



## Management of Consumers in Political Area: Spatial Analysis on Nonvoting Speed and National Culture Values

Feride Bahar Kurtulmuşoğlu<sup>1</sup>, Murat Hakan Altıntaş<sup>2</sup>,  
Füsun Çınar Altıntaş<sup>2</sup>, Hans Rueider Kaufmann<sup>3</sup>, Rene Dentiste Mueller<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Baskent University, Turkey,

<sup>2</sup>Uludag University, Turkey

<sup>3</sup>University of Nicosia

<sup>4</sup>College of Charleston

**Abstract:** The present study focused on a spatial analysis based on the non-voting values and the dimensions of power distances and uncertainty avoidance in the national culture. The main objective was the multidimensional analysis, clustering and graphical analysis of the countries based on the speed, velocity and cultural dimensions of nonvoting. The results for five clusters were analyzed and discussed.

**Keywords:** spatial analysis, non-voting values, uncertainty avoidance, power distance

### Introduction

The election process is a legal and political way to put into power the cadres and ideology supported by the majority of people. In this context, the behaviors and factors related to participation in elections constitute an important area of research in political science (Bourbeau and Scruggs, 2007). Although voting is only a small part of political participation, it has an important place in contemporary political science, democratic politics and political marketing. Voting behavior is the subject of numerous studies in this area (Roussias, 2010). Of the various political participation processes, voting in elections, the easily and equally exercised right of everybody in democratic systems, is the most frequently enacted social citizenship behavior. Recent studies have revealed unstable and often declining levels of voter turnout at elections in many developed and developing countries. according to Franklin (2004), the voting behavior of a person is shaped during his or her first voting experience. Accordingly, people who have reason to vote in their first election are arguably likely to continue this behavior in future elections (Denny and Doyle, 2005). Similarly, Plutzer (2002) claims that voting habits should be acquired at early ages and that those who gain this habit are most likely to continue at more advanced ages. According to the developmental theory of turnout, voting behavior is the function of inertia, and the first electoral experience of a person can be a determining factor for future voting behavior (Plutzer, 2002).

Blais and Young (1999), who modeled the voting process according to electors' voting

behavior, state that voting behavior is an unreflective and habitual action. Nonvoting young people are classified into five groups according to their motivations towards politics and voting. The first group is the 'confident and convinced' group which has features similar to Sheerin's (2007) inconvenienced group. The second group, the tentative triers, lack self-confidence in the area of politics and believe that they would be unable to succeed. The 'living for the weekend' group believes that voting is not very important. For the 'politically disinterested' group, voting is a deeply entrenched behavior, and they feel that voting does not make a difference in their lives. The distrustful and disillusioned group has attitudes similar to Sheerin's (2007) 'principled non-voters'. There is a wide range of reasons for nonvoting behaviors, such as being unable to find a political party that represents one's ideology, being discontent about the current political atmosphere and enraged with politicians, there being nobody among the political candidates worth supporting, a lack of confidence in political parties and those who hold power, doubts about the legacy of the government, the belief that an individual is being segregated and the belief that other members of the system are favored. This attitude is known as 'active nonparticipation', as the nonparticipants are knowledgeable and highly aware of the events taking place around them. The purpose of this article to do a spatial analysis based on nonvoting and national culture values. Article was designed as two section. First, nonvoting behavior and its relationship with national culture was given and then Multidimensional analysis was conducted on these factors.

### Literature Review

#### Nonvoting Behavior

Numerous studies have focused on the reasons for the nonvoting of electors, the factors these individuals take into account when casting their votes and those motivating them to vote (Roussias, 2010; Kohler, Rose, 2010). The institutional, contextual and socio-political factors influencing the process of voting have emerged through investigating the topic at an aggregate level. Franklin (2004) claimed that the low voting ratios may stem from the features of elections, not the



electors. Competitiveness creates an important effect in this respect. A person may opt to not use his or her vote when she/he believes that her/his party will be victorious regardless of his or her vote. However, when competition is high and a person thinks that one vote may cause a difference, the person may decide to use her/his vote (Hollander, 2009). Closely fought elections also have an important effect on turnout (Blais, 2006; Geys, 2006). The prediction of the winner of an election in a certain region at a certain time may cause a low election turnout, which may apply to future elections (Abramson et al., 2007). According to Fowler and Kam (2007) who studied the turnout phenomenon, the voting or nonvoting for a governing party certain to win and the belief that the party an individual supports has very little chance to win an election may cause low turnout. This conceptualization may be the result of electors favoring their groups over others. The perception of nonvoters giving support to rival parties was also investigated (Koudenburg et al., 2011).

Donald (2010) studied principled-nonvoters and found that this group has a deep belief that there are great limitations to its representation and participation in traditional politics. Elections conducted under proportional representation were found to have a higher turnout than the other systems (Blais, 2006; Geys, 2006). The ease of voting is another factor that affects this process (Franklin, 2002). There is also a negative correlation between the turnout and the frequency of the elections (Franklin, 2004). The theories mentioned above based on the characteristics of the people rather than features of the elections constitute a major part of voting and election theories today. Individuality-based voting behavior theories are separated into three groups: mobilization, resource and cognitive involvement theories. Mobilization theory claims that the interest of a person towards non governmental organizations has a very large effect on his or her voting behavior (Clarke et al., 2004), because the members of groups and organizations are considered easier to mobilize and, therefore, more likely to vote. Many organizations inform their members about the importance of voting (Gray & Caul, 2000). Political participation may be increased by encouraging people to join this organization (Boeckman and Tyler, 2002). These organizations try to create awareness among these individuals about the roles of political parties, media and various groups in politics (Franklin, 2002). At this point, the creation of a motivating message that covers all electors is of great importance (Nickerson, 2006). Political messages create obvious awareness (Dermody and Scullion, 2005). It was concluded that the concept of political value has an important impact on voting

behavior (Leimgruber, 2011) and has a deterministic value on the ways political parties' target electors (Rohrschneider, 2002). Similarly, Lloyd (2005) states that a political product can be examined from ideological and political points of view. Here, the information generation, information dissemination, member participation and consistent external communication are important (Ormrod, 2005).

The social motivation of electors is a rational political behavior from a social point of view that can be produced by the combination of the media and individual factors of the psychological domain (Edlin et al., 2007). It has been claimed that the level of awareness between voters and non-voters can be examined with regards to knowledge and motivation (Jones and Dawson, 2008). This diagnosis is supported by studies evaluating cognitive involvement and resource theories. In the context of socialization the political socialization concept is to be evaluated. Political socialization is the process of becoming acquainted with political symbols, developing attitudes towards certain people and affiliating with a political organization starting in early childhood and continuing to adulthood (Pammett and LeDuc, 2003). In other words, political socialization is the process of transporting the political culture to future generations (Gimpel et al., 2003). The process of basic socialization is based on the assumption that the attitudes acquired during early childhood remains unchanged with time (Sheerin, 2007). This means that voting and nonvoting attitudes become permanent with time (Gerber et al., 2003).

Basic political socialization agents, such as family, friends, school and the media, become increasingly important (Owen, 2008). In addition to these four important factors, religious and military organizations, the working place and social groups play important roles in this process (Achterberg and Houtman, 2006). A decrease in political participation in recent years has clearly shown that the process of political socialization needs to be investigated in detail (Hooghe & Stolle, 2004). Anderson and Goodyear (2008) validated that socialization agents have a profound effect on the voting behavior of young people in the future. Particularly, it was observed that the voting behavior of families has a strong influence on the voting behavior and the political values of young people (Kelly, 2006). The psychological theories related to electors' behavior, such as political interest, partisan realignment, apathy, alienation and efficacy, are used to explain the changes in electors' behavior and political participation (Wattenburg, 2002). In a study on voting behavior, nonvoters were classified as politically ignorant



nonvoters who do not follow any political campaign, indifferent nonvoters who have a sound knowledge about the candidate and see no difference between them, selectively aware nonvoters who know only one candidate, dissatisfied nonvoters who have a sound knowledge about the campaign and develop their own ideology and conditionally inactive nonvoters who have good knowledge about the campaigns but are not satisfied with any of the candidates due to their promises about the issue of unemployment (Ragsdale and Rusk, 1993).

