

A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF ADOLESCENTS
IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

A QUALITATIVE STUDY ON POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF ADOLESCENTS IN ANKARA

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The main purpose of this study is to evaluate how adolescents perceive politics, what kind of an impact politics has on their lives and how adolescents regard political participation. This study will also contribute to reveal how the new generation regards the political paradigm/s of our times. Perceptions, views, beliefs and evaluations of adolescents who are at the crossroad of their political socialization since they are about to change their social roles, may also shed light on the question how politics and political paradigm will evolve within this context. Findings of the study may contribute to rebuild the present codes of politics, politization and political participation.

Keywords: Political Socialization, Youth Studies, Political Perception, Political Impact, Political Participation

ÖZ

ANKARADAKİ ERGENLERİN SİYASAL SOSYALİZASYONU ÜZERİNE NİTEL BİR ÇALIŞMA

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Bu çalıřma, ergenlerin siyaseti nasıl algıladıđı, siyasetin ergenlerin yařantısı üzerinde nasıl bir etkide bulunduđu ve ergenlerin siyasal katılımı nasıl algıladıđını deđerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalıřma aynı zamanda yeni jenerasyonun günümüz paradigmasını/paradigmalarını nasıl gördüğünü ortaya koymaya katkı sağlayacaktır. Aynı zamanda toplumsal rollerindeki deđişim nedeniyle siyasal sosyalizasyonlarında bir dönüm noktasında olan ergenlerin algıları, görüşleri, inançları ve deđerlendirmeleri, siyasetin ve siyasi paradigmanın bu bağlamda nasıl evrileceđi sorusunu aydınlatabilecektir. Bu çalıřmanın bulguları siyaset, siyasallařma ve siyasal katılımıla ilgili kodların yeniden kurgulanmasına katkı sağlayabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyasal Sosyalizasyon, Gençlik Çalıřmaları, Siyasal Algı, Siyasal Etki, Siyasal Katılım

“to whom I am confined...”

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Gezi Park incidents, which sparked on May 28 in İstanbul and spread all over Turkey in a short period of time, took a huge place on the public agenda. When considered within the framework of Turkish political culture, it became a rare political phenomenon that attracted a broad participation. Peaceful protests aiming to show reaction against the urban development projects on the basis of Gezi Park, formed a widely participated movement as it increased the already existing worries about the democratic system in Turkey due to government's marginalizing approach and harsh interventions. What was happening in Istanbul had little to do with specific forms of economic inequality or despotic leadership on the part of a ruling elite; rather, there was a national consensus among a broad spectrum of political actors that reflected disaffection with AK Party policy on neo-liberalism, privatization, aggressive urbanisation and authoritarianism (Abbas, 2013, p. 24). The Gezi Park movement transformed into a rights-based middle class movement from this consensus.

A disorganized, leaderless unique structure was formed with the participation of people with different identities. There were Alevis, self-described "Anti-capitalist Muslims" students, soccer fans, professionals, academics, artists, nationalists, liberals, left-wing revolutionaries, Kurds and "white Turks"—as the Western-oriented city elites are known (Patton, 2013, p.30). For this reason, Gezi Park became a milestone of Turkish democratization efforts and consolidation of modern liberal values. Both its characteristics of becoming a roof that holds the freedom slogans for everyone, and demands that were gathered under a post-materialist framework, like quality of life, self-realization, and participatory democracy, pave the way for a wide range of participation. Social demand of these

rights-based protests was respect to different lifestyles. Another leg of the demands was to end the destruction and capitalization of natural environment, rent-seeking practices and clientelist relation network in the urban planning, all based on the anti-capitalist rhetoric.

Actually, not only these demands and characteristics but also a kind of social network has been shared in the youth movements of 1980s. As Lüküslü (2009) put forward, since the political events of 1980 there has been corruption and scandal in the Turkish political arena, and young people now distrust politicians in this environment, who are perceived as placing personal gain over public good (as cited in Öntaş et.al. 2013, p.253). Furthermore, many people are critical of politicians for their corrupt and 'clientelist' approach to public service (Öntaş, et.al. 2013, p.253). These self-developing trends and behaviours challenged traditional political rhetoric and practices of Turkey, while similar trends have already been on the rise all around the world.

Demands and rhetoric emerged on the basis of these contradictions also consolidated the concept of new politics, and its primary concerns were basic democratic values and social issues, e.g., environment, human rights and freedom. On the other hand, government policies have been conceptualized as infringing upon the civil liberties of secular groups as subtle forms of violence enacted in different realms along a continuum and affecting different gender, ethnic, religious and class groups differently (Arat, 2013, p.808).

The youth who positioned themselves in the frontline of the movement that stemmed from this trend, brought different parties together and formed the leading force of this cause. Identities and social backgrounds of the youth were questioned throughout the whole process. Their identities were scrutinized, especially in the media and social media, against the government's othering tendencies. At first, it was perceived as a typical youth movement and emerged as a generation conflict particular to Generation Y. However, as Göle explains this was not a case of younger generation turning against previous generation; on the contrary, their

parents were joining their children and participating in the same protest movement (Göle, 2013, p.7).

In the wake of the Gezi incidents, Generation Y became a widely discussed issue in the public for the first time in the history of Turkey. With their world perspectives totally different from the previous generation, and their unprecedented behaviour, wishes and demands, this generation achieved to create a new sphere inside the existing socio-cultural frames of the globalized world, as they had the opportunity to express themselves to the broader masses. Most significant characteristics of this generation are adopting the consumption culture of capitalism, individualistic attitudes and behaviour constructed on liberal values. In addition, they politically isolated themselves from the world and the country they live in, and displayed selfish and egocentric manners against the society. However, they still grow up as a generation using all kinds of technological opportunities and thus, they are aware of social events occurring both in the world and their own countries. General characteristics of the generation are defined as follows:

This generation is defined by the Internet and an increasingly globally connected world. As children Gen Y'ers were protected by their parents and are characterized as having grown up with inflated self-esteems, a sense of entitlement and the belief that anything is possible. They are optimistic, social and have high expectations for themselves and others. As a whole, this generation is the most educated and tech savvy of all generational groups (PrincetonOne, 2008,).

Meanwhile, having a role in socioeconomic circumstances of the world and especially in their country, great majority of the individuals belonging to the Generation Y commented the relation between society-state/politics within the framework of their own world perspective and wended their way according to their own demands. In the media age, though, young people are increasingly challenging their representations and creating new transnational spaces through which to express their identities (Neyzi, 2001, p. 412). As it was observed during the Gezi Park and other Occupy Movements that caught worldwide attraction, a widely accepted belief, the rhetoric of “the new generation is apolitical and indifferent to

politics” was baseless. That was the breaking point for this approach, which has been largely shared especially since 1990.

The profile of the youth within a political system and how they are treated by the political elite of a given state can tell us a lot about the nature of the political system and prospects for change (Diuk, 2013, p.180). In the case of the Gezi movement and Turkey, young people who were not included into the ‘authoritarian regime’ became reactive as an opposing group. Thanks to the Gezi Park movement, apolitical characteristics and/or the political approach of the new generation are discussed once again in Turkey, and a number of researchers reconsider this issue. At the end of the day, it is seen that there is a need for carrying out more extensive research on the definition of being apolitical and/or political for the Generation Y on account of the conflicting definitions, theories, results and conclusions.

Therefore, this study aims to make a qualitative research on how adolescents, who are at the first stages of political socialization, perceive politics, as well as the impact of politics and political participation.

1.1. Background of the Study

Defining the Generation Y was the first step in the chain of transitions experienced in the social conditions along with worldwide discussion and adaptation of liberal policies especially after 1970. As the dominance of capitalism and neo-liberal market economy deepened in the world, and the effect of globalism is felt more in the local platforms in time, the Generation Y phenomenon became more apparent. During this process, dimensions of generation definitions altered. Therefore, social conditions that created this generational phenomenon and characteristics attributed to different generations frequently changed. In this context, it is possible to evaluate these changing dimensions roughly in two different phases. By the early years of this century, declining trust and confidence in political institutions, lower respect for authority and its responsiveness to citizen

concerns, and limited political involvement were recognised as worldwide phenomena (Niemi and Klingler, 2012, p.32). Studies of Dalton (2008); Dalton, McAllister and Wattenberg (2000); Inglehart (1990); Norris (1999); and Wattenberg (2008) explicitly point out this scepticism regarding political agents and institutions.

The Generation Y was also affected from this decline and, therefore holds a position against the political atmosphere. Their stance was identified with some characteristics as being apolitical, even indifferent to political and social events, introverted and selfish individuals in the first phase. However, as the agenda of world politics changed, political views and opinions of public both as individuals and citizens as a part of society changed, accordingly. Transformative efforts towards traditional politics stemmed from the scepticism of the state, society, and traditional power relations. And especially when the politics entered in a period, targeting the reconstruction of the youth, the political socialization studies revived in 90s (Forbrig et al., 2005; Torney-Purta et al., 1999; Wallace et al., 1998) and created an environment urging the youth to engage more in politics.

In the beginning of the 2000s political events such as 9/11, Iraq invasion, WikiLeaks, the Arab Spring and Occupy movements, which created global effect, played an important role in the spread of this newly emerging political views since all of which caused the questioning of ‘what is the truth’, ‘what is righteous’, what is justice’ and ‘what is real freedom’. The conflict based traditional politics and international relations evolved around the ‘holy’ notions of democracy, which also reproduce conflicts, degenerated the trustworthiness and legitimacy of politics and political institutions. Due to these movements, not only basic concepts (e.g., authority, a just society, rights, freedom), but also relations between government-state-society and state-individual raised doubts. Civil movements which took its driving force from social events and political pressure, caused a transformation in the dimension of political participation, political engagement, and led changes in the political attitudes, beliefs and orientation of the new generations. As Mishler and Rose put forward;

These basic political attitudes are hypothesized to be deeply ingrained and to change only slowly over extended periods, thus maintaining a regime in equilibrium from one generation to the next. When changes in this equilibrium infrequently occur, they are assumed to be functions of major social and political dislocations (Eckstein 1988) or processes that Mannheim (1952) described as “intergenerational discontinuity” (Mishler, 2007, p.822).

When this discontinuity occurred, basis of the political paradigm started to shatter and shed its skin during the rise of the new notions and principles.

Focal points of political sphere shifted from traditional power relations to supranational, supraideological, beyond identities with liberal point of view. Due to this shift, issues that are not considered as priority, even if they were not subordinated by the previous generations, such as environment, human rights, justice and freedom became the main political affairs of the current generation. As studies of Inglehart, (1990) and Wilkinson and Mulgan (1995), put forward that young people change their focus when political conjuncture changes, and bring new social issues into the forefront of the society. In their studies, scholars have suggested that they have a distinct political agenda due to wider societal changes as opposed to political alienation or apathy (White, Bruce and Ritchie, 2000 p.1).

The new generation had to develop a political stance based on the values and the agenda of their own. However, this time they were characterized within the protest and progressive terms of the Generation Y; because

whether youth will be conservative, reactionary, or progressive, depends (if not entirely, at least primarily) on whether or not the existing social structure and the position they occupy in it provide opportunities for the promotion of their own social and intellectual ends (Mannheim, 1952, p.297).

Since the social and intellectual ends differentiated the Generation Y from previous generations, they were reconsidered from the aspects of political interest, life experiences, practices, responsibility and age relations, and their indifferent images were taken into the forefront. This was especially due to the struggle

between generations and the hegemony of the previous generation in the political realm, which will be explained on the following pages. However, before the political socialization of these Millennials, socialization process itself should be examined to understand the changeover of adolescents' role in social and political arena among generations.

Giving greater space to political interest in a person's life depends on life experiences and his/her direct or indirect relation with politics. In other words, a person's interest in politics increases accordingly when political issues have a significant effect on his or her daily life. For this reason, an increase in political interest and engagement, even in the strict sense, is seen during the life cycle, as transition from education to the workforce. Coles (1995) defines the turmoil that youth faces (as cited in Özdemir, 2010)

- *The transition from full-time education and training to a full-time job in the labour market (the school-to-work transition)*
- *The transition from family of origin (mainly the biological family) to family of destination (the domestic transition)*
- *The transition from residence with parents (or surrogate parents) to living away from them (the housing transition)*

A person's place in the life cycle affects engagement and interest level. For instance, studies of Verba and Nie, (1972); Wolfinger and Rosenstone (1980), Jaynes and Williams (1989) reveal that higher level of education increases income rate, and that there is a positive correlation between these two variables and participation. This situation can be explained with the life-cycle theory. In that sense, a person's place in the life cycle cannot be considered independently from factors such as socioeconomic status, income, marital status, and being a parent. This account of the education–employment nexus relies on a classic liberal view of citizenship represented in a line of political theorising at work from Marshall (1950) and Pateman (1970) through to Pixley (1993) (Bessant, 2004, p.390). A person reveals its political existence in the institutional context by participating in the workforce. In addition, economic independence means fulfilling civic obligations and basic citizenship duties such as paying tax or voting. Or else, as in

the studies of Blais, Gidengil, Nevitte and Nadeau (2004), lacking or having less civic duty level of political interest changes depending on the age of the individual.

Moreover, depending on the life cycle effect, studies of Verba and Nie 1972 (Nie et al 1974) put forward that voting turnout rises in the early adulthood and middle age, and falls during the old ages. Bennett (1986); Glenn and Grimes (1968), Patterson (2002) mention lack of interest special to youth due to the factors such as age and responsibility closely affect the political interest parameter and interest level; whereas researchers such as Rudolph, Gangl and Stevens (2000), Miller and Rahn (2002), Prior (2009) claim that the level of efficacy, partisanship, and political interest are independent from age, and shows consistency in itself for every individual.

However, in recent years, there are some studies saying that there is an inverse relation between being in education system or workforce, and political engagement. For instance, studies of Jarvis, Montoya, Mulvoy (2005) or Macedo et al. (2005) reveal that age, political interest and engagement are not always in a positive correlation. The research conducted by Macedo et al. (2005) claimed that political interest and engagement depend on variables such as political resources, psychological predispositions, political opportunities and social connections. Depending on these variables, they argued working youth possess fewer of the attributes that contribute to participation and are less politically active than their college-attending counterparts (Macedo et al 2005, p.12).

In the early phases of political socialization studies, political stance of youth, age, life experiences, life cycle, family and social background were thought to be more determinative. In the aftermath of family support, going through a shift from being a student to employee, and experiencing a financial freedom, youth enters a transitional period and undergoes a social role change. In the light of these changes, political perceptions, engagement and participation were expected to be on the increase. When modern relations are considered, youth, living in a more closed environment within the personal boundaries, enters into a socialization process

blended within their own individualism after the change in social roles. Under the influence of increasing responsibility due to age, they lead a life that has more relevance with politics. As politics has more impact on an individual's life, the need for a closer trace and the level of political interest increase accordingly.

Tendency to be indifferent to politics as well as to socio-political environment is mostly a result of the rejection of growth and above-mentioned social role change. This actually depends on the harmony within the relationship between the person and the political world, rather than an inherited indifference to politics. Because politics does not maintain a constant level of interestingness over time, and as the political world changes, we might expect people's interest in politics to change as well (Holleque, 2011, p. 2). Similarly, Jennings and Niemi (1981) claimed that certain attitudes and, consequently engagement, may change throughout the life course. These changes may be even in a larger spectrum allowing the adoption of conservative attitudes by leaving radical ones.

These studies give clues about the socio-political relation between individual and society. Therefore, as the political conjecture changes, interaction between citizens and politics differs correspondingly. Therefore, those who are born into the same generation keep their socialization process in line with historical experiences as claimed by Inglehart (1977). Therefore political disengagement may be the result of a political generation's historical experiences and exposures to certain national events that could have caused general mistrust of politicians or political system (Wiese, 2012, p.10). As the historical experiences cannot be independent from the political paradigm of an era, youth and its relationship with politics is strictly determined by it.

In the general framework, current criticism concerning youth's perspective on life and politics necessitates taking roots from the current political paradigm. In addition, the on-going definitions and functions of politics urge the reinterpretation of current studies and literature without falling into the trap of anachronism. Since political socialization studies tag youth as political or apolitical by referring to the

different political conjectures and socio-political organization models to make a generalisation, a sound basis has not been constituted so far. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the current understanding on how adolescents, who are going through a political socialization process, perceive politics, political participation and what kind of an impact politics has on their life course.

1.2. Significance of the Study

The changes both in the traditional definitions of politics and social conditions, where the political interest, interactive relations and political activities are formed and reshaped, urge the necessity of displaying how youth currently perceives politics, political participation and what kind of an impact politics has on their lives. Up until today, a significant number of quantitative research studies on youth's political socialization have been carried out, yet they do not provide an opportunity for deeper understanding. This is because they focus mainly on demographic findings, citizenship and party loyalty, and voting behaviour rather than new politics, its idiosyncratic political sphere, institutions, means and what kind of a relation youth has with it as in the works of Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1944), Campbell and Kahn (1952), Lipset (1960), Parenti (1977). Despite the comprehensive literature on voting behaviour, political engagement and participation, participatory aspect of conventional politics has been taken into the central point with a reductionist approach. This tendency also confined youth within stereotyped definitions, and so they were manipulated in a limited sphere of politics bound by the criteria and benchmarks of traditional politics.

Some of the studies carried out in this field observed youth's political indifference either within behaviourist patterns as in the studies of Jowell and Park (1998) or developmental characteristics based on political socialization processes. Because of the mentioned structure, these studies, which focus on values, attitudes and beliefs of youth, were mainly quantitative. However, there is still no clarity about the transformation process of political perceptions in the society. Although

some of the studies conducted within this context have a broader perspective, political perceptions and the ways politics influence individuals' lives couldn't be dealt with in detail as much as qualitative studies and thus, these studies were not able to reach a more comprehensive conclusion.

The first wave of political socialisation studies (see Chap. 2), argued that youth is indifferent to politics, as they believe that politics does not concern their personal lives and coincide with their own interests. A great majority of studies in the literature display findings under the headings; 'Youth thinks politics is boring', 'Politics is hard to understand for youth'. These studies even based their discourses on 'youth regards politics as a matter of adults'. For these studies, not only are young people less knowledgeable about politics and less likely to consume public affairs news content than their elders but also they are less trusting of their fellow citizens, less inclined to join social organizations, to volunteer, and to vote (Delli Carpini, 2000; Galston, 2001; Levine and Lopez, 2002; Patterson, 2007 as cited in Lee et.al, 2006, p.670).

These kinds of findings arrived at cause and effect relations with a superficial approach to the phenomenon, rather than providing clues about the process that is capable of developing an insight into the political reality of youth. However, when the findings obtained from qualitative studies were analysed in depth by quantitative studies, they revealed that young people are not actually indifferent to politics but are evaluated so due to their perception on politics as a social institution and the reality in which they regard politics. Studies by many researchers played an important role in revealing the truth underneath these prejudices about youth, and reached meaningful conclusions since they took the whole socialization processes that enable youngsters to build their political self into account. Just like in the studies of scholars like Park (1999), Pirie, M. and Worcester, R. (2000), it was found that young people do not regard politicians as respectable. Researchers such as Bentley and Oakley (1999), found out in their studies that youth consider politics as an unreliable social institution. In his study, Richardson (1990) emphasized that politicians do not care about the views of youngsters. From these contradictions, it

is very clear that youth and politics stand on different grounds, and their common field coincides due to mutual rejection and exclusion.

In addition to the academic debate, many citizens, governments and representatives of international community often view young people as part of the problem and not as part of the solution, particularly in countries that are on the verge of or are emerging from conflict (Bryan, 2007, p.3). Kimberlee (2002), Mycock and Tonge (2012), revealed that the main focus of politicians is older people and that they refuse to link their grassroots with youth. Meanwhile, in another study, Park (1995) claimed that the hardships youth experienced in politics at the beginning of their career creates obstacles for the future. These perspectives concerning politics should be distinguished from political indifference, and should be used as an opportunity to bring a more meaningful understanding about discussions as to what the new generation understands from politics and the apolitical/political debate discussed on generational basis as a result of the on-going opposition movements.

It will be more functional to adopt a new perspective concerning the perception of politics through the concept of “what is personal is political” mainly associated with feminist theory, rather than observing the relation between youth and politics over the traditional paradigm. Because this understanding doesn’t limit what politics includes and whether it corresponds to the needs and demands of the youngsters.

As it is put forward in many studies, youth does not have a vast knowledge about political issues and those who have, have a tendency to participate through conventional channels (Lane, 1959; Burns, 2002; Patterson, 2002). However, sometimes people who define themselves as indifferent to politics can actually provide greater information. This discrepancy often occurs because they consider themselves indifferent to politics, as they believe that a certain issue that has to do with them internally is not a political matter. Therefore, youth has to have a clearer answer to the question about what politics is before making a definition about their

political stance. Therefore enlarging the content of politics to reflect life in it can be beneficial in order to establish a bond between youth and politics.

Delimitations and postulates pointed out clearly in the work of Jones, Marsh, and O'Toole as (as cited in Carmouché, 2012, pp.3-4);

It is herein suggested that if we are to understand why the myth exists (apolitical/political nature), we must realise the shortcomings of the conclusions reached about youth and remember the following postulates:

P1: Researchers, and perhaps political scientists particularly, tend to operate with a rather narrow conception of 'the political', which they effectively impose upon the respondents, in part, because of their reliance on quantitative survey research methods. Furthermore, little attempt is made to explore how people themselves define the political.

P2: Non-participation is not adequately problematized. Indeed, a lack of participation in political activities specified by researchers is deemed as evidence of non-participation in politics per se and this is routinely attributed to apathy. Yet, non-participation is a much more complex phenomenon...political participation has a number of 'others', not just apathy.

P3: There are insufficient youth specific explanations for declining participation among young people, and there is little attempt to establish the extent to which young people view politics differently.

In search of the compensation of these delimitations of the field, what this study is trying to achieve within the scope of the chosen sample is to analyse how youth understands, perceives and defines politics; how they take participation into consideration and individualise the engagement process—even participatory or non-participatory engagement forms—while drawing the boundaries among the type of participations; as well as how they evaluate the impact of politics on their daily lives.

First of all, this study will focus on the political perception of youth and how they define politics within the frame of their personal experiences and socialization. Secondly, how youth is affected by politics will be analysed in order to enhance our understanding of the ways they associate themselves with politics. And lastly, how they evaluate their political engagement and locate themselves in front of the

participation channels will be questioned. In this manner, all themes will be demonstrated and discussed within the current paradigm/s. Their perspective, jargon, values and beliefs that played a determining role on these topics will be examined in depth.

Following these aspects and dimensions, the study will set forth recommendations on how the relation between youth and politics should be taken into account and in which way political arena can be reorganized in the light of the findings of this study and previous ones.

1.3. Methodology

The main purpose of this study is to evaluate how adolescents perceive politics, what kind of an impact politics has on their lives and how adolescents regard political participation. It is expected that processes concerning political perception, political impact and participation of adolescents will be understood more thoroughly. This study will also contribute to reveal how the new generation regards the political paradigm/s of our times. Perceptions, views, beliefs and evaluations of adolescents may also shed light on the question how politics and political paradigm will evolve within this context. Findings of the study may contribute to rebuild the present codes of politics, politicization and political participation.

Accordingly, questions presented below will be discussed in this study;

1. How do 16-17 year-old adolescents perceive politics and politicians?
2. In which way are they affected by politics, and how do they evaluate the impact of politics?
3. What do they think about the available participation channels and forms of participation?

In order to propose a coherent and extensive comprehension on the main subject and research questions, the most appropriate methodology is thought to be qualitative research. Substantially, the research design of this study has been composed according to the principles of case study. Becker (1970) explains that case studies refer to a detailed analysis of an individual case, supposing one can properly acquire knowledge of the phenomenon from intensive exploration of a single case (as cited in, Fidel 1984, p.274). Since qualitative case studies make it possible to provide in-depth information, comprehension regarding the issue expands significantly.

Sample composed for data collection is essential for gathering valid information. Sampling involves decisions about what data to collect and analyse, and where these can be accessed (Daymon and Holloway, 2011, p.209). Within this study, the sample from whom the data will be collected via information form, questionnaire, and cognitive interview is adolescents in the process of political socialization. The sample consists of 24 participants aged 16-17. This group has been divided into three categories according to their socioeconomic status; high, medium and low level. Each socioeconomic division has a gender equilibrium. In this way, sample is composed of 12 female and 12 male participants and equal gender distribution in sample is maintained (for details, see Table 1.).

Purposeful sampling takes place when the researcher selects a sample from which the most can be learned (Sharan, 1998). Therefore, purposeful sampling is the most convenient method that can be applied. The reason why the purposeful sampling is preferable is that any common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in capturing the core experience and central, shared dimensions of a setting or phenomenon (Patton, 2002, p.235)

Data collection process had been planned to take place at schools however, since Ankara Provincial Directorate of National Education rejected the research request, meetings with the participants were held out of the school with the consent of their parents.

