UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF SPORT POLITICS
INTERACTION

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AHMET BUĞRA GÖZELLER

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Tülin Gençöz
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Asst. Prof. Irmak Hürmeriç Altınsöz
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Prof. Dr. Settar Koçak
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Ömer Geban	(METU, MSE)	_____
Prof. Dr. Settar Koçak	(METU, PES)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Velittin Balcı	(Ankara Uni., BES)	_____

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Name, Last name: Ahmet Buğra GÖZELLER

Signature :

ABSTRACT

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF SPORT POLITICS INTERACTION

GÖZELLER, Ahmet Buğra

MS., Department of Physical Education and Sports

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Settar KOÇAK

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The purpose of this study to examine university students' perception of politics-sports interaction. The study was conducted with 599 students (224 female, 375 male) from five universities with bachelor's degree of Physical Education and Sports department (Ankara University, Hacettepe University, Gazi University, Başkent University, Yıldırım Beyazıt University) in Ankara province. Sports-Politics Interaction Scale with 29 questions was applied to these students. T- Test and One-Way-Anova were conducted for the data analysis in the study using quantitative descriptive method. Data analyzed in three dimensions: sports-politics relation, sport- political relation, sport-government- relation. According to the results of the analysis, it was observed the perception changed with regard to gender in the subscale of sports-political system relation. Among the universities, Hacettepe University students were found to have a higher perception level in the subscale of sports-political system relation than Ankara University and Yıldırım Beyazıt University students. While the average values of the 4th grade students were higher in the subscale of sport-political system relation than the 1st and 2nd grade students, it was observed that the frequency of following the political news influenced the perception of the students in 3 subscales. It has also been concluded in the results that the frequency of active participation in sport affects the perception of sports-political system relation.

Keywords: Sports-Politics Interaction, University Students' Perception.

ÖZ

ÜNİVERSİTE ÖĞRENCİLERİNİN SPOR-SİYASET ETKİLEŞİMİ ALGISI

GÖZELLER, Ahmet Buğra

Yüksek Lisans, Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Bölümü

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Bu çalışmanın amacı üniversite öğrencilerinin spor-siyaset etkileşimine dair algılarının incelenmesidir. Çalışma Ankara ilindeki Beden Eğitimi ve Spor lisans programı bulunan 5 üniversiteden (Ankara Üniversitesi, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Gazi Üniversitesi, Başkent Üniversitesi, Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi) 599 (224 kız 375 erkek) Beden eğitimi ve Spor öğrencisiyle yapılmıştır. Bu öğrencilere 29 soruluk Spor-Politika Etkileşimini Algılama Ölçeği uygulanmıştır. Nicel tanımlayıcı metod kullanılan çalışmada verilerin analizi için T-test ve Tek yönlü Varyans Analizi uygulanmıştır. Veriler 3 farklı alt boyutta incelenmiştir: spor- siyast ilişkisi, spor-siyasal system ilişkisi, spor- devlet ilişkisi. Analiz sonuçlarına göre spor-siyasal system ilişkisi alt boyutunda cinsiyete göre algının değiştiği görülmüştür. Üniversiteler arasında Hacettepe Üniversitesi öğrencilerinin spor-siyasal system ilişkisi alt boyutunda Ankara Üniversitesi ve Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi öğrencilerine kıyasla algısının daha yüksek olduğu bulunmuştur. 4. sınıf öğrencilerinin ortalama değerleri 1. ve 2. sınıf öğrencilerine göre spor-siyasal system ilişkisi alt boyutunda daha yüksek çıkarken siyaset haberlerini takip etme sıklığının 3 alt boyutta da öğrencilerin algısına etki ettiği görülmüştür. Spora aktif katılım sıklığının spor-siyasal system ilişkisi algısı üzerinde etkili olduğu da çalışma sonuçlarında ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Spor-Siyaset Etkileşimi, Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Algısı.

To my family…

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

What is sport? This is a question asked in the documentary made by Roland Barthes in 1961. In this documentary, five popular sports were chosen from five countries; Bullfighting from Spain, Car Racing from United States, The bicycle tour de France from France, Ice Hockey from Canada, Football from England. Common thread of all these is conscious. Conscious is the answer to the question of how sportsman overcomes to his enemy (opponent, environment, himself etc.) Matador can defeat the bull because he is aware of bull's capabilities and limits but the bull has no clue. In the car racing, sportsman need to know about another rival – machine. The one who knows the mechanism of the car best and therefore who has the strongest car wins. In the bike race against time, the competitor is the sportsman himself. Getting to know the racing body is based on recognizing and overcoming mental fatigue. In other words, sport is a product of man's struggle for survival against nature and his weaknesses. The key point of this struggle is that the person is aware of himself and his surroundings (Barthes, 2007).

This awareness and change power created by sports on the basis of people finds place in society at the level of political science. Politics is a result of power struggles in society, diversity of views, conflicts and search for balance. Competition and conflict between the competitors in sports are experienced in politics within different ideologies between the rulers and ruled ones. The existence of one thing is defined by the opposite of its, and a political ideology must define it, reject it and express the reasons for opposing it in order to exist. Conflicts between political ideologies are based on these reasons (Arendt, 2013). Politics is the acquisition and management of power, but this power balance is not constant and can change at any time. This power struggle not only expresses the conflict of political ideologies with each other but also expresses the balance of power between rulers and ruled ones. This power balance may

1

shift toward the ruled class while the rulers sometimes may be a dominant force against the ruled ones as in dictatorships. 68 events are an example of the transformation of this power balance by the uprising of the people who find the rights of power inadequate (Rancière, Jacques., Panagia Davide., 2001).