Political apathy is understood as ambivalence toward politics, with no strong feelings for or against politicians or issues (Russell et al. 2002, p. 21). As expected, political apathy has a negative effect on political actions (Bynner and Ashford, 1994). Political knowledge and political interest are two of the most important determinants of voting behavior (Karp and Banducci, 2008). The increasing knowledge and information families give to young people are the tools they use to analyze the political structure and political candidates (Dalton, 2002). For principled nonvoters, political interest constitutes the most important determinant of election turnout and has a mediating role between the voting process and education (Elklit et al., 2005).

Efficacy is another factor in the psychological model in determining electors' behavior (Sheerin, 2007). Political efficacy was defined as the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process (Campbell et al., 1960, p. 187). In this respect, Sheerin (2007) claims that the greater the efficacy, the greater the political turnout. Some theories claim that an interactive structure with an efficient flow of information will increase participation (Tedesco, 2007). Similarly, Zhong and Chen (2002) proved that internal efficacy, democratic orientation, the reaction against local degradations and public affairs and life satisfaction are very important in increasing political turnout. The studies evaluating cognitive involvement emphasize factors such as political interest and knowledge, legitimacy, the support of the regime and satisfaction with the democratic system as having a positive effect on the voting tendency of individuals (Lassen, 2005). In addition, it was noted that an increase in electors in the voting process is expected to cause an accumulation of subjective information and result in the establishment of confidence (Karp and Banducci, 2008).

Alienation, which refers to a citizen's negative feelings toward politics, such as dislike or distrust of politicians, has also been found to affect turnout, with alienated citizens less likely to vote

(Russell et al., 2002, p. 85-86). Southwell (2008) noted that the factors of powerlessness, meaninglessness and cynicism affect the process. He claimed that powerlessness and meaninglessness have a negative effect on voting behavior, whereas the feeling of cynicism has a positive effect. In other words, when people think that there is no meaning in the game and feel disenchanting and powerless against the system, they tend to refrain from voting.

Some studies claim that nonvoting is a form of protest (Brady and Kaplan, 2001). Passive nonparticipation is regarded as isolation from society rather than a reaction to something because the person exerts no effort to vote whatsoever. It seems important to mention social integration at this point, which shows that people who regard themselves as an integral part of society show interest in the governing of people and are anxious about the solutions to social problems.

Political mobilization can be seen as a type of social integration. People who are well integrated with society and adapt to its norms will act according to them. Voting in elections is one of these norms. Voting is a duty incumbent upon every citizen. At higher levels, the national identity can be regarded as the single connection between political involvement and national ties (Huddy and Khatib, 2007). In societies with more intimate relations, turnout is very high and explicit and implicit attitudes can effectively be used to predict the voting behavior of people (Friese et al., 2012). The level of the social integration is determined by several psychological and socio economic factors. The most important psychological factor is the acceptance of the norm of civic duties. According to individual mobilization theory, the nonvoting behavior of people can be explained by the weak attachment of people to civic duty norms (Rose, 2004) and weak social integration. At this point, it is necessary for everyone to accept the mentality that voting is a moral responsibility. Further aspects relate to economic and social marginality, which cannot be separated from political marginality (Bennulf & Hedberg, 1999). Moreover, Dermody et al. (2010) measured the effect of confidence and negative thinking on voting behavior by trust, cynicism and efficacy. In this context, Print, Saha & Edwards (2004) argued that political confidence affects the political attitude and voting behavior of the majority of people. Particularly young people were very skeptical about the performance of political institutions, political leaders and general politics. It is obvious that an increase in turnout in elections is highly dependent on the establishment of just and fair elections (Birch, 2003). In this context, political confidence, economic



performance and political performance are of great importance (Baslevent et al., 2005).

There are great differences between voting and nonvoting individuals with regard to economic and noneconomic subjects (Shaffer, 1982). For instance, the tone of voice of a candidate has a profound effect on voters (Tigue et al., 2012). Anxiety against candidates plays an important role in political preference (Birch, 2003). Taxes, social programs, crime and delinquency issues and occupation possibilities also exert a strong influence on the voting process (Belanger and Meguid, 2008). Rational choice theory regards potential electors' as rational self-interested consumers and assumes that they approach the voting process with a cost-benefit analysis (Sheerin, 2007). The election turnout studies related to rational choice theory showed that people make a kind of cost/benefit analysis in both, economic and psychological terms, before elections. If the cost of casting a vote turns out to be higher than the benefit expected from it, then the tendency to not vote increases. By contrast, it was observed that electors make decisions both on a rational choice basis (Savigny, 2003) and through irrational-emotional judgment processes (Dean and Croft, 2009).

The decision-making process is largely influenced by the personal values of the electors (Baslevent and Kirmanoğlu, 2008). The opinions of Inglehart on postmaterialism support this theory; Inglehart (2008) studied the basic economic, social and political problems that emerged during the post-World War II era with postmaterialist theory. The prioritization of values shifted as a result of economic stability and social development problems. Most people started to see the process of voting as a tool of political participation as a result of the change in the prioritization of values. Most people may be interested in political activities but may not participate in politics (Milan, 2005). Similarly, Dalton (2002) found that electors are issue focused rather than politically oriented. The political parties in the world begin to embrace the marketing concept to a higher extent (Ediraras et al., 2013). The body of literature on political marketing has expanded in last years (Henneberg, 2004). Maarek (1995, p. 15) stated that political marketing is "the use of online and offline advertising, marketing and promotion techniques to influence individual voters to cast their vote in favour of a specific political party or candidate".

Political marketing consists of three elements: the political product, political organization and political market; however, it is not free from the other social elements of politics (Butler and Collins, 1996). Nielsen and Larsen (2014) demonstrate that political brand value

(PBV) has an effect on voting behavior. If we consider the process of voting as the framework of an exchange mechanism that is the base of the political marketing process - analogous to marketing-, then voting can be regarded as a transaction that creates a relation that is absent for nonvoters (Bannon, 2005). In addition, it needs a constitutionalized structure (Henneberg, 2004) and an adaptation process (Henneberg and O'shaughnessy, 2007) between political science and marketing theory and especially, focusing to a frame for political parties adapting this transformation in this relationship context is necessary (Johansen, 2005). Regardless of the degree to which politics has a unique structure, political processes have to consider changes in the concept of marketing, placing it somewhere above elections (Lees-Marshment, 2003; Butler, Harris, 2009). In a way, this concept may be regarded as a market-oriented political party model (Lees-Marshment, 2006).

### Impact of National-Cultural Values

Although the national culture is addressed with a broad perspective, the cultural models of Hofstede (2001), Schwartz (1994), Rokeach (1973) and Triandis (1994) are more dominant in the literature. National cultures have an impact on the voting behavior of individuals. It is known that specific social cleavages such as certain social class and gender affect voting behavior (Brooks et al., 2006; Van Der Waal et al., 2007; Layman et al., 1997), as well as economical elements have an impact on the electoral behavior of the individuals (Powell and Whitten, 1993). It can be considered that the elements in question reflect cultural values in a sense. It was stated that since the national cultures operate within a system of values, personal values also influence the political values, and these values are the triggers of political values (Schwartz et al., 2010; Schwartz et al., 2014). Thus, it was stated that the fact that party leaders could construct a model based on the value priorities of the public is important (Caprar et al., 2006, p. 2-5). Therefore, it was argued that the values of individuals are in harmony with political values (Dalton, 2000) and that they are influenced by the elements of classical liberalism and economic egalitarianism (Barnea and Schwartz, 1998) and moral traditionalism (De Koster and Van der Waal, 2007).