Table 1. Sample

Case Number	Gender	Socioeconomic Level	Age
Case 1	Female	High	17
Case 2	Female	High	17
Case 3	Female	High	17
Case 4	Female	High	17
Case 5	Male	High	17
Case 6	Male	High	17
Case 7	Male	High	17
Case 8	Male	High	17
Case 9	Female	Middle	16
Case 10	Female	Middle	16
Case 11	Female	Middle	16
Case 12	Female	Middle	16
Case 13	Male	Middle	16
Case 14	Male	Middle	16
Case 15	Male	Middle	16
Case 16	Male	Middle	16
Case 17	Female	Low	17
Case 18	Female	Low	17
Case 19	Female	Low	17
Case 20	Female	Low	17
Case 21	Male	Low	17
Case 22	Male	Low	17
Case 23	Male	Low	17
Case 24	Male	Low	17

Information form, questionnaire and interview were chosen as data collection instruments. All of these were completed one at a time for each participant. Completion of the data collection set took between 25 minutes to 45 minutes depending on the participant's attitude toward the process.

In the first place, information forms are applied and they are prepared to identify and designate the participants. These questions are also the independent variables of this study. Participants were only asked attributive questions. Attributive questions ask people who they are, rather than what they do (Powell, 1998, p.3). In this context, questions in this section aim to define their age, socioeconomic status and gender.

In the second phase of data collection, questionnaire technique is preferred. In finding out what kind of character individuals have, behaviours they show, opinions and views they adopt, and attitudes they develop, the most reliable sources are their own oral and written statements (Balci, 2011, p. 150). Therefore, questionnaire applied to the research sample was designed to learn about the behaviours, opinions and self-evaluations of participants on political interest. The questionnaire serves two purposes; first is to understand how the participant defines his/her political interest level. Secondly, with the next four questions, behaviours that show participant's interest level are posed to support the self-evaluations of the respondents which provides an opportunity for the researcher to analyse and compare these two interrelated information.

Thirdly, interview technique is applied. As explained by McNamara, interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. The interviewer can pursue in-depth information around the topic. Interviews may be useful as follow-up to certain respondents to questionnaires, e.g., to further investigate their responses (McNamara, 1999, p.1). Interview technique can be carried out in three different styles. These styles are structured interviews, semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews. In this study, semi-structured interview is preferred. Interviews are generally organised around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewees (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006, p.315).

The required information is divided into four categories, namely political interest, political perception, impact of politics and political participation (for details of the data collection instruments, see Appendix A) and questions in each category were composed in advance. However, since this is a qualitative study, purpose of which is to derive an understanding about the issue, the researcher has asked additional questions that are not in the main the question form during the examination of participant's views, beliefs, perceptions, evaluations and experiences via the interview.

Interview technique applied within the scope of this study is Cognitive Interview. Thanks to this technique, respondents can convey their thinking process to the researcher, since thinking process gives participants a chance to understand and internalize the question, and make retrieval of the information, evaluation and decisions easier, which altogether provide a more holistic answer to each question. Cognitive interviews are beneficial to confirm the preciseness and coherence of participants' statements and connotations. Additionally, the think aloud process provides a more sincere atmosphere that leads participants to respond the questions more truthfully. Therefore, think-aloud style of cognitive interview is preferred, and questions in this data collection instrument are prepared eligibly to this method.

Questions in all data collection instruments are prepared by the researcher with reference to previously conducted research. A question pool is prepared after examining previously conducted data collection instruments of relevant studies within the current literature. Questions in this pool are divided into the main categories of this study, and germane questions are chosen for transformation so they can refer to and measure the required information. Data collection instruments were put to test in order to understand whether they are related to the desired field of measurement, and whether they are compatible with the purposes of the instrument. After asking the experts about their opinions for each main category, all questions were reorganized and reorganised depending on given advice and directions. All the data collection instruments were examined by way of applying in pilot studies. Apart from the sample, 5 pilot studies have been conducted and questions are tested for comprehensibility and appropriateness. Outcomes of the pilot studies are used in order to give the instrument its final form.

In the analysis process of the qualitative study, descriptive analysis method was utilized. Descriptive analysis is known as the most favourable method since its main focus lies on the questions of "what" and "how". Typical analytic procedures fall into seven phases: (1) organizing the data, (2) immersion in the data, (3) generating categories and themes, (4) coding the data, (5) offering interpretations through analytics memos, (6) searching for alternative understandings, and (7)

writing the report or other format for representing the study (Marshall, Roseman, 2011, p.206).

Within this study, first of all, data gathered under four main topics; interest levels via questionnaire and perception on politics, impact of politics and perception on participation via cognitive interview, are computerized and deciphered. The questions are divided into different sections as they all have a conceptual integrity. Secondly, participants were given case numbers to demonstrate their socioeconomic group and gender. Thirdly, for each question, comparison pools are formed and coded with respect to the answer groups. Codes are checked twice by the experts to ensure validity. Information gathered from the participants are analysed in the third chapter. In this section, a discussion is carried out by not only considering the findings of this study but also the findings, assumptions and inferences from current literature. Another analysis matrix has been formed in the discussion section for the interest levels since the discussion requires an alternative evaluation with respect to the political status of adolescents. In order to present a better sight on the issue, qualitative information was also supported with the quantitative results from a monolith perspective when necessary.

CHAPTER II

BACK TO BASICS: A REVIEW ON POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION STUDIES

Political socialization began to spread within the limitations of behaviourist approach at the end of 1950s as a sub-field of political science. Beginning from 1950-1960s, political socialization was built on the foundations of political learning theory however, the incunabular working patterns including epistemological, methodological and ontological aspects declined only after 70s with the introduction of rational theory. German explains that;

Rational theory put early learning on a back burner believing that adults behaved in a rationally calculating manner picking and choosing what was best regardless of socialization and culture. Consequently, one did not need to know about early learning and the cultural environment, but only needed to how people behaved as adults (German 2011, p.312).

Political socialization that was shaped according to these trends was different both in terms of purpose and scope, as well as holding different perspectives on concepts and outputs regarding the political socialization process. For this reason, a shift occurred not only theoretically but also methodologically starting from 1970s, changes in the existing political socialization definitions also evolved at one and the same time.

The field atrophied because it was based on exaggerated premises, and because of misinterpreted and misunderstood research findings (and lack of findings) (Niemi and Hepburn, 1995, p.1). Studies carried out during this period were criticized especially because they developed theories on the basis of political learning which a limited way of studying the subject was. In other words, these theories were based on the assumption that political learning in the early ages does

not go through a change in the adulthood. As studies during 60s, especially in the United States of America revealed that political values, beliefs, opinions, attitudes, behaviours, engagement and participation cannot be independent from both political circumstance and Zeitgeist (spirit of the age or spirit of the time). It is understood that the political socialization cannot be accepted as a process that is experienced and comes to an end within a certain period of time, and orientations cannot be treated as an individual's fixed frame of mind; hence the recurring revision of political learning theories. Therefore, these critical attitudes towards political learning theories have been revised to cleanse the initial assumptions on political socialization studies.

The most important factor in the emergence of political socialization, developed as an academic study field of sociology, political science and psychology, is the necessity of transmission of values of a system into a widespread opinion, to be passed on to new generations for the maintenance of the existing system. In this context, understanding and maintaining the roles, demands and approaches of individuals became one of the main objectives of the governments whose incentive enforced the expansion of this academic research field. As Easton explained, systems manage to maintain a steady flow of support and thereby to gain the energy needed to convert demands to decisions in two main ways: through outputs that meet the demands of the members of a society and through political socialization (as cited in Eugene, 1954, p.199) which sets the efforts of state authorities on a more understandable basis.

The pursued goals were to understand the perceptions, tendencies and behaviour of the new generation which was the driving force of the search for a good society, good citizen and political stability, and to shape the social order that will be developed on this ground, and of course in accordance with the norms of the political system. Attempts were made to describe politically significant variations in personality within and between societies and to indicate their developmental origins (Inkeles, and Levinson, 1954). However, when we focus on present discussions and political socialization studies, the so-called apolitical generation commonly named

as Millennials are evaluated in a way that they have challenged their social roles, which can be basically defined as contributing to the maintenance of a system and social order as passive citizens. Since the political engagement of citizens is the main source of legitimacy for the political system, reintroduction and readaptation of citizens from the new generation to the political system, and drawing their attitudes towards favouring the system gain more importance and play a fundamental role in political sphere. Especially electoral participation, Katz (1997) defines, functions as supporting the legitimacy of the political system, installation and selection of officials, establishment of representation and the provision of an occasion for popular involvement in politics (as cited in Rosema, 2007, p.613).

Political socialization processes and methodologies, which occurred as a result of political and social transformations, witnessed a dramatic breakthrough thanks to the development of the “new politics” concept once again. Because when this generation started to hold an opposing position and developed protest attitudes, they conducted toward a shift on the focus of political socialization studies. They pulled the debates from the ground of “citizens for the system” to “system for the citizens”. The motive behind this change is not only seen in the structural sense but also in the determination of regimes evolving around human rights and freedom, as well as referring democracy as a universal value. Brooks and Manza (1994, p.542) explain the concepts as;

In the words of the authors, one of the earliest formulations of the concept, the New Politics develop around questions common to most highly industrialized societies, such as environmental pollution, the dangers of nuclear energy, the questions of women's equality and human rights, and the need for peaceful international co-existence and for helping the third world. The new politics stressed the importance of open access to political means and resources. Freedom of speech for minorities, access to the decision-making machinery of the state, the ability to participate in politics... are not only necessary instruments of the New Politics but are also ends in themselves (Baker, Dalton and Hildebrandt 1981, p.141). Consequently, the radical transformation of the answer to the question about the definitions of politics, and its scope, also caused a paradigmatic shift at the end of the day, as the political socialization, based on individual/society and governmental authority relations, and ideological

and behavioural outcomes such as engagement and political efficacy; evolved as a result of these interactive and interdependent relations, differentiated in the origin when compared with the previous generation.

Since 90s, with the studies of scholars, for example Dalton (1988), Muller-Rommel (1989), Schmitt (1989), the new politics concept came to prevalence in the field, seeds of which were already planted in the society, and concerning the content kept its connection with the roots in the developmental sense. As the political socialization of youth will be discussed within the scope of this thesis from the perspective of new politics and its evolution to life politics, it will be necessary to focus on definitions, purposes and research findings of the early studies in order to make a distinction between previous and current literature. The evolution of political socialization studies is directly relevant to the political paradigm and political conjuncture both at the national and international levels. Therefore, since the findings and discussion will be carried over this paradigmatic shift, to understand the early paradigms it is necessary to look at the previous political socialization studies.

In the first phases, studies in the field were shaped within the framework of certain polarizations based on the definition of political socialization. A great majority of studies were based on fundamental aspects such as political attitudes, behaviour, orientations and political engagement, while some prioritized only the psychological dimensions of the process. In this context, reductive approaches caused strict distinctions among political socialization, political learning and rational theory and so on. Meanwhile, political development of person as a social being became of secondary importance vis-à-vis the studies favouring the integrity and homogeneity of a society. Within this period of time, the research area of political socialization, its dimensions and variables were defined, and its phases, agents' roles, factors that influenced the process were explained from various perspectives. However, a comprehensive theory that fully explains the generalizable abstract model couldn't be developed.

Within this framework, it is possible to say that political socialization studies went through four phases before taking their final forms presented today. The fundamental concept, which was at the centre of the first wave, was the stability of political system and emphasizing that the political socialization process of individuals is an important 'tool' in the face of political stability and for the maintenance of the political system.

The second wave focused on the relations of citizens with the social institutions in public sphere such as political parties and governmental bodies, and studied socialization in a limited scope. Meanwhile, the third wave of the studies focused on attitude, values and behaviour. These studies also prioritized the definitions built on the notion that political socialization is independent from context and time, which was challenged by the next wave. Moreover, these studies attributed a passive receptor role for the individuals; the transfer of social codes and norms to the next generation became the main objective in the time being. In this context, political socialization, based on the argument "good citizens are made, not born", was defined as the process of being conditioned to think and behave in a socially acceptable manner (Magstadt, 2009, p.307).

Inspired by the basics of all these three approaches, the final wave took individuals as active citizens and the process as a living organism in which the political learning process was passed on to the next generation and reshaped in accordance with specific values, attitude and orientation of the next generation's as it carries on its evolution in the society. This also includes the maturation of individuals in the light of their idiosyncratic needs and characteristics by considering social and political requirements during their social and political growth. Distinct from the studies that belonged to the first wave, the focus in this stage shifted from the stability and wellbeing of society to the wellbeing of individuals. As far as the approaches of 70s are concerned, this approach was also regarded as the first step of the change in political conjuncture in the light of the neoliberal policies and stress of individualism. Different approaches and perspectives proposed in all of these waves will be discussed below, and

subsequently many concepts and definitions attributed to political socialization varying from soft indoctrination to adopting cultural norms, transmission of norms and acculturation will be presented.

2.1. Early Years of Political Socialization: Youth as an Apolitical Mass

One of the pioneers of the field, Hyman developed his theory by placing different sources, degrees and agent levels on the basis of political socialization. These definitions have constituted a step in the formation of a more comprehensive and consistent definition until today. Leading the first wave, Hyman and researchers who followed in his footsteps have considered political socialization as a learning process, while placing political and social stability to the ontological foundation of political socialization. Although Hyman was hesitant to draw conclusions, he affirmed that primary political socialization goal of the society was to ensure its own perpetuation. Since Hyman's chief interest lay in the development of individual's political outlook, he did not pursue this point (Roots, 1999, p.11).

In his study he defined political socialization as 'one is naturally directed to the area of learning; more specifically to the socialization of the individual, his learning of social patterns corresponding to his societal positions as mediated through various agencies of society' (Hyman, 1959, p.25). Hyman drew our attention to the fact that political behaviour is learned behaviour and that, in order to understand this, learning is important (Crotty, 1991, p.126). When the definition is analysed in detail, focusing on the actors and agents of political socialization process, it is emphasized that the most important factor is family, rather than school and peer groups. This is because social roles are learned until the age of 9, and children's field of socialization is mainly the family environment during this period. The importance of family in political socialization is especially due to the role transmission, which becomes more apparent in this period. In addition to this, it is claimed that family environment plays a dominant role in a person's political orientations, efficacy and political engagement during this process. This

determinative role of family was claimed to have a constant effect on the children belonging to the same family. Attitudes and behaviour of the family cause children to adopt parallel attitudes and behaviours, in similar levels and directions.

Based on and inspired by Hyman's definition, Sigel built his political socialization definition on the foundations of learning theory. Sigel directly considers political socialization as the transmission of the norms of the society and protection of the status quo, as well as keeping the priorities of dominant groups (majority or the elites). His definition positioned children as passive receptors, which is the key aspect of political learning theory.

Sigel (1970, p.xi) defined political socialization as;

The process by which persons learn to adopt the norms, values, attitudes, and behaviours accepted and practiced by the ongoing political system. The goal of political socialization is to train or develop individuals that they become well-functioning members of political society.

Another important figure in the field is Fred Greenstein. Greenstein (Greenstein, 1968, p.552) defines political socialization as a broader conception that would encompass all political learning; formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicit political learning but also nominally non-political learning that affects political behaviour. This approach was built on grounds that serve to identify who learns what, from whom, under what circumstances and with what effects (Greenstein, 1965, p.12). In his book *Children and Politics*, Greenstein focuses on Hyman's argument, and claims that the first 14 years are the most important in the political socialization of children, and just like Hyman, he approaches the first 9 years of human life as the period when the social roles are developed most significantly. In addition to this, he took it one step further by arguing that political learning develops more intensively between ages 9 and 14. However, the importance of the first 9 years comes from the fact that social roles transmitted by the family are adopted as a presupposition by children, and accordingly family becomes the most important social institution

during the political socialization process. As the social roles transmitted in the family constitute a reference point in the future, consolidated roles and presupposition formed until the 9 years of age create behaviours and attitudes that are very resistant to change. According to the findings of his research, this is the period when roles are received; behaviours and attitudes are internalized, and idealized.

As in the studies of K.P. Langton political socialization, in its broadest sense, refers to the way society transmits its political culture from generation to generation (Langton, 1969, p.4). He also claims that it is controversial to what extent of the early learning is transmitted from childhood to adolescence and adulthood, in order to make sure if there is a need for more data and research on this subject. The constancy of early socialized attitudes and behaviour over the lifetime of an individual must be treated as a researchable question, rather than a premise (1969, p.4). However, while emphasizing the determinative role of peer groups, he also highlights that early learning and political dispositions are not independent from the social environment and political atmosphere.

When the agencies of socialization are considered, in the sense of playing a determining role, Hyman and Sigel, put a great emphasize on family and family environment. Although, Greenstein accepts the dominant role of family, scholars like Greenstein and Langton, who also based their arguments on learning theories, argue that social environment has a priority over family environment. Furthermore, they propose that social environment is influential in the behaviours of a person in the adulthood period. In this context, Langton and Karns (1969) conclude that the social environment of a child determines the level of efficacy and signifies future attitudes and behaviours.

Establishing his political socialization concept on Hyman's definition, David Easton brought the system analysis approach to the field. Thus, the role of political socialization for the maintenance of socio-political system was carried forward and redounded to the system theory. Moreover, the emphasis on the passive receptor

role proposed by Hyman and Sigel, became more powerful with the attribution of being an actor who is responsible for the maintenance of the traditional system and order.

In this context; Easton and Hess (1962, pp.231-232) defined political socialization as:

Regardless of the specific devices any system utilizes to perpetuate itself, no system is able to function, much less maintain itself for any length of time, without educating its young politically in the broadest sense of the meaning of these terms. Either intuitively or consciously it must undertake to transmit some of its political heritage to the maturing members of the society or to construct a new heritage for them so that a system that is undergoing various transformation may anticipate future support.

In Easton and Dawson's theory, one of the main concerns of political socialization is the engagement of all members within a society. It was expected that the society should accept the unquestionability of norms and beliefs at the foundation of the system, as well as show absolute submission to the political system. In that sense, protection and reproduction became a burden especially on new generations. Political socialization focused on the social order and interests of the society. Demands and wellbeing of youth were pushed into the background and political outlook became one of the main aspects of political socialization studies. With reference to Hyman, political outlook was to serve for the best of national values and political stability. Considering that their study was carried out in the United States of America, it can be said that the basic values of the American system is imposed according to the perception of being an American.

Another issue that distinguishes Easton and Dawson from previous researchers is considering school as the basic agent of political socialization, like Hess and Torney. Easton and Dawson claimed that the politicization of children takes place at the early stages when they interact with society after getting out of the narrow sphere of family. In other words, in this period school determines future engagement and political efficacy, which becomes a constant reference point in the

future socialization stages. That being said, these two scholars were more cautious about the transmission of early learning to the adolescence and adulthood periods than the previous ones, whether it is preserved as pre-supposition or not. It is claimed that after the transition from socialization, which begins at school, to political socialization, social roles, authority perceptions, social values and norms are adopted/internalized, idealized and lastly institutionalized. Thus, political orientation is formed by going through these phases and advocating present perceptions on authority, social roles, values and norms. However, especially in the 1960s Chicago riot example, legitimization of political socialization was questioned as obedience and loyalty based arguments, and research results cannot be considered independently from generation conflicts.

These phases cascades starting with politicization, where the child recognizes the existence of political sphere in addition to the familial environment. This is followed by personalization, defined as the stage in which the images of authorities are formed in the cognitive sense as images; idealization, which means that the child accepts the authority as legitimate body of society and political system; and lastly institutionalization when the personalized and idealized figures of authorities are part of political institutions.

However, the fundamental shortcoming of Easton and Dawson was their failure in analysing the process in the basis of cause and effect relation, even though they have comprehensively categorized sub-variables, processes and factors that are in relation with socialization as a concept. At the same time, the study was criticized, as it was limited to coming up with definitions about a certain group within a certain period of time and did not include generalizable outcomes.

If we put Greenstein's process analysis based on psychoanalytic theory aside, the learning theories in general were questioned by scholars from the later wave as their only focus was on the content of socialization process by isolating the whole process as well as psychological dimension. Furthermore, it was claimed that the learning theory fails to provide sufficient explanations that are necessary to

understand the process. However, scholars interested in political socialization asserted that political learning is just a component of the process. On the other hand, learning theories can be conceptualized as soft indoctrination. These critiques also coincided with the methodological scepticism towards political socialization studies that alter the methodological and ontological foundations of the second wave studies in the field.

2.2. Political Socialization after 1970: Change in the Apolitical Image of Youth

After the breakthrough in political socialization studies in 1960-70s, freeing from the rigid boundaries of political/apolitical categorizations, the main focus of the field turned to how political attitudes are developed, how the engagement occurs and how participatory behaviours are shaped resulting from political opinions, beliefs, and attitudes. While early methodological and theoretical frames also continued to dominate the field, research studies on transmission of values, norms, responsibilities and duties of citizens to the new generations were carried out, regarding state-society and individual relations, operation of the system at the dawn of developing human rights and freedoms. On the other hand, newly emerging studies started to treat political learning, and therefore political socialization, as a lifelong developing process.

As opposed to previous definitions, theoretical limitations and categorizations, the first breaking point came to the fore thanks to the approaches offered by Richard Dawson and Prewitt. Dawson and Prewitt considered political socialization as a developmental process through which the citizens mature politically (1969, p.17). This political learning is not a process in which a person receives the information unilaterally, but by being a part of interactive development, which is also part of individual's psychosocial development. In the research of Dawson and Prewitt, it is claimed that individuals face with categorical learning in the childhood period; but as they proceed to the adulthood, these categories are filled and reshaped, which is a recurrent process development in the course of a lifetime. At

this point, since early political learning is actually an accumulation of “major components of a matured political self”, it is possible to mention that such an aggregation will be maintained during the pre-adolescent years and components of early learning will be stationary.

However, during the adulthood years, in pursuit of the changing political circumstances and conjunctural transformations, individuals may reposition themselves since the alteration of learned information and components will be re-evaluated due to outer stimulations. And as the individual changes his/her ways of thinking, analysing and concluding social issues and phenomenon, which will make it easier to detect the transformation of individuals, shows that inner factors also play a significant role in the process. However, it is emphasized that patriotic sentiments and partisan attitudes are also said to be the hardest to change in the cluster of early political learning. Therefore in time, there may be stationary political learning holding on to the political self, besides the ones that can go through a change.

As distinct from the early trends in the field, political learning theorists emphasized that the ultimate goal of political socialization process is not to protect social stability and maintain the political system. When the approach of Dawson and Prewitt is compared to the previous definitions, reductionist tendencies of early studies in political socialization become more apparent. What is prominent in Dawson and Prewitt’s study is that behaviours taking their roots from these early learning are incapable of staying as a constant, since political learning process lasts abidingly throughout one’s lifetime. Therefore attitudes, values and norms are not something to be transmitted without a change to the next generations. The operation of political socialization is explained as;

Political socialization processes operate at both the individual and community levels. At the community level it is best understood as cultural transmission’. Secondly, ‘political socialization directs attention to the politically relevant learning experiences of the individual’ (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969, p.13)

The model proposed by Dawson propounded that political socialization is composed of four main stages; imitation, anticipatory socialization, political education and political experiences. Emphasizing that the process consists of different layers and not result of a unidirectional sociopolitical input, constitute a significant definition in the field due to the disposition of an epistemological break. And yet the distinctive effects of early learning and intensification of orientations, proposed by Greenstein and Hyman in the first place, were accepted by taking a step further. Dawson also added that political socialization starts with proceeding to the political learning phase, as the abstract conceptions develop and become more comprehensible for children. While this early learning is in the development stage, the sociopolitical identities and orientations that are developed within this context also make a significant impact on the process.

At this point, by stressing that orientations cannot be developed independently from sociocultural identities and subcultural background, political learning was divided into two ways and conceptualised as direct and indirect learning. Indirect learning covers the orientations learned from social roles and attitudes, not only adaption but also accommodating one's learning in the presence of a sociopolitical cases. As for direct learning, it refers to the transmission of political orientations straightforwardly. The critical distinction between indirect and direct modes of learning is not the overt intent of the socialization agent, but whether or not the initial socialization experiences is infused with specific political content (Dawson, 1977, p.96).

When the continuum of political learning in later life period became prominent in the field, life cycle theories were initiated by Sidney Verba. According to Verba, political socialization is a learning process in which norms associated with certain social values, as well as fundamental values and guiding standards of political behaviours are learned (Verba, 1964, p.1). Against the arguments proposed in early studies claiming that attitudes, orientations and engagement are developed during the preadolescent years which are most resistant to change; Almond and Verba suggested that the development of these codes extends in time and does not show a

stable characteristics. While some authors claim that political attitudes are already formed in the preadolescent years (Hyman 1959), others agree with the observation of Almond and Verba (1963) that the sources of political attitudes are many and can be found from early childhood to adolescence into adulthood (as cited in Schwarzer and Zeglovits, 2013, p.74).

