become increasingly active in politics via new social movements and transnational advocacy networks, with a rise during the 1980s in political interest and discussion, petition signing, and willingness to demonstrate and engage in boycotts (...)” (p.24)

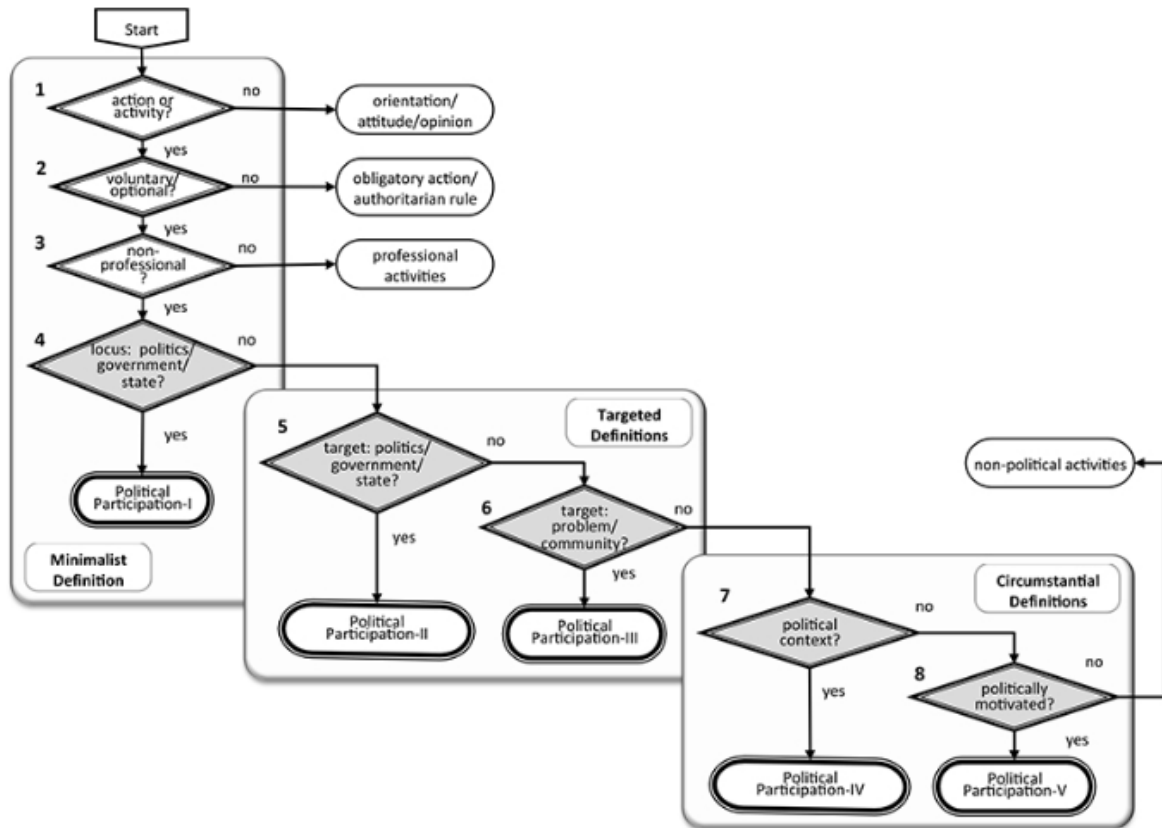
Van Deth (2016) represents another influential example among political participation studies due to his contribution of new modes of political participation. He also refers to the intertwined relationship between democracy and political participation. For him that relationship between the terms bases on their basic features. Because democracy is based on the idea that citizens should have a say in the decisions that affect their lives, and political participation is the way in which citizens can make their voices heard (van Deth, 2016). He explains main features of political participation in four articles which can be exemplified as:

- It needs to expose an activity - or series of activities – that concerns governments, politics or the state.
- Taking action is done voluntarily, and it is not obliged by laws or by the rulers.
- Actions are taken with amateur roles of the people, not like politicians, civil servants and lobbyists.
- Political participation concerns broader senses of governments, politics and the states, it is not limited to executive or legislative actions.

Van Deth (2016) refers to these features of political participation to explain his conceptual framework of political participation with four distinct assets of participation. These assets are important to explain the scope and impact of the activity; provide (a) the locus (polity), show (b) the targeting (government area or community problems), point (c) the circumstance (context or motivations), and show (d) the repertoire (all available forms of participation) (van Deth, 2016). He refers to the locus of political participation because it can be local, state, national level or international organizations, and the type of political system such as democracy or dictatorship. Targeting means the problem that political activity aims at, and it contains government policies, laws, or social problems like poverty or environmental degradation (van Deth 2016). The circumstances of political participation refer to the context in which the activity takes place. This includes the political, social, and economic environment, as well as the cultural and historical context. Lastly, the repertoire of

political participation refers to the range of activities that are available to citizens. This includes both conventional and unconventional forms of participation, such as voting, campaigning, petitioning, protesting, and engaging in civil society activities (van Deth, 2016). Figure.2.2 below shows van Deth's (2016) conceptual map of political participation which uses the assets of political participation for evaluating quality of democracy, as well as to identify new forms of participation.

**Figure.2.2:** Conceptual Map of Political Participation (van Deth, 2016)



**Source:** van Deth, J. What Is Political Participation?. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Retrieved 15 Feb. 2023, from <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-68>.

Van Deth (2016) explains minimalist definition of political participation with concentration on locus of participation as the defining characteristic. This definition includes all nonprofessional, voluntary activities located in the sphere of politics, and includes activities such as casting a vote submitting a petition or supporting a party or candidate. On the other hand, his emphasis on targeted definitions of political participation relies on the aims of activities. This explanation includes nonprofessional and voluntary activities that are targeted at the sphere of different branches of the political system and society. Examples of activities that meet this definition include signing a petition, attending a rally, or contacting a public official, and as well as activities for solving collective problems such as poverty and

unemployment, to social issues such as crime and discrimination and environmental problems such as pollution and climate change (van Deth 2016). Lastly, his circumstantial definitions of political participation focus on the motivations and intentions of the participants. He provides examples of activities such as political consumerism – boycott and buycott, connective actions<sup>2</sup>, and guerrilla gardening (van Deth, 2016). Among these examples, connective actions are more related with the contemporary studies of political participation as it refers to the internet technologies which “facilitates these individualized actions by offering opportunities to express ideas, demands, and frustrations that are instantly accessible to everyone at practically no cost” (van Deth, 2016, p.4).

This chapter, so far, provides an overall explanation of political participation which includes numbers of actions that targets political aims of the individuals, and their contextual differences. Depending on the context of the political action, the literature generally divides the forms of actions into conventional and unconventional political participation modes. Conventional political participation modes includes political activities such as voting, signing petition, party activism, civic activism, and unconventional modes refers to protesting, demonstrations, political consumerism and collective actions that are in use of internet sources. As commentaries point out that democracy and political participation are strictly connected; and political participation levels of the people in democratic regimes helps to examine health of the regime (Norris, 2002). Furthermore, the societal modernization processes of the nations are also influential on political participation modes and the rates of participation. Societal modernization changes socio-economic structures of the states and the means of individuals’ motivations and resources, which results new types of political activities that depends on alternative targets and circumstances of political matters (Norris, 2002; van Deth, 2016). Milbrath and Goel (1977) with their individual level of analysis on political participation, examines the variable factors that have influences on people’s involvement process to the political system. Their analysis requires a cognitive process (decision-making) that is influenced by people’s emotions, beliefs, attitudes, socioeconomic statuses and their environments and these functional frameworks find a place in newer works in the literature. For instance, people’s emotions, beliefs and attitudes are reflected as motivations and circumstances in van Deth’s work (2016), and socio-economic status and environmental variables finds places as societal modernization, structure of state and resources in Norris (2002). The next chapter provides details of how emotions as factors that influence political participation.

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<sup>2</sup> Van Deth (2016) cites the term “connective action” from (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013).

**Source:** Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2013). *The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics*. Cambridge University Press.

## 2.2 How do Emotions, Decisions and Political Participation Interact Each Other?

Emotions' effects on the people's mindsets have bounded with environmental, physiological, genetical, and psychological elements (Cabanac de Lafregeyre, 2002; Kagan & Kagan, 2007; Kleinginna & Kleinginna, 1981; Strongman, 2003). If this is the case, then, how can emotions affect the social norms, cultural habits, or even the political system of the community? In what degree do they affect people's decisions on politics – how to participate the system, which party to vote for, or even to take in a part in the political parties in every manner. Numbers of similar questions asked by the other scholars (Almond & Verba, 1963; Manning & Holmes, 2014; Milbrath & Goel, 1977; Nie & Verba, 1972; Norris, 2002; Norris et al., 2005; van Deth, 2016; Weber, 2013; Wolf, 2018), but the most important question within the scope of this research is how emotions are related with decision-making process for political participation. To answer such kind of a question, it is necessary to understand how emotions and decisions are related to each other, and how that relationship affects political decision. Milbrath and Goel (1977) explain that relationship within their functions of stimuli notion. While deciding to act or not, and the scope of the action, people's perceptual screens evaluate the experienced political stimuli to finalize the cognitive processing. On the other hand, depending on the other functional notions, individual's motivations and resources are also effective on the decision-making process about political participation.

Similar to stimuli function's explanation, emotional sensations also require cognitive processing (Frijda et al., 2000; Kleinginna & Kleinginna, 1981; Lazarus and Lazarus, 1994; Naqvi et al., 2006; Plutchik, 1982; Plutchik and Kellerman, 1980; Strongman, 2003). This commonality makes the examination of the relationship between emotions and politics both relevant and necessary. An example from Lerner and her collaborators (2015) explain cognitive processing of emotions as: "Decisions can be viewed as a conduit through which emotions guide everyday attempts at avoiding negative feelings (e.g., guilt and regret) and increasing positive feelings (e.g., pride and happiness), (...)" (Lerner et al., 2015, p. 801).

Cognitive theories, in a nutshell, suggest that emotions are not only reactionary responses to external or internal stimuli, but also they are affected by cognitive assets of individuals (Frijda et al., 2000; Kleinginna & Kleinginna, 1981; Lazarus & Lazarus, 1994; Lerner et al., 2015; Roseman, 1996; Strongman, 2003). It is the case because different stimuli create different kinds of physiological reactions, and the self needs a cognitive processing of those stimuli in order to make sense of the emotion. For example, rapid heartbeat may indicate both an emotion of love and fear. The self can know whether the physiological reaction – the heartbeat in this case- is love or fear only when he/she cognitively processes the context in which this reaction takes place. This example is congruent with Lazarus' cognitive appraisal theory (1994). According to his emotion theory "(...) each emotion has its own unique plot, comprised of appraisals that reveal particular personal meanings." (Lazarus & Lazarus, 1994, p. 292). Appraisals can be examined within three categories: certainty means the level of certainty an individual has about stimuli, valence refers to the experienced positive or negative nature of the stimuli, and control/responsibility explains the ability to effectively dealing stimuli (Lazarus & Lazarus, 1994; Lerner et al., 2015).

Alternatively, Plutchik and Kellerman (1980) show psycho-evolutionary theory of emotion's cognitive process which "(...) implies that the recognition by an organism of the beneficial or harmful aspects of its environment means that it must evaluate its environment in some way" (p.9). His evolutionary approach provides that emotional sensations evolves from eight basic emotions which are " anger, fear, sadness, disgust, surprise, anticipation, trust and joy" (Plutchik, 1982; Plutchik & Kellerman, 1980).