In this context, the power distance and uncertainty avoidance elements of Hofstede's national culture models are taken into consideration in the study based on the premise that the structure of the national culture is based on values values. Power that is considered within the self-enhancement as a value in the context of political values (Purko et al., 2011) is the potential to direct other individuals to the desired direction (Mulder,



1977). The basis of this theory lies in the belief that use of power provides satisfaction to the person using it. It is always desirable to have power since the use of power is addictive for the individual and the individual will endeavor to fulfill this desire (Pope, 2003). Power distance is the degree to which individuals in a society accept the unequal distribution of power in that society (Lim, 2001: 211). Thus, the power distance is the degree of inequality between the powers that individuals possess. Therefore, the power distance could be explained as the amount of differences in the right to use power between the different hierarchical groups. Power is central in the institutions of a society where the power distance is high, and members obey orders and expectations. As a result, the organizational structure is based on hierarchy, and the relationship between individuals is determined by the administration. The fact that the executives in these organizations have privileged authority is a clear indicator of status that increases their authority (Sims, 1999) and the managers are perceived as the ideal boss, a "helpful autocrat" or a "good father" by their subordinates. Also, in these institutions where the hierarchical distance is high, individuals may abstain from expressing their disagreements with the opinions of the managers (Singh, 1990). In other words, as the boss is clearly known, the statements of the boss have the weight of the law. Norms based on social equality dominate in organizations in societies with a low power distance, and political equality is encouraged among individuals. On the other hand, the degree of centralization in organizations with low power distances is low (Hofstede, 2001), and the statuses of the superiors and subordinates are considered equal. In organizations with low power distances, norms based on social equality dominate and political equality is encouraged among individuals (Rodrigues, 1998). Participatory, consultative decision-making processes and leadership styles are accepted and privileges and status symbols are not preferred (Mellahi and Guermat, 2003).

In the context of political ideology, uncertainty is considered as a factor (Jost and Amodio, 2012). It was stated that this element operates with a certain ideological structure (Jost et al., 2007) and is examined as an ideological motive (Jost et al., 2003). This dimension of culture refers to the extent to which members in a society and culture feel threatened by uncertain and unknown situations and avoid uncertainties (Jackson, 2001). Avoidance of uncertainty is an effort by individuals who are the members of a society to avoid strict forms of behavior within the framework of absolute truth due to their concerns about commonly unstructured, unclear, and unpredictable situations (Lim, 2003). In societies where the avoidance of uncertainty is high, individuals often look for

stability, avoid uncertain, unclear, informal, suspicious and risky situations and they want to secure themselves by adhering strictly to authority, hierarchy, and written and formal rules. Thus, individuals in these societies are not very tolerant towards differences, fluctuations and changes in thoughts and behavior. On the other hand, in societies where the avoidance of uncertainty is low, individuals prefer to be free and autonomous, to take risks, and are open to innovation and change (Singh, 1990). Hofstede (2001) suggested that individuals in communities with a high level of avoidance of uncertainty prefer to be governed in an organizational order since they cannot easily perceive uncertain and ambiguous situations. For people who live in these societies, laws and regulations are an emotional need, and often personal behavior is structured with this approach. In organizations in a society where the avoidance of uncertainty is low, formal rules are structured as a necessity rather than as a requirement. In these societies, individuals often solve their problems without the need for formal rules. Individuals have a low autonomy, tolerate uncertain and ambiguous situations, work hard when necessary, and the organizational structuralism is low. Avoidance of uncertainty is examined based on the effect of voting/nonvoting (Tollison and Willett, 1973) on the candidates (Calvert, 1985; Feddersen, 2004) and evaluated based on three factors in the framework of votes (Palfrey and Rosenthal, 1985, p. 62): The first group is non-voter, the second group is not knowing whether others would vote or not, and the last group is having no idea about the votes of others.

## Methodology

### Purpose

An analysis was conducted on 11 Asian countries using a multidimensional scale, and taking into account the values of power distance and uncertainty avoidance national culture models, which are considered to have an effect on speed, velocity in the context of the nonvoting behavior and national culture.

### Method

In the literature, there are MDS analyses conducted on elections (Dow, 2001; Carkoglu and Hinich, 2006), political parties (Weisberg and Tanaka, 2001), politicians (Faust et al., 2002), countries (Bornschier, 2010), party-politics relations (Linhart and Shikano, 2009). The present study includes a spatial analysis of the nonvoting rates and power distance and uncertainty avoidance values for 11 Asian countries during parliamentary-election periods. The research is conducted in two stages. Initially, the data were collected and then the IBM



SPSS V 23.0 statistical software was used to apply ALSCAL technique on the data.

### Measures

Measures provides three basic ratio regarding nonvoting speed, velocity inspired from formulas in physics for related subjects. These are at below.

-*Speed* (how fast an nonvoting is moving) Nonvoting speed is the division of the total of the nonvoting rates in a country in each election period by the number of years from the first election to the last election in the country.

$$\text{Ave speed} = \text{distance} / \text{time} = v = d/t$$

-*Velocity* (the rate at which nonvoting changes its position): The difference between the last voting rate in a country and the nonvoting rate in the first election divided by the number of years from the first election to the last election in the country.

$$\text{Ave velocity} = \text{displacement} / \text{time} = v = d/t$$

- *National Culture*: Power distance and uncertainty values determined by Hofstede for each country based on the national culture models are accepted (Hofstede, 2001). The unit values were quantities. In the present study they were accepted as ratios.

Next, it was multiplied the speed and velocity values by power distance and uncertainty avoidance values so we calculated the weighted values and then we got the average of these values.

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{Weighted Average Non-voting Speed Data} \\ & = ((\text{Speed} * \text{Power distance}) + (\text{Speed} * \text{Uncertainty avoidance})) / 2 \\ & \text{Weighted Average Non-voting velocity Data} \\ & = ((\text{Velocity} * \text{Power distance}) + (\text{Velocity} * \text{Uncertainty avoidance})) / 2 \end{aligned}$$

### Dataset

As a result of the calculations conducted based on the measurements, the data for 12 countries are determined as follows:

Table 1. Data for analysis

	Speed	Velocity	Power distance	Uncertainty avoidance	Weighted Speed	Weighted Velocity
Bangladesh	0,00388	0,00388	0,8	0,6	0,5432	0,5432
India	-0,00325	-0,00175	0,77	0,4	-0,38025	-0,20475
Indonesia	0,01890	0,01550	0,78	0,48	2,3814	1,953
Japan	0,00718	0,00529	0,54	0,92	1,04828	0,77234
Malaysia	-0,01587	-0,04012	1	0,36	-2,15832	-5,45632
Philippines	0,00015	-0,00876	0,94	0,44	0,0207	-1,20888
Singapore	0,00041	0,001583	0,74	0,08	0,03362	0,129806
Sri Lanka	-0,01564	0,00514	0,8	0,45	-1,955	0,6425
Taiwan	0,00200	0,00570	0,58	0,69	0,254	0,7239
Thailand	-0,00752	0,00657	0,64	0,64	-0,96256	0,84096
Vietnam	-0,00033	-0,03466	0,7	0,3	-0,033	-3,466