On the other hand, political socialization process is constructed on psychosocial factors and sociological background of the child as in the case of Dawson's argument. At this point, it is possible to say that psychosocial orientations cannot be taken independently from political culture, attitudes towards relation between individual/citizen and politic, as well as the shared value system, all of which have a deterministic effect on the political realm in return. Almond and Verba identified the patterns of orientations developing in the process of political socialization and divided them into three groups: Cognitive orientations, affective orientations and evaluational orientations. These include cognitive orientations – knowledge and belief about the political system, its roles, and the incumbent of these roles, inputs and outputs; affective orientations, that is, feelings about the political system, its roles, personnel and performance; evaluational orientations referring to the judgment and opinions about political objects that typically involve combining value judgments or feelings with information (Ishiyama, 2011, p.91).

In this context, putting individuals in the centre, many researchers such as Gergen and Ullman (1977), Oleson and Whittaler (1968), Bucher and Stelling (1977), Zeichner and Gore (1990) continued to claim that personal differences diversify the process because of which political socialization becomes unique in a sense. These studies also brought the approaches of 'active role for individuals', 'being responsible from not only the reproduction but also transformation of the system', forward at the same time. Baker for example, proposed an interactive transactional view of the political socialization process based on the notion that the individual has specific needs and drives (1972, p.593). Defining socialization as not merely the transfer from one group to another in a static social structure but as the active creation of a new identity through a personal definition of the situation

(Reinharz, 1979 p.374). Reinharz on the other hand, emphasized the individualistic and idiosyncratic aspects of the process.

2.3. Discussion on Agents and Factors of Political Socialization

As for today, it is accepted that a socialization process occurs following the physical and mental development from the beginning of childhood. In this process, adolescents concurrently develop a political self under the influence of factors that have deterministic impact on political socialization process. This way, political socialization process and political self-development interactively make progress. Both of them are connected and dependent on society and political environment in which the adolescent live; therefore value orientations (e.g. focus on self-versus focus on others) relate to almost every aspect of adolescent life. Thus, the process through which value orientations become part of youth's identities will necessarily be part of civic identity development (Amna et al., 2001, p.33).

Beginning with the early socialization, individuals need to develop required information, beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviours in order to exist and adapt themselves to the current system. From their understanding of socialization as mentioned above, Dawson and Prewitt (1969, p.23) explained the importance of political self as such:

The persistence of basic views is of great importance for the overall development of the political self. These feelings serve as the foundation upon which subsequently acquired orientations are built. Political events and experiences later in life are interpreted within the context of these basic orientations. They serve as "political eyeglasses", through which the individual perceives and makes meaningful the World of politics.

In a similar manner to political socialization process, political-self takes place in lifelong development cycle since changing conditions and social roles requires revisions of political orientations. As Sigel indicates (1970, pp.427-433), after adolescence adults also need to resocialize over and over again to keep pace with the changing conditions. In other words, quintessential characteristics of political

socialization necessitates the reproduction of personal political orientations, which also brings resocialization forward, since political learning is a never ending process and social roles demand abandoning the old or assuming the new ones.

In general sense, political socialization defined as a personal learning process goes through specific phases. Disposition of outcomes and results of the socialization process are ensued by the things that individuals learn from the people in their immediate circle and passively from other sources in their social environment. Moreover, adolescents go through an active learning process because they need to re-evaluate what has been learned in accordance with sociopolitical circumstances and their personality and character. At this point, especially when the passive learning is taken as the major concern, political culture and value system of the society plays a vital role since the fundamental tendency of the system aims at social construction. However as the ideological assumptions and expectations of political system varies from each other, political socialization process also alters on cultural basis.

There is a considerable variation in political socialization across nations and particularly when one compares different civilizations (German, 2011, p.309). Hence, the definition of political socialization by Schaefer (2010, p.53);

The totality of learned, socially transmitted customs, knowledge, material objects and behaviour. It includes ideas, values and artefacts of groups of people that cannot be taken into consideration independently from the socialization continuum. For this very reason, in a broad sense, political socialization process not only differentiates among cultures or civilizations according to the specific conjecture, culture and political atmosphere in which the individual stands as a political self, but also among individuals sharing the same culture according to his or her contribution, stem from unique experiences and evaluational outcomes, in giving the meaning to political surroundings. By the same token, asserted by Almond and Verba, definition of political culture of a given society, carrying close bonds between culture and political culture since distinction between political and non-political are more substantial and explicit in linguistic terms than the hosted meanings in terminological realm.

Thus political culture refers to the specifically political orientations—attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system (Almond and Verba, 1963, p.12); which, in essence, cause individuals to be affected from political culture and take part in the reproduction of it throughout the political socialization process.

Cultural and intercultural research studies conducted in USA and Canada especially after 1960s and which might be regarded as the epicentre of socialization studies, have proved that perceptions and significance of factors that affect the political socialization are culture-ridden and culture-based. Some of these studies are conducted by scholars such as Almond and Verba (1963); Lipset (1967); Hartz (1955); Presthus (1973); Meisel (1975); Abramson and Inglehart (1970); and Landes (1973).

In the process of political socialization, one of the most crucial factors that influences learning during childhood is the learning resources, though the abstract conceptualization in childhood is somewhat limited. In terms of intellectual development, the adolescent is experiencing a transition from the concrete form of reasoning that typifies the middle childhood years to a reasoning that is abstract and hypothetical, and the intellectual need of the adolescent is a need for abstract conceptualization (Hughes, 2009, p.132). Therefore, the data based on daily life experiences, which gives reference initially to lower political culture rather than higher political culture, is the starting point for collecting the learning resources. The resources from which the data are collected are primarily family and followed by school, peer group, immediate surroundings and the media. Each resource gains importance in different age periods. Therefore, their effect level and decisiveness differ, and researchers interpret these impacts in various ways based on different argumentations.

Hyman (1959) emphasizes family as the uppermost factor in social socialization process, and states that children develop accordingly in family due to the representation of hierarchical structure, rules and order in social sphere in the

family. The family supports socialization process especially in terms of participation and political behaviours owing to the role as a model in transferring core values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. At the beginning of the socialization, although the family acting as a replica of the society and is regarded to be a commune functioning as a preparatory medium for children to initiate the process, in their primary socialization Anastasiu, (2012, p.2) explains;

There is no conflict of interests between parents and children (at least not until the children reach adolescence), while thereafter, when the child must shall integrate into a community formed by others members than his family, such as the preschool or school, the watchword will not be the unconditional love, but rather the adaptation to a situation in which each child pursues his own interest.

Scholars like Jennings and Niemi (1981), Shani (2007), Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) also claimed that the political interest of the family has a deterministic effect in child's political socialization; whereas Campbell and Wolbrecht (2006) found that this effect is greater in girls.

On the other hand researchers, for example Alford et al. 2005; Settle et al. 2009; Hatemi et al. 2009 claimed that the family effects political socialization of the child not only by acting as a social entity but also by transferring genetic heritage. The theory claims that our human genetic makeup wires us for social behaviours (Wilson et al. 1978 as cited in Ballantine, 2010, p.95). In this context, regarding the debate of nurture versus nature, the research shows that nature is also effective in political socialization process and engagement, political interest, participatory or non-participatory behaviours that can be transferred to the next generation by genetic the inheritance.

The school, on the other hand, can be considered as the second step in socialization. The effect of school in this process can be considered in two aspects, which are intertwined and co-interacts. Primarily, the school represents a medium in which the child, before becoming a member of the society as an adult citizen, goes through similar experiences with the ones in the family, receives data from

this medium and socializes in a basic manner (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Torney and Purta 2002). In this instance, by involving in a social medium other than the family, children begin to understand that the social environment is not limited to the family. In this respect, the effect of the peer group is interpreted as being stronger not only because constituting a role model for each other. In addition, when the factors like the group, status, and social position that children belong are similar, this affinity strengthens the social interactions among peer groups.

The most explicit feature that differentiates peer group from family and school is that it is isolated from hierarchy of the political sphere. The interaction is stronger within peer group due to the fact that a higher authority is not generated, also it is independent of social manners and behaviours. Besides, the desire to be recognized in social sphere, the inclination to develop and implement the values and behaviours collectively function more effectively.

Thanks to the support of their peer groups in school, individuals gain knowledge, skills, beliefs and attitudes; they construct the basis of their social roles so as to apply these to their role shifts in their further lives. In addition, they form and internalize their orientation and embody these values by practicing them in line with their political self-development.

The peer effect, which is built in the school network has a different effect on the socialization process. Political and social structures are transferred to the next generation via education system, because the effect of school on socialization functions as a sociopolitical construction of future citizens. Contemporary scholars (Foucault, 1979; Sarason and Doris, 1979) also emphasize that in essence, schools are the instruments to control the society. The knowledge, values and attitudes that are related to the values of the current system and the prevalent paradigm are all transferred through the means of education. This provides the controlled development of the agents and institutions of the society. Therefore, the education can be considered as an important socialization sphere due to the relationship

between the government and political system. However, this close relation is not just on the basis of ideological consolidation. Since the functioning of other institutions and relations around these institutions, for example economic relations, needs to be carried on, political authorities also attach priority for education. Therefore transferring children to the society with the required knowledge and skills becomes an important duty of educational institutions, as well.

In addition to these, considering school and politics as social entities, generating an intellectual unity is supported in a constructivist manner. As Kapferer (1981, p.258) argues;

It is clear that all schools, with whatever degree of intensity, explicitness, and self-consciousness, engage a project that has three major elements: instruction, selection, and socialization. Like selection, and unlike instruction, socialization is a largely covert operation, dealing with the inculcation of culturally defined ways of perceiving the world and acting within it.

Emphasizing the importance of the determinative role of school in political socialization process, it is proposed that during school years learning about political realm includes a great spectrum, from civic education to national history, national norms and values, organizational structure of government, participation channels with ways of actualizing them and so on. Significance of school as a social institution, stems from the hierarchical relationships, social roles, rules and order presented in the school structure, which resembles the social environment and role distribution that occur during the adulthood years. Contrary to the findings of Langton and Jennings (1996), the civic courses given in school are evaluated to be the main source of political knowledge, and have an explicit influence to the extent of playing a determinative role on political learning outcomes during adulthood (Niemi and Junn,1998).

Additionally, Easton and Dennis who have redounded the system theory to the field similarly evaluated that new members of the society are consequential for the maintenance of the stability, and have the responsibility to endure the current

system. Therefore, school has a significant impact since the political system must somehow provide a flow of information about and continuously create deep feelings of loyalty and obedience for its basic form (Easton and Dennis, 1965, p.40).

Regarding the maintenance of political systems, funds of knowledge transferred by the school are regarded as functional. The consolidation of national political authority extends education throughout the society as a means of incorporating the human material in its structure, and politically incorporated educational systems integrate and legitimate political action (Meyer and Rubinson, 1975, p.134). However, mostly criticized aspect of this approach is that knowledge accorded by school is not always in accordance with the political reality and is not applicable to the political realm. Therefore, school, which holds the means to support civic orientations and engagement, is denied as the main source of political socialization.

There are many studies which find that knowledge about politics and education level increase in direct proportion; so participation, engagement, and political efficacy rise correspondingly (Almond and Verba, 1963; Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1964; Milbrath, 1965). However, some scholars such as Bock (1974), Abernethy and Coombe (1965), Emmerson (1968) argue that individuals who obtained higher level of education are more likely to generate demands that exceed the capacity of political system to supply in return as they come across with sharp curves in the presence of social shifts in their life cycle. That is to say education may also be the source of the reconcilability between individuals and the government. Therefore it may not always function as a control mechanism for the political authorities.

Media has a huge impact on political socialization since it has access to the greater parts of the society. Following the increase in mass media and communication instruments and the widening social networks, these tools have assumed an important role for the media in the political socialization process. Beginning with 1960s and up until today, exposure time to media has increased;

this led to faster and more reshaped attitudes and behaviours in individuals. In addition to the increase in the flow of information, both the rapid changes in the political agenda and the reaction towards it cause the development of a strong sphere of influence. Particularly, increasing proliferation and social media usage are instrumental in enabling not only adults but also adolescents to participate in politics, given that media has become a tool for them to take part in the discussions.

All these agents and factors play a significant role in the political socialization of adolescents. Despite different approaches presented by various scholars, evolution of the study field will be the reference point as we try to understand the political stance of youth. In order to draw the current frames, the next section will focus on three aspects of political socialization studies, which also constitute the three dimensions of this thesis; political perception, impact of politics and political participation.

2.4. A Short Visit to the Background of Political Perception, Impact of Politics and Political Participation

The first subtitle that will be discussed in this study is the perception of adolescents on politics, which has already been handled with on different levels and dimensions in the literature. Before explaining how the perception of adolescents is defined and the perspective adopted for this study, analysis and findings of the studies in the current literature will be given place.

Most of the preliminary studies in this field are conducted to understand how politics is comprehended and perceived by adolescents. Answers given to these questions vary depending on which academic discipline is focusing on the concept. Most of the studies carried out by the psychologists are based on cognitive approaches, and those studies followed by the ones focusing on behaviours and, consequently, political participation. While political scientists mainly focus on

political engagement, studies conducted by sociologists are based on orientations and political environment mostly.

Preliminary studies regarding political perceptions determined the focal points of the field as the children's perception on political figures and their knowledge about institutions, and analysed the relationship between relevant variables (Hirsch, 1971; Jennings and Niemi, 1981; Delli Carpini, Michael and Keeter, 1997). Two of the foremost researchers on political socialization, Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) found that compared with what people ought to know as determined by a textbook model of citizenship, the public is ignorant about much of the detail of government and politics just as conventional wisdom holds (as cited in Mackey, 2008, p.17) and concluded with the idea that the less individuals obtain knowledge on politics, the less they develop orientations and a tendency to participate in political system.

Conell (1971) found that children cannot differentiate what is political and what is apolitical clearly till the age of seven since their cognitive level is in intuitive thinking. Conell studied 5- to 16-year-olds and identified four phases of political thought: intuitive, primitive realism, construction of a political order, and ideological thought (as cited in Haste, 2012, p.345). Around 10-year-old though, children still cannot develop a holistic and thoroughly political perception, beyond considering politics limited with political figures and institutions, they begin attributing some characteristics to politicians and institutions, for example, being provider, representative of social order and executives of the system. They do not only begin to make progress in their political development but also in their political knowledge in this age spectrum.

As they learn their rights and freedoms, responsibilities and duties as citizens and a part of the society, their knowledge expands from the private sphere to the social sphere. Therefore from this period onward, children become aware of the existential foundations of the state, which has abstract features and take place in the network of institutional and hierarchical relations. In that sense, the capacity of children to understand more complex ontological foundations of state, authority and

social institutions increases as they make progress in their social mental development. Therefore, they become capable of understanding their own positions among them, as well.

Moore, Lare, Wagner (1985) conducted a study with a broad sample constitute children from pre-primary school to 4th grade and found that in this age range, political perception is in a rapid development. In his study, Coles (1968) focused on children's comprehension of politics from different countries, however this study was not sufficient to understand how existing political knowledge and thoughts are developed, shaped, and to what extent they can be separated from external factors. However this study reveals that socioeconomic factors, gender, social and ethnic background, educational attainment, religious and civic orientations are effective in the development process of political perceptions.

Additionally, it is known that in this process accumulation of political knowledge, information about government agencies, presidents or prime ministers are also influential. As children grow mature, their early perceptions of the president affect the subsequent development of their attitudes of allegiance and support for the American political system (Smidt, 1982, p.147), which of course cannot be evaluated only to be peculiar to the American society.

In the study conducted by Smidt, (1982), children's perception of political authority is analysed, as well. Children's attachment, benevolence of the president, presidential dependability and infallibility are measured but it is found that for children, civic-religious orientations become more effective than the political knowledge while making sense of politics. However, the essential importance of this study arises from the fact that it reveals how children evaluate politics in the context of these four aspects.

In his research, Berti (1988) researched how 6-15 year-old children comprehend political concepts by using hypothetical island-society and children responded under four headings: collective needs, conflicts, political organization,

and laws. Developmental process in this age range progress as; clear explanations cannot be given in 8-9 year-old group, 9-10 year-old group can explain the concept of politics by referring order and governance, 10-11 year-old group are capable of expressing that society is needs to be organized in accordance with their needs and demands; and lastly 12-13 year-old group emphasize the law and order therefore participation of the community members is regarded as a must.

From preadolescence to adulthood, development of abstraction and abstract thinking skills lead to significant alteration in the perception of politics and political institutions. For example, at early ages physical and environmental features are more dominant in defining countries; at later ages more abstract references appear in definitions. In the study conducted by Nugent (1994), this pattern is represented by a transition from an emphasis on descriptions of the country as a physical environment among 10- 12- and many 14-year-olds (places, physical features, ecology, flora, and fauna) to a greater use of categories reflecting the country in more abstract psychological terms (history, culture, atmosphere, and personality) among 16-year-olds. Nugent also asserts that the major determinant age range is 14-25 years in the political socialization studies. Niemi and Hepburn (1995, p.4) explain this as; first, there is little dispute that youth is a time of extraordinary psychological and social change and second, these are the years during which our society traditionally attempts to educate youth for citizen participation.

Within the scope of this thesis, sample is selected from adolescents in 16-17-age range as they are at the beginning of their political socialization. How the participants perceive politics will be measured by the open ended questions in which we can find answers to from which perspective they are looking at the political sphere, what kind of characteristics they think politics and politicians have, and also what kind of an image they envisage in their minds regarding organizational, functional and structural forms of politics.

The second dimension of this study is the impact of politics. When politics-individual and politics-society relations are examined, an interactive connection can

be observed. Whether politics is defined as conflict vs. consensus, pursuit of interest, allocation of resources or governing and being governed, in all terms there is an implicit network among individual, society and state. These relations do not only take place in public sphere but also in private sphere on which politics makes a huge impact and plays a determinative role. Therefore when we talk about what kind of an impact politics has on an individual's life, we have to consider it in a broad sense. Because all aspects of life is interpenetrating with politics, which means that individuals face the consequence of every political decision and action eventually and are directly or indirectly affected by these measures.

In the process of political socialization political self, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours are being formed in accordance with the ways of which politics puts an impact on individuals and society. In return, perceptions and behaviours designate how the individual will react and influence the politics in the light of his or her opinions, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. This way, interactive sociopolitical relations get into a vicious circle in which the system reproduces itself. Therefore, political socialization process, the construction phase of these relations with its cognitive, affective and evaluational domains, and agents of socialization, enhances the reproduction of abovementioned relations and subtle ties among them. The affective domain (attitudes and beliefs) is what counts the most in adult political behaviour. Facts or the knowledge domain follow the affective domain and are in a sense sifted through what we feel about politics (German, 2011, p.311).

Political atmosphere in which the individual stand, adjusts the attitudes and socialization process in connection with the other sub factors affecting the process. In other words, political socialization is a continuous process of an adaptation of social values, norms, relations and behaviours. Although attitudes change somewhat over time, the development of political identity during childhood appears to influence future political decision-making profoundly (Healy and Malhotra, 2013, p.1024). However, what changes these attitudes might be more related to the social reality rather than individuals' own life experiences since scholars have

looked for other links between individuals' political attitudes and their personal experiences, including experiences as losing a job (Sears et al. 1980), having close friends or family serving in Vietnam (Lau, Brown and Sears, 1978), having children in public schools (Kinder and Sears 1981), or lacking health insurance (Lau and Heldman, 2009) and inability to find meaningful information.

These studies reveal that attitudes and behaviours have an inconsequential relation stemming from personal experiences. Therefore, it might be said that how individuals will influence politics and what kind of an impact politics will have on them are affected by politics, which is a social construction that lies within the collective perception of social reality of a given society. In this context, this study tries to reveal how the selected sample thinks the politics affect them and what kind of an impact it will put, by this way it will also give clues about how they perceive politics and sociopolitical relations.

The last dimension of this study is political participation, which has been one of the most attractive subfields for the scholars mostly from sociology and political science. Scholars from political science and also sociologists do not only examine the factors that affect citizenship in the scope of active and participatory citizenship, and the processes which develop these tendencies and orientations but also how political engagement occurs and how it is formed.

Especially after the consolidation of democratic regimes in the political systems, democracy has become a universal value. In political systems showing commitment to democracy, participation and being an active citizenship is considered to be one of the preconditions of preservation of democratic values. However, as participation is claimed to be the source of the legitimacy of political systems, definitions in this regard remain limited in the frames of voting (see Dahl, 1971 and Verba, 1978). On the other side, today political participation has exceeded its elderly set borders and is not only seen as an activity stemming from political engagement, but also participating in the public involvement through decision-making processes (Uhlener, 2001).

As Huntington and Nelson (1976, p.3) note, “By political participation we mean activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision-making”. According to Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995, p.38) political participation refers simply to activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action—either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies.

In the sequel of the expansion of political sphere, new participation channels enabled by the democratic governments caused political activities to broaden, as well. Consequently, conventional and unconventional participation and their instruments brought up for discussion and conceptualization of these activities changed the dimensions of political participation studies.

Riley et.al. (2012) define participation into politics in traditional sense by referring rights and duties within the political and civic activities. In addition, scholars like Munroe (2002), and Diemer (2012), regard political participation, within the boundaries of traditional mechanisms, as the right to engage in political activities and exercise one’s rights. In this context, participation is the exercise of rights including right to protest, vote, and engage in political parties and organizations, freedom of thought and speech. However, taking political participation within the frames of civic rights and freedom have caused conventional participatory activities and behaviours to be regarded as the only way of participating to a political system. Moreover, while these traditional political participation definitions stay within the borders of electing or choosing, the new wave of studies has taken the concept as playing an active role in the political decision-making process, instead of choosing among the representatives who are to make decisions on behalf of the voters. As proposed by Verba et. al. (1995 p.38), “activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision-making” makes it possible to say that such implications paved the way for the development of current approaches towards participation.

In recent years, nature of voting has been questioned and scepticism towards elections have been raised in society. With the impact of the alteration in social organization forms, these attitudes caused the participation phenomenon to be studied under two trends. While the first trend is composed of the studies referring to the abovementioned conventional political norms and participation mechanisms; the second trend focused on the unconventional ways of political participation which exceed the limits of strictly designated political sphere. This second trend can also be divided into two groups in the sense that some studies make a distinction between legal and illegal forms of participation with reference to the traditional political norms in essence.

The second group includes participation mechanism, platforms and instruments, for instance political-civil disobedience, violent political protests, occupations, however these actions are not labelled as “illegal”, rather accepted as new ways of participation going beyond the traditional politics. At this point, Opp et al (1981), Lavric et al (2012), Henn and Foard (2012) point out a paradox: If participation is an important value for the political system, which it is—since the modern society internalized the de facto universal norms of democracy, built on this notion, and civic rights are required to be exercised—can we describe aggressive participation as illegal, like when the system is not able to respond to activities within the frames of conventional participation? From this perspective, scholars such as Gill (2007) and Harris (2001) argue that the unconventionality of participatory behaviours and instruments does not make them illegal. In this regard when Marsh’s (1990) definition of participation as elite-challenging activities is recalled, participation may be seen from a wider and more inclusive perspective. This is because today's sociopolitical relations, both on intellectual and behavioural level, manifest themselves as a conflict between power elites and individuals/society, and for both sides, means may vary to meet the ends.

In that sense, participation will be dealt with questions like 'how youth perceive political participation', 'why it is important or not', 'how they approach participation mechanism' and 'what kind of activities are evaluated as political participation' and so on.

CHAPTER III

DISCUSSION

Answering the research questions of this study, there is a need for a theoretical discussion ground which has been set on to the paradigm shifts. As it will be explained in this chapter, historical development of the political socializations studies shows us that definitions, explanations and interferences about youth are related to the political paradigm of a given era. We primarily need to know what kind of a reflection the political paradigm has on the current political socialization studies and political stance of youth. Therefore the three approaches regarding youth have been discussed below in brief to constitute a theoretical framework for the discussion. At the end of this section, readers can find a new perspective for positioning youth in front of the dynamics of sociopolitical realm of Turkey.

3.1. Three Approaches: Life Politics of Self-Actualization is the New Black

Today, regarding political perception, participation and the impact of politics on young people, literature has been divided into two kinds of approaches overwhelmingly, grounded on different perspectives in order to understand political interest, engagement and participation. Flanagan and Sherrod (1998, p.447) explain these two attitudes as;

Research on political socialization during the 1950s focused on early precursors of political attitudes and treated children as rather passive participants in the process. A second wave of research in the 1960s considered youth a force creating social change and held that the transition between adolescence and adulthood was a period uniquely suited to examining political issues.

First one is the continuation of traditional youth and political socialization studies that claim ‘youth is apolitical’ in brief, while within the current trend, the studies conducted within the borders of the second one converge on a critical approach to the traditional political socialization, which emphasizes that ‘youth is immensely political within the frames of new politics’.