Manning and Holmes (2014) demonstrate similar cognitive processing of Milbrath and Goel (1977) and use similar emotions with Plutchik, (1982) and Plutchik and Kellerman (1980) in their analysis to explain the emotions' effects on the decisions about political actions. They collect data from interviews and surveys that are conducted with citizens of the UK. In their work, they use notion of political emotions – refers to hope, indignation, joy, anger, shame, and catharsis [relief] which appear when people interact with their physical and social environments. These political emotions are used to establish the affinity concept which refers to attraction to the political contexts, such as political leaders, parties, voting, or protest (Manning and Holmes, 2014). Individuals encounter emotions in response to external stimuli, such as a political speech, a news article, a protest, or a rally (Manning and Holmes, 2014). In addition, political emotions are also affected by people's social interactions, such as political conversations within their peer groups. For internal stimuli, they observe memories and thoughts are influential for sensations of political emotions.

The findings of Manning and Holmes (2014) suggest that external and internal stimuli about politics create bipolarized emotions – such as feelings of affinity, or likeness in one polar, and dislike or distrusts is another – which affects individuals' preferences on the modes of political participation, positively or negatively. For instance, for voting, attraction to actors, parties, ideologies or policies increases the participation of the people, and on the other hand, when people sense dislike, and distrust to political actors, campaigns and promises then political participation decrease (Manning and Holmes, 2014). For protest activism, the authors' findings suggest that anger towards perceived injustice fosters protest actions. Furthermore, emotions like hope and joy that arise with political circumstances foster attending rallies, writing letters to representatives, posting supportive opinions about political contexts on social media and participating political organizations as volunteers or members.

Weber (2013) provides an empirical study that examines the interaction between individuals' emotions and intentions to political participation. His experiments make use of cognitive emotional theories of Frijda and his collaborators (2000) and Lazarus (1994) to explain emotions, and he conducts two experiments to evaluate the political consequences of four emotions – anger, sadness, fear, and enthusiasm – that experienced in political campaigns. His experiments try to find out the reactions of four emotions from different types of electoral ads and their reflection of the individuals' preferences on political participation modes. The first experiment uses a between-subjects design that compares evocations of anger and sadness with randomly distributed participants, and in the other experiment, randomly distributed participants are exposed to series of political campaign advertisements, and they rated emotions that are evoked from the advertisements plus their intentions to political participation (Weber, 2014). The findings of his experiments suggest that the anger

is the most prominent emotion in comparison to enthusiasm that increases the individual's intention to involve political participation, whereas sadness and fear demonstrates noteworthy decreases on the intentions of political participation.

This chapter provides several examples from the literature to explain the interactions of emotions, decisions and political participation, as the present study aims to analyze. Although there are numbers of other influential factors such as environmental, personal or social assets of people, emotions, decisions and political participation share a cognitive processing of the individuals' emotions to be felt, decisions to be made and courses of the political actions to be decided. The next chapter discuss the subject of the present thesis which is Youth and their perspective on political participation along with the effects of emotions.

### **2.3 Emotions and Youth's Perspective on Political Participation**

Many studies argue that youth political interest and their participation in conventional forms of participation are in decline across developed countries (Barrett & Pachi, 2019; Collin, 2015; Dermody et al., 2010; García-Albacete, 2014; Grover, 2011). The general explanation for this decline is provided as the underestimation of the youth political demands and their general alienation from the political system due to their dissatisfaction (Dalton, 2008; Pickard, 2019; van Deth, 2005). Dalton (2008) analysis that decline through the duty-based citizenship and engaged citizenship norms. For him, these norms of citizenship are influential on youth's political participation as duty-based norms foster voting, and engaged citizenship norms foster involvement to public interest groups, direct contact, issue-based political actions and political consumerism. Hence his main point is that while the youth conventional political participation has declined, their participation in unconventional forms such as demonstrations and political consumerism has increased because they "seek more direct means of influencing policy makers" (Dalton, 2008, p. 85). This is also argued in with several works in the literature (Barrett & Pachi, 2019; Bee & Chrona, 2017; Briggs, 2017; García-Albacete, 2014; Pickard, 2019; Young, 2021).

Another important point on the youth preferences is as Briggs (2017) writes: "They [the youth] are interested in 'issues' but not necessarily in the political system *per se*" (Briggs, 2017, p. 64). So, the young people are more likely to be apathetic towards the political system, not to politics itself. Due to increasing education levels and changes in communications technologies, the youth today are more likely to possess the ability and capability to adopt new ways of political expressions on a wider variety of issues, which address their variable needs from environment to gender issues, or from anti-war activism to democracy and voice (Bee & Chrona, 2017; Briggs, 2017; Dermody et al., 2010; Grover, 2011; Pickard, 2019). Especially with the second decade of the 21st century, it turns out to be a sensible postulate, because youth political participation has increased substantially with the availability of the internet and social media. There are commentary on the differences in social class, habits and beliefs among the youth results in their preferences in different types of participatory actions (Barrett & Pachi, 2019; Chryssochoou & Barrett, 2017). Chryssochoou and Barrett (2017) exemplify well the trend on the connective actions as:

“Facebook and Twitter, in particular, were used for organizing protests, mobilizing protestors, communicating the claims and demands being made by the protestors, and reporting on the progress that was being made. The Internet was used to create virtual spaces where protestors could meet and communicate with one another without supervision or interference by the government, police, or security forces” (Chrysochoou & Barrett, 2017, p. 297).

The social media platforms create disintermediated interactions between the people and political elites (Chrysochoou & Barrett, 2017; Robles-Morales & Córdoba-Hernández, 2019; Uldam & Vestergaard, 2015; Widén et al., 2015). Disintermediation of political interaction between citizens and political system creates opportunities for people to lead and pursue their own actions, decisions and experiences through boosting peer-to-peer (P2P) interactions (see Robles-Morales & Córdoba-Hernández, 2019).

A high ratio of P2P interactions provides the ability to create focused and purposeful community masses which are able to express observable political reactions through social media. For instance Robles-Morales & Córdoba-Hernández, (2019) analyzes four different political activities which are *Unidos Podemos* movement in Spain, *Black Lives Matters* protests and *Bring Back Our Girls* campaigns against Boko Haram terrorist group. These examples are targeting specific trigger events that creates significant levels of social unrest against the political actors, officials, political system; and/or extremist societal violence, terrorist groups and occurred in social media platforms by hash tagging, slacking or clicking which represent new modes of political participation (Robles-Morales & Córdoba-Hernández, 2019).

On the other hand, there are two different frameworks in literature that explain the relationship between emotions and political participation. The first framework generally observes one or more political participation modes and discusses the variety of emotions the citizens sense due to the political actions, while the second framework focuses on the types of emotions as they are either positively or negatively affect different political participation actions (Dornschneider, 2021; Jones et al., 2013; Manning & Holmes, 2014; Marrati, 2020; Neuman et al., 2007; Reimers & Cardenas, 2010; Weber, 2013; Young, 2021). For instances, Dornschneider’s study (2021) provides an example for the second framework. She looks emotions to understand their effects on participation within the case of Arab Spring. She writes:

“The findings show that decisions to participate in the Arab Spring were “hot”—meaning they were triggered by positive emotions of hope, courage, solidarity, and pride—whereas decisions to stay at home were “cool”—meaning they were triggered by cognitive assessment about safety, satisfactory living conditions, and state approval.” (Dornschneider, 2021, p. 135).

Reimers and Cardenas’s study (2010) about Mexican young people’s political participation shows that trust and tolerance have major emotional effects. Most of the Mexican youth prefers student and sport organizations in terms of their social activism

through socialization, and they are not likely to participate in political activism modes with the exception of voting. Furthermore, Reimers and Cardenas (2010) also point out that:

“A sizable proportion of youth had extremely negative views about political parties and institutions, and most youth thought that political decisions should be based on the personal characteristics of candidates rather than on the political party they represent.” (Reimers & Cardenas, 2010, p. 150)

The effects of trust and tolerance show their effect, here, on the Mexican youth’s political participation. Lack of trust and low degree of tolerance for minorities cause low level of civic engagement and political participation at organizational levels. The only exception for majority of them is the voting because they perceive voting as to obey civic duties and to keep functioning the democracy; (Reimers & Cardenas, 2010, p. 153, 2010, tbl. 6.1).

In conclusion, this chapter provides that how youth political participation is perceived in the political participation literature while providing several examples that exemplify interaction between emotions and their effects on different type of political participation mode. The next chapter provide details about the case study of the present thesis.

#### **2.4 Case Study: Turkish Youth, Emotions and Their Effects on Political Participation**

Like other social groups, Turkish youth is also not a homogeneous entity, and has many different properties of SES, political ideologies and political interests. There are multitudes of studies in the field which discuss Turkish youth from diverse perspectives<sup>3</sup>. Furthermore, Turkish youth is dominantly analyzed through quantitative research methods<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, Turkish youth’ attitudes toward political participation in the context of emotions drive fewer attention<sup>5</sup>. To expand the core reasons for choosing Turkish youth as the case, it is needed to provide details on political participation literature in Turkish context.

Ronald Inglehart and his colleagues’ project, World Value Survey (WVS) is an important source of data that provides a cross-national data set. Their work provides significant amount of data from a hundred and twenty countries and has more than six hundreds indicators in their data set (Haerpfer et al., 2022). According to their latest data set that includes Turkey, the vast proportion of Turkish youth who are allowed to vote usually or always cast their votes in general elections. Table.2.4.1 below presents voting turnout percentage crossed by age (in six intervals).

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<sup>3</sup> (Akkan et al., 2021; Bee & Chrona, 2017; Bee & Kaya, 2017; Cankurtaran Ontas et al., 2013; Dönmez & Enneli, 2011; Erdoğan, 2017; Erdoğan & Uyan-Semerci, 2017; İnan & Grasso, 2017; Jacobs et al., 2006; Kayaoğlu, 2017; Ozdemir, 2022; Senay, 2008; Sener, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> (Aktükün et al., 2022; Çağlar & Çağlar, 2022; Haerpfer et al., 2022; *KONDA Gençlerin İnsan Hakları Algısı: Kamuoyu Araştırması*, 2022; Vatandaş & Mahitapoğlu, 2016).

<sup>5</sup> (Chrona & Capelos, 2017; Erdoğan, 2021; Erdoğan & Uyan-Semerci, 2017; Erisen, 2018; Erişen, 2013)

**Table.2.4.1:** WVS Wave 7: Q222.- Vote in elections: national level

Vote in elections: national level	TOTAL	Age recoded (6 intervals)					
		16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and more years
<b>Always</b>	69.2%	58%	67.5%	71.5%	75.1%	72.4%	70%
<b>Usually</b>	25.5%	30.9%	26.7%	24.9%	20.7%	24.6%	30%
<b>Never</b>	2.5%	3.8%	4.1%	1.6%	2.4%	0.9%	0%
<b>Not allowed to vote</b>	0.8%	3.8%	0.3%	0%	0%	0.6%	0%
<b>Don't know</b>	1%	1.9%	1.2%	0.5%	1%	0.6%	0%
<b>No answer</b>	0.9%	1.6%	0.2%	1.4%	0.7%	0.9%	0%
<b>(N)</b>	<b>2415</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>584</b>	<b>554</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>467</b>	<b>30</b>

**Selected samples:** WVS Turkey 2018

**Source:** Haerper, C., Inglehart, R., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano, J., Lagos, M., Norris, P., Ponarin, E., & Puranen, B. (2022). World Values Survey Wave 7 (2017-2022) Cross-National Data-Set (4.0.0) [Data set]. World Values Survey Association. <https://doi.org/10.14281/18241.18>

Similar outcomes are also pointed out by different research (Cankurtaran Ontas et al., 2013; Erdoğan & Uyan-Semerci, 2017) in the literature. Moreover, voter turnout rates are also high in case of Turkey. According to Taşkin's research (2015) from the 1950 national elections to 2011 national elections, the average of voter turnout rates in Turkey is approx. 81.4 percent (tbl. 1; p. 470). Erdogan and Uyan-Semerci (2017) also refers voting as high common ground for the Turkish youth.

Although that high level of electoral turnout of Turkish youth, the other forms of political participation such as, party membership, joining boycott, and unofficial strikes, are not preferred at similar rates. For instance, Table.2.4.2 provides that individuals who are placed in the two age intervals that refers to youth are not a member of a political party with at least ninety percent for each intervals. Similar result is also observable among older age intervals with minor differences.

