

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF ACTIONS
CONCERNING POVERTY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

MERVE FİDAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

SEPTEMBER 2022

Approval of the thesis:

**A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF ACTIONS
CONCERNING POVERTY**

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ABSTRACT

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF ACTIONS CONCERNING POVERTY

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September 2022, 122 pages

In the field of intergroup prosocial behavior, which has recently begun to be included in the field of social psychology, studies examining actions concerning poverty have also recently begun. However, both in the case of Turkey and for the field as a whole, there is still much to be examined from the perspective of intergroup prosociality regarding poverty. Three studies were conducted to examine the role of ideological orientations, causal attributions of poverty and emotions on poverty-related actions. The first study showed that participants explained poverty largely through structural inequalities, that sympathy was their most prominent emotion concerning poverty, and that charity was the prominent action engaged. Additionally, it was observed that charity was a type of action used by both right- and left-oriented participants, while sociopolitical action was practiced only by left-oriented participants. While the role of sympathy emotions such as sadness and compassion were observed in charitable actions, it was observed that leftist ideological orientation and feelings of outrage were distinctive in engagement in sociopolitical action. Study 2a tested the factor structures of the scales developed within the scope of this thesis and previously in order to test the hypotheses of the

study. Study 2b tested the pathways to activist and benevolent support, which are two different types of intergroup prosocial behavior. The results revealed that pathways to activist support differed in terms of ideology and anger about poverty, whereas pathways to charitable support were similar in terms of sympathy.

Keywords: intergroup prosociality, political ideology, emotions, activism, benevolence

ÖZ

YOKSULLUĞA İLİŞKİN EYLEMLERİN SOSYAL PSİKOLOJİK AÇIDAN İNCELENMESİ

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Psikoloji Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Banu Cingöz Ulu

Eylül 2022, 122 sayfa

Yakın zamanda sosyal psikolojinin çalışma alanına büyük oranda dahil olmaya başlamış gruplar arası prososyal davranış alanında yoksulluğa yönelik eylemleri inceleyen çalışmalar yapılmaya, yine yakın zamanda başlanmıştır. Ancak hem Türkiye örneğinde hem de bu alanın tamamı için gruplar arası prososyal davranış perspektifinin yoksulluk bağlamında incelemesi gereken çok şey vardır. Bu tezde, ideolojik yönelimlerin, yoksulluğa ilişkin nedensel atıfların ve duyguların yoksullukla ilgili eylemler üzerindeki rolünü incelemek amacıyla üç çalışma gerçekleştirilmiştir. Nitel perspektifle gerçekleştirilen ilk çalışma, katılımcıların yoksulluğu büyük oranda yapısal eşitsizliklere atıfta bulunarak açıkladığı, yoksulluk bağlamında belirgin duygusunun sempati olduğu ve yardım etmeyi en çok başvurduğu eylem olarak belirttiğini göstermiştir. Bununla birlikte; yoksulluğun sebebi olarak bireysel özelliklere atıfta bulunmanın sağ ideolojik yönelimli olma ile ilişkili olduğu görülmüştür. Yoksulluk konusunda gerçekleştirilen eylemler konusunda ise, yardım etmenin hem sağ hem sol yönelimli katılımcıların

başvurduğu bir eylem türü iken, sosyopolitik eylemin yalnızca sol yönelimli katılımcılar tarafından gerçekleştirildiği görülmüştür. Yardım eylemlerinde üzüntü, merhamet gibi sempati duygularının rolü görülürken, sosyopolitik eylemde sol ideolojik yönelimin ve öfke duygularının ayırıcı olduğu gözlenmiştir. Çalışma 2a, araştırmanın hipotezlerinin sınanabilmesi için bu tez kapsamında ve daha önce geliştirilmiş ölçeklerin faktör yapılarını sınamıştır. Çalışma 2b ise, iki farklı gruplar arası prososyal davranış türü olan aktivist ve yardımsever desteğe giden yolları sınamıştır. Sonuçlar, aktivist desteğe giden yolların benimsenen ideoloji ve yoksulluk konusunda hissedilen öfke üzerinden farklılaştığını, yardımsever desteğe giden yolların ise sempati üzerinden benzerlik gösterdiğini ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: gruplar arası prososyal davranış, politik ideoloji, duygular, aktivizm, yardımseverlik

To Mehmet Fatih Traş and Cemile Çağırca...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To have the opportunity to write the Acknowledgments section of this dissertation was something that I did not believe I could do from time to time, as my belief in my ability to do it was shaken by both myself and external factors throughout most of my PhD. education. During these times, there were some people who held my hand, reminded me how much I loved doing this, and gave me the strength to cope with the difficult times I was going through. Without the support of these people, this dissertation would not have been written. I would like to remember them here.

I was a receiver of the TÜBİTAK 100/2000 Scholarship for the Ph.D. students that helped me continue my studies securely.

I would like to express my gratitude to the valuable jury members; Assoc. Prof. Dr. Derya Hasta, Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı, Assoc. Dr. Başak Şahin-Acar and Assist. Prof. Dr. İlker Dalgıç and my thesis advisor, Assist. Prof. Dr. Banu Cingöz Ulu for their support and feedbacks.

I would like to thank my dear professor Şahan Savaş Karataşlı for the way he showed me both as a professor and a *comrade*, for the inspiration he gave me to be an academic and for bestowing his hands on me every time I screamed for help, even if he was miles away.

I want to express my gratitude to *Istanbul corners of my heart*, Esra Ceko, Yasemin Adıbelli and Sibel Şentürk for being there with their love and support every time I needed.

I would like to express my deepest love and gratitude to my dear friend Sibel Bekiroğlu, to whom I will always be grateful for the hand she gave to me during the bad times that never seemed to pass.

My sweetheart Ezgi Türkçelik, your presence as a wonderful person and a great friend is priceless.

My favourite *muhreç* team; Banu Yılmaz, Devrim Kılıçer, Mustafa Kemal Coşkun, Nuray Türkmen and Eren Kırmızıaltın, no one can bring me down as long as I have you!

My dears Ayşe Arslan, Beril Türkoğlu, Burcu Sarı, Deniz Sariaslan, Emre Demirel, Esra Angın, Hatice Ferhat, Hasan Akcan, Mecit Odlukaya, Ulaş Nacar, Duygu Tatar, Deniz Erdem and Kurtuluş Gürbültürk; I am grateful for your presence, support and love. I feel lucky to have you in my life.

Dear Sami Çoksan and Mert Kükrer; thank you for being there with your brilliant minds and great sense of humor whenever I needed.

I would like to thank Utku Tatar for being with me during the processes that we have been constantly tested through challenges since we met each other, for his patience, support and for believing in me even when I did not believe in myself.

As the only child in my family who managed to go to university, I would like to thank my mother and sisters for their sacrifices in helping me continue my education, for which I will be grateful for the rest of my life.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“What is to be explained is not why the starving individual steals or why the exploited individual strikes, but why the majority of starving individuals do not steal and the majority of exploited individuals do not strike.” (Reich, 1946, p.14)

Wilhelm Reich in his groundbreaking book *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, put forth this statement while addressing a research question of social psychology regarding the maintenance of inequalities. Indeed, social psychology has well established its research to understand the maintenance mechanisms of inequality. How people react against inequality has been one of the major concerns of intergroup relations in psychology. Amidst the efforts to understand why people maintain inequalities, sometimes even at their own cost, inequalities among different groups in societies remain salient, even growing.

Among the prevailing inequalities around the world, poverty emerges as one of the most dramatic. Usually defined as lack of income to access to adequate living standards briefly, poverty is a dramatic global problem preventing people to enjoy their fundamental human rights such as health, food and water, and education etc. (United Nations, 2022). World Bank statistics estimate that by 2017, 9.2 percent of the world’s population lived on less than 1.90 USD a day, which denotes extreme poverty. As of the recent statistics of World Inequality Database (2021), 10% of the world has 52.4% of the income, while 50% shares the 8.5% of the income, revealing the tremendous income inequality. The fact that poverty is such a widespread phenomenon has brought along a variety of efforts by social scientists to understand and explain poverty in terms of its reasons and consequences. Topics such as the roots of such pervasive inequality and the mechanisms through which inequality is

perpetuated constitute the study fields of sociology, anthropology, history, economics as well as social psychology. Questions about why and how people maintain inequality are still topical, despite much research in our field.

The discussion of the claims that human beings or the stratification of social groups is eternally unequal is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but it is irrefutable that we experience and witness many inequalities in everyday life. Nonetheless, what do we do in response to it? In relation to which processes do we engage in what we do? This dissertation examines the variables that are associated with prosocial actions concerning poverty, a strikingly dramatic source of inequality in the context of Turkey.

Up to date, poverty-related research has mostly relied on perspectives of either causal attributions or interpersonal helping. The well-established body of research relying on causal attributions for poverty has revealed the relationship between causal attributions of poverty and socio-political variables such as political ideology, social dominance orientation or system-justification tendencies as well as the relationship of causal attributions with the issue of helping the poor. Research has mainly indicated that endorsing left ideological orientation, lower level of social dominance orientation and lower system justification tendencies are positively related to attribution of poverty to structural causes such as capitalism and unequal distribution of wealth, and attributing poverty to structural causes are positively related to willingness to help the poor. Yet, endorsing right-wing ideologies, higher social dominance orientation and system justification tendencies were found to be positively correlated with attributing poverty to the poor themselves, such as lack of effort or laziness, which in turn predicted lesser willingness to help the poor (e.g.; Weiner, Osborne, & Rudolph, 2011; Zucker & Weiner, 2003).

On the other hand, the charitable giving literature has examined the role of many motivational factors, in why people help the poor. In summary, this literature suggests that people fundamentally are more likely to help based on recognizing the existence of need, being requested to donate, perceived benefits, both psychological

and personal, altruistic motivations, reputation concerns, their values, and beliefs in the high efficacy of aid (see Weepking & Beckers, 2011 for a review).

While the collective action literature provides important explanations and findings on the mechanisms of taking action against perceived disadvantage, there has been little effort to examine activist action on poverty and its antecedents. These efforts emphasize the role of three different antecedents, namely identification with an anti-poverty movement, prosocial emotions, and efficacy beliefs in motivating collective action on poverty (Thomas et al., 2010).

Recently, some researchers have begun to test the common and unique antecedents of two types of actions concerning poverty, namely benevolent and activist support, and this effort offers the possibility of a broad research area for research on poverty under the intergroup prosociality umbrella rather than merely relying on side of the prosocial actions' spectrum (e.g., Thomas & McGarty, 2016; 2017; Louis et al., 2018).

Conducting these studies in a context like Turkey, where poverty and impoverishment are high due to the deteriorating economic crisis, will be very important to see the predictors of poverty-related actions in the Turkish context. Hence, in this study I used this framework to differentially predict the different prosocial actions in the context of poverty and integrating ideology to this framework as a possible predictor to differentiate the actions and the paths leading to these actions. This dissertation, thus, consists of 4 chapters. Chapter 1 discusses the relevant literature and its relation to my research questions and I present an overview and hypotheses for my study. Chapter 2 includes the qualitative study, its results and discussion, which is designed to provide insight to the researcher for the quantitative research to be carried out in the second stage, due to the limited repertoire of social psychological research on poverty in Turkey. Chapter 3 presents the second study of the dissertation, namely the research and findings that examined the relationship between causal attributions of poverty, political ideology, emotions

about poverty and prosocial actions taken in relation to poverty. Lastly, Chapter 4 incorporates the general discussion of the study findings and the conclusion.

1.1. Intergroup Prosociality Perspective for Poverty Research

Prosocial behavior is defined as a range of actions committed by some groups those are beneficial to other people (Penner et al., 2005). These actions represent positive forms of social behavior (Bar-Tal, 1976). Although prosocial behavior is a concept that emphasizes the positive side of human behavior and has a long history of research and theory, only recently it has been addressed in the realm of intergroup relations that until recently predominantly dealt with the negative side of group behavior (Stürmer & Snyder, 2010). In doing so, intergroup prosociality adopts the concept with its same meaning; as actions taken considering outgroup others (Louis et al., 2019) or involving as a third-party in order to promote other group's conditions (van de Vyer & Abrams, 2017) while emphasizing the role of group dynamics as well interpersonal ones.

People can react differently to the same situation. For example, the collective action literature deals with the mechanisms by which people engage in system-challenging political activities to improve the conditions of their own groups (e.g.; Drury & Reicher, 1999; Reicher, 1996) or other disadvantaged groups (e.g.; Thomas et al., 2020; van Zomeren et al., 2011). Collective action dynamics for many perceived inequalities are included in this literature. However, the collective action literature on poverty remains quite limited. A plausible answer can be found by addressing the characteristics of social identity of the poor in terms of social identity, which is one of the basic concepts on which the literature on collective action is based. Social identity theory's approach to the poor as a group has so far focused on the theory's strategies of distancing from negative social identity (Akfirat et al., 2016), or that poverty can be glorified by the poor under certain conditions (Yaffe et al., 2018). As an exception to this trend, indeed, few studies that examined sociopolitical action possibilities in relation to poverty, focused on identification with a social movement

that strived to alleviate poverty, prosocial emotions and efficacy beliefs (Thomas & McGarty, 2010; Thomas & McGarty, 2016). The evaluation of the dynamics and possibilities of collective action on poverty within local contexts (ie., in Turkey) is still missing and needs to be studied. The lack of collective action literature on poverty is also evident when we approach the concept not as poor, but as working poor or working class. Indeed, social psychology has been quite successful in showing that class is only a legitimization of the system by the structurally disadvantaged, derived from Marx's definition of false consciousness. That is, the structurally disadvantaged people can tolerate inequalities to the extent that they perceive the system as legitimate (Jost et al., 2003, Jost et al., 2005; Napier et al., 2020). In this regard, one can argue that social psychology rather focused on the dynamics of collective inaction in the context of poverty as Reich (1946) suggested.

Secondly, in contrast to the collective action literature, the field of charitable or philanthropic behavior has been the area where psychology has most studied people's motivations for acting on poverty. It is well established that people are more inclined to help when they are aware that someone is in need (Cheung & Chan, 2000; Lee & Farrell, 2003) or they receive a request for help from an organization or an individual (Bekkers, 2005; Schlegelmilch et al., 1997). In addition, psychological benefits of charitable giving are also important factors that lead people to help. For example, people may engage in charitable giving to improve their self-image (Tonin & Vlassopoulos, 2013; Wilhelm & Bekkers, 2010) or to experience the "joy of giving" (Mount, 1996; Harbaugh, et al., 2007). In addition, reputation concerns, which can be seen as another personal benefit, and the desire to be recognized and appreciated (Andreoni & Petrie, 2004; Clark, 2002) can also drive people to help (see Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Wiepking & Bekkers, 2012 for reviews). To summarize, there are a wide range of interpersonal factors that drive people to charitable behavior and these relationships have been demonstrated in the literature.

However, recently, researchers have begun to investigate charitable giving in intergroup relations, revealing that it is not merely an interpersonal act, but also has

functions at the intergroup level (see Van Leuwen & Zagefka, 2017 for a comprehensive review). Intergroup helping containing intergroup bias (Dovidio et al. 2017) has an impact on and is influenced by power dynamics between advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Nadler & Halabi, 2006, 2015) or even might be preferred to bolster hierarchy (Nadler, 2012; Nadler & Halabi, 2015) and maintain the status quo (Kende & Schnabel, 2017; Shnabel et al., 2016). The fact that helping, which is a typical example of prosocial behavior, is being addressed in the field of intergroup relations opens up space for the field of intergroup relations to integrate various components of intergroup prosocial behavior to be examined.

One of the issues that these advances have undoubtedly opened up space for research is actions related to poverty. Until recently, the two fields covering the analysis of poverty-related actions; namely activism and benevolence have proceeded separately, with the factors that motivate people to help the poor and the factors that lead to collective action being the subject of separate studies and literatures. Recently, the extent to which people might engage in both activities, and which motivations, appraisals and emotions influence people to take which action, have not been brought together in an integrative way. Some researchers have begun to integrate prosocial actions concerning humanitarian disadvantages (Louis et al., 2019; Thomas & McGarty, 2016, 2017, 2018). These attempts built their efforts on critiques that collective action studies have so far ignored individual differences by treating collective action only as a group-level process (see Duncan, 2012), while charitable giving ignored group dynamics (Stürmer & Snyder, 2010; Thomas & McGarty, 2017, van Leuwen & Zagefka, 2017). Examining interplay between these two types of actions and pathways to them, allows us to see how people might react in entirely different ways (Thomas & McGarty, 2017, 2018) to achieve the same goal (Sweetman et al., 2013).

The fundamental tenet of this viewpoint is that intergroup prosocial behavior concerning poverty can be classified into two distinct forms, as social and political solidarity with disadvantaged groups addressing the structural inequalities of the system causing the disadvantage, and charitable support to reduce or eliminate the

problems of the disadvantaged. The first is called activist support, while the latter is called benevolent support. Benevolent support is characterized as approaching the problem in terms of disadvantaged people's suffering and addresses the allocation of financial resources, while activist support focuses on both political and humanitarian sides of the problem (Thomas & McGarty, 2017, 2018). Charitable giving might be considered as the crystallized form of benevolent support. On the other hand, collective action is the best example of activist support addressing the change of the system of inequalities either for the ingroup or the disadvantaged outgroup. Demonstrations, sit-in protests, strikes, riots, signing petitions can be considered as examples for collective action (Hogg & Abrams, 1998; van Zomeren, et al., 2011). Although it has been categorized by various researchers as within-system and out of the system (i.e., Sabucedo & Arce, 1991), or legitimizing or challenging the system (i.e., Jost et al., 2017) "degree of commitment to a cause," in the words of Thomas et al., (2012) any action aiming at a change in the existing conditions such as war, poverty, welfare policies, human rights etc. can be regarded as collective action (see also van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Thomas and McGarty (2017, p.374) argue that "The two approaches represent discrete, ecologically valid ways of addressing humanitarian disadvantage" regarding two types of intergroup prosocial behavior. Moreover, they claim that both forms of actions fight for the same causes aiming to address the same social issue (humanitarian disadvantage), but they have come up with completely different approaches to accomplish so, paving the way for analysis of two discrete, yet connected types of actions within the framework intergroup prosociality.

Thomas & McGarty (2016) have conducted research to profile benevolent and activist supporters in the context of reduction of the global poverty. The results revealed that people can be classified into two groups as benevolent and activist supporters according to the different appraisals, emotions, and attributions for poverty. Specifically, it was found that benevolent supporters are people who prefer to donate, but do not involve in collective action and sympathy is the distinct emotion for these people. On the other hand, activist supporters both donate and

involve in collective action, and outrage is the distinctive emotion for these people. As for causal attributions, which are covered by this research, blaming international exploitation, that is addressing one of the possible the structural characteristics of global poverty is relevant for activist supporters, whereas any type of attributions did not differentiate for the benevolent supporters for poverty elimination.

In sum, the perspective assumes that similar beliefs in social change can lead to different actions through different social change goals (Thomas & McGarty, 2018; Sweetman et al., 2013), albeit through qualitatively different mechanisms (Thomas et al., 2009; Thomas & McGarty, 2016, 2018). Bringing collective action and intergroup helping behavior under the umbrella of intergroup prosociality, this approach offers broad opportunities to analyze actions concerning poverty together. However, as an emerging approach, studies in this area need to be replicated, tested in other contexts, and possible factors that may differentiate activist and benevolent support need to be included in this integrative approach. Thus, I adopted the intergroup prosociality framework to understand differences between the mechanisms paving the way for the people to act differently concerning the poverty.

1.2. Causal Attributional Processes in Prosocial Actions

Poverty-related social psychology research is predominantly based on adopting causal attributional perspective. Although several attribution theories have been suggested, beginning with the seminal work of Heider (1958), the main idea of all the attribution theories is that people make interpretations to determine the causes of behaviors or processes and that these interpretations play an essential role in determining their reactions (Kelley & Michela, 1980). Heider (1958) indicated that people feel “the results of an action depending on two sets of conditions, namely factors within-person and factors within the environment” (p. 82). Peoples’ evaluation of an outcome on these two types of conditions leads them to make two different types of attributions. These attributions are called dispositional/internal and situational/external attributions. Attributing an outcome to personal factor(s) is

the example of the former while assigning an outcome to social context is of the latter.

Feagin (1972), the first researcher who studied the causal attributions for poverty, found that American people explained poverty, referring to three types of attributions: structural, individualistic, and fatalistic attributions¹. Structural attributions point at explanations of poverty through external conditions such as capitalism, and unequal social structure. Individualistic attributions, on the other hand, explain poverty through poor people's characteristics, such as laziness, etc. Lastly, fatalistic attributions refer to bad luck as the cause of poverty.

This type of classification has been tested in various studies confirming the three-dimensional structure of causal attributions for poverty (e.g., Feather, 1974; Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Nasser et al., 2002; Singh & Vasudeva, 1977; Smith & Stone, 1989; Zucker & Weiner, 1993). There have been other attempts to determine the causal attributions for poverty by different researchers, as well. Cozzarelli and her colleagues (2002), for example, confirmed Feagin's structuralist/external and individualistic/internal attributions for poverty, but they replaced the fatalistic attributions with the cultural attributions. Bullock and his colleagues (2003), secondly, developed a new measure, adding the cultural attributions as the fourth dimension instead of excluding fatalistic attributions. Cultural attributions imply the perception that poverty is a subculture in which poor people are stuck (Cozzarelli et al., 2002). Morçöl (1997) in his study conducted with Turkish sample found 5 dimensions for attributions for poverty, still addressing the structural (tangible and abstract), individualistic (behaviors and traits) and fatalistic nature of the causal attributions.

Several sociopolitical attitudes are related to the making of different types of attributions as the body of research revealed. So far, the relations causal attributions

¹ These names for attributions, while derived from the original attribution theories, has been named differently in poverty studies. Structural attributions denote the external/situational factors of the attribution theory, while individualistic attributions denote dispositional/internal attributions.

have with ideological orientations (Bobbio, Canova, & Manganelli, 2010; Griffin & Oheneba-Sakyi, 1993; Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Pandey, Sinha, Prakash, & Tripathi, 1982), voting patterns (Furnham, 1982), ethnic differences (Hunt, 1996), system justification (e.g., Solak, 2008), conservatism (Zucker & Weiner, 1993), and attitudes towards poor people (Cozzarelli, Tagler, & Wilkinson, 2002; Furnham & Gunther, 1984), have been documented. For example, it has been found that people who endorse right-wing ideologies tend to attribute poverty to internal causes more than people who support left-wing ideologies (Bobbio, Canova, & Manganelli, 2010; Griffin & Oheneba-Sakyi, 1993; Kluegel & Smith, 1986). Similarly, internal attributions for poverty were positively related to just-world beliefs (e.g., Harper, Wagstaff, Newton, & Harrison, 1990), and just-world beliefs were negatively associated with attitudes toward the poor (Cozzarelli, Tagler, & Wilkinson, 2002; Furnham & Gunther, 1984).

One of the critical implications of the causal attribution process, implying our interaction with the social world, is blaming or assigning responsibility for the outcomes (Abouchedid & Nasser, 2002; Weiner, 1986). Thus, it is an expected result that people who attribute poverty to external causes, meaning that people who blame the system for poverty would justify the system lesser than the people who blame the poor (or themselves) for poverty. Solak (2008) has confirmed that people who justify the system tend to attribute poverty to internal causes.

