

COUNT ME IN: UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL CONSUMERISM,  
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND THEIR ANTECEDENTS

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COUNT ME IN: UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL CONSUMERISM,  
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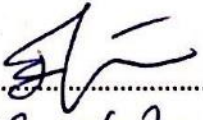
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## ABSTRACT

### Count Me In: Understanding Political Consumerism and Political Participation and Their Antecedents

Political consumerism is a form of self-expression where consumers boycott or buycott a brand, company or a product. The increase in the amount of these actions in recent years has led scholars and marketers improve their understanding of how and why consumers engage in political consumerism and what its predecessors are. By employing a wide scale survey among 360 participants in Turkey, this study presents empirical and qualitative evidence for boycott behavior. The results revealed that women are more likely to engage in political participation and income level, political interest level and online political participation have positive effect on political consumerism, while conservatism and communicational digital media use have negative effects. The findings of the thesis are vital, as it also showed there is no significant impact of education and age on political consumerism contrary to literature.

## ÖZET

### Beni de Dâhil Edin; Politik Tüketim ve Politik Katılımı ve Bunların Nedenlerini Anlamak

Politik tüketim tüketicilerin bir marka, firma veya ürünü bilinçli satın alma veya almama davranışları sergileyerek kendini ifade etme biçimidir. Son yıllarda politik tüketim davranışlarında gözlemlenen artış bilim insanları ve profesyonellerin bireylerin nasıl ve neden politik tüketim davranışlarında bulduklarını anlama amacıyla çalışmalar yapmasına sebep olmuştur. Bu çalışma Türkiye içerisinde 360 katılımcıdan oluşan geniş bir anket çalışması ile boykot davranışının deneysel ve nitel kanıtlarını bulmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın sonuçlarına göre kadınlar daha fazla politik tüketim davranışı sergilemekte olup; politik katılım, gelir düzeyi ve politik ilgi düzeyi politik tüketim davranışı üzerinde olumlu etkiye sahiptir. Muhafazakârlık ve iletişim amaçlı dijital medya kullanımı ise olumsuz bir etkiye sahiptir. Ayrıca bu çalışma genel literatürün aksine eğitim seviyesi ve yaşın politik tüketim üzerinde anlamlı bir etkisi olmadığını göstermesi açısından da ayrı bir öneme sahiptir.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

At the present time consumers are experiencing a transition from being a passive buyer to being an active buyer, creating new consumption experiences and participating in the process of collaborative marketing. On the other hand, spread of Internet and new media technologies help consumers to use their power to create a change in society and form a civic engagement. Thus, altogether, political consumption has become a popular form of both consumer behavior and political participation.

Although politically motivated consumption is increasing its coverage through boycotts and buycotts, empirical and theoretical literature on this field has just began to flourish. Researches have begun to create concepts and develop models in order to find out the predictors and antecedents of political consumerism.

Until now, several researchers have tried to advance the understanding of political consumerism, and studied on its key predictors. They found out that political consumerism, just like any other form of civic and political participation, requires resources and psychological engagement (Baek, 2010; Neilson & Paxton, 2010; Newman & Bartels, 2011; Shah et al., 2007; Stromsnes, 2009).

Despite the studies in the literature examining the predictors of political consumerism, it is not yet clear what motivates people to engage in it. The first emergence of political consumerism dates back to World War II, caused by societal changes after war and historical social shift from materialist to post materialist values and personal values. Moreover, diffusion of Internet and new media technologies and changing citizenship practices and norms also constitute the standpoint of this more

general understanding of political consumerism. On the grounds of these facts, political consumerism qualifies as a form of political participation. It is becoming more and more popular thanks to increasing power of consumers. Furthermore, understanding what motivates people to engage in political consumerism promises to enlighten political consumerism and current statue of political behavior.

However, as the literature on political consumerism is very limited, most of work on it has been done by European and American social scientists focusing on Western societies. In spite of its historical and contemporary significance, political consumption, as a research area, has been ignored or attracted by very few scholars in Turkey. Given that literature lacks both empirical and theoretical literature on understanding and conceptualizing political consumerism of Turkish consumers, the aim of this study is to propose a model that will act as a framework for understanding political consumers' profile in Turkey.

This thesis contains six chapters. All of them have an approach in accordance with the purpose of the study.

By realizing the necessity of covering the historical evolution and changing meaning of consumption and consumer in order to conceptualize political consumerism, the next chapter describes historical development of the consumption and the rise of consumer society and consumer culture. Political consumerism with its instruments, most popular examples in Turkey and recent trends is covered in this chapter.

In Chapter 3, literature containing efforts on theory building for political consumerism is presented. Conceptual model and hypotheses of the study are also presented in this Chapter.

Chapter 4 includes the research methodology and describes the data collection methods and sampling procedure. Survey design and data analysis methods of the study is presented in this chapter.

Findings of the research are summarized and discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 6 covers the discussion concerning the outcome of the study and further implications for theory and practice. Suggestions for further researches and the limitations of the study is included in this chapter.

## CHAPTER 2

### CONCEPTUALIZING POLITICAL CONSUMERISM

#### 2.1 Consumption

Consumption is defined as acquiring, owning, using or extinguishing a product or a service in order to meet needs or demands (Odabaşı, 1994). Similarly, the concept of consumption is defined by Campbell (1995) as selection, purchase, use, maintenance, repair and disposal of any product or service.

The journey of ‘consumption’ changing throughout the history has caused it to be defined with different concepts beyond the relationship between individuals and products. Consumption, initially meaning ‘satisfying the needs’, has existed since the beginning of human history, however, in the 20th century it expanded to a different dimension and started to gain psychological, sociological and imaginary meanings other than satisfying compulsory needs (Henderson, 2014).

In this context, according to Jean Baudrillard, consumption is a set of social values, an institution, a morality and enforcement besides it being an effective and social behavior. He also regarded consumption as an intermediate term between production and destruction, suggesting that it is in the destruction that the consumer gains his or her meaning (Baudrillard, 1998).

Another definition of consumption was put forward by Robert Bocoock. According to Bocoock, in modern times, consumption has become a mental concept, an experience that needs to be unraveled more than ever. Consumption is no longer a simple process that meets the needs of body alone. It now affects who people are, their sensitiveness about who they want to be and the methods they use to protect

these sensitiveness. Thus, consumption is not only an economical concept, but also a social, psychological and cultural one (Bocock, 1967/1997).

According to Douglas and Isherwood (1980/1999), the idea of consumption itself is placed into social process. They claimed that consumption should not be regarded only as a result or purpose of work. It should be regarded as a fraction of social system explaining the motives for working –part of a social need- in order to help people to build relations with other people and help them have tools mediating this relationship.

As it can be understood from definitions above, our understanding of consumption has extended beyond the limiting feature of market exchange to generating complexities. Considering complicated structure of the consumption, it is also mandatory to examine the historical development of consumption in order to better understand the various definitions and explanations of concepts of consumption and consumer.

## 2.2 Historical development of consumption

Industrialization, Fordism, welfare-policies, postmodernism and globalization are included in the historical explanations in the most of the literature in order to better explain the evolution of consumption and consumer.

The second half of the 20th century is considered the time of emergence of mass consumption. While ‘production’ was the main element in 19th century, ‘consumption’ gained a massive importance in the 20th century.

While the roots of the consumer are not clear (Trentmann, 2009), mass consumption was first observed in the industrial revolution in the late 19th century.

Industrial revolution had made the mass production possible, then mass consumption occurred. There is a close relationship between production and consumption because of the industrialization. Moreover, a new type of mass production and mass consumption took place via industrialization; Fordism.

By standardizing the production elements, it caused prices to reduce and consequently consumer goods to be more available. Furthermore, consumer as an end-user was consolidated after WWI because of the development of welfare policies. Welfare policies implied the fact that an individual should have minimum standards of living. These standards were used as a significant measure in peace-keeping, wealth and welfare both nationally and internationally.

Post-Fordism is regarded as a new step of capitalism after the change of market structures because of the 1973 economic crises and the role of consumption in market structures. Emergence of Post-Fordism in the late 1970s as a new production model replacing Fordism represents a totally different era in terms of historical development of consumption. Post-Fordism, aiming to increase the demand and needs of consumer, produced its own life style while it focused on consumer involvement and mass individualization (Kırılmaz & Ayparçası, 2016).

Parallel with this era, rapid developments in the information and communication technologies, globalization and causally disappearance of physical boundaries produced a new social structure: information society. This new society - developed outside of industrial society- was also called post-industrialization society or late capitalism. In production perspective, this process was considered as Fordism and Post-Fordism.

Post-Fordist era also means the era in which consumption culture is internalized by the society itself. It stands as an example for the explanations of new concepts such as ‘consumer culture’, ‘consumer society’.

### 2.3 Consumer culture and consumer society

The concept of consumption is an action shaping and transforming human life rather than being an ordinary action. Consumption, affecting individuals’ basic preferences and perceptions starting from daily life practices, brought new perspectives in explaining the relationship between individuals and meta while putting out a new concept called ‘consumer culture’

Different areas of science including communication, cultural studies, theology, sociology, psychology, marketing, anthropology and philosophy have studied the consumer culture, which includes both consumerism and materialism. Being independent from any discipline, consumer culture represents the relationship between human and material goods. Consumer culture is a social structure in which exchanging resources is not the only aim. It refers to an important activity not only as an everyday life action but also as a decision maker in social organization and measuring significance, and meaning.

The roots of consumer culture is not easy to be agreed on according to Grant McCracken (1986), while its relevant literature is studied. As parallel to the literature examining the development of the concept of ‘consumption’, the concepts and classifications such as post-capitalism, post-Fordism, post-modernism, culture industries and globalization are very often encountered while studying the historical origins of consumer culture and consumer society.

According to Trentmann (2004), consumption was regarded as a significant factor to build the modern capitalism at the beginning of 20th century, because it shaped capitalisms dynamics and social structure. It was the era consumerism was seen as the prominent element dominating West and affecting people's identities, values and knowledge. Some tangible products were seen as symbols defining individual's social and individual identity such as some clothes and basic household products.

According to Featherstone (1991), there are three dimensions of consumer culture. First, production of capitalist goods caused the emergence of leisure and consumption activities in modern western societies. Some people considered it as an increase of individual freedom and equality while others criticized it for increasing the capacity for ideological manipulation. Second one mainly focuses on satisfaction obtained from products or services because of their social meanings. To create social bonds or distinctions people spoil these goods as a symbol of status. Finally, third one considers consumption as a source of fantasy and pleasure. Malls can be great example to this because they enable people to get physical excitement and aesthetic pleasure (Featherstone, 1991/1996).

Storey (1993/2000), expressing that consumption culture brought new life practices with it and created consumption society, states that societies before capitalism were not consumption societies. He shows proof to that before capitalism people produced goods to consume immediately or to barter with other goods. He states that with the transition to capitalism, consumption has become an important part of human facilities rather than a basic need.

This is a tendency that can be traced to the current sociological diagnosis, arguing that consumption has replaced production as the maker of identity, in what may be referred to as the post-modern society (Brown, 1994).

According to Baudrillard (1998), production society in which producer was the main agent was replaced by the consumption society in which consumer is the main agent determining the market structure. Consumer society implies the social structure in which values, meaning and norms are based on consumption, in other words consumption culture.

It is also clear that commodification has grown beginning from the post-war world in relation with McDonalization (Ritzer, 2008) or Disneyization (Bryman, 1999) and globalization (Bauman, 1998; Beck, 1999; Giddens, 2002).

In addition to the approaches mentioned above, the literature used many new approaches studying consumption society, consumption culture and the effect of mass communication tools on individuals and society after the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (1998) studied the post-WW II capitalism from the perspective of the relationship between the rise of consumer culture and corporate control of the media and the culture industry. These authors claim that because of the great discourse about consumerism created by culture industry, people find it difficult resist this industry. On the other hand, media plays a role as a mediator to legitimize the unjust production relations which consequently cause people to get in a situation they push harder and harder to meet their never-ending wants and needs. Marcuse (1964/1997) goes even further and claims that indoctrination by the media-advertising nexus manipulates people and creates false needs.

## 2.4 Political consumerism

Although consumer's behavior of buying or boycotting a particular brand or product because of ethical, social, ideological, political or environmental motivations consciously rely on 18th century, political consumerism is a relatively new concept which started to attract scholar's interest after 1970s.

With the simplest definition, political consumerism represents the use of purchasing power to support or damage a brand or company. Consumers select the producers and products in order to change the given institution or market in a way they want them to be more ethic or else (Boström et al., 2005; Schudson 2007).