**Table.2.4.2:** WVS Wave 7: Q98.- Active/Inactive membership: political party (continues)

Active/Inactive membership: political	TOTAL	Age recoded (6 intervals)					
		16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and more years

<b>Not a member</b>	89.9%	90%	91.1%	89.9%	87.6%	90.4%	86.7%
<b>Inactive member</b>	6.3%	4.9%	6.2%	6.5%	7.6%	6%	10%
<b>Active member</b>	2.2%	2.7%	1.4%	2.3%	2.7%	2.6%	0%
<b>Don't know</b>	0.8%	1.1%	0.9%	0.5%	1%	0.6%	0%
<b>No answer</b>	0.8%	1.4%	0.5%	0.7%	1.2%	0.4%	3.3%
<b>(N)</b>	<b>2414</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>584</b>	<b>554</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>467</b>	<b>30</b>

**Selected samples:** WVS Turkey 2018

**Source:** Haerpfer, C., Inglehart, R., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano, J., Lagos, M., Norris, P., Ponarin, E., & Puranen, B. (2022). World Values Survey Wave 7 (2017-2022) Cross-National Data-Set (4.0.0) [Data set]. World Values Survey Association. <https://doi.org/10.14281/18241.18>

Table.2.4.4 indicates that at least forty percent of individuals that are in the two age intervals 16-24 and 25-34 express that they would never attend peaceful demonstrations. For the same age intervals, individuals are more intent to involve peaceful demonstrations.

**Table.2.4.3:** WVS Wave 7: 2017-2022 Q211.- Political action: Attending lawful/peaceful demonstrations

<b>Political action: Attending lawful/peaceful demonstrations</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>Age recoded (6 intervals)</b>					
		<b>16-24</b>	<b>25-34</b>	<b>35-44</b>	<b>45-54</b>	<b>55-64</b>	<b>65 and more years</b>
<b>Have done</b>	6.5	6.5	6.5	7.6	7.8	4.5	0
<b>Might do</b>	42.7	43.6	49	42.8	41.2	36.6	20
<b>Would never do</b>	46.1	44.7	39.9	45.1	46.6	54	73.3
<b>Don't know</b>	3.4	3.8	3.4	3.1	3.2	3.6	6.7
<b>No answer</b>	1.2	1.4	1	1.4	1.2	1.3	0
<b>(N)</b>	<b>2414</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>584</b>	<b>554</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>467</b>	<b>30</b>

**Selected samples:** WVS Turkey 2018

**Source:** Haerpfer, C., Inglehart, R., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano, J., Lagos, M., Norris, P., Ponarin, E., & Puranen, B. (2022). World Values Survey Wave 7 (2017-2022) Cross-National Data-Set (4.0.0) [Data set]. World Values Survey Association. <https://doi.org/10.14281/18241.18>

In contrast to peaceful demonstrations, as Table.2.4.5 below indicates, more than half of the individuals of the same age intervals would never attend any unofficial strikes. Similar results are also observable with the joining boycott.

**Table.2.4.4:** WVS Wave 7: Q212.- Political action: Joining unofficial strikes

Political action: Joining unofficial strikes	TOTAL	Age recoded (6 intervals)					
		16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and more years
Have done	2.9%	1.6%	2.2%	2.9%	5.1%	2.8%	3.3%
Might do	35.7%	36.6%	40.9%	37.5%	33.7%	29.6%	10%
Would never do	55.9%	53.4%	51.7%	54.3%	56.3%	62.7%	83.3%
Don't know	4.3%	7%	3.6%	4%	3.9%	3.6%	3.3%
No answer	1.2%	1.4%	1.4%	1.3%	1%	1.3%	0%
(N)	<b>2415</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>584</b>	<b>554</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>467</b>	<b>30</b>

**Selected samples:** WVS Turkey 2018

**Source:** Haerper, C., Inglehart, R., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano, J., Lagos, M., Norris, P., Ponarin, E., & Puranen, B. (2022). World Values Survey Wave 7 (2017-2022) Cross-National Data-Set (4.0.0) [Data set]. World Values Survey Association.  
<https://doi.org/10.14281/18241.18>

Table.2.4.5 provides that more than the half of individuals from 16-24 and 25-34 age intervals would never join boycotts, and with the higher age intervals participation decreases.

**Table.2.4.5:** WVS Wave 7: Q210.- Political action: Joining in boycotts

Political action: Joining in boycotts	TOTAL	Age recoded (6 intervals)					
		16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and more years
<b>Have done</b>	4.2%	3.8%	4.1%	5.4%	4.9%	3%	0%
<b>Might do</b>	33.5%	35%	40.1%	33.4%	30.5%	27.8%	20%
<b>Would never do</b>	57.5%	55.6%	50.2%	56.9%	61%	64.2%	80%
<b>Don't know</b>	3.3%	4.1%	4.1%	2.5%	2.4%	3.6%	0%
<b>No answer</b>	1.4%	1.6%	1.4%	1.8%	1.2%	1.3%	0%
(N)	<b>2414</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>584</b>	<b>554</b>	<b>410</b>	<b>467</b>	<b>30</b>

**Selected samples:** WVS Turkey 2018

**Source:** Haerper, C., Inglehart, R., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano, J., Lagos, M., Norris, P., Ponarin, E., & Puranen, B. (2022). World Values Survey Wave 7 (2017-2022) Cross-

National Data-Set (4.0.0) [Data set]. World Values Survey Association.  
<https://doi.org/10.14281/18241.18>

Although the data of WVS provides insights for the Turkish youth intentions on several political participation modes, other works in the literature mention various aspect of Turkish context of political activism and the youth (Bee & Kaya, 2017; Cankurtaran Ontas et al., 2013; Erişen, 2013; İnan & Grasso, 2017; Kalaycıoğlu, 1994; Kayaoğlu, 2017; Yılmaz et al., 2016). For instance, Bee and Kaya (2016) mentions the concept of active citizenship that refers to the active roles of individuals in their social and political environments, which also includes youth political participation. Their perspective on youth participation includes generational factors and social classes. Cankurtaran Ontas and her colleagues (2013) refers to youth political participation as their involvement to actions and decision-making process which are influential on individuals' lives. It is a way for young people to have their voices heard and to be involved in the development of their communities. Writers refer attending meetings, joining youth councils, or taking part in community projects as modes of participation (Cankurtaran Ontas et al., 2013).

Kalaycıoğlu (1994) explains the concept of protest potential which he means “one's mental preparedness to take part in acts that are designed to challenge, and thus influence the political decisions.” (p.505). In the Turkish context, he refers education and organizational activism as vital for protest potential. Erişen (2018) provides important contribution to the literature and focuses on emotions and political behaviors interaction in the context of Turkey. He delivers four different empirical studies that try to analyze first, emotions effects on leadership assessment and voting choice; second, emotions effects on intolerance; third, emotions effect on social movements, and the last, emotions effects on threat perceptions which reflects to political participation (Erişen, 2018). Threat perception refers that people perceive and respond to potential threats in their environment (Erişen, 2018). Anger, anxiety and enthusiasm are the main emotional focuses for his work, and these emotions can influence political interest, information seeking, and sharing (Erişen, 2018). He also suggests that emotions can also influence political participation, with anger and enthusiasm motivating people to take part in political activities, while anxiety can lead to avoidance of political activities (Erişen, 2018).

### 3. METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Research Method

The present research aims to analyze the emotional factors that affect Turkish youth's subjective beliefs to involve in different political participation modes. To achieve the main goal of the study, qualitative research method is used as it focuses on understanding the meanings, experiences, and perspectives of individuals (Mertens, 2010; Patton, 2002; Sedlack & Stanley, 1992). Another definition from Jackson and his collaborators (2007) argues: "Rather than relying on a set of finite questions to elicit categorized, forced-choice responses with little room for open-ended replies to questions as quantitative research does, the qualitative researcher relies on the participants to offer in-depth responses to questions about how they have constructed or understood their experience." (pp. 22–23).

Qualitative research methods include such techniques as interviews, focus groups, participant observation, ethnography, content analysis, and narrative analysis (Aspers & Corte, 2019). Among various methods of qualitative methodology, the present study uses in-depth interviews to gather data. There are three types of interviews which refers to unstructured (in-depth), semi structured and structured types (Aspers & Corte, 2019; Mack & Woodson, 2005; Mertens, 2010; Patton, 2002; True, 1989). In-depth interviews, whether in person or in a group, are useful for supplying the participants' personal assessments, experiences and feelings on the subject matter - as they provides their own casual explanations (Mack & Woodson, 2005). Semi-structured interviews obtains an interview guide with predetermined questions, but also have room for follow-up questions, and open-ended answers of the participants (Aspers & Corte, 2019; Mack & Woodson, 2005). Structured interviews has predetermined list of questions that seeks targeted information from the respondents, and are very limited to provide room for broader answers (Sedlack & Stanley, 1992).

The research focuses on emotions in the context of cognitive emotion theories, because as it is mentioned emotions, decisions and political participation of people need cognitive assessments of the political stimuli. Interpreting emotions of subjects/participants also includes the researcher's attitudes, participations and the kinds of channels of receiving emotional stimuli for him/herself (Mertens, 2010, p. 226), because "(...) we ensure that we treat people as active subjects not passive objects."(Harris & Huntington, 2001, p. 140). This fosters the interaction between the researcher/s and the participant/s; and affects the capacity and quality of generating emotional and cognitive data from the research (Harris & Huntington, 2001).

One limitation of the research was finding volunteers who are non-members and members of political parties. To reach party members whose ages range from eighteen to thirty-five, the researcher has contacted informants from four major and one minor political parties' various branches in the three central municipalities of Antalya, and the majority of the officials in those branches did not meet the age criteria. Only three informants could help to reach adequate party members through youth wings of their parties. Both of the first and

second group interviews’ participants were convinced with the informants’ references, but interviewees did not prefer individual interviews. The major obstacle for participants’ hesitance was about the confidentiality of the research. In order to overcome their concerns, all of their identity-related information is anonymized, and they were informed at the start and the end of the tape-recordings. The last limitation for the study was the language differences between participants and the research. As the present study is obliged to fulfill its institutional requirements, it is written in English. On the other hand, all of the participants’ native language is Turkish. All data that are gathered in Turkish were translated with a software (QTranslate ver.6.10.0 – © QuestSoft, 2009-2022). The next chapter provides further information about the participants of the study.

**3.2 Sample of the Study**

There are thirty-five samples that are interviewed to collect data for the analysis of the case. All participants of interviews are gathered with convenient sampling method which refers to the selection participants who are available and willing to participate to the study (Mack & Woodson, 2005; Patton, 2002; Sedlack & Stanley, 1992). The present study is a typical case of convenient sample as it sampled from young Turkish citizens aged 18-35 who are either political party members or not, and who reside in one of the three central municipalities in Antalya, Konyaalti, Kepez, and Muratpasa.

Participants are divided into two groups which refer to party members which contains eighteen people and non-members’ group contains seventeen people. Among party members, there are four females, and second group contains five females. In the study sample, there are twenty-seven employed participants, six active students and two unemployed participants. The education level distribution among the participants has density on university degree. There are twenty-seven university graduates (except six students), four high-school graduates and four postgraduates in the sample.

