To Join or Not to Join? Contextualising the Motives of Organisational Membership in the Czech Republic and East and West Germany[1]

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Abstract: *This article investigates sources of motivation for organisational engagement in different sociopolitical contexts. On the grounds of my own qualitative data, this text aims to answer the main research question: 'Why do Czech and German university students get involved in political and civic organisations?' The analysis also shows how the perception and understanding of politics differ according to the types of political motivation. The research draws upon a unique dataset of 60 interviews with university students conducted in former East (Jena) and West Germany (Mannheim, Cologne), and the Czech Republic (Prague, Ostrava and Olomouc). The results identify the notion of influence as a core factor for joining a political group and forming political commitment among the young generation. The article introduces a personal typology of political motivation, which extends existing theories and frames them in the pathways to politics of young Czech and German activists. It distinguishes three main motivations: idealistic, doer and pragmatic with a variety of subtypes. The paper elaborates on classical typologies refraining from membership. These outcomes have practical implications for the recruitment of new party members.*

Keywords: ***political motivation, youth participation, university students, Czech-German context, refraining from organisational membership, thematic analysis***

1 This article has been completed during my doctoral study at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University. The research leading to this text received funding from the project 'Mladí lidé a politika napříč hranicemi: Jak a proč se čeští a němečtí studenti angažují v politice?' [Young People and Politics Across the Borders: How and Why Get Czech and German Students Involved in Politics?] (No. 576316) supported by the Charles University Grant Agency (GA UK).

Introduction

What guides young people to political organisations in different societal contexts is a highly topical issue, especially given the great transformation of political behaviour in recent decades. This shift – typified by decreasing conventional participation and a preference for direct, horizontal and autonomous forms of involvement – is visible especially among people under 30 years of age. They focus on a particular lifestyle or societal issue (such as environmental or human rights protection) while the distinctions between the private and public political sphere blur (Inglehart 1990; Tsekoura 2016; Verba et al. 1995). Nevertheless, instead of fully replacing conventional forms with new activism, young people combine various modes of participation, for example, protest politics, online activism, consumer boycotts and electoral activities (Allaste – Saari 2020; Corrigall-Brown 2012; Zukin et al. 2006).

This text aims to answer the main research question 'Why do Czech and German university students get involved in political and civic organisations?' The article investigates the motivations which drive young people to join political groups in old and new democracies, different modes of engagement and political orientations. For this purpose, an original typology of political motivation, which elaborates the work of Michael Bruter and Sarah Harrison (2009) in the Czech-German context, will be introduced. Moreover, the analysis also shows how youth conceptualise the political process and how these perceptions and understanding of politics differ according to the types of political motivation. The article also pays attention to the reasons for avoiding organisational membership.

The Czech Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany represent cases of both old and new democracies. This is particularly visible in the German example because Germany provides a unique experience of a country divided for 40 years into two separate parts differing in character of political regimes and political cultures.[2] Despite the relatively quick and unproblematic transformation and consolidation of the democratic system, it was difficult to eradicate the communist regime imprinted on the value system of citizens (Inglehart 2006). The Communist heritage still partly prevails in underdeveloped citizenship competencies, political alienation and relying on social networks on the one hand, and in paternalistic attitudes stressing the role of the state on the other (Bernhagen – Marsh 2007; Mansfeldová 2013).

In this respect, high expectations are put on the generation born after the fall of the Iron Curtain and socialised in a democratic political system. These people should have a stronger commitment to democratic values and principles

2 The new German federal states, as part of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), share an experience of a bureaucratic-authoritarian communist regime with Czechoslovakia (Hilmar 2020; Wessels 2009). The former GDR and former Czechoslovakia shared a similar historical context. Both underwent a process of democratic transition which Kitschelt et al. (1999) called an *implosion of the old order*.

than their parents and grandparents (Horowitz 2005). Therefore, the presented article addresses a call from the literature (e.g. Catterberg – Moreno 2006; Horowitz 2005; Howard 2003; Vráblíková – Císař 2014) for research focused on new democrats in new democracies, on people born in the late 1980s or 1990s and growing up in the era of post-communist transformation.

Having been inspired by the research design of cross-national qualitative studies conducted by Allaste and Saari (2020), Hilmar (2020), Tsekoura (2016) and Howard (2003), my aim is not directly to compare two countries, but to contribute towards an understanding of the roots and evolution of political motivation and commitment across different individual, societal and organisational contexts.

The analysis concentrates on a specific and relatively selective group of young people –university students. They are distinct concerning their political knowledge, skills, expectations, priorities, opportunities and participation. For instance, university students are more likely to vote, join a protest event, political or civic group and hold public office than their less-educated peers.

According to the *impressionable year hypothesis*, young people in their twenties are particularly susceptible to changing their value orientation (Krosnick – Alwin 1989). In this regard, the university environment offers many opportunities to profile their political views in gaining political knowledge, discussions with teachers and colleagues, joining various student associations and becoming engaged in university politics (Tanner – Arnett 2009; Zukin et al. 2006).

Theoretical reflections of reasons for organisational membership

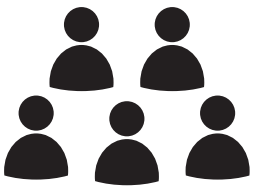
In the analysis, I focus on the motivation of youth organisational involvement because it is core in explaining the roots of young people's political commitment (Lichterman 1996; Mannino et al. 2011). Following Cottam et al. (2015) and Batson et al. (2002), I understand motivation to be the driving force of human actions. It is a process which starts, maintains and guides goal-oriented behaviour and governs people's choices among alternative forms of voluntary activity.

Contemporary scholars (e.g. Batson et al. 2002; García-Albacete 2014; Mannino et al. 2011) agreed that motivation for political action is a multidimensional phenomenon. Individuals are driven to political involvement by several incentives at the same time and their motives often overlap, cooperate or are in conflict. Organisational involvement means a mix of material, cognitive and psychological benefits for their members (Ibid.; Clary – Snyder 1999; Eliasoph 1998).

Among the reasons to join a political or civic group are, for instance, attaining collective goals and receiving selective benefits (such as new possibilities, contacts, entertainment and positive emotional rewards). People also become organisational members because of feeling a social pressure to be active, loneliness, an excess of leisure time (Cnaan – Goldberg-Glen 1991) and an engagement for the future and wellbeing of their children (Eliasoph 1998). In Western

industrial democracies, most people get involved in organisations because of a combination of self-interest and ideological affinity. Research in political motivation and organisational recruitment (e.g. Lichterman 1996; Quintelier 2013; Verba et al. 1995) indicates that membership in a political group corresponds with value profiling, the strength of political conviction and political efficacy,[3] and the sense of connectedness, as well as having enough resources and interests and being targeted by political mobilisation channels (see Table 1). According to the Civic Voluntarism Model, political participation, including joining a political organisation, is easier for people with higher socioeconomic status because they have more resources (such as time, money, political skills and knowledge) that mitigate the costs for participation (Verba – Nie 1972; Verba et al. 1995). They are also well-integrated in social networks facilitating political and civic engagement (Ibid.; Bernhagen – Marsh 2007)Macro-social contextual factors such as favourable institutional settings, participatory political culture, inclusive political systems and a good level of economic development also support citizens' involvement (see Table 1). These individual and social preconditions create an environment where people believe that their participation matters (Almond – Verba 1963; Corrigall-Brown 2012; Quintelier 2013).