Power struggles are the common characteristic feature of both sports and politics. However, this power struggle is a continuing reality between each other as much as it is within them. While sports trailing the masses; politics aims to win the masses. Thus, obtaining and directing sports which masses are attached emotionally becomes a goal for politics in order to gain the support of the masses. Sport is not only a game using power but also is an object being used in power games (Tomlinson, Alan., Sugden, J., 2013).

Politics involves conflict. But when advocated policy and ideological views are set on a philosophical basis, conflict and confusion are lost in the pattern of systematic thinking. It is seen that the conflicts between ideologies are reduced the most when they find a suitable expression environment for them. The conflict which is the natural end result of the interaction between sport and politics can be a more harmonious adjustment if the sport-politics interaction is understood well.

Politics is not an aspect that can be ignored, nor can it be tolerated to penetrate everything in its totality. Politics must have a dominance area and at the same time its boundaries must be drawn (Rancière, Jacques., Panagia Davide., 2001). In the establishment of the Olympics, it was aimed to limit this relationship of politics with sports and to purge it in a sort of way from the confrontational and other interventions that politics brought. So much so that there is an expression in the Olympic diet regarding political directions will be avoided. These and other such expressions that support the independence of the Olympic spirit have to be accepted and obeyed by the governments of the countries that carry out the Olympics. Despite all the differences (gender, belief, race, economic, political) in the construction of the Olympics, gathering around the unifying power of humanitarian values were aimed, and even the sport's combative and confrontational aspect took a peaceful shape in the guise of fair-play thought and humanitarian values (Committee, 2015).

Nowadays, along with technological developments, the acceleration of transportation and the increase of interaction between people and societies resulting from the spread of mass media are expressed as globalization (Kartal, 2007). Growing up of companies with management partners and employees from many different countries, increase of traveling for education and tourism, accessing to information or person anywhere in the world via the internet are just a few of the consequences (Doyuran, 2013). All this change brings a sports organization out of the boundaries of the territory where it is played and into a course that the entire world can reach. Thus, since the ancient Olympics, the sport, which they have been using to distract, direct the societies, or gain a political power on them according to the political aims of states and individuals, has extended its scope. That the scope of the sports is removed from the regions and involving whole world causes the political effects on it to expand. For example, the political interventions in FIFA turned into a political war in which more than two hundred states participated (Giulianotti, Richard., Robertson, 2009). In addition, people who have struggled to be recognized in the ancient Olympics by district people and make their own propaganda, have now had the chance to gain recognition and political power from all over the world. For this reason, it can be said that sport-politics interaction is stronger and more comprehensive today than it was in previous times.

An example of the transformation of sports into a political war is the USA-USSR tension. From the second half of the twentieth century to the nineties, the tension between the USA and the Soviets did not turn into war, but it did manifest itself in sporting events. The use of sports, such as war, as a substitute for a power struggle for the political assets of the states can be considered as a sufficient proof to show how politically important a tool it is (Atasoy & Kuter, 2005). Universities have a great role in the advancement of societies and in the development of values such as democracy and human rights. Because the universities have responsibilities for social order (Harkavy, 2006) and it is not possible to remain insensitive to social problems and political affairs (Bollinger, 2003). Therefore, it can be said that one of the most appropriate places where these relations between sport and politics can be evaluated is universities.

1.1. Purpose of the Study

Purpose of this study is: 1) to understand whether there is a relation between sports and politics according to the university students, 2) to whether perception of sport-politics relation different according to gender, media usage, universities and weekly sports activities.

1.2. Research Questions

In this study following research questions were addressed:

1. Is there statistically significant mean difference between mean scores of female and male on perceptions of sport-politics relationship?
2. Are students from different universities significantly different from each other in terms of their perceptions towards sport politics relationship, sport political system relationship, and sport government relationship?
3. Are students who spent different amount of time in weekly sport activities significantly different from each other in terms of their perceptions towards sport politics relationship, sport political system relationship, and sport government relationship?
4. Are students from different levels of pursuing political news significantly different from each other in terms of their perceptions towards sport politics relationship, sport political system relationship, and sport government relationship?
5. Are students from different levels of pursuing sport news significantly different from each other in terms of their perceptions towards sport politics relationship, sport political system relationship, and sport government relationship?

1.3. Significance of the Study

Sport is a phenomenon that is met with interest and passion by the majority of people. The biggest aim of politics is to reach masses and get their support. It has been a

continual legacy since ancient times that politics has used sport to pursue masses and to direct them

Universities are one of the most important institutions of free thinking, critical minds, because universities are fed from different disciplines. One of the most important of these disciplines is the politics that has the power to change societies. It is thought that it has importance for the study aimed at university students for this reason as well. The purpose of the study, in particular Turkey today, is to be understood what extent politics is associated with sport and what extent it should be from university students' perspectives.

It is also important to examine in terms of understanding the factors that influence this perception whether these differences differ according to variables such as gender, follow-up of sports and political news, university, active participation in sport. Also due to the absence of a lot of work related to sport-political interaction in particular Turkey, the study is considered to contribute to enrich the literature.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter includes the literature synthesis related to physical activity and benefits of physical activity, physical education, health-related physical education curriculum reform, physical education teachers' professional competencies, and physical education related infrastructure of the schools.

2.1. Politics

Political science is one of the oldest branches of science that has been considered since Aristo.

Politics act within the framework of good and bad judgments. While trying to preserve the current situation when change is thought to be negative, it defends change if it is thought that it will be better (Kalaycıoğlu, 1984). Socrates ensamples a person who aspires to know what is the best way of life for humans. According to Socrates, only wise people can understand this. Politics is also a force struggle, and the fact that Socrates is put on trial and sentenced to death in that period's Athens is also a consequence of his political contradictions. Because Socrates desires to change society in the way of values that he believes and has struggled on this path (Arnhart, 2004).