### Multidimensional Analysis

MDS is focused on clustering analysis in the broad sense, and in the narrow sense, of the dissimilarity data (De Leeuw and Heiser, 1982, p. 285). In MDS implementation, the proximity data pairs contain objects of dissimilarity, the main purpose of which is to provide a spatial location for the objects based on the dissimilarity (Buja et al., 2008, p.2). Hence, the focus is on the dissimilarity measure for data object cluster (Kruskal and Wish, 1978). It could be specified as a subjective or data matrix. It is a configuration of points in the space and includes metric and non-metric methods (Cox and Cox, 2008, p.316). Metric MDS is the process of

transforming the distance matrix to distance coordinates (Abdi, 2007, p.1). Metric MDS is used based on the definition of dissimilarity (Taguchi and Oono, 2005, p.731) and focuses on the exact estimation of the dissimilarity of each object cluster, and requires a ratio level measurement (Tsogo et al., 2000, p. 307). In the present study stress non-metric and weightless method was preferred. When conducting the MDS, initially the stimuli (countries) and proximity measure were selected (dissimilarity), rotation was provided, distances were calculated and dimensioning was provided (Davison and Sireci, 2000, p.330-340). A two-dimensional analysis was performed based on dissimilarity. The data are given in ratios.



Euclidean distance was used since it is the most widely used distance scale (Takane et al., 2009, p.221). ALSCAL (Alternating Least Squares Scaling) procedure was performed using SPSS 23 software. According to ALSCAL procedure, symmetric ordinal data type and 2-D solution were preferred. The utilized statistical indices were Stress, S-stress, and RSQ values. If the stress value is lower than 0.1, it is perfect and a value of 0.15 and over is unacceptable (Kruskal & Wish, 1978). In MDS analysis, as the dimensionality increases, the stress value decreases, which makes it easier to place the objects in a specific space (Sturrock and Rocha, 2000, p.54). In the study, it was found that

the S-Stress was 0.001, the RSQ value was 0.999, and the stress value was 0.017. Therefore, the 2-dimensional solution, accounting for 99% of the variance, was retained as the most appropriate. Figure 1 presents the solution graphically. This suggests that 2D can be accepted based on the fitness indices. It could be observed in Figure 1 that the units (20 countries) are in a linear relationship with the distances and disparities related to the MDS Analysis. Coordinates related to the determined dimensions after it was identified that distances and differences are in a linear relationship based on the number of dimensions were obtained and presented in Table 2 below.

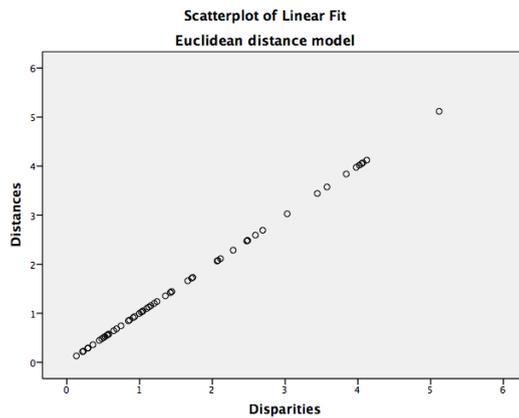


Figure 1. Distances – Disparities Fit

Table 2. Stimulus listing and MDS Coordinates

		Dimension 1	Dimension 2
1	Bangladesh	.6723	-.1377
2	India	.0620	.1965
3	Indonesia	1.8442	-.8206
4	Japan	.9086	-.3605
5	Malaysia	-3.1780	-.0061
6	Philippines	-.3930	-.2436
7	Singapore	.3352	.0466
8	Sri Lanka	.1714	1.2378
9	Taiwan	.7060	.0591
10	Thailand	.4993	.7442
11	Vietnam	-1.6278	-.7157

When the coordinates obtained for the two-dimensional units (countries) in Table 2 are placed in the coordinate system, Figure 1 that shows the relations between the units (countries) on the two-dimensional space is obtained. As can be seen, as a result of the MDS analysis, the dimensions are in the form of high PD-UNA - low mobility and low PD-UNA - high mobility and seven country clusters were identified.

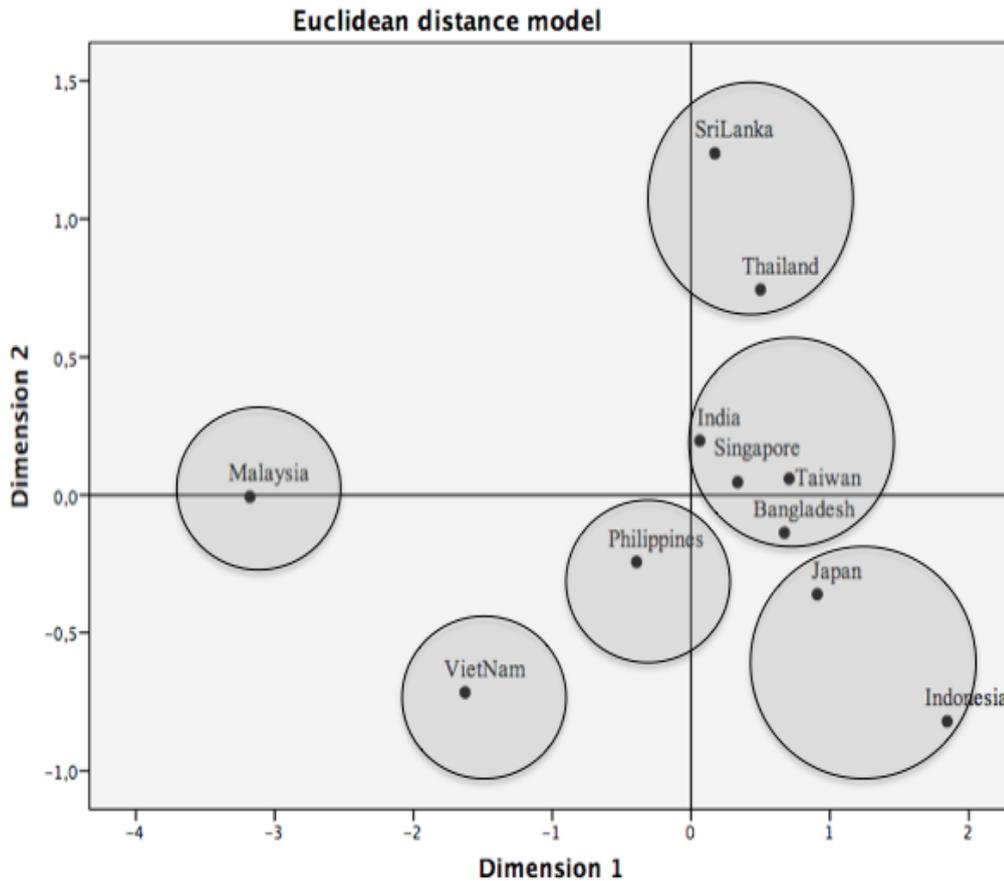


Figure 2. MDS Graphic

It was observed that the data averages of the countries in the first cluster (Malaysia) had a weighted negative speed and velocity with high PD and low UA in first cell of the grid. In the second cluster (Vietnam) had a weighted negative speed and velocity with high PD and low UA and Philippines had positive low nonvoting speed and negative nonvoting velocity with very high PD and moderate UA values, these are in 3th cell. The data for the fourth cluster countries (Sri Lanka and Thailand) demonstrated negative speed and positive velocity nonvoting value and moderately high PD and UA. At the same time that the countries in the fifth group (India, Singapore and Taiwan) have high PD and low UA values, it is seen that the speed rate of non-voting is moderate. It was observed that the countries in the sixth group (Bangladesh and Japan) had very low PD and UA values and the speed of non-voting was moderate and the speed and momentum were very low.