Table1: Contextual determinants of political participation

Individual 	socioeconomic status (education, occupation, income)
	sociodemographic characteristics (age, gender, ethnicity)
	civic orientations and attitudes (ideologies, religiosity, trust, efficacy, political interest)
Between individual and societal	social capital (bridging and bonding)
 **Societal**	institutional setting (political regime, length of democracy, political opportunities, openness of political system, electoral system)
	economic development (GDP per capital, redistribution)
	political culture
	catalytic political circumstances (electoral campaigns, demonstrations, revolutions, crisis, wars)

Source: Created by the author based on the cited literature on participation

3 We can further distinguish *internal* and *external* efficacy. The former is related to self-confidence and refers to the citizen's conviction that he/she is able to influence the political process. The latter describes a belief in the responsiveness of institutions to the needs and demands of citizens (Pasek et al. 2008; Pollock 1983). Lukáš Linek (2010: 89) mentions that these two dimensions of political efficacy may, but also may not be related. People can believe in their ability to act politically and at the same time do not trust in the responsiveness of the government and vice versa.

This article reflects Michael Bruter's and Sarah Harrison's (2009) list of political motivations. Bruter and Harrison identified three main motivations for entering a political party: *moral*, *social* and *professional*, in their research on 2919 party members aged between 18 and 25 years from six European countries. What they called *moral motivation*, other researchers labelled as *altruism* (e.g. Batson et al. 2002), *value-based motivation* (Cnaan – Goldberg-Glen 1991) and *political idealism* (Handy et al. 2009). Moreover, Sidney Verba et al. (1995) speak in this regard about *personal citizen's satisfaction* and Paul Lichterman (1996) about *personalized political commitment*.

Morally-driven members stress the ethical purposes (such as supporting an important cause, helping others or finding the meaning of their life) for joining their organisation (Bruter – Harrison 2009). They have broad visions about the world and society, which are sometimes formed by religious beliefs (Handy et al. 2009). Political commitment is an important part of their identity, which is often manifested in their politicised lifestyle (Lichterman 1996).

Furthermore, *morally-driven* people possess radical beliefs and are endangered by disillusionment and burnout more often than other types of organisational members (Ibid.; Nairn 2019). They are more likely to be involved in demonstrations and further unconventional forms of activism. Similarly, they do not avoid direct confrontation with other political subjects and sometimes even with the police. *Morally-driven* members do not often consider their political activities preparation for a future professional career and do not expect material benefits for their engagement (Bruter – Harrison 2009; Lichterman 1996).

Bruter and Harrison (2009) label the next type of young party members as *social-minded* citizens. Organisational involvement means for them the possibility of interacting with like-minded people, take part in discussions, meetings and social events occurring within their organisations, and have some fun. The benefits of their involvement include close friendship ties, community belonging and group affiliation, which is particularly important for young adults (García-Albacete 2014). They are less career-oriented, efficient, disciplined and ideologically driven than their *morally* and *professionally-minded* counterparts (Bruter – Harrison 2009).

The third category of motivation for organisational involvement includes *professional* incentives (Ibid.). In other studies, it is also known as a *utilitarian*, *pragmatic* (Handy et al. 2009) or *egoistic* (Batson et al. 2002) motivation. *Professionally-minded* members see an opportunity to learn skills such as leadership, critical thinking and problem solving in their political activities. They are moderate in their political opinions, focused on reaching a compromise and gaining a good position in their organisation. These people are rather pragmatic in their views and not ideologically driven, but attracted to power and material benefits (Bruter – Harrison 2009). Moreover, *professionally-minded* people want to gain experience and valuable contacts useful for their future careers in professional politics, business or the state administrative sector (Gomez –

Gunderson 2003; Handy et al. 2009). This notion can be particularly useful for university students in their transition from education to the job market (García-Albacete 2014).

Why do people avoid organisational membership?

The motives for political passivity remain another important puzzle in participatory research. Verba et al. (1995) summarised three main reasons why citizens avoid political and civic engagement. Firstly, they 'cannot participate' because they have a lack of relevant resources such as time, money and civic skills. In this regard, lack of time was most often mentioned, which almost 40 % of the respondents of their survey stated (Verba et al. 1995).

Secondly, citizens 'do not want to participate' because they are not interested in politics and have other priorities. For instance, they want to devote their leisure time to their family or hobbies rather than politics. Furthermore, they have a lack of psychological connection with politics and, therefore, assume that they cannot influence the political process (Eliasoph 1998). To illustrate, Nina Eliasoph mentions in her book *Avoiding Politics* that people associate politics with something 'big' and 'not close to home', which is alien to their daily routine (Eliasoph 1998: 232).

Among the other reasons for political passivity, the conviction that politics is boring and dirty was mentioned. However, an encouraging finding is that only 3% of their respondents were afraid of potential problems (for instance in their job or family) connected with political engagement (Verba et al. 1995). Nevertheless, in other contexts, these concerns can be a serious obstacle to participation.

Thirdly, citizens do not participate because 'nobody asked them to'. They feel isolated from social networks and not targeted by political mobilisation. In other words, people avoid political and social involvement because they do not have enough participatory opportunities to convert their interest into political action (Delli Carpini 2000; Verba et al. 1995). According to Delli Carpini (2000), young people are disengaged because they feel alienated from political institutions and processes, as well as not sufficiently motivated by incentives and political opportunities to overcome this alienation.

Social pressure may push people into politics in certain circumstances and vice versa. It can discourage people from activism if they believe that potential engagement would worsen their image among their friends and colleagues. In this respect, Nina Eliasoph (1998: 135) speaks about 'a risk of making a fool of oneself' by joining a political organisation. Other reasons neglected by Verba et al. (1995) are the convictions that people do not participate because they are satisfied with the political situation and therefore do not want to change anything, or they live in an individualist culture stressing success over common good commitment (Eliasoph 1998: 253).

Data collection and the analytical process

This article draws upon a unique dataset of 60 semi-structured qualitative interviews with university students. I paid attention mainly to students actively engaged in political or civic organisations: 45 of the participants were organisationally active. An additional 15 interviews with individuals without organisational membership enabled me to get a better understanding of the core group of young people involved in organisations.