According to Aristotle, it is only possible to reach happiness with politicians who are just and virtuous. Justice is the key point and politicians are tasked with protecting justice and ensuring the happiness of citizens (Kart, 2016).

According to the English philosopher John Locke, political power is a symbol that has a number of rights to organize the society and to protect it both inside and outside. To

make them, it enacts and applies them (Arslan, 2013). Over time, a wide variety of ideologies emerged for the purpose, method, and understanding of this politics. Before explaining some of these ideologies in general terms, it would be appropriate to explain the concept of democracy which is much confronted. According to the Turkish Language Society, democracy is a form of government based on the sovereignty of the community (TDK, 2018).

Democracy defends the existence of different ideas and the freedom to live in society. It encourages free discussion of ideas. Even though it defends the majority's right to rule, it maintains the minority's right to control and criticize the power.

Democracy; It includes values such as individual freedom, tolerance in public life and self-governance. Democracy is the institutionalization of freedom, and the presence of democracy in one place is measured by values such as human rights, constitutional administration, and equality before the judiciary. First examples of the democracy in history were seen in Athens in the 5th century BC (Yağcı, 1998).

Democracy is generally divided into two types; direct democracy and representative democracy. In direct democracy, all citizens can participate in making decisions about management without any intermediary. Representative democracy is the main form of democracy used today; public administration is carried out by publicly elected officials (TDV, 1992).

2.1.1. Political Ideologies

In this section, development stages and basic principles of some of the most common ideologies throughout the world and Turkey in particular will be given.

2.1.1.1. Conservatism

French revolution brought a new idea which assert that rationality as an only guide of humanity. All of existing institutions is corrupted and they must reconstitute with

revolutionary idea. On the other hand Ideology of conservatism not against to all of change but against this idea of radical change. Conservative ideology different from liberalism and radical ideologies which both left and right ones (O'Sullivan, 2013). One of the pioneer of conservative ideology, Edmund Burke said that custom is a kind of harbour which we take shelter when we understand our weakness of knowledge and intelligence. It can give us peace when we get lost in search of rationalism. He accused revolutionary intellectual of trying to remove institutions despite they dont bringing better alternative. And he claimed that these rational guided people ignore cumulative culture of humanity. When we push our values out there would left only savage side of humanity (Muller, 1997). Many of ideas about conservatism date back to centuries. But as an ideology it appeared only after French revolution. In revolution era intellectual class query all of preconceptions, belief and customs. These attempts led to counterattack from supporters of tradional values. So ideology of conservatism began to develop for protect traditional values and norms (Adams, 2001).

Conservative ideology not object to all social, political and economical innovations but it is object to destructively changing. Conservatives accept inevitable evolution besides that try to solve conflicts between old values and modernity (Andreasson, 2014).

According to Russell Kirk(1954), there are 6 main codes of conversatism which stated in his book called 'Conservative Mind'. He asserts that there can be one 'party of order' who decide the justice. Thus, man cannot find and provide egality, uniformity and freedom in the moral world. These great forces can be applied by a great force, God in a community of souls. God can decide who is fair, honest and guilty. Thus, one cannot talk about the social hierarchy and real justice without God's will (Kirk, 1954).

According to rossiter, society which only consist of people who seeking regulariy and safety would be cruel and reactionist, but on the other hand without these people society would be anarchic. Work-sharing, continuity of system and laws would not be exist without conservative people (Rossiter, 1968).

2.1.1.2. Liberalism

The term of liberal which is being used since 14th century comes from latin words "liber" means that class of free people. But probably it was not used as a political term until after the 19th century. In Europe After the collapse of feodalism, Liberal ideas expand because of growth market and capitalist economy. Liberalism depends on middle class ideas who coincided with landlord and monarchy. Liberals supported and provide an oportunity to religious freedom, freedom of thought and expression, property right and liberal trade. Actually liberalism is dominant ideology in western world. Even some political thinkers claim that liberalism and capitalism are directly related to each other. When early liberals preferred government to set free community life, modern liberals argue that social services such as health, housing, education ought to under the government control. So it can be said that there are two different movements of thought in the liberalism, "Classic Liberalism" and "Modern Liberalism" (Heywood, 2003).

Liberalism conclude that some ideological and moral values. such as the individual, freedom, reason, justice, toleration and diversity. These values are generally well accepted in today's world but not in the past. Individuals were not independent of their social environment or lineage. They were evaluated not for their personel values but according to belonging social class. Ever-mounting production led to the changing economy, and in the meantime rationality and scientific understanding took over from feudal system and religious thought. Individual perspective gradually gained importance. This individualist perspective caused to selfish and desentisized way of thinking for some early liberal. On the other hand later liberals pay attention to social solidarity and humanism.

Individual freedom is a dominant and agreed political value for libertarians. It gives an opportunity to people which they can make their own life choices (ie. Choosing living places, occupation). And individual freedom was seen as a sine qua non for fulfil person's potential. According to liberal principles nobody has no right to dominate others. Liberalism said that maybe human beings are not born equal but they should

9

have equal chances such as "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Laws should implemented everyone equal and government should show political and religious toleration to all citizens. An another principles of liberalism is rationalism which aim to live under the guidance of reason and critical comprehension (Wolfe, 2006).