**Discussion**

The present study focused on a spatial analysis based on the non-voting values and the dimensions of power distances and uncertainty avoidance in the national culture. The main objective was the multidimensional analysis, clustering and graphical

analysis of the countries based on the speed, velocity and cultural dimensions of nonvoting. Non-voting includes a process that functions with precursors such as economic, sociological, party and individual preferences with respect to political participation. The reasons for the emphasis on the nonvoting speed and velocity of the countries over the years are the facts that the abovementioned precursors are reflected in the voter behavior and change. At the end of the multi-dimensional analysis, it could be stated that seven clusters were identified within the context of the two dimensions. Presence of the countries within the clusters depends on the process in the similarity-dissimilarity matrix based on the values. It could be argued that certain factors were the basis of the nonvoting speed and the focus on the national culture. The belief that change would precede all else, the interaction between political parties and the electorate, the attitudes towards the political leaders are the factors that trigger vote speed and velocity and determine the vote values during the election periods and the power distance and uncertainty avoidance would naturally affect voter preferences. The type of balance between the voting and nonvoting behavior of the electorate may affect the election results and the public





policies depending on whether it represents the power of the electorate (Gersen, 2010; Beryy and Gersen, 2011). Similarly, generation, personal reactions, alternatives, and media affect the above as well. Based on the premise that voting functions in conjunction with political knowledge and political awareness (Milner, 2002), Berry and Gersen (2010) investigated the problem of whether the increase of the voting ratio would cause any changes in the election results or the public policies. If we look at the bonds between the mass political behavior of the citizens and public policy, it may affect the people in a way to refrain from the political participation, public policies, political consciousness and the beliefs of the citizens, make the government focus on social problems, urge the government for the implementation of mass participation processes, encourage the people to make extra demands and particularly effect their bonds with the political parties or the groups (Mettler and Soss, 2004, pp.60-64). This situation would inevitably be reflected on nonvoting speed. The people who advocate this opinion claim that the voting section and nonvoting section of the society may have entirely different political ideologies (Leighley and Nagler, 2009). The politicians which represent the choices of people about public policies are supposed to find solutions

for these problems (Wlezien, 2004). Studies demonstrated that individuals are much more willing to obey the social norms when the society is aware of its significance (Kallgren, Reno, and Cialdini, 2000; Cialdini and Goldstein 2004). Again, as an effect of the nonvoting of the electorate and the culture, the people who do not vote in the elections have the tendency of reflecting the previous voting ratios in an exaggerated manner (Gerber et al., 2008). Starting from that point, the implementation of social policies emphasizing the social benefits and make the people feel the social pressure should be proposed for the increase of their participation of the political process. One of the main premises of the study was to investigate the interactions between the speed, velocity of nonvoting and the PD and UA. MDS analysis results demonstrated that nonvoting speed, velocity values were similar in certain country clusters, PD and UA ratios were different. The study utilized certain formulations per its due to its construct. Although these were not considered to be common, however it was considered that they would provide a different perspective. It can be recommended that analyses based on the data of countries from different continents could be conducted in future studies.

## REFERENCES

- Abdi, H. (2007). Metric multidimensional scaling (MDS): analyzing distance matrices. *Encyclopedia of measurement and statistics*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, 1-13.
- Abramson P. R, Diskin A, Felsenthal D. S. 2007. Nonvoting and the decisiveness of electoral outcomes. *Political Research Quarterly* 60 3: 500-515.
- Achterberg A and Houtman B. 2006. Why do so many people vote 'unnaturally'? A cultural explanation for voting behavior. *European Journal of Political Research* 45: 75-92.
- Anderson C, Goodyear-Grant E. 2008. Adolescents' attitudes toward political participation: assessing recent evidence from ontario young people's political participation 2. *Civic Education and Political Participation Workshop Université de Montréal* June 17-19.
- Androutsopoulos J. 2008. Potentials and limitations of discourse-centered online ethnography. *Language @ Internet* 5 article 8 <http://www.Language.atinternet.de/articles/2008/1610> Access 20 September 2014.
- Balmer J.M.T. 2011. Corporate marketing myopia and the inexorable rise of corporate marketing logic. *European Journal of Marketing* 45 9/10: 1329-1352.
- Bannon R. 2005. Relationship marketing and the political process. *Journal of Political Marketing* 4 2-3: 73-90.
- Bartels L. 2009. Economic Inequality and Political Representation in Lawrence Jacobs and Desmond King eds. *Unsustainable Economic State* New York Oxford University 167-196
- Baslevant C, Kirmanoglu H. 2008. The role of basic personal values in the voting behavior of Turkish people Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1307031> access 10 September 2014.
- Baslevant C, Kirmanoglu H, Senatarlar B. 2005. Empirical investigation of party preferences and economic voting in Turkey. *European Journal of Political Research* 44 3: 547-567.
- Beaven Z, Laws C. 2007. Never Let Me Down Again': Loyal customer attitudes towards ticket distribution channels for live music events: a netnographic exploration of the US leg of the Depeche Mode 2005–2006. *World Tour Managing Leisure* 12 2-3: 120-142.
- Belanger E.A, Meguid B. M. 2008. Issue salience issue ownership and issue based vote choice. *Electoral Studies* 27: 477-491.
- Bennulf M, and Hedberg P. 1999. Utanför demokratin. Om det minskade valdeltagandets sociala och politiska



- rötter Valdeltagande i förändring: 75-135.
- Berry Christopher R. 1 and Gersen Jacob E. 2011. Election Timing and Public Policy. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 6: 103–135
- Birch S. 2003. Perceptions of electoral fairness and voter turnout project on electoral malpractice in new and semi-democracies <http://www.essex.ac.uk/government/electoralmalpractice/> Working Paper No 3.
- Björk P, Kauppinen-Räsänen H. 2012. A netnographical examination of travelers' online discussion of risks. *Tourism Management Perspectives* 2-3: 65-71.
- Blais A. 2006. What affects voter turnout? *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 111- 125.
- Blais A. and Young R. 1999. Why do people vote? an experiment in rationality. *Public Choice* 99 1: 39-55.
- Boeckmann R. J, Tyler T. R. 2002. Trust respect and the psychology of political engagement. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 32 10: 2067-2088.
- Bornschier, S. (2010). The new cultural divide and the two-dimensional political space in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 33(3), 419-444.
- Bourbeau J, Scruggs L. 2007. Modeling and forecasting electoral participation around the world: voter turnout in democratic regimes 1972-2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association Chicago IL August 31 2007.
- Brady H. E, Kaplan C. S. 2001. Subjects to citizens: From non-voting to protesting to voting in Estonia during the transition to democracy. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 32 4: 347-378.
- Broillet A. Dubosson M, Trabichet J.-P. 2008. An internet based distribution strategy of luxury products and services grounded on qualitative web discourse analysis. Professional Communication Conference. IPCC. IEEE International
- Brooks, C., Nieuwbeerta, P., & Manza, J. (2006). Cleavage-based voting behavior in cross-national perspective: Evidence from six postwar democracies. *Social Science Research*, 35(1), 88-128.
- Buja, A., Swayne, D. F., Littman, M. L., Dean, N., Hofmann, H., & Chen, L. (2008). Data visualization with multidimensional scaling. *Journal of Computational and Graphical Statistics*, 17(2), 444-472.
- Butler P, and Collins N. 1996. Strategic analysis in political markets *European Journal of Marketing* 30 10/11: 25-36.
- Butler Patrick and Harris P. 2009. Considerations on the evolution of political marketing theory *Marketing Theory* 9 2: 149-164.
- Bynner J. and Ashford S. 1994. Politics and participation: Some antecedents of young people's attitudes to the political system and political activity. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 24: 223-236.
- Campbell A, Converse P. E, Miller W. E, Stokes D. E. 1960. *The American voter* New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Caplan S. 2007. Latinos acculturation and acculturative stress: A dimensional concept analysis. *Policy Politics & Nursing Practice* 8 2: 93-106.
- Catterall M, Maclaran P. 2002. Researching consumers in virtual worlds: a cyberspace odyssey. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 1 3: 228-237.
- Cialdini Robert B, Noah J. Goldstein 2004. Social influence: Compliance and conformity.. *Annual Review of Psychology* 55 February: 591–621.
- Cicognani E, Zani B, Fournier B, Gavray C. and Born M. 2012. Gender Differences in youths' political engagement and participation The role of parents and of adolescents' social and civic participation. *Journal of Adolescence* 35: 561–576
- Clarke H, Sanders D, Stewart M. and Whiteley P. 2004. *Political Choice in Britain* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cox, M. A., & Cox, T. F. (2008). Multidimensional scaling. In *Handbook of data visualization* (pp. 315-347). Springer Berlin Heidelberg.
- Czinkota M, Kaufmann H.R. and Basile G. 2014. Legitimacy reputation and sustainability for companies and their supply chains. *Industrial Marketing Management Journal Guest Edition* 43. 1.: 91-101.
- Çarkoğlu, A., & Hinich, M. J. (2006). A spatial analysis of Turkish party preferences. *Electoral Studies*, 25(2), 369-392.
- Çelik H, & Eksi H. 2008. Söylem analizi Marmara Üniversitesi Atatürk Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi 2 21-26.
- Dalton T. C. 2002. *Becoming John Dewey: Dilemmas of a philosopher and naturalist* Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press.
- De Leeuw, J., & Heiser, W. (1982). Theory of multidimensional scaling. *Handbook of statistics*, 2, 285-316.