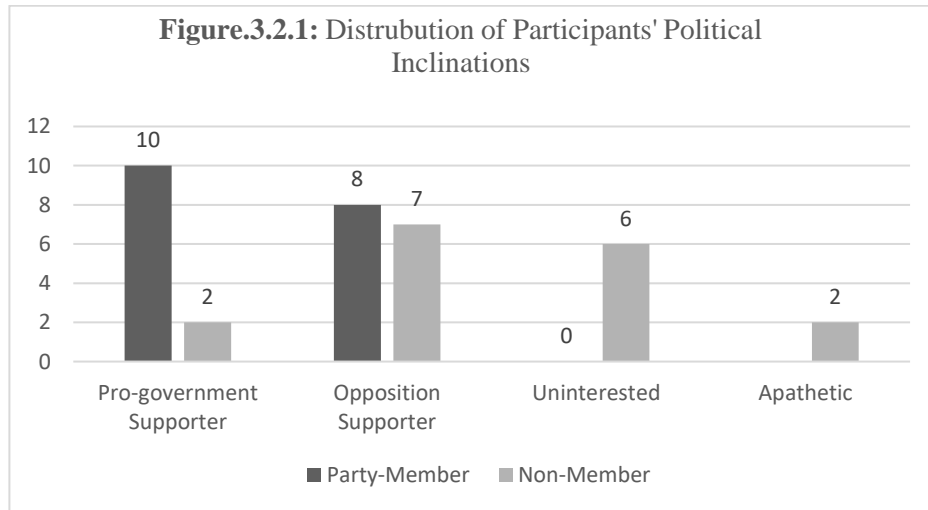


Figure.3.2.1 provides the distribution of the participants' political inclinations according to their party membership, or apathetic status. There are ten party member, and two non-member individuals who support pro-government parties. On the other hand, there are eight party members and seven non-members who support opposition parties. Furthermore, there are six individuals who are uninterested in politics and two people who are apathetic to politics. Here, the difference between uninterested individuals and the apathetics is the voting, as apathetics in the sample do not involve any political activism.

Eight of the interviewees are interviewed in three groups. The first group has four male participants and three of them are the party members. The second group interview contains two participants who are members of a minor opposition party, and one of them is female. The third group interview contains, again two participants and they are apathetics, and both of them are male.

### 3.3 Interview Protocol

As the research focuses on the people's political participations and emotional factors that are effective on them, data gathering is handled with semi-structured in-depth interviews. This method, as Patton (2002) points out: "provides topics or subject areas within the interviewer is free to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject." (p. 343). The questions in the protocol are asked to every participant whether he/she is in a group interview or not, but there are many follow-up questions which are also asked depending on the participant's responses. The focus points of the questions in the protocol are briefly presented as follows;

- Self-introduction of the participant (anonymized),
- Participant's own definition on his/her political participations/ideology,
- Any political party that he/she supports or being a member of it,
- **a) If the answer is positive and/or clarification of the party is observed;**
  - Participant's general thoughts about his/her political party's contemporary policies and political strategies,
  - Participant's general thoughts about his/her political party's policies, strategies that need several developments or changes,
  - Participant's attitudes on emotional factors on his/her political participations and/or the party,
  - Any unconventional political participation methods that participant uses or is interested in (For instance, social media activism and demonstrations)

- **b) If the answer is negative and/or specification of the party is not clearly observed;**
  - Participants political participations and interests on contemporary Turkish political agenda,
  - Participant's attitudes on emotional factors on his/her political participations,
  - Overall self-assessments on political party membership,
  - Participant's attitudes and emotional factors on unconventional political participation methods (For instance, social media activism and demonstrations).

All of these focus points are asked in question form as they are presented in Appendix 2, but depending on the context of the participant's response, corresponding follow-up questions are also asked to the participants. The next chapter provides further details on the findings and arguments of the present study.

## 4. FINDINGS AND ARGUEMENTS

The findings of the research describe two groups of factors that are effective on the interviewees' intentions and preferences about different political participation modes. The first group of factors includes emotions in the context of positive sensations and negative sensations. Emotions that are referred to as positive emotional factors (PEFs) throughout this chapter are trust and enthusiasm. Enthusiasm also creates affiliation to party leaders, party identity or political ideology. On the other hand, negative emotional factors (NEFs) include distrust, dissatisfaction, fear and anxiety. The second group of factors referred to as "the other factors" and contains peer-2-peer (P2P) relations, problem-based political motivations, socio-economic statuses (SES), perception of civic duty and alienation. The other factors affect emotions and the course of political participation.

### 4.1 Emotions and Conventional Participation

In this sub-title, the emotional factors that have been observed in the data set and that affect the choice of conventional political participation methods by individuals are shown. The emotional factors that this sub-title show are divided into two separate sections based on their impacts on the participants who are party member and non-party members.

#### 4.1.1 Party Members

Findings of the present research suggest that for the party members, emotions have effects on party activism, voting and social activism. The most common and positive emotions are trust and enthusiasm. For instance, Participant 23 put particular emphasis on trust. For her, feeling trust to the state identity is the main motivation on her party membership. She stated: "Let me sum it up once and for all, as we are young, I always trust my state and I stand by my state. This is a top priority for us. To trust or not to trust, we will trust at first. Whoever does it [serving for the country], we will do it with confidence" (Participant 23; retrieved from tape-record 23). Her political activities in the political party is also appraised as a civic duty, due to her high level of trust.

High level of enthusiasm for the leader is another observation for the party members. For instance, a determinant role of enthusiasm is observed with Participant 18' party membership. He was quite enthusiastic about the leader of his party. He explained the background of his choice as "One day, when I saw [name of the party leader] on the news, I was very impressed by his speeches. You know, he may be a traitor in someone else's eyes, but in my eyes, within his political prestige, people are amazed by him. "(Participant 18; retrieved from tape-record 18). Another example that shows a tremendous level of enthusiasm also brings a different emotional factor for the analysis, which is the sense of attraction to the leader. Participant 11 particularly stated that:

"I have a debt to [the leader's name]. I want to pay off this debt, and maybe I'll pay off this debt today. I will pay tomorrow, but I will work by adding my night to my day in order to show the world how strong a leader he is, so that I can shout [the

leader's name] to the world in a more beautiful way, trying to get into the hearts of people, getting into their hearts by working for [the leader's name]." (Participant 11; retrieved from tape-record 11)

Enthusiasm for leader is relevant observation for both opposition parties and pro-government parties, as the examples are taken from different political parties' members. Furthermore, they are fostering each other's effects on the party members' current political participations.

On the other hand, enthusiasm to party is also observed among different political party members. For example, Participant 22 has a high level of party affiliation, and even he sees a protectorate role for the institutional identity. He stated: "So people make mistakes. I accept this too. I argue that it is wrong, but it was only the institutional personality of the party that mattered. You trust the institutional personality and act to protect it from some." (Participant 22; retrieved from tape-record 22). Another example is from Participant 2:

"Of course, when you become a member of a political party, one cannot act very freely. The party has some characteristics, and in order to reflect those characteristics, it is necessary to establish warm relations with people. He should make people need to get sympathy for the party. Otherwise, I know that if he acts a little too easily or goes against the principles of the party, it will cause trouble. The thing also causes trouble; creates trouble within the party. And I think that such people will be expelled from the party after a while. (Participant 2; retrieved from tape-record 2)

Beside the positive emotions that are delivered so far, the findings of the research suggest that distrust to the political elites, and dissatisfaction with political activities of the parties are quite effective emotional determinants for the party members' political participations and preferences. For instance, Participant 19 provides a unique example, because as he states: "I am uncomfortable with the corruption, the lack of merit, the unfair and unjust situations, the only thing I can do is, I think of it as taking place in a party on the other side; a party that promises not to do these things. That is why I'm here." (Participant 19; retrieved from tape-record 19). He changed his political party because of a high level of dissatisfaction within his previous political party's policies. Also he feels a high level of distrust to the party elites from his previous political party because of the inability to handle political issues that are important for him.

On the other hand, those negative emotions are not only projected towards current political spectrum of Turkey. There are also dissatisfaction and distrust to political elites from the past memories. Participant 9 is an example of that. He explains his political participation and reasoning of his membership of a party with:

"There was a dinosaur structure, hard to speak, in the attitude of looking at the public from above, lack of investment in the country, communication problems, transportation problems, and in addition, especially in the government positions, and unfortunately, young people were not given a chance. Even over the age of 25, he was

considered too young. The vote was expected, but when he came to give a role, they said that you are young, you are our future, so that people can't take part in political cadres until the age of 45 or 50. We were going through a waiting process" (Participant 9; retrieved from tape-record 9)

The data of the present study suggests that for the interviewees who are political party members in the sample, trust and enthusiasm were the influential on youth political participation such as party membership, volunteering and taking role in parties' youth wing. On the other hand, distrust and dissatisfaction from the political activities of the system are found to affect individuals' decisions on party preferences.

#### **4.1.2 Non-Party Members**

The participants who are highly interested in politics, but do not prefer to be official members of any political party share similar emotional factors with the party members. Similar with the party members, enthusiasm and affiliation for the party leader are dominant positive emotions. Yet the interviewees in this group generally had no party affiliation even though they were highly interested in politics.

For instance, Participant 17 states that: "The reason I support that [party name] is because it has [name of the leader]. For example, their instinct with people is very good, beautiful, magnificent. The warm-blooded people really impressed me." (Participant 17; retrieved from tape-record 17). His enthusiasm for the party leader increases the level of his political interests and reflects on his participation in the voting.

Another example also includes enthusiasm to the leader. Participant 34 states that: "Frankly, I'm thinking like this right now, you know, [the party name] actually I support [the party name], you know. Because I know the person sitting in front of it. I know what he did in times of Covid, for example, as a healthcare worker, it is not easy to distribute vaccines to millions of people." (Participant 34; retrieved from tape-record 34) As his quotation shows, his support for a political party stands on its leader and the political efficacy that he experienced during the Covid-19 pandemic. On the other hand, he does not prefer to show his political participations in his life. He explains that as: "Since I am a tradesman [in healthcare business], I am looking for all kinds of opinions. You know, A, B, C have their opinions, but frankly, I'm not into politics myself. I'm just stating what I've heard." (Participant 34; retrieved from tape-record 34).

On the other hand, non-members who have no interest in politics tend to have negative emotions, which influence their political participations. There are observations of distrust to the political elites, fear from the politics and anxiety about the future. For Participant 7, these negative emotional factors affect her political participation of being a non-party member. She states: "Of course, I have a concern for our future. For political parties, from my point of view, I think that they [political parties] are not safe because of some situations, I think. That's why I haven't thought about joining any membership before." (Participant 7; retrieved from tape-record 7).

Another example, Participant 31, particularly emphasizes his own negative emotions such as his ‘bitter resentment.’ For him, resentment is caused by “The political actors’ failure to use their responsibility appropriately causes a person to fall into a void, but also to such a resentment.” The bitterness for him, conversely, comes from “not foreseeing any change in the near future” (Participant 4; retrieved from tape-record 4).

When the distrust is related with the political elites, Participant 35 is the prominent example as her intentions to join a party is canceled with her distrust. She states:

“In party politics, at least, it is very important to listen to the words of some academics and experts in the assembly. Because, unfortunately, the conditions of being a deputy have not very strong criteria; so, if you ask me, you know? Do I trust an academic, an expert, or a parliamentarian? Of course, the opinions of others may differ on this subject, but I prefer to call it an expert, an academician.” (Participant 35; retrieved from tape-record 35)

Non-party members and their general perceptions on political participation have positive and negative emotional factors, depending on their interest level of the Turkish political agenda. In the next chapter, emotional factors and their effects on unconventional participation modes such as social media and boycott are delivered.

#### **4.2 Emotional Factors and Unconventional Participation Methods**

In this sub-title, the emotional factors’ impacts on unconventional political participation methods are presented. For party members, connective activism through social media is used for different purposes. Some of them prefer to use it to announce their political activities and organizations. Some others prefer not to be active in social media with a party identity. Positive and negative emotional factors do not directly follow the same outcomes as in the case of being a political party member.

For instance, Participant 2 is a member of a pro-government party, and his attitude on use of social media reflects the properties of affiliation and obedience to the party itself. He even states a set of rules for a party member: “Of course, when you become a member of a political party, one cannot act very freely. The party has some characteristics, and in order to reflect those characteristics, it is necessary to establish warm relations with people. He should make people need to get sympathy for the party.” (Participant 2; retrieved from tape-record 2).