On attributions' role regarding our reactions to the social context, Kelley and Michela (1980, p. 460) argue: “[Attributions] constitute the person's understanding of the causal structure of the world and, therefore, are important determinants of his interaction with that world.” Indeed, prosocial behaviors concerning poverty, predominantly focusing on the helping behavior, research line revealed that; helping the poor (Harvey, Ickes, & Kidd, 1976; Piliavin, Rodin, & Piliavin, 1969, Bullock, Williams, & Limbert, 2004; Osborne & Weiner, 2015; Weiner et al., 2011, Weiner, Osborne, & Rudolph, 2011; Zucker & Weiner, 2003) and supporting the policies to improve poor people's conditions (Bullock, Williams, & Limbert, 2004; Osborne & Weiner, 2015; Solak, 2008; Weiner, Osborne, & Rudolph, 2011) are both related to

attributing poverty to external causes rather than internal ones. Solak (2008), for example, has shown that internal attributions for poverty predict support for policies for aid to poor people weaker than external attributions do. Recently, Osborne and Weiner (201) have shown that people's perception of the underlying causes of poverty determines the response patterns to the people in need. Specifically, their study reveals that people's willingness to help people in need varies as a function of attributions. People tend to show more support for the policies aiming at improving the conditions of the poor when they attribute poverty to external causes than those who attribute it to the internal ones.

Most research on poverty has been based on the outputs of attribution theory. While there has been criticism that the popularity of this approach has pushed researchers to persistently study poverty through this theory (Carr, 2013), it is important to underline the role that the explanatory power of these attributions plays in this one of the oldest, most cited and relied upon theory of social psychology being studied so commonly. Because as human beings, when we react to anything, we do so on the basis of the causes we perceive. Yet, despite the fact that it has been discussed so often, I believe that the role of causal attributions could be explored in more depth. Furnham (2003) argued that while there is a robust body of research on causal attributions of poverty, there is insufficient discussion of the functions of these beliefs and added:

Our understanding of the causes and the consequences of poverty is much more than psychologists "doing some applied attribution theory research" since they have implications on elimination of poverty (2003, p.181).

Therefore, I believe that causal attributions theory still has something to say when studying prosocial actions in the context of poverty. What the literature has shown so far is that seeing responsibility for poverty in the poor themselves is negatively related to taking action against poverty, while attributing responsibility to structural inequalities is positively related to taking action, while various world-views, such as belief in just world, system justification tendencies and political ideologies as part

of these system related set of values and beliefs are related to making these attributions differently. At this point, following the literature, I expect the same results within the scope of my study in the Turkish sample. In this direction, political ideologies should differentially predict the different types of attributions, while different types of attributions should be leading the differential preferences for actions concerning poverty.

1.3. Emotions and Prosocial Actions

It is important to see the role of emotions when analyzing different reactions of different groups of people. This is because people are driven to different actions by different emotions based on their different subjective evaluations (see IET; Smith, 1993). Given that different causal attributions generate different emotional responses (Weiner, 1985). Poverty-related literature has also addressed how emotions relate to explanations of poverty and actions on poverty, and found that attributing poverty to structural causes leads to more compassion, sympathy, and pity, empathy, and less anger towards the poor (Cozzarelli et al., 2001, Yudica et al., 2021).

Zucker and Weiner (1993), who examined the relationship between feelings towards the poor and helping behavior, examined the role of anger and sympathy towards the poor and showed that those who felt anger and sympathy expressed less willingness to help the poor. The same results were also found in other studies and it was revealed that factors such as sympathy, empathy, sense of responsibility predicted increased helping behavior towards the poor, while anger towards the poor was a factor that predicted helping in a negative direction (Osborne & Weiner, 2015).

These emotions are among the emotions categorized as prosocial emotions (see Haidt, 2003). It should, however, be underlined that anger addressed by studies examining the emotional effects of attributions of poverty is anger that arises on a personal level, personal anger arises when blame is placed (Thomas & McGarty, 2009), while anger addressed within the scope of intergroup prosociality is a moral

emotion that has a mobilizing effect on changing conditions, again based on blame, while directing the source of blame to a third party or structural inequality brought about by the system (Leach et al., 2002; Montada & Schneider, 1989). This kind of emotion, including anger as its principal component is called action-oriented emotion (Thomas et al., 2009) Indeed, anger and outrage are found to be one of the key motivators for people to take action against perceived injustice (for a review see van Zomeren et al., 2008). Additionally, outrage has been found to be positively associated with support for redistributive policies (Wakslak et al., 2007).

In studies concerning prosocial actions related the issue of poverty, sympathy and outrage have emerged as the dominant emotions for people concerning poverty (Thomas & McGarty, 2016). While both sympathy and outrage are directed at the others (rather than the self) and acknowledges humanitarian disadvantage, they differentiate in terms of focusing on the target (Thomas et al., 2009). Then, these different emotions should elicit different types of prosocial actions. This prediction has been empirically confirmed (Thomas & McGarty, 2016). Emotions of sympathy were found to be related to the benevolent types of support, while emotions of outrage were related to engagement in activist types of support. Thus, in my study, I expect these results to replicate in the Turkish context.

1.4. Ideology and Prosocial Actions

The concept of ideology has been widely used and expanded in social sciences circles and, as a result, has been inflated considerably. It includes a wide range of definitions, from psychology to the unity of discourse that enables people to make sense of their daily practices. Its use in everyday language has also expanded to such an extent that it has come to encompass many concepts such as politics, hegemony, and demagoguery. Destutt de Tracy was the first theoretician who used the concept of ideology in the meaning of “philosophy of mind” connotating psychology (Kennedy, 1979, p. 354; Williams, 1985, p. 154.) For Tracy, the purpose of ideology was to “knowledge of effects and their practical consequences” (cited in Kennedy, 1991, p. 355.)

Marx and Engels address the scope and function of ideology in their magnum opus as such:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. [...] The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore think. Insofar, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in its whole range, hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus, their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch. (2004, p. 64)

As this long quotation shows, ideology emerges as the representation of dominant material relations, which finds its abstraction in the superstructure in Marx's classical understanding of historical materialism. Such organized worldviews are determined by the ruling ideas of the ruling class who has the means of material and also mental production. In that sense, ideology is not simply ideas on their own but the production, regulation, and distribution of ideas in practice.

As a theorist of the Marxist tradition, Louis Althusser (2014) focused on the concept of ideology in order to understand the agency-structure relationship in the capitalist system. According to Althusser, ideology cannot be described with respect to the truthiness or falseness of ideas or worldviews. For him, it is all about acting, i.e., the social practices of the subjects representing their relationship with society as a whole.

Although this variety of concepts makes the theoretical use of the concept difficult, it provides us with an important guide, especially in a subject such as poverty and its perception. Ideology will be a guiding tool in understanding structural and

individual attributions and regarding the cause of poverty, which is one of the research questions of this study. Poverty, which we define as not having access to the basic necessities of life and, in this sense, being deprived of certain human rights, is a form of physical survival for people. When this physical form of survival moves to an abstract level, it leads to the emergence of different activisms. In Eagleton's words:

What persuades men and women to mistake each other from time to time for gods or vermin is ideology. One can understand well enough how human beings may struggle and murder for good material reasons – reasons connected, for instance, with their physical survival. It is much harder to grasp how they may come to do so in the name of something as apparently abstract as ideas. Yet ideas are what men and women live by, and will occasionally die for (Eagleton, 1991, p. 12)

In that sense, ideology as a theoretical tool will help us trace the patterns from individual to collective and from material to abstract reasonings. Living by and dying for in the name of something with different motivations and varying affections, at that point, are strictly dependent on ideological orientation. The concept of ideology provides a more comprehensive and ethical understanding of poverty and its perception.

Inequalities such as poverty, create disadvantages and disadvantaged groups, and hence advantaged groups. This inevitably requires analyses of the concepts of power, control, and dominance that help maintain inequality among different groups of societies through ideology. Such ideas of dominance, embodied in ideology, play a role in determining everyday relationships and behavior of ordinary people in everyday life. Moreover, ideologies aim to imagine the world as it should be by defining acceptable methods of achieving social, economic, and political aspirations. This is done by making claims or assumptions about “human nature, historical events, present realities, and future possibilities.” (Jost et al., 2009, p. 309)

In social psychology, ideology research is usually conducted within the framework of political ideology. The ideological differences that we traditionally see as the

liberal-conservative division in the USA and the left-right division in almost all the rest of the world point to different interpretations of the world in motivational terms. Jost et al. (2003) distinguish between left and right through:

- (a) advocating versus resisting social change (as opposed to tradition), and
- (b) rejecting versus accepting inequality

Indeed, as the research put forward, people in the different parts of the ideological spectrum react differently against inequality. In other words, politically conservative people tend to legitimize existing social, political, and economic inequalities more than the liberals do (Jost et al., 2003; Jost et al., 2008, Schneider & Castillo, 2015), while being in/tolerant to economic inequality also varies as the function of the ideology endorsed (Deutsch, 1975; Scott et al., 2001). A recent study conducted with data from 41 countries revealed that ideologies that justify the existing system strengthen the perception of legitimacy of economic inequality (García-Sánchez et al., 2018). Looking from the perspective of the poverty, the most obvious form of economic inequality, we can assume similar relationships as literature suggests. Studies have revealed that hierarchy-endorsing ideologies are negatively correlated with demand to redistribution of wealth/income (Jost et al., 2003), support for welfare policies (Rice, 2001; Solak, 2008) and desire for allocation of public assistance (García-Sánchez et al., 2018).

A close look at how our ideological orientations relate to our reactions to inequalities requires looking at the emotions with which we take action on an issue. Seeing something as unjust does not always require us to develop a reaction against it. We also need to see this injustice as illegitimate and to make sense of why it is happening along with developing affective reactions (Kawakami & Dion, 1975). Anger and outrage towards perceived inequalities are the key drivers motivating people to take action against perceived inequalities (Van Zomeren et al., 2004) and sympathy was found to be another emotion in relation to the promotion of greater equality (Thomas & McGarty, 2017; 2018). To discuss how these emotions might relate to ideological orientations, it is necessary to go back to the beginning and revisit the basic motivations that distinguish right and left ideology. Given these distinctions, it

should come as no surprise that endorsing ideologies that legitimize the system and maintain the status quo is negatively related to outrage (Jost et al., 2012; Osborne & Sibley, 2013; Wakslak et al., 2007), reducing emotional distress about inequalities in the system (Jost et al., 2015), emphasizing the possibility of different motivations of sociopolitical actions coming from the right and left ideologies (Jost et al., 2008).

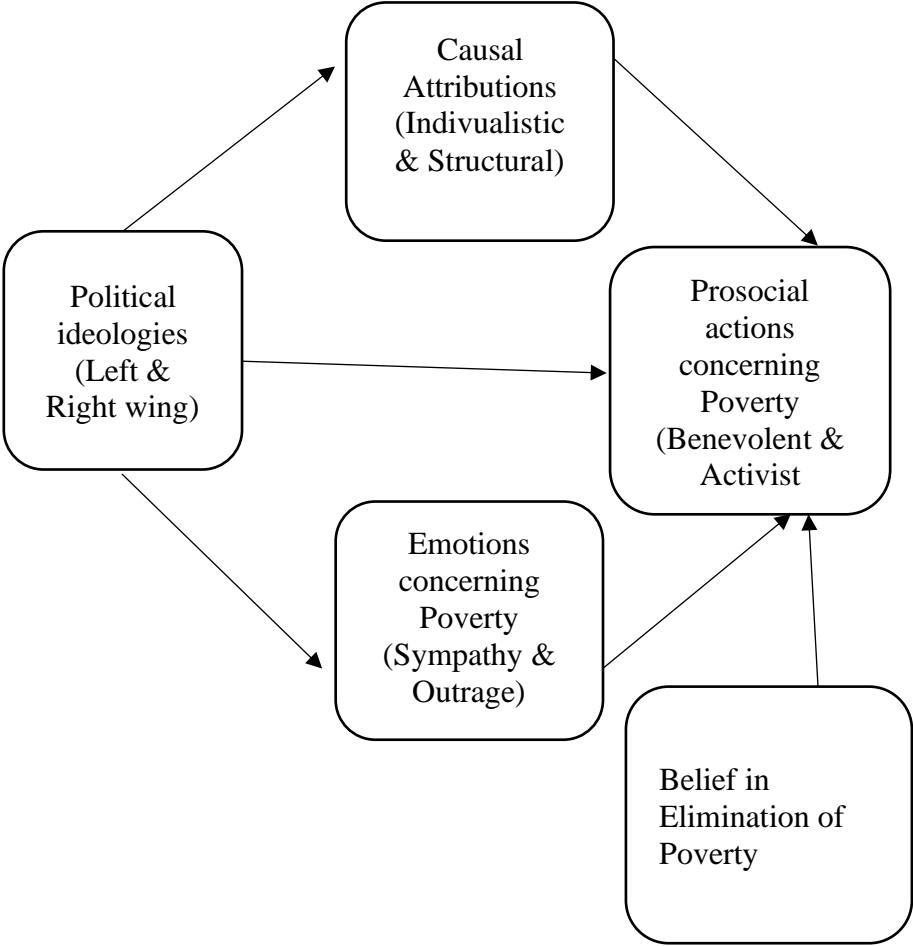
Hence, I believe that expression of outrage will be differentiated by the endorsed ideological orientations. In this direction, I think that the expression of outrage towards poverty will be positively related to endorsing left ideology and negatively related to endorsing right ideology. Endorsing left ideological orientation, in turn, will be positively related to activist support through emotions of outrage. As for sympathy, the other relevant emotion elaborated for this study, I believe that endorsement of both ideological orientations will be positively related to the emotions of sympathy paving the way for benevolent support.

1.5. General Overview and Hypotheses

As summarized above, a number of studies have been conducted to explain poverty and understand the actions taken against poverty and explore their social psychological pathways. Considering the importance of the issue of poverty for our country and the problems it creates, understanding the sociopolitical antecedents of actions taken against poverty in the light of the literature will be an important contribution both academically and socially. Therefore, this research focuses on the relationships between ideological orientations, causal attributions of poverty, emotions regarding poverty and belief that poverty will be eliminated, with prosocial actions in the context of poverty. In addressing the issue of poverty from the perspective of intergroup prosociality, it is also critical to both replicate the findings and to include factors that may influence prosocial actions, which indeed have been shown to have an impact in previous studies. Based on the assumption that studies of benevolent and activist support for poverty are similar in their belief that disadvantage will be eliminated, I believe it is also critical to focus on how the belief that poverty will be eliminated is related to prosocial actions. Therefore, I tested the

model I present as a conceptual framework below. Before conducting my quantitative research, I conducted a qualitative study considering the scarcity of social psychological research on poverty in the Turkish context. My purpose in conducting this study was to understand how ideological orientations, emotions, causal attributions and types of actions towards poverty, which I will consider as my variables in my next study, are related to each other. Afterwards, I conducted a quantitative study in which I examined the relationships between the variables mentioned above.

Figure 1
Conceptual Model For examining the Interrelationships between Study Variables.



My hypotheses are as follows:

H1. Activist support will be positively predicted by structural attributions for poverty and outrage.

H2. In line with the H1, endorsing left ideologies will predict the activist support through structural attributions for poverty and outrage, while endorsing right ideologies will predict activist support negatively through structural attributions for poverty and outrage.

H3. Structural attributions for poverty and sympathy will mediate the relationship between endorsing left and right ideologies and benevolent support positively, while individualistic attributions will mediate the mentioned relationship negatively.

H4. Belief in elimination of poverty will predict engagement in both types of prosocial actions namely activist and benevolent support.

CHAPTER 2

EXAMINING THE PERCEIVED CAUSES FOR POVERTY IN A QUALITATIVE STUDY

2.1. Study 1: Representations of Poverty and Perceived Causes for Poverty in Turkey

Although poverty is a widespread phenomenon all over the world, it is important to take into account that subjective experiences, interpretations, attitudes and thoughts about poverty are contextual. Due to the limited repertoire of research on poverty within social psychology in Turkey, I conducted qualitative study to see how the poor and poverty are evaluated, to see the types of actions that are possibly committed in relation to poverty, and to infer how these types of actions may be related to the perceived causes of poverty, ideological orientation and the emotions that emerge in the context of poverty.

2.1.1. Method

2.1.1.1 Participants

After getting ethical approval from the METU Human Subjects Ethics Committee (Appendix A), I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with twenty people (11 females and 9 males). Age of the participants ranged between 25 to 59 ($M = 43.05$, $SD = 11.69$). Nine participants indicated that they see themselves on the right-wing, while nine of them deemed themselves as leftists. One participant defined himself as being liberal, and participant indicated that he defined himself as pursuing Ataturk's ideology. Demographic characteristics of the interviewees are given in Table 1. The monthly income range among the participants varied between 1,000 TL and 15,000 TL. Most of the participants indicated to be university graduates ($N = 8$). Three participants stated that they were high school graduates, three secondary

school graduates and three primary school graduates. Two participants stated that they had a master's degree, while one participant stated that she left school at the second grade of primary school. Seventeen participants stated their socioeconomic status as middle. 1 participant stated his socioeconomic status as low, while one participant stated his socioeconomic status as between middle and low. There was also one participant who stated that she had a high socioeconomic status. The participants that I reached through the convenience sampling method participated in the study either face to face (12 participants) or online (8 participants). Participants were informed about the study approved the informed consent forms (Appendix B). Then, interview questions including the demographic ones were asked to participants (Appendix C).

2.1.1.2 Procedure

Interviews took place in Ankara between January and April 2021. Audio recordings were taken during the interviews with the permission of each participant. For two participants who did not want the recording, I took notes of the interviews. The average duration time of the interviews was 31 minutes. The audio recordings were deciphered after the interviews.

2.1.1.3. Statement of Reflexivity

When we carry out scientific research, we are supposed to be impartial and unbiased. However, as social beings, we have some fundamental differences from each other. Although I have scientific responsibilities such as being objective towards my participants, putting their confidentiality before everything else, and presenting my findings as they are, I should also mention that I have some characteristics that I bring with me as a human being. I was born in Istanbul in 1990, the third daughter of Kurdish parents from Diyarbakır who married and moved to Istanbul they were teenager. I grew up in an area of Istanbul with a large Alevi and Kurdish population. The area I lived in at the time was on the margins of Istanbul. I can say that I have experienced a certain level of poverty, but I did not grow up in extreme poverty. I

am the only child of my family to have completed university. My university life has been a time when I was able to approach issues that I only knew as the personal stories, such as the Kurdish issue, the Armenian genocide, forced disappearances, forced internal displacement, etc., from a more academic and historical framework, to read about these issues and to be involved in the activist struggle for human rights violations. Breathing in academic environment was always one of my favorite things. That's why I wanted to become an academic. I believed that social psychology had a lot to say about social issues and our tragedies. In 2017, when I was a young research assistant at the age of 27, I was dismissed from my job by a decree law due to a signature campaign (i.e., Petition of Academics for Peace) I participated in regarding the problems in the southeast of the country, which I thought was a serious violation of human rights. When this happened, I had just completed the first semester of my Ph.D. It was a process that exposed me and many others who were dismissed to deep impoverishment and the threat of starvation. That's why it was not that easy to continue my research and Ph.D. education.

I am not a person who approaches the issue of poverty from a purely humanist point of view; I believe that poverty is a result of political and class inequalities and therefore can be eliminated through a politically organized struggle. I do not think that poverty is something that occurs as a result of fate, luck or the inability of the poor themselves to overcome it. I chose this topic because I believe that poverty is a source of many social inequalities and that social psychology should focus more on this issue.

While conducting the research, since I wanted the data to include a genuinely representative sample, I had the opportunity to visit various districts of Ankara, including Altınpark, which I had never been to before. I cannot say that I had great difficulties while conducting the interviews, but since the main emotion that arises for me in relation to the issue of poverty is the outrage, I feel at the way this inequality is inflicted on people, I experienced these emotions quite a lot while conducting this research. Nevertheless, there were also times when I felt helpless

and sad, for example; in the face of the justifications made by people who had to live far below the poverty threshold, while evaluating their own economic situation as middle class. The research, the findings of which are presented in the following sections, has been written by a person who looks at life from this perspective and experiences these feelings, and should be evaluated with these in mind.

2.1.2. Results

Before analyzing the data, I determined my method of analysis as thematic analysis, which is widely used in psychology and other fields. Thematic analysis is a methodological tool for detecting, examining and reporting themes within data which can be conducted either data-driven or theoretically-driven (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For the analysis of the data I collected, I used MAXQDA (2022) software, which offers analysis possibilities for qualitative and mixed-method studies, such as creating code schemes for the themes and sub-themes identified by the researcher, analyzing the relationships between these codes (i.e., themes and sub-themes), calculating the frequency of the most frequently used words in the interviews, and visualizing qualitative data. After I coded the data using MAXQDA software, the data and coding schemes were checked and agreed upon by a PhD student in the field of sociology. Although I relied on the premises and explanations of some theories, since I conducted exploratory research, I identified some themes in line with the interests of the research to drive the sub-themes in line with the data. These themes are perceived problems in Turkey, perceived causes for poverty, emotions concerning poverty, and actions concerning poverty. Ideological orientations were addressed in the analysis by comparing each theme and sub-theme with the participant's ideological orientation. The themes and sub-themes of the research can be examined in Table 2, while the frequency distribution of the participants' responses for each theme and sub-theme can be seen from the Table 3. In the abbreviations I use when referring to the quotes of the participants in the study in the upcoming parts, the letter I stands for the abbreviation of Interviewee, the number next to the letter I stands for the number I gave to the participant, and the

first letter after the underscore, M and F, stands for the gender of the participants, i.e., male or female. The letter after the next underscore is L for left-wing, R for right-wing, C for Center and Lib for liberal participants. For example, I1_F_L denotes the female participant who stated to endorse left ideology.

2.1.2.1. Perceived Social Problems in Turkey

As I asked the participants what the current social problems in Turkey are, I observed that the interviewees generally stated that many problems were intertwined rather than mentioning a single problem. The most frequently mentioned problems are unequal distribution of income, low minimum wage, corruption and favoritism and deterioration of the institutions, which I listed as sub-themes under the theme of distributive justice. The theme of intergroup conflict includes references to Syrian refugees and the Kurdish problem, although Kurdish problem was framed as terror problem by right-wing participants, and human rights problem by left-wing participants.

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Participant ID	Gender	Age	Occupation	SES (Self-reported)	Ideological Orientation
I1	F	33	Officer in a Humanitarian Aid Agency	Middle	Left (HDP)
I2	M	40	Engineer (Public sector)	Middle	Socialist
I3	M	37	Tourist Guide	Middle	Left
I4	M	43	Grocery	Lower-Middle	Right (MHP-İyi Parti)
I5	F	47	Charwoman	Middle	Right (MHP)
I6	F	47	Architect	Middle	Left (HDP)
I7	F	55	Public Servant (Retiree)	Middle	Left
I8	M	51	Grocery	Middle	Center (Atatürk's ideology)
I9	M	26	Trainer	Low	Right (Nationalist)
I10	F	25	Music teacher	Middle	Communist
I11	F	47	Unemployed	Upper	Left (HDP)
I12	M	25	Musician	Middle	Liberal
I13	F	57	Engineer (Retiree)	Middle	Right (Nationalist)
I14	M	59	Agricultural Engineer	Middle	Left
I15	F	56	Lawyer	Middle	Right (Turkist)
I16	M	46	Tailor	Middle	Right (AKP)
I17	F	44	Housewife	Middle	Right (AKP)
I18	F	24	Accountant	Middle	Left
I19	M	59	Technician	Middle	Right
I20	F	40	(Public Sector) Housewife	Middle	(Islamist) Right (AKP)

When I looked at how the problems in Turkey are perceived from an ideological perspective, it is seen that distributive justice concerns are predominantly voiced by participants with a leftist ideological orientation. I have seen that this included many sub-themes of distributive justice together. An example of this can be seen in the following quote I made from a participant.