- Dean D, Croft R. 2009. Reason and Choice: A conceptual study of consumer decision making and electoral behavior. *Journal of Political Marketing* 8 2: 130-146.
- Denny K, Doyle O. 2005. Political interest cognitive ability and personality: determinants of voter turnout in Britain UCD Geary Institute Discussion Paper 2005/7.
- Dermody J, Hanmer-Lloyd S, Scullion R. 2010. Young people and voting behaviour: alienated youth and or. an interested and critical citizenry? *European Journal of Marketing* 44 3/4: 421-435.
- Dermody J. & Scullion R. 2005. Young people's attitudes towards british political advertising: nurturing or impeding voter engagement? *Journal of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing* 14 1-2: 129-149.
- Dholakia N. & Zhang D. 2004. Online qualitative research in the age of ecommerce: data sources and approaches *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 5 2.
- Donald H. K. S. 2010. Principled Non-voters and postmaterialist theory: an exploratory analysis of young principled non-voters in New Zealand Thesis [http://library.canterbury.ac.nz/thesis/theses\\_copyright.shtml](http://library.canterbury.ac.nz/thesis/theses_copyright.shtml).
- Dow, J. K. (2001). A comparative spatial analysis of majoritarian and proportional elections. *Electoral Studies*, 20(1), 109-125.
- Ediraras D.T. Rahayu D. A, Natalina A. and Widya W. 2013. Political marketing strategy of jakarta governor election in the 2012s [Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences](#) 81 28: 584-588
- Edlin A, Gelman A, Kaplan N. 2007. Voting as a rational choice: why and how people vote to improve the well-being of others. *Rationality and Society* 19: 293-314.
- Elklit J, Svensson P, Togeby L. 2005. Why is voter turnout not declining in denmark? paper to be presented in the workshop on local political participation at the XIV Nordic Political Science Association Congress. Reykjavik Iceland 11–13 August.
- Elliott C. 1996. Paradigms of forest conservation *Unasylva* 187 4: 4-9.
- Evans D. 2004. Greasing the wheels: using pork barrel projects to build majority coalitions in congress Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Faust, K., Willert, K. E., Rowlee, D. D., & Skvoretz, J. (2002). Scaling and statistical models for affiliation networks: patterns of participation among Soviet politicians during the Brezhnev era. *Social Networks*, 24(3), 231-259.
- Fowler J.H. and Kam C.D. 2007. Beyond the self: social identity altruism and political participation. *Journal of Politics* 69 3: 813-827.
- Franklin M. N, 2004. Voter Turnout and the dynamics of electoral competition in established democracies since 1945. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin M. N. 2002. Learning from the Danish case: A comment on Palle Svensson's critique of the Franklin thesis. *European Journal of Political Research* 41 751-757
- Frey B.S. and Stutzer A. 2002. The Economics of Happiness *World Economics* 3 1: 402- 435.
- Friese M, Smith C. T, Plischke T, Bluemke M, and Nosek B. A. 2012. Do implicit attitudes predict actual voting behavior particularly for undecided voters? *PloS one* 7 8: 12-22.
- Gerber A, Green D. and Shachar R, 2003. Voting may be habit forming: evidence from a randomized field experiment. *American Journal of Political Science* 47 3:540-550.
- GerberA.S.GreenD.P. and Larimer C. 2008. Social pressure and voter turnout: evidence from a large-scale field experiment. *American Political Science Review* 102 1: 33-48
- Gersen Jacob Berry Christopher R.2010. Voters Non-voters and the Implications of Election Timing for Public Policy University of Chicago Law School Chicago Unbound Public Law and Legal Theory Working Papers
- Geys B. 2006. Rational theories of voter turnout: a review. *Political Studies Review* 4: 16- 35.
- Gilens M. 2005. Inequality and democratic responsiveness. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 69 5: 778-796
- Gimpel J, Kaufmann K. M, Hoffman A. 2003. A promise fulfilled? open primaries and representation. *Journal of Politics* 65: 457-476.
- Glaser B. G, Strauss A. L. 1967. The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative Research. London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson.
- Gosnell Harold F. 1927. Getting-Out-the-Vote: An Experiment in the Stimulation of Voting. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gray M, Caul M. 2000. Declining Voter Turnout in Advanced Industrial Democracies 1950 to 1997 The Effects of Declining Group Mobilization: *Comparative political studies* 33 9: 1091-1122.