I conducted the interviews in six universities in the old and new German federal states and the Czech Republic between 19 June 2014 and 12 April 2016. The age limit of the interviewees was set from 18 to 30 years. This life stage is entitled *provisional adulthood* (Sheehy 2011) and young people finalise their long-term educational, political and professional choices at this time. After graduation, their political attitudes and values remain relatively stable (Gaiser et al. 2010).

The selection of universities could not have achieved a criterion of representativeness because this would have been against the basic postulates of a qualitative approach (Creswell 2013; Rubin – Rubin 2011). Instead, sampling was driven by maximising the degree of variation among socioeconomic and cultural contexts (Allaste – Saari 2020).

Cities which were selected in German federal states represented an East–West distinction. In former West Germany, Cologne, the capital of the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia, and Mannheim in the federal state of Baden-Württemberg, were chosen. In former East Germany, Jena, a high-tech centre and the second largest city of the federal state Thuringia, was selected.

In the Czech Republic, economic diversity and the impact of the university were the sampling criteria. Charles University, which is situated in the capital city, Prague, is the largest and most renowned Czech university. The city of Olomouc, where the seat of Palacký University is, has the highest density of university students in Central Europe, while the University of Ostrava, which lies in an industrial region, has a rather regional character and impact.

I found methodological justifications for a number of interviews and sampling procedures in the relevant literature (such as Allaste – Saari 2020; Hochschild 2016; Howard 2003; Lichterman 1996; Quintelier 2013). I aimed to secure a relatively heterogeneous sample of participants according to their (1) organisations (type of organisation, their ideological profiling), and (2) political experiences, as well as (3) sociodemographic and socioeconomic characteristics (e.g. gender, age and family background).

Driven by the occurrence of expanding political opportunities and the repertoire of the young generation (Verba et al. 1995; Vromen – Collin 2010), I chose groups with different political profiling, level of hierarchy and issue scope. I selected interviewees from *old* political groups such as parties, youth party organisations and trade unions, as well as activists from *new* types of organ-

ised interest groups, for example, ecological, human rights and social justice organisations. Given the fact that pluralisation of involvement is typical for the youth generation (Hustinx et al. 2012; Norris 2002), interviewees engaging in *both* types of organisations were also selected.

The process of approaching the interviewees was similar in both countries. I contacted participants in various ways to reach a wider range of the sample. I approached student umbrella organisations, student coordinators, as well as student political groups, political parties and civic organisations with my request. The *snowball technique* which works like a chain referral where interviewees recommend other people with similar traits of interest was also used.

I used the technique of a semi-structured qualitative interview. Similar conditions for every interview were maintained to ensure consistency. I conducted all the interviews myself. The length of the interviews was between 40–60 minutes. In the Czech Republic, I completed the interviews in Czech, and in Germany, in English. However, no significant self-selection bias occurred due to the German participants' knowledge of English. Regarding the ethics of the research, I informed all participants in detail about the purpose of the interview, and they signed an informed consent form. Moreover, all the interviews were pseudonymised.

Interviews were verbatim transcribed including filler words, silences and hesitations and analysed using applied thematic analysis. This method attends to the identification, analysis and referencing of recurring patterns (themes) in the text and enables the usage of theoretical concepts from literature before and during the analysis (Rubin – Rubin 2011). I conducted data coding and analysis using initial coding and then systematically sorted codes into categories to find repeating patterns, connections and mutual relationships.

At first, I coded every interview separately. The next step was the analysis of codes across all the interviews to discover how the participants understood a particular concept. In order to identify the main themes of the analysis, constant comparing, recontextualising and regrouping of the codes followed. Finally, I connected themes with sub-themes which created a coherent narrative (Guest et al. 2012; King – Horrocks 2010).

The qualitative software Atlas.ti was used for coding and data segmentation. My analysis is based on an interpretative retrospective approach which enables a flexible research design, emphasises life experience and gives space to individual explanations and understandings (Brocki – Wearden 2006; Nairn 2019; Rubin – Rubin 2011). The following limitations stem from its qualitative nature: the analysis relies on individual self-reported data and joint reflections and interpretations on the part of the participants and the researcher (Hilmar 2020; King – Horrocks 2010; Sandberg 2005).

Among duty–hobby–opportunity: a typology of political motivation revisited

Table 2 provides a personal typology of political motivation which distinguished between *idealists*, who emphasised the moral dimension of political action, *doers*, who the resolution of a particular issue of local or national character was crucial for and *pragmatists*, who perceived politics as an hierarchical process of the distribution of power. The notion of *influence* emerged as a central theme that steered the analysis. All participants described it although this word itself was not always used explicitly. A closer look at the nuanced qualitative data shows that perceptions and evaluations of this category varied according to different contextual characteristics.

Table 2: Typology of Political Motivation

Categories of political motivation		Explanation
IDEALISTS	**inner-oriented idealists**	influence of the need to satisfy self-development and personal growth
	outer-oriented idealists	influenced by the desire to realize abstract ideals on local, national, international levels
	card-carrying members	strong commitment to a particular organization
DOERS	**problem-solvers**	influenced by the necessity of finding solutions for (abstract, general) problems or situations
	local patriots	influence of a situation in one's own town/ village: not motivated by ideology but by the needs of the local community
	common-spirit seekers	seeking fun, investing in community, building friendship and solidarity
PRAGMATISTS	**power-seekers**	influenced by the desire for power, respect, authority
	young professionals	influenced by career prospects considerations: desirable addition to CV, opportunity to learn new skills, job opportunities inside and beyond the organization

Source: Created by the author

IDEALISTS: 'You believe that you can make a real change…that the world will be a better place.'

The idealistic approach represents a normative dimension of politics with the emphasis being on the influence of ethical principles, as the following quotation illustrates:

> I do this because I believe that this is in line with my convictions… as the saying goes: 'The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.'[4] When I know something bad is happening somewhere, I try to learn about it so I can change it (Eva, 30, Prague, ecological activist).

In other words, *idealists* are active in politics because of their need for moral fulfilment. They connected their engagement with searching for answers to current philosophical, ethical or psychological questions and dilemmas.

Young people with an idealistic orientation prevailed in my sample in both national contexts, but an explanation for this may lie in the fact that expressing idealistic values may be considered socially desirable. Idealists often focused on ecological issues in my interviews, for example, on environmental protection, animal rights and air pollution. They perceived political engagement in a broader sense as 'the chance to stand up for your rights, help others, change something and influence people' (Elisabeth, 26, Jena, civic sector).