What does it say in our constitution? It says Turkey is a social state governed by the rule of law. Is it? Without these [law and social state], neither economy nor health nor anything will get better. Thus, nothing will get better. The government must first demonstrate that it is a social state with the rule of law. For years, I have followed elections, followed politics since elections of 73. There has been no government to realize these things. And since that day, we always got worse while hoping that we will get better. In terms of the law, they made the law worse; in terms of economy, they made the economy worse. It's the same for education; they ruined the education completely." (I14_M_L)

On the other hand, participants with a right-wing ideological orientation also emphasized the problems in the country, albeit not with the same frequency.

The biggest problem now is that young people are unemployed. Even those who already have jobs have quit, that's the biggest problem. Those who have finished school [university] are not assigned to jobs, they don't start working, and even if they work, they don't get what they deserve. For example, what happens is that an engineer starts working, there is a circular of the Chamber of Engineers that says that an engineer cannot start working below this wage. You start a job, you agree on that wage, they deposit the money in the bank, they take back the amount above the minimum wage. There are many of these incidents, so young people don't get what they deserve. (I13_F_R)

There were fewer references to the theme of intergroup conflicts than the first theme. I have given the following quotes to see how participants from two different orientations perceive the Kurdish problem.

There is terrorism. Thank God, we have not been giving martyrs in such high numbers for a long time, we are seizing them, but it is a problem for this country. Separatism has always been a problem (I19_M_R).

I think the biggest problem is the Kurdish problem, a big human rights problem. Unfortunately, there is a big problem with human rights. There is an unjust order. Unemployment, hunger, poverty. But I think the most important one is the Kurdish problem. This issue is related to all of them. (I11_F_L)

As can be seen from the quotes above, participants perceived an intergroup issue from quite different perspectives, relying either on militaristic perspective or human rights perspective. Regardless of their ideological orientation, all participants stated that there are problems in Turkey, but in terms of frequency, those who are ideologically on the left mentioned more and various problems.

2.1.2.2. Definition of the Poor and the Poverty

When I asked the participants who they define as poor, it is seen that all of them understand poverty as people who cannot access their basic needs, and define poverty as living in this situation. These include not being able to live in adequate housing conditions, constantly thinking about the future, having difficulty paying bills, etc. The inability to provide for their children's needs and wished is another theme that people refer to when defining what it means to be poor and what poverty is. Here, it is also worth mentioning the participants who take poverty one step further than the level of basic needs. While the vast majority of participants focus only on survival needs, three participants also associated the inability to take a vacation, even for a small period of time, with poverty. As I asked how much income a person should have in order not to be considered poor, respondents' answers ranged between 4000-6000 TL. This number is close to the hunger limit in Turkey at the time of the study. From this point of view, I can say that the respondents considered not being poor as having only enough income to meet their basic needs. When I asked the participants how significant a problem poverty is for our country, three participants stated that poverty is not that significant problem, while the other participants stated that poverty is a very important problem for the country.

2.1.2.3 Perceived Causes for Poverty

This section analyzes the answers to the questions I asked to understand how respondents perceive the causes of poverty. When I asked about the causes of poverty, I found that the respondents generally gave detailed explanations

emphasizing on many reasons in their details. The explanations mostly point to structural inequalities theme. The other theme emerged as results of analysis are individual characteristics and fate/luck.

The participants mainly emphasized the role of wrong government policies causing the poverty. A participant from right-wing explained the causes of poverty:

It is a phenomenon arising from Turkey's economic conditions. We don't do anything as a state. We are not doing anything to develop these people. We neither support farmers nor industry. If we had built factories instead of selling, we could manage with what we have, if we had built factories instead, there wouldn't be so much poverty. Everyone would have a job, everyone would work, everyone would not live so miserably. There is a poverty caused by our lagging behind in industry and agriculture, this will continue as long as we do not overcome this (I13_F_R)

Emphasizing the role of both wrong government policies, unequal distribution and favoritism, another participant explained the causes of poverty as such:

Income distribution, unemployment. I mean, it's not just lack of education, there are no jobs. Imagine, a man's diploma is fake, he has nothing, he has 4-5 jobs, and these are very high paying jobs. You, no matter how many universities you have graduated from, no matter how many foreign languages you speak, you are trying to sell something in the market or you are looking for a job. So, think about it, you have no chance if you don't have an acquaintance [to favor you] (I7_F_L)

Regardless of their ideological orientation, all participants except one mentioned the structural inequalities in some extent. For example, one of the participants who emphasized the role of policies and individuals themselves and destiny on poverty.

I think there are many reasons. As I said, unemployment is high. There are those who have studied but don't like the job, those who don't work because they don't like the conditions of the job, on the other hand, those who would do any job, but can't find a job. There are many uneducated people, the migration is high. There is also the Syrian issue. It inevitably has side effects on economy and employment. Everyone can eat their own sustenance [from God], I mean, if you don't have sustenance, you can be poor, this is a test after all. For example, in Africa, there are exploited people. Diamonds are mined there, but children die of hunger. Another, there is inflation, it is rising. Price increases mean a decrease in our purchasing power, which means an increase in poverty. Income is not distributed to people very fairly. (I19_M_R)

2.1.2.4 Emotions Concerning Poverty

In order to understand participants' feelings about poverty, I also asked questions about how they feel when they think about poverty. I found that compassion and sadness, which I combined under the theme of sympathy, were the predominant emotions expressed by people. Other salient emotion expressed were outrage as I categorized under two sub-themes namely anger towards inequalities and feelings of outbreak. In addition to these, there are participants who stated that they are angry with the poor and two participants who stated that they have become numb to this issue. The distribution of the frequencies of the participants are given in Table 2.

The emotions I combined under the theme of sympathy were the emotions expressed by majority of the participants. Participants mostly expressed feelings of sadness and compassion. For some participants, these feelings were accompanied by feelings of helplessness and guilt.

I swear, it breaks your heart, you can't do anything, you try to help as much as you can, but you can't. Because there are so many around you, if you support one, you cannot support the other. You want to support everyone, but that is also difficult for you. Especially when a student drops out of school because of poverty, it affects me a lot. People who commit suicide because of poverty... It really breaks your heart, you feel sad. If you see it around you now, it affects you more. I don't see them in my neighborhood now, there are not many poor people around me, but when you go to their environment, your heart burns, what you eat is too much for you, what you wear is too much for you. You buy what you want, eat, drink, travel, but that person has to sleep there hungry (I13_F_R).

Table 2
Categories, Themes and Sub-themes of the Study

Categories	Themes and Sub-themes
Definition of Poor and Poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inability to meet the fundamental needs
Perceived Problems in Turkey	Distributive Justice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unequal Distribution of Income • Low minimum wage • Corruption and Double Standards • Deterioration of the Institutions Intergroup Conflicts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kurdish Problem • Syrian Refugees • Polarization of the country
Perceived Causes for Poverty	Structural Inequalities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unequal Income Distribution • High unemployment • Capitalism • Corruption and favoritism • Wrong Government Policies Individual Characteristics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of effort • Unwillingness • Not sharing Fate/Chance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destiny • Being incapable of working
Emotions concerning Poverty	Sympathy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sadness/ Compassion Outrage <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anger towards inequality • Feelings of outbreak Apathy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anger towards poor
Actions concerning Poverty	Donation Sociopolitical Action
How to Eliminate Poverty?	Governmental Efforts Private Efforts Organized Struggle by People

As emphasized by the participant I quoted above, another participant explains the emotional impact of contact with the poor as follows:

I feel very sad. I mean, I don't buy lottery or anything like that, but if I were to buy it, if I hit a big jackpot, I would use it for helping equally. I mean, I wouldn't give money, but I would do it in terms of food or I would want to use it for children. For example, I go Altındağ every week, there is a meeting of our association in Altındağ. Every time I go there, unfortunately that place has become a place where Syrians live. When you look at their clothes, they don't have proper shoes on their feet. I don't know if you know Çiçin, my heart aches when I go there. (I7_F_L)

Although I found that anger was irrelevant for all of the right-oriented participants, some of the left-oriented participants expressed outrage, two left-wing participants expressed sadness alone, and one left-wing participant stated that he became numb for the issue. However, referring to the mobilizing power of anger, a right-oriented participant explained his feelings about poverty as follows:

I feel sad, getting angry doesn't help anyone, I feel sad. So, what if you get angry, how is it useful to anyone? Should we fight, what should we do? I'm just sad (I4_M_R).

Although not all left-oriented participants reported outrage as I mentioned above, those who reported feeling outrage were all left-wing participants, and the participant from central ideological orientation. A left-wing participant described experiencing both sadness and outrage and the transformation from sadness to outrage as follows:

I feel very much in common, actually, I mean, people with a middle-class character usually have a feeling of pity and I observe it a lot around me, I mean, they look at someone with pity and try to solve his/her problem and so on. From my point of view, I actually fall into this situation from time to time as well. But more than that, it's such a feeling of fellowship, of feeling together, I feel like s/he's my brother, you know? And on the one hand it makes me feel very unhappy, on the other hand it makes me very angry, so these are my two main feelings, unhappiness and anger. But that unhappiness very quickly gives way to anger. That common feeling is actually something that makes you feel that you have a power, and you can only express that power with anger. (I10_F_L)

Table 3

Frequency Distribution of the Participants' Responses for Each Theme/Sub-theme

Categories	Themes and Sub-themes			
Perceived Problems in Turkey	Distributive Justice	Right-wing	Left-wing	Center or Liberal
	• Unequal Distribution of Income	2 1	7 2	0 0
	• Low minimum wage	3	2	0
	• Corruption and Favoritism	1	7	1
	• Deterioration of the Institutions			
	Intergroup Conflicts			
	• Kurdish Problem	2	2	0
	• Syrian Refugees	2	0	0
	• Polarization of the country	1	1	1
	Perceived Causes for Poverty	Structural Inequalities		
• Unequal Income Distribution		2 2	9 3	1 0
• High Unemployment		0	2	0
• Capitalism/Neoliberalism		2	5	0
• Corruption and Favoritism		5	6	1
• Wrong Government Policies				
Individual Characteristics				
• Lack of effort		2	0	1
• Unwillingness		3	0	0
• Not sharing enough		1	0	1
Emotions concerning Poverty	Fate/Chance			
	• Destiny	2	0	1
	• Being incapable of working	1	0	0
	Sympathy			
Actions concerning Poverty	• Sadness/Compassion	8	7	0
	Outrage			
	• Anger towards inequality	0	5	1
	• Feelings of outbreak	0	1	0
	Apathy	1	0	1
	Anger towards poor	1	0	1
Actions concerning Poverty	Aid	5	5	0
	Sociopolitical Action	0	4	0
	Fair Trade	1	2	0

Table 3 (continued)

Categories	Themes and Sub-themes			
		Right-wing	Left-wing	Center or Liberal
How to Eliminate Poverty?	Governmental Efforts	8	6	2
	Private Efforts	2	1	0
	Organized Struggle by People	0	3	0
		N=9	N=9	N=2

Another participant explained the reasons for his sadness and anger separately as follows:

Anger and sadness, actually. Especially the poverty of the elderly and children and the situations that manifest this make me sad and angry at the same time. I mean, the reason I get angry is that on the one hand you see so much, you see such huge wealth and excessive consumption, on the other hand you see that people cannot meet their simplest needs, this creates anger. On the other hand, this current situation inevitably creates a sadness, a demoralization, maybe from a humanist point of view. (I2_M_L)

In sum, as I mentioned above, feelings of sadness and compassion for the poor emerged as the most prominent emotion. However, although not all respondents who expressed feelings sad expressed anger, all respondents who reported feeling outrage also reported feeling sadness and compassion concerning the poverty.

2.1.2.5. Actions Concerning Poverty

When I asked the participants whether they had taken any action on the issue of poverty, some of the participants stated that they had not done anything, while others said that they had. While 7 participants stated that they did nothing, 13 participants stated that they helped (i.e.; aid) individually, engaged in fair trade and took part in some organizations that struggle against poverty.

The respondents who stated that they provided aid stated that they provided aid to people they knew, or to people they had actually witnessed to be in poverty. While

discussing the issue of aid, I noticed that many of the respondents mentioned the issue of trust in people or institutions as a reason why they prefer people they know when describing their donation activities. A participant, who stated that she helped the poor with the guidance of the party she is a member of, explained his views on trust in aid organizations and state-led institutions as follows:

Sometimes I help the people that I hear from people around me. There are also things that the party [HDP] refers or organizes aid campaigns, I participate in them as much as I can. I can't help that regularly, but I support as much as I am aware of..... For example, since there are a lot of Deniz Feneri-style events in this country, you know, you send aid to Van during the earthquake, but you know that it doesn't go where you want, so I don't provide any aid through the state channels. I help the individuals or people through the party I trust or a municipality of the party. (I11_F_L)

All of the 4 participants who stated that they were involved in sociopolitical action on poverty were leftist. These participants stated that they participated in the struggle against poverty through union platforms where they were engaged in labor struggle or through a political party. For example, one participant explained the sociopolitical actions she took against poverty as follows:

Well, I am doing a couple of things right now. First of all, a new union has been established: Union. I am working on the growth of this union, especially on the question of what can be done in the dimension of music laborers related to teachers and culture and art studies. We even organized a solidarity meeting with musicians 2 weeks ago and we are thinking of organizing a petition action very soon. In other words, we did this to bring people together, for example, we said, 3 musician friends, let's sit down, let's send a message to whoever is in our contacts, then let's organize a zoom meeting and tell people about it. Let's explain that this problem will not be solved unless we are united. I actually try to organize these places both with my identity as a teacher and as a musician (I10_F_L).

2.1.2.6. Possibilities of Elimination of Poverty

The questions I asked to the respondents on how to eliminate poverty were designed to approach their views from several different angles. In this context, I asked participants how poverty could be eliminated, what they would do to eliminated poverty if they were governing the country, and the possibilities of eliminating poverty if people came together. First of all, participants' proposed solutions to poverty are grouped under the sub-themes of governmental efforts, private efforts and collective sociopolitical action. While the majority of the participants strongly

emphasized the role of the government, there were 3 participants who emphasized both governmental and private efforts. Finally, three of the respondents stated that they believe that it is something that can only be realized through a struggle of the people.

The majority of participants emphasized governmental efforts to eliminate poverty and argued that this is the only way poverty can be eliminated. Improving the functioning of education and health institutions, closing the income gap arising from the unequal distribution and increasing investment and incentives for production are the most emphasized solutions proposed by participants. A participant elaborated the role of governmental efforts as such:

They could take a look at the salaries and working conditions of people who do unskilled work, that is, poor people. They should look more structurally, education, training, vocational training, they should analyze where this problem arises. They should give importance to the self-sufficient sector of the country. You know where there have been sectoral shifts and life has become so disconnected. For example, the end of village life, agriculture, animal husbandry, what you call small-scale businesses, in fact, while meeting a large part of the world's agricultural needs, Turkey is in the form of agricultural enterprises that turn money faster.....And of course the tax system needs to be reformed. If the tax system is reformed to make the income tax more proper, instead of taxing alcohol and cars so much, then I think people will see it and be a little more convinced, I mean, when the tax system is reformed, when the state levies a meaningful tax on the very rich, the state's hand will be strengthened, and then there will be a return from public sectors such as health, education, etc. (I1_F_L)

A participant from right-wing ideological orientation, referring the socialist country Cuba as an example, explained his views on income distribution and what he would do if he had the power:

Honestly, do you know which country in the world I envy the most? Cuba. Why? It is a socialist country. The top MP gets the same money, I get the same money. In different fields, of course, not everyone gets the same money. You've studied, you've become a great person, they can separate these, but people who do the same job all get the same money. They say you are a human being; you are a human being too. I can do it, I mean, if they give me such power, I can completely turn everything into that system (I4_M_R).

All of the participants from the left-wing, consider the possibility of doing something together through sociopolitical action, but some attributed the fact that

this cannot be realized to some reasons. A prominent explanation in this regard points to the violence that sociopolitical organizations would face from the state.

For example, one participant explained the threat he perceived as follows:

Now when they do that, batons [the police brutality] explode on their backs. For example; there are 26 chambers affiliated to the Chamber of Engineers and Architects. When you look at their membership structure, for example, our profession, the Chamber of Agricultural Engineers, has 65000 members. How many active members are there? Not more than 500. When you announce to the members that there will be an action or a press release, you can't find anyone except the board of directors. In other words, this cannot be done only by the organization's struggle, the organization must know that there is a community behind it. Bu in our case it's not happening..... Right now, with this structure, there is no chance to mobilize people. There is fear. The batons [the police brutality] come immediately. The batons work, you are locked up [in prison] (I14_M_L).

Another participant also mentioned that poverty is invisible and that society is segregated and therefore it is unlikely that people will take action to address it:

I don't see it [the possibility for sociopolitical action] anymore, it would be good, but I feel like we are far away from the place where it will be triggered when the lives are such segregated. No one talks about poverty. For example, I don't hear about poverty from any of my friends. This seems like a long shot to me. When I see how quickly the news like, you know, what happened in Soma, you know, the conversations after the earthquake in a small city, nobody pays that much attention to the agenda anymore. Everyone is worried about themselves and we live in a time when it is very legitimate to be worried about your interests. And since this is the case, no one is doing anything meaningful for another group. I don't know, I think it explains a lot when you look at the fact that even the women's struggle is led only by women (I1_F_L).

One participant, who sees collective sociopolitical action as the solution to poverty, summarizes how action can be taken:

I think like this, I mean, let me say it through the issue of poverty, I really think that poverty can be completely ended by the poor, and therefore, especially people like us, who have a little bit more of an intellectual identity, a little bit more of an academic identity, should contribute to this social struggle. First of all, we need to be organized. In other words, in unions, associations, different democratic mass organizations, in the fields and political parties... On the one hand, in terms of raising the consciousness and enlightenment of the working people and enabling them to fight against poverty, we need to contribute something to them and be together with them. (I2_M_L)

For example, another participant stated that she does not believe that poverty will be eliminated through non-revolutionary reforms or policy changes:

I don't believe it to be eliminated through another way. I mean, there can be very small improvements, welfare state improvements. I think it just delays things..... So as long as this system is not abolished, I think any improvement is possible, I mean reform is possible, but I think it will only slow down our pace (I10_F_L)

Instead of asking the participants directly about sociopolitical action, I framed my question in terms of how steps could be taken to address poverty if we could do something together as a people. As I mentioned above, all participants who endorsed leftist ideology talked about the possibilities, possibilities and impossibilities of sociopolitical action in certain aspects. However, for the right-wing participants, with the exception of one participant, this issue was addressed in terms of giving aid on collective basis. For example; one participant addressed the role of charitable giving as such:

You know, if everyone considers their neighborhood in accordance to their income, people won't suffer that much. Everyone should consider the other person...But currently, everyone always asks for themselves, not for the others. You have to think about the others. If each family, having either in the middle or the upper conditions, had helped another family in their neighborhood, Turkey wouldn't be in such conditions. There wouldn't be such a poor society. We need to support each other, financially and morally. We must always know how to share; this happens because we don't share." (I13_F_R)

Another participant emphasized the ways to prime people to donate more to fight against poverty.

For example, for those who are financially well-off, there should be places where they can give their aids in the places where they live, places that are close at hand, so that people will remember, see and help. There should be organizations where they can give their zakat, where they can do charity. Let people do whatever they can give, whatever they can share. I would establish such places. District governorships have social aid activities, but with people's efforts, it would be better. (I19_M_R).

2.1.3. Discussion

The aim of this study, as I mentioned above, was to examine how poverty is perceived, the explained causes of poverty, the emotions expressed and the actions taken in relation to poverty. In doing so, I aimed to see how people with different ideological orientations differ in terms of the topics I wanted to investigate. Firstly, it was observed that the participants' representation of the poor and poverty was based on the inability to meet basic needs. This may be an indication of the impact on people of the media's portrayal of poverty and the poor in Turkey as helpless and dramatizing the situation of the poor sentimentally and explaining poverty through marginal and dramatic discourses (Gökalp et al., 2010). Indeed, the efforts to alleviate poverty mostly rely on development projects that require the participation of the community (O'Gorman, 1992) which often use the image of the poverty through the media (Carr, 2003). As Carr (1996) indicated, the aim is raising situational awareness to counterbalance relatively habitual dispositional attributions which denotes people's attributing responsibility to poor for their poverty. In addition to that, another finding that I would like to discuss is that most of the participants identified themselves as middle class. We know that when people make comparisons, they define their socioeconomic status through the mechanism of downward comparison. Downward comparison theory proposes that people are inclined to compare themselves with the people in worse conditions in order to ensure their well-being (Wills, 1981) This may offer an explanation that could apply both to the respondent who identifies as middle SES despite living in conditions of extreme poverty, and to the respondent who works as a civil servant and identifies as a socialist.

It is known that people in Turkey offer explanations for poverty with more structural attributions than in countries such as the UK and the USA (Kluegel & Smith; Morçöl, 1997; Solak, 2008). These findings were replicated in my study. The vast majority of participants made at least one structural reference when explaining poverty. I found that what distinguished participants who emphasized structural

inequalities from participants who emphasized both structural inequalities and individualistic characteristics was their ideological orientation. In other words, it is observed that participants from the right ideological orientation explain poverty with a mixed attribution process both relying on individualistic characteristics and structural inequalities when explaining poverty. In fact, the literature shows that those with the right ideological orientation are more inclined to make individualistic attributions. The findings of the study are important in terms of showing that almost all participants emphasize structural inequalities to some extent, albeit to a different extent, and that ideological orientation comes into play in blaming the poor for poverty.

When I analyzed the emotions towards poverty, I found that the most frequently expressed emotion was sympathy related emotions such as sadness and compassion. Another salient emotion was outrage. The co-occurrence of anger and sympathy is an important finding. It suggests that these two emotions are not mutually exclusive, on the contrary, they can be seen together to a certain extent in the participants. Indeed, both types of emotions expressed by participants are accepted as moral emotions (i.e., Haidt, 2003) that take place in engagement of prosocial behavior (i.e., van de Vyer & Abrams, 2017). The ideologically differentiated emotion that emerged here was found to be outrage which is actually deemed as one of the important factors mobilizing for the sociopolitical collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008). While none of the right-wing respondents expressed outrage, a certain portion of the left-wing respondents expressed outrage. This finding also provides important clues about the variables that ideologically differentiate actions concerning poverty.

Analysis of people's actions concerning to poverty revealed that giving aid is a more common practice than sociopolitical action. I found that there was no difference in charitable behavior between those who explained poverty in terms of individual characteristics and those who explained poverty in terms of structural inequalities or those who endorse right or left ideology. On the other hand, engagement in

sociopolitical action for elimination of poverty was referred by the participants with certain characteristics.

Lastly; I also observed that not everyone who was left-oriented or explained poverty in terms of structural inequalities directly addressed sociopolitical action as a way to elimination of poverty, but rather openly voiced their concerns about it. I realized that there were some structural threats at play here that limited the possibilities for people to engage in sociopolitical action. It is quite common in Turkey for social movements coming from the left-wing to be met with harsh treatments by the ruling authorities. This is why Turkey, which ranks 2nd among European Convention on Human Rights signatories in terms of the number of applicants to international judicial mechanisms (i.e., European Court of Human Rights) for severe human rights violations, predominantly due to lack of fair trial, torture in detention and violation of bodily integrity, is frightening for its citizens, especially for the left wing, which sees sociopolitical action as a mechanism for change.