- Griffin J.D, Newman B. 2005. Are voters better represented? *The Journal of Politics* 67 4: 1206–1227
- Harder J, Krosnick J. A. 2008. Why Do People Vote A Psychological Analysis of the Causes of Voter Turnout. *Journal of Social Issues* 64 3: 525-549
- Hardy C, Harley B, Phillips N. 2004. Discourse Analysis and Content Analysis: Two Solitudes? *Qualitative Methods* 2: 1: 19-22.
- Hayward T. 2006. Ecological citizenship: Justice rights and the virtue of resourcefulness. *Environmental Politics* 15 3: 435-446.
- Hemetsberger A. 2006. When David Becomes Goliath Ideological Discourse in New Online Consumer Movements. *Advances in Consumer Research* 33: 494-500.
- Henn M, Weinstein M. and Wring D. 2002. A Generation apart? youth and political participation in Britain. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 4: 167–92.
- Henn M, Weinstein M., Hodgkinson S. 2007. Social capital and political participation: understanding the dynamics of young people's political disengagement in contemporary Britain. *Social Policy and Society* 6: 467-479.
- Henneberg S. C, O'Shaughnessy N.J. 2007. Theory and concept development in political marketing. *Journal of Political Marketing* 6 2-3: 5-31.
- Henneberg S.C.2004. The views of an advocatus dei: political marketing and its critics . *Journal of Public Affairs* 4 3: 225-243.
- Herring J. P. 2004. The Politics and Diplomacy of CI Management *Competitive Intelligence Magazine* 7 4: 37-38.
- Hine C. 2000.. *Virtual ethnography*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.
- Hofstede, Geert; *Culture's Consequences, Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations*. Sage Publications Inc. 2001.
- Hollander J. 2009. A comparative cross-national study of voter turnout and electoral systems 1972-2005 2009 [www.policshi.hollander.spring](http://www.policshi.hollander.spring).
- Hooghe M, Kavadias D, Reeskens T. 2006. Intention to Vote and Future Voting Behavior. A Multi-Level Analysis of Adolescents in 27 Countries Paper presented at the 102nd Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association Philadelphia August 31-September 3.
- Hooghe M, Stolle D. 2004. Good Girls Go to the Polling Booth Bad Boys Go Everywhere: Gender Differences in Anticipated Political Participation Among American Fourteen-Year-Olds. *Women and Politics* 26 3/4: 1-23.
- Hooghe M. 2004. Political socialization and the future of politics. *Acta Politica* 39 4: 331-341.
- Hopf T. 2004. Discourse and Content Analysis: Some Fundamental Incompatibilities *Qualitative Methods* 2: 1 31-33.
- Huddy L, Khatib N. 2007. American Patriotism National Identity and Political Involvement. *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 63–77
- Inglehart R. 2008. Changing Values among Western Publics from 1970 to 2006 *Western European. Politics* 31 1-2: 130-146.
- Irwin B, Hramiak A. 2010. A discourse analysis of trainee teacher identity in online discussion forums. *Technology Pedagogy and Education* 19 3: 361-377.
- Jackson, Terence ; “Cultural Values and Management Ethics:A 10-Nation Study”, *Human Relations*, Vol. 54, No.10, 2001 s.1274 .
- Johansen H. P. M, 2005. Political Marketing. *Journal of Political Marketing* 4 4. 85-105.
- Jones P, Dawson P. 2008. How much do voters know? an analysis of motivation and political awareness Scottish. *Journal of Political Economy* 55 2: 123-142.
- Kallgren C. A, Raymond R. R, and Cialdini R.B. 2000. A Focus Theory of Normative Conduct: When Norms Do and Do Not Affect Behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 26: 1002–12.
- Karp J. A, Banducci S. A. 2008. Political efficacy and participation in twenty seven democracies: how electoral systems shape political behavior. *British Journal of Political Science* 38 2: 311-334.
- Kaufmann H.R, Basile G. and Vrontis D. 2012. New consumer roles in branding. *Journal Qualitative Market Research* 15 4: 404-419.
- Kaufmann H.R, Czinkota M, Vrontis D, Hadjo A. 2012. Corporate branding and transformational leadership in turbulent times. *Journal of Product and Brand Management*. 21 3: 192- 204.
- Kelly D. 2006. Parents influence on youths' civic behavior *Family in society* 87 3: 447-455.



- Kelly Nathan J. 2005. Political choice public policy and distributional outcomes. *American Journal of Political Science* 49 4: 865–880
- Kimberlee R.H. 2002. Why don't British young people vote at general elections? *Journal of Youth Studies* 5 1: 85-98.
- Kohler U, Rose R. 2010. Under what circumstances could maximising turnout alter an election result? *Representation* 46 2: 119-138.
- Koudenburg N, Postmes T, Gordijn E. H. 2011.. If they were to vote they would vote for Us. *Psychological Science* 22 12: 1506-1510.
- Kozinets R. 2002. Can Consumers Escape the Market? Emancipatory illuminations from burning man. *Journal of Consumer Research* 29: 20–38.
- Kruskal, J. B., & Wish, M. (1978). *Multidimensional scaling* (Vol. 11). Sage.
- Ladd J. M, and Lenz G. S. 2008. Reassessing the role of anxiety in vote choice. *Political Psychology* 29: 275-296.
- Laffey M, Weldes J. 2004. Methodological reflections on discourse analysis. *Qualitative Methods* 2 1: 28-30
- Langer R, Beckman S.C. 2005. Sensitive research topics netnography revisited. *Qualitative Market Research* 82: 189-203.
- Langesen R. 2008. Generation why bother - a political wasteland *Sunday Star Times* 22 June.
- Lascoumes P, Le Gales P. 2007. Introduction: Understanding Public Policy through Its Instruments—From the Nature of Instruments to the Sociology of Public Policy. *Instrumentation* 20 1: 1-21.
- Lassen D. D. 2005. The Effect of information on voter turnout: evidence from a natural experiment. *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 103–118.
- Lees-Marshment J. 2003. Political Marketing. *Journal of Political Marketing* 2 1: 1-32.
- Lees-Marshment J. 2006. Political Marketing theory and practice: a reply to Ormrod's Critique of the Lees-Marshment Market-Oriented Party Model. *Politics* 262: 119-125.
- Lefkofridi Z, Giger N, Gallego A. 2013. Electoral Participation in Pursuit of Policy Representation: Ideological Congruence and Voter Turnout. *Journal of Elections Public Opinion and Parties* 24 3: 291-311.
- Leighley J, Nagler J. 2009. Electoral Laws and Turnout 1972-2008 CELS 2009 4th annual conference on Empirical Legal Studies Paper.
- Leimgruber P. 2011. Values and Votes: The indirect effect of personal values on voting behavior. *Swiss Political Science Review*. 17 2: 107-127.
- Lim, Lrong; "Work Related Values of Malays and Chinese Malaysians", *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, Vol. 1(2), 2001, s.211.
- Linhart, E., & Shikano, S. (2009). Ideological signals of German parties in a multi-dimensional space: An estimation of party preferences using the CMP data. *German Politics*, 18(3), 301-322.
- Lloyd J. 2005. Square peg round hole? can marketing-based concepts such as the 'product' and the 'marketing mix' have a useful role in the political arena?. *Journal of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing* 14 1-2: 27-46.
- Lugosi P, Janta H, Watson P. 2012. Investigative management and consumer research on the internet *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* 24 6: 838 – 854
- Maarek P. 1995. *Political Marketing and Communication*. John Libbey & Ltd. Publishers.
- Mark L. Davison and Stephen G. Sireci (2000), "Multidimensional scaling", *Handbook of Applied Multivariate Statistics and Mathematical Modeling* editor: Howard E.A. Tinsley, Steven D. Brown, pp.323-349
- Maulana A. E, Eckhardt G. M. 2007. Just friends good acquaintances or soul mates? An exploration of web site connectedness. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal* 10 No.: 227-242
- Mellahi, Kamel-Guermat, Cherif; " Does Age Matter? An Empirical Examination of the Effect of Age on Managerial Values and Practices in India", *Journal of World Business*, August 2003,
- Mettler Suzanne and Soss Joe 2004. The Consequences of Public Policy for Democratic Citizenship: Bridging Policy Studies and Mass Politics *Perspectives on Politics* Vol 2 1: 55-73
- Milan A, 2005. Willing to participate: Political engagement of young adults *Canadian Social Trends* Winter Statistics Canada — Catalogue 11-008.
- Milner H. 2002. *Civic Literacy: How Informed Citizens Make Democracy Work* University press of New England: Hanover.
- Milner H. 2005. Are Young Canadians Becoming Political Dropouts? A Comparative Perspective. *IRPP Choices* 11: 3-5.