The first and most known definition of political consumerism by Michelle Micheletti, having a great impact on the term of political consumerism to be popular in the literature (Dubuisson-Quellier, 2009; Holzer, 2006) is as following;

“It represents actions by people who make choices among producers and products with the goal of changing objectionable institutional or market practices. Their choices are based on attitudes and values regarding issues of justice, fairness, or noneconomic issues that concern personal and family wellbeing and ethical or political assessment of favorable and unfavorable business and government practice. Political consumers are the people who engage in such choice situations. They may act individually or collectively. Their market choices reflect an understanding of material products as embedded in a complex social and normative context (Micheletti, 2003, p. 3).

Political consumerism is identified as an action in the borderline between individualized and collective action by Micheletti (2005). Political consumerism itself is mostly considered as a highly individualized activity. According to some

consumers, political consumerism occurs at once and vanishes, however, others believe that it is a chance to act as a collective (Gotlieb & Wells, 2012).

According to Copeland and Atkinson, (2016) who stresses the social meaning of Political consumerism, political consumerism is an important opportunity to build powerful ties within the communities rather than consumer's market activity, consequently can be defined as a practice that needs to be evaluated within the social context.

Another approach in the literature is that political consumerism is defined as an unconventional political participation in which individuals state their ideologies, social expectations and unrest against the politic conjuncture (Baek, 2010; Neilson & Paxton, 2010; Newman & Bartels, 2011). Thus, political consumerism can also be described as a new citizenship practice especially individuals with certain demographic characteristics involve in (Stolle et al., 2005; Ettenson & Klein, 2005). It is also linked with dutiful citizenship norms because of its characteristics involving punishment in similar with electoral and interest-based politics (Copeland, 2014). Combining all these definitions, political consumerism comes forward as a form of political participation. It aims to make an impact on the priority given to particular societal values – humanitarianism, environmental protection, economic justice, and so on. It also aims to change the distribution of these values in the political and economic outcomes within the society (Norris, 2002; Newman & Bartels, 2011).

There are two mechanisms of political consumerism that were studied in the literature; boycotts and buycotts (Newman & Bartels, 2011; Stromsnes, 2009)

### 2.4.1 Boycott

As the most favored form of political consumerism, boycotting refers to actions of consumer that seeks to punish particular brand or company for unfavorable practice (Friedman 1999; Garrett, 1987). Boycotts are typically triggered by an environmental, social, ethical, or political rationale (Dolan 2002; Zack 1991; Sandıkçı & Ekici, 2009).

The most common approach to determine the typology of boycott is the approach classifying boycotts in accordance with their function. Such practices are divided into four categories; instrumental, expressive, punitive and rewarding (Friedman, 1999; Smith, 2000).

Instrumental boycotts are done for several reasons such as trying to reduce prices or cause a closure of a unit in a company. A change in the practice of an organization is the main objective (Balıkçıoğlu et al., 2014). These boycotts are tools to start a dialogue with the organization (Friedman, 1999) and generally originated from the times when consumers wanted better living conditions and basic foods' prices to reduce.

Expressive boycotts are to show a general unrest about an incident (Smith, 2000). In this category, consumers boycott a particular company to avoid potential health and safety risks, defend animals, protect the environment, protest unlawful layoffs, fight poverty, defend minorities or civil rights (Hoffmann & Hutter, 2012). These boycotts contain a wide range of products and in order to be successful, an organized movement is necessary.

Punitive boycotts are done to cause continuous damage to companies which have irresponsible practices. No dialogue occurs between the parties (Friedman, 1999).

The first examples of boycotting date back to the times of American war of Independence (Peretti & Micheletti, 2004) in late 1700s. Captain Charles Boycott, who was a land agent for Earl Erne in Ireland was the first person to be boycotted. He was subjected to social ostracism organized by the Irish Land League, but the term ‘boycott’ was first used around 1880s (Freidman, 1999; Micheletti, 2003).

In the last century, boycotts have appeared as a punitive action against anti-social or anti-environmental politics by companies as a form of social audit (Smith, 1990; Kozinets & Handelman, 1998; Strømsnes, 2009). Some of the greatest examples of boycotts within the last century are the movement against Shell for their inhuman attitudes in Nigeria, and worldwide boycott against Swiss food company Nestle for their aggressive and misleading marketing activities proposing baby food is better than mother’s milk allegedly causing baby deaths in 1973-1984 (Veraldi, 1988).

Consumer boycotts target not only products or brands, but also countries and products originating from particular countries (Shimp & Sharma, 1987). Some popular examples of boycotting of countries are call for boycott by Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Korea for French products because of nuclear tests of France in South Pacific in 1995 (Djerdjarian, 2003), call for boycott by USA for French products because France did not support Iraqi war, and boycott by Muslim consumers for Danish products because of a comic crises with Denmark (Balıkcıoğlu et al., 2014).

#### 2.4.2 Buycott

A second form of political consumerism is buycotting. Unlike boycott, buycotting targets to support particular brand or company showing positive behavior parallel

with the consumer's values and expectations (Friedman, 1996; Gotlieb & Wells, 2012).

The main aim of boycotting is to promote particular brands or companies which are considered ethically, socially or politically correct, while boycotting requires punishing them. More often use of product labeling have resulted in an increase in this positive form of political consumerism since 1990s, since it is easier for consumers to choose certain products (Peretti & Micheletti, 2004).

Boycotting and buycotting behaviors are not completely different items. An action of buycott, automatically cause a boycott for particular products for not meeting the criteria for a consumer. Moreover, sometimes governments may organize buycotts such as 'New Deal' in the USA in 1930s using 'Blue Eagle' symbol in particular companies or products meaning these companies are Franklin D. Roosevelt's NRA member. However, this use of symbol was prohibited afterwards (Taylor, 2007).

Buycotting may be costly despite reflecting consumer's voice in a very visible way. Thus, buycott is not very often as boycott (Neilson, 2010). However, it can be clearly seen that consumers have increased their voice via buycott in marketplace in recent years. The rise in the consumption of products by cruelty-free brands that do not test products on animals and eco-friendly brands and consequently an increase in the number of these kind of companies verify the previous statement.

## 2.5 The rise of political consumerism

The rise of political consumerism represents a great example to show the change in the political behavior of individuals. Boycotts and buycotts are on the rise all over the world (Stolle & Micheletti, 2013). It is more common contrary to common sense

(Baek, 2010; Forno & Ceccarini, 2006; Neilson, 2010; Newman & Bartels, 2011; Stromsnes, 2009).

Researches claim that there are set of societal changes after WWII causing a change in individuals' attendance to politics resulting new types of engagements, in order to better explain this increase in the political consumerism (Bennett, 1998; Dalton, 2006; Micheletti, 2010; Norris, 2002; Stolle et al., 2005). These changes contain the transition from industrial to postindustrial economies, unique economic growth, spread of educational opportunities, the growth of the middle class and developments in electronic communications. Altogether, these changes helped people to have more options for political participations to point out their discomfort rather than electoral politics (Copeland, 2014).

Individually and socially increasing significance of post materialist values have also been suggested as an explanation in parallel with the societal developments mentioned previously (Inglehart, 1997; Micheletti, 2010; Micheletti et al., 2004; Zukin et al., 2006). In his theory of value change, Inglehart (1971, 1990) claims that post materialist values contain environmental protection, gender equality, minority rights, fair labor practices and other things in association with quality of life concerns. According to him, people who have post materialist values regard more about social and political change. These people are more often to involve in unconventional political actions in order to state their social and political unrest (Inglehart, 1981). In other words, sub-politics via political consumption may increase the power of individuals and consequently may result in creating a new political or institutional system (Beck, 1997).

Many scholars have studied to understand and clarify the dynamics and determinants of political consumerism, considering the changes in political and civic

engagement are very significant in order to understand it (Beck, 1997; Keum et al., 2004). One of these studies focuses on evaluating the effect of diffusion of internet and new media technologies on political consumerism, because understanding the intensive links between communication, consumption and citizenship is a must (Shah et al, 2007).

Political consumers can obtain any *information* thanks to online media, People similar to each other have various channels to *communicate* each other via Web 2.0, and online marketplaces make *political consumption* much easier, such as accessing rare products online which are impossible to reach locally (Copeland & Atkinson, 2016; Kelm & Dohle, 2017). Despite sole individuals having a low impact on the compliance of companies, new technologies especially the internet increases the reach of a simple consumer to create an exponentially increasing network that may result in causing a great pressure on a company (DeVreese, 2007; Pitt et al., 2002).

The bulk of the literature on political consumerism stresses that the increase in the political consumerism is explained by the increase in the power of the consumer, while other studies explain this rise of political consumerism from various perspectives such as social, economic, political and cultural developments.

## 2.6 New social movements, digital activism and political consumerism

Social media is in the center of social movements thanks to opportunities it gives to disadvantageous individuals. It plays a great role in terms of communication and organization in every kind of Social Movements that turns into action (Rohlinger & Earl, 2012; Castells, 2013)

“New Social Movements” started in 1970s and gained more importance in 1980s (Önder, 2003). While Social Movements made policies focusing on

production associations from a macro perspective, New Social Movements is an objection to modernity, bureaucratic state and identities insisted by sovereign power and lives set by capitalist market structure (Buechler, 2000). According to New Social Movements approach, identities play an important role in Social Movements (Meluci, 1996). Thus, actors of social movements are identities defined by ethnicity, social gender, age, citizenship and lifestyles besides the identities shaped by production relations (Buechler, 2011).

It is known that New Social Movements use unconventional political actions such as civil disobedience and humor while achieving their targets (Sivitanides, 2011). The use of information and communication technologies, in particular new media tools developed after WEB 2.0, have great impact on achieving the targets mentioned before (Buechler, 2011; Fosshagen, 2014; Baybars-Hawks, 2015).

User-oriented structure of Social Media has created an alternative public space for New Social Movements. Nowadays, actions of New Social Movements have shifted to digital, thus created a new type of activism. The concept of this shift is called 'Digital Activism', which is the intersection point between New Social Movements and Social Media (Baybars-Hawks, 2015). Consequently, developments in the communication technologies have transformed the social movements. Various sections of society have started to use these channels to stress their grievances.

The increase in the importance of social media in the axis of social movements first started using social media intensively to organize the movements in 2011 in Middle East and North Africa. Besides Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, Gezi Park Movements in Turkey are some other examples of how social groups engage in digital activism in order to raise their voice and realize social and political changes (Baybars-Hawks, 2015).

Calls for political consumerism, also called a new form of civic engagement and unconventional political participation, are also digital activism. Many boycott calls, having various motivations and demands, have been made on digital platforms, and organized and spread on it (Gotlieb & Cheeme, 2017; Kelm & Dohle, 2018). They increase their scope thanks to digital platforms and increase their effectiveness on the market practices of countries and companies (Ward & de Vreese, 2011).

## 2.7 Political consumerism in Turkey

Because much of the literature consists of studies of European and American social scientist focusing on Western Societies, studying on political consumerism in Turkey requires various social, cultural, economic and historic attributes on the development of consumption and political participation in Turkey.

There are several differences in Turkey comparing to Western Societies such as the lack of experience of Industrial Revolution that took place in continental Europe at the times of Ottoman Empire. Late arrival of mass communication tools, advertising concept and late adoption of liberal economic policies that are the most important factors helping internalizing consumption culture are also among other differences (Boratav, 2003). Thus, development of consumption culture in Turkey has not been parallel with the West (Yavuz, 2013). Similarly, comparing to Western societies, Turkey does not have rooted and organized boycott cognizance (Sandıkçı & Ekici, 2009).

Examining from historical perspective, boycotts in Turkey have been motivated by national and political factors. They have also focused on short terms with insufficient organization and without clear and exact targets (Balıkçioğlu et.al, 2014). Studies of Balabanis and his colleagues (2001) showed that there is positive

correlation between consumer ethnocentrism and patriotism and conservatism, especially having a negative effect on attitudes towards import of foreign goods.

Sandıkçı and Ekici (2009) also mentioning a similar finding, stated that boycotts in Turkey took place with national and conservative motivations in Turkey. These emotional and political boycotts are classified as expressive boycotts.

For example, Consumers Union, chambers of industry from various cities and non-governmental organizations called for a boycott against French products in 2006, because of an amendment regarding Armenian genocide. However, the boycott failed, despite taking place in the media as well (Balıkçıoğlu et al., 2014).

There also have been some other boycott calls targeting Israeli and American products recently. The effect of boycott has been tried to increase by sharing lists covering Israeli and American products. Echoes of boycott call to Denmark have also been heard in Turkey, which started in Arab countries after publication of comics of Prophet Muhammed in 2015 by Jyllands-Posten newspaper in Denmark (Heilmann, 2016). Because of the facts that the lists people shared online to show Denmark products had mainly origins other than Denmark, and trade between Turkey and Denmark was not very extensive, this call for boycott was done very unconsciously and consequently failed (Kırğız, 2015).