To summarize my findings; when taking an action related to poverty; while both segments of the society behave similarly when explaining poverty with different attributions in the case of aid, some special factors come into play in the case of sociopolitical action. These are; explaining poverty with structural reasons and feeling outrage. Indeed, the literature on collective action has so far emphasized that objection to structural inequalities and outrage play an important role in collective action participation. In this respect, the pattern I have observed is consistent with the previous literature (e.g., van Zomeren et al, 2004; Van Zomeren et al., 2008; Thomas & McGarty, 2009).

This study is important in several respects. First, it is one of the limited number of studies on poverty conducted with a qualitative perspective on how poverty is perceived in the field of social psychology. In this sense, the study makes a contribution to the activities of social psychology in the field of poverty. Secondly, this kind of study is important in the sense that, beyond how poverty is explained,

these explanations can provide an opportunity to examine in detail the emotions people express, the contexts in which they experience these emotions, and the ways they act on poverty and the reasons for these actions they prefer.

CHAPTER 3

EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IDEOLOGY, CAUSAL ATTRIBUTIONS FOR POVERTY, EMOTIONS AND PROSOCIAL ACTIONS

My first study, as I mentioned above, revealed several findings. Based on these, I conducted some analyses to test the relationships that I have listed above as the hypotheses of the research quantitatively. My aim in conducting these analyses was to examine the relationship between ideological orientations and poverty-related actions and to see the role of emotions and causal attributions in this relationship. My final aim was to test whether the belief that poverty can be eliminated is associated with taking poverty-related actions. Before testing the models that I proposed for these purposes, I carried series of factor analyses to examine the factor structure of the scales that were both developed within the scope of the research and previously developed but will be used in the study (Study 2a). In Study 2b, in addition to testing factor structures of the research variables, I conducted tests of the relationships I proposed for my research.

3.1. Study 2a: Testing the Factor Structures of the Study Variables in an Adult Sample

Conducting these series of analyzes, I aimed to explore the factor structures of the study variables, and correlations among the study variables.

3.1.1. Method

3.1.1.1. Participants and Procedure

After I obtained permission from the METU Human Subjects Ethics Committee (Appendix D), I started to collect data. Participants were recruited online through the Qualtrics.com survey facility. The invitation to the study was distributed through social media platforms, various trade union mailing groups and by distributing the

invitation with a QR code in various cafes, bars and social events in Ankara. The study included 300 participants (185 women, 114 men and 1 participant who did not indicate a gender). The ages of the participants ranged between 18 and 77 ($M = 41.25$, $SD = 12.32$). While the majority of the participants had bachelor's degree ($N = 142$) or postgraduate degree ($N = 131$), 23 participants were high school graduates, 1 participant was a secondary school graduate, and 3 participants were primary school graduates. Although slightly more than half of the participants (%51.3) stated that they had religious identification, these participants also stated that their religious identification did not affect their daily lives too much on a 1-11 Likert type scale ($M = 4.58$, $SD = 3.05$). According to the scoring on a 1-11 Likert type scale, it was observed that the level of conservatism of the participants was low ($M = 2.75$ $SD = 2.20$). As for political self-placements, participants placed them mostly in the left of the center ($M = 2.96$, $SD = 2.16$) in a 11-point Likert type scale, 1 representing extreme left, 6 representing center and 11 representing extreme right. While the majority of the participants defined their perceived socio-economic status as middle ($N = 115$, %38.3) or lower-middle ($N = 107$, %35.7), 45 (%15) participants stated that they were from lower, 31 (%10.3) participants from upper middle and 2 (%.7) participants from upper socio-economic status. While 49.3% ($N = 148$) of the participants did not consider themselves poor, 30.3% ($N = 91$) of the participants considered themselves poor and 20.3% ($N = 61$) were undecided.

Participants voluntarily participated in the study with the information that they could leave at any point they wished. They were informed that they would be asked about their various opinions about poverty, and they participated in the study after approving the consent form (Appendix E). The researcher randomized both the blocks of questions and the order of questions within the blocks to prevent the effects of question order, except for the demographic form, and the participants filled out the following scales: demographic information form, ideological identities scale, causal attributions for poverty scale, emotions scale, and prosocial actions against poverty scale. After completing the full sets of questions, they were debriefed about the aim of the study. (Appendix F).

3.1.1.2. Measures

Demographic Information. Participants were asked questions about their background including age, education level, income level, perceived SES, level of religiosity and conservatism, and political self-placement (Appendix G).

Ideological Identities. 20-item ideological identities scale developed by Sayılan and Türkoğlu's (2015) was used to measure the ideological orientation of the participants (Appendix H). The scale consists of Anarchism, Atatürk's ideology, Communism, Conservatism, Conservative Democracy, Ecologism, Fascism, Feminism, Idealism, Kurdish Political Movement, Liberalism, Libertarianism, Marxism, Nationalism, Nationalist Conservatism, National Vision Movement, Radical Islam, Socialism, Social Democracy and Turkism as the ideological identities. The original scale consisted of 3 components namely, right wing ideological identity ($\alpha = .91$), left wing ideological identity ($\alpha = .81$), and central ideological identity ($\alpha = .78$). Participants were asked to rate their identification with the ideologies of in a 1 to 11 Likert type scale, indicating a choice between 1 (it does not reflect me at all) and 11 (it totally reflects me).

Emotions Concerning Poverty. Emotions scale was developed for the purposes of study in order to measure the emotions experienced in the context of poverty (Appendix I). To develop the scale, scales used both in the Turkish context (e.g., Uğur, 2020) and in international research (e.g., Thomas & McGarty, 2018) were utilized in order to create a new scale. The 8-item scale includes emotions related to sympathy (sorrow, pity, concern, offense) and outrage (anger, outrage, grievance, resentment). Participants rated the scale from 1 (never) to 10 (always) indicating the level of the emotions they experience when thinking about poverty.

Prosocial Actions Concerning Poverty. Benefitting from the relevant literature on both benevolent and activist types of support (i.e., collective action and charitable giving) the scale was developed in order to measure the actions committed in

relation to poverty. During the development of the scale, types of benevolent support that is inherent to religion (ie, donating the zakat, and sacrifice) were also considered. The scale covered 5 items to measure the activist support (ie., attending rallies, posting on social media) and 9 items (ie., donating a charity organization, giving financial and material assistance to the people in need) to measure the benevolent support (Appendix J). Participants rated the scale from 1 (never) to 7 (always) indicating their frequency of the participation in the mentioned actions.

Causal Attributions for Poverty. For this study, the Causal Attributions for Poverty scale developed by Morçöl (1997) to measure causal attributions for poverty was used (Appendix K). The original scale consists of 5 dimensions, 2 of them are individualistic attributions (individualistic/behaviors and individualistic/traits), 2 of them are structural attributions (structural/abstract and structural/tangible) and last of them is fatalistic attributions. Participants rated the perceived causes of poverty on a scale of 1 (very false) to 5 (very true).

3.1.2. Results

Principal Component Analyses with Varimax rotation were run for each variable to test the factor structure of the study variables. Kaiser's criterion of eigenvalues, parallel analysis and interpretation of scree plots were used to decide the factor structures.

3.1.2.1. Exploratory Factor Analyses for Ideological Identities Scale

The score of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy test was found to be .87 along with the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2 (19) = 3182.56, p < .001$) indicating that the data was suitable for factor analysis. In the initial factor analysis, among 20-items of ideological identities Liberalism, Libertarianism, Kurdish Political Movement, Turkism and Anarchism were excluded from the analysis because they loaded on more than one component (ie., Turkism, and Liberalism) or loaded on two components with different signs (ie., Anarchism and Kurdish Political Movement). The analysis was repeated after removing the 5 items, and it was

observed that there was a structure consisting of 15 items, and 3 components; while the components explained a total of 64.63% of the variance in ideological identities.

Table 4
Factor Loadings and Univariate Summary Statistics of Ideological Identities Scale

Items	M	SD	C1¹	C2¹	C3¹
12. Nationalist Conservatism	2.53	2.56	.89		
14. Conservatism	2.50	2.49	.86		
13. Conservative Democracy	2.92	2.70	.82		
20. Idealism	2.87	2.80	.75		
15. Radical Islam	1.65	1.74	.74		
11. National Vision Movement	3.29	3.02	.67		
4. Fascism	1.94	2.03	.64		
6. Communism	7.07	3.20		.82	
17. Socialism	8.69	2.45		.80	
10. Marxism	6.85	3.28		.77	
5. Feminism	7.90	2.94		.68	
3. Ecologism	8.62	2.25		.56	
2. Atatürk's Ideology	7.50	3.68			.78
16. Social Democracy	8.15	2.82			.74
19. Nationalism	5.10	3.75			.66
	<i>Eigenvalue</i>		5.63	2.31	1.74
	<i>Variance</i>		30.32	19.05	15.26
	<i>Cronbach's α</i>		.89	.79	.74

C1=Right wing ideological identity C2=Left wing ideological identity; C3= Central ideological identity

3.1.2.2. Exploratory Factor Analyses for Emotions Scale

The score of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy test was found to be .87 along with the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2 (28) = 1062.16, p < .001$) indicating that the data was suitable for factor analysis. Principal component analysis with Varimax rotations was conducted with the items of the scale and results revealed the fit of the scale into 2-component structure in which the total variance of the items explained 67.63% of the variance in emotions.

Table 5

Factor Loadings and Univariate Summary Statistics of Emotions Scale

Items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>C1</i>¹	<i>C2</i>¹
6. I feel grievance	8.24	2.23	.90	
1. I feel anger	8.08	2.26	.88	
7. I feel outrage	7.45	2.82	.82	
4. I feel resentment	8.36	2.15	.87	
8. I feel pity	5.67	3.26		.82
3. I feel offended	5.59	3.32		.74
5. I feel worry	7.61	2.69		.62
2. I feel sadness	8.57	2.26		.53
	<i>Eigenvalue</i>		4.15	1.27
	<i>Variance</i>		41.82	25.81
	<i>Cronbach's α</i>		.91	.69

C1= Emotions of outrage; C2= Emotions of sympathy

3.1.2.3. Exploratory Factor Analyses for Prosocial Actions Scale

The test of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (.86) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2(91) = 1478.41, p < .001$) revealed that the data was suitable for factor analysis. As the initial principal component analysis with Varimax rotation was performed, it was seen that one item loaded on 2 components and two items consisted 2 separate components. After these 3 items were removed from the analysis and the analysis was repeated; a 2-component structure was observed, and this structure explained 58.6% of the total variance.

Table 6

Factor Loadings and Univariate Summary Statistics of Prosocial Actions Scale

Items	M	SD	C1¹	C2¹
6. I gave financial assistance to people around me who were not in a good financial condition.	4.02	1.69	.85	
8. I provided assistance to people in need. (You can think of assistance such as food, goods, clothing and fuel aid)	4.42	1.58	.80	
7. I provided financial assistance to people who live elsewhere and are not in good financial condition.	3.33	1.66	.79	
14. I contributed to a scholarship for a student in need.	3.67	2.06	.76	
12. I made donations to charitable organizations (such as associations, foundations, neighborhood groups) working to help the poor.	3.16	1.83	.70	
10. I collected and delivered food, goods, clothing, fuel aid for those in need.	3.51	1.84	.69	
5. I tried to convince people around me to vote for a party that advocates the elimination of poverty. (3.03	2.05		.79
3. I participated in peaceful demonstrations organized to raise the issue of poverty. (2.70	1.95		.79
2. I shared posts on social media that highlighted poverty.	2.81	1.78		.71
1. I voted for a political party because of its policies on poverty.	3.31	2.25		.68
4. I participated in a petition campaign that proposed a solution to the problem of poverty.	2.54	1.83		.64
	<i>Eigenvalue</i>		4.38	2.06
	<i>Variance</i>		33.52	25.08
	<i>Cronbach's α</i>		.87	.79

C1= Benevolent support; C2= Activist support

3.1.2.4. Exploratory Factor Analyses for Causal Attributions for Poverty Scale

In this study, the factor structure of the 10-item causal attributions of poverty scale developed by Morçöl (1997) was also examined. The original scale consists of 5 dimensions, 2 of which are structural attributions (i.e., tangible, abstract), 2 of which

are individualistic attributions (i.e., behavior and traits) and 1 of which is fatalistic. The test of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (.69) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2(45) = 554.56, p < .001$) revealed that the data was suitable for factor analysis. As the fit of the 5-factor structure was tested in accordance with the original structure of the scale, it was observed that one item in the structuralist/abstract dimension of the original scale did not load on any dimension and the other one loaded on a separate dimension alone. Considering the measurement problem that a single-item component would create in terms of measuring internal consistency, the analysis was repeated by removing these two items and a 4-factor structure was observed. This 4-factor structure explained 75.33% of the variance in causal attributions of poverty.

Table 7

Factor Loadings and Univariate Summary Statistics of Causal Attributions for Poverty Scale

Items	M	SD	C1¹	C2¹	C3¹	C4
4. Poor people become poor because they are not entrepreneurial, capable of getting things done, seizing opportunities and being alert.	1.73	.85	.89			
3. If a person is poor, it is primarily due to his own lack of effort.	1.95	.99	.84			
5. Poverty is increasing due to parents having too many children.	2.82	1.91		.84		
6. One of the most important reasons for the increase in poverty in the country is the migration of people living in the village to the city.	2.76	1.07		.83		
7. Poverty arises because of the unfair distribution of income in the country.	4.50	.69			.86	
8. Poverty exists because the political order in the country is corrupt.	4.61	.62			.82	
9. A person becomes poor because his parents did not inherit money, property and possessions. (2.18	.96				.89
10. A person becomes poor because unexpected, bad things happen to him/her.	2.27	.92				.75
	<i>Eigenvalue</i>		2.49	1.57	1.15	.81
	<i>e</i>					
	<i>Variance</i>		19.8	20.42	18.00	17.71
	<i>(%)</i>		1			
	<i>Cronbach's</i>		.70	.75	.75	.60
	<i>α</i>					

C1=Individualistic (Traits) Attributions; C2= Individualistic (Behavior) Attributions C3= Structural (Abstract) Attributions C4= Fatalistic Attribution

Table 8
Descriptive Statistics, Internal Consistency Coefficients, and Zero-Order Correlations between Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. SA	(.75)												
2. IA	-.09	(.73)											
3. IA/B	-.25**	.80**	(.70)										
4. IA/T	-.08	.86**	.38**	(.75)									
5. FA	.14*	-.03	.23**	.27**	(.60)								
6. OUT	.35**	-.18**	-.25**	-.05	.02	(.91)							
7. SYM	.19**	.10*	.03	.12*	.06	.48**	(.69)						
8. ACTS	.28**	-.30**	-.32**	-.18**	-.09	.27**	.12	(.79)					
9. BENS	.01	.06	.04	.07	.03	-.06	.18**	.35**	(.87)				
10. RI	-.24**	.43**	-.24**	.48**	.08	-.24**	.09	-.34**	.06	(.89)			
11. LI	.32**	-.38**	-.40**	-.25**	.08	.34**	.12	.42**	.08	-.28**	(.79)		
12. CI	.04	.49**	.39**	.42**	.13*	-.16**	.20**	-.20**	.15**	.45**	-.25**	(.74)	
13. PSP	-.31**	.41**	.47**	.23**	.12*	-.25**	.02	-.44**	.04	.64**	-.52**	.34**	-
<i>Mean</i>	4.55	2.32	2.79	1.84	2.22	8.03	6.90	2.88	3.69	2.66	7.75	7.07	2.96
<i>SD</i>	.56	.75	.98	.83	.79	2.11	2.06	1.47	1.39	2.06	2.17	2.85	2.16

SA = Structural Attributions; IA = Individualistic Attributions; IA/B = Individualistic Attributions/Behaviors; IA/T = Individualistic Attributions/Traits; FA = Fatalistic Attributions; OUT = Outrage; SYM= Sympathy; ACTS = Activist Support; BENS = Benevolent Support; RI = Right Ideological Orientation; LI = Left Ideological Orientation; CI = Central Ideological Orientation; PSP = Political Self-Placement
 Internal consistency coefficients of the scales are presented in parentheses. ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

3.2. Study 2b: Testing the Proposed Relationships in an Adult Sample

As I discussed in Chapter 1, I aimed to focus on the relationships between ideology, causal attributions for poverty, emotions towards poverty, and prosocial actions towards poverty. Specifically, I argue that causal attributional processes, feelings of sympathy and outrage, and ideologies will differentially predict poverty-related actions. Furthermore, I aim to test the role of sympathy, outrage, and causal attributions for poverty as mediators in the path from ideologies to poverty-related prosocial actions. Finally, I tested how the belief that poverty will be eliminated was related to these prosocial actions.

3.2.1. Method

3.2.1.1. Participants and Procedure

After I obtained permission from the METU Human Subjects Ethics Committee (Appendix D) I started to collect data. Participants were recruited online through the Qualtrics.com survey facility. The invitation to the study was distributed through social media platforms, various trade union mailing groups and by distributing the invitation with a QR code in various cafes, bars and social events in Ankara. 358 participants participated in the study, 236 of whom were women, 121 were men and one of whom did not specify gender. The ages of the participants ranged between 19 and 69 ($M = 40.97$, $SD = 11.32$). The majority of the participants had bachelor's degree ($N = 171$) or postgraduate degree ($N = 162$), 24 participants were high school graduates, and 1 participant was primary school graduates. Slightly more than half of the participants (%50.6) stated that they had religious identification, these participants also stated that their religious identification did not affect their daily lives too much on a 1-11 Likert type scale ($M = 4.39$, $SD = 2.90$). Participants did not consider themselves as conservative ($M = 2.80$, $SD = 2.24$). As for political self-placements, participants placed them mostly in the left of the center ($M = 2.89$, $SD = 2.10$) in a 11-point Likert type scale, 1 representing extreme left, 6 representing center and 11 representing extreme right. 138 (38.5%) participants indicated their

perceived socio-economic status as lower-middle, and 128 (35.8%) of them indicated their perceived socio-economic status as middle. The number of participants who defined themselves as low and upper-middle is 46 (12.8%) and 41(11.5%) respectively, while the number of participants who defined themselves as upper is 5 (1.4%). While 49.2% of the participants did not see themselves as poor, 31% saw themselves as poor, while 20.4% considered themselves as poor.

Participants voluntarily participated in the study with the information that they could leave at any point they wished. They were informed that they would be asked about their various opinions about poverty, and they participated in the study after approving the consent form (Appendix E). The researcher randomized both the blocks of questions and the order of questions within the blocks to prevent the effects of question order, except for the demographic form, and the participants filled out the following scales: demographic information form, ideological identities scale, causal attributions for poverty scale, emotions scale, and prosocial actions against poverty scale. After completing the full sets of questions, they were debriefed about the aim of the study. (Appendix F).

3.2.1.2. Measures

Demographic Information Form. Participants were asked about their age, gender, education level, perceived SES, monthly income, political self-placement (where they see themselves politically on a scale ranging between 1-11) (Appendix G).

Belief in Elimination of Poverty. In order to measure participants' belief in elimination of poverty, the question "Do you think it is possible to eliminate poverty in Turkey?" was asked, and participants were asked to indicate a value between 0 (not at all possible) and 100 (definitely possible).

Ideological Orientation. Participants were given a 20-item ideological identities scale developed by Sayılan and Türkoğlu (2015). Participants were asked to indicate where they see themselves for each ideological identity between 1 (it doesn't reflect me at all) and 11 (it totally reflects me). The scale consists of items of Anarchism, Atatürk's ideology, Communism, Conservatism, Conservative Democracy,

Ecologism, Fascism, Feminism, Idealism, Kurdish Political Movement, Liberalism, Libertarianism, Marxism, Nationalism, Nationalist Conservatism, National Vision Movement, Radical Islam, Socialism, Social Democracy and Turkism (Appendix H). The original scale consists of 3 dimensions: right ideological identity, left ideological identity and central ideological identity. When I analyzed the fit of the 3-component structure, which also emerged in my analysis in Study 2 a, it was seen that fascism and ecologism did not load on any component. When these items were removed and the analysis was repeated, a 3-component structure emerged, explaining 61.22% of the variance in ideology.

Table 9
Factor Loadings and Univariate Summary Statistics of Ideological Identities Scale

Items	M	SD	C1¹	C2¹	C3¹
12. Nationalist Conservatism	2.32	2.39	.88		
14. Conservatism	2.51	2.53	.79		
13. Conservative Democracy	2.74	2.63	.77		
15. Radical Islam	1.56	1.58	.75		
11. National Vision Movement	3.02	2.89	.69		
20. Idealism	2.66	2.74	.64		
6. Communism	7.12	3.19		.83	
10. Marxism	7.09	3.10		.83	
17. Socialism	8.52	2.60		.82	
5. Feminism	8.15	2.94		.71	
2. Atatürk's Ideology	7.41	3.66			.79
16. Social Democracy	8.10	2.83			.78
19. Nationalism	4.83	3.73			.71
	<i>Eigenvalue</i>		5.40	1.99	1.79
	<i>Variance (%)</i>		27.00	18.93	15.28
	<i>Cronbach's α</i>		.88	.79	.76

C1=Right wing ideological identity C2=Left wing ideological identity; C3=Central ideological identity

Causal Attributions for Poverty. The scale developed by Morçöl (1997) was used in order to measure the participants' attribution for poverty (Appendix K). When I

performed factor analysis on the questions of this scale in order to confirm the original structure of the scale, the factor structure I indicated in Study 2a was again observed. One of the items that should have fallen into the structural/tangible dimension did not load on any dimension, while the other one formed a separate dimension. Since I obtained the same factor structure as in Study 2a, I decided to use this factor structure in this study. Accordingly, the scale was found to have four components: individualistic attributions with two separate components, namely individualistic/behaviors ($\alpha = .66$) and individualistic/traits ($\alpha = .80$), structural attributions ($\alpha = .81$) and fatalistic attributions ($\alpha = .67$).

Emotions Concerning Poverty. The emotions scale developed within the scope of this study was used to measure participants' emotions in the context of poverty (Appendix I). In order to measure emotions of outrage and sympathy towards poverty, the participants answered the question of "What do you feel when you think about poverty in our country?" was answered with the items "I feel..... [sadness, anger, outrage, pity, sadness, fear, worry, resentment, offended and grievance." in a scale ranging from 1 (never) to 10 (always). Scale consists of two components; namely sympathy ($\alpha = .90$) and outrage ($\alpha = .72$).

Prosocial Actions concerning Poverty. The scale developed in this study was used to measure participants' involvement in prosocial actions (Appendix J). Participants were asked to mark the frequency with which they had taken certain poverty-related actions, "Thinking back over the past ten years" on a scale ranging from 1 (Never) to 7 (Always). The scale consists of two components: activist ($\alpha = .76$) and benevolent support ($\alpha = .87$).

Table 10

Factor Loadings and Univariate Summary Statistics of Causal Attributions for Poverty Scale

Items	M	SD	C1¹	C2¹	C3¹	C4¹
4. Poor people become poor because they are not entrepreneurial, capable of getting things done, seizing opportunities and being alert.	1.76	.91	.88			
3. If a person is poor, it is primarily due to his own lack of effort.	1.87	.98	.86			
6. One of the most important reasons for the increase in poverty in the country is the migration of people living in the village to the city.	2.82	1.18		.90		
5. Poverty is increasing due to parents having too many children.	2.80	1.2		.70		
7. Poverty arises because of the unfair distribution of income in the country.	4.47	.64			.88	
8. Poverty exists because the political order in the country is corrupt.	4.68	.54			.73	
9. A person becomes poor because his parents did not inherit money, property and possessions.	2.28	1.00				.89
10. A person becomes poor because unexpected, bad things happen to him/her.	2.35	.96				.80
	<i>Eigenvalue</i>		2.62	1.64	1.13	.76
	<i>Variance (%)</i>		21.5	19.12	18.67	17.47
			1			
	<i>Cronbach's α</i>		.66	.80	.81	.67

C1=Individualistic (Traits) Attributions; C2= Individualistic (Behavior) Attributions C3= Structural (Abstract) Attributions C4= Fatalistic Attributions

3.2.2. Results

The correlational relationships among the study variables are given in Table 11. I conducted the analyses for the models within the scope of the study using SPSS PROCESS Macro, (Hayes, 2022), with 5000 bootstrapped samples. I conducted 4

mediation analyses to obtain the findings of the study. All analyses included endorsement of ideologies as independent variables, while the outcome variables were activist and benevolent support. In the first two analyses where the outcome variable was activist support, the two independent variables of the study, endorsement of right and left ideology, were included in the model as covariates respectively, and the role of structural attributions for poverty and outrage in relationship between ideologies and activist support were analyzed. In the second part, where my outcome variable was benevolent support, the analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between endorsement of different ideologies and engagement in benevolent support, using the both types of causal attributions for poverty; namely structural and individualistic attributions and sympathy as mediator variables.