Each perspective has significant inference, and accurate explanations in order to provide a better sight while handling the issue. However, there is an undeniable fact that a new meta-perspective (to say ‘a third approach’) is required to see the whole picture. Therefore, findings of this study will be discussed not only to answer the main questions and present a point of view to understand political perception, participation and what kind of an impact politics has in Turkey, but also to contribute to this third approach and find possible answers to ‘what its scope may be’.

With regard to the findings of quantitative studies mostly, traditional youth and political socialization studies claim that the new generation is overwhelmingly uninterested in politics, even indifferent to the world around them. Possible downsides of too much focus on the self-include less empathy, less concern for others, less interest in larger social issues, and selfish behaviour that harms the environment (Twenge, 2013, p.13). Many youth civic engagement scholars have catalogued what they see as the waning civic spirit, lack of political knowledge, and general apathy of young people (Taft and Gordon, 2009, p.1). Unfortunately, these arguments have two hinges, firstly this approach is based on new generation’s lack of political knowledge and trust, in terms of attitudinal sense, and secondly lack of political engagement and participation in terms of behavioural sense. Throughout these two mainstays and (from today’s point of view) stereotyped attributions, youth has been dealt as a mass to be shaped ideologically and reorganized behaviourally in the public sphere.

In the 21st century, while the political paradigm evolves, and attitudes and behaviours change accordingly; the main questions in political socialization studies

remain the same. For example, Youniss et al. (2002, p.124), regarded as the leading scholars of the field, still tend to imply these two postulates in their studies as; “Are young people being well prepared to take on civic responsibilities in this new, changing global reality?”

Stemming from these postulates, ‘gonna-be-reformed’ youth depiction has the new generation stand as an object in the society rather than a living organism with unique characteristics. Sloam (2007, p.550) puts this as;

Till the focus on the political culture of the individual as the basis for a participant society has become significant, given the process of individualisation in terms of values and life-styles depicted by, (among others) Inglehart and Giddens youth has been remained to be regarded as passive actors in political sphere. This has been especially valid for young people, for whom ‘politics is something that is done to them, not something they can influence.

Thereby, youth is encumbered by societal obligations foremost being the supporters of the system due to advocating the legitimacy of the social order and institutions have an essential role in the consolidation of the system. In other words, politics, which is done to youth, is about re-strengthening the political system, therefore as a part of the society, youth need to be dragged to the circle of consent. Doak and O’Mahony (2011, p.307-308) explain that;

The legitimacy can be defined from the standpoint of sociology or social psychology as a claim of popular consent. Such consent is derived less from a sense of fear of penal sanction than the fact that most people believe that the law and its processes have a moral authority per se, and ought to be obeyed for that reason. Legitimacy within this context represents an ‘acceptance by people of the need to bring their behaviour into line with the dictates of an external authority.

Therefore under the burden of social obligations, youth has been expected to patch the crisis of democracy and to play a vital role in ameliorating, if not solving, the ongoing political predicament rather than assuming the role of ‘troublemakers’ against democracy. Yet, the youngest generation of citizens in Western

democracies is growing up disengaged or even alienated from the political world—and are likely to remain so throughout their lives (Sears and Valentino, 1997; as cited in Möller, 2013, p.1).

The given apolitical nature of youth endangers consolidated politics and political institutions of the society. Because acceptance and engagement of social agents; like individuals, society, as well as the non-governmental organisations and institutions, require substantial reservations when the sake of democracy and legitimacy of the system are concerned. In that sense, traditional formal participatory activities, especially voting, are counted to be the main indicators in order to evaluate the engagement in politics and attachment to socio-political system. This perception sometimes seems unanimous among the public opinion, and also has its counterpart in the field of academic researches where analyses about disaffection and lack of interest of the young people or about their low readiness to participate in political life in democratic societies by using the instruments designed in order to fulfil that task are predominant (Benedicto, 2008, p.13). Therefore while transferring the value system to the next generation as an external attribution or aspects of political construction, current debates are held over the adoption of conventional participation channels in which the societal order can only last and reproduce itself as the way it is. However, when youth doesn't fit into such definitions, accept and participate in the traditional channels, and correspond to the expectations of the elder generation, they are tagged as apolitical.

The second approach basically stems from the critical attitude towards the traditional political socialization studies. Through this perspective youth is taken as an active political agent, which is especially derived from the youth and student movements that influence politics. Criticism of traditional approach is different from the previous one, on the grounds that the new generation is politically active and engaged in their own terms with new methods and a discourse alongside. 'Their own terms and methods' refer to the 'new politics', which is regarded under a transformation process, renewing the political sphere and atmosphere. Therefore,

from the researchers' point of view, what is to be said about the new generation has to take the new lines of politics, new means of political participation and new ways of engagement into consideration. This way, political stance of the youth will be understood by scholars without being engulfed in judgments and essentialist-like attributions of old political paradigm.

This approach also regards youth as a political mass that take a stand against the omnipresent engagement and participation mechanisms. Within this context, young people who seem to be interested in politics and have become increasingly engaged in alternative repertoires, agencies and arenas of participation are viewed as being more effective and more relevant to their everyday lives (Norris, 2003; Pattie et al., 2004; Sloam, 2007; Dalton, 2009): from consumer politics to community campaigns, and international networks facilitated by online technology; from the ballot box to the street, internet; from political parties to social movements and issue groups, and social networks (as cited in Sloam, 2010, p.91). Indeed, Sloam (2007) argues that young people have alternative values that cannot be expressed effectively through elections and that these values are manifest in non-electoral forms of participation (see also Torney-Purta and Amadeo, 2003; Ødegaard, 2007; Quintelier, 2008; Laine and Gretschel, 2009 as cited in Shepard and Patrikios, 2013, p.754). However, on the institutional level, youth is pointed out to be still insufficient to fulfil the requirements of the sociopolitical burden laid on them. The disconnection between youngsters and traditional political institutions is indeed pointed out by Sloam as it weakens democratic politics and contributes to the marginalisation of younger citizens from politics, making them more vulnerable to changes in public policy (Sloam, 2010, p.91).

Since youth have no trust in political institutions and are sceptical about the targets, effectiveness and functionality of traditional mechanisms, the system is questioned as a whole. At the same time, while trying to understand the stance of youth, this approach limits the scope of the activities that youth are willing to perform. For example, Norris (2003) claims that youth may mobilize around a specific issue for a short term to accomplish a particular goal. One of the main

arguments is the assumption that current political generation has a special interest in selective issues to which they are not only sensitive and apprehensible but also act responsibly towards. For instance, these issues may vary among notions such as human rights, environment, pluralism, divergence and so on. However, this limitation does not reflect the real relation between politics and youth as it has been about finding place in decision makings without having or being the authority, sharing the power without dominating over the means of power.

Because of the aforementioned division on academic debates and their incompatible inferences on political position of youth, the cleavage between ‘what youth is’ and ‘what youth ought to be’ has deepened. Today, this also raises the question whether the issue is about the youth or the political paradigm. This is because from Aristotle’s time to Shakespeare’s to our own, adults have lamented the deficiencies of the rising generation and deplored their inadequacy for taking on the responsibilities of adulthood (Arnett, 2013, p.5). Therefore, political construction and the list of ‘what youth ought to be’ have been a common tradition and the responses given to this question are determined according to the prerequisites and necessities of the political paradigm. Depending on the first approach, youth and of course society all in all, subject to the system and have no access to power even to put an influence in the previous era. Power and the system are maintained by the executive forces unilaterally that are attached to the traditional politics and ways of operating it. Forerunners of the system are embedded in the old paradigm of politics, or in other words ‘Politics 1.0’. In the meantime, youth has been assimilated and melted in the same pot in accordance with the instrumental values of this tradition.

After the transition to the second approach and when definition of power also altered with the political paradigm, youth became active and engaged citizens within the new conditions. This is also the triggering point for the youth and political socialization studies to get within the debates over the new kind of struggle for power. In the light of paradigm shifts of international relations effects of which also reflected on the national level, definitions of power and exercise of power have

changed the way political socializations studies regard the youth. This is because the tension between realism, idealism, liberalism, and Marxism; and disputes between constructivism and rationalism, positivism and relativism had a huge impact on and attributed different facades to power.

This intense division might show that it has to do with the political paradigm because both approaches are valid at the same time and in operation simultaneously, within different contexts just like the political paradigms in the modern world. In other words, the stance of youth depends on the political paradigm in effect; therefore the conflicting perspectives about youth might be the reflection of coexistence of multiple political paradigms.

Since the discourses of these two abovementioned approaches regarding political socialization of youth have a distinct perspective towards the main element of politics, which is 'power', the polarization over what kind of a transition the paradigm is under becomes a significant subject in the youth studies. As all the political paradigms are different from each other on the ground of power, position of youth should also be taken within the frames of power. Before anything else, this segregation is based on how and by whom the power will be exercised. Basically, there are three kinds of standpoints for the exercise of power: (1) monopoly of the state on power, (2) the diffusion of power among agents and institutions of the society, which still has a tendency to carry the traditional societal ties and relations, and (3) allocation of power within the public itself in a society based on horizontal relations with (or sometimes without) a soft equilibrating authority. All these three standpoints refer to different political paradigms.

Before mentioning this struggle for power nourished by the power of discourse within the conflict of generations, we need to define who is youth and how their relationship with adults is oriented when the power is of concern. As Mycock and Tonge (2011, p. 140) argue:

The utilisation of age as a signifier of a distinctive 'youth citizenship' is complex as there are considerable challenges in defining what we mean by

the term 'youth', how it relates to 'adulthood' and what are the implications in delineating the allocation of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Adulthood is often defined by specified 'ages of consent' based on perceptions of vulnerability, competence and comprehension. Yet such markers of adulthood lack consistency and highlight the importance of age in informing subjective perceptions of juvenilia and maturity. The allocation of rights and responsibilities of adult citizenship are therefore fragmented, lacking coherence and failing to define a precise point of adulthood. Moreover, the terms 'youth' and 'young' are applied in inconsistent and increasingly expansive ways involving a broad range of ages that sometimes even includes people in their mid-thirties. Thomson et al. (2004) note that such ambiguities indicate transitions from youth to adulthood, including the accumulation of citizenship rights and responsibilities, are complex, plural, open-ended and fluid.

In their research, Jones and Perkins (2006, p.91) explain how adults perceive the youth as such:

Studies have reported adults' perceptions of youth as being less than accurate and unaware of positive trends in youth development (Gilliam and Bales, 2001; Guzman et al., 2003). Many believe teens are "different" than they were in the past and that teens have rejected traditional American values. Stereotypes perceived by adults constrain the potential of young people at the community level by hindering their ability to relate to adults, even causing youth to doubt their own competence (Glassner, 1999; Guzman et al., 2003; Kaplan, 1997; Klindera, 2001; Males, 1999; Zeldin and Topitzes, 2002).

The studies show that youth perception of adults (and vice versa) has a tendency to create what is called 'power of discourse' (see. Foucault, 1972; Hall, 1997; Phillips and Hardy, 2002). The current leading paradigm takes politics as a hierarchical network of relations and is lingering on this tendency by making references to reel identity politics over the generation conflict. Allocation of what is valued in society came into existence as the struggle between the young and adult. By these means, in modern society, political socialization of youth has been taken under the hegemony of adults, casting a role for youth and leading them to act in accordance with the needs of the society, or will of politics, as mentioned above. The adult-centric and adult-oriented politics of the old paradigm has fed the power

of discourse and marginalized the youth on this basis. Of course, bashing the young is old tradition (Arnett, 2008, p.5).

Some theorists have focused on the different forms that power takes, as well as the bases or resources that permit the exercise of power (Wartenberg, 1990; Wrong, 1997); some have explored the complex relationship between the quantitative distribution of power and the processes of social consent that legitimize various expressions of power (Hindess, 1996); some have examined the changing ways that power circulates throughout societies, constructing social institutions as well as individual subjectivities, as it imposes order and discipline in historically specific ways (Foucault, 1980); and others have approached the subject of power from other theoretical perspectives (Karlberg, 2005 p.2). When the current political socialization and youth studies are the main concern, definition of ‘the changing ways that power circulates throughout societies’ becomes the key reference point because of the following reasons.

First of all, it can be said that power relations change the position of youth against politics. It is possible since the stance of youth alters when the paradigm, therefore power relations, change. It also has a reflection on academic studies. As their discursive turn coincides with the paradigmatic shift, this argument may explain the existence of diametrically opposed approaches regarding the engagement and interest of youth in politics.

Secondly, expected ways of political participation of youth lie on the balance of power between youth and adults in a way. Because lines of participation are strictly drawn and allowed to act only within the borders which are given by the civic and political rights. Even with the enhanced forms, political rights and freedom contain the hierarchical power relations. Traditionally, in order to hold the power, power-elite shifts often occur among identities, social or economic classes; but in this case it is also among generations. Even though the system is supported by the democratic values, power is being accumulated in a particular group, and has a kind of monopoly over social institutions and social agents from different levels

and stakeholders of society. However, today, youth make sense of relation with politics and power in a different way, which in essence alters from the foundational assumptions and functioning of the traditional system. As for young generations, power is something to be decomposed, interpenetrated among societal forces and refers to horizontal relations, the exercise of which is concerned. Therefore, they do not locate themselves as part of a struggle they have never accepted.

From this perspective forward, youth has been paired with the understanding that they are reject the inherited paradigm which is, in no uncertain terms, a conscious negligence. In recognition of the old paradigm, youth is still regarded as feeding the crisis of democracy and jeopardizing the legitimacy and the roots of the system. Distinguished from the first two approaches, youngsters have not defined themselves as indifferent to the old paradigm as a result of the outputs of the system, or altered their behaviour in consequence of being excluded from the system. Active rejection and being at a standstill against the politics is a preference rather than an inner-driven tendency. However, when the attention is focused on the value system of the political generation, they still protect some of the established ties dating back to the old paradigm's roots which can be thought as archi-traces of democracy. What makes a difference is that they have been in search of a sustainable, functional, overarching democracy based on basic concepts like fundamental rights and freedom as an ideal, in the presence of real social problems. In this sense, young people have internalized democracy in a way that adults cannot even imagine (Beck, 2001, p.158).

Beyond the conflict between what is ideal and what is in operation, there is an implicit intention to find a soft diffraction from the "outdated paradigm", even though youth is not able to name this search or notion of the progresivist paradigm shift. Due to the essence of their search, this transition might look like a revolutionary change, implementations and penetration of this new paradigm can be thought that it will be exercised as a sociopolitical evolution since the youth will discover, bring maturity to and create a new scene for the whole societal patterns and relations. For the time being, what seems to confront this notion is that the

conservatism of states and the resistance against the big leaps due to the power relations and its operational forms.

That is to say, this transilience towards new paradigm has been defined as life politics of self-actualization or living your political ideology. As Beck proposes, there is no more class based on politics, individualisation causes the emergence of the 'own life culture' and 'self-culture', the very cultural and political dynamic of 'one's own life' puts its stamp on society, therefore new imaginaries of morality and responsibility take shape and develop; poverty, marriage, youth and political commitment assume new countenances (Beck, 2001, p.42.). Giddens (1991, p.243) also defines life politics as the politics of self-actualisation in the context of the dialectic of local and global, and the emergence of the internally referential systems of modernity. He also makes a distinction between emancipatory politics, which is the mainstay of "political generation" approach, and life politics which is able to pave way for the transition to the paradigm as offered by the third approach. As Giddens proposes (1991, p.215):

Table 2: Emancipatory Politics versus Life Politics

<u>Emancipatory Politics</u>	<u>Life Politics</u>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The freeing of social life from the fixities of tradition and custom. 2. The reduction or elimination of exploitation, inequality or oppression. Concerned with the divisive distribution of power/resources. 3. Obeys imperatives suggested by the ethics of justice, equality and participation. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political decisions flowing from freedom of choice and generative power (power as transformative capacity). 2. The creation of morally justifiable forms of life that will promote self-actualisation in the context of global interdependence. 3. Develops ethics concerning the issue 'how should we live' in a post-traditional order and against the backdrop of existential question

As the traditional norms and organizational forms alter, life politics appear to be more legitimate in the eyes of the new generation. At this point, it is also possible to say that what is essential to youth is not the dominant ideology which lacks living their own. On the contrary, all the real social problems have a connection with ideologies since the solutions are offered by referring to the ones in

effect. What leads to fundamental deadlocks in the float of society is that searching the solutions on ideological ground. Therefore, the main demand is not proposed over the ideologies or ideological value systems but on the “logos”. A social system has a trivet consisted of logos, codes and practices. It can be proposed that the new generation believes the ideological value sets that cannot be accepted without questioning the logos, because they are rejecting the pre-determined codes and practices of traditional and post traditional paradigm which have lost the consent of youngsters. Youth constitutes a new way for giving new meaning to logos, and reorganize the codes and practice in accordance. In that sense, what differentiates the third approach from the first two is that its focus is not limited to the clusters of codes and practices.

To sum up, carried discussion on youth studies has a lot to do with the current political theory and the paradigm; without analysing this change, the youth issue will not be able to be understood. A possible third perspective can point out where the problem of youth lies, if it is to say a problem. This may be able to detect on which grounds the political system will renew itself and be helpful to figure out the relationship between the two parties, namely youth and politics. Researches have to find a way to this unknown zone. Young people seem transparent between paradigms however, debates are still revolving around the old ones with its old discourse. What is essential here is to understand youth’s perceptions about politics and political realm as a whole, without circumscribing them as political or non-political, passive or active, engaged or disengaged so that the traces can also lead to a change in current literature as the sociopolitical reality evolves.

3.2 Findings of the Study

Before answering the research questions, findings will be presented under four sections; political interest, perception on politics, impact of politics and perception on participations respectively. Findings will be given by the order of the data collection instruments because sequence of the questions have been organized by

taking the analysis and the discussion processes into account. These patterns will be beneficial to present a better perspective and build the understanding, which will be deduced from the gathered information, on a solid ground.

Information held from the participants is given below within the given paradigm debate. Examples are selected with regard to reflect all the aspects of given answers across the sample. Each example submitted with the case number. Participants were assigned a number from 1 to 24. First eight participants (1 to 8) belong to high socioeconomic level, while the second eight participants (9 to 16) to mid socioeconomic level, and last eight participants (17-24) to low socioeconomic level. For each group, the first four consist of female participants and the last four are male participants (i.e. participants between cases 1-4, 9-12, 17-20 are female). Therefore dependent variables can be understood from the numbers given.

3.2.1. Political Interest of Youth: Is It Youth Uninterested in Politics?

In this study, with regard to the interest level of the sample, there are 9 participants who state to be interested in politics, 5 neither interested nor uninterested, and 10 uninterested. This may seem low in the sample, however questions which indicate interest levels prove the self-evaluations wrong. The first two questions on whether participants follow political events and discuss them can be more important to evaluate their stance. Out of 24 participants, 23 have expressed that they follow political incidents from newspapers, Internet, television, social media or books, and 22 persons have stated that they talk and discuss political events with their friends and families. These high ratios indicate that youngsters are not entirely turning their backs to politics.

When we look at the results of engagement to a political party and appreciation of a politician, there are 8 participants who feel engaged in a political party and 6 participants who appreciate a politician. In addition, 14 participants out of the sample have given negative answers for both questions. On the other hand, 4

participants have given affirmative replies for both. The rest 4 participants of the sample claim to feel engaged to a political party but do not appreciate a politician, and two participants reply vice versa.

Table 3. Answers Given to the Questionnaire

	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5	Case 6	Case 7	Case 8
Interest Level	I	U	NINU	NINU	I	I	U	U
Following News	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Discussion	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Political Party	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Politician	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Case 9	Case 10	Case 11	Case 12	Case 13	Case 14	Case 15	Case 16
Interest Level	NINU	U	U	I	I	U	U	NINU
Following News	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Discussion	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Political Party	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Politician	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Case 17	Case 18	Case 19	Case 20	Case 21	Case 22	Case 23	Case 24
Interest Level	I	U	U	I	NINU	I	I	U
Following News	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Discussion	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Political Party	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Politician	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Y: Yes N: No I:Interested U:uninterested NINU: Neither Interested Nor Uninterested								

3.2.2. Political Perception of Youth: Politicians are under the Beds

To begin with, when the sample is asked the first question in this section, “what comes to your mind when you hear the word ‘politics’?”, their answers are grouped under 4 headings: (1) “of, for or relating to citizens”, (2) “exercise of power over hierarchical relations”, (3) “maintenance of social and public order” or “governance”, (4) “conflict or conflict resolution”. “Exercise of power over hierarchical relations”, “conflict or conflict resolution” and “maintenance of social and public order” are mostly related to the traditional paradigm and conventional definition of politics. “Exercise of power over hierarchical relations”, “conflict or conflict resolution” directly refers to the traditional paradigm and its rigid boundaries. “Maintenance of order and governance” takes its root from the first approach, but since it leaves doors open for transitions in case of social developments, it can be included in the second approach.

Table 4. What comes to your mind when you hear the word politics?

Case 4: *Politics is not for the ones who hold the power; in this way we also include opposition. Although it doesn't seem possible for now, governance of the state should depend on the exchange of ideas. Somebody will improve the views of others, and another one points out the wrong sides. Kind of a brainstorming. Politics is a phenomenon to get better. Politics should be done by the ones who have such mentality and qualifications.*

Case 6: *Sometimes I shudder to think. It would be better if politics doesn't exist. I would be happy if no one dealt with politics or nobody governed the people. But if I want to I can participate, I would like to uplift the country. I define politics as governing the people and decision-making. Whoever does politics better and has the most impact on people, they govern. There is no such thing in politics as right or wrong. System tends to transform according to the requests of the majority.*

Case 9: *It doesn't have a negative meaning but I think today it has changed. It used to be fair. But first things come to my mind are governance, order, political parties and elections.*

However, a definition like “of, for or relating to citizens” should be taken as an ancient notion, across three approaches, that regains its strength and creates a full acceptance in society. Therefore a more contributive and interactive relation is expected from politics across the sample as one third of them have answered within this heading. This can be seen in the answers of other headings for example a participant (case4) who has referred to the exercise of power over hierarchical relations, a participant (case6) who has referred to governance and a participant who has referred to the conflict and conflict resolution imply the notions of the third paradigm and give clues about why they reject the rest.

The question “what comes to your mind when you hear the word ‘politician’?” also presents a similar picture. There are 3 code groups, (1) an occupation or an institutional, governmental position, (2) a person act in favour of the interest of himself, individuals, society or the state—whose interest will be the priority depends therefore they are defined as manipulative persons, (3) parties of political conflicts. Manipulative persons and parties of political conflicts are the direct reflections of conventional relations of politics. Mostly manipulative person definition is used as a reference point among the sample. According to the socioeconomic division, those who are in high socioeconomic level refer to politicians as manipulative person, those who are in middle socioeconomic level refer to occupation or an institutional, governmental position, and those who are in low socioeconomic level refer to parties of political conflicts.

To propose an in depth understanding, this question was supported by the adjective checklist to reveal what kind of characteristics attributed to politicians. When the adjective checklist is taken into consideration, negative adjectives are the mostly selected ones by the participants who are also identified with the politicians of traditional politics. Choosing adjectives like opportunist, dictator, over-bearing, greedy, selfish, liar and aggressive reveals that their perceptions on politicians are overwhelmingly deprecating. Some of the adjectives selected are positive, however the positive ones are preferred since the politicians require such qualities while

performing ‘the nature’ of being a politician when the respondents are questioned in depth. Some of these adjectives are smart, hardworking, and cautious.

This may be the first recall of the participants that reflects the most active or dominant representations of politicians. As a consequence of that, some of the participants have marked both positive and negative adjectives and antonyms at the same time. A large proportion of the sample have expressed that attributed qualities may vary from politician to politician when they compare, meditate upon the subject and put aside their presupposition. Some examples presented below indicate why they choose positive adjectives, as well.

Table 5. Reasons why participants have chosen positive adjectives

<i>Case 10: They are smart because games they are playing are smart. And they are hardworking because they do their best to actualize what they put in their mind. They need to work for progress. They do whatever it takes.</i>

<i>Case 21: They are prejudiced and they act so. They immediately criticize. However, if they are all together, they must be respecting each other, right?</i>
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The following questions regarding whether politicians keep their promises, make mistakes, provide more in depth information about how adolescents perceive politicians as well as politics. Out of the sample of 24, 20 participants have expressed that politicians do not keep their promises. 11 participants directly claim that politicians do make mistakes, and 13 of them say that anyone can make mistakes as a matter of course. As noted above, after stating their attributions and presuppositions, analysing the situation may cause such inference.

Table 6. What do you think about whether politicians keep their promises or not?