Lack of organization and a leader are among the reasons why these boycotts failed. Long lists of products to be boycotted are also among the reasons. Successful boycott against the product 'Danino' of Danone justifies it. Danone was boycotted because of an article in 2005 stating a particular ingredient in Danino cause a mental deficiency in children. This article has passed through 6, 5 million people via electronic mails and word of mouth, and Danone Turkey faced the greatest boycott

campaign ever done against a company in Turkey. It was stated that this boycott has caused a %26 decrease in the sales of given category (Balıkçioğlu et al., 2014).

Boycotts in Turkey, having been motivated by ethnocentric and national emotions in the past, have started to evolve to a different path after increasing social polarization and increasing public interest on relationship between government and capital owners.

This shift has been visible after various political groups expressing their unrest about current political situation using their market power. Especially in the period after Gezi Park Protests in 2013, companies openly supporting government or having conservative positioning have been started to be boycotted individually. Kızılkayalar, Mado, Ülker and Torku may be given as examples of these companies.

These boycotts have taken place without an organization or a leader. Information regarding the reasons of boycotting a given company and lists of products of companies to be boycotted have passed through social media platforms and have spread via word of mouth.

The attributes of new media such as increasing interpersonal mobilization and enabling to reach masses faster, easier on lower costs have significant effect on the spread of call for boycotts. Socio-economically disadvantageous sections of society see the new media as an alternative space for opposition and disobedience. This is also relevant with the fact that individuals act in accordance with the spirit of the time (post-modern) via new media, rather than acting in accordance with the social movement thoughts and practices (Sivitanides, 2011). Consequently, these actions may attract participation of masses thanks to digital platforms, and increase the awareness and finally result in a change in the attitudes of companies boycotted.

Boycotting Pınar products after controversial Referendum in 2017, increasing social polarization more, is an example of it. The reason for the boycott was that Selim Yaşar, chairman of the board of Yaşar Holding, made a statement after Referendum about reevaluating the sponsorship of Karşıyaka Basketball Club, a club of Karşıyaka district voting the highest percent 'No' in the referendum. Call for boycott against the company, especially Pınar products, took place in digital platforms such as Twitter and eksisozluk.com. Yaşar Holding had to made a statement after the hashtag #PınarÜrünleriBoykot, meaning Boycott against Pınar Products, became the top trend topic in social media, stating that Selim Yaşar's statement is not binding for the company and family, but himself. However, increasing voices of grievances did not stop even after Selim Yaşar apologizing. The reasons for quick implementation of the boycott were that there were substitutes to the given products and short list for boycott.

More importantly, examples above reveal the fact that these boycott or buycott actions are regarded as a way of political expression by some parts of Turkish society. Moreover, it is their way of showing their grievances and effecting the practices in the market they cannot effect via traditional methods but using their market power.

## CHAPTER 3

### CONCEPTUAL MODEL AND HYPOTHESES

Throughout this chapter, a conceptual model and hypotheses regarding the relationships between demographic characteristics, political characteristics, value orientations, Internet/digital media use, online/offline political participation and participating for boycott and buycott are explained based on the related theoretical and empirical evidence.

Both empirical and theoretical studies on political consumer behavior show that people differ in their motivations for participating in a boycott and buycott actions. Effects of demographics including gender, age, education and income level are also covered by the most of literature on political consumerism (Baek, 2010; Copeland, 2014; Shah, et al., 2007; Forno & Ceccarini, 2006; Micheletti, 2003; Stolle et al., 2005).

Because of the necessity of resources and psychological engagement, political consumerism is regarded as similar to other forms of civic and political participation according to literature. Best and Krueger (2005) found that psychological factors such as political interest, online civic skills and mobilization are among the predictors of online political participation and as political interest increases, chance of engaging in political consumerism increases (Copeland, 2013; Forno & Ceccarini, 2006; Newman & Bartels, 2011; Stromsnes, 2009).

Generalized trust and trust in institutions have been also strongly associated with political consumerism (Putnam, 1993). Low level of trust in political establishments of political consumers may denote a general skepticism of institutionalized power and authority (Zijderveld, 2000). These consumers' economic

behaviors are the sign of the fact that they decide to take responsibility and act themselves rather than relying on governmental institutions (Beck 1997; Shapiro & Hacker –Cordon 1999). While education, income level and political interest have positive correlations with the probability of engaging in political consumerism, high level of political trust decreases the likelihood of engaging in political consumerism.

Digital media use and the level of online political participation are also known to be especially effective tools for engaging political consumption (Bennett, 2012; Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Bimber et al., 2012).

Social media have become a powerful platform in which collective activism is emerged (Thorson et al., 2013). Studies show that the more social media platforms are used, the more participation in collective action and consequently social media emerges as an important predictor for politically motivated consumer behavior (Enjolras et al., 2013). Thanks to the Internet's low cost of time and effort of accessing political information, it enables consumers to have more options of engaging in unconventional political behavior including boycott or buycott.

Considering complex structure and predictors of the political consumerism, the need for a comprehensive framework has become clearer.

At this point, two important theories supporting the most of the researches in the area of political consumer behavior are: Theory of Reasoned Action of Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) and the Theory of Planned Behavior (1985). According to Ajzen (1991), like any other human behavior, consumer behavior is also shaped by salient beliefs to evaluate the benefits and costs of planned behavior (Cao & Mokhtarian, 2007). People's intention to perform a behavior is influenced by two major factors; attitude towards the given behavior, and person's subjective norm (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). Ajzen, by adding a new variable to the Theory of Reasoned Action,

developed his Theory of Planned Behavior. This new variable is perceived behavioral control, defined as ‘the person’s belief as to how easy or difficult performance of the behavior is likely to be’ (Ajzen & Madden, 1986).

Another approach offering a theoretical framework on the political consumer behavior focuses on the concept of social dilemma. According to social dilemma, there is a contradiction between the maximization of individuals’ benefit and supporting the group of the given individual (Sen et al., 2001).

However, decision of individual boycott may vary depending on many factors such as advisory groups, personal evaluations, utility of the product to be boycotted, and whether there is a substitution of that product. According to individual boycott model, decision of boycott is closely related with the degree of participation to boycott of an individual, the evaluation of effectiveness of this participation and the cost of individual boycott (Klein et. al, 1999).

Because individual motivations are very effective on the individual level boycott and buycott participation, examining political consumerism focusing on social interaction dimension only will present an incomplete perspective. Post-modern theories on consumer behavior would offer a wider perspective.

O-S-O-R perspective, suggested by Markus and Zajonc (1985), represents a particularly relevant theoretical framework in order to understand how demographic and communication factors may encourage political consumerism. The first O in this model represents “the set of structural, demographic, cognitive, and motivational characteristics the audience brings to the reception situation that affect the impact of messages (S),” whereas the second O represents “what is likely to happen between the reception of messages and the subsequent response (R)” (McLeod et al., 1994). To sum up, O-S-O-R model explains the cause and effect relationship between

structural sociodemographic factors, individual predispositions, messages obtained from media and attitudinal and behavioral outcomes.

In the study of political consumerism, the O-S-O-R framework has been used to study the relationship between demographic characteristics, media use and individual expressions of environmental concerns by Shah and others. The authors theorized that demographic factors (age, gender, education, income) and pre-dispositions (political affiliation, ideology and trust in government) affect online news consumption patterns and news consumption patterns are considered as stimuli (S). Outcome orientations following the effects of stimuli, were defined as political discussion, environmental concern and advertising paternalism. In the last stage, the model theorized that such outcome orientations define the behavioral response (R): Political Consumerism.

Taking part in a boycott has an intrinsic value and depends on the consumer's values (John & Klein, 2003). Most of the literature explains the increase in participation to political consumption with the rise of post-materialist values and engaged citizenship norms in established democracies after World War II (Micheletti, 2003; Micheletti, et al., 2004; Stolle, Hooghe, & Micheletti, 2005). According to Inglehart (1997); transition from materialist to post-materialist values has implications for political behavior. Parallel with Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs, he suggests that people with more materialist values have less interest in politics because they are more concerned with satisfying immediate goals related to their physical well-being.

On the other hand, people with more post materialist values are more likely to participate in direct and unconventional forms of political participation, as they are more concerned with the fact that political parties and government institutions are

insufficient at expressing their political grievances effectively (Inglehart, 1971, 1977).

Considering this, the conceptual framework of this study was also guided by the model of the Micheletti (2003,2005) and others arguing that personal values are significant determinant on the political consumer behavior.

### 3.1 Research model

In conclusion, the model below is suggested in explaining the process of participation in political consumption within the frame of discussion above. The conceptual model is depicted in Figure 1:

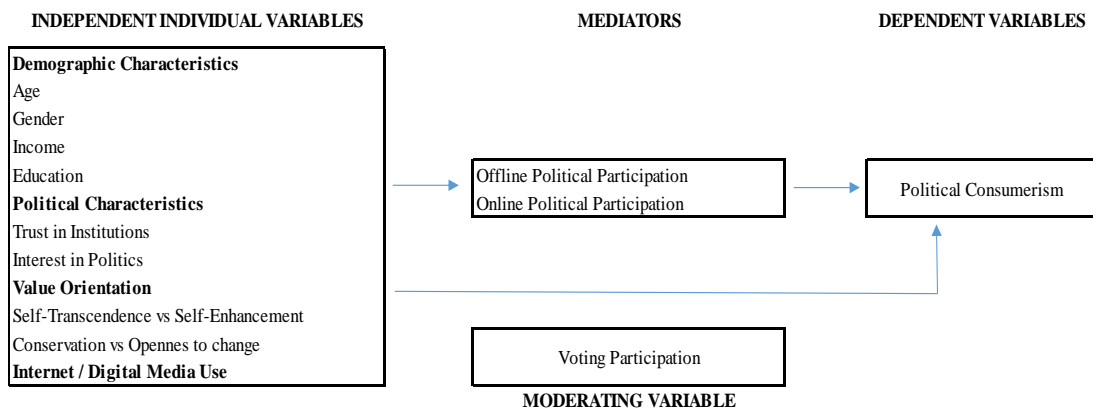


Figure 1. The conceptual framework of the study addressing the relationships among the studied variables

Demographic characteristics consist of variables such as age, gender, education and income level. Political characteristics (trust in institutions and interest in politics), value orientation (self-transcendence, self-enhancement, conservation and openness to change), digital media use are other individual independent variables.

The first group of mediators include the online and offline political participation. The second group of mediators is the voting participation. Lastly, main

dependent variable of the study is political consumerism which consists of boycotting and buycotting behavior.

In the following paragraphs, research model is first explained by political consumer behavior with the different kinds of variables and finally their relationships with each other. Hypotheses are also described.

### 3.2 Hypotheses

Majority of the perspectives in the study of consumer behavior accept that income is superior determinant of consumer behavior (Dorota, 2013). The effect of income level on the buying behavior can be tracked through different aspects of the life. However, two main argument repeatedly expressed in the previous studies. First, level of income determines the price sensitivity since consumers belonging to the higher income class see the price as a less important factor when they make a buying decision (Solomon, 2006). Secondly, income can be considered crucial determinant influencing the life style, tastes, preferences and attitudes of a consumer.

For example, in their empirical studies, Sidney Verba and Norman Nie (1972) explain that “upper-status citizens have the time, money, and knowledge to be effective in politics” and they are more likely to have an interest in and belief that they can affect political problems. Other studies also find a strong positive relationship between income and political consumerism (Baek, 2010; Neilson, 2010; Copeland, 2013; Newman & Bartels, 2011). I thus formulate the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Higher income level increases the likelihood of engaging in political consumerism.

Previous studies came up with strong arguments and research results suggesting consumer behavior is influenced by the gender on a large scale. Gender also affects political consumerism (Micheletti 2004). Many studies have focused on sex differences in explaining politically motivated consumer behavior. In explorations of sex roles and socialization (Solomon, 2006; Howard & Hollander, 1997), women are more likely to present pro-environmental attitudes and behaviors because they are socialized to be more other-oriented and socially responsible (Zelezny, Chua, & Alrich, 2000).

With few exceptions (e.g., Sherkat & Blocker, 1994), most of the studies have found that women more likely to boycott than men are (e.g., Klein et al., 2004). Similar to other unconventional forms of political participation, women attend to political consumerism because it is different than traditional political participation in a way it does not require a membership, or face-to-face interactions (Stolle & Hooghe 2004). Micheletti (2004) suggests that women engage in political consumerism more as a result of the increase in their awareness of effects of their consumer choices because of the traditional sex roles requiring them to do the most of the family shopping. Indeed, Klein, Craig Smith, and John (2004) found significantly more female boycotters than male in their study of the boycott of a multinational firm. In addition, particular studies investigated that during some processes –such as recommendation and satisfaction- women show more positive shopping behavior outcomes than men. In line with the related literature, I argue that:

Hypothesis 2: Women are more likely than men to engage in political consumerism.