Similar outcome is shared by Participant 19 who is a member of an opposition party. He even puts particular emphasis on being misunderstood by others. He states:

“I like to read a lot on social media, but I don't write comments. Because we are here [the party], because I have a mission here, because they [the opponents, critics, other party members] have selected it with tweezers, we only share whatever the headquarters writes here. Sometimes we have to hold on to ourselves.” (Participant 19; retrieved from tape-record 19).

On the other hand, another example who is a member of an oppositional party, Participant 20, finds social media quite important for her political activities. She states: “We rely heavily on social media. We are very confident in our strength. You know, we can make heard every activity we do on social media. It's impossible otherwise.” (Participant 20; retrieved from tape-record 20).

There is an example, Participant 12, who also has a positive attitude on the use of social media and a member of a pro-government party. He sees use of social media as: “Frankly, I think it is very natural that their political thoughts manifest themselves in social life as well. So, I'm a person who claims to be a nationalist. It is a very normal thing that there is a nationalist weight on the pages of the work that I have followed on social media shares.” (Participant 12; retrieved from tape-record 12).

The most prominent findings that show negative emotions among the members are from Participant 18. He states:

“For example, my age is not enough, but I remember enough, people used to throw cash registers in front of each other; from his reproach, from his desperation. But right now, we can't send a tweet. We can go straight to prison. This is a very sad situation. It's a very scary situation. When you say your opinion, when you say your thoughts, this is what stays in your mind. Will the police knock on my door tomorrow? This is so devastating.” (Participant 18; retrieved from tape-record 18)

Among the party members of the data set, emotional factors have different effects among the members. Some of them prefer active use of social media in accordance with their political participations. On the other hand, it is also observed that some members prefer cautious use of social media platforms within the enthusiasm for the party identity. There are also negative emotions such as fear and anxiety about the use of social media platforms that affect some of the opposition party members' political participations.

The interviews suggest that non-member participants have idiosyncratic perceptions on the use of social media platforms as political participation methods. There are no prominent emotions for the non-members in the context of connective activism, but there are observations of distrust and enthusiasm among all non-member participants. Here, enthusiasm of social media use more likely refers to gathering information and entertainment purposes.

For example, about distrust on social media, Participant 7 mentioned that she prefers to talk politics face to face within her familiar sphere, as she states: “I don't think this [political discussion] is dependable, especially in media such as social media. Everyone's opinion is different, it can be respected, but I don't prefer to talk [politics] to everyone.” (Participant 7; retrieved from tape-record 7).

Participant 34 thinks that social media and politics need to be separated from each other. He states: “I am a person who does not like to mix politics with social media. Social

media is a place where I can put the things I enjoy. It should be different from politics; social media should not be mixed with politics.” (Participant 34; retrieved from tape-record 34).

Participant 32 is another non-member that prefers not to use social media for political purposes, as she is not interested in it at all; but she follows the news from social media. She prefers to shut down all political stimuli in her social media platforms. She states: “I try to avoid any political content there as much as possible. The source I follow the news is mostly social media and I use Instagram, but there are no direct news channels or direct political news in here.” (Participant 32; retrieved from tape-record 32).

Different to Participant 32, there is an observation that purposively use social media platforms for gathering political information, because as he states: “Social media is a platform where the truth is spoken a little more, we see what people are going through. I mostly follow the political agenda on social media because I do not believe that what is revealed in the news, that is, shown in the news, is very true. (Participant 24; retrieved from tape-recording 24)

On the other hand, there is one single observation that prefers to use social media platforms to participate in CSO activities. Participant 8 presents that single case. As she states: “By following or supporting some campaigns on social media, by making my identity visible there, I become a part of them. I believe that will also have an effect.” (Participant 8; retrieved from tape-recording 8). She also sees civil society participation as more effective and meaningful for her in contrast to the political participation methods.

Last but not the least, this group of interviewees are found to be very skeptical about the protest behavior. The interviewees expressed positive attitudes about protesting if the protests are granted official permissions, and they focus on national holidays, commemorations or more. For instance, Participant 33 believes that if any demonstration, protest or rally that lacks official permits, it affects the polarization in the society. He states that as:

“If you can get a permit from the governor's office and perform, the rally, in my opinion, can be attended. You know, you want to announce a certain system, but I didn't enter the demonstrations that were held informally without the permission of the governor. I don't want to go in because it's doing nothing but polarizing society. (Participant 33; retrieved from tape-record 33).

In the next sub-section, the other factors different from emotional factors are explained, which also affect youth political participation.

### **4.3 Other Factors on Political Participation**

In the data set, other factors that are different from emotional ones are also observed. All of them are also quite effective as the emotional factors, and they are delivered in the following two sub-sections.

### 4.3.1 Party Members and Political Participation Modes

One of the most frequent observation of other factor is the P2P relationships of the participants. Having a peer (in the most cases as friends and family members) that has a high level of political interest or is an active participant in the political system has a significant impact on the individual's personal political participations.

For instance, Participant 21 states: "I have been in politics since last year. Before that I was completely neutral. So, I think politics, frankly, seemed a bit silly to me. That's why I was so far away. Then I entered on the occasion of my friend, so now I feel close." (Participant 21; retrieved from tape-record 21). Here, she is convinced by her peer interaction with a friend of hers, and she preferred to be an official party member.

Another example presents issue-based motivations for involving in the activities of a political party. For instance, in the case of Participant 20, her party's activities on several issues that are sensitive for her were influential on deciding to be a member and taking active roles in the party events. She states: "When I think of politics, I always think of an order that we do not accept and rebel against, and I see it as the practice we do to change that order. So, the party I support gives importance to young people, defends animal rights and defends the Istanbul Convention. So, these are very determinants." (Participant 20; retrieved from tape-record 20).

Participant 1, who has an administrative role in a youth organization of a pro-government party, mentioned one of his experience that makes him frustrated. The experience refers to a high level of anticipation of individuals who seek only personal profit, such as finding jobs through attending party activities. It is an important factor because it does not affect the political participation of individuals, it only affects motivation for personal gain. He states:

"When active politics comes, there is an expectation, a perception that I am making up. We live this a lot. In other words, our young friends want to come to active politics, I mean, not all of them. He wants to come to active politics, as he has heard from his uncles from 'right and left' that if you go into politics, your job will be solved." (Participant 1; retrieved from tape-record 1).

Not all of the personal gains mentioned by Participant 1 are only about material gains of individuals. For instance, Participant 10's high level of enthusiasm on politics fosters his political participation through party activism, such as membership and working for the party. He explains that as:

"I did politics at many levels. I am currently an active manager in a political party in the youth branches of high school organizations. As I said, the most correct way for me to express myself while doing this job is politics. I'm in this business [his role in the party because I think I love this job [his role in the party], I enjoy it" (Participant 10; retrieved from tape-record 10)

Another important factor that affects individuals' political participations is alienation. There are two type of alienation emphasis on two different interviewees as provided below. For instance, Participant 18 mentions the alienation of people and their related prejudices against his party and its policies. They have also influenced him to be a political party member. He explains that as:

“This is a prejudice from the past. What kind of prejudice? No one knows without experiencing it, have you ever been there? Hakkari, Van, Şırnak, Diyarbakir? Just look, for example, I have visited almost all the provinces of my beautiful country. I went to Trabzon, Black Sea, Rize, Artvin, Ardahan, Kars, Sarıkamış. For example, I visited all these provinces one by one. It is so wonderful, but on this side of ours [Antalya], people do not go to Southeast and East Anatolia. They only criticize what they hear. They have to go and see the life there.” (Participant 18; retrieved from tape-record 18)

Participant 29 mentions the other type of alienation. He particularly emphasized that there is alienation caused by the party elites on people's SES in the party affairs. It both fosters his alienation from the party and increases leader affiliation for his case. He exemplifies that as:

“A little boy is writing a letter to the [leader name] today, brother. The [leader name] wants to meet, but today you go to meet with the [party name] provincial chairman. You can't meet, brother, if you are a big person, you can be interviewed, but if you are a peasant child, you cannot meet. Actually, something like that, I'm not looking at politics. I'm looking at one person.” (Participant 29; retrieved from tape-record 29)

Alternative participation methods such as, political consumerism, boycott or buycott (Gundelach, 2020; van Deth, 2016), are not preferred by the majority of participants. There is only one example of buycott participation which is motivated by the high level of ideological affiliation. Participant 12 particularly emphasized that he always prefers to use Turkish goods, and he sees that is accordant with his political participations which fits with buycott, as the term refers to a form of political consumerism that buying particular goods (de Rooij & Reeskens, 2014; van Deth, 2016) . He states:

If I have a need, I prefer to prefer Turkish goods while meeting this need. So, every time, for example, let's say I'm going to buy laundry detergent, let's say when you see that Turkish-made phrase on the back, I buy it. In other words, this is an attitude that is actually a nationalist attitude. “(Participant 12; retrieved from tape-record 12)

#### **4.3.2 Non-Members and Political Participation Modes**

Non-member participants vary in terms of their interest in politics. Consecutively, they involve in different participation modes and in different degrees. Despite the variance in their political interest levels, civic obligation and personal needs are two factors that are found to be affective on youth participation. Voting, for instance, is the most dominant

participation mode among the participants, and it is frequently mentioned with a sense of civic obligation. With the exception of the participants of the third group, all individuals have voted before the interview, or will vote in the first elections. The difference among them is the intensity of that sensation.

For example, Participant 3 has a high level of enthusiasm for voting turnout. For him, non-casting a vote directly means being apolitical. He states:

“Although I do not play an active role in politics, I do not currently belong to any party, I do not have an apolitical personality. Politically, of course I have thoughts; Of course, I open them to my close circle or to people I have just met. Politically I have an opinion that every person should have a political opinion. I think this is already reflected in the way of voting at the ballot box. Apolitical equals not voting.” (Participant 3; retrieved from tape-record 3).

On the other hand, Participant 8 put particular emphasis on CSO activities as the channel to fulfill one’s civic obligation. For her, people do not take further political responsibility for solving current political issue rather than simply voting, and she thinks that is wrong because there is no usefulness for a political solution then. She further explained her position as:

“The issue is only associated with being a voter. If the current policies and the current government are something that you did not support in the first place, people may say that I did not vote for them anyway and run away, it is not just a matter of that. Whether you have voted or not, but it is possible with non-governmental organizations to both do not vote and have a say in the better progress of politics or to provide such a usefulness.” (Participant 8; retrieved from tape-record 8).

For non-member participants, there are also idiosyncratic personal needs such as low political information and low socio-economic status that affect their political participations modes. For instance, Participant 4 presented an example on lack of political information that causes from his childhood and near circle. He states: “Since my family structure was more village-based and the literacy rate was low, I had little opportunity to understand political tendencies or to make a profit from it.” (Participant 4; retrieved from tape-record 4).

On the other hand, due to the low socio-economic statuses, some of the participants alienated themselves from political participation modes in their lives. For instance, Participant 30 has a self-employed job and experiences difficulties meeting his personal needs. Consecutively, he has no intentions on political participation modes such as party activism, civil society activism and protesting. He only prefers voting as political activism. Furthermore, he particularly accuses the members of parliament due to their high living standards and feels himself as politically unrepresented in the parliament. He states: “None of the deputies we elected are from us. First of all, the people who will represent us there [the parliament] must be people chosen from the lower class. He must not have lived a life of

luxury. It has to suffer the difficulties we are experiencing so that we can really have a voice there.” (Participant 30 retrieved from tape-record 30).

#### **4.4 Group Interviews**

In this section, the data obtained from the group interviews are analyzed. Due to the fact that there are three groups of participants with different qualifications in the research, the interactions of emotional and other factors with political participation modes are presented here under separate subsections for different political participation modes.