Case 2: *If the developing conditions are suitable, they keep. Things change every day. Therefore all views can change. Whether they keep their promises or not depends on the conditions. In politics there is no such virtue as keeping a promise.*

Case 3: *No they don't. I think they give more promises than they can actualize to win people round. When they are elected, their promises do not fit their benefits anymore, and since the time has passed they become too lazy to keep their words. They say we will do stuff but they only make %80 of what they promise. It is valid for almost all parties. I can't say they are doing nothing but they don't actualize %100 of what they say.*

Case 15: *That depends on the person. But keeping them is important because they **earn** public's trust. If they don't keep them people will lose their trust. No one will cooperate with them anymore.*

Table 7. What do you think about whether politicians make mistakes or not?

Case 4: *Of course they do. Both the government and the opposition. Excessiveness of the mistakes designates the qualifications of the politicians and the political party or the leader of the party. To have the order mistakes should be kept on minimum level.*

Case 6: *Before anything else they make mistakes. Their speeches are always in contradiction. They also used them to manipulate the press. They make mistakes while they talk, act, and along the path they choose. But they don't think ahead.*

Case 24: *They are human, they do. But as much as everybody? They make more than anybody else!*

Paying attention to the opinions of whom they represent, and changing after the elections are also compatible with previous statements of participants. When it comes to paying attention to the opinions of electorates, 20 participants have given negative responses, 22 participants claim that politicians change after they win the elections. All these opinions also correspond to the attributions they have chosen in the adjective check list. Some of the responses are presented below to understand how politics and politicians are, and why they are criticised because of the way they are.

Table 8. What do you think about whether politicians take the opinions of whom they represent into consideration?

<p>Case 6: <i>I don't think they consider. What is important is their own thoughts. Views of electorates are something they can use and bend. They seem like they are of one mind, but then, they go their own way. Wordplays and games... They represent their own thoughts by pretending to represent the electorates. They pull people towards themselves and revise their thoughts.</i></p>
<p>Case 8: <i>They don't take much. At least, education level is so low in Turkey, therefore they are mostly concerned about interests, not thoughts. So they don't often. They are unaware of everything.</i></p>
<p>Case 17: <i>I don't think they care. Because they are not in touch with public. You know what people do when they see politicians. Everybody buttons their jackets, politicians are being hosted very well. Seemingly, politicians are the people who show up near the elections and no one ever sees them again. I don't think they listen to people, because if they did, people would say 'this guy has listened to us and served well'. People vote for them because they have a kinship, or common interest, or just maybe because he is member of the party that they support. But I don't think they listen and serve for the people.</i></p>
<p>Case 23: <i>They do. Because of the pressure around them. But only the people who vote for them. I don't think they care about other people.</i></p>

Table 9. Do you think politicians change before and after the elections?

Case 4: *The only change is in their promises and in the increasing meetings. But the image on the minds of people won't change. People see who they are from the times they are on the opposition or when they hold the power. I don't even think the way the leaders speak changes.*

Case 12: *Of course they change. If they are holding the power, possibility of not holding it changes them again. The given promises, aides before the elections, superficial amendments leading bad conditions... The more they give promises, the more they get antipathetic. At least to me. Because I know they won't fulfil their promises afterwards.*

Case 17: *Right after the elections, there is no such big change. Winners are more like "don't feel regretful". They are far away from public and have no connection with people. They only show up in the occasions of municipality and also when the elections are close, otherwise no one ever sees politicians.*

The quality of public services is also criticized by the participants. All of them regard the ongoing services negatively, and claim that they don't fit with the needs of people. The question regarding the quality of public services, 11 of the sample have directly replied that public services are insufficient and rest of the sample have claimed that the quality of public services depend on circumstances, for example elections, and to which group these services will be provided in a negative sense.

Table 10. How do you think is the qualifications of public services provided by the politicians?

Case 1: Before the election they serve well. They pave the ways, or do things like "the doors of Ankara", they serve to gild the pill, and also to give some stuff. Neither reasonable nor esthetical. They look like they are serving but after the elections they leave it all out.

Case 6: Mayors look like politicians but they give public services. But the other politicians do politics according to their personal interests. Who supports them becomes rich and politicians are close to rich people. They don't serve much to the people who vote for them.

Case 12: Actually, in Turkey quality of public services are bad. We are not developed, but not an underdeveloped country either. Politicians reduce some stuff in their own preference. They are not generous towards other people. I believe it is not valid for every politician but they don't do their best. If you want to do something, you can find a way. Nothing is impossible.

The question of why people become politicians also supports that the perception of adolescents are not built on traditional and post traditional politics. However, their statements, opinions and views imply that they are in doubt about the present conditions. The ongoing forms are not favourable for them, and that is why they are also questioning the speeches and actions of the politicians and the way politics is carried out. Participants have responded to this question under four headings; it is stated that people become politicians (1) to represent the interests of public and individuals, (2) to represent and expand his or her ideology, (3) thinking that they have the required qualities to become a leader and motivation to govern (4) for their own interests and benefit.

Table 11. Why do you think people become politicians?

<p><i>Case 3: Sometimes when I listen to somebody, I have this feeling too. I say "It cannot be like that, it would be better this way." I think that "the order of the state would be better off this way." Maybe a person who has such thoughts improve his ideas by studying politics, might want to contribute to the state. Or maybe they become politicians because they can make things better with the thoughts in their minds. It should be deep down in you.</i></p>
<p><i>Case 11: Cause they are incontinent. They are like 'Everything should be mine, I should rule everybody.'</i></p>
<p><i>Case 12: Actually it is a well-known thing. Their financial status is okay. They have lots of opportunities. If you ask someone in the street 'What would you like to be?' they will answer doctor or engineer, but there will be a lot of people who would say a deputy or politician as well. Because they have a great deal of opportunities. But whether you deserve it or not that's a different case.</i></p>
<p><i>Case 21: People who like helping people might want to become a politician. Is it because of money, power or dignity? There also other occupations to earn money. But becoming a politician requires something bigger.</i></p>

The normative questions on how politics and politicians should be, reveal the expectations of participants clearly, and show on which approach their opinions depend and from which perspective they look at political realm. Expectations from politicians, therefore politics, are also in line with the notions of the third paradigm. In general, participants define these notions as being just and even, trustworthy, peaceful, transparent, accountable, respectful to human rights and freedom, responsive to social demands, pluralist and tolerant, critical and progressive; prioritizing the interests and the good of individuals and society, integrating with public; making coherent policies and offering real solutions to real life problems; attaching importance to social services and welfare state; putting emphasis on individualism in the sense that life politics of self-actualization.

Table 12. In your opinion what should politics be like?

Case 4: Before anything else politics should be communitarian. It should give response to the demands of the society. Now, political parties are acting without depending on the views of the people. And this makes us move away from ideal politics. I don't know there is such a thing as ideal politics, it has no standard but for a developed, progresivist and communitarian politics, we need people who give importance to public services, improving the life standards of public. Not rentier but self-sacrificing.

Case 8: I have atypical thoughts. I want to rule the world since I was 5. I think a monarch who can take reasonable decisions would be better than a so-called democracy in which the people are being fooled and the ruler does what he wants. If a right-minded person were to take the lead and control, for example he would have known in what to invest or not. I think if he were to focus on the interest of the majority rather than his personal interests, it would be much better than today's democracy.

Case 10: It should be just. The elected ones shouldn't care much about the elections. He shouldn't see himself as the president of the whole country. But he should be even to people whether they vote for him or not. He should defend the rights of who didn't vote for him.

Table 13. In your opinion what should politicians be like?

<p>Case 2: <i>They should be just and seek the rights of people. While seeking for rights they should be merciful. They shouldn't pull the rug out from under other people and they should determine their means according to this.</i></p>
<p>Case 3: <i>Leadership qualification is a must. They should be charismatic but I don't mean being handsome. They should affect people, drag the masses after them. They shouldn't lie. They should be open-minded and never ever be retrogressive.</i></p>
<p>Case 5: <i>They should have some qualifications. Higher education is very important because it is stimulating. They should be smart as well. Deputies who are smart come through anyway. Some of them lack critical thoughts and participation therefore they are in the assembly just because they have a vote potential. However a politician should be taken regardless of their name, and popularity; stemming from being a footballer, artist, or having a father who is an old politician. There is no need for that. Politicians are here for the people. They should be elected according to their qualities rather than their backgrounds. Who really deserves to be a politician should be so.</i></p>
<p>Case 7: <i>They should be trustworthy, straight head, insistent, tenacious, and decisive. When he is sure of his decision, he should stand by it. However if he makes mistake, he has to reverse his decision, without feeling ashamed he has to take another one. If he has to resign, he should. If he needs to apologize, he should. At the times, he may need to admit that 'it could have been done in a better way'. They have to be honest, charismatic and appealing to people.</i></p>

3.2.3. Impact of Politics: For Me? No Thanks!

Since politics is one of the fundamental institutions in the modern society, impact of politics on every individual and citizen living within societal bounds is a definite and natural outcome. Based upon the findings of this section, even though the youth is not capable of expressing and evaluating the impact of political decisions and how politics affect their lives in full, when it comes to the education policies, especially higher education entrance examinations, it can be easily detected that they are quite aware of how strong individual-politics relation is.

When participants are asked what kind of an impact politics and political decisions have on them and their family, participants limit their opinions to the negative effects of politics. From all the responses, three aspects of politics become prominent on individuals' lives. First of all, rather than the content of the politics, participants express that the ways politics is done and operated are problematical. They are not inclined to reject politics as a social institution but they do reject traditional power relations, or the relationship based on mutual or personal interests and insolvable conflicts. Secondly, regulations on specific issues and institutions are thought to have an impact on individual's life however what is important here is the personal relevance to this issue or institution. Thirdly, psychological effects of politics have been put forward but mostly negative and depressive outcomes are mentioned. In other words, the psychological impact of politics is not healing the wounds caused by social maladies. This is also true when public services are remembered as participants argue they have no connection with the real needs of the public or politics does not improve their life standards and touch their lives.

The data as to what kind of an impact politics has on participants' lives are gathered under the headings of why they are uncomfortable with the ways of which politics is done and operated; policies related to which issues and social institutions influence the participants' lives; and what kind of a physiological impact politics has on sample.

The ways politics is done and operated:

1. Operation, in accordance with the patronage relations, both on national and international levels,
2. Remaining disadvantageous groups; especially in front of the notions like public services, rights, freedoms, justice, equality,
3. Deepening of socioeconomic inequalities,
4. Inability to make a distinction between the public and private sphere, overregulation of a private sphere (i.e., dictate of politics on how to live),

5. Representation of majority and tyranny of dominant ideology (ie. national will discourses),

6. Restriction of rights and freedom; right to protest, self-expressions or communication (i.e. ban of social media platforms),

7. Increase in the polarization of society (loss of social debate ground, political profiling)

8. Over politicization of social issues,

9. Inconsistent policies (e.g. economy vs. environment; urban transformation vs. disorientation of social harmony)

Issues and social institutions

1. Education: regulations regarding the education system, transition exams to secondary and higher education and closure of private teaching institutions

2. Regulations regarding occupational groups, deterioration of living and working standards

3. Economic regulations and its social reflections

Psychological Impact

1. Alienation policies, marginalizing over identity politics (i.e. labelling social groups as terrorist, atheist, looter, marginal, anarchic)

2. Mourning because of social incidents

3. Fear from security forces and law enforcement officers (i.e. citizen deaths because of the excessive use of power by the security forces and law enforcement officers)

4. Insecurity (e.g. loss of equality before the law, inconclusive trials)

To show how these aspects reflect on their statements are presented below;

Table 14. Reasons why participants are uncomfortable with the ways of which politics is done and operated.

Case 4: *For whose interest the party serves designates the impact. I told it shouldn't be self-seeker previously but we are far away from it. The levels of self-seeking changes from party to party but all of them have this. The impact also depends on for which coterie the political party serves and politics has a positive impact on them. But politics has the most negative impact on those who are over against this coterie. It can be on the ground of ideological, racial, religious differences and beliefs. There can be a situation like the government that has the similar interests with a coterie steal from others to satisfy their needs. This is actually a kind of Robin Hood in reverse.*

Case 12: *The current politics has a tendency to pursue self-satisfaction. Politicians have overtones of dictatorship to do what they want. They are like 'You are my enemy and you cannot do these, and you cannot change my opinions'. I think this changes the society a lot because they disintegrate people. They are saying 'You are Kurd, you are this, and you are that, you are from this political view'. This has a huge impact on society. They put something, segregate people and then they sit and watch the society. But we are the ones living with this. Without knowing what's behind the incidents, we begin to judge each another. This leads to a chaos in the society, so we encounter inhumane incidents. This affects the society hence the state. And instead of developing, we are regressing.*

Case 23: *Politics may have an impact like manipulating. For example if a party won the elections, the society would go in their direction. All of the others would have to live the way that party wants.*

Table 15. Responses regarding policies related to which issues and social institutions influence the participants' lives

Case 6: My dad is in Bar Association. Recently, President of Union Of Turkish Bar Association's and president had a conversation. In general terms, there is an occupational impact and my dad is affected too. My dad's friends are waiting (protesting) before the constitutional court. He is like "Where are we going?"

Case 7: Politics doesn't have an impact on my life always. But if there would be a great deal, a war for instance, which is also a political decision, it would affect me. Economic decisions have a huge impact on daily life. For example price of bread etc. In addition, decisions related to rights for example... If there would be a curfew, it would have really affected my life. But let's say if fishermen are told not to hunt this month it wouldn't affect my life because I don't like eating fish. But it may affect the ones who like eating fish because fish prices would rise. If it has relevance with my life, directly or indirectly, politics would have an impact on my life. Subjects related to my life are economy, governing affairs and... There's nothing more. I am a simple man keeping to myself.

Case 16: It sure has an impact, unavoidably. In the end we are living in the same country. I'm doing my best not to be affected. In my social life, I have friends who hold different opinions. I'm working hard to avoid it in school. However, it has an impact on the quality of my life. We cannot know how the successors will behave and how they will serve for us. Sometimes, we were afraid to go out because of police intervention because they took away the right to protest. I'm a student going to a training centre but I was treated like a terrorist. I should be safe on the streets. In my social network politics is the only discussion, because agenda is full of politics. What affects me directly is that, for example, LYS questions won't be announced. Or school attendance issues are also obtrusive. It also has been said that people who share the exam questions will be sued. These are very annoying.

Table 16. What kind of a psychological impact does politics have?

<p>Case1: <i>I wanted to participate in Gezi Park protests. My family also supported it but they didn't let me go as they were hurting people. In my extended family, between my mom and my aunt, there is a real clash of ideas. My grandfather was from "####" party, because of that he was exiled many times. My uncle judges and accuses me and my mother of not being conservative, he says I'm a sinner. Therefore they are always arguing over these things. When we go to my aunt's, mom acts differently and hides her personality.</i></p> <p><i>In addition, if Berkin Elvan were my friend, it would really upset me. My friends are trying to make their voice heard on issues like training centres or LYS. It would really affect me if my exam score were recalculated because you make great efforts and then it is being cancelled.</i></p>
<p>Case 3: <i>I lose my nerves when I hear the news. And besides there are many people who ignore these. I say to myself "these are all because of them" and then 'It is useless to eat my heart out for it.' Maybe I'm not well aware of what kind of an impact it has, but in the future it will surely affect me. Political decisions on social issues concern me. And education is a great factor in my life. I really get angry.</i></p>
<p>Case 15: <i>It has an impact of course for example, ban on YouTube. A way to enter was found and we did. But it is like there is no rigid prohibition. This is what I believe at least. However, there are people who died in social incidents. This is a very bad thing. It affects me very bad emotionally. For example mine disaster or death of Berkin Elvan, these are very heart-breaking incidents. After all he was our peer and miners were at the same age with our fathers.</i></p>
<p>Case 20: <i>I believe it has a bad impact on society. They are trying to make political profiling. People are being segregated because of their opinions. That's why we always see social events and fights. People in the society are prejudiced against one another. Since political issues are discussed in the agenda, it is brought up in daily conversations. But when a collision occurs, a negative atmosphere comes up.</i></p>

After these critical comments, when asked what kind of an impact they would like politics to make, answers are more optimistic and close to the third approach to political paradigm. These answers can be gathered under umbrella terms as; politics should have a positive impact on individuals'/citizens' life, cause a progress in

social, economic and educational, and scientific issue; enhance the welfare of the society, adopt balancing role against the socioeconomic inequalities, open to the influences of public and reflecting their demands into political arena, foster and expand the scope of and human rights and freedom; provide an equal base for citizens in the pursuit of happiness consolidate of justice, equality among citizens; be inclusive and integrating; and enhance the social services

3.2.4. Political Participation: We Can Do It! But Sometimes...

Perceptions on political participation points to a picture crossing all three approaches to political paradigm since; it is defined as (1) self-expression, (2) participating at the institutional level, (3) using the conventional mechanisms, and (4) as an illusion. Second, third and fourth categories are reflecting the conventional participatory behaviour and mechanisms, however self-expression refers to the collective government of the society and one of the most important aspects of the third paradigm. When the participants are asked whether political participation is important, 18 participants responded positively. What does participation means, why participation is important and what politics provides individuals and society are discussed. First of all, according to the sample, participation is exercise of political rights and means fulfilling the social obligations such as voting; it is also beneficial for the construction of social contract, balancing the social forces by constituting public opinion and pressure groups; moulding public opinion; increasing the visibility of public demands. In addition, participation contributes to social harmony; leads the social transformation, raises the quality of public services and policies; and via participatory mechanisms public opinion and demands are being taken into account, different perspectives from various worldviews are being presented.

Table 17. Do you think political participation is important?

<p>Case 7: <i>If you want to defend your opinions or if you want to go that way, you can contribute to the development of your own country and to enhance the welfare of the people around you. When I say participation I mean, for example if I write a petition to say that I disapprove of something, I raise awareness about it. Even I'm not governing the state, when I declare my thought as a part of the public, it means I'm participating. This is a beneficial and effective method.</i></p>
<p>Case 14: <i>It is important because as you criticise the people who govern you, you can have a say rather than being abided by them.</i></p>
<p>Case 20: <i>I don't participate because of my age but I think people should say what they think and participate to make an impact on political decisions. If people don't participate everything will be as the way deputies want it to be.</i></p>
<p>Case 22: <i>If it were my choice, I wouldn't be participating. But everyone has to vote. I don't want to participate and get involved in this stuff. For me it's not, but it may be important for other people; depends on the person.</i></p>
<p>Case 8: <i>Politics is not something I like. But actually participation is important. But participation of those who reach to a level is more important than participation of the rest.</i></p>

In addition, there is also criticism about confining political participation to voting. On the other edge constant protesting is also thought to have lost its impact on politics. These two comments are significant in the sense that the first one implies the ground loss of traditional politics and the second one points out the transformed versions of conventional participation mechanisms are still incapable of fulfilling the above listed functions.

When participants are asked about participatory behaviours, conventional forms of participation were selected. Being a member in a political party, writing to newspapers, magazines in order to express yourself, expressing yourself in public meetings are the ones participants referred the most.

Table 18. Types of Participation List

<i>Types of Participation</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>P</i>
Being a member in a political party	18	0
Being a member of youth branches	13	2
Being a member of a group or an organization	12	2
Writing to politicians in order to express yourself	15	3
Writing to politicians in order to complain	9	1
Writing to newspapers& magazines in order to express yourself	18	4
Writing to newspapers& magazines in order to complain	9	2
Expressing yourself in public meetings	18	4
Complaining in public meetings	13	3
Raising fund or donating	6	2
Attending political shows	10	0
Sending political email/ joining mail groups	8	3
Taking part in social network sites (Blog/Facebook/Twitter)	8	10
Writing a petition	9	2
Boycotting	7	2
Demonstrating	5	4
Wearing political arm or badge	9	3
Painting walls/Drawing graffiti	2	1
Occupying streets	1	1
Occupying buildings	1	0
G:General P:Personal		

While participation to politics is found important, encouraging the people is not favourable to the sample since 15 of the participants have responded negatively. Youngsters find participation favourable as participation is the exercise of the freedom of thought and freedom of expression, advances pluralism, supports the pressure groups reflecting their own worldview, makes the society a better place, contributes to harmonization and social agreement. Those who find it unfavourable referred that encouraging people can deepen the collisions. In addition, improper political conditions, fear and insecurity also prevent them to encourage people. As it is difficult pursuit in modern life to spare time, because they think that opinions of others do not have any relevance to their life or political life of the society, opinions of people are not determinative in political life and people in their surroundings do not have the required qualifications made them reluctant to encourage people to participate.

Table 19. Would you encourage the people around you to participate in politics?

<i>Case 1: I would. They need to make their voice heard. We need to clarify ourselves and transform the politics But nothing ever changes in people.</i>
<i>Case 2: Current political circumstances make me not to.</i>
<i>Case 8: I wouldn't. It is up to you. I don't think it is effective. As I am not content with current decisions and the conditions of the system, I don't even care.</i>
<i>Case 16: I would leave it to them. I can't force them. But I wouldn't suggest either. Cause I already don't like talking about politics that much and I'm not a person to give advice. But I can inform them, like 'this is this and this is that'. Interpreting these things and participating in the end are up to them.</i>
<i>Case 21: I would. This way everybody will say his or her opinions and so we may become a reconciliatory society.</i>

When the question of whether participation makes a difference is asked, 14 of the participants have replied positively. However the rest of the sample have implied that what makes them stay away from the participation mechanism are being desperate about change, lacking the means to lead the social transformation and personal consequences of participation. In addition to personal reasons, social circumstances are put forward regarding why participation doesn't make any difference in society. In which way political participation puts an impact are, changing the opinion of government, making authorities question their decisions, having authorities look from different perspectives, shaping the policies in progress, contributing to the amelioration and revision of public policies and leading authorities to act in accordance with public opinion.

Table 20. Do you think political participation makes a difference in your life, family or society?

Case 1: *It does. It can make politicians change their minds and understand different point of views.*

Case 6: *I don't think it is useful. I don't think there is a difference after the protests (Gezi Park protests) or the last resignations (17 December events). Everyone forgets about it after a couple of months and the government doesn't have a care in the world. You get the harm as long as you participate. Depending on the rest, government keeps on going like nothing has happened. I think political participation means nothing.*

Case 12: *Honestly, I hope that it will, but I think it has nothing to provide for us. Nothing has ever changed despite the things I've done.*

Case 22: *It doesn't make much difference. When people protest in the streets nobody ever understands what troubles them and protestors can't reflect it too.*

Case 24: *It makes a difference because what you say is being heard, one way or another. When other people hear these, they revise their thoughts.*

On the other hand, those who have replied negatively think that participation does not make a difference due to following reasons; low levels of political efficacy in Turkey, poor social memory in the face of social events, no change after the social events that once had a huge impact on national agenda; and the given examples are Gezi Movement, death of youngsters by law enforcement officers, 17 December operations etc.

The responses given to the question regarding the differences between those who participate and who do not, supports the responds given to the question of whether participation makes a difference. In the first group, respondents have attributed some personal characteristics to those who do not participate and their tendencies are said to be aroused from, for example, being self-enclosed, lacking self-expression skills, low self-esteem to make an impact on politics and having a passive personality. In the second group, participants have argued that those who do not establish a bond with an ideology, a worldview or does not have a political stance, or a group, an initiative, a political party to reflect his or her opinions would prefer not to participate in politics. In the third group, participants have responded that there are no clear differences between those who participate and who do not, and it is said that the only difference may stem from lacking tendency to participate.

Table 21. Do you think there is a difference between those who participate in politics and those who do not?

Case 1: *Those who don't participate are afraid to do. Although little I'm showing my reaction and my parents support me. But if a person has an opinion, he has to show and support it. Society needs collaboration. Now the system is more like a dictatorship. People don't pull themselves together anymore after seeing the protests and meetings. Therefore we need to react more.*

Case 5: *In my opinion, a difference occurs if only you've got a chair. But on the basis of public, the only difference is those who participate, who spend more time in party buildings, hang banners before the elections and distribute fliers. This is not effective because they have no authority. Authority makes the difference.*

Case 7: *There are people who talk about politics and who don't. Sometimes people just want to blow smoke. There are also people who participate, but as I say, I have nothing to do with politics. I don't see any difference between others and me. It's all the same.*

Case 10: *There is. They differ from each other on the grounds of education level, behaviour, manner and appearance. I think they have thought they believe in something and they participate to act in accordance with their thought and raise awareness in the public.*

When it comes to voting, each participant is eager to vote with one exception, those who express that he will vote unwillingly since there is no party or politician that represents his opinions. Following reasons are given when they are asked why voting is important and they are willing to vote. Firstly, almost all of the participants regard voting as a civic duty and responsibility. It is believed that as the society becomes more conscious about this duty and other civic responsibilities, voting turnouts will be on the rise. Secondly, voting is the direct participation mechanism, impact of which can be seen immediately.