Age is also among important determinants for political consumer behavior. Young people tend to attend to unconventional and alternative ways of political

participation. This phenomenon have begun to attract scholars to examine the effects and implications of this trend for engagement in politics. Gotlieb and Cheema (2017) found that younger people have higher political consumerism tendencies. There is a consensus among scholars that as lifestyle concerns and a sense of individual purpose replace formal civic obligation in late modern society, younger citizens increasingly seek fulfillment in expressive "actualizing" modes of engagement that enable them to address concerns directly relevant to their personal values (Dalton 2009; Inglehart 1997). Thus, I propose the following assumptions:

Hypothesis 3: Younger people are more likely to display politically motivated consumption behavior rather than an older ones.

Hypothesis 4: Younger Internet users are more likely to engage in online political participation rather than an older ones.

Education also provides access to knowledge about social and corporate issues that incite boycotts, and empowers individuals to try to change conditions. (Gardberg and Newburry, 2009). Hence, education has been identified as an important resource (civic skill) of political participation (Verba et al., 1995) and empirical studies uniformly confirm the effect of higher education on political consumption (Ferrer & Fraile, 2006; Strømsnes, 2009). Political consumers tend to be more educated according to many researchers (Baek, 2010; Neilson, 2010; Neilson & Paxton, 2010; Newman & Bartels, 2011; Shah et al., 2007; Strømsnes, 2009). So, I propose the following:

Hypothesis 5: More educated individuals are more likely to engage in political consumerism than less educated ones.

Low trust in institutions and government also encourages political consumerism. People with low level of trust in institutions regard their actions to

cause changes. That is, “lack of trust in state responsibility-taking encourages civil society actors to accept more responsibility” (Boström et al., 2005). Dietlind Stolle, Marc Hooghe, and Michele Micheletti (2005) concluded in a study that political consumers tend to have low trust in institutions. Thus, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 6: As the level of political trust decreases, the likelihood of engaging in political consumerism increases.

Many studies show that political interest and affiliation also increase the likelihood of engaging in political consumerism (Baek, 2010; Copeland, 2013; Forno & Ceccarini, 2006; Newman & Bartels, 2011; Strømsnes, 2009; Neilson & Paxton, 2010). Furthermore, political interest is a sign of an individual’s concern for community governance. It is also linked with the participation to political consumerism (Stolle et al., 2005; Verba et al., 1995). Finally, political interest positively effects the attendance to political participation because it is a signal to the individual’s belief that his participation may have an impact on political results (Milbrath & La Goel 1972). People who have more political interest are more likely to engage in unconventional forms of political participation because these people believe that they will make a difference (Stolle et al., 2005; Verba et al., 1995). Accordingly, following hypothesis is formed:

Hypothesis 7: As political interest increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism increases.

Political consumers have greater access to information thanks to tools of new media; Web 2.0 enabling like-minded people to communicate with each other, and online marketplaces helping people to reach rare products if a boycotting is desired (Kelm & Dohle, 2017).

Many studies suggest that content consumption and production increase the likelihood of individual's engagement in lifestyle political consumerism and other forms of political participation.

In their studies, Micheletti and Stolle (2013) demonstrate how the anti-sweatshop movement has become a global advocacy network, growing in scope, density, and sophistication, and using the Internet as its primary organizational mode, another emergent theme. Bennett and Lagos involve in this argument, and study on how younger activists move away from governance and create a nongovernmental regulatory systems via Web.

Use of social media emerges as a predictor of political participation when specific actions are examined such as participating in online groups or organizations (Bode, 2012; Conroy et al., 2012; Gibson & McAllister, 2011, Gustafsson, 2012) and production of user-generated content (Östman, 2012). Relatedly, the social context that social media provide for political messages has been shown to influence participation (Bond et al., 2012). Other studies demonstrate that both political interest and political discussion mediate the relationship between digital media use and political participation (Cho et al., 2009; Shah et al., 2007; Xenos & Moy, 2007).

Expanding on the centrality of online communications for the politics of consumption and the consumption of politics, DeVreese and Ward (2011) chart how the shift to the Web resulted in the Web becoming the primary source of political information for younger citizens. It also changed the forms of consuming politics. Their study on the Internet habits of young people in the Netherlands shows that time spent online did not necessarily decrease the political interest, On the contrary, most of the online activities, even though they seemed unrelated to politics, were positively related to political participation. Furthermore, by examining a wide range

of possible indicators of participation, De Vreese and Ward (2011) suggest that traditional opinions of civic and political engagement should be expanded to include active and passive forms of engagement. Expanded views of civic engagement and online activities may represent the youth better.

Findings suggest that it is much easier for people to find other individuals with common political interest thanks to Internet. Thus, they can increase their social capital via these online social networks (Boyd, 2008; Valenzuela et al., 2009).

Using original survey data collected in the US, Zuniga and others find that political consumerism is more closely related to civic engagement than it is to political participation, and that use of social media mediates the relationship between general Internet use and political consumerism. Accordingly, following hypotheses are formed:

Hypothesis 8: There will be a direct relationship between the communicational digital media and online political participation.

Hypothesis 9: The greater degree of digital media use, the more engagement to political consumption occurs.

Understanding how people engage in conventional and unconventional political behavior, and what motivates them has been an ongoing concern in the political behavior studies.

Until recently, studies have focused on the link between value orientations and political participation occurring offline (Mondak & Helperin, 2008). However, with rise of WEB 2.0 technologies and unprecedented use of social media platforms, recent attention has been given to the relationship between the value orientations and political participation that occurs online (McLeod et al., 1996; Shah et. al, 2007).

Personality has also been linked to conventional (e.g., signing petitions) and unconventional (e.g., protest) forms of political participation (Mondak & Helperin, 2008; Mondak et. al, 2010; Omoto et. al, 2010). Specifically, openness to experience is known to be an independent predictor of online political behavior.

The shift in young people's cultural values from materialism to post-materialism is also broadly covered in order to investigate the link between the personality and political consumerism. Inglehart's theory of post-materialism claims that increasing material security has caused a shift in people's cultural values, enabling them to have more energy to invest in quality of life concerns, hedonism, self-expression issues instead of materialist issues, such as prioritizing physical sustenance, conformity and safety. In line with this argument, extra-institutional forms of political participation including boycott and buycott have been found to be strongly correlated to changing value orientations (Van Deth & Scarbrough, 1994).

Schwartz and colleagues proposed a model regarding human values along our dimensions of values, self-transcendence (broken down into personal values related to universalism and benevolence), self-enhancement (personal values related to power and achievement), conservatism (personal values related to respect for tradition, conformity and security), and openness to change (personal values related to stimulation, self-direction, hedonism). Turkey's attributes are being high on self-transcendence and conservatism, and low on self-enhancement and openness to change (Schwartz, 1994). However, in Turkey, the literature is highly limited on this issue. Therefore, investigating the link between value orientations and participating for political consumerism is essential to offer a comprehensive framework in this study. So, in line with the related literature on political consumerism and value

orientations, hypotheses can be formed as: These observations lead to the following set of theoretical expectations:

Hypothesis 10: As a person's level of Openness to change (personal values related to stimulation, self-direction, and hedonism) increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism increases.

Hypothesis 11: As a person's level of Conservation (personal values related to respect for tradition, conformity, and security) increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism decreases.

Hypothesis 12: As a person's level of Self-transcendence (broken down into personal values related to universalism and benevolence) increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism increases.

Hypothesis 13: As a person's level of Self-enhancement (personal values related to power and achievement) increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism decreases.

Recent studies indicate that the variables that predict online political participation and political consumerism are mostly similar. This body of literature argues that political consumerism is similar to other forms of online political participation because it requires same resources and value orientations. Digital media use is also considered one of the key predictors of the online political participation.

Researches on online political participation and political consumerism have also contributed to our understanding of positive effects of online political activities on politically motivated consumer behavior. (Dalton, 2008; Inglehart, 1997; Zukin et al., 2006). In conclusion, as a mediating variable, online political participation will have positive relationship with the digital media use, specific value orientations, age,

education and engagement in political consumerism. So, hypotheses regarding the online and offline political participation can be formed as:

Hypothesis 14: As a person's online political participation increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism increases.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, main research questions that are aimed to be answered within the objectives of this study and details about the development of the measurement instrument and sampling and data collection procedures are discussed in detail.

#### 4.1 Research objectives and research questions

Today, politically motivated consumption is becoming more and more widespread. However, most of work on political consumerism has been done by European and American social scientists within a handful of Western Societies. Despite its historical and contemporary significance, political consumption has been ignored or attracted very little scholarly interest in Turkey. Given that there is a lack of both empirical and theoretical literature studying and conceptualizing the political consumption behavior of Turkish consumers, this study formulates the following objectives;

- a) To explore demographic profile of the political consumers in turkey,
- b) To explore motivations of the political consumers in turkey,
- c) To investigate the link between value orientations and political consumer behavior,
- d) To analyze the effects of political interests, trust in institutions and voting participation on boycott and buycott movements;
- e) To understand the impact of digital media technologies on political consumer behavior,

f) To investigate whether there is a relation between online and offline political participation and political consumption.

In line with these objectives this study aims to propose a model that will act as a framework for understanding political consumer profile in Turkey and to provide a deeper understanding of political consumer behavior for marketers. To achieve the objectives, the following research questions have been formulated:

Research Question 1: Who are political consumers?

In the study of political consumer behavior, first and foremost question should address the micro- predictors of political consumerism. Who are political consumers? What are their values? What is their socio-demographic background? Indicators for conventional political participation are related to socioeconomic resources and gender, usually showing a gender gap in various participation acts (Micheletti & Stolle 2005). In order to answer this question, details of characteristics of political consumers including gender, education, age, income level, and their political interest, trust level in institutions and voting choice will be investigated.

Research Question 2: Why do individuals engage in political consumption?

Exploring the value orientations and motivations of political consumers is another area that should be stressed. Regarding values, a general hypothesis in the related literature is that the shift toward post- materialist values motivates political consumerism. Understanding why individuals engage in political consumption, this study will explore the relation between four types of value orientations (openness to change vs conservation, self-transcendence vs self-enhancement) and political consumerism.

Research Question 3: Is there any relation between the digital media use and participation for political consumerism?

There is much to do to understand the deeper connections among communication, consumption, and citizenship (Shah et al., 2007). Individuals become more informed about their choices thanks the opportunities created by the internet. The information can be circulated through individuals and companies to consumers via new media mediums such as company websites, blogs and social media accounts (Kelm & Dohle, 2018). Social media has created a participatory culture and digital communities by giving individuals chance to create information and share it with other people as van Dijck (2009) observed. This question aims to examine the link between the media use and participation to political consumerism.

Research Question 4: Is there any relation between the digital media use and political consumerism?

Political consumption is one of the most frequently mentioned rising forms of political participation and thus invites academic interest (Beck, 1997; Giddens, 1991). Scholars propose that political consumption is not only a use of ‘moral and political power’ in the society, but also a connection between consuming behavior and institutional policy implementation (Stolle et al., 2005).

Although there is no consensus whether online or offline political participation should only increase the likelihood of engaging in political consumerism; some studies characterize the level of online political participation as a predictor for probability of engaging in boycotts and buycotts. Considering the fragmented literature on this topic, and similarities of the key predictors of these activities this study aims to answer the question:

Research Question 5: Is there any relation between the online political participation and political consumerism?

#### 4.2 Selection of measurement scales

Frequently employed and cross-culturally tested scales in political consumption literature were used in the study.

##### 4.2.1 Dependent variable

There are two forms of political consumerism. First one, buycott, is defined as purchasing of products for particular political, environmental, social or ethical purposes. On the contrary, second one, boycott, is defined as conscious avoidance from purchasing a particular product for the same reasons. Studies in the literature suggest that boycotting and buycotting should be collapsed as a single dependent variable (Stolle et al., 2005; Shah et al., 2007). Studies also show that these two forms of political consumerism show a fairly strong relationship and have comparable frequency (Stolle & Micheletti, 2013; Newman & Bartels, 2011; Stromsnes, 2009). Accordingly, political participation was measured by asking participants the single question: Have you decided to purchase or not to purchase a certain product or brand for political, ethical or environmental reasons in recent years?

The measure of political consumerism, then, is a dichotomous variable coded “1” if the respondent had engaged the political consumerism, and “0” if they had not engaged.