##### **4.4.1 Emotional and Other Factors of Conventional Participation**

The first group interview contains four participants. Their intentions on political participation is different from each other, but their enthusiasm for nationalistic ideology is the common ground. Except for Participant 16, the other group members are official members for a minor political party. Their intentions on political participation modes, except for nationalistic ideals, are different. The major emotional factors that affect their takes on political activism are enthusiasm and affiliation to the group. On the other hand, the first group participants share common experience that refers to alienation from other social or political groups that creates sadness and anger for them, and also increases the participants’ group affiliation. For instance, Participant 16 explains that as:

“Everyone is looking for prejudice. It is extremely difficult to break those prejudices. Maybe it's impossible. Because they have a wall, and a wall that they have built in their minds, and they do not listen to us behind that wall. They already form something in their heads. This creates a profile about us, and most people don't come out of that profile.” (Participant 16; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 1).

Alternatively, Participant 14 explains how he perceived that experience as: “I was approaching it excitedly when I was little. I was more of an excited nationalist like that. As I got older, as I read and researched, I saw the realistic dimension of this, as well as its emotional dimension, and I felt that my feelings of nationalism, increased even more.” (Participant 14; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 1).

For Participant 15, the P2P relations have a damaging effect on his political participations. He states: “My childhood and my environment pushed me away from nationalism. In fact, the videos I watched, the books I read brought me here in the opposite direction this time.” (Participant 15; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 1). Participant 16 also points out his own background for his political interest in a self-development process like Participant 15.

Another important factor is the prejudicial attitudes of others, as all of them mentioned that factor. For instance, Participant 16 explains that as:

“Everyone is looking for prejudice. It is extremely difficult to break those prejudices. Maybe it's impossible. Because they have a wall, and a wall that they have built in their minds, and they do not listen to us behind that wall. They already form something in their heads. This creates a profile about us, and most people don't come out of that profile.” (Participant 16; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 1).

Participant 13 stated his position on the prejudice of others as: “We have learned to fight them. We have learned to struggle with these, but we will certainly not give a different answer. We will answer by writing with a pen. We will speak their language the way he understands” (Participant 13; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 1). Similar to him, Participant 16 also mentions aggressive stance, and states: “I'm not upset. It really makes me angry more, yes it does.” (Participant 16; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 1). Participant 14 however, points out his perception as “I am just sad. And it's not because we can't influence people. Because people couldn't win us over. I think so.” (Participant 14; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 1).

For the first group participants, political participations modes such as party activism, civic activism and demonstrations are not as important as their ideological affiliations, and their all-political actions is affected by nationalism. Three of them are members of a minor political party that has a nationalist stance. All of the four members of Group 1 have intertwined understanding of politics and ideology. The most prominent emotional factors for their conventional political participations are enthusiasm and group affiliation. All negative emotional factors are aroused by other people's prejudices. Sadness and anger are observed as outcomes of being alienated from political and social groups, because of the commentary prejudices on being nationalist.

The second group contains two party members from a minor party which is placed in the oppositional ground. Throughout the meeting with the second group, it is observed there are several emotional factors that affect their personal political participations in party membership. High level of enthusiasm, hope for better future and group affiliation are the dominant emotional factors for both participants. On the other hand, these emotional factors are the main motivators for continuing their party membership. P2p relations, political dissatisfaction and future concerns are the main root causes for convincing them to be politically active, and members of their party. They hold roles in youth wing, volunteer in rallies. For example, Participant 25 states:

“First of all, the friendship factor impressed me a lot. The friendship factor here. Here, people do not undermine each other, if you are happy in anything, you are happy together. If you are sad, you are sad together. Money etc. is not mentioned in any way. It affects me in the first place. (...) Right now, there is already a political issue among the youth. Because be it the economic crisis that our country is in, and other things, there are problems. This is already pushing the me to be a bit political.” (Participant 25; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 2).

Participant 26 shared a similar position with her peer, but as she mentioned, her intention on political participation modes were indifferent, and she was experiencing some degree of future concerns because of it. She is affected a lot by her peers who are active political participants. She states:

“Of course, everyone wants the development of the country, etc., but I stayed away because I did not see or know a party that could achieve this. I also saw the problems in front of Turkey as a dead end. Because I didn't see that there was any power that could solve it. Then, of course, at first, you enter the environment and get to know it thanks to friendship. At one point, when I saw these friends, the warm environment I joined [the party name]” (Participant 26; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 2).

P2p relations and dissatisfaction about the political system are equally affected both participants' political participations on official party membership. Their memberships also foster their party and group affiliations that motivate them for active participation in the party affairs.

Participants of the third group represent the most politically alienated samples in the data set. Their physical needs and SES are also effective on their apathetic stances on political participation modes. They are the only participants who did not vote before. Their beliefs and attitudes on politics have also negative evaluations due to stress, fear, and high level of melancholy on contemporary Turkish political agenda.

For instance, Participant 27 sees that there are no equal and free spheres in contemporary Turkish politics to be member of any political party, or protest. He states:

“So being a member can have consequences, too. After all, you've made your choice. Even then, there will be sanctions against us. That's why I can't criticize anyone freely. In other words, even the news we watch about freedom of expression is exactly what they want us to hear. Whenever I watch the news, whenever I start to understand it, it keeps getting worse and worse. I have no desire to follow anything because it gets worse every time. Worse scenarios happen and things that are not solution oriented.” (Participant 27; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 3).

On the other hand, Participant 26 explained his political participations' directions within the reason of high numbers of political stimuli that he experienced in his childhood. He states: “I always felt like I had been in politics since childhood because I was constantly exposed to it. On the news, when I asked my parents, ‘is this guy good? Is this man bad?’ Since this stressed me out, I both stopped watching the news and stopped focusing on fanatical stuff like politics for a long time.” (Participant 28; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 3). He refers to the stress he felt was caused by a political polarization among people. He even hates politics for that reason. He states that as: “I started to hate it [stress] because it created a lot of polarization among people and there was a big separation between people because of this. I distanced myself completely so that I would not enter into

that society or a mass that thinks that way.” (Participant 28; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 3).

As it is presented here, both of the participants of the third group do not have any intention to pursue any political participation modes, and they even prefer shutting down all political stimuli in their daily life. Participant 27 particularly emphasizes there is a lack of freedom of expression and feels fear to take an active role in a party, and Participant 28 is alienated due to his childhood experiences, and the stress he felt about political polarization he saw.

#### **4.4.2 Emotional and Other Factors of Unconventional Participation**

Participant 14 and 15 from the first group are indifferent on their connective actions for political concerns. For instance, they prefer to use social media mostly for entertainment and communicating; but they occasionally discuss politics with their peers. For instance, it is asked that if he has any bad experiences from those political discussions he mentioned, Participant 15 particularly emphasized a strong affiliation within his group does not create any harmful arguments. He states:

“In social media, the people in the group close to me are of the same mind and the same structure. How should I say it? We do not experience many problems because we are people who have been brought up with the same things, with the same thoughts, with the same feelings, and have a lot in common.” (Participant 15; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 1).

Participant 13 as concordant to hide his political activism, and political identity on the internet. He does not prefer to use connective actions, and for example he uses social media platforms for only entertainment in general. Although that is interesting, due to the ideological affiliation, he also preferred to be an official member for a minor party for giving “only online support to that party,” as he mentioned. On the other hand, Participant 16 does not prefer to use social media platforms for political activities, or entertainment purposes. His perception on social media platform as he states: “It is valuable to maintain it within the group, not only through social media platforms, that is, not only with the accounts we follow on platforms such as Instagram, YouTube, Google.” (Participant 16; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 1).

Participants of the second group interview are more likely to prefer connective actions such as use of social media for their political activities, in contrast to the first group. They also use them for following the political agenda, and for entertainment. There is no prominent emotional factor that fosters their use of social media platforms for political purposes, but Participant 25 mentioned his satisfaction on social media activism. For instance, he prefers to use Twitter, as he sees it one of the most influential tools for connective activism, and to

announce his party's activities. Furthermore, he also prefers to use online petition platforms such as "change.org"<sup>6</sup>. He states:

"Twitter is such a crucial tool today that it can set the agenda. So, I'm posting on Twitter. During the pandemic period, the interior minister gave his resignation from Twitter. In other words, they [social media platforms] have reached this point, they are there, or here is change.org and so on, signatures are collected from there. These are the most important tools." (Participant 25; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 2).

On the other hand, Participant 26 explained her perception on connective activism within a comparison of her attitudes, before and after her party membership periods. She also questioned the efficacies of online petitions and believes party membership is more influential than internet platforms. She states:

"Of course, before the party identity, for example, there were signature campaigns. Happens on Instagram and so on.(...) I signed it in environmental issues. But did the result come or not? I don't think so, because what was returned to me anyway, or it's not that simple in my opinion. Of course, signature campaigns and so on are very important. So, after all, you're creating public opinion there, seeing people's opinions. But with a signature work that spreads only on social media, I don't think there will be a solution." (Participant 26; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 2).

In contrast to his negative evaluation of political participation modes such as party activism, civic activism and protesting, but his perception on connective actions such as social media campaigns compatible for him. Participant 27 states:

"So that's ok for my point of view, to rise as a voice on social media. So, if something [event] happens, the person wants to support. Of course, person wants to participate. Because it's easier. It's easier to make your voice heard there, and it's a platform that everyone sees. So, it is much simpler. In other words, a reaction can be created from our phones instantly." (Participant 27; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 3).

Participant 28 on the other hand, perceives connective activism as fake. He questions the efficiencies of social media campaigns. He states: "It seems dishonest to me that this [social media] is trying to win people over. In other words, it is more effective to reach us one-to-one. In other words, it seems fake to serve people on social media, as if calling out to everyone." (Participant 28; retrieved from tape-recording Group Interview 3). The next section will discuss the findings within the analytical framework of the present study.

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<sup>6</sup> An online petition platform see: <https://www.change.org/policies/community>

## 4.5 Arguments

The findings of the study represent descriptive data on subjective meanings the youth in Antalya attribute to their different modes of political participation. The study puts particular emphasis on the ways emotions affect these different modes. Yet since this is a qualitative research from Antalya case, it opts more to discuss the patterns found between the emotions and both conventional and unconventional political participation rather than making generalizations about youth participation in Turkey.

The most prominent emotions in the data are trust, enthusiasm, distrust, dissatisfaction, anger, fear and anxiety. Trust and enthusiasm have fostering effect on the individual's intentions on political activism, for example it increases volunteering for party works, and being party member. High level of enthusiasm and trust creates affiliation towards political leaders or institutions. Negative feelings such as distrust, dissatisfaction and anger can result in party shifting of political party members due to the high level of negative emotions or resigning from party membership. Besides the emotional factors, there are several other factors that are observed from data. The emotional factors also have reinforcing influence on these other factors such as the sense of civic obligation.

### 4.5.1 Positive and Negative Emotional Factors and the Youth on Political Participation in Turkey

The present study analyzed the effects of emotional factors on the Turkish youth's political participation modes. As findings of the research suggest, there are two different classes of emotional factors, which are positive emotional factors (PEFs), and negative emotional factors (NEFs). PEF group contains emotions such as trust, and enthusiasm which creates affiliation to party leaders, party identity or political ideology. NEFs contain emotions like distrust, dissatisfaction, fear and future concerns of the individuals. The participants' preferences for different participation modes, in turn, depend on these emotions. For instance, with regard to political party membership, participants with a high sensation of trust in the political agents are more likely to prefer to be an active member of a political party. Enthusiasm on the other hand is more likely to be varied by the context of the subjects' cases. For example, enthusiastic sensations are dominant when it is the case that the person has high level of affiliation with the party leaders; so, in such cases, enthusiasm fosters affiliation sensation and it becomes an effective factor for party membership. On the other hand, enthusiasm loses its influence on affiliation when it is the case that party or ideological identification is higher. Then, affiliation sensation creates enthusiasm for the participants who are highly affiliated to their party identity or ideologies. Party affiliation is more dominant among the members of opposition parties, and ideological affiliation is more dominant in pro-government parties. On the other hand, trust for most of the party members remains an intermediary factor that only helps to foster enthusiasm for the actors, or institutions which also affects affiliation sensations during their party activities. For non-member participants, PEFs are effective if only the person has noteworthy levels of political interest. Within such cases, it is more likely to observe a dominant enthusiastic sensation for

the party leader, which explains political support for the leader's party. On the other hand, enthusiasm for the leader does not always refer to the same feeling or affiliation for the party.