Thirdly, respondents argued that since the elections represent the will of every individual, voting means reaching a consensus. In their words, voting is the only mean to elect the authorities who will represent the public and high turnouts will

justify the outcomes, therefore everyone has to be involved to say that the public opinion is definite. Some of the participants also claimed that even a party or a politician cannot reach at %50 levels of turnout, it is important for the elected ones as the results show that there are people who do not vote for them. From this point forward, participants have expressed their tendency to vote even if they would not find a party or politician to represent them in order to vote against the ones that they do not want to see elected. Participants also mentioned about the electoral frauds or vote riggings.

Table 22. Are you eager to vote? Do you think it is important?

Case 3: *I do and it is important absolutely. It makes me feel that I'm an individual. I think it is a duty. If we are living in this country, nobody can live ignoring this. Everyone has to state his or her opinions. Whoever you are and whatever your opinions are, you should vote.*

Case 9: *It is important but since the votes are being counted fraudulently I don't think my vote matters. But voting is an indicator of democracy. It makes people feel that their thoughts are important but we can't feel it right now. That's the biggest shortcoming.*

Case 14: *Yes but if it is useful. The press exaggerates and manipulates, saying that 'this much vote had lost'. But if it is trustworthy and counted properly... what is important for me is the securing justice. Voting makes me have a say. It means conveying your thoughts to the opposite sides. But if you don't vote it is like you have no place in the society or like you don't have any thoughts.*

Case 22: *We will vote under obligation. But if I don't have to... Or if there were someone I really appreciated, I could vote willingly. Voting is important because we determine who will rule the country and the municipality.*

Since politics and governance can be experienced at various levels in daily life, children are asked about the relation between classroom management and politics to examine if they can make a connection. 17 participants from the sample have been able to interrelate and built their arguments on the given aspects; class is the

representation of society in a smaller scale, class and society share a similar social structure, class presidency is an act of governance, finding solutions and taking decisions, class presidency also symbolizes the democracy since the class presidents are elected by the classmates, in the exercise of the duties they have to take the demands and reactions of the classmates into account, and has to be accountable to his or her classmates, there are hierarchical relations at school from principle to class president, classes have rules and order like society does, class president punishes unacceptable behaviours (by writing names on board or complaining to the teachers)

Participants in the sample have also related this experience with social participation, and suggested that being a class president may develop a motivation to participate in politics in the future and serve to find their interests in politics. However, participants have drawn attention to the dissimilar sides of class management and political governance. For example, school is said to be a freer place to exercise self-expression and open to different ideas than the society. Those who have found no relation between class management and governance argued that class presidents don't have power and authority as politicians. When the participants are asked whether they have ever been a class president, 16 participants have replied positively. 6 participants have established a relation between class management and governance however they have never taken a role in the class as president, which is important to think about since their unwillingness is a conscious choice. The following question revealed that participants have never taken a role neither in school presidency with one exception who has just been nominated, nor in the assembly of children. What is noteworthy is that, just limited with the scope of the questions and representation capacity of the sample, children are losing their motivation to participate in larger groups.

As one of the most well-known occasions, participants are asked what they think about the children who are sitting on the Prime Minister's seat on 23 April. This question also has a potential to give clues about participants' perception on politics. Out of the sample, there are 14 participants who consider this occasion

favourable, and 2 participants who find it unfavourable and the rest of the sample claim that these children are being manipulated and their speeches are predetermined by authorities or their families. Those who approve this customary occasion have expressed that it shows children can govern the country better, it gives an opportunity to experience political participation, the new generation will take over the country from upper generation, children are also a part of the society, every individual has a saying in the governance and remind politicians to take the courage and imagination of children into political arena.

Participants claiming children in these occasions are manipulated, have argued that what those children are saying has no importance for the authorities, they are regarded as a showpiece, and have no impact in political arena. These participants can be evaluated as cynic in these terms. However, some of them have claimed that children should have a right to vote, which implies that they are not rejecting the system by avoiding from participation channels.

Table 23. What do you think about the occasions in which the children sit on the prime minister's seat on 23 April ceremonies?

<p>Case 6: <i>I have found it silly all through my life. They could have handed out books to children instead. They can provide a platform in which children can speak without a dozen of guards and deputies. Maybe an occasion that they can really talk. It is so artificial to me.</i></p>
<p>Case 3: <i>It is a pleasant occasion. Let them go on sit there. It is okay. I think it shows that one of those kids may have the chance to sit there someday. Someone will sit there, it symbolizes that the future is in our hands. The future is in the hands of the youth and children.</i></p>
<p>Case 15: <i>It feels good. Someone at our age or younger than us replaces him and his/her opinions are being asked. As we grow old, our opinions change. We are more imaginative when we are young and it diminishes in time and we start seeing things clearly. I think it can make politicians come to their senses and be more creative.</i></p>
<p>Case 16: <i>It is very funny. On a second thought, it seems children can govern the country better than them. It's ironic.</i></p>
<p>Case 24: <i>It makes no sense to me. It's a one-day formality. Even if a person sits there and cannot express his/her thoughts, then the chair means nothing. At most, the child enjoys it. But I wouldn't have sit there, I don't want such a thing. Because I can express my thoughts anywhere I want.</i></p>

3.3 Discussion of the Findings

In this section findings under these four heading will be discussed and from which perspective these findings should be read will be presented. In addition, status of politics and youth in Turkey will be evaluated to understand these relations within the third approach.

When we focus on the interest levels of the participants, there is a clear gap between being interested in politics and defining oneself interested in politics. While youngsters don't define themselves as interested directly, most of the

respondents do the requirements of being interested in politics. Following political events and discussing them are the basic behaviours, which are to be expected from a person who defines himself or herself as interested in politics. In this situation, the most fundamental question is “why they do not define themselves as interested”. There may be three possible answers for that. First of all, even though they accept that politics is an embedded or ascribed subject in the lives of all individuals, they are cognizant of political events and agenda, but might have no special interest towards politics to define themselves so. Secondly, the discourse of politics, which has a tendency to keep youth away from politics, may lead them to take a position against politics from which they feel excluded. Thirdly, they might be keeping their distance from politics since they have no sense of belonging to traditional politics and institutions. These three answers might be true at the same time depending on from which paradigmatic perspective the individuals look at politics intrinsically. However, engagement with politics and politicians might give clues about the right answer, if there is one. Appreciating a politician and feeling engaged to a political party are very low proportionally. When the indicators of interest levels and the engagement are compared in this sense, the second and third answers given to the question ‘why youth do not define themselves as interested’ become more likely. However, before saying “youth is interested or uninterested in politics”, we have to consider two aspects.

First of all, one have to keep in mind that there is no essential characteristic of youth whose political interest or engagement levels evolve bodily in time and we are not mentioning a homogeneous group. Beyond being interested or uninterested, youth issue can only be understood by the needs of the zeitgeist. Their political stance and their interests are the reflections of the political paradigm. Examples from Turkish history can make it clear that youth has had a significant impact on politics and they acted in accordance with the necessities of the paradigm in effect in that era. For example, within the Ottoman Empire period, Young Turks had a vital effect on the transformation of the society and subsequent shift to constitutional monarchy. Young Turks and their political reform movement can

represent the global social turmoil and changing political systems while similar movements happened around the world to limit the absolute power of the state authorities, mostly concentrated on the protection of freedom by laws. Youth of 60's and 80's, beyond being interested in politics, dominated the political agenda and took the turn of political events. Youth movements of 60's and 80's were a part of global conflict over the dominant ideologies. Expanding rights and freedoms, and assuming the power over the ideological hegemony were the focal point of this era and youth was defined politically active within this frame.

This has been reflected on the youth studies as well. Most of the researches overleaped the significance of the paradigm and examined young generations in detail just to reveal whether they fulfil the needs of the system and fit to the "youth template". For instance, Yaman (2013) evaluated the youth studies carried between 1923 and 2012 in Turkey, through his study we can see how the paradigm and the focuses of the youth studies met under the time-based stereotypes. He emphasizes that youth studies can be gathered under three periods. The first period is between 1923- 1950 and youth studies focused on how youth should socialise according to the needs of the nation and nation building process. In the second period, between 1950- 1980, studies laid stress on political socialization, ongoing and expected political attitudes and behaviours. In the last period, after 1990 when Turkey began to adopt liberal democratic notions, youth studies, defining youth as "Özal Youth", concentrated on liberalization, depolarization and, in normative sense, elimination of the negative effects of the new paradigm. Similarly Neyzi (2001, p.426) defined youth groups as follows; made a similar analysis as

I have analysed the construction of youth in public discourse in Turkey in three periods since the establishment of the republic. I have argued that in the 1923-50 period, youth came to embody the new nation. In the 1950-80 period, youth were reconstructed in public discourse as rebels. Despite the change in discourse, educated young people in these two periods continued to identify with the mission of building a new nation in the name of "the people." The post-1980 period, however, constitutes a rupture with modernist constructions of youth.

However, today the new generation, carrying the signals of the third paradigm and adopting shifting definitions of politics, is free from the will of assuming power or conflicting over ideologies. They are part of the shifting political paradigm and the propellant power of the life politics. In that sense, we cannot claim that today youngsters are turning away from politics but the paradigm and the political atmosphere they are in determines their attitudes and behaviours. As Koşar (2013, p.1) puts forward, thanks to Gezi movement people on the liberal left wing admit that class movements now lost its validity and society is facing with new kinds of protests while soon to be abandoned discourse that implies Gezi is an unusual oppositional movement, away from ideologies, is proposed by political circles, from Former President of the Republic Gül to government spokesmen. This imply us that, in accordance with the new paradigm youth will still take place in the centre of politics but they will establish different kind of ties.

Secondly, the difficulties that current youth studies are encountering today is due to definitions like ‘political’, ‘political interest’, ‘engagement’ etc. are getting more and more transparent and liquid. Even scholars clarify the limits of these definitions, youth’s and scholars’ definitions cannot correspond to each other and implicate mutual notions. Due to the lack of common ground, stereotyped generation definitions often lead conflicting evaluations about youth’s political stance. For example, research of Forum İstanbul Youth Platform (2007), conducted in 37 universities, proved wrong these postulate as % 68 of their sample defined themselves as interested in politics. It is also found that for youth following the political agenda and keeping abreast of political developments are important as much as hearing about the new movies in theatre. On the contrary, Kılıç (2009, p. 44) found that %9 of the youngsters are closely interested in politics, %30 interested, while %60 of them stated they are not much interested or uninterested. Such contradiction is simply because of the third paradigm, which is under the effect of postmodernism, rings more complex politicization patterns and factors to the process and uncertain definitions to political interest and etc. Therefore,

explaining youth's political attitudes and behaviours within the strict lines of being interested/uninterested or political/apolitical cannot constitute a solid ground.

However, if we insist on defining the interest level of the political generation, 2013 data of TÜİK (2013), which represents the whole population, shows that political interest is low in Turkey, and this is not only valid for the young population but also for the adults. Turk Stat, Life Satisfaction Survey (2013, p.134) reveals that, those who express that they are interested in politics constitute %17.47, who have medium level of interest constitute %19.70, who are uninterested constitute %60.93, and who have no idea constitute %1.90 of the total young population. This may seem consistent with the leading arguments, however these numbers are also in line with the ratios of adults; respectively; %17.84, %18.60, %60.88, and %2.68. Therefore if we are going to mention about a decrease in political interest, the issue should not be reduced to 'what is wrong with the youth'. It should be accepted that 'what is wrong with politics' has retail from the society as a whole. This outcomes can show us that today's changing paradigm not only affects the political stance of youth but also of adults.

Under these circumstances political interest and engagement levels remain open to misinterpretations. One can argue whether the changes mean that youth are now very self-absorbed and uninterested in civic matters (see Milner 2002; Yates and Youniss 1998) or whether their interests are just qualitatively different from those of earlier generations (see Buckingham 2000; Dalton 2008; Dalton, Cain and Scarrow 2004; Livingstone 2002; Loader 2007, Zukin et al. 2006, as cited in Amna et.al., 2009, p.29). What is clear, however, is that the limited sets of measures used in most studies cannot capture political involvement as it is broadly defined today (Amna et.al. 2009, p.29). These misinterpretations are not only limited to assuming that the today's youth is apolitical but also that their fields of interest are bounded by some fundamental issues. From this perspective, while handling the issue, it must be kept in mind that what counts as a youth's 'field of interest' can also be reinterpreted in the sense that youth's main interest are not limited to specific issues but the higher norms and touchstones of our value systems which are still protecting

their prominence for youth. At this point, when critically read, the field of interest issue can also be understood as their interests are superficial and prevent them to deepen in political thought. However, youth may have been offering a wider perspective and a normatively instructed base in front of the societal maladies, which can be supported by the multiple realities of the third paradigm.

Therefore, we can say that, youth have turned away from conflicting over the ideologies in which real problems were not able to coincide with the real solutions, rather they are eager to take part in result-oriented policymaking processes. In the presence of real life problems, youth have struggled with them beyond the traditional policy making styles by rejecting for example, the real politics, securitization or identity politics. Within this perspective, it can be said that they are not opt for transforming traditional politics but to create a new form. In this transition, higher norms and values are at the centre rather than ideologies, and the problems of humanity are collectively solved with a power shared by the society itself. Therefore promoting a hierarchical importance to youth's 'field of interest' may lose ground when the current stance and the circumstance are of concern. Instead of arranging a hierarchical order for the fields, they are likely to prefer to turn their steps towards the basic concepts that are substantial and urgent for the coexistence of individuals on local level and societies on the international level.

Youth seems to have adopted higher norms such as democracy and human rights. As we can see from the answers of the sample, although downsides of democracy have been mentioned and reductionist values and practices have been discredited, this criticisms are not about the basic notions but the loss of inclusiveness of democratic rule in practice. In her study, Üste (2007) also supports the internalization of democracy as a manner of living as %84 of the sample defined themselves so. Among youth here is a clear search for ending the over politicization of society, social issues and institutions. All of these references show to what extent this generation adopts the values of democracy by rejecting the old paradigm and its ways of operating politics. On the paradigmatic level, starting from this point of view, it is possible to say that in the eyes of the youth, democracy

should be an evolving regime in accordance with the demands of the society, without being embedded in traditional definitions of politics.

However, even though the new generation is not questioning the democratic system, there are clear efforts to strengthen the democratic norms since Turkish political culture still unable to consolidate and internalize them. However, adoption of these norms doesn't depend on the basis of principals, but on the subjects. In other words, their advocacy depends on the subjects at stake. This argument is true when, for example Gezi Movement and Kurdish Movement, both of which ridden by demands for democratic rights and freedom, are compared. As the fundamental question of "whose rights" still matters before advocating, defending or fighting for it. Notions that are consolidated for now can show us the traces of the evolution of political thoughts in the society. In this context, political stance of youth will be evaluated as being interested and uninterested in traditional sense, but young generation will be protecting their apolitical and political appearance side by side, the way that democratic norms are adopted because of the paradigm's transitional features.

Findings on political perception can give us clues about why the third paradigm, which has been recently manifesting itself in Turkey, is needed and why youth has begun to adopt its norms intrinsically. How youth perceive politics depends on how they take power relations hence, from which paradigmatic perspective they see the political realm. This is because while trying to understand the political perception, the division between adolescents remain again on the traditional, post traditional and newly emerging third paradigm. In addition, although their answers vary according to the paradigm, whichever paradigm they refer to in their answers, they are critical about the forms of ongoing politics and rejecting the traditional forms of politics.

Youth regards politicians as selfish, which is ironic as it has been attributed to youth, opportunist, dictator, over-bearing, greedy and etc. Definition of politicians and their characteristics measured by the adjective list imply us that, whether

politicians are regarded as manipulative persons, parties of political conflicts or an occupational group, they still carry the negative characteristics, power and interest related motivations. In the eyes of the youngsters, politicians do make mistakes, change after the elections, and don't take the opinions of whom they represent into consideration, because of power-oriented and selfish dispositions which was also supported by the thoughts on why people become politicians.

Respondents believe that politicians don't provide qualified public services that serves for the good of the public as a whole, but for the good of specific groups in the society who support the government. As Rosema (2007, p.612) puts forward, because politicians primarily serve the interests of those who (may) vote for them, interests of some citizens are not as well-served as those of others. This is at odds with the widely accepted normative view that in a democracy each citizen should have equal influence (Dahl 1977, as cited in Rosema, 2007, p.612). In theory it may seem as such however in practice it is not how it works in Turkey according to the perception of the participants. These answers imply that public services are not based on the welfare state but depends on the personal will and desire of politicians. As known, providing public services in accordance with patronage relations is one of the fundamental characteristics of traditional politics.

In normative sense, youth built definitions about politics and politicians on the ground of the third paradigm. Participants agree on what is essential today is that politics should be inclusive and serve to integrate the society. These notions reveal that in the politics and politicians are far distant from the third approach which should be an exercise of power, as a safe keeper, for the good of the collective by power sharing with the collective itself. There are also some expected characteristics participants want politicians to hold, like high level of education, having a vision and being tolerant for different opinions, worldviews and some criticism about patronage, and culture of submissiveness has also been implied. From the perspective of the sample, it is possible to mention that politics is a distant institution from public and from the good of the public, politicians on the other hand regarded as reproducing the traditional system, and maintaining the order of

the old paradigm while they actualize their own agenda. Other surveys has also found similar outcomes on the issue. For instance, study of Forum İstanbul Youth Platform (2007) can support these findings as they put forward that %50 of the youngsters think politics is a duty towards public, and people should become a politician to serve people.

Therefore not only their ways of operating politics but also their position as a decision-maker protects the lines of traditional political paradigm for youth. The need that the third paradigm trying to meet is a consequence of the still lingering ways of traditional and power-oriented politics. Therefore, reactivity against this forms of politics rose among the society not due to progresivist tendencies of youth but of a deprivation and an emphasis on laying claim to responsive politics. Reactions against politics and rejection of traditional forms are the indicators of demand for a change. In this context, politics is defined in conventional terms but criticized from the viewpoint of the third paradigm since the popular belief is that politics does not have a positive impact on individuals' lives anymore.

One of the reasons why political interest and political participation of youth is limited, has to do with the political perception as they cannot associate politics and daily life practices; even if they can, because of thinking they are not ascendant actors in decision making mechanism and because of the bureaucratic and social structure, they are not able to take part in politics (Yentürk et. Al.). In this context, evaluating how youngsters relate politics and their daily lives can give us meaningful outcomes. Because the ways that politics is done and operated are problematical, there is not much positive impact on the issues that affects the youth most and due to negative psychological impact of social events and political agenda, youth is tend to draw line between politics and themselves.

How youth perceives the political impact especially restricted, therefore regulations on specific issues and institutions are significant as long as they have a relevance with their daily lives. For example, a regulation related to an occupational group is found important if a family member belongs to that group. Problems

mentioned by the participants are directly about personal concerns and all of the participants point out the blockages in front of the self-actualization and exercise of life politics of self-actualization. In that sense, participants have mostly referred to the individuality of issues rather than implying the communitarian aspects which should stem from the understanding that all individuals have a connection with each other on the grounds of implicit societal ties. However, within this context emphasize on individualism is not in the sense of being self-oriented but in the sense that all problems they encounter are their own matter and have nothing to do with the others in the society. This may be because of their age level since this age group has weak ties with the society and their social roles have not changed yet as explained in the second chapter. Konda's (2010,p.13) research may support this "one-way relation" in the sense that they are not able to make a connection; in this study it is found that youngsters are the ones satisfied with their personal lives, but they are the most dissatisfied ones with the national life.

This "unreciprocated" relationship ends up in active rejection of youth as traditional forms of politics, prevent them to engage in politics and participate in conventional political mechanisms. Findings on political impact reveal that youth is expecting a political transformation making allowance for life politics of self-actualization. In this sense, refusal of traditional politics directly affects the perception on political participation as well. As explained before, the rejection of political participation and the importance of engagement in the participation channels, led the authorities to carry on various political campaigns and projects in order to increase the engagement level among the society. Manipulations based upon the first two approaches reveal themselves in the discourses and the actions of the authorities as they try to increase the interest levels, voting turnouts and engagement threshold via various means like making regulations, introducing advance youth policies, enhancing alternative participation channels and mechanisms.

After politics and political institutions lost their ground, campaigns and projects have been fostered to turn the tides. Government authorities who adopted

the means of the first two paradigms overwhelmingly have taken over consolidation efforts and transition options into consideration to alter the ongoing predicament. On one side, the image of politics and politicians are being fixed, and traditional system have begun to be transformed and political structures have been reformed in accordance with the ways of which youth perceives politics on the other.

On the international level, the United Nations has advocated the engagement of youth from various channels. For example, in Turkey, several youth organizations and local youth councils have successfully campaigned for lowering the eligibility age for Parliament from 30 to 25 years and within the scope of supporting youth-led community development and volunteering organizations, The Young Volunteer Organization in Turkey has provided support to youth in a disadvantaged neighbourhood of Istanbul (UNDP, 2013, pp.4-5). European Union has also taken a step to contribute to the youth's political participations from various mechanisms. One of them is European Youth Parliament (EYP) which is

a volunteer-based association, continuously engages in the cross-national cooperation within the EYP by organising and participating in regional, national and international events. Its foremost aim is to promote and foster the general EYP aims within Turkey among the 16 to 21 age group and thus contribute to the Turkish approach to Europe.

On national level, The Ministry of Youth and Sports of Turkish Republic has organized Student Council of Turkey, which is dealing with projects concerning education, employment, regulations on constitution, and various participation mechanisms. Motivation of the Ministry is expressed as such:

In order to permanently establish a pluralist and libertarian democracy in Turkey, young generations need to adopt democratic values as a lifestyle. Young people's becoming stakeholders of politics is indispensable for an advanced democracy. In order to have a participatory youth with high civic consciousness, it is necessary to firstly make sure young people have a say in the social processes by identifying obstacles in the way of their participation members (the National Youth and Sports Policy Document, 2012, pp.29)

Within this scope goals of the Ministry (the National Youth and Sports Policy Document, 2012, pp.29-30) are presented below:

1. *Pursuing the goal of extending consciousness of democracy among young people while determining educational and training policies.*
2. *To improve the representation of young people in national and local assemblies and to remove the communication gap between the local authorities and young people.*
3. *Encouraging young people to get involved in non-governmental organizations as founders, directors and members*

One of the most important instruments regarding the participation of youth in local governments are city councils, and on a voluntary basis youth council, youth assembly and children assembly (Özer, 2011, p.55). The question posed within the scope of this study was on Children Assembly of Ankara the purpose of which stated as

To make children dwelling in Ankara express their problems, demands and take active role in the solutions of the problems related to them; to learn sentimental values, morals of the country in which they live and look to the future with confidence (Çocuk Meclisi).

In addition to these practices, in the education system, one of the most significant institutions of society, another agenda has been pursued by the authorities with similar intentions; for instance, with an effort to accomplish a democratic society, an attempt has been made to transform and restructure the school ecosystem in accordance with the democratic values and management style. In that sense, courses like “Citizenship and Democracy Education”, “Citizenship and Human Rights Education” can also be taken as an example, which are mainly supported by the European Council. Following Eurydice (2005) report, education and engagement of youth became prominent and in 2012 “Citizenship Education in Europe” was published and cooperation with European countries was initiated. Objectives and expectations were expressed as such:

Citizenship education refers to the aspects of education at school level intended to prepare students to become active citizens, ensuring that they have the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes to contribute to the development and wellbeing of the society in which they live. It is a broad

concept which encompasses not only teaching and learning in the classroom but also practical experiences gained through school life and activities in wider society (Eurydice, 2012, pp. 8-9).

Moreover, political parties in Turkey have been promoting school of politics within their organizational structure. These educational channels are regarded as the first steps to get involved in politics for youth and when compared to the youth branches of political parties, these are able to make youth steep themselves in politics. Such knowledge and philosophy intense institutional structures can be beneficial for the engagement and participatory channels that can foster the culture of democracy, and make room for the transmission of such notions from current generation to the next. As similar practices enable the system to reproduce itself, and tighten the citizenship ties, relation with the state, society, and political system as well as to reinforce and consolidate civic engagement bonds and participatory behaviours.

However, all these efforts were not effective and led not much change in the political participation levels. When we consider these efforts within the participation ladder model urging citizen involvement via 8 steps, we can see why they have failed. Arnstein (1969), one of the pioneer scholars in this subject, defined different levels of participation as manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, citizen control. While first three steps are to educate participants or to provide one-way information flow without a channel for feedback, they are regarded as non-participation, the next two steps as degrees of tokenism in which a committee is formed and making advices and plans, and the last tree as degree of citizen power in which people can reach to policy making process. Hart (2013) redefined the steps of participation ladder from manipulation decoration, tokenism, which are non-participatory behaviours to the last step as youngsters and adults haring the decision making process. All the above mentioned measures and introduced participatory mechanism are lack of involving youth in decision making process and sharing power with youth in practice, even if their motivation and model is willing to do so.