#### 4.2.2 Independent variables

Individual-level demographic variables included in the study are the gender, age, income and education. Gender measured as a dichotomous variable with “female” coded as 0 and “male” coded as 1; respondent’s highest level of education completed measured using a six-category ordinal scale ranging from primary school to post-graduate degree; income is measured as a variable with 5 values from ‘less than 1,000 TL to ‘more than 5,000 TL (0-1,000/1,001-2,000/2,001-3,000/3,001-4,000/4,001-5,000/5,000+); and finally age was coded into 5 groups ( 18-24, 25- 34, 35-44, 45-54, 54+ ).

A four-item self-rating measure of Involvement in Politics scale adopted from O’cass (2002) and Aygören (2013) was used. The scale was measured with five-point Likert scales (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree).

For the measurement of voting participation participants were asked to select the choice that suits them most. This variable is coded as 1 and 0, representing ‘I vote in every elections’ and ‘I do not vote in every elections’ respectively due to the frequency of items. (N for 1=263, N for rest=97)

A five-item scale adopted from Seyd (2016) was used to measure trust in institutions. Participants were asked to answer the question: ‘In what degree do you agree with the expressions below?’ It was an index of five-point Likert scale. (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)

Over the years, a number of different basic (value) dimensions of cultural variation have been proposed. A well- known and well-researched set of value dimensions is that of psychologist Shalom Schwartz (1992) who identified 10 basic human values at the individual level,

Schwartz (1992) developed and validated a model of 10 basic, individual values that form two conceptual dimensions. One dimension opposes openness to change to conservation. The second dimension opposes self-enhancement to self-transcendence.

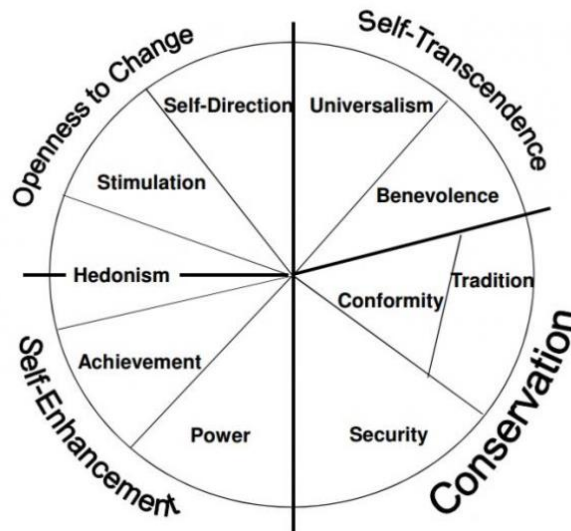


Figure 2. Theoretical model of relations among ten motivational types of value

In its original version, the Schwartz Value Survey consists of 57 items. In this study 21 items were used that showed stable positions across cultures (Schwartz, 1992). Respondents were asked to say how much each statement sounded like their view. It was measured by an index of five-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree).

Regarding Internet/Digital media use variable, for each of the three skill areas in the framework, I used, adapted and derived items from previous research by van van Deursen and van Dijk (2010), Helsper and Eynon (2013), Sonck, Livingstone, Kuiper and De Haan (2011), and Macheroni and Olafsson (2014). Each item is scored on a five point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree).

#### 4.2.3 Mediating variables

Sum scales of different political activities were used (Gerber, et al., 2011; Vecchione & Caprara, 2009, Micheletti et al. 2005) both for offline political engagement online political engagement, inspired from scales constructed for previous surveys on offline and online political participation (Gibson, Lusoli, & Ward, 2005). Political participation was measured by asking participants the following question: “Have you done any of the following in the last years?” The respondents indicated whether they had engaged in a number of specific activities ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ during the last years. Online and Offline Political Participation variables were first coded as sum scales varying from 0 to 6. However, due to the frequency of statements of Online and Offline Political Participation, these variables are coded as 0, 1 and 2, representing ‘no participation’, ‘participation to one statement only’, ‘participation to more than one statement’ respectively. Frequency of the items for Online Political Participation is 131 for 0, 93 for 1 and 136 for 2 and above. Frequency of the items for Offline Political Participation is 142 for 0, 100 for 1 and 118 for 2 and above.

#### 4.3 Sampling and data collection

Main research method and characteristics of the sample as well as details regarding the survey implementation are discussed in detail in the following parts.

##### 4.3.1 Research method

Relevant literature suggests that political consumerism should be regarded as a multidimensional action involving both attitudinal and behavioral elements. The most used research methods have been survey and case study in the studies of

political consumption. Survey technique was chosen in this study as a research method for several reasons. First; it makes it possible to collect data from a large number of people and obtain general results representing a large population (Rowley, 2014). Secondly, no geographical boundaries are faced when using an online survey, as well as the cost is relatively. Online survey is much more advantageous in terms of time consumption, cost and difficulty of collecting and analyzing the data comparing other research methods used to study consumer behavior (Bryman, 2012).

Anonymity for the participants is also an important factor of survey in political studies other than its other benefits such as its ease of implication, analyze and interpretation (Rowley, 2014). Variables that were modelled to have effects on political consumption such as political trust, voting participation or values are measures when participants answer more accurately under anonymity.

Considering the evaluations and findings above, this study conducted a questionnaire that measures the acts of political consumerism and other forms of political participation.

#### 4.3.2 Data collection

The survey had 13 constraints containing measure of all demographic level characteristics. Final version of survey was administered online on SurveyMonkey and conducted between 11 December 2017 and 9 January 2018. The questionnaire was completed by 360 Turkish citizens. The overall response rate of the survey is 69.8 per cent. The questionnaire is presented as a whole in Appendix B. Demographic characteristics of the sample are represented in the following tables.

In the sample, 60 per cent of the participants were women. As shown Table 1, the age groups twenty-five to thirty-four are over represented and over fifty-five are underrepresented.

Table 1. Gender Frequency of the Sample

Gender				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Woman	216	60.0	60.0	60.0
Man	144	40.0	40.0	100.0
Total	360	100.0	100.0	

Age of the participants were divided into 5 categories, however, because of the frequency of 45-54 and 55+, these two items were combines in the further analysis as shown in Table 2 and 3.

Table 2. Age Frequency of the Sample

Age				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-24	59	16.4	16.4	16.4
25-34	178	49.4	49.4	65.8
35-44	77	21.4	21.4	87.2
45-54	27	7.5	7.5	94.7
+55	19	5.3	5.3	100.0
Total	360	100.0	100.0	

Table 3. Recoded Age Frequency of the Sample

Age				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-24	59	16.4	16.4	16.4
25-34	178	49.4	49.4	65.8
35-44	77	21.4	21.4	87.2
45+	46	12.8	12.8	100.0
Total	360	100.0	100.0	

Because of the frequency of the education levels lower than undergraduate degree, these 4 items, namely Primary School, Secondary School, High School and Associate Degree, are combined for further analysis as shown in Table 4 and 5.

Table 4. Education Level Frequency of the Sample

	Education			Cumulative Percent
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	
Primary School	5	1.4	1.4	1.4
Secondary School	6	1.7	1.7	3.1
High School	31	8.6	8.6	11.7
Associate Degree	27	7.5	7.5	19.2
Undergraduate Degree	194	53.9	53.9	73.1
Graduate Degree	97	26.9	26.9	100.0
Total	360	100.0	100.0	

Table 5. Recoded Education Level Frequency of the Sample

	Education			Cumulative Percent
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	
Lower than Undergraduate	69	19.2	19.2	19.2
Undergraduate Degree	194	53.9	53.9	73.1
Graduate Degree	97	26.9	26.9	100.0
Total	360	100.0	100.0	

In survey instrument, each respondent was asked to report his or her highest level of education completed. Generally, the large proportion of the sample has undergraduate or graduate degree (53.9 per cent and 26.9 per cent respectively).

Table 6 presents that while income level over 5,000 TL dominates the sample, there is a balanced distribution across other income figures. In fact, the demographics are compared to Turkish Statistics Institute (TUIK) data to see the data does not fit well with the population especially in terms of the income figures and education level.

Table 6. Income Level Frequency of the Sample

	Income			Cumulative Percent
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	
1,000 TL or less	44	12.2	12.2	12.2
1,001-2,000TL	44	12.2	12.2	24.4
2,001-3,000TL	74	20.6	20.6	45.0
3,001-4,000TL	49	13.6	13.6	58.6
4,001-5,000TL	48	13.3	13.3	71.9
5,001 TL and more	101	28.1	28.1	100.0
Total	360	100.0	100.0	

This chapter presented the selection of the measurement setting, sampling, and data collection. A summary of the demographic characteristics is shown in Table 7. The following chapter starts with empirical findings with respect to the measurement properties of the scales used in the study and the valence and strength of the structural relationships inherent in the proposed political consumption model.

**Table 7. Sample Demographic Characteristics**

Characteristics	Frequency	Percent
Gender (n=360)		
Woman	216	60.0
Man	144	40.0
Age (n=360)		
18-24	59	16.4
25-34	178	49.4
35-44	77	21.4
45+	46	12.8
Education (n=360)		
Lower than Undergraduate Degree	69	19.2
Undergraduate Degree	194	53.9
Graduate Degree	97	26.9
Income (n=360)		
1,000 TL or less	44	12.2
1,001-2,000TL	44	12.2
2,001-3,000TL	74	20.6
3,001-4,000TL	49	13.6
4,001-5,000TL	48	13.3
5,001 TL and more	101	28.1

## CHAPTER 5

### DATA ANALYSES AND FINDINGS

In order to perform multivariate analyses, data should be investigated for the accuracy of the relationships among variables (Hair et al., 2010). Therefore, before the other statistical analyses; data screening which includes existence of missing values, normality and linearity was performed. Following that, exploratory factor analyses and reliability tests are conducted for measure purification. Finally, results of hypotheses tests are provided. SPSS is used for all statistical analysis.

#### 5.1 Data screening

Data screening includes examination of the data in terms of missing values and its statistical characteristics such as normality and multicollinearity.

##### 5.1.1 Missing data

Missing data is a wide-ranging term for the absence of expected data from a recorded sample, which may occur for many reasons and in many ways. Missing values, caused by participants not answering questions, may lead a shrinkage in data set, weakening of the predictions and bias (Rubin, 1987). In order not to experience missing data problem, the questions in the survey was made mandatory to answer. This precaution may lead a decrease in responding rate, and may cause some systematic differences among participants and bias results. However, acceptable level of overall responding rate of the survey eliminates these concerns.

### 5.1.2 Normality

An assessment of the normality of data is a prerequisite for multivariate data analysis since all statistical significance is based on the normality distribution. To test normality, Skewness and Kurtosis values were. Skewness and Kurtosis tests show that data shows a non-normality condition. However, the condition of non-normality can be seen in other studies in relevant literature.

### 5.1.3 Multicollinearity

Collinearity is a linear association between two explanatory (predictor) variables. More commonly, the issue of multicollinearity arises when there is an approximate linear relationship among two or more independent variables. In order to check multicollinearity, Tolerance and Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) is used as the statistical measure. A VIF above five indicates high correlation that may be problematic. VIF values of all independent variables obtained after regression analysis' being between 1 and 2 show that there is not multicollinearity between variables.

## 5.2 Measure purification

Explanatory Factor Analysis (EFA) and reliability tests are must for measure purification. The objectives of this analysis are to ensure that dimensions of items of variables are as expected, and to eliminate the items damaging the reliability of a variable.

Unidimensionality is the situation where all items of a variable load on a single factor. Dimensionality, on the other hand, requires items loading on several factors. The conditions of unidimensionality and dimensionality are evaluated via EFA and

new variables are transformed by eliminating items if necessary. Thus, variables' reliability increases and consequently analyses in the study become clearer. Thanks to EFA, factor loadings of original items of a variable are analyzed in order to check whether the condition of original variable is valid for the data set of a given study.

Reliabilities of variables were measured by Cronbach's alpha. It measures the internal consistency of a variable. Cronbach's alpha is calculated via average correlation between items. Scores higher than 0.70 are considered as high consistency (Churchill, 1979).

Principal Component Analysis of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) with Varimax rotation were used in this study. Items that have high cross-loadings across multiple dimensions (Comrey, 1973) and items that have low factor loadings are removed from further analysis in the scales.

Items of political participation were analyzed by Principal Component Analysis with Varimax rotation. There were three factors on which items loaded, although two factors were expected, Online and Offline Political Participation. Item loading on third factor were removed and the rest was analyzed again. After another removal of an item loading two factors almost equally, two independent variables were transformed for further analysis; Online and Offline Political Participation. Final item loadings and Cronbach's Alpha of variables are given in Table 8.

Although factor loadings of each variable and Cronbach's alpha for Online Political Participation are satisfactory, Cronbach's alpha for Offline Political Participation is 0.634 and below the threshold.