People from conservative backgrounds who expressed idealistic orientations tended to perceive their involvement as a duty, motivated by an obligation to their family, political party or religion. Christian Democrats in the Czech and German context stated in their interviews that their religious faith played an important role in their activism. The church often figured as a connective mechanism to politics in two ways. First, these participants met someone through the church who then recruited them to join political events. Second, religion provided them with a moral compass to distinguish right from wrong, and to help them to overcome ethical dilemmas. For *idealists*, a political activity meant the form of self-realisation. They wanted to 'live politics' as Dominika who worked to support refugees and homeless people explained:

> For me, it [politics] is actually some kind of worldview <pause to consider>. Yeah, it's the way I see the world. And my activities are some kind of application of politics, but in practice, not in theory. You know, I am not guided by any specific political programme <smiling>, but I aim to live my politics (Dominika, 25, Olomouc, Catholic activist).

4 This is a quote from Edmund Burke, the 18th-century British philosopher and politician.

The interviewed *idealists* expressed a strong moral commitment to politics. They were willing to sacrifice time, money and energy for their political convictions and the organisations to which they belonged. At the start of their political involvement, they had high expectations and, after experiencing the reality of the political process, these sometimes resulted in disillusionment and disappointment. This was illuminated by the response of a student who had been active in local politics since joining the University of Ostrava. I asked her if she was satisfied with her involvement:

> It's hard to say because when you enter this [politics], you are young and believe that everybody is just waiting for someone like you <laughing>. Yeah, you believe that you can make a real change… that the world will be a better place <smiles sadly>. But you slowly find out that it is not like that, this is not like in a fairy tale. Most disillusionment is caused by the people in your party who go out of their way to trip you up… and so you lose your ideals. So, now after ten years, I look at it differently <speaking with resignation> (Linda, 30, Ostrava, far-left party).

However, there is great diversity within the group of idealistic students. Their motives are subtle and diverse, and they express their moral commitment in different ways. For conceptual clarification, I distinguished the following three subtypes of *idealists*.

Firstly, for *inner-oriented idealists*, politics is closely related to individual incentives such as self-development and personal growth that manifest in the aim of becoming a better person or a better citizen. Moreover, it is connected with self-realisation and inner fulfilment. In other words, political activity means, for these interviewees, a space where they can positively influence their behaviour. The previously mentioned interviewee, Dominika, started being active as a volunteer at grammar school and described herself at this time as:

> Searching for the meaning of life, clarification of some <pause to consider> profound issues like death and so on. Yeah, it was something like my initiation period… You know, I just tried to find something deeper in my life than just going to school, but maybe I am making myself sound loftier than I actually was <modest smile> (Dominika, 25, Olomouc, Catholic activist).

Politics as self-realisation may also fill the gaps of their identity crises because it empowers them in their struggle with societal pressures or their vulnerabilities and weaknesses. Besides this, the crises of personal values experienced during adolescence are formative in terms of being motivational stimuli. Left--wing participants from Germany repeatedly mentioned in their interviews that to be active meant for them to be critical, which was important for their

self-perception and could serve as a therapeutic outlet for their concerns. This was illustrated by a German activist, Alexander:

> I engage in all these initiatives, not only because I want to change the world [but] because I want to know that at least I am trying to do something. I want to make peace with myself because I cannot sit doing anything. Every time I do nothing, I feel some kind of panic <laughing>... So when I am engaged, I think about how perhaps I am changing the world just a little bit... Yeah, so it's also a kind of therapy for me (Alexander, 24, Cologne, Green Party and ecological activist).

The second category, *outer-oriented idealists* aim to realise their abstract ideals and ethical principles on a local, national or international level. Their main motivation is to effect change in their environment, in contrast to their *inner-oriented counterparts*, concerned for the relief of their consciences. *Outer-oriented idealists* tend more towards expressive politics and feel obliged to alter their consumer choices in order to reflect their ethical principles. They often participate in political consumerism in the form of boycotts or, vice versa, buycotts of certain products (such as politically motivated vegetarianism or veganism).

Sebastian, a student of journalism at the University of Cologne, exemplifies this connection between politics and daily routine. He is a member of several ecologically focused NGOs, as well as being very active in the university's communal garden. Sebastian describes himself as a politically motivated vegan. He is also a regular dumpster diver, collecting expired food from large containers at the back of supermarkets. By these means, he aims to reduce his consumption as much as possible because, as he says 'the less I have to buy the happier I am' (Sebastian, 24, Cologne, radical green activist).

Sebastian buys only the equipment for the communal garden and, once a year, several items of second-hand fair-trade clothing. He participates in the free economy by sharing furniture, books and food among people in the neighbourhood. Moreover, he is very interested in climate justice and wants to reduce his carbon footprint by not flying. Overall, Sebastian's life is heavily politicised. He realises the disadvantages of this dedication to his politics. He devotes more than 30 hours per week to his activities and finds it difficult to spend enough time on his studies. Sometimes he is afraid that he lives in a bubble of like-minded politically active friends and feels isolated from 'the normal world'. However, he finds his activities very fulfilling because he lives in accordance with his principles.

A noteworthy difference appeared in my sample concerning political consumerism among *outer-oriented idealists* according to the national context. The Czech idealists I interviewed were not as committed or even radical in their political

consumerism as German idealists. Sometimes their ethical intentions conflicted with their hedonism, as an interviewee from Charles University pointed out:

> For instance, the clothing boycott fails because I really like fashion. Of course, I perceive it as an ethical problem, but I can't help myself. It's similar to vegetarianism. I don't agree with mass stockbreeding production and try to buy stuff in farmers' markets, but I really like eating meat (Iva, Prague 24, feminist, left-wing activist).

Although Czech participants often boycotted certain products for political reasons, they did not connect it to all aspects of their life in the way that their German counterparts did. The more cautious and sceptical approach of Czech interviewees can be characterised by a quip by Eva, a vegan and animal rights activist: 'nobody's a saint; everybody has a computer from China' (Eva, 30, Prague, ecological activist).

The third category of idealists, *card-carrying members* expressed the greatest pride in their organisational membership compared to the other categories of idealists. They also devoted extensive time and effort to their party or NGO, especially during electoral campaigns or demonstrations. *Card-carrying members* even sometimes described their political group as a family. This considerable personal attachment to their organisation and its principles was manifested, for instance, in wearing symbols (such as badges, T-shirts) and open proclamations of loyalty as Eliška, a social democrat describes:

> I like wearing an orange T-shirt, you know, my party's T-shirt.[5] I am certainly not ashamed of this and people know that I am politically active. For instance, during the regional election campaign, there were some leftover leaflets and we stuck them on the fence of our house to advertise the party: they were everywhere! <proudly> (Eliška, 26, Ostrava, centre-left party and youth organisation).

DOERS: 'It doesn't matter if the pavement is orange or purple, as long as it gets built.'

The second category of task-oriented young people lies between ethically-driven *idealists* and professionally-motivated *pragmatists*. By comparison, *doers* are the least ideologically-profiled and most emphasise the realisation of practical goals. They focus on the easiest way of getting something done and do not spend much time discussing abstract principles and theoretical problems. The group

5 Orange is the trademark colour of the Czech Social Democratic Party, even though red is traditionally associated with socialism.

of practically-motivated young people in the sample is heterogeneous, but they have one aspect in common: a shared understanding of political influence as a change or improvement in the current situation.