Nowadays there are new problems about liberty and personal rights such as ethnic identities, different sexual preferences and religious minorities. When official languages were the inarguably only option, demand for mother tongue education has become prevalent. After 1968 homosexual people did not hide their sexual orientation at public places anymore. Thus, homosexual rights became political issue. Since 1960 a growing number of migrant people in europe caused a new problem of liberty because of their living style in association with religion. So it can be said that scope of liberalism and understanding of liberalism has changing in progress of time (Gürpınar, 2016).

2.1.1.3. Nationalism

In the dictionary, nationalism is defined as supporting the interests of the nation to which one belongs and protecting it against other nations (Oxford, n.d.).

The concept of nation is defined in many different ways. It is also defined in the form of having the same country, language, history, or ideal unity as it is defined as having the same race (Keskin, 1999).

Although there are views that the occurrence of nationalist ideology dated back very ancient times, the general acceptance was that this concept occurred after the French Revolution (Smith, 1999).

Before the French Revolution, the world consisted of a few empires, a large number of city states, and principalities and tribes. The number of national states was less than twenty. Today, there are 193 officially recognized countries, and the vast majority of them are composed of national states. This situation shows how common nationalism is in the century we are in (Birch, 1993).

The fact that nationalism has a large number of classifications in the literature and that it can appear in very different situations suggests that it is a very variable and difficult concept to describe (Turan, 2011). There are different situations in which nationalism is considered both a right and a left ideology. Nationalism is an ideology that can be embraced by the masses that are struggling to protect their ethnic identity and by the states integrating them into a common identity. We can understand the foundations of the nationalist ideology with the changes in 18th century Europe. The weakening of feudalism with industrialization has created a need for a new social order. This need has been overcome with the understanding of the nation created by the people gathering around the common values (Saklı, 2012).

While nationalism provided a national unity, it led to a demolition for empires (Gündoğan, 2002). One of the empires negatively influenced by nationalism is the Ottoman Empire, which covers very different ethnic identities and a wide geography. Rebellions and separatist thoughts which began resulting from these movements provided that the Turkish nationalism was seen as one of the ways of salvation in the 19th century.

An important motivation of Ottoman Nationalist movements is the idea of returning to the good old days. Turkish nationalism also includes the idea of returning to the powerful periods of the empire. When Pan-Islamism and westernization were not possible, nationalist ideology was seen as the only way to liberation

(T. Uzun, 2010). Another nationalist movement affecting even Ottoman or Republic of Turkey is still Kurdish nationalism. Kurdish nationalism in the Ottoman Empire was inspired by the Armenian nationalism and the movement of the Young Turk. The first serious attempt to establish an independent Kurdish state was the uprising in Azerbaijan by Sheikh Ubaydullah in 1880 (Bruinessen, 1995). In the history of the Republic of Turkey, the first Kurdish nationalist party is the Kurdistan Democratic Party, which is founded in 1965, argued for autonomy from Turkey (Epözdemir, 2005).

2.1.1.4. Socialism

According to Bertrand Russell, socialism means that the land and the capital are subject to common property under a democratic administration. Socialism aims to make production based on needs rather than profit, and equally to be shared according to public interest (Bourgin & Rimbert, 1964). When considered as a reaction to social injustice, the origin of socialism disappears into the depths of the past. Even in the earliest times, traces of socialism can be found under various names. But the doctrine of socialism arises against capitalism in the 19th century.

The starting date of modern socialism based on class struggle is the 1848 Revolution. It has become Marxism, which gives direction and unity to this development. While Marx and Engels were on exile, they had come into contact with the associations founded by communist and socialist refugees in various parts of Europe. In 1848, one of these associations, the communist committee, had prepared communist proclamation. This proclamation is the one that created the greatest influence in the history of socialism. According to this declaration, the misery of the proletariat arises not from the evil of some conditions but from the disorder of the social order, and its solution will be possible by the removal of capitalism by the force. First of all, the proclamation was aimed at creating a philosophy that would lead the working class to seize power. According to Marx, slavery in the western world has given its place to feudalism and it has given to capitalism (Mokenzie, 1978).

The concept of class is one of the most important concepts of socialist ideology. According to Marx, history of society has been passed between two classes from the beginning; exploiter and exploited (Kapani, 1996).

Socialism aims for a classless society. It does not care about racial, religious and all other differences (Low, 1913).

In socialism all means of production are the property of the community. The Community alone saves the means of production and decides how to use them in production and carries out production. The products are made for the community and

the community decides how to use them (Mises, 2007). Socialism effects on the geography of Turkey began to be seen again in the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire. Labour movements that started in Europe have also affected the Ottoman. The first labour movements in the Ottoman Empire, workers' solidarity associations and strikes also started in this period. One of the reasons for the beginning of these events was the influences of the European workers, who came to work on the ottoman lands, on Ottoman workers (Güzel, 2007).

The first labour organization established in Ottoman Empire was 'Ameleperver' society founded in 1871. The first socialist party was the Ottoman Socialist Party founded by Hüseyin Hilmi in 1910 (Sayılgan, 1968).

As from this date, a lot of left organizations legally or illegally were established, but for the first time the official party that leads to the masses is Workers' Party of Turkey, founded in 1961 (Tunaya, 1995). Until it was closed in 1971, it is considered to be the most successful socialist party in Turkey's political history (H. Erdem, 2013).

2.1.1.5. Sharia

Sharia is a form of government based on the rules of Islamic religion and regulating legal, social and economic life accordingly. There are four sources of Sharia: Qur'an, Hadith [Sunnah], Kıyas and İcmâ-i Ummet (Schwartz, 2009). If we clarify them a bit, sharia means to establish rules and guide in Arabian. The Qur'an is the holy book of Islam and the hadith is the words of the Prophet. Kıyas is to go by looking at the similar circumstances in a case where there is no direct counterpart in the Qur'an or the Sunnah (Elçibey & Kemaloğlu, 2014). As well as the Sharia is based on Islam, the legal and governmental situation in the time of the Prophet Muhammad and the Qur'an is very inadequate for developed state governance. To compensate for these defects, the words and acts of Muhammad, the practises of the first caliphs, the lives of the companions and the views of early Islamic scholars were used. A part of this information for state administration is actually based on the organizational and administrative structure of the communities where they were conquered at that time (Barkan, 1945).