Table 8. EFA Results for Online Political Participation

	Factor Loadings		Cronbach's Alpha
	1	2	
<i>Online Political Participation</i>			0.74
Discussed societal or political questions with friends on the internet	0.732		
Taken part in an Internet based protest	0.719		
Signed an online petition about social, cultural, political, or economic issues	0.719		
Use social media applications to express your political views	0.637		
Joined a group that has worked to address social or political issues	0.564		
<i>Offline Political Participation</i>			0.634
Attended a show, political meeting or cultural event with political content		0.784	
Took part in a legal march or protest		0.698	
Tried to convince friends or relatives to vote for a candidate or party		0.546	
Joined a group that has worked to address social or political issues		0.534	
Deliberately wearing a patch, sticker, button or T-shirt for a political or social cause		0.506	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser

Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Items of political characteristics, namely trust in institutions and political interest, were expected to load on two factors with high Cronbach's alpha values. As expected, results verified their reliability dimensions. Explanatory factor analysis and Cronbach's alpha values are shown in Table 9.

Initial EFA showed that items regarding digital media use loaded on four factors. Items loading on different factor than the group and items loading on several factors at the same time were removed. After these removals, three variables were to be extracted; Communicational Digital Engagement, New Media Literacy and Technical Digital Abilities. Final table regarding factor loadings and Cronbach's alpha for variables is given in Table 10.

Table 9. EFA Results for Political Characteristics

	Factor Loadings		Cronbach's Alpha
	1	2	
<i>Trust in Institutions</i>			0.79
An honest man cannot get elected to High Office		0.660	
Elected officials don't tell us what they really think.		0.790	
Politicians tend to look after their own interests rather than trying to help others		0.817	
Politicians are happy to promise things at an election but forget their promises afterwards.		0.797	
Governments (do not) treat each group within society equally		0.617	
<i>Political Interest</i>			0.904
I am involved in politics	0.856		
Politics mean a lot to me	0.910		
Politics is important to me	0.912		
Politics is part of my life	0.844		

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.  
 Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.  
 a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Table 10. EFA Results for Digital Media Use

	Factor Loadings			Cronbach's Alpha
	1	2	3	
<i>Communicational Engagement</i>				0.817
I would feel confident writing and commenting online	0.885			
I am confident about writing a comment on a blog, website or forum	0.834			
I would feel confident putting video content I have created online	0.806			
<i>New Media Literacy</i>				0.684
I carefully consider the information I find online		0.808		
I generally compare different websites to decide if information is true		0.773		
I feel confident in my evaluation of whether a website can be trusted		0.617		
I know how to change who I share content with		0.580		
<i>Technical Abilities</i>				0.783
I know how to design a website			0.869	
I know which different types of licenses apply to online content			0.831	
I know how to create something new from existing online images, music or video			0.679	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.  
 Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.  
 a. Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

Schwartz value is divided into four dimensions in the proposed model of this study. However, despite expecting four factors that items load, initial EFA showed

six factors. Thus, items loading on different factors and items loading on several factors equally were removed.

After removals, ‘Self Enhancement’ and ‘Self Transcendence’ consist of three items, while ‘Conservatism’ and ‘Openness to Change’ includes two items each.

Final factor loadings and Cronbach’s Alpha for variables are given in Table 11.

Table 11: EFA Results for Values

	Factor Loadings				Cronbach's Alpha
	1	2	3	4	
<i>Self enhancement</i>					<i>0.675</i>
It is important to her to show her abilities. She wants people to admire what she does.	0.816				
Being very successful is important to her. She hopes people will recognize her achievements.	0.789				
It is important to her to be rich. She wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.	0.699				
<i>Self-Transcendence</i>					<i>0.616</i>
She strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to her		0.786			
It is important to her to be loyal to her friends. She wants to devote herself to people close to her.		0.778			
It’s very important to her to help the people around her. She wants to care for their well-being.		0.648			<i>0.61</i>
<i>Conservatism</i>					
Tradition is important to her. She tries to follow the customs handed down by her religion or her family.			0.838		
It is important to her always to behave properly. She wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.			0.791		
<i>Openness to Change</i>					<i>0.514</i>
She likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. She thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.				0.793	
She looks for adventures and likes to take risks. She wants to have an exciting life.				0.772	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

### 5.3 Hypotheses testing

Regression analysis is used for testing the proposed relationships in the proposed model on political consumerism. More specific information regarding this dataset formation is presented throughout the text.

#### 5.3.1 Linear regression analysis

Research model proposes individuals' demographic characteristics (gender, age, income, education), political characteristics (political interest and trust in institutions), values (conservatism, openness to change, self-enhancement and self-transcendence) and digital media/internet use have effects on the boycott and buycott behavior and voting participation as well as offline and online political participation. Regression analysis' regarding the effect of these variables on political consumerism and detailed information of variables are presented in the following tables.

Beginning with the effects of demographic characteristics on political consumerism, the results presented in Table 12 shows that higher level of income increases the probability of engaging in political consumerism. Results also reveal that there is a statistically significant effect of gender on political consumerism, women engage in political consumption more than men. Although the proposed model suggested a relationship between the education level and age, Table 12 also shows that there is not a statistically significant result showing young people engage in political consumerism more than older. As a result, H1 and H2 are supported whereas H3 and H5 are rejected.

Table 12. Regression Analysis on the Hypothesized Relationships for All Political Consumerism Variables

	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)		1.187	0.236
Gender	-0.130	-2.595	0.010*
Income	0.145	2.496	0.013*
Age	-0.004	-0.067	0.947
Education	-0.052	-0.956	0.340
Trust in Institutions	0.038	0.704	0.482
Political Interest	0.123	2.274	0.024*
Self Enhancement	-0.010	-0.193	0.847
Openness to Change	0.024	0.446	0.656
Self-Transcendence	0.059	1.082	0.280
Conservatism	-0.212	-3.700	0.00*
Communicational Engagement	-0.090	-1.671	0.96**
New Media Literacy	0.043	0.724	0.470
Technical Abilities	0.052	0.877	0.381
Offline Political Participation	0.037	0.665	0.506
Online Political Participation	0.104	1.853	0.065**

a. Dependent Variable: Political Consumerism

R=.437 R Square=.191 Adjusted R Square=.156

N=360

Model p=0

\* p<0.05

\*\* p<0.10

Regarding the role of political characteristics on political consumerism, on the one hand, results show that coefficient for political interest is positive and significant. This result confirms the hypothesis on individuals with more political interest are more likely to engage in political consumerism. So, H7 is supported. On the other hand, results reveal that there is no statistically significant relation between the trust in institutions and political consumerism. So, H6 is rejected.

These results are consistent with the Civic Voluntarism Model, as well as other studies of political consumerism; people who are wealthier, and more interested in politics are significantly more likely to engage in political consumerism (Baek, 2010; Copeland, in press; Neilson, 2010; Neilson & Paxton, 2010; Newman & Bartels, 2011; Shah et al., 2007; Strømsnes, 2009; Verba et al., 1995). However, rejected hypotheses also shows that results of this study could not propose a significant effect

of age, education and political distrust on political consumerism despite the common findings in the literature.

With respect to personal values; the standardized coefficient beta for conservatism is negative and significant revealing that an increase in conservative values significantly decreases the probability of engaging in political consumerism. The findings support the hypothesis 11. Contrary to the expectations, self-enhancement, self-transcendence and openness to change do not have significant relationship with political consumerism. As a result, H11 is supported whereas H10, H12 and H13 are rejected.

Regarding other variables, communicational digital media use was found to have negative effect on political consumerism. Online political participation, as well, was found to be increasing the likelihood of political consumerism. Thus, H14 is accepted.

Lastly, the results show that digital media/internet use and offline political participation are not statistically significant determinants for predicting political consumerism. Accordingly, H9 is rejected.

Results of the regression analysis using voting participation as a mediator are not so different. Table 13 shows the regression analysis of participants who vote in every election, while Table 14 shows the regression analysis of participants who does not vote in every election.

While income, political interest and conservatism have meaningful effect on engagement in political consumption of participants who vote in every election, only conservatism has meaningful effect on political consumerism behavior of participants who do not vote in every election. When participants are divided into

two categories regarding their voting participation, gender loses its meaningful effect on political consumerism on both categories.

Table 13. Regression Analysis on the Hypothesized Relationships for All Political Consumerism Variables with Voting Participation=1

	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)		0.471	0.638
Gender	-0.104	-1.688	0.093**
Income	0.185	2.629	0.009*
Age	0.032	0.458	0.648
Education	-0.013	-0.205	0.838
Trust in Institutions	0.046	0.712	0.477
Political Interest	0.108	1.719	0.087**
Self Enhancement	0.026	0.411	0.681
Openness to Change	0.027	0.398	0.691
Self-Transcendence	0.061	0.891	0.374
Conservatism	-0.14	-2.029	0.044*
Communicational Engagement	-0.125	-1.877	0.062**
New Media Literacy	0.044	0.642	0.521
Technical Abilities	0.026	0.369	0.712
Offline Political Participation	0.048	0.731	0.465
Online Political Participation	0.068	0.991	0.323

a Dependent Variable: Political Consumerism

Voting Participation = 1 (I vote in every elections)

R=.378 R Square=.143 Adjusted R Square=.091

N=263

Model p=0.001

\* p<0.05

\*\* p<0.10

While age, gender, education, political interest, conservatism, communicational engagement and technical abilities have meaningful effect on online political participation as expected, on the contrary to expectations, predictors including trust in institutions, new media literacy and personal values excluding conservatism were not supported to show an effect on online political participation as shown in Table 15. As a result H4 and H8 are accepted.

All the hypotheses and their status are presented in Table 16.

Table 14. Regression Analysis on the Hypothesized Relationships for All Political Consumerism Variables with Voting Participation=0

	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)		1.591	0.116
Gender	-0.201	-2.116	0.037*
Income	0.052	0.483	0.630
Age	-0.160	-1.447	0.152
Education	-0.222	-1.961	0.053**
Trust in Institutions	-0.033	-0.310	0.757
Political Interest	0.069	0.533	0.595
Self Enhancement	-0.084	-0.864	0.390
Openness to Change	0.052	0.490	0.626
Self-Transcendence	0.136	1.419	0.160
Conservatism	-0.427	-3.640	0.00*
Communicational Engagement	-0.058	-0.570	0.571
New Media Literacy	0.004	0.033	0.974
Technical Abilities	0.096	0.832	0.408
Offline Political Participation	0.082	0.653	0.515
Online Political Participation	0.156	1.440	0.154

a Dependent Variable: Political Consumerism

Voting Participation = 0 (I do not vote in every elections)

R=.612 R Square=.374 Adjusted R Square=.258

N=97

Model p=0

\* p<0.05

\*\* p<0.10

Table 15. Effects of Individual Variables on Online Political Participation

	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)		-1.914	0.056
Gender	-0.099	-2.041	0.042*
Income	0.076	1.352	0.177
Age	0.126	2.287	0.023*
Education	0.088	1.690	0.092**
Trust in Institutions	0.070	1.350	0.178
Political Interest	0.249	5.150	0.00*
Self Enhancement	-0.010	-0.201	0.841
Openness to Change	0.059	1.112	0.267
Self-Transcendence	0.039	0.734	0.464
Conservatism	-0.223	-4.150	0.00*
Communicational Engagement	0.127	2.455	0.015*
New Media Literacy	0.087	1.530	0.127
Technical Abilities	-0.097	-1.710	0.088**

a. Dependent Variable: Online Political Participation

R=.483 R Square=.233 Adjusted R Square=.204

N=360

Model p=0

\* p<0.05

\*\* p<0.10

These findings' differentiation from the literature may be caused by Turkey's political and social internet dynamics, and also be evaluated further in the discussion part.

Table 16. Overall Results of Hypotheses

Hypotheses	Result
<b>H1:</b> Higher income level increases the likelihood of engaging in political consumerism.	Accepted
<b>H2:</b> Women are more likely than men to engage in political consumerism.	Accepted
<b>H3:</b> Younger people are more likely to display politically motivated consumption behavior rather than older ones.	Rejected
<b>H4:</b> Younger Internet users are more likely to engage in online political participation rather than an older one.	Accepted
<b>H5:</b> More educated individuals are more likely to engage in political consumerism than less educated ones.	Rejected
<b>H6:</b> As the level of political trust decreases, the likelihood of engaging in political consumerism increases.	Rejected
<b>H7:</b> As political interest increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism increases.	Accepted
<b>H8:</b> There will be a direct relationship between the communicational digital media and online political participation.	Accepted
<b>H9:</b> The greater degree of digital media use, the more engagement to political consumption occurs.	Rejected
<b>H10:</b> As a person's level of Openness to change (personal values related to stimulation, self-direction, and hedonism) increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism increases.	Rejected
<b>H11:</b> As a person's level of Conservation (personal values related to respect for tradition, conformity, and security) increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism decreases.	Accepted
<b>H12:</b> As a person's level of Self-transcendence (broken down into personal values related to universalism and benevolence) increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism increases.	Rejected
<b>H13:</b> As a person's level of Self-enhancement (personal values related to power and achievement) increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism decreases.	Rejected
<b>H14:</b> As a person's online political participation increases, likelihood of engaging in political consumerism increases.	Accepted

#### 5.4 Keyword analysis

As it was stated in the beginning of the study: Three conditions have to be taken into account in any meaningful analysis of ‘political consumerism’: behavior, motivation, and frequency (Stolle & Hooghe 2003).