NEFs can be dominant for both the political party member and non-members. Their intensity, courses of effects and results vary within the sample. For example, high level of sensations on NEFs are the dominant reasons for total alienation from politics. It is observed with the participants of Group Interview 3. On the other hand, among the NEFs, dissatisfaction is the dominant for the party members, and they are effective on party changes of some party members. There are two participants that resign and join rival parties due to their high level of dissatisfactions with their previous parties' activities and elites. The NEFs' most influential effects are observed with non-member participants. For those interviewees, dissatisfaction by the current Turkish political agenda creates a tendency on oppositional stances. On the other hand, fear and future concerns are the dominant factors for unconventional political participation modes, such as connective actions through social media, and demonstrations.

Regarding connective action, PEFs and NEFs have various effects on the participants' preferences on the courses of social media usages. For instance, enthusiastic sensations for social media use are observed with an oppositional party member (Participant 20). Her enthusiasm relies on the efficacy feelings about her online political activities because social media helps her to announce political activities. In contrast to that case, there are observations on high level of affiliation (or for those cases it is more likely an obedience) to the political party's institutional identity while using social media platforms. That obedience sensation is only focused on protecting the party identity from personal misuse of social media. Furthermore, there are observations on the efficacy of social media activism. Use of social media for gathering information is more frequent among the non-members who are politically inclined to the opposition parties, because their general perception refers to social media as trustworthy information sources. It is also observed that social media activism is preferred for CSOs activities along with the trust and efficacy feelings. On the other hand, the dominant effects of NEFs about use of social media reflects on the non-member participants' fear from the state authority.

#### **4.5.2 The Other Factors on Political Participation Modes**

For all participants, the other factors interact with the PEFs and NEFs, but they are also influential by themselves. Those factors are peer-to-peer relations (P2P), issue-based political motivations, SES, perception of civic duty and alienation. Friendship and kinship relations are the most frequent other factor in the data set of the study. Party members are more likely to prefer participating in their party when they have strong ties with his/her peers who are politically active. If there is no such kind of a P2P tie for a participant, he/she is more likely to be a non-member or apathetic. P2P relations are also effective on motivating party members on their political activities. For example, Erdoğan's work (2021) suggest that membership-based participation is higher than the general trend, if there is a family member or close friend who is a member of a party or CSO. Together with PEFs, P2P relations is the

most dominant factor that affects interviewees' political participations on participation modes, and it also fosters party and leader affiliation of the individuals.

Issue-based motivations, on the other hand, aim to meet specific political demands, and they are also relevant with alternative modes of political participation (Kaim, 2021; Kovalev et al., 2021; van Deth, 2016). For instance, Participant 20 as a member of an opposition party, particularly emphasized her parties works on animal rights and women rights, during explaining the reasons of her party choice. Except for the alienation factor, P2P and issue-based motivations are quite influential for the party members. Their impacts on the political participation of non-member participants are dependent on the quantity of the P2P ties, and fear level of the self.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The present study provides a descriptive analysis for the emotional factors that are effective on the Turkish youth's political participation modes. All participants are divided into two groups due to their political party membership status, and each of their political interest and actions are more or less affected by emotions. In the findings, there are two main groups of emotional factors that are observed from the data. The first group refers to positive emotional factors (PEFs), and includes trust, and enthusiasm. The other group refers to negative emotional factors (NEFs) and contains distrust, dissatisfaction, fear and anxiety. Both the PEFs and the NEFs are influential factors for the individuals' attitudes towards the political participation methods.

In the context of emotional factors, party members among the participants are more likely to be affected by PEFs while deciding to be a member and to participate in party activities. For the non-member participants, the levels of PEFs' and NEFs' experiences are crucial, because depending on the sensation levels, their intentions on political participation modes change dramatically. Findings of the research suggest that the PEFs are effective motivators for the members of pro-government parties to join other conventional political participation methods such as taking a role in youth wing of their parties and attending meetings. On the other hand, they are not effective for the majority of the members on their unconventional political participations such as demonstrations, boycott and internet activism. Their general understandings of unconventional political participation methods refer to negative perceptions such as breaking the law regardless of the emotional factors. The NEFs for the members of pro-government parties are effective for their alienation from both conventional and unconventional political participation methods.

The PEFs are only effective for the members of opposition parties when they are stronger than the NEFs. In such a case, the members are highly motivated by conventional participation methods such as joining party rallies, taking high roles in youth organizations and joining civil society activities. Future concerns and fear alienate the members of opposition parties and demotivates them to use unconventional political participation methods such as demonstrations and social media activism.

When it is the case that the interviewee is a member of one of the pro-government parties, the PEFs significantly increases their enthusiasm to the party leader which results in their political motivations for working for electoral campaigns and party meetings. For the members of opposition parties, enthusiasm for politics and affiliation to the party identity are more influential on their participation in party activities such as coordination of aid campaigns. Their effects on political participation modes, however, also depend on non-emotional factors such as peer-to-peer relations, problem-based political motivations, perception of civic duties, alienation and SES. The influence of these factors, in turn, change depending on the participants' personal assets, such as their socio-economic status (SES), socio-demographic statuses and subjective meanings attributed to Turkish political system.

As the present thesis aims to analyze interactions between emotions and individuals' political participation, formation of an analytical structure for combining emotional and political participation studies is one of the challenges of the study. For further research, the numbers of variables can be increased to analyze more complex interactions between subjects, emotions, and political participation modes. In addition, the impacts of the socio-economic and socio-demographic factors can be analyzed more in detail in order to shed light to the relationship between emotions and political participation for different demographic groups.

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## APPENDICES:

## Appendix 1: Identity Cards of Interviewees

## 1. Participant 1

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 18.10.2021; interviewee's personal office

**Duration of meeting:** Approx. one and a half hours in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 29

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Yes, lawyer and party elite

**Residency:** Konyaalti, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Pro-government

**Political Party Membership:** Yes

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Administrative role in youth wing of a pro-government party (in The People's Alliance); high-level of income; Married; confident but cautious on usage of words; consent on tape-recording but his general attitude changed to neutral when recording started.

## 2. Participant 2

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 06.11.2021; recreational place

**Duration of meeting:** approx. one hour in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 29

**Education:** University

**Employment:** No

**Residency:** Konyaalti, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Pro-government

**Political Party Membership:** Yes

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Reactionary to peers; a high level of party affiliation (institutional); trust to the party identity; plural subjective pronoun

## 3. Participant 3

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 06.11.2021: Participant's office

**Duration of meeting:** one hour and twenty minutes in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 28

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Yes

**Residency:** Muratpaşa, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Social democrat

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** High levels of civic duties; high level of dissatisfaction; Respectful to the party membership; cautious on confidentiality

**4. Participant 4**

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 20.11.2021; workplace of participant

**Duration of meeting:** Approx. two hours in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 25

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Yes

**Residency:** Muratpaşa, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Apathic

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** “bitter resentment;” lack of political interest due to familiar p2p, area of expertise, long-term political stability in government

**5. Participant 5**

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 23.11.2021; Recreational place (participant’s preference)

**Duration of meeting:** one and a half hours in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 24

**Education:** University

**Employment:** No, student

**Residency:** Konyaaltı, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Liberalist; Uninterested

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** sophisticated understanding of personal need; hates authoritarian figures; anxiety and mild anger.

**6. Participant 6**

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 26.11.2021; recreational place

**Duration of meeting:** one hour in total

**Gender:** Female

**Age:** 25

**Education:** University

**Employment:** No

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Apathic; CSO affiliation

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** Experienced three years

**Field Notes:** Lack of peer ties for political inclination; high trust on CSO in terms of efficacy; a little faith in political parties; CSOs are more ethical

**7. Participant 7**

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 26.11.2021; Recreational place

**Duration of meeting:** forty-five minutes in total

**Gender:** Female

**Age:** 21

**Education:** University  
**Employment:** No  
**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya  
**Political inclination:** Apathetic; opposition  
**Political Party Membership:** No  
**CSO Membership:** No  
**Field Notes:** Emotional character; excited during tape-record; lack of trust to political parties; perception of civic duties; anxiety

#### 8. Participant 8

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 16.01.2022; recreational place  
**Duration of meeting:** one and half hour in total  
**Gender:** Female  
**Age:** 31  
**Education:** University  
**Employment:** Yes  
**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya  
**Political inclination:** Uninterested  
**Political Party Membership:** No  
**CSO Membership:** Yes, more than one; also, in social media  
**Field Notes:** CSO affiliation is in high-level; perception of civic duty (voting); no clear ideologic evaluation; low level of political interest.

#### 9. Participant 9

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 27.10.2022; Recreational place (participant preference)  
**Duration of meeting:** approx. three hours in total  
**Gender:** Male  
**Age:** 25  
**Education:** University; Political Scientist  
**Employment:** Yes  
**Residency:** Muratpaşa, Antalya  
**Political inclination:** Pro-government  
**Political Party Membership:** Yes  
**CSO Membership:** No  
**Field Notes:** High level of party and leader affiliation; reactionary position of oppositional parties; ego-centric attitude; high level of political literacy; comparative use of pronouns; satisfaction with pro-government parties.

#### 10. Participant 10

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 27.10.2022; recreational place  
**Duration of meeting:** forty-five minutes in total  
**Gender:** Male  
**Age:** 26  
**Education:** University; Political Scientist  
**Employment:** No  
**Residency:** Muratpaşa, Antalya  
**Political inclination:** The opposition  
**Political Party Membership:** Yes; has administrative role.

**CSO Membership:** Yes, multi-membership

**Field Notes:** Ego-centric political affiliation; self-confidence in politics; party and ideological affiliation; sophisticated personal needs.

#### 11. Participant 11

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 01.11.2022; Participant's workplace

**Duration of meeting:** one and half hour in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 24

**Education:** High-School

**Employment:** Yes, self-employment

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Pro-government

**Political Party Membership:** Yes; president in the party's neighborhood branch (in his residency)

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Over-exaggeration on use of pronouns; talked in high volume and prominent mimickers; high level of leader affiliation; combination of perception of civic duty with fidelity to the leader.

#### 12. Participant 12

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 04.11.2022; Participant's personal office

**Duration of meeting:** one hour and forty-five minutes in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 35

**Education:** postgraduate

**Employment:** yes

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Pro-government

**Political Party Membership:** High level coordinative role in a youth organization

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Familiar peer ties; high level of ideological affiliation; open to political exposures in casual life; high level of civic sense; alternative participation methods such as boycott, social media.

#### 13. Group 1 - Participant 13

**Type, time and place of meeting:** Group Interview; 04.11.2022; youth center

**Duration of meeting:** approx. 3 hours in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 18

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Student

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Pro-government, nationalists

**Political Party Membership:** Inactive

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** dislikes politics as stereotype; strong emphasis on ideological perceptions; believes secrecy on political identification and only comfortable

among his familiar peers; extra cautious on participating to the research, and anonymity.

#### 14. Group 1 - Participant 14

**Type, time and place of meeting:** Group Interview; 04.11.2022; youth center

**Duration of meeting:** approx. 3 hours in total within Group Interview 1

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 21

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Student

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Pro-government, Nationalists

**Political Party Membership:** Inactive

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Strong ideological perceptions, but not dependent on any party as he claims; enthusiastic to politics; sadness from alienation - "the others' loss of ability to win them."