3.2.2.1. Tested Relationships for Activist Support

I conducted two serial mediation analyses using SPSS PROCESS Macro Model 6, (Hayes, 2022), to examine the relationship between endorsement of right and left ideologies and activist support with the mediatory roles of structural attributions and outrage. In the two analyses I conducted while testing this model, adding the other variable (endorsement of left and right ideologies respectively), which was not included in the model as a predictor, and belief in elimination of poverty as a covariate in each analysis controlled for the effect of the omitted predictor variable on the variables, so it was possible to show the analyses performed separately for both independent variables on a single model. Figure 2 shows the results of these analyses.

When we look at the direct relationship between my first independent variable, endorsing left ideology, and the outcome variable of the study, it is seen that endorsing left ideology positively and significantly predicted activist support ($B = .20, SE = .03, p = .00, 95\% CI [.14, .28]$). As endorsement of left ideology increased, the engagement of activist support concerning poverty increased as well. While

explaining poverty with structural attributions did not directly predict activist support ($B = .65$, $SE = .35$, $p = .06$, 95% CI [-.04, .1.33]), feelings of outrage had a positive and significant direct relationship with activist support ($B = .09$, $SE = .04$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [.01, .17]). Furthermore, endorsing left ideology significantly predicted activist support through outrage ($B = .02$, $SE = .01$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.00, .04]) and through serial mediation of structural attributions and outrage ($B = .00$, $SE = .00$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.00, .01]).

The other independent variable, endorsing right-wing ideology, had no significant direct effect on activist support ($B = -.03$, $SE = .03$, $p = .24$, 95% CI [-.09, .02]). In addition, endorsing right ideology negatively predicted explaining poverty with structural attributions ($B = -.01$, $SE = .00$, $p = .00$, 95% CI [-.02, -.00]), and did not significantly predict outrage ($B = -.02$, $SE = .04$, $p = .54$, 95% CI [-.10, .05]). However, endorsement of right ideology significantly predicted activist support negatively through serial mediation of structural attributions and outrage ($B = -.00$, $SE = .00$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [-.01, -.00]). In other words, as people endorsed right ideology more, this, in turn predicted explaining poverty less in terms of structural inequalities with lesser outrage and finally it predicted engagement in activist support negatively. Lastly; belief in elimination of poverty was found to be positively predicting the activist support ($B = .03$, $SE = .00$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.01, .05]). Endorsement of left and right ideologies, structural attributions, outrage and belief in elimination of poverty explained 22% of the variance in activist support; $R^2 = .22$, $F(5, 350) = 19.42$, $p < .01$.

Table 11
Descriptive Statistics, Internal Consistency Coefficients, and Zero-Order Correlations between Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. RI	(.88)								
2. LI	-.35**	(.79)							
3. SA	-.26**	.17**	(.81)						
4. IA	.47**	-.41**	-.09	(.76)					
5. OUT	-.18**	.24**	.26**	-.15**	(.90)				
6. SYM	.12*	.06	.23**	.13*	.53*	(.72)			
7. ACTS	-.21**	.42**	.19**	-.28**	.22**	.09	(.76)		
8. BENS	.09	.01	-.04	.08	.03	.15**	.32**	(.87)	
9. BAP	-.13*	.20**	.05	-.18**	.05	-.03	.24**	.15**	-
<i>Mean</i>	2.45	7.93	4.60	2.29	8.19	7.25	2.96	3.74	52.54
<i>SD</i>	1.91	2.08	.52	.80	2.10	2.06	1.42	1.40	37.17

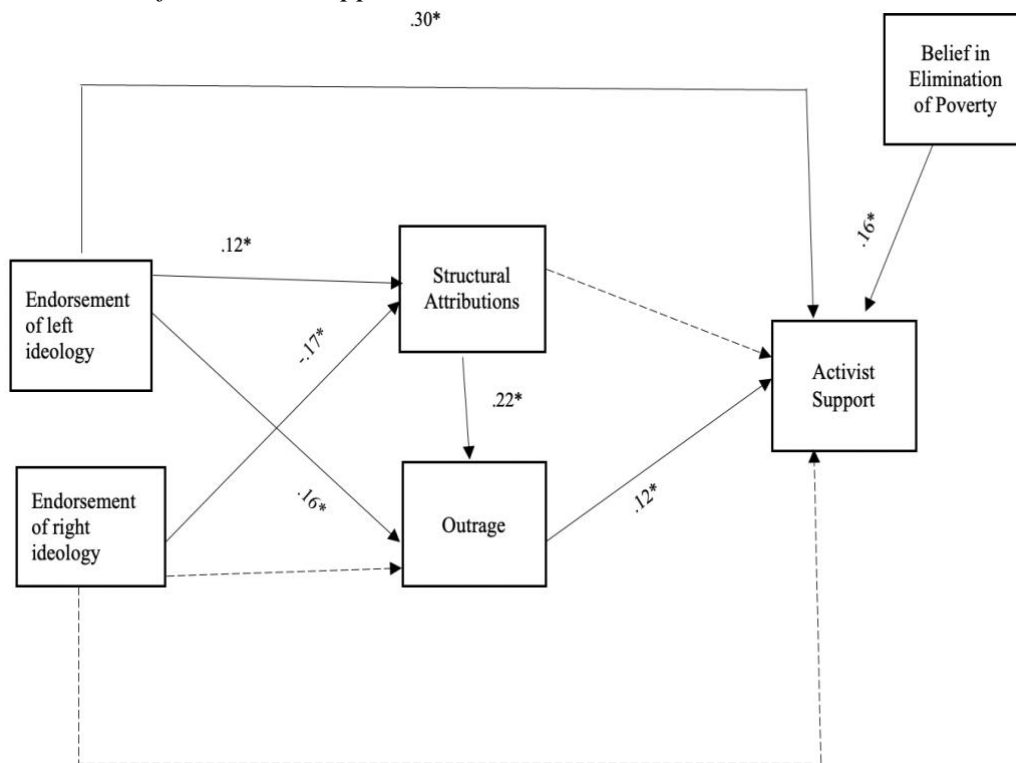
RI = Right Ideological Orientation; LI = Left Ideological Orientation; SA = Structural Attributions; IA = Individualistic Attributions; OUT = Outrage; SYM= Sympathy; ACTS = Activist Support; BENS = Benevolent Support; BEP = Belief in Elimination of Poverty

Internal consistency coefficients of the scales are presented in parentheses.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 2
Tested Model for Activist Support



(Standardized coefficients with solid lines denote effects that are statistically significant; dashed lines denote effects that are not statistically significant.)

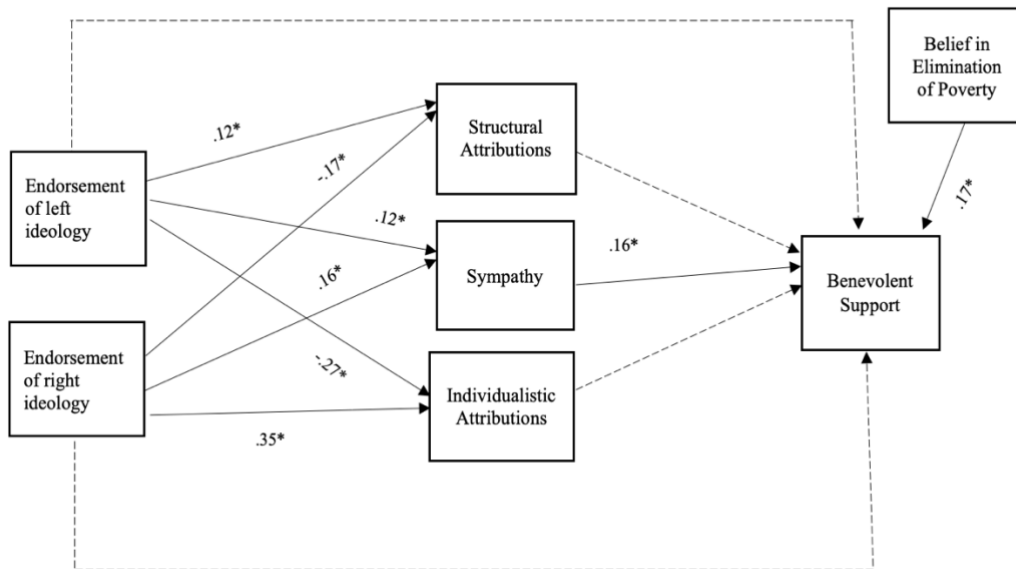
3.2.2.2. Tested Model for Benevolent Support

In order to predict the pathways from the two independent variables to the outcome variable, parallel mediation analysis using SPSS PROCESS Macro Model 4, (Hayes, 2022), was performed to predict the pathways from the two independent variables to the outcome variable. Adding the other variable (right and left ideologies respectively), whose indirect effect I did not evaluate each time, as a covariate to the model allowed me to obtain the same result for the mediating variables and the outcome variable in both analyses. As can be seen from Figure 3, endorsement of left ideology predicted structural attributions positively ($B = .01$, $SE = .00$, $p = .03$, 95% CI [.00, .02]), but individualistic attributions negatively ($B = -.08$, $SE = .00$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [-.11, -.05]). Endorsement of right ideology on the other hand, reversely, predicted structural attributions negatively ($B = -.01$, $SE = .00$,

$p < .01$, 95% CI [-.02, -.00]), but individualistic attributions positively ($B = .09$, $SE = .01$, $p = .03$, 95% CI [.07, .12]).

Both endorsement of right ideologies ($B = .11$, $SE = .04$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.033, .19]) and left ideologies ($B = .09$, $SE = .04$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.00, .19]) significantly and positively predicted sympathy, which in turn predicted benevolent support positively ($B = .16$, $SE = .05$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.05, .27]). Endorsement of left ($B = .00$, $SE = .05$, $p = .87$, 95% CI [-.09, .10]) and right ideologies ($B = .03$, $SE = .04$, $p = .45$, 95% CI [-.05, .12]) did not predict benevolent support directly. However, endorsement of left ($B = .01$, $SE = .01$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.010, .04]) and right ideologies ($B = .02$, $SE = .01$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.00, .05]) predicted the benevolent support positively through mediation of sympathy. The mediatory role of structural attributions and individual attributions was found to be non-significant. Belief in elimination of poverty significantly and positively predicted benevolent support. ($B = .04$, $SE = .01$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.01, .06]). The explained variance for the model was %25.10; $R^2 = 25.10$, $F(6,349) = 3.91$, $p < .01$.

Figure 3
Tested Model for Benevolent Support



(Standardized coefficients with solid lines denote effects that are statistically significant; dashed lines denote effects that are not statistically significant.)

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Collective social problems require collective efforts to eliminate them. Therefore, it is important to see these efforts together and to understand their same and different motivations. Poverty and impoverishment pose a significant threat to Turkey. According to the World Inequality Database (2021), the richest 10% of Turkey share 54.5% of total income, while the bottom 50% of the population share 11.9% of total income. At the time I started to collect data for the first study of my dissertation, the USD exchange rate was 7.35 TRY (European Commission, 2021) and monthly inflation as per the same month of the previous year was 14.97% (TÜİK, 2021), while at the time of writing this chapter of the dissertation, the USD exchange rate was 18.17 TRY (European Commission, 2022) and monthly inflation as per the same month of the previous year was 80.21% (TÜİK, 2022). This data alone is a dramatic indicator of the increasing impoverishment in Turkey. Therefore, combating poverty is one of the most important concerns of both the political and public agenda in Turkey, the context in which this research was conducted.

On the other hand, just as poverty is not an individual problem, the problem of poverty also can be addressed collectively, not through individual capabilities or initiatives. We can say that this collectivity, regardless of the type of support it is built on, points to some important steps in the fight against poverty. The most important of these is that the people involved in both types of action do so with initiative and responsibility for tackling the poverty. Underlining that poverty is not an individual issue and can only be overcome through a collective effort can increase the frequency with which people engage in such actions and the quality of these actions. Furthermore, building sociopolitical pressure on governments to take action

on poverty will lead to more lasting and fundamental changes regarding poverty. Therefore, in order to understand the dynamics of activist engagement on poverty and the pathways to activist engagement, the findings and contributions of studies such as the one I have undertaken should be highlighted.

Integrating the two types of prosocial behaviors concerning poverty, which have been studied separately until recently, is important in several ways. First, it is important to see the intergroup functions of helping behavior, which has also been treated as a fundamentally interpersonal process, but whose role in intergroup relations has recently been focused on. Second, it is convenient to test similar and different antecedents of different types of behavior in the same context, towards the same issue. For my dissertation, prosocial actions concerning poverty are such an example of actions aiming at changing the conditions of the suffering people. My main objectives in conducting these studies were to contribute to the research literature on poverty-related actions and to examine which variables are associated with poverty-related actions in the Turkish context. To this end, I examined how ideology predicts action against poverty and the role of attributional processes and emotions in the pathway to action. In doing so, I first conducted a qualitative study and then two quantitative studies. Guided by insights from the literature and my qualitative study, I conducted two studies and tested the relationship between actions concerning poverty and a number of sociopolitical variables.

The first study was an important study in terms of showing that people's explanations of poverty are related to their ideological orientations, emotions and actions related to poverty. In line with the previous literature, the participants stated that they mostly engage in helping behavior, while sympathy is more determinant in helping behavior than ideological orientations, and in terms of sociopolitical action, the ways of explaining poverty, feelings of outrage and endorsing a leftist ideology are crucial to examine the pathways to the sociopolitical action.

In my second study (Study 2b), I tested several hypotheses based on my first study and previous research findings. In line with the first hypothesis of the study, I expected that activist support would be positively predicted by structural attributions for poverty and outrage. This hypothesis was partially confirmed. Although the correlative relationship between structural attributions for poverty and activist support is positive and significant, structural attributions for poverty failed to predict activist support positively. Indeed, Thomas & McGarty (2017) found that explaining poverty by structural causes positively predicts activist support. One reason why my study was unable to replicate this finding is that; for engagement in activism, attributing poverty to structural inequalities alone may not be the only way but may be accompanied by an emotion that can be mobilizing against it (as I tested and confirmed through Hypothesis 2). The other part of the first hypothesis of my study concerned the relationship between outrage and activist support. I can say that my expectation in this regard has been confirmed, as the previous research (van Zomeren et al., 2008) has already shown the effect of outrage on activism.

I expected that endorsing left ideologies would predict activist support through structural attributions and outrage, while endorsing right ideologies would predict negatively as the second hypothesis of my study. The results revealed that endorsing left ideology predicted activist support both directly and indirectly through structural attributions and outrage. This finding takes the previous research finding that explaining poverty with structural attributions and feelings of outrage can lead to sociopolitical action (Thomas and McGarty; 2017) one step further, showing that the combination of the two also can lead to activist support. On the other hand, endorsing right ideology did not directly predict activist support, but negatively predicted activist support through structural attributions and outrage. Considering that resistance to social change is a fundamental difference between the left and the right in terms of the motivational differences on which ideologies are based (Jost et al., 2003), I believe that I have been able to show how left-wing people are engaged and how right-wing people are not engaged in system challenging activities in the context of poverty.

In line with my third hypothesis, I expected that structural attributions for poverty and sympathy to predict benevolent support positively while mediating the relationship between ideologies and benevolent support, whereas individualistic attributions to predict negatively, mediating the relationship between ideologies and benevolent support as well. This hypothesis was partially confirmed. As sympathy predicted benevolent support positively such as the previous research has shown to be the most prominent factor for engagement in benevolence (Weiner et al., 2010)); surprisingly; none of the causal attributions predicted benevolent support. As for hypothesized indirect effects, it was the sympathy that mediated the relationship between endorsing left and right ideologies and benevolent support. Although individualistic attributions have been found to be negatively associated with helping the poor due to a blaming perspective on poverty (Weiner & Osborne, 2015), this finding was not replicated in this study. This may be related to the ways of explaining poverty in the Turkish context. As I mentioned before, research in the Turkish context shows that poverty is predominantly explained based on structural attributions (Morçöl, 1997; Solak, 2008). What I have already seen in my first study (Study 1) is that there are not only individual attributions about poverty, but in fact there is a mixed attribution process, so even an individual with high individual attributions about poverty may not develop anger or blame towards the poor because he/she also recognizes the inequalities brought by the system.

As the last hypothesis of the study expected, belief in elimination of poverty positively predicted both types of prosocial actions concerning poverty. This might be an indicator that, indeed people engaging in different types of actions might be motivated by similar beliefs on elimination of poverty. This finding is one of the original contributions of the study and should be replicated in future studies. It is plausible to say that, although people believe in change, their different ideas about the mechanism through which it will be achieved may lead them to take different actions.

Some people may believe that poverty can be eliminated if everyone helps those around them. On the other hand, it could also be argued that poverty can only be eliminated by changing or abolishing the systems that create and perpetuate it with a collective action. What is common to both ideas is the emphasis on the existence of social participation. Therefore, the findings that underline the strong correlations between activist support and benevolent support, as well as those between sympathy and anger towards poverty with the remaining variables, provide evidence that the types of actions taken and the emotions felt about poverty are not necessarily separate paths, but may in fact go hand in hand.

This study contributes to the intergroup prosociality literature, which has been rarely conducted in the context of poverty, and it also represents the first study on this topic in the context of Turkey and is important in this sense. Considering that one of the ways to eliminate a social problem is to understand the social dynamics of the problem, the contribution of the research findings to the fight against poverty in this sense can be seen more clearly.

In this study, there are several limitations regarding I have to report for the sake of evaluation of the external validity of the results I obtained. The prominent one is limitations regarding the sample size and characteristics of the study. The first is the disproportionately high number of women participants that might have been effective on generalizability of the results. The results need to be evaluated with this in mind. The second is that; although I collected this data from lay people attempting to reach every different segment of the society as much as it is possible, my sample size remains predominantly left-wing in terms of political self-placement and low in conservatism. This should be reported as another limitation of the study. In addition, the perceived socio-economic status (SES) findings reported by the participants indicate that they mostly defined themselves as middle SES. This limitation should be underlined along with the need to consider a wider range of SES in future studies. As another limitation; the age range of the participants of my study (i.e., 19-69) also represents a limitation. Although both are considered adults,

the ages of 19 and 69 indicate a long developmental gap and this is a limitation that should be taken into consideration in terms of generalizability of the results.

One of the other limitations of the findings of the study that should be mentioned here is that the variables I examined explain a small portion of the variance in activist and benevolent support. Future studies in this field should be cautious about the variables that may be associated with benevolent support in order to enhance the variance in benevolent and activist engagement.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: APPROVAL OF METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

(Study 1)

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Sayı: 28620816 /

13 KASIM 2020

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Banu Cingöz ULU

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Merve FİDAN'ın "*Yoksulluğa İlişkin Sosyal Temsiller: Ön Çalışma*" araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 337-ODTU-2020 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY

İAEK Başkanı

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

(Study 1)

BİLGİLENDİRME VE GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM ONAY FORMU

Merhaba,

Ben ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü doktora öğrencisi Merve Fidan. Danışmanım Banu Cingöz Ulu ile birlikte, bireylerin ülkemizdeki yoksulluğa yönelik görüşlerini öğrenmek için tez çalışmamı yürütüyorum. Bunun için sizinle yaklaşık 30-45 dakika arasında sürebilecek bir görüşme yapmak istiyorum. Bu görüşmede size yoksulluk ve yoksullukla mücadeleyle ilgili sorular soracağım. Onayınız olursa ses kaydı almak istiyorum. Kimliğinizi ve yanıtlarınızı tamamen gizli tutacağım.

Görüşme sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz görüşmeyi yarıda bırakabilirsiniz. Araştırmadan çekilmeye karar verirsiniz, ses kaydı ve görüşmeye ilişkin aldığım notları kullanmadan yok edeceğim. Katıldığınız için teşekkür ederim.

Bu proje, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi'nin Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi İnsan Araştırmaları Komitesi tarafından incelenmiş ve onaylanmıştır. Araştırmayla ilgili herhangi bir sorunuz olursa, Merve Fidan (E-posta: fidanmrv@gmail.com) ile Banu Cingöz Ulu (E-posta: cingoz@metu.edu.tr) ile e-posta adresleri aracılığıyla iletişim kurabilirsiniz. Bunun yanı sıra, ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü'ne 0312 210-3132 numaralı telefondan, ya da Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi'ne ueam@metu.edu.tr e-posta adresinden erişebilirsiniz.

Yukarıda yazılanları okudum ve bu araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katılmak istiyorum.

İmza:

Tarih:

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

(Study 1)

1. Sizi biraz tanıyabilir miyim? Kaç yaşındasınız? Ne iş yapıyorsunuz?
2. Kendinizi sosyoekonomik olarak nerde tanımlasınız? [alt-orta-yüksek seçenekleri arasından?] Neye dayanarak bu şekilde tanımlıyorsunuz? Ekonomik durumunuzu nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? Sormamda sakınca yoksa aylık geliriniz ne kadar? Yetiyor mu? Sıkıntınız varsa ne konuda? [gerektiği kadarı yanıt almak veya ayrıntılandırmak için sorulacak]
3. Sizce yoksulluk sınırı ayda kaç liradır? Ne kadar bir gelir yeterlidir? Ya da yoksulluk yalnızca gelir ile ilgili bir durum mu sizce? Başka ölçütler veya etmenler de var mı birine “yoksul” dememizde? Mesela bir insan ne yaparsa ya da yapmazsa (ne yapabiliyorsa ya da yapamıyorsa) “yoksul” olur?
4. Kendinizi hangi partiye yakın görüyorsunuz? İdeolojik olarak veya program olarak veya duruş olarak, ne tarafa veya kime yakın hissediyorsunuz?
5. Sizce yoksulluk ne kadar büyük bir sorun (ülkemiz için)? Başka neler var ülkemiz için sorun olarak gördüğünüz?
6. Yoksulluk dediğimizde aklınıza ilk ne geliyor?
7. Yoksul dediğimizde aklınıza kimler geliyor? Nasıl insanlar, ne yapmışlar, neden yoksullar sizce?
8. Peki, sizce daha genel olarak yoksulluğun sebepleri nedir?
9. Kendinizi ekonomik açıdan yoksul olarak görüyor musunuz? Neden / ne açıdan?
10. Ülkemizdeki yoksulluk ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz? Ne hissediyorsunuz?
11. Ülkemizdeki gelir dağılımına dair ne düşünüyorsunuz? Gelir dağılımını nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
12. Sizce bu konuda bir adaletsizlik var mı? Varsa nasıl bir adaletsizlik görüyorsunuz?
13. Daha iyi bir gelir dağılımı mümkün mü? Böyle bir şeyi ister miydiniz? Sizce bu nasıl olabilir?