Results of the survey show the motivations of political consumerism and explain the individual-level determinants of political consumerism, as well as reveal the specific motivations of participants in their boycott decisions and specific events triggering these decisions thanks to open ended questions. The first 10 most boycotted companies/brands are shown in the Table 17. Interestingly, 9 of these 10 brands are local and dominant motivation of the boycott is political reasons.

Table 17. Boycotted Brands and Companies with Dominant Motivation and Rationale

BRAND/COMPANY	NUMBER OF PEOPLE	RATIONALE	Dominant motivation
Pınar (Dairy products)	97	Speeches of Chairman of the Board of Yaşar Holding after Referendum	Political
MADO (restaurant chains)	34	Attitude of Mado branches during Gezi Park protests	Political
Ülker	32	Being close to the government	Political
EFES	21	Speech about people who produce their own beer at home	Political / Ethical
COCO-COLA	16	Being an Israeli product, being harmful	Political / Health / Ethical
KIZILKAYALAR	11	It's attitude during Gezi Protests	Political
SÜTAŞ	10	Its reaction against workers' protests	Ethical / Workers' rights
TURKCELL	8	Being sponsor to Ensar Foundation	Political / Ethical
TORKU	8	Being funded by ‘green capital’, being close to government	Political
YÖRSAN	5	Workers' rights	Workers' rights

When the answers of the participants explaining the rationale of their boycott were analyzed, it can be seen that these boycotts are done via internal motivations and long term boycotts rather than an organized boycott. Boycotts against Pınar,

Mado, Ülker and Turkcell are generally done together. Statements of some participants on their boycott decisions are below;

“I haven’t purchased any Pınar product after Referendum. I haven’t bought Ülker product since 2002”

“I try not to use Ülker products for years. I haven’t bought any Pınar product after the statement of its president during referendum. And I boycott Sütaş for their attitude towards its workers.

“I did not make any purchase from Kızılkayalar after Gezi protest. I changed my service provider after Ensar foundation incident, and boycotted Turkcell.”

While people who boycott Pınar, Mado, Turkcell, Kızılkayalar and Sütaş show solid examples and reasons for their actions, some companies or brands face boycotts independent from a particular incident or consumer experience, but because of their perception or being close to government. Ülker and Torku are among these companies.

“I prefer not buying any brand close to the government.”

“I prefer companies who are close to my opinions and ideas.”

“I boycott companies stating their political view publicly making benefit of it.”

Despite not being asked, consumers boycotting Pınar, Mado, Ülker and etc. stated that they will keep boycotting these companies and internalized their boycott. For example, a participant stated his attitude towards the company as following;

“I would rather die than buying Pınar products.”

Another participant explained his internalization and automation of the boycott decisions as;

“Bağdat Baharat, Sütaş, Mado, Kızılkayalar are among the first companies that come to my mind. I prefer their substitutes. Some brands and companies are marked

for me after Gezi protests. Bağdat Baharat is marked for their disrespectful behavior in their recruitment process. Some brands are marked as “do not buy” in my mind, and during my shopping I do not choose these brands. Sometimes I wonder why it is in that way, and I do some research and find out that they somehow took part in a disgraceful incident. And I realize that even though that particular incident is forgotten, it somehow placed in my subconscious.”

6 of 16 participants who stated they boycott Coca Cola products state that they do not buy Coca Cola because it is Israeli product. The most common reasons of boycott for Coca Cola is respectively political (10), health issues (9), ethical reasons (7). Interestingly, only 1 and 4 people stated that they boycott Coca Cola for minority rights and religious reasons respectively.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

#### 6.1 Conclusion

Democracy promises so much yet it delivers so little in terms of the empowerment of citizens. Voting is the most important tool of democracy but it is far from being effective. So, individuals engage in political consumerism which is referred as intentional use of consumer choice over products and producers in the market with the objective to express policy preferences and achieve political objectives.

Consumerism has taken various forms and in its extreme cases it leads to identification or disidentification of individuals with certain brands, companies and products. As a way to demonstrate support or protest, consumers buy a specific brand (boycott) or reject buying a specific brand (boycott).

The actions of boycott and buycott, starting in 1970s in the West and becoming more commonplace nowadays, have spread among Turkish consumers thanks to penetration of social media and information communication technologies. Because political consumption is a reflection of consumer empowerment, civic engagement and political expression, finding out motivations and predictors of political consumerism is a crucial step in order to understand political consumerism and political behavior more generally.

## 6.2 Discussion

Political consumerism refers to the intentional use of consumer choice over products and producers in the market based on ethical, social, ideological, political or environmental motivations with the goal of changing objectionable institutional or market practices, to express policy preferences or just to punish companies which have irresponsible practices (Boström et al., 2005; Baek, 2010; Neilson & Paxton, 2010; Newman & Bartels, 2011).

Through its two mechanisms; namely the boycott and buycott, political consumerism has recently gained increased attention both in the media and within research on collective action.

This popularity reflects consumers' transition from being a passive buyer to being an active buyer and their increasing empowerment in the marketplace. Rising living standards and societal changes after World War II, and historical social shift from materialist to post materialist values and personal values, and diffusion of Internet and development in new media technologies enabled political consumerism to be evaluated as a new form of political participation.

On the grounds of these facts, this study is performed in order to shed a light in understanding political consumerism, political participation and their antecedents in Turkey.

By identifying two sets of key individual-level variables, namely; demographic characteristics and political characteristics, a more refined profile of political consumers in Turkey is tried to be generated. Mediator variables include online and offline political participation. Moderating variable is the voting participation. Lastly, main dependent variable of the model is political consumerism which consists of boycotting and buycotting behavior.

Overall, the results offer support for the conceptual model that identify gender and income level are of critical importance for developing political consumer behavior. However, the results of the study could not propose a significant effect of age and education on political consumerism contrary to the common findings in the literature which identified both of them as important predictors for engaging boycott and boycott actions. This can be attributed to the fact that digital media use do not vary significantly between age groups and difficulty of affording the costs of political consumerism by younger people. Moreover, it can be argued that measures of this contributes to the literature that digital media use measures are not necessarily inherited and thus not required to be exogenous to the analysis.

In terms of political characteristics, the results indicate that the high level of political interest increases the likelihood of engaging in political consumerism. This finding is also consistent with the recent studies in political consumerism stressing the role of political interest for consumer boycotts and buycotts ((Baek, 2010; Copeland, 2013; Forno & Ceccarini, 2006; Newman & Bartels, 2011; Strømsnes, 2009; Neilson & Paxton, 2010).

Contrary to expectations, it is interesting to find that political distrust for institutions could not be verified to be among the predictors of political consumerism. However, this result might be due to the fact that political interest in Turkey, especially conventional political participation such as voting, is much higher than Wester societies in which both political interest and trust in institutions are among the significant determinant of political consumerism.

In similar way, offline political participation was observed to have no effect on political consumerism in the proposed model stating that both political consumers and other consumers engage in politics with conventional and offline political

participation methods. This can be attributed to (again) conventional political participation rate, especially traditional elections, is much higher in Turkey than in West.

However, it is noteworthy to point that when political characteristics –political interest and political distrust –, as independent variables, and political consumerism, as dependent variable, is analyzed, regression analysis' results showed that there is statistically a cause and effect relation between political distrust and political consumerism. This is an important finding showing that when individual level independent variables of the proposed model is analyzed separately, their result vary, while when analyzed together, they did not explain the model as expected.

Expectation of the hybrid character of political consumerism led the study to explore the role of Internet and digital media use in the communication practices associated with political consumerism. Communicational digital media use is justified to have a significant positive effect on political consumerism, which is consistent with a new thread in the literature about the relationship of digital media to participation and engagement with boycott and buycott actions (Cho et al., 2009; Shah et al., 2007; Xenos & Moy, 2007; Gotlieb & Cheeme, 2017; Kelm & Dohle, 2018). By itself, this finding suggests that something people do online is associated with political consumerism, but it does not say what that something is. New media literacy and technical abilities regarding the digital media use, on the other hand, were not justified to have statistically significant effect on the engagement on political consumerism.

Moreover, the study reveals that communicational digital media is positively associated with the online political participation. This implies that political consumerism has a networked character and people's use of the digital media with

the purpose of getting, sharing, discussing cultural, social and political matters is the chief reason for the linkage between the political consumerism and digital media use. Substantively, this result is also consistent with the classification of political consumerism as a form of pro-civic action that is subject to sharing, peer commentary, and social influence through online social networks (Gil de Zúñiga et al, 2014).

One of the most interesting finding of the study which is not parallel with the literature is regarding the effect of personal values on political consumerism. Ambition to explain political consumerism from the dimension of changing personal values has been one of the fundamental concerns of literature regarding political consumerism. As political consumerism is an example of how peoples' political practices have changed over time, this study theorizes that post materialist values, namely; openness to change and self-transcendence as among the key predictors of political consumerism increasing the likelihood of it. However, results showed that people who can be described as conservative engage in political consumerism less as expected, the two post materialist values did not propose a meaningful cause and effect relation with political consumerism. Two reasons for that unlikely result can be proposed. First, considering the literature proposing the birth of these post materialist values was a result of societal change after Industrial Revolution, and societal challenges after World War II, there may be some difficulties while using these values to categorize Turkish people. Secondly, post materialist values are generally associated with young people. However, hypothesis regarding young people engage in political consumption more than old people were not accepted. Thus, the results strongly emphasize that the idea of some scholars implying values

effecting political consumerism are totally constructs and standardized measure of cross-cultural studies may be insufficient in measuring these values.

More importantly, the study demonstrates that online political participation mediates the relationship between the individual level demographic and political characteristics and political consumerism. This is an important implication for both understanding the profile of the political consumers in Turkey and the recent trend on the rise of politically motivated consumer behavior in the Turkish market. This is also consistent with the recent studies on consumer behavior stressing the increasing role of online social networks and citizen communication mediation model as well as civic participation model used by scholars in the political consumer studies (Shah et al., 2005).

Finally, key words analysis obtained from the answers to the detailed and open-ended question about the boycott or buycott activity regarding what the product or brand was, when it was and how it was done; reveals that boycotts in Turkey are mostly expressive boycotts and closely related to politics. These boycotts are also classified as punitive boycotts because of the people's motives. Since two forms of political consumerism show a fairly strong relationship and have comparable frequency, political participation was measured by asking participants the single question without theorizing or exploring potential differences between these in depth in similar prominent studies in the area of study (Stolle & Micheletti, 2013; Newman & Bartels, 2011; Stromsnes, 2009). When the answers to the open-ended question is analyzed, it was noticed that answers mostly intensified on 'boycott.' The number of participants stating committing buycotting was only three. This can be attributed to the fact that buycotting may be costly despite reflecting consumer's voice in a very visible way (Neilson, 2010). Thus, buycott is not very often as boycott.

### 6.3 Implications for practice

Several implications may be conducted from the analyses of the study. First of all, the relationship between consumers and companies today are not only based on the quality or price of the products and services of the companies, but also on a set of expectations of how the companies should act, treat to its workers, represent itself etc. If a company fails to meet these expectations, consumers reconsider that relationship. Findings of the study support this trend revealing that political consumers engage in boycotts and boycotts because they are frustrated with the companies close relations with the government and their involvement of the important social or political events with their statements or practices. In addition, when the motivations of the boycotts against most boycotted brand and companies are analyzed, it can be seen that boycotts in Turkey, having been motivated by ethnocentric and national emotions in the past, have started to evolve to a different path after increasing social polarization and increasing public interest on relationship between government and capital owners. Therefore, companies should avoid statements polarizing the society, partisan behaviors in the case of political and social tensions and labelling themselves ideologically.

More importantly, considering the fact that consumers can easily share their unfavorable experiences with the companies and launch calls to boycott via online forums and chat rooms, brand communities, buzz marketing, blogs and interactive web concepts companies should develop proactive mechanism for online crisis management.