13

Islamic law, unlike western law, does not just mention bans and what to do. It also mentions things that are recommended to be done at the same time and which are unpleasant to do. Thus, Islamic law also includes the good deed and sin associated with belief in the hereafter, as well as the issues with earthly sanctions (Hicks, 1982).

According to Ghazali, politics is the highest form of stability and prosperity in the world, sharia politics provides emancipation in the hereafter (Güleçyüz, 1995).

Islamic sharia has a conflicting structure with secular and democratic systems. Among its reasons in the Islamic Sharia; lie provisions contrary to secular system such as marriage, divorce and portion of the inheritance issues, the difference between men and women, and the death penalty for the murderer, and stone to death for adultery. In addition, Sharia; defends the order of the caliphate that is the withholder of the political power instead of concepts such as democracy and equality (Erüreten, 2006).

Sharia was applied in the period of the Ottoman before the Republic. Ottoman law was composed of sharia law based on the Hanafi sect, and the customary law based on the will of the ruler (Okur, 2005).

These laws were enforced by the authorities given the name 'kadi'. In the Ottoman Empire two principal authorities were sent to an area as a minister for administrative affairs, and a judge for judicial affairs (S. Erdem, 2010). In addition, there was the shaykh al-islam unit, which was the most competent authority on the controversial issues that religious scholars depend on. Shaykh al-islam was the one who was asked to explain the religious affairs in all matters and the religious conformity of the affairs while not declaring a provision on judicial affairs (Arı, 1994).

2.1.1.6. Kemalism

There are various opinions about when the term Kemalism emerged. Some of these show references some intellectuals in Turkey, some are referencing the European journalists. There are also documents that the term was used by Soviet authors in the early 1920s (Ter-Matevosyan, 2015).

Though the term Kemalism is derived from the activities of Mustafa Kemal between 1920s and 1930s, its basis does not only carry Mustafa Kemal but also the experiences of a few generations for half a century. The words of Recep Peker who took part in the senior management for many years in the single-party period and tried to bring a theoretical background to the ideology of Kemalism provide important information to understand the nature and purpose of the Atatürk era practices. According to Peker; democracy is not to apply unchangeable rules as religious bases, but to act under the guidance of mind. And only when we are in accordance with social structure and conditions of society, it will give a result.

Recep Peker explains this situation by saying "No orange tree is planted on Zigana Mountain". Instead of applying the same thing done in another society, he advocates that appropriate one for his society should be done (Peker, 1935).

The need to act according to this present position was decisive on that Kemalism was an idiosyncratic ideology. For example, communism was considered inappropriate for Turkey because there was not a developed industry in Turkey; and therefore, Turkey did not have for the working class. Communism, on the other hand, was wholly opposed to religion, while in the Kemalist ideology there was no wholesale controversy, but it advocated reform. In addition, unlike the Soviets' dissemination policy, Kemalism was advocating a unitary state. But its attitude defending oppressed poor society, and its economic attitude that democrat structure of its and statism brought was displaying a left attitude (İnan, 2004).

Districts of Kemalism have not been drawn in a clear way because of its prescriptive structure of continuous change and development. Atatürk stated that if the party had a doctrine, they would not be so clear and progressive on development and change (Kazancigil & Özbudun, 1981).

The six principles that make up the skeleton of the Kemalist ideology are republicanism, nationalism, populism, secularism, statism and revolutionism. These principles were set in the 2nd and 3rd Congress of the Republican People's Party (CHP) in 1927 and 1931 and were included in the constitution in 1937 (Ö. Doğan, 2007).

The declinations of six Kemalism principles are;

- Secularism

In the Ottoman period, the superiority of western technology was an issue accepted. But Western values were found wrong. Among the people who advocated Western values, the greatest obstacle in front of development was the religious governance style which was the dominant force in the whole country. For this reason, the understanding of secularism, which religion was separated from the administration, was seen as the only solution. Removal of the Caliphate is one of the most important decisions taken within this principle (Köker, 2010).

- Populism

Populism; is based on citizenship consciousness without discrimination such as class distinction, ethnicity, and that everyone equals with the law. With populism, society is seen as a whole, and all other differences melt in this pot. The coming of the surname law by the removal of the titles that express class differences is one of the decisions taken within the scope of this principle (AVŞAR, Elif, & Kaya, 2013).

- Nationalism

Unlike the Ottoman state with the understanding Pan Islamism, Republic of Turkey was founded as a unitary state. In Atatürk nationalism, it was aimed to be investigated and taught Turkish language and Turkish history and culture and to create the consciousness of Turkishness. Ataturk's nationalism does not only include racial national consciousness, but also community consciousness that comes together from language unity, cultural unity, and people intent on common history and common life (Kayıran & Metintaş, 2013).

- Statism

During the economic crisis that broke out around the world in 1929, also Turkish economy had a difficult turn. The state of Turkey has tried a variety of ways in order to circumvent these problems. The first one of them has been to support the private sector. But this attempt ended up with failure. It is aimed to produce and process basic raw materials and industrial products by the government with the effect of deterioration of import-export balance and put into practice (Yeşilay, 2005).