#### 15. Group 1 - Participant 15

**Type, time and place of meeting:** Group Interview; 04.11.2022; youth center

**Duration of meeting:** approx. 3 hours in total within Group Interview 1

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 19

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Student

**Residency:** Konyaaltı, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Pro-government, Nationalists

**Political Party Membership:** Inactive

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** ; emphasis on ideological perceptions; believes consensual politics; personal identification of political participations; p2p ties important and comfortable among his familiar peers.

#### 16. Group 1 - Participant 16

**Type, time and place of meeting:** Group Interview; 04.11.2022; youth center

**Duration of meeting:** approx. 3 hours in total within Group Interview 1

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 20

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Student

**Residency:** Muratpaşa, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Nationalists

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** overly affiliated to his ideology; total distrust to political parties; high level of psychological involvement.

#### 17. Participant 17

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 8.11.2022; Recreational place

**Duration of meeting:** forty-five minutes in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 30

**Education:** High School

**Employment:** Yes, self-employment

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Opposition

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Overly affiliated with the party leader; enthusiast; hopeful; optimistic in total due to local party elites' peer ties with him.

#### 18. Participant 18

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 09.11.2021; Participant's personal office

**Duration of meeting:** one and half hour in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 30

**Education:** Vocational School

**Employment:** Yes

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Opposition

**Political Party Membership:** Yes

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Parental political participations; high level of leader admiration, love; critical on party elites, and certain political strategies; fear of freedom of speech on social media; emphatic justification of personal political participations

#### 19. Participant 19

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 11.11.2022; Office in party branch

**Duration of meeting:** forty minutes in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 34

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Yes

**Political inclination:** Opposition

**Political Party Membership:** Yes

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Family peers of politics; humane and casual political participations; low level of efficacy and trust to previous party; high level of perception of civic duty; obedient to the party identity; distrust party elites; leader admiration.

#### 20. Participant 20

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-Depth; 14.11.2022; Party branch's office

**Duration of meeting:** forty-five minutes in total

**Gender:** Female

**Age:** 27

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Yes; Self-employment

**Residency:** Muratpaşa, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Opposition

**Political Party Membership:** Yes, and administrative role in youth organization

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Overly excited during the tape-record; particular emphasizes on oppositional inclinations to pro-government parties; issue-based politics; personal self-relief due to covering responsibility to react; mediocre level of political literacy

### 21. Participant 21

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 14.11.2022; Party Branch's office

**Duration of meeting:** fifty minutes in total

**Gender:** Female

**Age:** 29

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Yes

**Residency:** Muratpaşa, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Opposition

**Political Party Membership:** Yes

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** high level of excitement during tape-record; one year of political experience, before that finds politics as "a bit silly;" quite influenced by familiar peer groups.

### 22. Participant 22

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 15.11.2022; Party Branch's office

**Duration of meeting:** forty-five minutes in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 24

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Yes

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Opposition

**Political Party Membership:** Yes, has administrative roles in youth organization.

**CSO Membership:** Yes, several.

**Field Notes:** Perception of civic duty, relates with serving people; "institutional identity matters," there may be some wrong doings of someone in the party; self-confident; psychological involvement.

### 23. Participant 23

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 22.11.2022; Party Branch office

**Duration of meeting:** approx. fifty minutes in total

**Gender:** Female

**Age:** 31

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Yes

**Political inclination:** Opposition

**Political Party Membership:** Yes

**CSO Membership:** Yes, "parallel work spheres"

**Field Notes:** overly excited during tape-record, recording process repeated three times; fidelity/debt for the society as a young; organizational and group affiliation; responsibility on civic sense.

#### 24. Participant 24

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 22.11.2022; recreational place

**Duration of meeting:** one hour and fifteen minutes in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 24

**Education:** University, Postgraduate

**Employment:** Yes

**Political inclination:** Indifferent, but inclines to opposition

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** Yes, kinship ties and active participation

**Field Notes:** “let’s just say I am little worried, let’s say worried and scared”

(Participant 24 – translated from Turkish to English; retrieved from tape-record 24).

#### 25. Participant 25

**Type, time and place of meeting:** Group Interview 2; 23.11.2022; Participants’ office

**Duration of meeting:** Approx. two hours within Group Interview 2

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 22

**Education:** University

**Employment:** No

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Opposition

**Political Party Membership:** Yes, and administrative roles in young organization of the party

**CSO Membership:** yes several

**Field Notes:** seven years of political experiences; high level of political interest; relies on p2p bounds.

#### 26. Participant 26

**Type, time and place of meeting:** Group Interview 2; 23.11.2022; Participants’ office

**Duration of meeting:** Approx. two hours within Group Interview 2

**Gender:** Female

**Age:** 19

**Education:** University

**Employment:** No

**Residency:** Konyaalti, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Opposition

**Political Party Membership:** Yes, lower-level administrative roles

**CSO Membership:** yes, several

**Field Notes:** one year experience in membership; before her membership, total alienation, hopelessness, concerns and lack of political literacy; perception of civic

duty, organizational affiliation, optimistic with her current peer ties; dominant effect of p2p bounds in friendship.

### 27. Participant 27

**Type, time and place of meeting:** Group Interview 3; 24.11.2022; Participants' art studio

**Duration of meeting:** One hour and forty minutes in total within Group Interview 3

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 22

**Education:** University

**Employment:** No

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Apathetic

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Total apathetic; hates and furious politics, political actors; pessimistic evaluations on the system; disappointment; "feel lot of defeat"

### 28. Participant 28

**Type, time and place of meeting:** Group Interview 3; 24.11.2022; Participants' art studio

**Duration of meeting:** One hour and forty minutes in total within Group Interview 3

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 22

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Self-Employment

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Apathetic

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Cynicism; alienation; hate; furious; overly exposed political stimuli in his childhood

### 29. Participant 29

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth: 26.11.2022; Recreational Place

**Duration of meeting:** one and half hour in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 24

**Education:** High school

**Employment:** Self-Employment

**Residency:** Muratpaşa, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Pro-government

**Political Party Membership:** Yes

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Overly attraction to party leader; hate, distrust and furious to local party elites.

### 30. Participant 30

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 03.12.2022; Participant's workplace

**Duration of meeting:** Fifty minutes in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 35

**Education:** High school

**Employment:** Self-employment

**Residency:** Kepez, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Indifferent

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Low level of SES; cautious on recording; alienated from political system; class-based anger; alienation from the political elites; empathy emphasis.

### 31. Participant 31

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 03.12.2022; Participant's workplace

**Duration of meeting:** Approx. fifty minutes in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 26

**Education:** High School

**Employment:** Self-employment

**Residency:** Muratpasa, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Opposition

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** High level of leader affiliation; furious, distrusted, high level of interest in politics; low level of SES

### 32. Participant 32

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 04.12.2022; Recreational place (Participant's choice)

**Duration of meeting:** one hour and twenty minutes in total

**Gender:** Female

**Age:** 24

**Education:** Postgraduate

**Employment:** Yes

**Residency:** Konyaalti, Antalya

**Political inclination:** Opposition

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** Purposefully shut down political stimuli; issue-based political perceptualities; high degree of lack of p2p ties in her familiar sphere; happy to be uninterested, due to over-reaction on political stimuli that relates her personal interests.

### 33. Participant 33

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 04.12.2022; Participant's personal office

**Duration of meeting:** one hour in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 35

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Yes

**Political inclination:** Indifferent; earlier inclination to pro-government

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** P2p relations are dominant; quite support for political efficacy; evaluates the political actors by satisfaction from the services; in 2009 abandoned active participation due to high level of dissatisfaction on minority policies, foreign affairs and education services.

#### 34. Participant 34

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 04.12.2022; Recreational place

**Duration of meeting:** approx. one hour in total

**Gender:** Male

**Age:** 26

**Education:** University

**Employment:** Yes; healthcare services

**Political inclination:** Pro-government

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** No

**Field Notes:** High sensation on civil obedience; only prefers legal demonstrations; leader affiliation due to the sense of familiarity; personal -physical – needs; occupation limits further involvement to the party; obedient political participation.

#### 35. Participant 35

**Type, time and place of meeting:** In-depth; 06.12.2022; Recreational place

**Duration of meeting:** two hours in total

**Gender:** Female

**Age:** 25

**Education:** Postgraduate

**Employment:** Student

**Political inclination:** Liberalist, Uninterested to party politics

**Political Party Membership:** No

**CSO Membership:** Yes, several experiences

**Field Notes:** High level of meritocratic political participation; no stereotypical perception of political interest; particular emphasis on social contract; high level of fear from legal sanction due to prejudices in party politics.

**Appendix 2: Interview Protocol (in English)**

1. Would you like to introduce yourself to me in general?
2. Do you consider yourself as a person who has a political ideology?
3. Is there any political party that you are supporting, or you feel inclined to? Have you ever been an official member of any Turkish political party?
4. *a) If the answer is positive and/or clarification of the party is observed;*  
What are your general thoughts about contemporary policies and political strategies of the political party that you are supporting?
5. Can you imagine any points of your political party's policies, strategies that need several developments or changes?
6. Do your thoughts or actions of your political party make you feel any of these emotions: anger, fear, sadness, disgust, surprise, anticipation, trust and joy?
7. Except for political party membership, is there any political participation mode that you are interested in? (For instance, connective actions demonstrations, protest, boycott or buycott etc.)
4. *b) If the answer is negative and/or clarification of the party not clearly is observed;*  
How would you define your interest in Turkish political agenda? What do you think about Turkey's political situation in general?
5. Does current political situation of Turkey make you feel any of these emotions: anger, fear, sadness, disgust, surprise, anticipation, trust and joy?
6. What would you like to say about your position towards political party membership? Why did you decide not to be a member of any political party? In the future, would you like to reconsider your status of political party membership?
7. Except for political party membership, is there any political participation mode that you are interested in? (For instance, connective actions demonstrations, protest, boycott or buycott etc.)

**Appendix 3: Interview Protocol (in Turkish)**

1. Kendinizi bana genel olarak tanıtmak ister misiniz?
2. Kendinizi siyasi bir ideolojiye sahip biri olarak görüyor musunuz?
3. Desteklediğiniz veya eğilim duyduğunuz herhangi bir siyasi parti var mı? Hiç herhangi bir Türk siyasi partisinin resmi üyesi oldunuz mu?
4. *a) Cevabın olumlu olması ve/veya gözlemlenen tarafın açıklaması;*  
Desteklediğiniz siyasi partinin güncel politikaları ve siyasi stratejileri hakkında genel düşünceleriniz nelerdir?
5. Siyasi partinizin politikalarının, stratejilerinin geliştirilmesi veya değiştirilmesi gereken noktaları hayal edebiliyor musunuz?
6. Siyasi partinizin düşünceleri veya eylemleri size şu duygulardan herhangi birini hissettiriyor mu: öfke, korku, üzüntü, iğrenme, şaşkınlık, beklenti, güven ve neşe?
7. Siyasi parti üyeliği dışında kullandığınız veya ilgilendiğiniz başka bir siyasi uygulama var mı? (Örneğin, internet aktivizmi, gösteriler, protesto, boykot, vb)
4. *b) Cevabın olumsuz olması ve/veya karşı tarafın açıklamalarının net olarak gözlemlenmemiş olması;*  
Türkiye'nin siyasi gündemine olan ilginizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Genel olarak Türkiye'nin siyasi durumu hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
5. Türkiye'nin mevcut siyasi durumu sizde şu duygulardan herhangi birini hissettiriyor mu: öfke, korku, üzüntü, iğrenme, şaşkınlık, beklenti, güven ve neşe?
6. Siyasi parti üyeliği konusundaki tutumunuz hakkında neler söylemek istersiniz? Neden herhangi bir siyasi partiye üye olmamaya karar verdiniz? Gelecekte, siyasi parti üyeliği durumunuzu yeniden gözden geçirmek ister misiniz?
7. Siyasi parti üyeliği dışında kullandığınız veya ilgilendiğiniz siyasi uygulama var mı? (Örneğin, internet aktivizmi, gösteriler, protesto, boykot vb.)