When we evaluate the perception on political participation of the sample, in no uncertain terms, youth is well aware of the functions and importance of participation. We can also observe their vast knowledge when they make connection between politics and 23 April occasions, class and school management. Being informed about these aspects gives youth a solid ground for choosing participation, non- participation, or refusing participation. When their answers are examined, their choices among these three attitudes become clear. First of all, although they know the importance of the participation, they are unwilling to encourage people to participate. Since they associate participation with putting an impact, being effective, having power and an open political system. At this point, they are offering the criticism of the third paradigm towards traditional political participation form. They are especially stressing that in Turkey power is only assumed by the government itself, decisions making process is close to the third parties, criticism, oppositional movements and thoughts, and system is retributive against these acts. This means that they feel lack of required mechanisms to participate in politics for youth. Therefore, as emphasized in being interested or uninterested, youth cannot defined as apolitical in behavioural sense as well but reluctant in front of the ineffective mechanisms. Secondly, when they were asked about the differences between those who participate and those who doesn't participate in politics, none of the participants referred to the age facto or the division between young and adult. What is significant in this question is that adolescents, true or not, are referring to the underlying reasons instead of attributing specific characteristics to the individuals like most of the youth studies do towards youth. This imply us that, they don't accept the characteristic attributed to them.

However, findings of this study show that they are still preferring the conventional ways of participation and defining participation with these behaviours among which voting is the most prominent way. On one hand, a large proportion of the sample have criticized the results of the last elections and on the other hand, supporters of the current government are troubled with the sceptic attitudes of the first group. Thus, it is possible to say that the electoral behaviours of the sample are

strong enough to say they are disengaged. And secondly, they are still believing in the functions of the elections however what is mostly questioned is trustworthiness, which should be taken seriously by the political authorities to protect the legitimacy source of the traditional political system. How they define participation is the only aspect that youth limited the understanding of political participation of the third paradigm. However, after Gezi Park movement alternative ways of participating gained a debate ground in Turkey, for the first time, it requires time for social acceptance. Secondly, sample of this study is away from participatory mechanisms and unable to participate in alternative forms especially because of the age factor. This can be understood from the answers; some of them emphasized that what is essential is political stance and knowledge rather than participation. This can read as an attempt to normalize the non-participatory behaviours because of their position in the society.

Interest, participatory behaviours and engagement of the youth have been also discussed on the fact that online platforms and social media has given their attention on politics and provided a basis for politicization (Delli and Michael 2000). Instead of traditional participatory mechanisms like conventional street movements, youth have started to mobilize online and this way it was argued that in accordance with their worldview, youth has reinterpreted the participation channels, generated new ways to take part in politics and political decision-making processes, and lead the evolution of traditional politics throughout the time course.

ICT has been regarded as a tool in promoting the participation, organizing and creating public opinion against the ongoing system, however getting online does not have an impact on political socialization as a field where youth has been activated, politicised and engaged into politics only. Online platforms and social media have created an alternative public sphere at first, but in time this two distinct zones have been merged and no more thought as distinct areas or alternative for each other. In other words, third media has become the public sphere itself. Within the borders of transforming politics, interactive systems, social media and online platforms are included in public sphere where political participation has been

performed like it is valid for all kinds of other socialization processes in these new forms. Therefore, within this widened new public sphere, politicization or depoliticization of youth has to be discussed beyond the existence of third media because from now on every social activity has a response within this realm. In this regard new public sphere may assumed to be a realm where public opinions can be created faster, mobilization can become easier, interactive public debates can be more common. In the research of Political Participation of Turkish Youth (2014, p.101) it is found that %44, 6 of the youth population uses internet to follow the news while only % 13, 8 of this population uses it for political reasons.

From now on political socialization can be exercised through online channels. If proven, online political socialization may function as family or school but notably interactive peer to peer socialization. However, from a negative standpoint, ICT may have an influence on disengagement too. As the modern society has skipped into a new form, namely information society and information era, increase in information sharing both in scope and quantity may cause a lesser engagement among youth. The reason is that the visibility of political scandals and historical facts about politics could support and maintain the lack of trust coming from the past, reinforce disengagement and advocate the perception of politics as a fraud. But on the other hand, in order to eliminate the manipulations of conventional media, the third media age may be beneficial to generate an alternative space that does not dwell on the debates over what the truth is and how apprehensions are created, which also may be the reason why the youth has been more active ostensibly in the last decade.

In addition to these measures and new forms of participatory mechanism, when the discourses of politicians and state authorities are taken into consideration, youth has been treated as an economic social capital and the executive agents of “the required society” (see Turkish National Education objectives and principles; Education policies of political parties currently in the assembly) There is a clear burden over youth in the sense that they have an economic and sociopolitical mission to be accomplished. At this juncture lies a two-sided hypocrisy. First of all,

engagement with the society and participation to sociopolitical system are accepted only if the agents hold and perform the expected attitudes and behaviour, which means they have to stay in the borders of traditional politics drawn by the political authorities. Lately, we have seen these efforts in Gezi movement with 'return to your home' calls. But this is understandable with Huntington's claims. As proposed by Huntington (1975, p.114); the effective operation of a democratic political system usually requires some measure of apathy and non-involvement on the part of some individuals and groups.

Secondly, currently available participation mechanisms, channels and platforms are not predominant, operative and efficient. Main arguments of this traditional approach have been criticized due to the fact that participation mechanisms, channels and platforms are insufficient, and that they have no public visibility and recognition. The cultural levelling through educational channels is not able to provide the requested outcomes since the gains have no real correspondence neither in the ecosystem of education nor social sphere. In addition, it is incapable of offering a political arena that can meet the needs of the youth and establishing close ties between politics and daily lives of youth. School of politics constituted by the political parties cannot smooth the way for the youth, since the traditional structure is still dominant; the hegemony of adults carries on. Even if the current projects and regulations are effective, youth may have a tendency to think that their requests and demands are not taken as an important constituent and are not made significant part of the equation of social policies, therefore they are more likely to stay behind the political scene and preferred to be distant from generating a willpower to take part in politics.

A number of young people deeply believe that they have no saying on issues that have an essential and determining role for the rest of their lives. For the time when they take part in formal education, they have no means to participate in educational decisions, do not have right to vote to elect the authorities who are responsible for how the system and implementations will be exercised, to what may be the philosophical and ideological ground of it; and when they have right to vote,

they are already out of the educational system. From this point forward, on the one hand in discourses, legal regulations and practices youth is being marginalized because of being political and on the other hand, by all the three aspects youth is being alienated in the adult-hegemonic society and politics. In 2013, the population of Turkey was 76,667,864 and the proportion of young population in total population was 16.6% (TÜİK, 2013, p. 10). At the end of the day, %16.6 of the population is deprived of basic human rights, including civil and political rights, therefore the need for structuring new means and a new organizational model has gained importance. In comparison, American and European Union statistics shows a decline in numbers. The proportion of youth and young adults in ages 14 to 24 declined from 20 percent of the U.S. population in 1980 to 15 percent in 2010 (National Centre for Education Statistics, 2011). According to the data provided by Eurostat, the ratio of young people in the total population of EU27 declined from 19.6 percent to 17.9 percent. Turkey's young population is higher than the European countries, which necessitates better youth policies for a manageable society for the future.

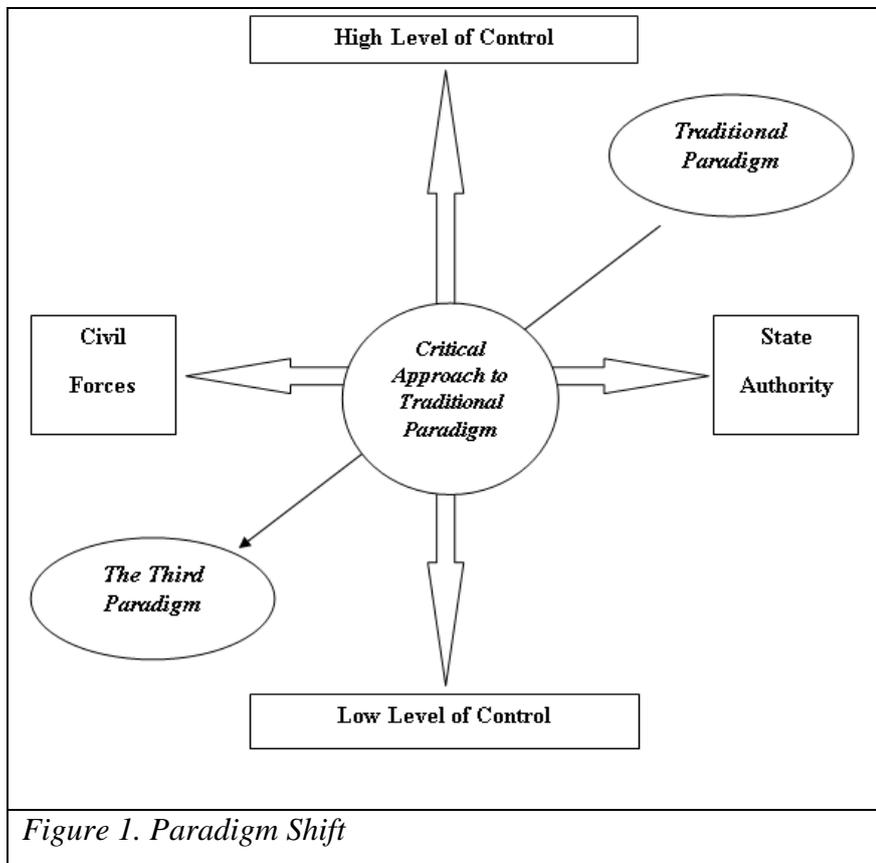
As a prevailing regulation all around the world, in Turkey people under age 18 has no right to vote and are excluded from the participation mechanisms that are determined constitutionally. This means that youth, one sixth of the whole population, age range among 15-24, is systematically ostracized from the decision-making processes and mechanisms, and subjected to adult-oriented politics. Briefly stated, this dead-end is unable to justify the inconsistency between, operations, discourse and initiatives of politicians, and the tendencies of youth. It is important to remember that in order to create a reaction in the new generation, these aspects should be met and form completeness.

3.3. *Instead of Conclusion*

*There's so many different worlds.
So many different suns.
And we have just one world.
But we live in different ones
Mark Knopfler*

Today, the political interests, engagement levels and participatory behaviours of the young generation is far from being understood and explained by the traditional approaches. However, like all social groups or classes, social and political demands and expectations of the youth cannot be melted in the same pot, since they cannot be regarded as a homogeneous group in the social network. Therefore as long as the post-modern world simultaneously holds different political paradigms, different approaches to politics and relations between youth and politics; at the end of the day society and politics will be based on different grounds. In other words, traditional, post traditional approaches will be carried on, while the concepts like new politics, life politics, self-actualization, living your political ideology, all will be lingering on one at a time.

In the developmental sense, as shown in the Figure 1, current paradigm changes are shifting towards a sphere where civil forces are the driving force, while control and monitoring mechanisms are being counteracted by these forces. At this point transformative power of civil forces was undertaken by youth for the progress in freedom of the political arena who matured the third paradigm through the worldview of the generation y. However, at the dawn of the consolidation of norms provided by the maturing third paradigm, not only Turkey but also world has been stick among all three approaches. And the situation of Turkey is more complex when compared to other democratic western countries since they have a more solid philosophical ground that provides fundamental values and core notions for a political worldview under the third paradigm. Therefore a more consistent picture may appear under the strong pillars of the “western civilization” since the shift among paradigms are smoother and has a continuity.



In Turkey, from the standpoint of politicians, the discourse of power maintains its penetration over the political socialization of youngsters. Struggle for power still occurs in realist terms between youth and adult-centric politics. On the other hand, some mechanisms and platforms have been fostered to increase the engagement levels and present participation opportunities for young citizens within the frames of new politics. However, they are mostly the products of the democratization efforts, some of which are advocated by international organizations like the European Union and the United Nations. Therefore there are no measures taken by the political authorities to contribute to the blooming of the new paradigm.

From the youth's perspective, there are various views and approaches in front of the paradigm shift. While there is a clear rejection of traditional politics and its

institutional extensions, another youth group is still engaged in and supportive towards the conventional institutions of traditional paradigm. This division is understandable since there is no homogenous youth population in the society. Through the paradigmatic point of view, in Turkey defining youth as political or apolitical depends on the paradigm in-effect and through which youth and also adults perceive politics.

However, when the consolidation of higher democratic notions is of concern, confusion of Turkey reveals itself explicitly. Reaction of youth who have adopted the norms of the third approach, against the operational, functional and structural forms of traditional politics do not have a coherent integrity. Basic notions fostered by the third approach are not based on a philosophical and behavioural complexity as a matter of principle. The main reason behind it is that ‘which social issue is of concern’ and ‘who is facing with it’ become the main questions before acting and being a party. In other words, since the polarization has been deepened in Turkey, what determines the attitudes of youth, and those of society, is that who is or which parties are facing the violation fundamental values and norms. Unfortunately, this thematic approach hampers the evolution of the third paradigm since there is no consistent discourse, attitude, and behaviour towards social transformation.

Without marginalizing the youngsters, impoverishing their capacity to transform the social and political realm, there are few examples that have achieved to give space to the new generation for their self-actualization. Therefore politics needs to be reorganized by the society itself and introduce new forms. However, it must be remembered that self-actualization requires an ecology in which the needs, discourses and behaviour are met and interact consistently. Since the political atmosphere of Turkey prevents such an ecology to bloom, it is possible to say that all three approaches regarding political paradigm will be co-existing simultaneously for the time being, which is not only valid for political authorities but also for the new generation.

As seen from the previous studies and findings cited in this thesis, it is hard to say that youth have blazed a trail towards a breakthrough in political paradigm. All behaviour and discourses of youth give us clues that there is a growing tendency towards a need for change in how politics is and how it should operate on a normative and a practical basis. However as the third paradigm becomes established in the world, Turkey may have a reference point and step up the evolutionary phase. Since we are experiencing a kind of intellectual shift in the meanwhile, the upcoming social transformation will be consolidated slowly but surely under the guidance of youth, and their energizing power of "politics of fun" as the Beck (2001) defines. Therefore, all of these perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of youth indicate a need for paradigmatic change in politics and youth might be the driving force behind it.

In that sense, politics needs to be open for every perspective, should enhance the quality of life while providing a social sphere where individuals can live their life politics, their ideology for their own self-actualization. New participatory mechanism, discourses and relations that take their drive from the third paradigm can be seen as a solution. When the concept of new politics emerged, these 'new' methods were tried yet they failed to catch the youngsters. Therefore what is essential for today is letting individuals rule their own lives and set their own organic social relations collectively.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Data Collection Instruments

1. Information Form

Gender:

Socioeconomic:

Age:

2. Questionnaire

Political Interest

1. Are you interested in politics?
2. Do you follow political incidents and events via newspapers, internet, television, social media or books'?
3. Do you talk or discuss about these incidents and events with friends and family?
4. Is there a political party you feel engaged?
5. Is there a politician you appreciate?
6. Interview Questions

Political Perception

1. What comes to your mind when you hear the word politics?
2. What comes to your mind when you hear the word politician?
3. Can you select the 10 adjectives to define politicians from the adjective check-list?
4. What do you think about whether politicians keep their promises or not?
5. What do you think about whether politicians make mistakes or not?

6. What do you think about whether politicians take opinions of whom they represent into consideration?
7. Do you think politicians change before and after the elections?
8. How do you think is the qualification of public services provided by the politicians?
9. Why do you think people become politicians?
10. In your opinion how should politics be like?
11. In your opinion how should politicians be like?

Impact of Politics

1. Do you think political decisions affect your life? If so how?
2. Do you think political decisions affect your family's life?
3. Do you think political decisions affect society?
4. In which way you would like politics to affect your life, your family and society?

Political Participation

1. What does political participation mean to you?
2. Why do you think political participation is important?
3. Would you encourage the people around you to participate in politics?
4. Do you think political participation makes a difference in your life, family or society?
5. Do you think there is a difference between those who participate in politics and those who don't?
6. Are you eager to vote? Do you think it is important?
7. Do you think there is a relation between participating in class management as a class presidents and participating in government as politicians?
8. Have you ever take part in class management?
9. Have you ever take part in school management?
10. Have you ever participated in children assembly?

11. What do you think about the occasions in which the children sit on the prime minister's seat on 23 April ceremonies?

Adjective Checklist

Ambitious		Unscrupulous	
Angry		Ingenious	
Careful		Offensive	
Critical		Aggressive	
Dictator		Respectful	
Generous		Prejudiced	
Greedy		Moderate	
Hardliner		Irresponsible	
Hardworking		Liar	
Honest		Disrespectful	
Hostile		Rough	
Intolerant		Over-Bearing	
Miser		Prudent	
Modest		Gentle	
Open Minded		Prescient	
Opportunist		Responsible	
Peaceable		Kind	
Powerful		Lazy	
Relentless		Dominative	
Reliable		Conservative	
Respectful Towards Rights		Merciful	
Right Defender		Agreeable	
Selfish		Pugnacious	
Smart		Collaborationist	
Tolerant		Leader	
Unambitious		Scrupulous	
Unbalanced		Calm	
Unreasonable		Obedient	
Unreliable		Canny	

Types of Participation List

Types of Participation	General	Personal
Being a member in a political party		
Being a member of youth branches		
Being a member of a group or an organization		
Writing to politicians in order to express yourself		
Writing to politicians in order to complain		
Writing to newspapers& magazines in order to express yourself		
Writing to newspapers& magazines in order to complain		
Expressing yourself in public meetings		
Complaining in public meetings		
Raising fund or donating		
Attending political shows		
Sending political emails/ joining mail groups		
Taking part in social network sites (Blog/Facebook/Twitter)		
Writing a petition		
Boycotting		
Demonstrating		
Wearing political arm or badge		
Painting walls/Drawing graffiti		
Occupying streets		
Occupying buildings		

Appendix B: Turkish Summary

28 Mayıs tarihi itibari ile İstanbul'da başlayıp, kısa zamanda tüm Türkiye'ye yayılan Gezi Parkı protestoları kamuoyunun gündemine yerleşti. Türkiye'nin siyasal kültürü çerçevesinde düşünüldüğünde, Gezi Parkı protestoları kısa zamanda bu denli geniş bir katılımın gösterildiği ender siyasal fenomenlerden biri haline geldi. İlk etapta, kentsel dönüşüm projelerine bir itiraz niteliğindeki barışçıl gösteriler, hükümetin ötekileştiren tutumları ve polisin sert müdahaleleriyle birlikte, uzun zamandır var olan Türkiye'nin demokratik sistemine dair endişelerin geniş bir kitleye yayılmasına sebep oldu. Bu nedenle Türk demokrasisi ve liberal değerler adına Gezi Parkı, bir dönüm noktası olma rolünü üstlendi. Hem herkes için özgürlük sloganları altında çatı bir hareket olması, hem de taleplerin yaşam kalitesi, bireylerin kendi kendini gerçekleştirme ve katılımcı demokrasi gibi post-materyalist bir çerçevede konumlandırılmasından dolayı, geniş çaplı bir katılımın sağlanmasının da önü açıldı. Hak temelli bu gösterilerin sosyal talepleri, farklı hayat tarzlarına saygı gösterilmesi oldu. Taleplerin diğer bir ayağı ise anti-kapitalist söylemler üzerine kurulu olarak, doğal çevrenin tahribatının ve kapitalleştirilmesinin önüne geçilmesine, şehir planlamalarının rant ve klientalist ilişki ağları üzerinden yapılandırılmasının durdurulmasına dayanıyordu.

Karşıtlıklar temelinde ortaya çıkan talepler ve söylemler, bir yandan yeni siyaset anlayışının temelini teşkil ederken, diğer yandan da öncelikli konular olarak çevre, insan hakları ve özgürlük gibi temel insani değerler üzerinden şekillendirildi. Bahsi geçen farklılıklarla bir araya gelen hareket içerisinde gençler ön sıralarda yer aldı ve hareketin öncü gücünü oluşturdu. Tüm süreç boyunca bu gençlerin kim olduğu sorgulandı. İktidar tarafından ötekileştirilme eğilimlerine karşı, özellikle geleneksel ve sosyal medyada bu gençlerin kimlikleri mercek altına alındı. Başlangıçta tipik bir gençlik hareketi olarak algılanan Gezi Parkı hareketinin, protestoların y kuşağına özgü bir tarzla gerçekleştirilmesinden dolayı ilk etapta bir

kuşak çatışması olarak ortaya çıktığı düşünüldü. Fakat bu çatışmalar bir kuşak çatışmasından öte, kuşakları da birleştiren bir platformun oluşmasını sağladı.

Gezi olayları ile birlikte Y kuşağı olgusu Türkiye’de ilk defa kamuoyunda geniş bir tartışma alanı buldu. Bir önceki kuşaktan tamamen farklı bir dünya görüşüne sahip; tutumları, istekleri ve talepleri tamamen farklılaşmış ve küresellemiş dünyanın mevcut sosyo-kültürel sınırları içerisinde yeni bir alan yaratmayı başarmış bir kuşak olarak Y kuşağı, bu tartışmalar sayesinde kendini daha geniş kitlelere ifade etme imkânı da bulmuş oldu.

Y kuşağının sahip olduğu kapitalizme dayalı tüketim kültürü ve liberal politikalar aracılığıyla benimsediği bireycilik anlayışıyla, hem toplum karşısında sergiledikleri “bencil” tutumları, hem de siyasal olarak kendilerini dünyadan ve yaşadıkları ülkeden “soyutlamaları” kuşağın en belirgin özellikleri arasında yer alıyordu. Fakat buna rağmen teknolojinin sağladığı her türlü imkânı kullanan ve bu sayede dünyada ve ülkelerinde yaşanan toplumsal olayların farkında bir kuşak oldukları da, toplumsal olaylara gösterdikleri tepkiler ışığında anlaşılmaya başlandı.

Diğer yandan ise, Y kuşağına mensup bireylerin büyük bir bölümü dünyanın ve özellikle buldukları ülkenin sosyo-ekonomik koşulları çerçevesinde toplum-devlet/siyaset ilişkilerini kendi dünya görüşleri çerçevesinde yorumlama ve kendi istekleri doğrultusunda karşı çıkma imkânı buldu. Gezi Parkı ve dünya çapında ses getiren “occupy” hareketlerinde de görüldüğü gibi, geniş kabul gören bir kanaat haline almış “Yeni kuşak apolitik ve siyasete duyarsızdır.” söylemlerinin altının boş olduğu fark edildi ve özellikle Türkiye’de 1980 sonrasında artan bu algı kırılmaya başladı. Gezi Parkı hareketiyle birlikte, otoriter rejimin karşısında yer alan ve siyasal alana dâhil edilmeyen gençler karşıt bir oluşum içerisinde tepkiselleşti. Gezi Parkı vesilesiyle yeni kuşağın apolitikliği ve/veya diğer bir bakış açısıyla politikliği, Türkiye’de gençlik ve siyaset meselesinin yeniden tartışılmaya başlanmasında önemli bir rol oynadı ve birçok araştırmacı tarafından konu tekrar ele alındı. Bununla beraber, Y kuşağı için apolitik olmanın ve/veya politize olmanın

ne anlama geldiğine dair daha derinlemesine çalışmalar yapılması ihtiyacı da ortaya çıkmış oldu.

Günümüz siyasal atmosferi içerisinde hem siyasetin geleneksel tanımlarının değişimi, hem de siyasal katılım ve siyasal ilginin ortaya çıktığı ve kendini var ettiği toplumsal koşulların değişimi, yeni jenerasyonun siyaseti ve siyasal katılımı nasıl algıladığını, siyasetten nasıl etkilendiklerini ortaya koymayı zorunlu kılmaktadır. Bugüne dek Türkiye’de ve dünyada yapılmış birçok araştırma ise, bu konuda nicel veriler sunmakla beraber, yeni siyaset ve siyasal alan tanımlarından ziyade oy verme davranışları, vatandaşlık ve parti bağlılıkları gibi konuları açıklamayı hedef almaları dolayısıyla derinlemesine bir inceleme yapmaya olanak vermemiştir. Seçmen davranışları ve katılım üzerine geniş bir literatür yaratılmasına rağmen bu tarz konular hem siyasetin sadece katılımcı boyutunu ele almış, siyasete indirgemeci bir bakış getirmiş, hem de siyasetin geleneksel tanımları üzerinden yapılan ölçümler nedeniyle kişileri süreç içerisinde sınırlı bir alanda bırakmış ve yönlendirmiştir.

Alanda yapılan çalışmalardan bazıları gençlerin siyasal ‘ilgisizliklerini’ davranışçı kalıplar altında incelemiş ya da siyasal sosyalizasyon süreçlerine dayalı olarak, daha çok gelişimsel (mental) özellikler çerçevesinde ele almıştır. Gençlerin değerlerine, tutumlarına ve inançlarına odaklanan çalışmalar ise daha çok nicel çalışmalarla ölçümler yapmaya çalıştığı için toplum içerisindeki siyaseti algılama biçimlerinin nasıl bir değişim sürecinden geçtiğine dair çıkarımlar üretememiştir. Bu çerçevede yapılmış çalışmalardan bazıları daha geniş perspektife oturtulmuş olsa da, gençlerin siyaseti algılama ve etkilenme biçimlerini nitel bir çalışmanın sunabileceği kadar detaylı ortaya koyamamış ve derin analizler üretilmesine katkı sağlayamamıştır.