- Nickerson D, W. BA 2006. Hunting the elusive young Voter. *Journal of Political Marketing* 5 3: 47-69.
- Nielsen S. W, Vinæs L.M. 2014. Party brands and voting. *Electoral Studies* 33: 153–165
- Norris P. 2002. *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- O'Toole T, Lister M, Marsh D. Jones S, McDonagh A. 2003. Tuning out or left out? articipation and non-participation among young people. *Contemporary Politics* 9 1: 45-61.
- Ormrod R. P. 2005. A Conceptual Model of Political Market Orientation. *Journal of Nonprofit Public Sector Marketing* 14 1-2: 47-64.
- Owen D. 2008.. Political Socialization in the Twenty-first Century: Recommendations for Researchers Paper presented for presentation at —The Future of Civic Education in the 21st Century conference cosponsored by the Center for Civic Education and the Bundeszentrale fur politische Bildung James Madison's Montpelier September 21-26.
- Özcan Y. Z. 2000. Determinants of Political Behavior in Istanbul Turkey *Party Politics* 6: 505-518.
- Özler S.D, 2000. Politics of the Gecekondu in Turkey: The Political Choices of Urban Squatters in National Elections. *Turkish Studies* Vol1 2: 39-58.
- Pammett J. H, LeDuc L. 2003. Explaining the turnout decline in Canadian federal elections: A new survey of non-voters. Available at: [www.elections.ca](http://www.elections.ca).
- Plutzer E. 2002. Becoming a habitual voter. inertia resources and growth in young adulthood. *American Political Science Review* 96 1: 41-56.
- Podoshen J. S. 2013. Dark tourism motivations: Simulation emotional contagion and topographic Comparison. *Tourism Management* 35 2: 63-71.
- Pope, Matthijs; “Preferences for Changing Power Positions and Power Distances: A Social Value Orientations Approach”, *European Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol.33. 2003, s.178.
- Powell Jr, G. B., & Whitten, G. D. (1993). A cross-national analysis of economic voting: taking account of the political context. *American Journal of Political Science*, 391-414.
- Print M, Saha L, Edwards K. 2004. *Youth Electoral Study: Report 1* Canberra: Australian Electoral Commission.
- Puri A, 2007. The web of insights The art and practice of webnography. *International Journal of Market Research* 49 3: 387-408.
- Putnam R. 2000. *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Ragsdale L. and Rusk J. G. 1993. Electoral Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science* 37 3: 721-746.
- Remmer K. L. 2009. Political Scale and electoral turnout: evidence from the less industrialized world. *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 275-303.
- Rodrigues, Carl A.; “ Cultural Classifications of Societies and How They Affect”, *Cross-Cultural Management*, Volume5, No.3,1998.
- Rohrschneider R. 2002. Mobilizing versus chasing: how do parties target voters in election campaigns? *Electoral Studies* 21 3. 367–382.
- Rokeach, Milton; *The Nature of Human Values*, New York: The Free Press,1973.
- Rose R. 2004. Voter Turnout in the European Union Member Countries: 17-24 in Rafael López Pintor & Maria Gratschew ed.. *Voter Turnout in Western Europe since 1945* Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- Roussias N. 2010. Turnout in Transitional Democracies: Patterns of Normalization Paper prepared for the Research 60th Political Studies Association Annual Conference 29 March - 1 April Edinburgh UK.
- Rubenson D, Blais A, Fournier P, Gidengil E. & Nevitte N. 2004. Accounting for the Age Gap in Turnout *Acta Politica* 39 4: 407-421.
- Russell A, Fieldhouse E. and MacAllisster I. 2002. The anatomy of Liberal support in Britain 1974–1997. *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 4 1: 49–74.
- Rybas N. and Gajjala R. 2007. Developing cyberethnographic research methods for understanding digitally mediated identities. *Forum Qualitative Social Research* 8 3: 35.
- Sandell J, & Plutzer E. 2005. Families divorce and voter turnout *Political Behavior* 27: 133–162.
- Sandlin J. A. 2007. Netnography as a consumer education research tool *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 31: 288–294.
- Savigny H. 2003. Political Marketing. *Journal of Political Marketing* 3 1: 21-38.
- Schreiter T. H. O. 2006. Overcoming Youth Voter Decline From a Canadian Perspective. *Law School Citizens Assembly Directed Reading Course* December 8. 1-34.



- Schwartz, Shalom; “Are There Universal Aspects in the Structure and Contents of Human Values”?, *Journal of Social Issues*, 50/4, 1994.
- Shaffer S. D. 1982. Policy differences between voters and non-voters in American elections. *The Western Political Quarterly* 35 4: 496-510.
- Sheerin C. A. 2007. Political Efficacy and Youth Non-Voting: A Qualitative Investigation into the Attitudes and Experiences of Young Voters and Non-Voters in New Zealand thesis [http://ir.Canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/10092/962/1/thesis\\_fulltext.pdf](http://ir.Canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/10092/962/1/thesis_fulltext.pdf).
- SIMS, Randi L.-KEENAN, John P.1999. A Cross Cultural Comparison of Managers’ Whistleblowing Tendencies”, *International Journal of Values- Based Management*, Vol.12
- Singh, Joginder P.; “Managerial Culture and Work Related-Values in India”, *Organization Studies*, 11/1, 1990.
- Sitz L. 2008. Beyond semiotics and hermeneutics: Discourse analysis as a way to interpret consumers’ discourses and experiences. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal* 11 2: 177 – 191.
- Southwell P. L. 2008. The Effect of Political Alienation on Voter Turnout 1964-2000. *Journal of Political & Military Sociology* 36: 131-148.
- Sturrock, K., & Rocha, J. (2000). A multidimensional scaling stress evaluation table. *Field methods*, 12(1), 49-60.
- Taguchi, Y. H., & Oono, Y. (2005). Relational patterns of gene expression via non-metric multidimensional scaling analysis. *Bioinformatics*, 21(6), 730-740.
- Tedesco J. C.2007. Examining internet interactivity effects on young adult political information efficacy *American Behavioral Scientist* 50 9: 1183-1194.
- Teun A. Van Dijk 1997. *Discourse as structure and process discourse studies: a multidisciplinary introduction* Ed.Teun A. Van Dijk Vol: 1Sage.
- Tigue CC, Borak DJ, O’Connor JJM, Schandl C, Feinberg DR. 2012. Voice pitch influences voting behavior. *Evolution and Human Behavior* 33 3: 210-216.
- Triandis, Harry C.; *Culture and Social Behavior*, Newyork, Mc Graw Hill, 1994.
- Tsogo, L., Masson, M. H., & Bardot, A. (2000). Multidimensional scaling methods for many-object sets: A review. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 35(3), 307-319.
- Van der Waal, J., Achterberg, P., & Houtman, D. (2007). Class is not dead—it has been buried alive: class voting and cultural voting in postwar western societies (1956–1990). *Politics & Society*, 35(3), 403-426.
- Wattenberg M. P. 2007. *Is Voting for Young People* Pearson Education: Upper Saddle River NJ.
- Wattenburg M. 2002.. *Where Have All The Voters Gone?*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Weisberg, H. F., & Tanaka, A. (2001). Change in the spatial dimensions of party conflict: The case of Japan in the 1990s. *Political Behavior*, 23(1), 75-101.
- Wlezien C. 2004. Patterns of Representation: Dynamics of Public Preferences and Policy. *The Journal of Politics* 66 1: 1–24
- Wolfinger R. Rosenstone S. 1980 *Who Votes?* . New Haven CT: Yale University Press
- Yoshio Takane, Sunho Jung, Yuriko Oshima-Takane,(2009), *Multidimensional Scaling*,The SAGE Handbook of Quantitative Methods in Psychology, editor: Roger E Millsap,Alberto Maydeu-Olivares, pp.219-243
- Zhong Y, and Chen J. 2002. To Vote or Not to Vote: An Analysis of Peasants' Participation in Chinese Village Elections *Comparative Political Studies* 35: 686-712.
- Zukin C, Keeter S, Andolina M, Jenkins K. M.X, Carpini D. 2006. *A new engagement? Political participation civic life and the changing American citizen*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.