- Revolutionism

While Kemalism aims to preserve the existing values and dynamics, it also advocates the need for renewal to follow up the changing world and advance, and it finds appropriate to make these decisions with sharp decisions and revolutions rather than a long-term process. Applications such as alphabet reform, dress revolution, closure of islamic monastery and zawiyahs, acceptance of international clock, calendar, figure and measure units are examples of these revolutions (Aslan & Kayacı, 2013).

- Republicanism

Republic expresses that the person in the head of the state is elected directly or indirectly by the public. Republicanism grounds on public's will without accepting governments under the command of an individual or a clique like the kingdom and the sultanate. The establishment of the Republic represents the example and practice of this principle (Hafızoğulları, 1998).

2.1.2. University Movements

Throughout the history of the world, the younger generation has had a different view and world view than those before them. This difference has caused youth to be in different demands than previous generations. These requests sometimes led to protests and rebellions. The most important of these rebellions are the events of 1968.

After the 1950s, changes in the economy affected the whole world and the gap between the social classes began to gain on. Apart from this, youth regarded freedom and rights as inadequate. University youth has begun to react to this situation and actions called 68 events have been shown all over the world. Student movements have been in existence since the very old times throughout the history of education. But what makes 68 events different is the fact that the 68 events happened all over the world at the same time, and that their effects last for many years in many aspects (F. Bulut, 2011).

1968 was an overactive year in which many important events had happened. Many events took place in the same year, such as the Vietnam War, the Apollo 8 being sent to the moon orbit, the murder of Martin Luther King and Kennedy, and the invasion of Soviets into the Czechoslovakia. The universities were boycotted. Millions of young hit the streets for more freedom, equality, justice and a clean environment (Birand, Dündar, & Çaplı, 2000)

If we were to talk a little bit about student movements before the year 1968 in Europe, the students again put up a fight against absolute monarchy for democratic rights. The movements of 68 were largely left -wing movement and the events of 1848 had nationalist ideas. One of the first supporters of the nationalist movements that started in Italy and Germany after the 1920s was university students. The student movements that started in Asia and Africa during the Colonial period were also nationalist movements struggling for independence (Altbach, 1989).

Although it is unpredictable how and when the emerging political movements in the universities will take place, there are various reasons for their occurrence. One of the most important of these is the social environment in universities and the sufficient free time. Students use this time to think about political issues and to deal with community problems. Indeed, the fact that the intensity of the lesson in the American education system and the examination system annihilate this free time, make this activism difficult (Horowitz, 1987). Youth in this period also went into search for a new order for society and a new education system while seeking solutions to their problems. Student movements first started by questioning general managerial problems. Later, they began to criticize the education system they were in, and this process went

towards establishing ideological foundations and organizations (Dietrich, 1980). In the period of student movements, social issues such as homosexual rights, which had not come to the fore, have also begun to be expressed. 68 events in America and Europe have occurred in the struggle for democratic rights like this. In the third world countries it was a political quest and struggle against imperialism (Tuncel, 2010).

Student movements were originally initiated by black American students who were subjected to discrimination and racist discourses. These students boycotted the school and struggled with the school authorities in the fight they initiated for equal treatment. The students expressed that in the curriculum there must be lessons about the history and culture of the black people. These and other initiative acts for freedom, justice and a new order have received wide support and have begun to spread rapidly. Then they have spread to the whole world (Bundy, 2017).

Factors affecting student movements in the US were racism, inequality of women and men, and reaction to the Vietnam War (E. Doğan, 2016).

What this generation, which was born at the end of World War II, makes different from the others are factors like the economic, social and cultural changes of the world, and the fact that young people are in search of an identity. Although student movements appear at similar times throughout the world, they have started with different characteristics of each country with different motivations and their features have varied accordingly. But the common feature is that it is a rebellion against the order (Alpay, 1988).

This student movement that took place in the entire world has also spread to Turkey. In the starting of the youth movement in Turkey, opportunity to organize in associations and political parties given to university students with 61 constitutions has great importance. As a result, students began to question and revolt the authority. Another factor was that the oppressive and reactionary attitudes of the Democratic Party which came to power claiming democratization and improvement of the country led to a reaction among young people. Democratic Party administration was also seen as a danger against the Kemalist values and there were Kemalist discourses in the

actions (Yıldırım, 2014). The 68 events in the west were not in search of a new political regime, only claiming more rights from the current power. 68 events in Turkey had the desire for the regime change and the desire to seize power.

Unlike the student movements worldwide, student movements in Turkey has continued for many years. So much so that the confusion environment created by these student movements lasted until eighties and a military coup was made on September 12, 1980 (F. Bulut, 2011).

Another case where the student movements in Turkey are separated from the others, student movements that started with left-wing structuring in Turkey has created in the time its own opposite pole and right-wing student movements have emerged (Demirci, 1974).

Since the early 1960s, the majority of youth organizations operating in the university was carrying out the operation of spread of socialism in Turkey. These events became to a new state with the burning of the car of the American ambassador, who visited METU in 1969, and anti-American actions continued thereafter. In the same period, the right-wing sector was organized. The largest representative of this section is the NMP's youth organization, which is led by Alparslan Türkeş. The conflicts that broke out between these two groups gradually turned into armed struggle and resulted in a wide range of deaths (Aydemir, 2014).

2.2. Sport-Politics Interaction

Sport has been in the focus of politics because of the interest it has seen by the masses and the influence it has created. While the interest of politics creates occasionally visible effects to the naked eye, the traces of politics and state politics can be seen even in ordinary applications by several people. For example, in the opening ceremonies of the Olympics, the fact that athletes carry country flags, even national anthems are performed at the medal ceremony are nationalistic symbols and political lines (Houlihan, 1997).