Analysis revealed three subcategories among the *doers*. The first type I termed *problem-solvers*. For them, activism means finding a solution for a particular problem in their sphere of influence. After solving this problem, some of them cease their engagement, some are engaged periodically and others continue long-term and become more ideologically-profiled. A typical *problem-solver*, Pavel, describes his first experience with politics at the age of thirteen:

> There was a park near my school… and they [developers] wanted to chop down the trees and replace them with tennis courts and other nonsense. You know that is why I started to be publicly involved (Pavel, 20, Prague, centre-left party, green activist).

Pavel's involvement was facilitated by the Facebook social network where he met other people who disagreed with the local developer's plans and they arranged to meet personally to protest against the proposed development. Even though they were only partially successful (instead of tennis courts, a golf course was built), this compromise motivated Pavel to take part in further activities. Later, he supported or directly joined other groups critically focused on issues with which he disagreed. Gradually, his increased activity cumulated in party membership. Nevertheless, even as a party member, he deals with solving particular problems rather than being concerned with ideological issues.

The second subcategory I labelled *doers: local patriots* who emphasise solving practical issues of a local character. They are active in local politics, which they understood in the sense of being outside party politics. *Local patriots* have a sense of duty in common with conservative and religiously oriented idealists. For them, politics in villages or small towns is 'just about people, not parties. It doesn't matter if the pavement is orange or purple as long as it gets built' (Eliška, 26, Ostrava, centre-left party and youth organisation).

A strong pattern of *local patriotism* was identified in the story of Lukáš. He is a traditionally-minded social democrat who devotes a great amount of free time and energy to building an open-air museum in his hometown. The gratitude expressed by his neighbours, and his feeling of obligation to the local community, motivated Lukáš to continue in his efforts. He does not try to hide his feelings when he describes the generosity he experiences in sourcing the finances for his museum:

> Do you know the worst thing? That these entrepreneurs or people who have money never give anything, but retired people do give. These elderly ladies gave me one thousand crowns and said 'boys, you are so skilful, keep up the good

> work.' This is so touching, yeah, it's very moving. I feel that we are obliged to give back something to these people with our activities <spoken with sincerity> (Lukáš, 29, Ostrava, centre-left party, local NGO).

The third subcategory of *doers* is *common-spirit seekers*. They share a strong feeling of belonging to their organisations with *idealist: card-carrying members*. Unlike *card-carrying members*, this devotion does not stem primarily from a commitment to organisational principles, but from the social dimensions of activism, including friendship ties, common activities in their political group and the absence of a strong hierarchy. A social democrat, Lenka, experienced all these aspects during her stay at an international socialist summer camp in Malta. She colourfully describes her feelings of pride and solidarity:

> I wanted to cry. It was so moving, when, from all over Europe they started to sing Bella Ciao... It was such a strong feeling of belonging, that you are not just a group of five or a hundred [people] like in the Czech Republic, but that you share something with a Swedish guy or an Italian girl. Yeah, it was very international. For instance, there were some people from Israel and Palestine and they shook each other's hands and hugged each other <speaking enthusiastically>. You could feel that you were part of something bigger. It excited me and touched me (Lenka, 26, Olomouc, centre-left party).

PRAGMATISTS: '…ideals sometimes have to be put aside'.

Pragmatists enjoy political negotiations and meetings. Although they considered ideological congruence with their organisation important, it was not the most salient feature of their activism. As their priority, *pragmatists* wanted to join a political organisation and searched for a suitable one. In contrast to other groups of politically motivated interviewees, they did not express disillusionment or frustration resulting from their political engagement. This can be attributed to the absence of high expectations at the beginning of their involvement and by the fact that they were aware of negative aspects, as shown below:

> Well, of course, there are negotiations and sometimes quite tough ones, but I have never had any illusions about politics, that politics is an association of honest people <smiling>. I have always known that politics is not only about the good stuff, but [also] about getting into the old boy's club, nepotism, bargaining and so on (Marek, 24, Olomouc, centre-right party).

Pragmatists conceptualised politics as a process. This process-oriented approach emphasised rules, control mechanisms and the distribution of power. They define themselves in opposition to *idealists* by labelling their attitudes as

'realistic' and 'rational', which is illustrated by the words of a member of the Young Conservatives:

> Well, I understand politics as being the difference between ideals and reality. You know, ideals are very nice, but when it comes to the rough reality of politics, ideals sometimes have to be put aside <speaking loudly>... It will always be like that 'real' politics and not 'ideal' politics. (Milan, 24, Prague, centre-right party and youth organisation)

Later, he recalls his experience with 'real' politics. At a party congress, he supported a colleague from the same organisation because this man had supported him, although they disagreed on a matter of principle. This political deal was uncomfortable for him, but he perceived it as a necessity because they were both conservatives. He admitted he would find it harder to make that same agreement with communists or social democrats. However, within his organisation 'it was basically a petty issue so I thought I would just grit my teeth and get on with it'.

My analysis distinguished the following two subcategories of *pragmatists*. The first, *power-seekers*, understood political influence primarily in terms of power. Politics for them meant a practical realisation of power in the sense of controlling people, things and situations. Moreover, they understood political power as 'the rules of the game', the goal of which is to 'divide and conquer' (Milan, 24, Prague, centre-right party and youth organisation).

Power-seekers also emphasised order and hierarchy. In this respect, they appreciated that their political organisations enabled them to climb the career ladder 'very fast and very high' (Elias, 22, Mannheim, centre-right party and youth organisation). In fact, many of them had attained relatively high positions in their organisation. Their political activities were important for them as an opportunity 'to be important' and 'gain respect', as described by Elias further:

> I was thinking I would like to do something interesting or something important... Actually, it [politics] is interesting because of power... if you are in politics you have power. I am a guy who would like to be powerful (Elias, 22, Mannheim, centre-right party and youth organisation).

Power-seekers praised a Machiavellian approach to politics. Although no one I talked to openly mentioned Niccolò Machiavelli, they spoke about 'the end which justifies the means'. Instead of Machiavelli, the fictional character of the unscrupulous politician Frank Underwood from the HBO series *House of Cards* was mentioned with a considerable level of understanding and admiration:

> You know, many psychologists would say that he [Underwood] is a maniac, but in politics, you cannot be successful if... <pause to consider >. Anyway,

> it's true that he [Underwood] killed or ordered the killing of loads of people, but he does it for power, not for money. When you have power, you also have certain responsibilities (Šimon, 23, Ostrava, centre-right party).