Bir grup araştırma gençlerdeki siyasal ilgisizliği, siyasetin gençlerin kendi hayatları ile alakadar olmadığı ya da kendi sorunları ile paralellik göstermediği noktasında genel görüşler ortaya koymuştur. Literatürdeki araştırmaların büyük bir bölümü ise gençlerin siyaseti sıkıcı ve anlaşılması zor bulduğu, hatta siyasetin

yetişkinlerin meselesi olduğu yönünde bulgular ortaya atmıştır. Bu tarz bulgular nicel çalışmaların süreçten ziyade neden-sonuç ilişkileri ve yüzeysel görüngüler üzerinden tanımlamalara ulaşılmasını sağlamıştır. Fakat nitel araştırma desenlerinden alınan bilgiler, önyargı niteliğindeki bu bulgular derinlemesine incelendiğinde; gençlerin gerçek anlamıyla apolitik olmadığı, ortaya çıkan sonuçların siyasete ilgisizlikten kaynaklanmadığı, aksine gençlerin siyaseti algılama biçimleri nedeniyle tutum ve davranışlarının araştırmacılar tarafından ilgisizlik olarak yorumlanması nedeniyle önyargıların varlığını devam ettirdiği görülmüştür.

Birçok araştırmacının çalışması, gençlere yönelik bu önyargıların altındaki gerekçe ve süreçlere ilişkin anlamlı sonuçlar ortaya çıkartmakta büyük bir rol üstlenmiştir. Bu bulgulardan bazıları; gençlerin siyaseti güvenilmez bulması, gençlerin siyasetçilere saygı duymadıkları, siyasetçilerin kendilerinin ne düşündüklerini umursamadıkları yönündedir. Siyasete yönelik bu bakış açılarının, siyasete ilgisizlikten ayırt edilmesi gerekmektedir. Böylece hem yeni kuşağın siyaseten ne anladığına dair daha net sonuçlar üretilebilecek, hem de dünyada devam eden ve gençler tarafından yönlendirilen occupy gibi muhalif hareketlerle karşımıza çıkan ve kuşak çatışması üzerinden yürütülen apolitik/politik tartışması ve siyasal olanın ne olduğu sorusuna dair daha anlamlı bir bakış açısının getirilmesi sağlanabilecektir.

Feminist teori ile özdeşleşen “bireysel olan siyasaldır” anlayışıyla gençlerin siyasetle olan ilişkisinin incelenmesi, siyaseti nasıl algıladıklarına dair getirilecek yeni bir bakış açısıyla daha işlevsel olacaktır. Birçok araştırmada rastlandığı üzere gençlerin siyasetin konuları üzerine derinlemesine bir bilgi birikimi bulunmadığı yaygın bir kanı haline gelmiştir ancak kendilerini siyaseten ilgisiz olarak tanımlayan kişilerin, aslında siyasetin temel alanlarından veya konularından en az biriyle ilgili olduğu, ancak bu konu ya da konuları siyasal olarak nitelenmediği yönünde bulgular da mevcut bulunmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, belli bir konunun siyasal alanının meselesi olmadığını düşünmeleri nedeniyle, kendilerini siyaseten ilgisiz sayabildikleri görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla gençlerin kendilerini

politik olarak tanımlamalarından önce politik olanın ne olduğu sorusuna daha net cevap verebilmeleri ve bu noktadan sonra gençliğin siyasetle ilişkisinin akademik düzeyde tartışılması bir öncelik haline gelmektedir.

Tüm bu araştırma bulguları ve kısıtlar düşünülerek, bu çalışmada ilk olarak gençlerin siyaseti nasıl algıladıkları, bireysel deneyimleri kapsamında siyaseti nasıl tanımladıkları üzerinde durulmaktadır. İkinci etapta gençlerin siyasetten nasıl etkilendikleri ve bunun sonucunda katılım kanallarını nasıl değerlendikleri ve bu kanallar vasıtasıyla nasıl faaliyet gösterme anlamında aktive ve politize oldukları nitel bir çalışmayla seçilen örneklem kapsamında ortaya konmaktadır. Yine bu kapsamda bakış açıları, kullandıkları jargon ve bunlar üzerinde belirleyici rol oynayan değer ve inançlar derinlemesine incelenmiştir. Bu etkenlerin incelenmesi aynı zamanda siyasete katılımın ve vatandaş olmanın nasıl anlamlandırıldığını da dolaylı olarak içermektedir. Teorik olarak sınanacak bu gibi temel sorular sonrasında siyasal alanın gençler için nasıl düzenlendiği, siyasal alan ve gençler arasındaki ilişkinin içeriği ve dinamikleri, gençler için aktif olarak mevcut katılım kanallarının nasıl düzenlendiği, faaliyet alanlarının kapsamı ve nasıl işlediği tanımlanmış, tüm bu bağlamların ve kanalların gençler tarafından nasıl algılandığı ortaya konmuştur. Siyasal sosyalizasyon döneminin başlangıcında olan bu gençlerin algıları, görüşleri ve değerlendirmeleri bağlam içerisinde siyasetin nasıl evrileceğine ışık tutabilecek niteliktedir. Ayrıca katılımı ilgili elde edilen bilgiler ise, katılım faaliyetleri ve kanallarının algılanış ve kullanılış biçimlerine ilişkin yeni bir model üretilebilmesine katkıda bulunabilir.

Bu kapsam içerisinde araştırma soruları aşağıdaki gibi belirlenmiştir.

1. 16-17 yaşlarındaki gençler siyaseti ve siyasetçileri nasıl algılamaktadır?
2. Bu gençler siyasetten nasıl etkilenmekte ve bu etkiyi nasıl değerlendirmektedir?
3. Bu gençler ülkemizdeki mevcut katılım biçimleri ve katılım kanalları hakkında ne düşünmektedir?

Bu çalışmada nitel bir araştırma olup, araştırma deseni olarak durum çalışması seçilmiştir. Bahsedilen durumun derinlemesine anlayabilmek ve araştırma sorularını yanıtlayabilmek amacıyla, betimsel ve nitel bir araştırma yöntemi kullanılması uygun görülmüştür. Böyle bir çalışmada nicel verilerin kullanılmaması, nitel verilere kıyasla sadece oransal ve daha yüzeysel bilgiler sunmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Araştırmanın ilk aşamasında literatür taraması yapılarak konu hakkında ortaya konan bilgi ve bulgular derlenmiştir. Tez kapsamında başvuru alan veri toplama teknikleri, anket ve mülakat teknikleridir. Anket ve mülakat tekniği içerisinde yer alan tüm sorular literatüre dayandırılarak seçilmiş ve ölçülmek istenilen alanı kapsayıp kapsamadığı, ölçme amacına uygun olup olmadığı alan uzmanları tarafından değerlendirilmiş ve onaylanmıştır.

Bahsi geçen araştırma sorularının cevaplanabilmesi için ise, paradigma değişiminin üzerine kurulu bir teorik tartışma zeminine ihtiyaç duyulmuştur. Çünkü siyasal sosyalizasyon çalışmalarının tarihsel gelişimi, bu çalışmaların ortaya koyduğu konu ile ilgili tanım, açıklama ve çıkarımların çalışmanın yapıldığı dönemin siyasal paradigması ile yakından ilgilidir. Bu nedenle öncelikli olarak siyasal paradigmanın siyasal sosyalizasyon çalışmaları ve gençliğin siyasal duruşu üzerinde ne tür bir yansıması olduğu ayırt edilmiştir. Siyasal sosyalizasyon çalışmalarına yansıyan paradigma değişimi ve bunun gençlerin siyasal duruşuna yansımaları tartışmanın ikinci kısmını oluşturmaktadır. Bu noktada çalışma tartışmanın teorik çerçevesini siyasal paradigma değişimi ve bundan doğan siyasete yönelik üç yaklaşım üzerine kurulmuştur. Böylece Türkiye'nin sosyo-politik dinamikleri karşısında gençliğin siyasal pozisyonu hakkında bir anlayış ortaya konabilmiştir.

Alan içerisinde yapılan çalışmalar ilk dönemde siyasal sosyalizasyon tanımları üzerinden belirli kamplaşmalar içerisinde şekillenmiştir. Çalışmaların büyük bir bölümü siyasal katılım, siyasal tutumlar, davranışlar ve eğilimler gibi ana kavramlar etrafında temellendirilirken bazıları ise, sürecin sadece psikososyal boyutlarını ön planda tutmuştur. Bu bağlamda indirgemeci yaklaşımlar siyasal

öğrenme ve siyasal sosyalizasyon kavramaları arasında katı ayrımlara neden olmuş, toplumun bütünselliğine destek veren çalışmalara karşı bireyin aktif bir sosyal varlık olarak siyasal gelişimini ikincil plana itmiştir. Bu süreç içerisinde siyasal sosyalizasyon literatürünün inceleme alanı, boyutları ve değişkenleri net bir şekilde belirlenmiş; aşamaları, aktör rolleri, sürecin farklılaşmasını sağlayan ve süreci etkileyen faktörler üzerine çeşitli analizler yapılmıştır ancak süreci tam anlamıyla açıklayabilen kapsamlı ve genellenebilir bir teori geliştirilememiştir.

Bu çerçeve içerisinde, siyasal sosyalizasyon literatürünün gelişiminin dört fazdan geçerek şekillendiğini söylemek mümkün gözükmemektedir. İlk grupta üzerinde durulan ana kavram siyasal sistemin stabilitesidir ve bireylerin siyasal sosyalizasyon sürecinin, toplumsal stabilite beklentilerine cevap vermesi için önemli bir araç olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. İkinci grupta ise siyasal sosyalizasyon süreçlerini bireylerin kamusal alandaki, siyasal partiler, yönetim veya iktidar gibi siyasal kurumlarla olan ilişki biçimlerine odaklayan ve sosyalizasyonu dar anlamıyla ele alan çalışmalar yer almaktadır. Üçüncü grup, tutum, değer ve davranışlara odaklanarak toplumun bu kalıpları bir sonraki nesle aktarması üzerine çalışarak zamandan ve bağlamdan bağımsız bir siyasal sosyalizasyon tanımına öncelik vermiş ve bireylere pasif alıcı bir rol atfetmiştir. Bu nedenle çalışmalar “iyi vatandaş olunur, iyi vatandaş olarak doğulmaz” argümanı üzerine temellendirilmiş ve bu bağlamda da siyasal sosyalizasyon, toplumsal alanda kabul edilebilir bir şekilde düşünme ve davranmaya koşullanma süreci olarak tanımlanmaya başlanmıştır. Son fazda ise, siyasal sosyalizasyon tanımı bahsi geçen üç grubun temellerinden etkilenerek ortaya konmuştur. Buradaki temel eğilim, bireyleri aktif vatandaş olarak tanımlamaya yöneliktir. Bireyler hem siyasal öğrenme sürecinden geçmekte hem de toplum içerisinde siyasal oryantasyonları sürekli değişmektedir. Bunun sonucunda ise siyasal sosyalizasyon nesiller arasında birebir aktarılan bir süreçten ziyade evrilerek bir sonraki neslin değer, tutum ve oryantasyonları içerisinde yeniden şekillenen süreç canlı bir organizma gibi ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışmalar aynı zamanda bireyin büyüme evresinde sosyal ve siyasal ihtiyaçlarını gözeterek kendine has ihtiyaçları ve karakteri ışığında siyasal olarak olgunlaşmasını

da sürece dâhil etmektedir. Bu noktada ilk dönem araştırmacılarından farklı olarak odak toplumun stabilitesi ve toplumun iyi olma halinden, bireylerin iyi olma haline kaydırılmıştır. Aynı zamanda bu anlayış 1970'lerdeki kopuşun ilk adımı olarak görülmüştür. Tüm bu fazlardaki farklı tanımlar, farklı açıklamalara yer vermiş ve bunun akabinde siyasal sosyalizasyon soft endoktrinasyondan kültürel normların adaptasyonu, normların aktarımı, kültürleme-kültürün aktarımı gibi birçok kavram ve tanımla beraber tartışılmıştır. Ancak tüm bu farklılaşmalar ve siyasal sosyalizasyona ve gençlerin siyasal duruşuna dair çıkarımlar, dönemin siyasete bakışı ve siyaseti tanımlama biçiminden bağımsız değildir. Bu noktada tarihsel gerçekliğin yansıdığı siyasal paradigma ve siyasal sosyalizasyon çalışmalarını birbirine paralel olarak dönüştürmektedir.

Siyasal sosyalizasyon çalışmalarının 70'lerde yaşadığı dönüşümden sonra ana odak siyasal öğrenme çalışmalarının ön varsayımlarından arınmış bir şekilde siyasal tutumların nasıl geliştiği, siyasal alana dahil olmanın nasıl sağlandığı ve bunun sonucunda ortaya çıkan katılımcı davranışların nasıl geliştiği merkezi bir önem kazanmıştır. 60'lardan gelen siyasal sosyalizasyon sürecine yönelik araştırmalar da devam ettirilmiştir. Bu genel çalışma alanlarının içerisinde hem devlet-toplum-birey ilişkisi, hem de sisteme gömülü insan hakları ve demokrasi gibi değerlerin yeni nesle aktarılması ile ilgili araştırmalar yapılmaya devam etmekle birlikte öğrenme süreci artık hayat boyu süren ve gelişen bir süreç olarak ele alınmaya başlandı. Bu tanımdan yola çıkarak çalışmada araştırmak, incelemek ve rapor haline getirilmek üzere ele alınan sonuçlar, son yıllarda toplumsal alanda önemli bir etki gücü bulunan ve toplumsal dinamiklerde farklılaşma yaratan kuşak çatışmasının ve bugünkü yerel ve uluslararası konjonktürden temellerini alan gençlerin siyasal sosyalizasyonunun Türkiye'deki yansımaları dönüşen bu çerçevede etrafında değerlendirilmiştir.

Teorik tartışma çerçevesinde ele alınan üç yaklaşımdan ilk ikisi bugün için literatürdeki ağırlığını hala korumaktadır. İlk yaklaşım gençleri apolitik olarak konumlandırılan yaklaşımdır. Bu yaklaşım aynı zamanda siyaseti geleneksel tanımlar içerisinde ele almaktadır. İkinci yaklaşım ise geleneksel yaklaşıma bir eleştiri olarak geliştirilmiş ve ‘yeni siyaset’ kavramıyla gençliğin siyasetin dönüşen formu karşısında konum değiştirdiği argümanı üzerinden gençlerin politik olduğu görüşünü savunmaktadır. Bu iki yaklaşımın kapsamlı analizleri ve çağı yakalayan çıkarımları bulunmaktadır ancak büyük resmi görebilmek adına meta bakış açısı sunabilecek üçüncü bir yaklaşıma ihtiyaç bulunmaktadır. Bu yaklaşım geleneksel ve geleneksel sonrası siyaset anlayışının değişimine işaret eden, Giddens ve Becks gibi teorisyenlerin öne sürdüğü, yaşam siyaseti, kendi kendini gerçekleştirme siyaseti ve eğlence siyaseti olarak tanımladığı bir siyaset tarzının hâkim olmaya başlamasıyla dönüşecek olan bugünkü gençliğin siyasal duruşu hakkında daha fazla bilgi vermektedir. Çünkü siyaseti geleneksel formlardan arındıran ve mevcut güç ilişkilerinden ve hiyerarşik toplumsal ilişkilerden bağımsız bir biçime dönüştüren bu üçüncü yaklaşım, gençlerin siyaset karşısındaki tutumlarını da derinden etkilemektedir. Bu üç yaklaşım arasındaki farklılaşma, gençlik araştırmalarının siyaset teorileri ve paradigmadan bağımsız düşünölmeyeceğın göstermektedir. Bu değişimi ve altında yatan dinamikleri anlamadan gençlik ve gençliğin siyasal alana dair algısını ve ortaya koydukları tutum ve davranışları anlamak mümkün değildir.

Bu noktada araştırmaların yapması gereken gençlerin siyaset ve siyasal alanla dair almasını bir bütün olarak ele alıp, ilgili-ilgisiz, apolitik-politik, pasif-aktif, gibi bir ayrıştırmaya gitmeden yaklaşması gerekmektedir. Bugün yeni neslin siyasal ilgisi, siyaseti ve siyasal alanı tanımlama biçimleri, siyaset içerisinde yer alma ve katılımcı davranış geliştirmeye yönelik tutumları mevcut geleneksel yaklaşımlar aracılığıyla anlaşılammakta ve açıklanamamaktadır. Ancak gençlik tanımı homojen bir gruba referans veremeyeceğı için toplumsal ilişkiler ağı içerisindeki tüm diğer sosyal grup ve sınıflar gibi gençlerin de siyasal talep ve beklentileri ne aynı potada eritilememektedir.

Özellikle günümüzün post modern dünyası düşünüldüğünde farklı siyaset tanımları, farklı siyasal paradigmlar, siyasete ve siyaset-geçlik ilişkisine dair yaklaşımlar aynanda var olmaya devam ettiđi sürece, toplum ve siyasetin durduđu zemin de farklı olmaya devam edecektir. Başka bir deyişle, geleneksel ve geleneksel sonrası yaklaşımlar var olmaya devam ederken, yeni siyaset, yaşam siyaseti, kendi kendini gerçekleştirme, kendi ideolojini yaşama gibi kavramlar da türemeye devam edecektir.

Gelişimsel anlamda paradigma deđişimi sivil güçlerin itici güç olduđu, kontrol ve izleme mekanizmalara ise bu itici güç tarafından karşı konularak özgürlük kazanımında ilerleme sağlandığı bilinmektedir. Bu yönde atılacak adımları ise, sivil gücün taşıyıcı ve dönüştürücü rolünü gençler üstlenerek geleneksel ve geleneksel sonrası formları ileri taşıyan, üçüncü yaklaşımı olgunlaştıran y kuşağı ve y kuşağının dünya görüşü olmuştur. Olgunlaşmakta olan üçüncü yaklaşımın ortaya koyduđu normların konsolidasyonu sırasında ise sadece Türkiye deđil, bütün dünyada bu üç yaklaşım arasında bölünme yaşanmaktadır. Fakat demokratik batı ülkeleriyle karşılaştırma yapıldığında Türkiye'nin durumunun daha kompleks olduđu görülmektedir. Çünkü demokratik batı ülkelerinde üçüncü yaklaşımın gelişip konsolide olması için gereken ve temel değerler ile politik dünya görüşünün nosyonlarını veren felsefi zemin daha sağlam ve tutarlı bir bütünlük içerisinde evrilmektedir. Bu nedenle batıda, bu üç yaklaşıma bakıldığında daha tutarlı ve bütünlüklü bir resim ortaya çıkabilmektedir.

Türkiye'de siyasetçilerin durduđu noktada hala iktidar söylemlerinin gençlerin sosyalizasyon sürecinin içine işlemeye devam ettiđi ve bir sonuç olarak bu süreci yönlendirdiđi görülmektedir. Gençlik ve erişkin odaklı siyaset arasındaki iktidar mücadelesi, hala realist kalıplar içerisinde devam ettirilmektedir. Diğer yandan yeni siyaset çerçevesinde gençlerin siyasete daha fazla dahil olmasını sağlamak ve mevcut katılım fırsatlarını artırmak amacıyla yeni mekanizmalar ve siyasal platformlar oluşturulmaktadır. Fakat Avrupa Birliđi, birleşmiş milletler gibi uluslararası organizasyonlar tarafından desteklenen bu mekanizma ve platformlar

gerçek anlamda bir katılıma teşvikten ziyade Türkiye'nin demokratikleşme çabalarını görünür kılma hamlelerinin birer sonucudur.

Gençlerin perspektifinden ise paradigma değişimine yönelik farklı görüş ve yaklaşımların bir arada var olduğu ortadadır. Bir yandan açık bir şekilde görülebilen geleneksel siyaset ve onun kurumsal uzantılarının reddi söz konusu iken, bir diğer kısmı da geleneksel paradigmanın alışlagelmiş kurumlarına dahil olmak ve bunları desteklemek yönünde bir anlayış ve tutum devam etmektedir. Bu farklılaşma toplum içerisinde homojen bir genç grubun bulunmaması nedeniyle anlaşılabilir. Fakat paradigmatik bakış açısıyla değerlendirildiğinde gençlerin apolitik ya da politik olma durumu, var olan paradigmaya ve genç ya da erişkin kişinin siyaset nasıl gördüğü ile yakından ilgilidir. Ancak demokratik çatı kavramların konsolidasyonu meselesi gündeme geldiğinde, Türkiye'nin kafa karışıklığı daha da belirgin hale gelmektedir. Üçüncü yaklaşımın normlarını kabul eden gençlerin geleneksel siyasetin operasyonel, işlevsel ve yapısal biçimlerini yönelik tepkisi de tutarlı bir bütünlük içermemektedir. Çünkü ilkesel olarak felsefi ve davranışsal bir bütünlük ortaya konmamaktadır. Bu da farklı toplumsal olaylar karşısında benimsedikleri normlardan bağımsız tutumlar geliştirebildiklerini göstermektedir. Bu noktada 'hangi toplumsal mesele söz konusu' ve 'bu mesele ile kim karşı karşıya' soruları temele oturmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, Türkiye'deki polarizasyonun derinleşmesi itibariyle gençlerin ve toplumun tutumlarını belirleyen, temel değerlerin ihlaliyle kimin veya hangi tarafların karşılaştığıdır. Maalesef ki bu ilkesel olmayan, yani tematik yaklaşım üçüncü paradigmanın gelişimi önünde engel oluşturmaktadır. Çünkü bu yönde söylemsel, tutumsal ve davranışsal bir bütünlük oluşturulamamıştır ve toplumsal dönüşüm için burada sağlanacak olan tutarlılık bir zorunluluk arz etmektedir.

Bugün için gençleri marjinalleştirmeden, toplumsal ve siyasal alanı dönüştürme kapasitelerini zayıflatmadan kendi kendilerini gerçekleştirmelerini sağlayacak alanı sunma noktasında sınırlı sayıda örnek bulunmaktadır. Bu nedenle siyaset bizzat toplum tarafından yeniden organize edilmeli ve yeni formlar kazanmalıdır. Ancak, kendi kendini gerçekleştirmenin bir ekoloji gerektirdiğinin de unutulmaması

gerekmektedir. Bu ekolojinin içerisinde ise ihtiyaçlar, söylemler ve davranışlar buluşur ve tutarlı bir şekilde etkileşir. Türkiye'nin siyasal alanı böyle bir atmosferin oluşmasına engel teşkil ettiği için, bir süre daha hem siyasi otorite hem de yeni jenerasyon için bu üç yaklaşımın bir arada var olmaya devam edeceğini söylemek mümkündür.

Çalışma içerisinde yer verilen çalışma ve kaynaklardan da görüldüğü üzere, gençlik siyasi paradigmanın bir kopuş yaşaması için gereken yolu başlatmıştır. Gençliğin tutum, söylem ve davranışları siyasetin nasıl bir değişime uğraması gerektiği ve normatif anlamda nasıl yürütülmesi gerektiği yönünde ipuçları vermektedir.

Ancak üçüncü yaklaşım ve paradigma daha da yerleşik bir hal aldıkça Türkiye'nin de bu evrim sürecine girmesi için kendine referans noktası teşkil edebilecek ilkelere ihtiyaç bulunmaktadır. Bu noktada entelektüel anlamda bir dönüşüm yaşarken, Beck'in tanımladığı eğlence siyasetinin enerji veren gücü yavaş ama emin adımlarla, gençlerin öncülüğünde yerleşecektir. Bu bağlamda siyasetin tüm yaklaşımlara açık olması, bireylerin kendi yaşam siyasetini ve ideolojilerini yaşayabilecekleri, kendi kendilerini gerçekleştirebilecekleri toplumsal alanı sağlayan yaşam kalitesi geliştirmelidir. Üçüncü yaklaşıma dayalı yeni paradigmanın katılım mekanizmaları, söylemleri ve ilişki biçimlerinin gerçeklik kazanması bu yaşam biçiminin ve toplumsal ilişkilerin oluşmasında fayda sağlayabilecektir. Bu noktada bugün için temel olan, gençlerin toplumun kendi hayatını belirlemesini ve organik ilişkiler kurmasını sağlayacak bir siyasal alanı kolektif olarak yaratmak olacaktır.

Appendix C: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Müge

Adı : Bakioğlu

Bölümü : Orta Doğu Araştırmaları

TEZİN ADI : A Qualitative Study On Political Socialization Of Adolescents In
Ankara

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: 29.12.2014