While there are many incidents that can be proof in relation to sports and politics, the fun and enthusiastic side of the sport is overshadowing these events. Nevertheless, that the power of the government use sports for propaganda purposes, or the roots of some conflicts in sport prove the association of politics and sports (Hoberman, 1984).

The strong competition between the two Spanish teams Deportivo La Coruna and Celta Vigo demonstrates how interstate relations and history affect the sport. Because of persecution against Jews in Spain, Ottoman sends the Barbados Hayrettin Pasha to the region. Local community help the Ottoman and a friendship starts between the people of the region and the Turks. Celta Vigo has such a historic connection with the Portuguese. Even today these two teams are sustaining these political and historical events, and they say treacherous to each other by referring to these events. Deportivo supporters call themselves Turks and hang Turkish flags in matches (Çiftçi, 2005).

The power distracts people from political events with sports. The staggering games to keep people under control during the Roman period show how old it is. One of the best examples of people laying down to the spore and becoming insensitive to political events has been experienced in Greece. While the Greek people did not react to the withdrawal of the junta government in 1967-1974 from the European council, they showed great reaction to the removal of Greek teams from UEFA as a result of this decision.

Between 1939 and 1975, during the period of General Franco, who ruled Spain with dictatorship, the national sports delegation was established. This institution was the sole competent authority for all sporting events in the country. The presidents of this institution consisted of former soldiers who had gained great successes. The sportsmen were giving military greetings. General Franco has built many stadiums with hundreds of thousands of capacity. The General Franco described these stadiums as sleeping bags and made people with football obsessed and made insensitive them to administration of the country.

The basis of the competition between Real Madrid and Barcelona, the two biggest teams in the world at the moment, is the political situation in that time. While Real

Madrid was the apple of the Franco administration's eye, Barcelona was criticizing the Franco's policy and was not loved by the administration (Aja, 2013). Dictatorial regimes that started in Brazil and Portugal in the 1930s also used sports to remove people from politics (Drumond, 2013).

Developments on the sport have always been a reflection of the politics of the country. Once upon a time, racist practices in Brazil were reflected in the spore, and the Brazilian president forbade black players to play in the soccer national team. With the change of the racist administration, this ban has been lifted (Azzellini, 2008).

The fact that two most successful athletes were not allowed to participate in national boxing event in Greece because they are of Turkish origin, and that Naim Süleymanoğlu, one of the greatest weight-lifters of all times, escaped from Bulgaria to Turkey are the reflections of countries' policies of themselves or between each other (Çancı, 2006).

The use of sport to desensitize political affairs is expressed by the term "sport babbling". People can talk and discuss sport events for hours over the course of the day. Because this does not present any danger, but discussing or commenting on political issues can sometimes lead to repressive attitudes and even sanctions. This is actually what the administration wants to create. For the sake of power, sport is seen as the most appropriate option for the creation of a safe environment in which the emotional outbursts of humans and anger induced by the social, economic problems will be abreacted. Instead of criticizing the finance ministers' practices, the masses discuss the coach's mistakes. While they do not consider what the taxes are spent for, they follow the expenses of the clubs (Şahin, 2011a).

Using the power of the sport to direct masses is a tool of politics, it is also possible to reach a political power by using sport, and there are numerous examples of this. Arnold Schwarzenegger to be the California governor, Milan football team's owner Berlusconi to be the Italian prime minister, famous Turkish soccer players Saffet Sancaklı's and Hakan Sukur's being members of parliament, NBA basketball player Hidayet Türkoğlu's being principal consultant of the president, Olympic champion wrestler

Hamza Yerlikaya's serving as deputy and the principal consultant of the president are just a few of them. Government officials are investing in the spore because they know its power on masses and expect political feedback from it. For this reason, that government officials use their political power in the success of the football teams in the region where they are selected or use of this tool to collect votes is a condition common in Turkey. In a statement, Turgut Özal said that based on his experiences, football's relation to politics is a reality. He expressed that they promised the football team of the region would be champion for being able to take votes in the regions they went to for the election campaigns and that these promises were welcomed with enthusiasm by the public (Özal, 1985)

2.2.1. Sport-Politics Interaction in World Wide

As mentioned in previous chapters, there are many examples of sports and politics association around the world. The greater the influence of a sports branch or organization, the more politics arouses interest. The two organizations that have the greatest economic and social power in the world are the Olympics and the world cup. This section will feature some of the most prominent political events in the Olympics and world cup games.

2.2.1.1. Highlights of Political Intervention to the Olympics

Politics have influenced the contests in almost every period throughout the Olympic history. In examining these periods, we can divide the Olympic history into two parts: as the ancient Olympics, which was held between 776 BC-392 AD and the modern Olympics, which took place from1896 to present.

2.2.1.1.1. Ancient Olympics

The ancient Olympics were held every four years as it is today. But unlike today, it had local characteristics and competitions were not open to everyone. Even women's

watching competitions was forbidden in the beginning. In order to participate in the contest as an athlete, it was necessary not to commit a crime and carry pure Greek blood. Over time, these limits were lifted and allowed every Greek woman and man to participate in the race. These Olympics had political aims such as reconciling city states at war, commemoration of the Zeus and providing the Greek unity. Apart from that, the participating city states were also using competitions to protect their own power and to establish superiority to the other colonies (Karaküçük, 1988).

At that time, as in the present day, a state could take the athletes of other states to their own teams in return for money. It is also mentioned those who try to achieve success through bribery in the history and the punishments given to them. The boycott of the contests we often see in the history of modern Olympics is one of the events we encountered during the ancient Olympics. In short, there were similar events in ancient times as in today (Crowther, 1996).