The second group of *pragmatists* I called *young professionals*. These participants were politically motivated mainly by external incentives such as career opportunities within or beyond their organisations. For them, their engagement meant, above all, a valuable addition to their CV. Among the important features of their involvement, *young professionals* mentioned learning skills such as leadership, cooperation, the art of public speaking and management, which could positively influence their future career prospects. The following quotation from the interview with Jonas illustrates well this approach. He entered the organisation on his cousin's recommendation and has never regretted this step.

> I think I am learning a lot about how to lead people, how to hold discussions, how to plan things and [I understand more clearly] my opinions, but I am also learning to listen and acknowledge other people's opinions and to find compromises (Jonas, 20, Mannheim, centre-right youth organisation).

It is also worth pointing out that *young professionals* are not so sharply ideologically driven as, for example, *card-carrying members* or *outer-oriented idealists*. That is why they perceived it as less problematic to cooperate with people from different areas of the political spectrum, even though this cooperation often happens for purely pragmatic reasons. Moreover, they also often maintain friendships with people with different political opinions. To illustrate this ability to get along with everybody, I provide for comparison one pragmatic and one idealistic interview excerpt:

> *Pragmatist:* Cooperation with these organisations [referring to Amnesty International] is terribly important because they will support you then. You know, 'keep your friends close and your enemies closer' <smiling > (Milan, 24, Prague, centre-right party and youth organisation).

> *Idealist:* These people [referring to Young Conservatives] have different values to me. I would find it very difficult to make a friend like that (Pavel, 20, Prague, centre-left party, green activist).

As another motivating factor, *young professionals* stated that their organisations function for them as 'playgrounds', providing 'great training', and 'talent incubators' for adult politics. Interviewees appreciated that in their political groups they could try many things without having great responsibility. The words of a student from Jena prove this claim: 'You get the opportunity to learn loads of things and nobody gets angry at you for making mistakes as they would in a real job' (Albert, 19, Jena, university politics).

In this 'playground', they can learn to overcome shyness, gain self-confidence and improve their image to become the young politicians of the future. *Young professionals* were the most formal of all the interviewees in their speech and appearance. They avoided using expressive words in our conversation, overused English jargon and some of them wore suits to our meetings.

Why do young people refrain from engaging? Reasons for avoiding organisational membership

This section will shed light on the reasons why people avoid joining political groups. It focuses also on interviewees who considered organisational membership and finally decided not to join any political group. Moreover, the motives for leaving a political or civic organisation will also be examined.

Civic Voluntarism Model mentions three main reasons why people are not politically active. They 'cannot' participate because they lack the resources, 'do not want' to get involved due to a lack of interest or 'nobody asked them' (Verba – Nie 1972). My analysis also identified these motives. Nevertheless, further reasons for unwillingness to join political or civic organisations appeared among my communication partners. These motives were subtler, context-sensitive and usually combined several factors.

Some people I talked to were not interested in politics at all or expressed very negative attitudes to politics. It is not surprising that among their main reasons for organisational inactivity, 'lack of political interest', 'disgust with politics in general', 'having other priorities' and particularly the notion that 'politics is a remote issue which they are not able to influence' appeared. These people often come from politically disengaged family backgrounds. Their reasons, which convey fatalism and resignation, are illuminated in the interview excerpts below:

> Joining an organisation? That's not for me! <resolutely> On the one hand, I am not interested in it [politics] and on the other, I do not want to be engaged. Yeah, I have other stuff to do and when I see how people [in politics] become so blinkered... you know what I mean, they are incapable of compromise <critically> (Karel, 21, Olomouc, no organisation).

> You know, people mostly have no insight into this [politics]. For example, I have no idea how things work in political parties (Věra, 23, Olomouc, no organisation).

These interviews expressed their scepticism particularly towards political parties. However, they saw public initiatives in a more favourable light as organisations able to solve particular problems, mostly of a local character, and to offer something 'which people need and which they understand' (Michal, 23,

Olomouc, no organisation). On the one hand, interviewees connected the civic sector with decentralisation and non-conformity. On the other hand, they perceived politics realised outside political parties as less relevant and 'weaker' compared to what they identified as 'real politics'.

The issue of time appeared as significant in the analysis. It was connected with 'having other priorities than politics' in terms of how to spend leisure time. In this regard, organisationally non-involved informants stated that it was very difficult to combine university studies with part-time jobs, internships, hobbies and on top of everything else to find time for political activities. Others admitted that they had time but did not want to do anything more than studying.

Moreover, a perceived lack of *internal* and *external efficacy* was revealed as a crucial issue in their reluctance to join a political group. In other words, my interviewees felt that they were not able to influence the political process at a local or national level and that the government was not responsive to their demands and needs.

It was repeatedly shown that, among those who perceived politics as something carried out remotely by men in black suits known from their appearances on TV, politics had a very bad reputation. This impression also carried over to regular party members who were considered the 'usual suspects', and in politics just for their personal gain, ideologically blinkered and boxed into following regulations.

In this line of argument, people often consider themselves too young to sit for hours in meetings and fully commit themselves to a particular ideology. They connected party membership with narrow-mindedness and conformity to the official party line at all costs, necessitating the betrayal of your own political opinions. Furthermore, they understood party membership as a life commitment:

> ...a way of labelling myself to show I really share their beliefs, which is why, although I am interested, I couldn't join the party because I cannot agree with some of their beliefs (Elke, 22, Jena, Catholic organisation).

Some interviewees mentioned that they were interested in one issue taken up by the party, but did not agree with all the parts of the party programme so they would not fit into the party 'box', a feeling expressed by a psychology student at the University of Mannheim:

> Let's say I agree with the Green Party on a lot of issues, but there are many more that I totally disagree with. So, I couldn't join a party without feeling bad about supporting things that don't feel right to me (Jens, 26, Mannheim, no organisation).

The quotation above shows that at least some young people reflect very responsibly on questions of party membership. They are interested in politics, follow political events closely online, or less often in traditional media, but for normative reasons they do not want to join organised politics. Some of my communication partners actually investigated joining a political organisation but changed their minds during the recruitment procedure.

One such interviewee is Liam, a 23-year student at the University of Mannheim who feels 'sympathy for social democrats' and repeatedly visited SPD meetings with his friend, a party member. Liam, however, was not satisfied with what he saw and after four meetings he decided not to join the party. He disliked not only the people in the party but also the highly formalised, boring and hierarchical party approach. He explains his disappointment:

> It was really annoying because there were some… <looking for right words> really nice guys and then some [were] maybe a bit arrogant, or a bit strange. It was also the way they structured the meetings. There was an agenda, so first we went through that point by point. So, if you want to say something, you raise your hand and they write you on a list. But there is no discussion, you can't respond directly because there are five other people scheduled to talk before you (Liam, 23, Mannheim, no organisation).