Lastly, since boycotts are actions in which many players are involved (political activists, consumers, society, the media), managers should respect the concerns of the various stakeholders.

#### 6.4 Limitations and implications for further research

The study presents a model that acts as a framework for understanding political consumer profile in Turkey with the focus on political participation and their antecedents. Thus, further studies are necessary in order to support the causal relationships shown.

The review of the literature led to conclude that the absence of precise measures of individual and collective orientations toward political consumerism are significant lacunas should be addressed. Thus, future research should consider incorporating theories of changing values, identities and citizenship norms with the aim of develop more precise measures that will be handfull in Turkish society.

In addition, information and communication technologies continue to evolve and ease boycott organization and corporate information distribution. Future research can investigate the role of microblogging sites and other online communities. By continuing to investigate political consumerism through the digital platforms, we can learn more about ways in which social actors engage with the marketplace, and with each other, to affect social change.

Same study should be conducted with larger population to validate relationships shown in this study and can also be replicated in another country to compare the results.

APPENDIX A

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

1- Have you preferred to buy or not to buy a particular product or brand with political, ethical or environmental reasons in recent years?

Yes	
No	

2- If your answer is yes to Q1,

3- Please choose reason (s) that affected your purchasing decision.

Political Values	
Ethical Values	
Environmental Concerns	
Religious Concerns	
Health Concerns	
Minority Rights	
Company's Attitude Towards Its Workers	
Experiments on Animals / Animal Rights	
Other (Please specify)	

4- Have you done any of the following recently?

Signed a petition	
Attended a show, political meeting or cultural event with political content	
Deliberately wearing a patch, sticker, button or T-shirt for a political or social cause	
Took part in a legal march or protest	
Tried to convince friends or relatives to vote for a candidate or party	
Joined a group that has worked to address social or political issues	
Signed an online petition about social, cultural, political, or economic issues	
Taken part in an Internet based protest	

Discussed societal or political questions with friends on the internet	
Use social media applications to express your political views	
Connected to an online group that are involved in political or social issues	
Linked news to my friends with a political content	

5- In what degree do you agree with the expressions below?

Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
1				5

An honest man cannot get elected to high Office.	
Elected officials don't tell us what they really think.	
Politicians tend to look after their own interests rather than trying to help others	
Politicians are happy to promise things at an election but forget their promises afterwards	
Governments treat each group within society equally	

6- In what degree do you agree with the expressions below?

Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
1				5

I can use the Internet to find information I need.	
I can use the Internet to find and download applications (apps) that are useful to me.	
If a technical problem occurs while I am using the Internet, I usually know how to fix the problem	
Sometimes I find it hard to verify information I have retrieved	

I feel confident in my evaluation of whether a website can be trusted	
I generally compare different websites to decide if information is true	
I carefully consider the information I find online	
I find it hard to decide what the best keywords are to use for online searches	
I know how to change who I share content with (e.g. friends, friends of friends or public)	
I am confident about writing a comment on a blog, website or forum	
I would feel confident putting video content I have created online	
I would feel confident writing and commenting online	
I know how to create something new from existing online images, music or video	
I know how to design a website	
I know which different types of licenses apply to online content	

7- Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and think about how much each person is or is not like you.

Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
1				5

Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to her. He like to do thinks in her original way.	
It is important to her to be rich. She wants to have a lot of money and expensive thins.	
She thinks it is important that every person in the world be treated equally. She believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life	
It is important to her to show her abilities. She wants people to admire what she does.	
It is important to her to live in secure surroundings. She avoids anything that might endanger her safety.	

She likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. She thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.	
She believes that people should do what they are told. She thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no one is watching.	
It is important to her to listen to people who are different from her. Even when she disagrees with them, she still wants to understand them.	
It is important to her to be humble and modest. She tries not to draw attention to herself.	
Having a good time is important to her. She likes to 'spoil' herself.	
It is important to her to make her own decisions about what she does. She likes to be free and not depend on others.	
It's very important to her to help the people around her. She wants to care for their well-being.	
Being very successful is important to her. She hopes people will recognize her achievements.	
It is important to her that the government insure her safety against all threats. She wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.	
She looks for adventures and likes to take risks. She wants to have an exciting life.	
It is important to her always to behave properly. She wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	
It is important to her to get respect from others. She wants people to do what she says.	
It is important to her to be loyal to her friends. She wants to devote herself to people close to her.	
She strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to her	
Tradition is important to her. She tries to follow the customs handed down by her religion or her family.	

8- Chose the statement that defines you most.

I vote in every elections.	
I usually vote in elections	
I sometimes vote in elections.	
I rarely vote in elections.	
I never vote in elections.	

9- In what degree do you agree with the expressions below?

Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
1				5

I am involved in politics	
Politics means a lot to me	
Politics is important to me	
Politics is part of my life.	

10- Gender

Woman	
Man	

11- Age

18-24	
25-34	
35-44	
45-54	
55+	

12- Education

Primary School	
Secondary School	
High School	
Associate Degree	
Undergraduate	
Graduate	

13- Monthly income

1,000 TL or less	
1,001-2,000 TL	
2,001-3,000 TL	
3,001-4,000 TL	
4,001-5,000 TL	
5,001 TL or more	

APPENDIX B  
SURVEY INSTRUMENT  
(TURKISH)

1. Son yıllarda politik, etik veya çevresel nedenlerden dolayı herhangi bir ürünü ya da markayı bilinçli olarak satın almayı veya almamayı tercih ettiniz mi?

Evet	
Hayır	

2. Cevabınız evet ise hangi firma için ne zaman ve ne şekilde bir boykot yaptığınızı belirtiniz?

3. Söz konusu boykot kararınızda etkili olan neden veya nedenleri belirtiniz

Politik/siyasi değerler	
Etik değerler	
Çevresel değerler/kaygılar	
Dini değerler	
Sağlık problemleri/sağlığa ilişkin kaygılar	
Azınlık hakları	
Firmanın çalışanlarına karşı yürüttüğü politika	
Hayvanlar üzerinde yapılan uygulamalar/hayvan hakları	
Diğer (lütfen belirtin)	

4. Son yıllarda aşağıda yer alan eylemlerden hangilerini gerçekleştirdiniz?

Sosyal, politik veya ekonomik bir konuya/soruna ilişkin dilekçe yazmak/imzalamak	
Siyasi içerikli bir etkinliğe veya gösteriye katılmak	
Sosyal veya politik bir anlam içeren tişört giymek, rozet vb. aksesuarlar takmak	
Bir yürüyüş veya protesto gösterisine katılmak	

Yakınlarını belirli bir siyasi parti veya adaya oy vermeleri için ikna etmeye çalışmak	
Sosyal veya politik konular üzerinde çalışan bir gruba katılmak	
Sosyal, politik veya ekonomik bir konuya/soruna ilişkin düzenlenen online imza kampanyalarına katılmak	
İnternet temelli bir protestoya katılmak	
İnternet/sosyal paylaşım platformları aracılığıyla sosyal veya politik bir içeriği arkadaşlarla tartışmak	
Politik görüşlerini ifade etmek için sosyal medya uygulamaları ve platformlarını kullanmak	
Politik veya sosyal meselelerle ilgilenen online (çevrimiçi) bir topluluğa katılmak	
Politik içerikli haber veya diğer medya ürünlerine arkadaşlarımızı tag'lemek	

5. Aşağıdaki ifadelere ne ölçüde katıldığınızı belirtiniz.

Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum				Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1				5

Dürüst bir kişi çok üst makamlara seçilemez.	
Seçilmiş yetkililer (siyasetçiler, bürokratlar vs.) gerçekte ne düşündüklerini bize söylemezler.	
Politikacılar başkalarına yardım etmektense kendi çıkarlarının peşinden koşarlar.	
Politikacılar seçim öncesinde sözler vermekten mutluluk duyarlar, ancak sonrasında bu sözlerini unuturlar.	
Hükümetler toplumdaki tüm gruplara eşit davranır.	

6. Aşağıda yer alan ifadelere ilişkin değerlendirmelerinizi belirtiniz

Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum				Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1				5

Aradığım bilgiye ulaşmak için interneti kullanabiliyorum	
İşime yarayan uygulamaları bulmak ve indirmek için interneti kullanabiliyorum.	
İnterneti kullanırken teknik bir problemle karşılaştığımda genellikle nasıl düzelteceğimi biliyorum.	
Bazen ulaştığım verileri doğrulamakta zorlanıyorum.	
Bir websitenin güvenilir olup olmadığını anlamakta kendime güveniyorum.	
Bir bilginin doğruluğuna karar vermek için genellikle farklı sitelerini karşılaştırıyorum.	
Çevrimiçi ulaştığım bilgilerin doğruluğunu dikkatlice inceliyorum.	
Çevrimiçi arama yaparken kullanacağım en iyi anahtar kelimeleri seçerken zorlanıyorum.	
Kimlerle içerik paylaştığımın ayarını nasıl değiştireceğimi biliyorum. (Örn; arkadaşlar, arkadaşların arkadaşları, herkese açık)	
Website, forum veya blog'lara yorum yazmakta sakınca görmüyorum.	
Kendi yaptığım video içeriklerini çevrimiçi olarak paylaşmakta bir sorun hissetmiyorum.	
Çevrimiçi olarak yazma ve yorum yapma konusunda bir sorun hissetmiyorum.	
Varolan çevrimiçi görsel, müzik ve videoları kullanarak yeni bir içerik yaratmayı biliyorum.	
Website tasarlamayı biliyorum.	
Çevrimiçi içeriklerin hangi tür lisanslara tabii olduğunu biliyorum.	

7. Aşağıda bazı insanların özellikleri verilmiştir. Lütfen her bir özelliği okuyup bu insanın size benzeyip benzemediğini düşünün. Özelliklerin altındaki kutucuklardan size uygun olanı işaretleyin.

Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum				Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1				5

Benim için yeni fikirler üretmek ve yaratıcı olmak önemlidir.	
Çok paramın olmasını ve pahalı şeylere sahip olmayı isterim.	
Bana göre herkes hayatta eşit şartlara sahip olmalıdır.	
Benim için kendi yeteneklerimi başkalarına göstermek ve yeteneklerimin takdir edilmesi önemlidir. .	
Güvenliğime zarar verebilecek şeylerden kaçınır, güvenli bir çevrede yaşamayı önemserim.	
Sürprizleri sever ve sürekli yapacak yeni şeyler ararım.	
Bana göre kimse görmezken bile varolan kurallara uyulmalıdır.	
Başka insanların fikirlerine katılmasam bile onları dinler ve onları anlamaya çalışırım.	
Alçakgönüllü ve mütevazı olmayı önemser ve dikkat çekmemeye çalışırım.	
Kendimi şımartmayı ve iyi zaman geçirmeyi severim.	
Özgür ve diğer insanlardan bağımsız olmayı, yapacaklarıma kendim karar vermeyi severim.	
Benim için etrafındaki insanlara yardım etmek önemlidir.	
Benim için çok başarılı olmak ve başarılarımin takdir edilmesi önemlidir.	
Devletin vatandaşlarını tüm tehditlerden koruyabilmesini ve güçlü olmasını isterim.	
Macerayı ve risk almayı severim.	
İnsanların yanlış diyebileceği herhangi bir şey yapmaktan kaçınırım.	
Benim için diğer insanlardan saygı görmek ve söylediklerimin dikkate alınması önemlidir.	
Benim için arkadaşlarıma sadık olmak önemlidir.	

Bana göre insanlar kesinlikle doğayı önemsemeli ve çevre için bir şeyler yapmalıdır.	
Dini, kültürel veya aile tarafından devam ettirilen gelenek-görenekleri önemser, bunları devam ettirmek isterim.	

8. Aşağıdaki ifadelerden sizi en çok ifade ettiğini düşündüğünüz seçenek hangisidir?

Her seçimde oy kullanırım	
Çoğu seçimde oy kullanırım	
Bazı seçimlerde oy kullanırım	
Az da olsa oy kullanmışlığım vardır	
Hiç oy kullanmam	

9. Aşağıdaki ifadelere ne ölçüde katıldığınızı belirtiniz.

Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum				Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1				5

Siyasetle yakından ilgiliyim	
Siyaset benim için çok şey ifade ediyor	
Siyaset benim için önemli	
Siyaset hayatımın bir parçası	

10. Cinsiyetiniz

Kadın	
Erkek	

11. Yaşınız

18-24	
25-34	
35-44	
45-54	
55+	

12. Eğitim durumunuz

İlköğretim	
Ortaöğretim	
Lise	
Ön lisans	
Lisans	
Lisansüstü	

13. Aylık geliriniz

1,000 TL ve daha az	
1,001-2,000 TL	
2,001-3,000 TL	
3,001-4,000 TL	
4,001-5,000 TL	
5,001 TL ve üstü	

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