14. Sizce yoksulluk ve gelir adaletsizliđiyle m¼cadele gerekli mi? (Gerekliyse,) Peki bunun iin neler yapılabilir? (Deđilse,) Var olan durumdan memnunsunuz, dođru mu anladım?
15. Siz bu ¼lkeyi y¼netiyor olsanız zengin ile yoksul arasındaki gelir farkının bu kadar fazla olmasını engellemek ister miydiniz? (Evet ise,) ortadan kalkması iin ne yapardınız?
16. Siz Őu anki pozisyonunuzda buna dair herhangi bir m¼cadele veriyor musunuz? Sizce sıradan insanların yapabileceđi bir Őeyler var mı? Nasıl bir Őey yapılabilir? Ya da siz neler yapıyorsunuz?
17. İnsanlar neler yaparsa yoksulluk ve gelir adaletsizliđi ortadan kalkar sizce?
18. İnsanlar birlikte bir duruŐ sergilese (bir Őekilde) yoksulluđu ortadan kaldırmak m¼mk¼n olur mu, ne dersiniz?

APPENDIX D: APPROVAL OF METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

(Study 2a & Study 2b)

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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www.ueam.metu.edu.tr

Sayı: 28620816 /

14 NİSAN 2022

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Banu CİNGÖZ ULU

Danışmanlığınızı yürüttüğünüz Merve FİDAN'ın "YOKSULLUĞA İLİŞKİN EYLEMLERİN SOSYAL PSİKOLOJİK AÇIDAN İNCELENMESİ" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **220-ODTÜİAEK-2022** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkan

APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

(Study 2a & Study 2b)

BİLGİLENDİRME VE GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM ONAY FORMU

Bu araştırma, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Sosyal Psikoloji doktora öğrencisi Merve Fidan tarafından Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyesi Yrd. Doç. Dr. Banu Cingöz-Ulu danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı, bireylerin yoksulluğa ilişkin sosyopolitik tutumları konusunda bilgi sahibi olmaktır. Çalışmaya katılımınız tamamıyla gönüllülük temelindedir. Çalışma esnasında, sizden kimlik belirleyici hiçbir bilgi istenmemektedir. Cevaplarınız tamamıyla gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir; elde edilecek bilgiler bilimsel yayımlarda kullanılacaktır.

Çalışmaya katılmanızla ilgili öngörülen bir risk bulunmamaktadır. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz çalışmayı hiçbir kötü sonuç doğurmaksızın yarıda bırakıp araştırmadan çekilmekte serbestsiniz. Araştırmadan çekilmeye karar vererseniz, sizin verileriniz kullanılmadan yok edilecektir. Çalışmanın en fazla 20 dakika sürmesi planlanmakta olup, çalışma sonunda, bu çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız cevaplanacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz.

Bu proje, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi'nin Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi İnsan Araştırmaları Komitesi tarafından incelenmiş ve onaylanmıştır. Araştırmayla ilgili herhangi bir sorunuz olursa, Merve Fidan (E-posta: fidanmrv@gmail.com) ile Banu Cingöz Ulu (E-posta: cingoz@metu.edu.tr) ile e-posta adresleri aracılığıyla iletişim kurabilirsiniz. Bunun yanı sıra, *ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü*'ne 0312 210-3182 numaralı telefondan, ya da Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi'ne de 0312 210-7348 numaralı telefon veya ueam@metu.edu.tr e-posta adresinden erişebilirsiniz.

Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılmayı kabul ediyorum. (Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İmza:

Tarih:

APPENDIX F: DEBRIEFING FORM

(Study 2a & Study 2b)

KATILIM SONRASI BİLGİLENDİRME FORMU

Çalışmamıza katıldığınız için teşekkür ederiz. Bize verdiğiniz bilgiler gizli tutulacak ve şifreli bir bilgisayarda saklanacaktır; sonrasında sadece anılan doktora tezinde ve bilimsel yayınlarda kullanılacaktır.

Bu çalışma, daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Banu Cingöz Ulu danışmanlığında Merve Fidan tarafından yürütülmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı bireylerin yoksulluk konusunda yardım etme durumu ve kolektif eyleme katılımının siyasi ideoloji ve yoksulluğun nedenlerine ilişkin açıklamaları arasındaki ilişkileri incelemektir.

Araştırmamıza katkılarınız son derece değerlidir. Katılımınız için çok teşekkür ederiz. Herhangi bir sorunuz veya belirtmek istediğiniz bir fikriniz olursa, ya da çalışmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi edinmek ve konu ile ilgili kaynak önerileri almak isterseniz, fidanmrv@gmail.com adresinden Merve Fidan ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

APPENDIX G: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM

(Study 2a & Study 2b)

DEMOGRAFİK BİLGİ FORMU

1. Cinsiyetiniz:

Erkek Kadın Diğer _____

2. Yaşınız: _____

3. Eğitim durumunuz (En son mezun olduğunuz okul seviyesi):

Okuma yazma bilmiyor İlkokul Ortaokul
 Lise Üniversite Y. lisans / Doktora

4. Ortalama olarak hanenize giren gelir aşağıdaki aralıklardan hangisine girmektedir?

2.000 TL altı 2001-4500 TL arası 4501-10.000

TL arası

10.001-16.000 TL arası 16.001-25.000 TL 25.000 TL

üstü

5. Kendinizi hangi gelir grubunda görürsünüz?

Alt Alt-orta Orta Üst-orta Üst

6. Kendinizi yoksul olarak değerlendirir misiniz?

Evet Hayır Kararsızım

7. Herhangi bir dini gruba mensup musunuz?

Evet Hayır

8. Evet ise, Dini inancınız gündelik yaşantınızı ne kadar etkiliyor?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hiç										Oldukça fazla

9. Kendinizi ne kadar muhafazakâr olarak bulursunuz?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Hiç											Oldukça fazla
-----	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---------------

10. Lütfen politik olarak yakın durduğunuz yeri aşağıda belirtilen aralıkta bir sayıyı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Sol					Merkez					Sağ

11. Lütfen aşağıdaki politik görüşlerinin her birinin sizin görüşünüzü ne ölçüde yansıttığını belirtiniz.

(-5= Hiç yansıtmıyor; 0 = Emin değilim; +5 = Oldukça fazla yansıtıyor.)

1. Anarşizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. Atatürkçülük	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Ekolojizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. Faşizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
5. Feminizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
6. Komünizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
7. Kürt Siyasi Hareketi	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
8. Liberalizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
9. Liberteryanizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
10. Marksizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
11. Millî Görüş	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
12. Milliyetçi Muhafazakârlık	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
13. Muhafazakâr Demokratlık	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5

14.Muhafazakârlık	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
15. Radikal İslam	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
16. Sosyal Demokrasi	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
17. Sosyalizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
18. Türkçülük	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
19. Ulusalcılık	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
20. Ülkücülük	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5

12. Ülkemizde yoksulluğun tamamen bitirilmesi sizce mümkün müdür?

0% Kesinlikle mümkün değil 100% Kesinlikle mümkün

13. Dünyada yoksulluğun tamamen bitirilmesi sizce mümkün müdür?

0% Kesinlikle mümkün değil 100% Kesinlikle mümkün

14. Sizce ülkemizdeki yoksulluk nasıl bitebilir?

APPENDIX H: IDEOLOGICAL IDENTITIES SCALE

(Study 2a & Study 2b)

Lütfen aşağıdaki politik görüşlerinin her birinin sizin görüşünüzü ne ölçüde yansıttığını belirtiniz.

(-5= Hiç yansıtmıyor; 0 = Emin değilim; +5 = Oldukça fazla yansıtıyor.)

1. Anarşizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. Atatürkçülük	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Ekolojizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. Faşizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
5. Feminizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
6. Komünizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
7. Kürt Siyasi Hareketi	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
8. Liberalizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
9. Liberteryanizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
10. Marksizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
11. Millî Görüş	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
12. Milliyetçi Muhafazakârlık	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
13. Muhafazakâr Demokratlık	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
14. Muhafazakârlık	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
15. Radikal İslam	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
16. Sosyal Demokrasi	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
17. Sosyalizm	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
18. Türkçülük	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5

19. Ulusalçılık	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
20. Ülkücülük	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX I: EMOTIONS SCALE

(Study 2a & Study 2b)

Ülkemizde yaşanan yoksulluğu düşündüğünüzde, yoksulluğu gözler önüne seren bir haber okuduğunuzda veya izlediğinizde, veya sohbetleriniz esnasında yoksulluk konusu açıldığında aşağıdaki duyguları ne sıklıkla hissedersiniz?

	1 Hiçbir zaman		5 Bazen					10 Her zaman		
1. Öfkeleniyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2. Üzülüyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3. Güceniyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4. Kızıyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
5. Endişeleniyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6. Sinirleniyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
7. Hiddetleniyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
8. Acıyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

APPENDIX J:PROSOCIAL ACTIONS SCALE

(Study 2a & Study 2b)

Aşağıda bazı ifadeler yer almaktadır. Geçtiğimiz **on** yılı düşündüğünüzde, aşağıdaki eylemleri gerçekleştirme sıklığınızı **0 (Hiçbir Zaman)** ile **6 (Her Zaman)** arasında, sizin için uygun olan rakamı işaretleyerek değerlendiriniz.

	Hiçbir Zaman	Nadiren	Arada Sırada	Bazen	Sıkça	Çoğu Zaman	Her Zaman
1-Bir siyasi partiye yoksulluk konusundaki politikalarından dolayı oy verdim.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
2-Sosyal medyada yoksulluğu gözler önüne seren paylaşımlarda bulundum.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
3- Yoksulluk konusunu gündeme getirmek amacıyla düzenlenen barışçıl gösterilere katıldım.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
4-Yoksulluk sorununa çözüm öneren bir imza kampanyasına katıldım.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
5- Çevremdeki insanları yoksulluğun ortadan kaldırılacağını savunan bir partiye oy vermeye ikna etmeye çalıştım.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
6- Etrafımdaki maddi durumu iyi olmayanlara parasal yardımda bulundum.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
7-Başka bir yerde yaşayan ve maddi durumu iyi olmayanlara parasal yardımda bulundum.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

8- İhtiyaç sahibi insanlara yardımda bulundum. (Gıda, eşya, giysi ve yakacak yardımı gibi yardımları düşünebilirsiniz)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
9-Başka yoksul ülkelerdeki (örneğin Afrika'daki bazı ülkelerdeki) insanlara yardımda bulundum. (Kurban bağışı, parasal yardım gibi yardımları düşünebilirsiniz)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
10-İhtiyaç sahipleri için erzak, eşya, giysi, yakacak yardımı toplayarak ilettim.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
11- Zekât ve fitremi ihtiyaç sahiplerine verdim.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12- Yoksullara yardım amaçlı çalışan yardım kurumlarına (dernek, vakıf, mahalle grubu gibi) bağış yaptım.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
13- Ülkemizdeki yardım kuruluşlarına kurban bağışı yaptım.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
14- İhtiyaç sahibi bir öğrenciye burs verdim veya burs veren bir kuruma bağışta bulundum.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Konuyu ayrıntılandırmak veya başka yorumlarınız için aşağıdaki boşluğu kullanabilirsiniz.

APPENDIX K: CAUSAL ATTRIBUTIONS FOR POVERTY SCALE

(Study 2a & Study 2b)

Aşağıda kişisel yoksulluğun nedenleri olarak bazı görüşlere yer verilmiştir. Bu görüşlere ne ölçüde katıldığınızı, **1 (Çok Yanlış)** ile **5 (Çok Doğru)** arasında sizin için uygun olan rakamı işaretleyerek değerlendiriniz.

	Çok Yanlış	Yanlış	Ne Doğru Ne Yanlış	Doğru	Çok Doğru
1. Bir insanın yoksul olmasının nedeni iyi eğitim almamış olmasıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Ülkede işsizliğin çok olması yoksulluğa neden oluyor.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Bir insan yoksulsa bu en başta kendi tembelliğinden, gayretsizliğindedir.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Yoksullar girişimci, iş bitirici olmadıkları, fırsatları değerlendiremedikleri, uyanık olmadıkları için yoksul oluyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Anne babaların çok çocuk yapması nedeni ile yoksulluk artıyor.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Ülkede yoksulluğun artmasının önemli bir	1	2	3	4	5

nedeni köyde oturanların kente göçmeleridir.					
7. Ülkede gelirin adaletli dağılması yüzünden yoksulluk ortaya çıkıyor.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Ülkede siyasi ve ekonomik düzen bozuk olduğu için yoksulluk var.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Bir insan annesi ve babasından para, mal, mülk kalmadığı için yoksul olur.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Bir insan başına beklenmedik, kötü işler geldiği için yoksul olur.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX L: CURRICULUM VITAE

Merve Fidan

Contact Information:

EDUCATION

	Middle East Technical University
2016-Ongoing	Ph.D. in Social Psychology
2013-2016	Ankara University MA in Social Psychology
	Thesis Title: Relationship between Attitudes towards Conscientious Objection, Social Dominance Orientation, Masculine Ideology and Human Rights.
2010-2013	Yeditepe University BA in Political Science and International Relations (Double Major)
2008-2012	Yeditepe University BA in Psychology
2004-2008	İstanbul Köy Hizmetleri Anatolian High School

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Political Psychology, Intergroup Relations, Human Rights, Poverty, Ideology

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

01/2014-02/2017	Research Assistant Ankara University
2018-2021	Researcher SOAR Research
09/2022-Ongoing	Project Assistant ADA Educational Cooperative

PRESENTATIONS

Karataşlı Ş. S., F. Aktaş, M. Fidan & S. Şentürk, Fragments of Nations and Nationalisms: A Typology of the 21st Century Nationalist Movements, International Conference on Social Sciences, İzmir, 2012.

Karataşlı Ş. S., F. Aktaş, M. Fidan & S. Şentürk, “Nations and Nationalisms of the 21st Century: Towards A Typology of Current State-Seeking Nationalist Movements in the World”, Eastern Sociological Society Annual Meeting, Boston, 2013.

Fidan M. & D. İslambay. Social Representations of the Peace Process in Turkish and Kurdish Taxi Drivers, 14th National Congress on Social Sciences, Ankara, 2015.

İslambay, D., M. Fidan, B. Türkoğlu, G. Sayılan. Socio-political Attitudes and Ideological Identities as the Determinants of Attitudes Towards Freedom of Expression 1st National Social Sciences Congress, Ankara, 2016.

Fidan M., Ideologies, Identities and Emotions in Intergroup Relations: Different Approaches from Turkey (Panel). Psychology Congress of Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Ankara, 2018.

Fidan M. & B. Cingöz-Ulu. Human rights for all (?): Role of Intergroup Threat. 20th National Psychology Congress, Ankara, 2019.

PUBLICATIONS

Karataşlı, Ş. S. Aktaş, F., Fidan, M. & Şentürk, S. (2012). Fragments of Nations and Nationalisms: A Typology of the 21st Century Nationalist Movements. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanity Studies*, 4(1), 325-334. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/ijsshs/issue/26219/276098>

INVITED TALKS

The Relationship between Conscientious Objections, Human Rights Attitudes and Social Dominance Orientation. Faculty of Language and History-Geography (Ankara University) Graduate Seminars, March 2017, Ankara

Is the Psychology of Peace Possible? Seminars of the Ankara Solidarity Academy, May 2017, Ankara.

AWARDS

Young Social Scientist Award for M.A. Thesis, Turkish Social Sciences Association, 2019.

COMPUTER SKILLS

SPSS

EQS

STATA

MAXQDA

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Kurdish & Turkish: Mother Tongue

English: Advanced

Spanish: Intermediate

German: Beginner

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Association of Psychologists for Social Solidarity (TODAP)

APPENDIX M: TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bugüne kadar, yoksullukla ilgili arařtırmalar çoğunlukla ya nedensel atıflar ya da kişiler arası yardım etme perspektiflerine odaklanmıştır. Yoksulluğa ilişkin nedensel atıflara dayanan köklü arařtırmalar, yoksulluğa ilişkin nedensel atıflar ile siyasi ideoloji, sosyal baskınlık yönelimi veya sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimleri gibi sosyo-politik deęişkenler arasındaki ilişkinin yanı sıra nedensel atıfların yoksullara yardım konusuyla ilişkisini de ortaya koymuştur. Arařtırmalar temel olarak sol ideolojik yönelimin, daha düşük sosyal baskınlık yöneliminin ve daha düşük sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerinin yoksulluğun kapitalizm ve zenginliğin eşitsiz dağılımı gibi yapısal nedenlere atfedilmesiyle ve yoksulluğun yapısal nedenlere atfedilmesinin yoksullara yardım etme isteęiyle olumlu yönde ilişkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Bununla birlikte, saę ideolojileri destekleme, daha yüksek sosyal baskınlık yönelimi ve sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerinin yoksulluğu yoksulların kendilerine, örneğin çaba eksikliği veya tembelliğe atfetme ile pozitif ilişkili olduğu ve bunun da yoksullara yardım etme isteęini azalttığı bulunmuştur (örneğin; Weiner, Osborne ve Rudolph, 2011; Zucker ve Weiner, 2003).

Öte yandan, hayırsever yardım literatürü, insanların yoksullara yardım etmesinde birçok motivasyon faktörünün rolünü incelemiştir. Özetle, bu literatür insanların temelde ihtiyacın varlığının farkına varılması, baęışta bulunmalarının talep edilmesi hem psikolojik hem de kişisel olarak algılanan faydalar, özgeci motivasyonlar, itibar kaygıları, sahip oldukları deęerler ve yardımın yüksek etkililiğine dair inançlar temelinde yardım etme ihtimallerinin daha yüksek olduğunu öne sürmektedir (bir inceleme için bkz. Weepking & Beckers, 2011).

Kolektif eylem literatürü, algılanan dezavantaja karşı harekete geçme mekanizmaları hakkında önemli açıklamalar ve bulgular sunarken, yoksulluk ve bunun öncülleri üzerine aktivist eylemi incelemek için çok az çaba sarf edilmiştir. Bu çabalar, yoksulluk karşıtı bir hareketle özdeşleşme, prososyal duygular ve

yeterlilik inançları olmak üzere üç farklı öncülün yoksulluk konusunda kolektif eylemi motive etmedeki rolünü vurgulamaktadır (Thomas vd., 2010).

Son zamanlarda, bazı araştırmacılar yoksullukla ilgili iki tür eylemin, yani yardımsever ve aktivist desteğin ortak ve benzersiz öncüllerini test etmeye başlamıştır ve bu çaba, yoksullukla ilgili araştırmalar için sadece prososyal eylemler yelpazesinin bir tarafına dayanmak yerine gruplar arası prososyallik şemsiyesi altında geniş bir araştırma alanı imkânı sunmaktadır (örneğin, Thomas ve McGarty, 2017; 2018; Louis vd., 2018). Bu çalışmaların, ağırlaşan ekonomik kriz nedeniyle yoksulluk ve yoksullaşmanın yüksek olduğu Türkiye gibi bir bağlamda yürütülmesi, Türkiye bağlamında yoksullukla ilgili eylemlerin belirleyicilerini görmek açısından çok önemli olacaktır.

Yoksulluk Araştırmalarında Gruplar arası Prososyallik Perspektifi

İnsanlar aynı duruma farklı tepkiler verebilirler. Örneğin, kolektif eylem literatürü, insanların kendi gruplarının (örneğin; Drury ve Reicher, 1999; Reicher, 1996) veya diğer dezavantajlı grupların (örneğin; Thomas vd., 2020; van Zomeren vd., 2011) koşullarını iyileştirmek için sisteme karşı çıkan siyasi faaliyetlerde buldukları mekanizmalarla ilgilenmektedir. Algılanan birçok eşitsizlik için kolektif eylem dinamikleri bu literatürde yer almaktadır. Ancak, yoksulluk üzerine kolektif eylem literatürü oldukça sınırlı kalmaktadır. Bunun bir istisnası olarak, yoksullukla ilgili sosyopolitik eylem olasılıklarını inceleyen az sayıda çalışma, yoksulluğu azaltmaya yönelik bir sosyal hareketle özdeşleşmeye, prososyal duygulara ve yeterlilik inançlarına odaklanmıştır (Thomas ve McGarty, 2010; Thomas ve McGarty, 2017). Yerel bağlamlarda (örneğin Türkiye'de) yoksulluk üzerine kolektif eylem dinamiklerinin ve olanaklarının değerlendirilmesi hala eksiktir ve çalışılması gerekmektedir.

İkinci olarak, kolektif eylem literatürünün aksine, hayırseverlik veya hayırsever davranış alanı, psikolojinin insanların yoksulluk konusunda harekete geçme motivasyonlarını en çok incelediği alan olmuştur. İnsanların, birinin ihtiyaç içinde

olduğunun farkında olduklarında (Cheung ve Chan, 2000; Lee ve Farrell, 2003) ya da bir kuruluş veya bireyden yardım talebi aldıklarında (Bekkers, 2005; Schlegelmilch vd., 1997) yardım etmeye daha eğilimli oldukları bilinmektedir. Buna ek olarak, hayırseverliğin psikolojik faydaları da insanları yardım etmeye yönlendiren önemli faktörlerdir. Örneğin, insanlar öz imajlarını iyileştirmek (Tonin ve Vlassopoulos, 2013; Wilhelm ve Bekkers, 2010) veya “verme sevincini” yaşamak (Mount, 1996; Harbaugh, vd., 2007) için hayırseverlik faaliyetlerinde bulunabilirler. Ayrıca, bir başka kişisel fayda olarak görülebilecek itibar kaygıları ve tanınma ve takdir edilme arzusu da (Andreoni ve Petrie, 2004; Clark, 2002) insanları yardım etmeye yönlendirebilir (bkz. Bekkers ve Wiepking, 2011; Wiepking ve Bekkers, 2012). Özetlemek gerekirse, insanları hayırseverlik davranışına iten çok çeşitli kişilerarası faktörler vardır ve bu ilişkiler literatürde gösterilmiştir.

Ancak, son zamanlarda araştırmacılar gruplararası ilişkilerde yardımseverliği incelemeye başlamış ve bunun sadece kişiler arası bir eylem olmadığını, aynı zamanda gruplar arası düzeyde de işlevleri olduğunu ortaya koymuşlardır (kapsamlı bir inceleme için bkz. Van Leuwen & Zagefka, 2017). Prososyal davranışın tipik bir örneği olan yardımlaşmanın gruplar arası ilişkiler alanında ele alınıyor olması, gruplar arası ilişkiler alanının gruplar arası prososyal davranışın çeşitli bileşenlerini bütünleştirerek incelemesine alan açmaktadır.

Thomas ve McGarty (2017), küresel yoksulluğun azaltılması bağlamında yardımsever ve aktivist destekçilerin profilini çıkarmak için bir araştırma yürütmüştür. Sonuçlar, insanların yoksulluğa yönelik farklı değerlendirmeleri, duyguları ve atıflarına göre yardımsever ve aktivist destekçiler olarak iki gruba ayrılabilceğini ortaya koymuştur. Özellikle, yardımsever destekçilerin bağış yapmayı tercih eden ancak kolektif eyleme katılmayan kişiler olduğu ve bu kişiler için sempatinin belirgin bir duygu olduğu bulunmuştur. Öte yandan, aktivist destekçiler hem bağış yapmakta hem de kolektif eyleme katılmaktadır ve bu kişiler için ayırt edici duygu öfke olmaktadır. Bu araştırmanın kapsamına giren nedensel

atıflara gelince, küresel yoksulluğun olası yapısal atıflardan biri olan uluslararası sömürüyü suçlamak aktivist destekçiler için geçerli iken, yoksulluğun azaltılması için yardımsever destekçiler için herhangi bir atıf türünün farklılaşmadığı görülmüştür.