This viewpoint appeared repeatedly in the analysis among those respondents who decided to leave their party or cancel their membership. The human element also played a crucial role: interviewees complained of arrogant career-seekers and expressed disillusionment at the exhausting negotiations and political compromises. Another target of criticism was the demand for absolute ideological conformity, as Christoph, a former Green Party member, explains:

> I was a little bit idealistic… <pause to consider>. Yeah, I wanted to change stuff and wanted to engage politically based on my ideals. Then I realised that membership in a party does not really mean promoting your ideals but to conform to your party and always promote party opinions with no space for your own opinions <speaking sadly> (Christoph, 22, Cologne, former party member).

A 'conflict of interests' was another salient issue that emerged from the analysis. This topic was particularly crucial for interviewees who were considering a career in political science. For instance, future political analysts perceived engagement in party politics as a problem. For the sake of their reputation, they wanted to be considered impartial or independent.

Sometimes they wrestled with a dilemma between their desires for political self-realisation versus the need to take a neutral stance befitting their role as an observer. On the one hand, they considered organisational membership

'a natural part of life' (Christoph, 22, Cologne, former party member) and wanted to 'openly articulate their opinions on public issues' (Iva, 24, Prague, feminist, left-wing activist). On the other hand, they did not want to be bonded too tightly to any particular ideology. Similarly, future journalists, lawyers and teachers among the interviewees were afraid of a possible 'conflict of interest'. In this respect, Liam's testimony is symptomatic:

> I work part-time as a journalist. I can't really combine being a journalist with being active in the political [sphere]... It was a basic choice for me, either you are active in politics, or you work as a journalist (Liam, 23, Mannheim, no organisation).

Besides the fact that he does not intend to join a political party, he also wants to restrict his other political activities, for instance, participation in demonstrations. This cautious approach to public involvement was concisely summarised by a non-politically-active student of psychology 'I prefer to keep my distance' (Přemysl, 22, Ostrava, no organisation).

Some Czech interviewees kept their distance from left-wing activism, in particular, because of the risk this posed for job seeking. They feared that if the human resources departments of multinational corporations found out about their participation in anti-globalist or anti-capitalist protests, their chances of being hired would be ruined. For this reason, some interviewees were afraid of being photographed or recorded during demonstrations. For instance, Ondřej, a member of the Czech Social Democratic Party, was worried that his future employers would search for this information about him.

When I look for a job, they can google me and say, 'well, well, that's ***[6] [his surname] and he wants to increase taxes and have progressive taxation and he wants to work for me. I will create a profit and then pay higher taxes because he wants it' (Ondřej, 26, Prague, centre-left party, activist).

However, German communication partners felt that engagement in conventional politics (particularly with major parties such as SPD or CDU-CSU) could increase their credibility as future employee candidates.

Conclusion

This article explored the motives and sources of organisational involvement in different sociopolitical contexts. Based on qualitative analysis of 60 semi-structured interviews with university students in the old and new German federal states and the Czech Republic, it can be concluded that a precondition of engagement is a belief that citizens are capable of influencing politics, and that their voice should be heard and taken seriously.

6 His surname was deleted for the purpose of anonymisation.

In literature, this conviction is called *internal political efficacy* (Kahne – Westheimer 2006; Pasek et al. 2008; Pollock 1983), which is promoted by exposure to a wide range of motivating stimuli in family and school (Kahne – Westheimer 2006; Prokschová 2020; Quintelier 2013). In both countries, my research identified a perceived sense of *internal efficacy* as central in forming the political commitment and motivation to join a political group.

Of course, my interviewees mostly believed in *external efficacy* (responsiveness of the political system to their demands). However, it was not their main motivational stimulus, but an issue taken for granted. Politics was something familiar to them, which they were interested in and they believed that they could make a difference in.

In contrast, both types of efficacy were among the salient reasons for refraining from organisational membership. In other words, my analysis showed that a belief in the lack of one's own ability to influence the political process, as well as the conviction that the government was unresponsive, was crucial in explaining a reluctance to join a political group.[7]

'Why do Czech and German university students get involved in political and civic organisations?' To answer this principal research question, my analysis distinguished three main types of motivation with a variation of subtypes according to the student perceptions of their own influence. *Idealists* aimed to influence the political process according to abstract ethical principles. For *doers* the understanding of their influence in terms of the practical improvement of the conditions in their neighbourhood was crucial, while *pragmatists* wanted to influence their own situation.

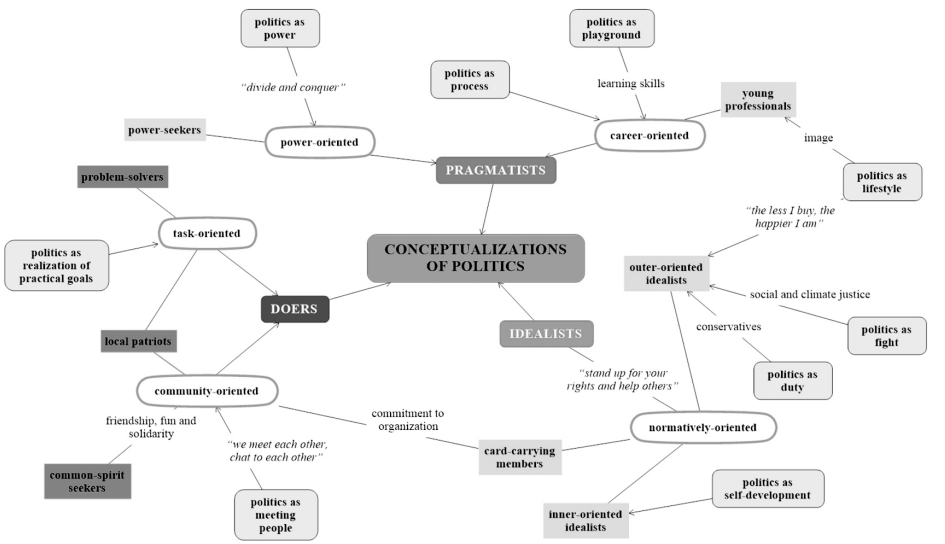
When *idealists*, *doers* and *pragmatists* talk about the same notion, they do not necessarily share the same understanding and the degree of their moral, ideological and career commitment varies sharply amongst duty–hobby–opportunity. Differences among types of motivation are, for instance, illuminated by the understanding of the concept of power. For *pragmatists* it is salient to have power in the outer sense, to control people, situations and things. They connect power with the pressure to assert one's own will. In contrast, *idealists* understand the power in the inner sense as not being powerless. In other words, they perceive power as the ability to resist pressure from their environment. They do not want to impose power on others but use it for their good feeling and conscience.

7 In this respect, my findings are slightly in contradiction with the results of Pollock (1983: 407), who claims that a low level of *external efficacy* does not mean refraining from participation. To be more specific, people who believe that the political system is not responsive to their needs do not enter traditional political parties but can be active through unconventional modes of engagement. In contrast, for my interviewees with a low sense of *external efficacy*, politics was something distant and uninteresting, which was carried out by men in black suits. They voted in the elections even though they were not convinced that it would make any difference, and they were certainly not willing to spend their time and effort on unconventional types of participation.