Kolektif eylem ve gruplar arası yardım davranışını gruplar arası prososyallik semsiyesi altında toplayan bu yaklaşım, yoksullukla ilgili eylemleri birlikte analiz etmek için geniş fırsatlar sunmaktadır. Ancak, gelişmekte olan bir yaklaşım olarak, bu alandaki çalışmaların tekrarlanması, başka bağlamlarda test edilmesi ve aktivist ve yardımsever desteği farklılaştırabilecek olası faktörlerin bu bütünleştirici yaklaşıma dahil edilmesi gerekmektedir. Bu nedenle, insanların yoksulluk konusunda farklı davranmalarına yol açan mekanizmalar arasındaki farklılıkları anlamak için gruplar arası prososyallik çerçevesini benimsedim.

Prososyal Eylemlerde Nedensel Atıf Süreçleri

Yoksullukla ilgili sosyal psikoloji araştırmaları ağırlıklı olarak nedensel atıf perspektifinin benimsenmesine dayanmaktadır. Heider'in (1958) ufuk açıcı çalışmasından başlayarak çeşitli atıf kuramları ortaya atılmış olsa da, tüm atıf kuramlarının ana fikri, insanların davranışların veya süreçlerin nedenlerini belirlemek için yorumlar yaptıkları ve bu yorumların tepkilerini belirlemede önemli bir rol oynadığıdır (Kelley ve Michela, 1980). İnsanların bir sonucu bu iki tür koşulda değerlendirmeleri, iki farklı türde atıf yapmalarına yol açar. Bu atıflar eğilimsel/içsel ve durumsal/dışsal atıflar olarak adlandırılır. Bir sonucun bireysel faktör(ler)e atfedilmesi ilkinde, sosyal bağlama atfedilmesi ise ikincisine örnektir.

Yoksulluğa yönelik nedensel atıfları inceleyen ilk araştırmacı olan Feagin (1972), Amerikan halkının yoksulluğu üç tür atıfta bulunarak açıkladığını bulmuştur: yapısal, bireyci ve kadercı atıflar. Yapısal atıflar, yoksulluğun kapitalizm ve eşitsiz sosyal yapı gibi dışsal koşullarla açıklanmasına işaret etmektedir. Bireyci atıflar ise yoksulluğu tembellik vb. gibi yoksul insanların özellikleriyle açıklamaktadır. Son olarak, kadercı atıflar yoksulluğun nedeni olarak kötü şansa işaret etmektedir.

Yoksullukla ilgili prososyal davranışları inceleyen arařtırmalar, ađırlıklı olarak yardım etme davranışına odaklanırken, arařtırma çizgisi yoksullara yardım etmenin (Harvey, Ickes ve Kidd, 1976; Piliavin, Rodin ve Piliavin, 1969, Bullock, Williams ve Limbert, 2004; Osborne ve Weiner, 2015; Weiner vd, 2011, Weiner, Osborne ve Rudolph, 2011; Zucker ve Weiner, 2003) ve yoksul insanların kořullarını iyileřtirmeye yönelik politikaları desteklemek (Bullock, Williams ve Limbert, 2004; Osborne ve Weiner, 2015; Solak, 2008; Weiner, Osborne ve Rudolph, 2011) yoksulluđu içsel nedenlerden ziyade dıřsal nedenlere bađlamakla ilgilidir. Örneđin Solak (2008), yoksulluđa yönelik içsel atıfların, yoksullara yardım politikalarına yönelik desteđi dıřsal atıflardan daha zayıf bir řekilde öngördüğünü göstermiřtir. Yakın zamanda Osborne ve Weiner (2015), insanların yoksulluđun altında yatan nedenlere iliřkin algılarının, ihtiyaç sahibi insanlara yönelik tepki kalıplarını belirlediđini göstermiřtir.

Yoksulluk üzerine yapılan arařtırmaların çođu atıf kuramının çıktılarına dayanmaktadır. Bu yaklařımın popölerliđinin arařtırmacıları yoksulluđu ısrarla bu teori üzerinden incelemeye ittiđi yönünde eleřtiriler olsa da (Carr, 2013), sosyal psikolojinin en eski, en çok atıf yapılan ve en çok güvenilen kuramlarından birinin bu kadar yaygın çalıřılmasında bu atıfların açıklayıcı gücünün oynadıđı rolün altını çizmek önemlidir. Çünkü insanlar olarak herhangi bir řeye tepki verdiđimizde bunu algıladıđımız nedenlere dayanarak yaparız. Ancak, bu kadar sık tartıřılmış olmasına rađmen, nedensel atıfların rolünün daha derinlemesine arařtırılabileceđine inanıyorum. Furnham (2003), yoksullukla ilgili nedensel atıflar üzerine sađlam bir arařtırma olmasına rađmen, bu inançların iřlevlerinin yeterince tartıřılmadıđını ileri sürmüřtür.

Aynı görüře katılarak, nedensel atıflar kutamının yoksulluk bađlamında prososyal eylemleri incelerken hala söyleyecek bir řeyleri olduđuna inanıyorum. Literatürün řu ana kadar gösterdiđi, yoksulluđun sorumluluđunu yoksulların kendisinde görmenin yoksulluđa karřı harekete geçmeyle olumsuz, yapısal eřitsizliklere

atfetmenin ise harekete geçmeyle olumlu yönde ilişkili olduğu ve bu sistemle ilgili değerler ve inançlar dizisinin bir parçası olarak adil dünya inancı, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimleri ve siyasi ideolojiler gibi çeşitli dünya görüşlerinin bu atıfları farklı şekilde yapmakla ilişkili olduğudur.

Duygular ve Prososyal Eylemler

Farklı insan gruplarının farklı tepkilerini analiz ederken duyguların rolünü görmek önemlidir. Bunun nedeni, insanların farklı öznel değerlendirmelerine bağlı olarak farklı duygularla farklı eylemlere yönelmeleridir (bkz. IET; Smith, 1993). Farklı nedensel atıfların farklı duygusal tepkiler yarattığı göz önüne alındığında (Weiner, 1985), yoksullukla ilgili literatür de duyguların yoksulluk açıklamaları ve yoksullukla ilgili eylemlerle nasıl ilişkili olduğunu ele almış ve yoksulluğu yapısal nedenlere bağlamanın yoksullara karşı daha fazla şefkat, sempati ve acıma, empati ve daha az öfkeye yol açtığını bulmuştur (Cozzarelli vd., 2001, Yudica vd., 2021). Bu duygular prososyal duygular olarak sınıflandırılan duygular arasındadır (bkz. Haidt, 2003). Bununla birlikte, yoksulluk atıflarının duygusal etkilerini inceleyen çalışmalarda ele alınan öfkenin kişisel düzeyde ortaya çıkan öfke olduğunun, kişisel öfkenin suçlama yapıldığında ortaya çıktığının (Thomas ve McGarty, 2009), gruplar arası prososyallik kapsamında ele alınan öfkenin ise yine suçlama temelinde, suçlamanın kaynağını üçüncü bir tarafa veya sistemin getirdiği yapısal eşitsizliğe yöneltirken, koşulları değiştirme konusunda harekete geçirici etkisi olan ahlaki bir duygu olduğunun altı çizilmelidir (Leach vd., 2002; Montada ve Schneider, 1989). Temel bileşeni öfke olan bu tür duygular eylem odaklı duygular olarak adlandırılmaktadır (Thomas ve ark., 2009) Gerçekten de öfke ve kızgınlığın, insanların algılanan adaletsizliğe karşı harekete geçmelerinin temel motivasyon kaynaklarından biri olduğu bulunmuştur (bir inceleme için bkz. van Zomeren ve ark., 2008). Ayrıca, öfkenin yeniden dağıtımcı politikalara verilen destekle olumlu yönde ilişkili olduğu bulunmuştur (Wakslak vd., 2007).

Yoksulluk konusuyla ilgili prososyal eylemlere ilişkin çalışmalarda, sempati ve öfke, yoksullukla ilgili insanlar için baskın duygular olarak ortaya çıkmıştır (Thomas ve McGarty, 2016). Hem sempati hem de öfke (benlikten ziyade) başkalarına yönelik olmakla ve insani dezavantajı kabul etmekle birlikte, hedefe odaklanma açısından farklılaşmaktadır (Thomas vd., 2009). O halde, bu farklı duygular farklı türde prososyal eylemleri ortaya çıkarmalıdır. Bu öngörü ampirik olarak doğrulanmıştır (Thomas ve McGarty, 2016). Sempati duygularının yardımsever destek türleriyle, öfke duygularının ise aktivist destek türlerine katılımı ilişkili olduğu bulunmuştur. Dolayısıyla, benim çalışmamda da bu sonuçların Türkiye bağlamında tekrarlanmasını bekliyorum.

İdeoloji ve Prososyal Eylemler

Yoksulluk gibi eşitsizlikler, dezavantajlı gruplar ve dolayısıyla avantajlı gruplar yaratır. Bu da kaçınılmaz olarak, ideoloji aracılığıyla toplumların farklı grupları arasındaki eşitsizliğin sürdürülmesine yardımcı olan güç, kontrol ve hakimiyet kavramlarının analizini gerektirir. İdeolojide somutlaşan bu tür hakimiyet fikirleri, sıradan insanların gündelik hayattaki ilişkilerini ve davranışlarını belirlemede rol oynamaktadır.

Nitekim araştırmaların da ortaya koyduğu gibi, ideolojik yelpazenin farklı kesimlerindeki insanlar eşitsizliğe karşı farklı tepkiler vermektedir. Başka bir deyişle, siyasi olarak muhafazakâr insanlar liberallere kıyasla mevcut sosyal, siyasi ve ekonomik eşitsizlikleri daha fazla meşrulaştırma eğilimindeyken (Jost vd., 2003; Jost vd., 2008, Schneider ve Castillo, 2015), ekonomik eşitsizliğe karşı hoşgörülü olmak da benimsenen ideolojinin bir fonksiyonu olarak değişmektedir (Deutsch, 1975; Scott vd., 2001). Yakın zamanda 41 ülkeden verilerle yapılan bir çalışma, mevcut sistemi meşrulaştıran ideolojilerin ekonomik eşitsizliğin meşruiyet algısını güçlendirdiğini ortaya koymuştur (García-Sánchez vd., 2018). Ekonomik eşitsizliğin en belirgin biçimi olan yoksulluk açısından baktığımızda da literatürün öne sürdüğüne benzer ilişkiler görebiliriz. Çalışmalar, hiyerarşiyi destekleyen

ideolojilerin servetin/gelirin yeniden dağıtılmasına yönelik talep (Jost vd., 2003), refah politikalarına destek (Rice, 2001; Solak, 2008) ve kamu yardımlarının tahsis edilmesine yönelik arzu (García-Sánchez vd., 2018) ile negatif ilişkili olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Bir şeyi adaletsiz olarak görmek her zaman ona karşı bir tepki geliştirmemizi gerektirmez. Duygusal tepkiler geliştirmenin yanı sıra bu adaletsizliği gayrimeşru olarak görmemiz ve neden gerçekleştiğini anlamlandırmamız da gerekir (Kawakami ve Dion, 1975). Algılanan eşitsizliklere yönelik öfke ve kızgınlık, insanları algılanan eşitsizliklere karşı harekete geçmeye motive eden temel etmenlerdir (Van Zomeren vd., 2004) ve sempati de daha fazla eşitliğin teşvik edilmesiyle ilgili bir başka duygu olarak bulunmuştur (Thomas ve McGarty, 2017; 2018). Bu duyguların ideolojik yönelimlerle nasıl ilişkili olabileceğini tartışmak için başa dönmek ve sağ ve sol ideolojiyi birbirinden ayıran temel motivasyonları tekrar gözden geçirmek gerekmektedir. Bu ayrımlar göz önüne alındığında, sistemi meşrulaştıran ve statükoyu koruyan ideolojileri desteklemenin öfke ile negatif ilişkili olması (Jost vd., 2012; Osborne ve Sibley, 2013; Wakslak vd., 2007), sistemdeki eşitsizliklerle ilgili yaşanan duygusal sıkıntıyı azaltması (Jost vd., 2015), sağ ve sol ideolojilerden gelen sosyopolitik eylemlerin farklı motivasyonlara sahip olma olasılığını vurgulaması (Jost vd., 2008) şaşırtıcı olmamalıdır. Dolayısıyla, yoksulluğa ilişkin öfke duyulmasının benimsenen ideolojik yönelimlere göre farklılaşacağına inanıyorum. Bu doğrultuda, yoksulluğa yönelik öfke ifadesinin sol ideolojiyi benimseme ile pozitif, sağ ideolojiyi benimseme ile negatif ilişkili olacağını düşünüyorum. Sol ideolojik yönelimin desteklenmesi ise öfke duyguları aracılığıyla aktivist desteğiyle olumlu yönde ilişkili olacaktır. Bu çalışma için ele alınan diğer ilgili duygu olan sempati ile ilgili olarak, her iki ideolojik yönelimin de desteklenmesinin, yardımsever desteğin önünü açan sempati duyguları ile olumlu yönde ilişkili olacağına inanıyorum.

Araştırmanın Hipotezleri

H1. Aktivist destek, yoksulluğa ilişkin yapısal atıflar ve yoksulluğu yönelik duyulan öfke tarafından pozitif olarak yordanacaktır.

H2. H1 ile uyumlu olarak, sol ideolojileri desteklemek yoksulluk ve öfke için yapısal atıflar yoluyla aktivist desteğini yordarken, sağ ideolojileri desteklemek yoksulluk ve öfke için yapısal atıflar yoluyla aktivist desteğini negatif olarak yordayacaktır.

H3. Yoksulluğa yönelik yapısal atıflar, ve sempati; sol ve sağ ideolojileri destekleme ile yardımsever destek arasındaki ilişkiye pozitif yönde aracılık ederken, bireyci atıflar söz konusu ilişkiye negatif yönde aracılık edecektir.

H4. Yoksulluğun ortadan kaldırılabilmesine yönelik inanç, aktivist ve yardımsever destek olmak üzere her iki tür prososyal eyleme katılımı yordayacaktır.

Çalışma 1: Yoksulluğun Algılanan Nedenlerinin Nitel Bir Yaklaşımla İncelenmesi

Yoksulluk tüm dünyada yaygın bir olgu olmasına rağmen, yoksullukla ilgili öznel deneyimlerin, yorumların, tutumların ve düşüncelerin bağlamsal olduğunu dikkate almak önemlidir. Türkiye’de sosyal psikoloji alanında yoksulluk üzerine yapılan araştırmaların sınırlı olması nedeniyle, yoksulların ve yoksulluğun nasıl değerlendirildiğini görmek, yoksullukla ilişkili olarak gerçekleştirilmesi muhtemel eylem türlerini tespit etmek ve bu eylem türlerinin yoksulluğun algılanan nedenleri, ideolojik yönelim ve yoksulluk bağlamında ortaya çıkan duygularla nasıl ilişkili olabileceğine dair çıkarımlarda bulunmak amacıyla nitel bir çalışma gerçekleştirdim.

Yöntem

Yirmi kişiyle (11 kadın ve 9 erkek) yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirdim. Katılımcıların yaşları 25 ile 59 arasında değişmektedir ($M = 43.05$, $SD = 11.69$). Katılımcıların dokuzu kendilerini sağcı, dokuzu ise solcu olarak gördüklerini belirtmiştir. Bir katılımcı kendisini liberal olarak tanımlarken, bir

katılımcı da Atatürkçülük ideolojisini benimsediğini belirtmiştir. Katılımcılara çalışma hakkında bilgi verilmiş ve bilgilendirilmiş onam formlarını onaylamaları istenmiştir (Ek B). Ardından katılımcılara demografik soruları da içeren görüşme soruları yöneltilmiştir (Ek C). Görüşmeler Ocak ve Nisan 2021 tarihleri arasında Ankara'da gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Sonuçlar

Topladığım verilerin analizi için, araştırmacı tarafından belirlenen temalar ve alt temalar için kod şemaları oluşturma, bu kodlar (yani temalar ve alt temalar) arasındaki ilişkileri analiz etme, görüşmelerde en sık kullanılan kelimelerin sıklığını hesaplama ve nitel verileri görselleştirme gibi nitel ve karma yöntemli çalışmalar için analiz olanakları sunan MAXQDA (2022) yazılımını kullandım. MAXQDA yazılımını kullanarak verileri kodladıktan sonra, veriler ve kodlama şemaları sosyoloji alanında doktora yapan bir öğrenci tarafından kontrol edildi ve üzerinde anlaşmaya varıldı. Araştırmanın tema ve alt temaları Tablo 2'de, katılımcıların her bir tema ve alt tema için verdikleri yanıtların frekans dağılımı ise Tablo 3'e görülebilir.

Yoksulluğun nedenlerini sorduğumda, katılımcıların genellikle birçok nedene vurgu yapan detaylı açıklamalar yaptıklarını gördüm. Açıklamalar çoğunlukla yapısal eşitsizlikler temasına işaret etmektedir. Analiz sonucunda ortaya çıkan diğer temalar ise bireysel özellikler ve kader/şanstır. İdeolojik yönelimleri ne olursa olsun, biri hariç tüm katılımcılar yapısal eşitsizliklerden belli ölçüde bahsetmiştir.

Katılımcıların yoksullukla ilgili duygularını anlamak için, yoksulluk hakkında düşündüklerinde ne hissettiklerine dair sorular da sordum. Sempati teması altında birleştirdiğim merhamet ve üzüntünün insanlar tarafından ifade edilen baskın duygular olduğunu gördüm. İfade edilen diğer belirgin duygular ise eşitsizliklere karşı öfke ve isyan duyguları olmak üzere iki alt tema altında kategorize ettiğim öfke

(outrage) oldu. Bunlara ek olarak, yoksullara kızgın olduğunu belirten katılımcılar ve bu konuya karşı hissizleştğini belirten iki katılımcı bulunmaktadır.

Sempati teması altında birleştirdiğim duygular katılımcıların çoğunluğu tarafından ifade edilen duygulardır. Katılımcılar en çok üzüntü ve merhamet duygularını ifade etmişlerdir. Bazı katılımcılar için bu duygulara çaresizlik ve suçluluk duyguları da eşlik etmiştir.

Sağ görüşlü katılımcıların tamamı için öfke duygusunun ilgisiz olduğunu tespit etmeme rağmen, sol görüşlü katılımcıların bir kısmı öfke, iki sol görüşlü katılımcı sadece üzüntü, bir sol görüşlü katılımcı ise konu karşısında hissizleştğini ifade etmiştir. Yukarıda belirttiğim gibi sol yönelimli katılımcıların tamamı öfke bildirmemiş olsa da, öfke hissettiğini bildirenlerin tamamı sol görüşlü katılımcılar ve merkez ideolojik yönelimden gelen katılımcıdır.

Özetle, yukarıda da belirttiğim gibi, üzüntü ve yoksullar için merhamet duyguları en belirgin duygular olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Ancak, üzgün olduğunu ifade eden tüm katılımcılar öfke ifade etmese de, öfke hissettiğini belirten tüm katılımcılar aynı zamanda yoksullukla ilgili üzüntü ve merhamet hissettiklerini de belirtmiştir.

Katılımcılara yoksulluk konusunda herhangi bir eylemde bulunup bulunmadıklarını sorduğumda, katılımcıların bir kısmı hiçbir şey yapmadıklarını, bir kısmı ise yaptıklarını belirtmiştir. Katılımcıların 7'si hiçbir şey yapmadıklarını belirtirken, 13 katılımcı bireysel olarak yardım ettiklerini, adil ticaret yaptıklarını ve yoksullukla mücadele eden bazı kuruluşlarda yer aldıklarını ifade etmiştir. Yardım yaptıklarını belirten katılımcılar, tanıdıkları ya da yoksulluk içinde olduklarına bizzat şahit oldukları kişilere yardım yaptıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Yardım konusunu tartışırken, katılımcıların birçoğunun bağış faaliyetlerini anlatırken tanıdıkları kişileri tercih etmelerinin nedeni olarak kişi ya da kurumlara güven konusuna değindiklerini fark ettim.

Yoksullukla ilgili sosyopolitik eylemlerde yer aldığını belirten 4 katılımcının tamamı sol görüşlüdür. Bu katılımcılar yoksullukla mücadeleye emek mücadelesi verdikleri sendikal platformlar ya da bir siyasi parti aracılığıyla katıldıklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Katılımcılara yoksulluğun nasıl ortadan kaldırılabileceğine ilişkin sorduğum sorular, görüşlerine birkaç farklı açıdan yaklaşmak üzere tasarlandı. Bu bağlamda, katılımcılara yoksulluğun nasıl ortadan kaldırılabileceğini, ülkeyi yönetiyor olsalardı yoksulluğu ortadan kaldırmak için ne yapacaklarını ve insanların bir araya gelmesiyle yoksulluğu ortadan kaldırmanın olanaklarını sordum. İlk olarak, katılımcıların yoksullukla ilgili çözüm önerileri hükümet çabaları, özel çabalar ve kolektif sosyopolitik eylem alt temaları altında gruplandırılmıştır. Katılımcıların çoğunluğu hükümetin rolünü güçlü bir şekilde vurgularken hem hükümet hem de özel çabaları vurgulayan üç katılımcı olmuştur. Son olarak, katılımcılardan üçü bunun ancak halkın mücadelesiyle gerçekleşebilecek bir şey olduğuna inandıklarını belirtmiştir. Katılımcıların çoğunluğu hükümetin yoksulluğun ortadan kaldırılması konusunda göstermesi gerektiği çabaları vurgulamış ve yoksulluğun ancak bu şekilde ortadan kaldırılabileceğini savunmuştur. Eğitim ve sağlık kurumlarının işleyişinin iyileştirilmesi, eşitsiz dağılımdan kaynaklanan gelir uçurumunun kapatılması ve üretime yönelik yatırım ve teşviklerin artırılması katılımcılar tarafından en çok vurgulanan çözüm önerileridir.

Katılımcılara doğrudan sosyopolitik eylemi sormak yerine, sorumu halk olarak birlikte bir şeyler yapabilirsek yoksullukla mücadele için nasıl adımlar atılabileceği şeklinde çerçeveledim. Yukarıda da belirttiğim gibi, sol ideolojiyi benimseyen tüm katılımcılar sosyopolitik eylemin imkanlarından, olasılıklarından ve imkansızlıklarından belli açılardan bahsettiler. Ancak sağ görüşlü katılımcılar için, bir katılımcı hariç, bu konu kolektif temelde yardım vermek açısından ele alındı.

Tartışma

İlk olarak, katılımcıların yoksul ve yoksulluk temsillerinin temel ihtiyaçların karşılanamaması üzerine kurulu olduğu görülmüştür. Bu durum, Türkiye'de medyanın yoksulluğu ve yoksulları çaresiz olarak resmetmesinin, yoksulların durumunu duygusal olarak dramatize etmesinin ve yoksulluğu marjinal ve dramatik söylemlerle açıklamasının insanlar üzerindeki etkisinin bir göstergesi olabilir (Gökalp vd., 2010). Gerçekten de yoksulluğu azaltma çabaları çoğunlukla toplumun katılımını gerektiren kalkınma projelerine dayanmakta (O'Gorman, 1992) ve bu projeler de medya aracılığıyla yoksulluk imajını sıklıkla kullanmaktadır (Carr, 2003). Carr'ın (1996) da belirttiği gibi amaç, insanların yoksulluklarının sorumluluğunu yoksullara yüklemelerini ifade eden nispeten alışılmış eğilimsel atıfları dengelemek için durumsal farkındalığı artırmaktır. Buna ek olarak, tartışmak istediğim bir diğer bulgu da katılımcıların çoğunun kendilerini orta sınıf olarak tanımlamasıdır. İnsanların karşılaştırma yaptıklarında sosyoekonomik statülerini aşağı doğru karşılaştırma mekanizması aracılığıyla tanımladıklarını biliyoruz. Aşağı doğru karşılaştırma teorisi, insanların kendi refahlarını sağlamak için kendilerini daha kötü koşullardaki insanlarla karşılaştırma eğiliminde olduklarını öne sürer (Wills, 1981). Bu, hem aşırı yoksulluk koşullarında yaşamasına rağmen kendini orta SES olarak tanımlayan katılımcı hem de devlet memuru olarak çalışan ve kendini sosyalist olarak tanımlayan katılımcı için geçerli olabilecek bir açıklama sunabilir.

Türkiye'de insanların yoksulluğa İngiltere ve ABD gibi ülkelere kıyasla daha yapısal atıflarla açıklama getirdikleri bilinmektedir (Kluegel & Smith; Morçöl, 1997; Solak, 2008). Burada ideolojinin ayrımcı rolü bireyci atıflara yapılan vurgu açısından daha net değerlendirilebilir. Sağ ideolojik yönelimden gelen katılımcıların yoksulluğu hem bireysel özelliklere hem de yapısal eşitsizliklere dayanan karma bir atıf süreciyle açıkladıkları görülmektedir.

Yoksulluğa yönelik duyguları incelediğimde, en sık ifade edilen duygunun üzüntü ve merhamet gibi sempati ile ilişkili duygular olduğunu gördüm. Bir diğer göze

çarpan duygu ise öfkeydi. Öfke ve sempatinin birlikte ortaya çıkması önemli bir bulgudur. Bu iki duygunun birbirini dışlamadığını, aksine katılımcılarda belli bir ölçüde birlikte görülebildiğini göstermektedir. Burada ortaya çıkan ideolojik olarak farklılaşmış duygu ise öfke olmuştur. Sağ görüşlü katılımcıların hiçbiri öfke ifade etmezken, sol görüşlü katılımcıların belli bir kısmı öfke ifade etmiştir.

Bulgularımı özetlemek gerekirse; yoksullukla ilgili bir eylemde bulunurken, yardım söz konusu olduğunda yoksulluğu farklı atıflarla açıklarken toplumun her iki kesimi de benzer şekilde davranırken, sosyopolitik eylem söz konusu olduğunda bazı özel faktörler devreye girmektedir. Bunlar; yoksulluğu yapısal nedenlerle açıklamak ve öfke duymaktır. Nitekim kolektif eylem literatürü bugüne kadar yapısal eşitsizliklere itirazın ve öfkenin kolektif eylem katılımında önemli bir rol oynadığını vurgulamıştır. Bu açıdan, gözlemlediğim örüntü önceki literatürle tutarlıdır (örneğin, van Zomeren ve diğerleri, 2004; Van Zomeren ve diğerleri, 2008; Thomas ve McGarty, 2009).

Çalışma 2: İdeoloji, Yoksulluğun Nedensel Açıklamaları, Duygular ve Prososyal Eylemler Arasındaki İlişkinin İncelenmesi

Modeller test edilmeden önce hem araştırma kapsamında geliştirilen hem de daha önce geliştirilmiş ancak çalışmada kullanılacak olan ölçeklerin faktör yapısını incelemek için faktör analizleri gerçekleştirilmiştir (Çalışma 2a). Çalışma 2b'de araştırma değişkenlerinin faktör yapılarının incelenmesine ek olarak, araştırmam için önerdiğim ilişkilerin testlerini gerçekleştirdim.

Çalışma 2a: Çalışma Değişkenlerinin Faktör Yapılarının Yetişkin Örnekleminde Test Edilmesi

Bu analiz serilerini gerçekleştirirken, çalışma değişkenlerinin faktör yapılarını ve çalışma değişkenleri arasındaki korelasyonları keşfetmeyi amaçladım.

Yöntem

ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu'ndan izin aldıktan sonra (Ek D) veri toplamaya başladım. Katılımcılar Qualtrics.com anket olanağı aracılığıyla çevrimiçi olarak toplanmıştır. Çalışmanın davetiyesi sosyal medya platformları, çeşitli sendika mail grupları ve Ankara'daki çeşitli kafe, bar ve sosyal etkinliklerde QR kodlu davetiyenin dağıtılması yoluyla dağıtıldı. Çalışmaya 300 katılımcı (185 kadın, 114 erkek ve cinsiyet belirtmeyen 1 katılımcı) dahil edilmiştir.

Katılımcılar, diledikleri zaman ayrılacakları bilgisi ile çalışmaya gönüllü olarak katılmışlardır. Yoksullukla ilgili çeşitli görüşlerinin sorulacağı konusunda bilgilendirilmişler ve onam formunu onayladıktan sonra çalışmaya katılmışlardır (EK E). Araştırmacı, demografik bilgi formu hariç, soru sırasının etkilerini önlemek için hem soru bloklarını hem de bloklar içindeki soru sırasını rastgele seçmiş ve katılımcılar demografik bilgi formu, ideolojik kimlikler ölçeği, yoksulluk için nedensel atıflar ölçeği, duygular ölçeği ve yoksulluğa karşı prososyal eylemler ölçeğini doldurmuştur. Tüm soru setleri tamamlandıktan sonra katılımcılar çalışmanın amacı hakkında bilgilendirilmiştir. (Ek F).

Bulgular

Çalışma değişkenlerinin faktör yapısını test etmek için her bir değişken için Varimax rotasyonlu Temel Bileşenler Analizleri yapılmıştır. Faktör yapılarına karar vermek için Kaiser özdeğerler kriteri, paralel analiz yorumlanması kullanılmıştır.

İdeolojik Kimlikler Ölçeği için Açımlayıcı Faktör Analizleri

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Örnekleme Yeterliliği Ölçümü testinin skoru .87 ve Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2 (19) = 3182.56, p < .001$) verilerin faktör analizi için uygun olduğunu göstermektedir. İlk faktör analizinde, 20 maddelik ideolojik kimliklerden Liberalizm, Özgürlükçülük, Kürt Siyasi Hareketi, Türkçülük ve Anarşizm, birden fazla bileşene yüklendikleri (örn. Türkçülük ve Liberalizm) veya farklı işaretli iki bileşene yüklendikleri (örn. Anarşizm ve Kürt Siyasi Hareketi) için analizden çıkarılmıştır. Analiz, 5 madde çıkarıldıktan sonra tekrarlanmış ve 15 madde ve 3 bileşenden oluşan bir yapı olduğu görülmüştür; bileşenler ideolojik kimliklerdeki varyansın toplam %64,63'ünü açıklamıştır.

Duygular Ölçeği için Açımlayıcı Faktör Analizleri

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Örnekleme Yeterliliği Ölçümü testinin skoru .87 ve Bartlett Küresellik Testi ($\chi^2 (28) = 1062.16, p < .001$) verilerin faktör analizi için uygun olduğunu göstermektedir. Ölçek maddelerine Varimax rotasyonlu temel bileşenler analizi uygulanmış ve sonuçlar ölçeğin 2 bileşenli bir yapıya uyduğunu ve maddelerin toplam varyansının duygulardaki varyansın %67,63'ünü açıkladığını ortaya koymuştur.

Prososyal Eylemler Ölçeği için Açımlayıcı Faktör Analizleri

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Örnekleme Yeterliliği Ölçümü (.86) ve Bartlett Küresellik Testi ($\chi^2(91) = 1478.41, p < .001$) verilerin faktör analizi için uygun olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Varimax rotasyonlu ilk temel bileşenler analizi yapıldığında, bir maddenin 2 bileşene yüklendiği ve iki maddenin 2 ayrı bileşenden oluştuğu görülmüştür. Bu 3 madde analizden çıkarılarak analiz tekrarlandığında 2 bileşenli bir yapı gözlenmiş ve bu yapı toplam varyansın %58.6'sını açıklamıştır.

Yoksulluğa Yönelik Nedensel Atıflar Ölçeği için Açımlayıcı Faktör Analizleri

Bu çalışmada Morçöl (1997) tarafından geliştirilen 10 maddelik yoksulluğa ilişkin nedensel atıflar ölçeğinin faktör yapısı da incelenmiştir. Orijinal ölçek, 2'si yapısal (somut, soyut), 2'si bireyci (davranış ve özellikler) ve 1'i kaderci olmak üzere 5 boyuttan oluşmaktadır. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Örnekleme Yeterliliği Ölçümü (.69) ve Bartlett Küresellik Testi ($\chi^2(45) = 554.56, p < .001$) verilerin faktör analizi için uygun olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Ölçeğin orijinal yapısına uygun olarak 5 faktörlü yapının uyumu test edildiğinde, orijinal ölçeğin yapısal/soyut boyutunda yer alan bir maddenin hiçbir boyuta yüklenmediği, diğer bir maddenin ise tek başına ayrı bir boyuta yüklendiği görülmüştür. Tek maddeli bir bileşenin iç tutarlılığı ölçme açısından yaratacağı ölçüm problemi göz önünde bulundurularak bu iki madde çıkarılarak analiz tekrarlanmış ve 4 faktörlü bir yapı gözlenmiştir. Bu 4 faktörlü yapı, yoksulluğa ilişkin nedensel atıflardaki varyansın %75,33'ünü açıklamaktadır.

Çalışma 2b: Önerilen İlişkilerin Yetişkin Örnekleminde Test Edilmesi

İdeoloji, yoksulluğa yönelik nedensel atıflar, yoksulluğa yönelik duygular ve yoksulluğa yönelik prososyal eylemler arasındaki ilişkilere odaklanmayı amaçladım. Spesifik olarak, nedensel atıf süreçlerinin, sempati ve öfke duygularının ve ideolojilerin yoksullukla ilgili eylemleri farklı şekilde tahmin edeceğini iddia ediyorum. Ayrıca, ideolojilerden yoksullukla ilgili prososyal eylemlere giden yolda

sempati, öfke ve yoksullukla ilgili nedensel atıfların aracı rolünü test etmeyi amaçlıyorum. Son olarak, yoksulluğun hafifletileceğine dair inancın bu prososyal eylemlerle nasıl ilişkili olduğunu test ettim.

Yöntem

ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu'ndan izin aldıktan sonra (Ek D) veri toplamaya başladım. Katılımcılar Qualtrics.com anket sistemi aracılığıyla çevrimiçi olarak toplanmıştır. Çalışmanın davetiyesi sosyal medya platformları, çeşitli sendika mail grupları ve Ankara'daki çeşitli kafe, bar ve sosyal etkinliklerde QR kodlu davetiyenin dağıtılması yoluyla dağıtıldı. Çalışmaya 236'sı kadın, 121'i erkek ve biri cinsiyet belirtmeyen 358 katılımcı katılmıştır. Katılımcılara yoksullukla ilgili çeşitli görüşlerinin sorulacağı bildirilmiş ve katılımcılar onam formunu onayladıktan sonra çalışmaya katılmışlardır (Ek E). Araştırmacı, demografik bilgi formu hariç, soru sırasının etkilerini önlemek için hem soru bloklarını hem de bloklar içindeki soru sırasını rastgele seçmiş ve katılımcılar demografik bilgi formu, ideolojik kimlikler ölçeği, yoksulluk için nedensel atıflar ölçeği, duygular ölçeği ve yoksulluğa karşı prososyal eylemler ölçeğini doldurmuştur. Tüm soru setleri tamamlandıktan sonra katılımcılar çalışmanın amacı hakkında bilgilendirilmiştir. (Ek F).

Bulgular

Çalışma değişkenleri arasındaki korelasyonel ilişkiler Tablo 13'te verilmiştir. Çalışma kapsamındaki modeller için analizleri SPSS PROCESS Macro (Hayes, 2022) kullanarak gerçekleştirdim.

Bu modeli test ederken yaptığım iki analizde, modele yordayıcı olarak dahil edilmeyen diğer değişkeni (sırasıyla sol ve sağ ideolojileri benimseme) ve yoksulluğun azaltılmasına olan inancı her bir analize ortak değişken olarak eklemek, ihmal edilen yordayıcı değişkenin değişkenler üzerindeki etkisini kontrol etti, böylece her iki bağımsız değişken için ayrı ayrı yapılan analizleri tek bir model

üzerinde göstermek mümkün oldu. Şekil 2 bu analizlerin sonuçlarını göstermektedir.

İlk bağımsız değişkenim olan sol ideolojiyi benimseme ile çalışmanın sonuç değişkeni arasındaki doğrudan ilişkiye baktığımızda, sol ideolojiyi benimsemenin aktivist desteğini pozitif ve anlamlı bir şekilde yordadığı görülmektedir ($B = .20, SE = .03, p = .00, \%95 CI [.14, .28]$). Sol ideolojinin desteklenmesi arttıkça, yoksullukla ilgili aktivist desteğinin katılımı da artmaktadır. Yoksulluğu yapısal atıflarla açıklamak aktivist desteğini doğrudan yordamazken ($B = .65, SE = .35, p = .06, \%95 CI [-.04, 1.33]$), öfke duygularının aktivist desteği ile pozitif ve anlamlı bir doğrudan ilişkisi vardır ($B = .09, SE = .04, p = .02, \%95 CI [.01, .17]$). Ayrıca, sol ideolojiyi desteklemek, öfke ($B = .02, SE = .01, p < .01, \%95 CI [.00, .04]$) ve yapısal atıflar ile öfkenin seri aracılığı ($B = .00, SE = .00, p < .01, \%95 CI [.00, .01]$) yoluyla aktivist desteğini anlamlı şekilde yordamıştır.

Diğer bağımsız değişken olan sağ ideolojiyi desteklemenin aktivist desteği üzerinde doğrudan anlamlı bir etkisi yoktur ($B = -.03, SE = .03, p = .24, \%95 CI [-.09, .02]$). Buna ek olarak, sağ ideolojiyi desteklemek yoksulluğu yapısal atıflarla açıklamayı negatif yönde yordarken ($B = -.01, SE = .00, p = .00, \%95 CI [-.02, -.00]$), öfkeyi anlamlı bir şekilde yordamamıştır ($B = -.02, SE = .04, p = .54, \%95 CI [-.10, .05]$). Bununla birlikte, sağ ideolojinin onaylanması, yapısal atıflar ve öfkenin seri aracılığı yoluyla aktivist desteğini olumsuz yönde anlamlı bir şekilde yordamıştır ($B = -.00, SE = .00, p < .01, \%95 CI [-.01, -.00]$). Başka bir deyişle, insanlar sağ ideolojiyi daha fazla destekledikçe, bu da yoksulluğu yapısal eşitsizlikler açısından daha az öfkeyle açıklamayı ve son olarak aktivist desteğine katılımı olumsuz yönde yordamıştır. Son olarak; yoksulluğun azaltılmasına olan inancın aktivist desteğini pozitif yönde yordadığı bulunmuştur ($B = .03, SE = .00, p < .01, \%95 CI [.01, .05]$). Sol ve sağ ideolojilerin desteklenmesi, yapısal atıflar, öfke ve yoksulluğun azaltılması inancı aktivist desteğindeki varyansın %22'sini açıklamaktadır; $R^2 = .22, F(5, 350) = 19.42, p < .01$.

Şekil 3'ten görülebileceği gibi, sol ideolojinin onaylanması yapısal atıfları olumlu ($B = .01, SE = .00, p = .03, \%95 \text{ CI } [.0, .02]$), bireyci atıfları ise olumsuz ($B = -.08, SE = .01, p < .01, \%95 \text{ CI } [-.11, -.05]$) olarak yordamıştır. Öte yandan, sağ ideolojinin desteklenmesi, tersine, yapısal atıfları negatif ($B = -.01, SE = .00, p < .01, \%95 \text{ CI } [-.02, -.00]$), ancak bireyci atıfları pozitif ($B = .09, SE = .01, p = .03, \%95 \text{ CI } [.07, .12]$) olarak yordamıştır.

Hem sağ ideolojilerin ($B = .11, SE = .04, p < .01, \%95 \text{ CI } [.033, .19]$) hem de sol ideolojilerin ($B = .09, SE = .04, p < .01, \%95 \text{ CI } [.00, .19]$) benimsemek sempatiyi anlamlı ve pozitif olarak yordamakta, bu da yardımsever desteği pozitif olarak yordamaktadır ($B = .16, SE = .05, p < .01, \%95 \text{ CI } [.05, .27]$). Sol ($B = .00, SE = .05, p = .87, \%95 \text{ CI } [-.09, .10]$) ve sağ ideolojilerin ($B = .03, SE = .04, p = .45, \%95 \text{ CI } [-.05, .12]$) onaylanması yardımsever desteği doğrudan yordamamıştır. Ancak, sol ($B = .01, SE = .01, p < .01, \%95 \text{ CI } [.010, .04]$) ve sağ ideolojileri ($B = .02, SE = .01, p < .01, \%95 \text{ CI } [.00, .05]$), benimsemek sempati aracılığı ile yardımsever desteği olumlu yönde yordamıştır. Yapısal atıflar ve bireyci atıfların aracılık rolü anlamlı bulunmamıştır. Yoksulluğun azaltılmasına yönelik inanç, yardımsever desteği anlamlı ve pozitif yönde yordamıştır. ($B = .04, SE = .01, p < .01, \%95 \text{ CI } [.01, .06]$). Model için açıklanan varyans %25.10'dur; $R^2 = 25.10, F(6,349) = 3.91, p < .01$.

Genel Tartışma

Kolektif sosyal sorunlar, bunları hafifletmek için kolektif çabalar gerektirir. Bu nedenle, bu çabaları bir arada görmek ve aynı ve farklı motivasyonlarını anlamak önemlidir. Yakın zamana kadar ayrı ayrı incelenmiş olan bu iki tür prososyal davranışı bütünleştirmek birkaç açıdan önemlidir. İlk olarak, temelde kişiler arası bir süreç olarak ele alınan ancak son zamanlarda gruplar arası ilişkilerdeki rolüne odaklanılan yardım etme davranışının gruplar arası işlevlerini görmek önemlidir. İkinci olarak, farklı davranış türlerinin benzer ve farklı öncüllerini aynı bağlamda, aynı konuya yönelik olarak test etmek uygundur. Benim tezim için, yoksullukla ilgili prososyal eylemler, acı çeken insanların koşullarını değiştirmeyi amaçlayan

eylemlere bir örnektir. Bu çalışmayı yapmaktaki temel amaçlarım, yoksullukla ilgili eylemler üzerine araştırma literatürüne katkıda bulunmak ve Türkiye bağlamında hangi değişkenlerin yoksullukla ilgili eylemlerle ilişkili olduğunu incelemektir. Bu amaçla, ideolojinin yoksulluğa karşı eylemi nasıl öngördüğünü ve eyleme giden yolda atıfsal süreçlerin ve duyguların rolünü inceledim. Bunu yaparken önce nitel bir çalışma, ardından da iki nicel çalışma yürüttüm. Literatürden ve nitel çalışmamdan edindiğim bilgiler ışığında, yoksullukla ilgili eylemler ile bir dizi sosyopolitik değişken arasındaki ilişkiyi test ettim.

Çalışmanın ilk hipotezi doğrultusunda, aktivist desteğinin yoksulluk ve öfke için yapısal atıflar tarafından pozitif olarak tahmin edilmesini bekliyordum. Bu hipotez kısmen doğrulandı. Yoksulluğa yönelik yapısal atıflar ile aktivist desteği arasındaki korelatif ilişki pozitif ve anlamlı olmasına rağmen, yoksulluğa yönelik yapısal atıflar aktivist desteğini öngörmede başarısız olmuştur. Bu ilişkinin hafifçe anlamsız olduğu (yani, $p=.06$) göz önüne alındığında, bu etkinin anlamsızlığı, daha büyük örneklem büyüklükleri ile anlamlı sonuçlarla değiştirilebilir. Nitekim Thomas & McGarty (2018) yoksulluğun yapısal nedenlerle açıklanmasının aktivist desteğini pozitif yönde yordadığını daha büyük bir örneklem büyüklüğünde bulmuştur. Çalışmamın ilk hipotezinin diğer kısmı öfke ve aktivist desteği arasındaki ilişkiyle ilgiliydi. Daha önceki araştırmalar (van Zomeren vd., 2008) öfkenin aktivizm üzerindeki etkisini zaten gösterdiğinden, bu konudaki beklentimin doğrulandığını söyleyebilirim.

Çalışmamın ikinci hipotezi olarak sol ideolojileri benimsemenin yapısal atıflar ve öfke yoluyla aktivist desteğini yordamasını, sağ ideolojileri benimsemenin ise olumsuz yönde yordamasını bekliyordum. Sonuçlar, sol ideolojiyi desteklemenin aktivist desteğini hem doğrudan hem de yapısal atıflar ve öfke üzerinden dolaylı olarak yordadığını ortaya koymuştur. Öte yandan, sağ ideolojiyi desteklemenin aktivist desteğini doğrudan yordamadığı, ancak yapısal atıflar ve öfke yoluyla olumsuz yönde yordadığı görülmüştür. Sosyal değişime direncin, ideolojilerin dayandığı motivasyonel farklılıklar açısından sol ve sağ arasındaki temel bir fark

olduđu düşünöldüđünde (Jost vd., 2003), sol görüřlü insanların yoksulluk bağlamında sisteme meydan okuyan faaliyetlere nasıl dahil olduklarını ve sağ görüřlü insanların nasıl dahil olmadıklarını gösterebildiđime inanıyorum.

Üçüncü hipotezim dođrultusunda, yoksulluk ve sempati için yapısal atıfların yardımsever desteđi pozitif yönde yordamasını ve ideolojiler ile yardımsever destek arasındaki iliřkiye aracılık etmesini, bireyci atıfların ise negatif yönde yordamasını ve ideolojiler ile yardımsever destek arasındaki iliřkiye aracılık etmesini bekliyordum. Bu hipotez kısmen dođrulanmıřtır. Sempati yardımseverliđi olumlu yönde yordarken, nedensel atıfların hiçbirisi yardımsever desteđi olumlu yönde yordamamıřtır. Varsayılan dolaylı etkilere gelince, sol ve sağ ideolojileri destekleme ile yardımsever destek arasındaki iliřkiye aracılık eden sempati olmuřtur.

Çalıřmanın son hipotezinde beklendiđi gibi, yoksulluđun azaltılmasına olan inanç, yoksullukla ilgili her iki tür prososyal eylemi de olumlu yönde yordamıřtır. Bu durum, farklı türde eylemlerde bulunan kiřilerin yoksulluđun azaltılmasına iliřkin benzer inançlar tarafından motive edilebileceđinin bir göstergesi olabilir.

Bu çalıřmada örneklem büyüklüđü açısından bazı sınırlamalar bulunmaktadır. Birincisi, sonuçların genellenebilirliđi üzerinde etkili olabilecek orantısız yüksek kadın oranıdır. İkincisi ise; bu verileri mümkün olduđunca toplumun her farklı kesimine ulařmaya çalıřarak farklı kiřilerden toplamama rađmen, örneklemimin siyasi kendini konumlandırma açısından ađırlıklı olarak sol görüřlü ve muhafazakarlık açısından düşük kalmasıdır. Bu da çalıřmanın bir diđer kısıtlılıđı olarak raporlanmalıdır. Nicel çalıřmanın bulgularının önemli sınırlamalarından biri de incelediđim deđiřkenlerin aktivist ve yardımsever desteđindeki varyansın küçük bir kısmını açıklamasıdır. Bu alanda gelecekte yapılacak çalıřmalar, yardımsever ve aktivist bađlılıktaki varyansı artırmak için yardımsever destekle iliřkili olabilecek deđiřkenler konusunda dikkatli olmalıdır.

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TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English): A Social Psychological Examination of Actions Concerning Poverty

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