Nevertheless, the reasons for activism are not entirely clear-cut. In accordance with the results of other studies (e.g. Batson et al. 2002; Clary – Snyder 1999; Mannino et al. 2011), my research also indicated the occurrence of mixed motives for political action. Mixed motives appeared particularly among actors who were engaged in more than one type of political activity, for instance, those who were active in political parties as well as in civil society.

Figure 1 summarises the main findings by highlighting the differences in the conceptualisation of politics among *idealists*, *doers* and *pragmatists* and their subtypes. It shows that *idealists* and *doers* find self-fulfilment either primarily through helping others or in their self-realisation. In contrast, *pragmatists* understand their involvement particularly as a unique opportunity to learn skills, which will facilitate their future careers.

Figure 1: Different conceptualisations of politics according to political motivation



Source: Created by the author

Figure 1 also depicts how perceptions of politics partly overlap in certain cases. For instance, *idealists: card-carrying members* and *doers: common spirit seekers* share an emphasis on the social dimension of their political activities. However, they differ in the nature of these social ties. For *idealists: card-carrying members*, commitment to their organisation is crucial and they are ideologically driven, while the *doers: common spirit seekers* prioritise the community aspect.

The analysis revealed the following differences in the political motivation and perception of the political process according to the national contexts. Firstly, interviewed Czech participants were more cautious and sceptical about their political consumerism than their German counterparts. In this respect, Czech interviewees pointed out the necessity of a systematic change in global capitalism, without which they perceived political consumerism realised on an individual level as ineffective.

Secondly, interviews with pragmatically motivated young people from both countries showed that in the German context, political involvement was perceived as something prestigious. German *pragmatists* believed that their organisational involvement sent a signal to a potential employer that they were good and responsible citizens. The perspective of Czech interviewees was quite different. They did not consider that membership in a political group brought them an advantage in the job market. Some Czech communication partners were even discouraged from politics by their family and friends who saw their engagement as harmful for their reputation, moral integrity or future career prospects.

The main explanation for Czech political alienation, mistrust and dissatisfaction was attributed in the literature to the ideological emptiness of Czech political and specifically party life. In this respect, there was an important shift from a prevailing enthusiasm after the fall of communism in 1989, to disillusionment being manifested in lower party membership and voter turnout, which was referred to as the *post-honeymoon effect* (Císař 2008; Lebeda – Vlachová 2006; Linek et al. 2017). This was characterised by vague and shallow political programmes, an orientation to immediate profit instead of coherent and long-term strategies (Brunclík – Kubát 2014: 176) and by leaning towards oligarchisation, personalisation of politics and populism (Cabada 2016). The weakness and instability of political parties resulted in a decline of confidence in political institutions and lower voter turnout (Cabada – Tomšič 2016; Linek 2010).

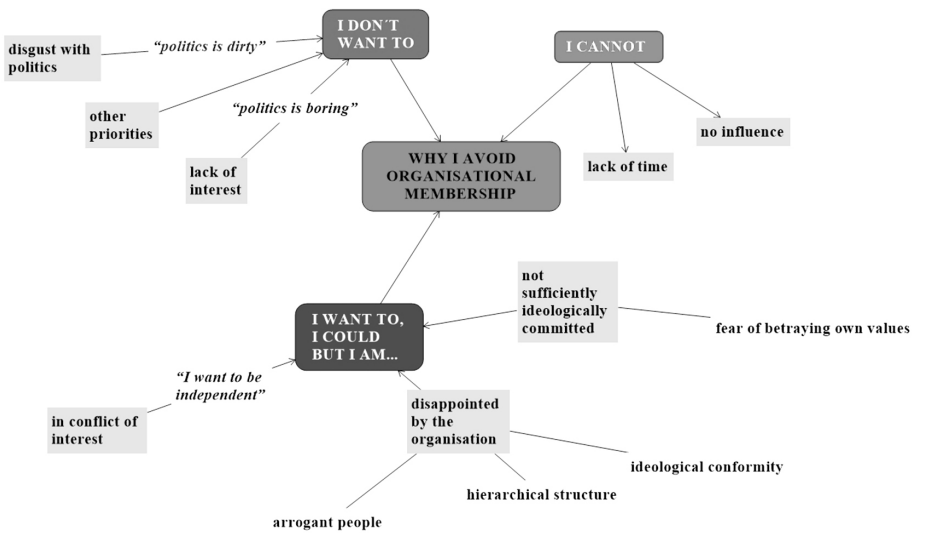
Furthermore, the analysis showed the following reasons for avoiding organisational membership (see Figure 2). It is not surprising that lack of political interest and willingness to sacrifice one's own time and energy are among the main reasons for not joining political or civic groups. The analysis, however, revealed several subtler motives that go beyond the *Civic Voluntarism Model*.

First, interviewees feared the ideological commitment required by organisational and especially party membership. They felt they had insufficient ideological congruence with certain political issues, and as a result were afraid of betraying their own principles. The second factor concerned budding political analysts, journalists and teachers who feared conflicts of interest and thus preferred to be 'ideologically impartial' by maintaining a distance from politics. The third significant reason was disillusionment with routine organisational practices. This was typical for interviewees who wanted to join political or civic

groups but changed their minds, as well as for those who left their organisation. In particular, they criticised the hierarchical structure of their former organisation, tiring negotiations, arrogant attitudes among other members and the demand for rigid ideological conformity (see Figure 2).

These results indicate that even young people who were highly interested in politics and had the resources to engage avoided organisational membership. The riddle of organisational inactivity was more complicated than was expected.

Figure 2: Reasons for avoiding organisational membership



Source: Created by the author

Based on my research findings, I offer the following recommendations for the recruiting process in political parties. Parties should be aware of the fact that different types of political motivation need different incentives to motivate people to join political groups. To address potential newcomers, political parties should emphasise social incentives (such as organisational events, creating new friendships and social ties across generations, a programme of mentorship). Given the mixed motivation, the efficient way is also a creative combination of different recruiting strategies and different types of incentives. Parties should improve their inner and outer communication, be less formal, more inclusive and take care of the priorities of different target groups. Moreover, they should decrease hierarchy and appropriately use social networks to recruit and inform.

The presented insights offer theoretical starting points for future studies using different data collection methods. For instance, participant observation would be valuable for a comprehensive elaboration of the organisational recruit-

ment process. Further research should also explore the mechanisms promoting *internal political efficacy* during political socialisation. The last proposed line of research is to describe the role of image in politics in connection with political profiling. This issue also focuses on examining which political orientation and behaviour, and under what circumstances, is seen to be desirable, cool or popular for young people. My analytical findings indicate that these streams of research have great potential to stimulate organisational involvement.

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