2.2.1.1.2. Modern Olympics

Modern Olympics are divided into 3 in itself; the first period covers the period from 1896, when modern Olympics began, to 1912. The 1916 Olympics could not be held due to the beginning of the 1st World War in 1914. In 1920 the Olympics were reorganized and lasted until 1936. This period is called 2nd period. The Olympics were again interrupted in 1940-1944 due to the Second World War. The Olympics, which resumed in 1948 and continued uninterruptedly until today, are called 3rd period (TMOK, 1988).

2.2.1.2. Highlights of Political Intervention to the World Cups

The World Cup is one of the largest sports organizations in the world with the Olympics. The first world cup was played in Uruguay in the year 1930. In 1942 and 1946, the World Cup could not be organized due to World War II. However, except these years, it is organized every 4 years from 1930 to this day. The World Cup causes

spending billions of dollars for host countries. Japan and South Korea spent 4 billion dollars for the 2002 world cup (Baade & Matheson, 2004).

On the other hand, when looked at only the tourism revenue of the tourists coming to the southern side in 2002 due to the world cup are worth 1.5 billion dollars. Perhaps the greatest achievement is the publication of the country on all world televisions (Lee & Taylor, 2005).

Because of this strength, the world cup organization has been exposed to political interference throughout its history. Benito Mussolini, who came into power in Italy in 1922, ruled the country with fascism. This power seized all the institutions in Italy. He was giving importance very particularly to the youth-related issues. For this reason, the sport which attracted all the people, especially the youth, was in the hands of the power. In addition to creating a healthy and strong youth for the power, it is also a vehicle in which political ideologies are imposed, and making propaganda opportunity is found by creating role models (Armstrong & Mitchell, 2011).

It was chosen as the host country of the 1934 World Cup, taking into consideration the great budget in the sport and the development of the football. But another important reason for this election was that Italy was in Europe. The World Cup in 1930 was made in the Uruguay and many European countries did not participate in the competition by excusing the distance. Uruguay therefore protested against the 1934 World Cup and did not participate in the competition. Britain also did not join the 1934 World Cup because of political conflict between Italy since the 1920s. In this organization the propaganda of the fascist administration was made in every way. The names of the fascist leaders were given to the stadiums where the matches were played. All the successes of the organization were mentioned with administration in the newspaper titles (Matsaridis & Kaimakamis, 2012).

The 1938 World Cup is also an intense period of politics. Mussolini said to the Italian team that definitely win; otherwise, you do not need to come back. One of the most important and surprising political movements in the 1938 World Cup was the British football team going to Berlin and greeting Nazi salute in a hundred thousand people

of stadium (Fisher, 2010). In 1976, a military coup was made in Argentina. In the process following the coup, the people in the opposite mind were subjected to great repression and tens of thousands were killed. As previously decided, Argentina would host the world cup in 1978 and the junta administration used it as an opportunity to prove its legitimacy and draw a beautiful image. The junta administration has taken over communication channels from the moment it came to power. All existing programs on television were removed, but soccer broadcasts continued. Half of the annual budget spent on training was spent for the World Cup. The ruling force had leaned over backwards in order to win the world cup and saw it as a battle and a challenge, not just as a game. Protests have been organized in many countries for these reasons, yet they all participated in the competition (Rein & Davidi, 2009). Another important event in this period is the "yes to football no to torture" movement that started in western Germany. This movement criticized the use of sports as a political tool all over the world. In particular, they opposed the use of sports organizations to cover up practices against human rights, as in the case of Argentina (Jiménez Botta, 2017).

Another example showing politics' black spot on the sport is 1982 world cup". In this world cup, Algeria showed an unexpected performance and defeated western Germany 2-1. Thus, for the first time in the history of football, an African country has won against a European country. It was defeated 2-0 by Austria, another opponent in the group. It played the last game with Chile and won. But they were waiting for the result of Germany-Austria match to be played the next day. If western Germany win 3-0 in this match, Austria will be eliminated and Algeria group can qualify out of the group. Another possibility is that if it tied with the Austria, or Austria won, Germany would be eliminated, and Algeria would qualify out of the group again. On the day of the match, Germany took a 1-0 lead at the 10th minute and the game almost stopped. As a result of this collusion of these two European countries, Algeria was eliminated (Doyle, 2010). In a study on Israeli fans in the 2014 world cup, they were asked to evaluate Iranian soccer team and Iranian soccer audience. The results of the study show that the middle-aged and older conservative people see the Iranians worse than the younger ones. One of the possible reasons for this is expressed as follows. In 2009, the

Iranian soccer team criticized the Iranian administration and Iranian women fan, expressed the inadequacy of women's rights in the country with modern dresses and free attitudes on Iranian women's tribune. This event has taken place too much in the social media, and the younger generation has become more aware of these events than the older ones. This reflects the power of the sport to change political inter-country perception (Samuel-Azran, Galily, Lavie-Dinur, & Karniel, 2016).

2.2.2. Sport-Politics Interaction in Turkey

Sports-politics relation in Turkey has started to show itself together with Turkey Training Community Alliance (TİCİ), founded in 1922. These political influences have continued since that day. This section on the organizational structure of the Turkish sports organization has been extensively given place under the title of THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF SPORTS IN TURKEY. In this section, the points such as National Olympic Committee of Turkey, match-fixing cases, the connection between politicians and sports clubs and political participation of supporter groups in Gezi Park events will be concentrated on.

2.2.2.1. TMOK

The Olympic committee, first established in 1908 under the name of the Ottoman Olympic Society, has been named as the TMOK in 1923 and has come to this day. In 1936, as a result of the structural change in the Turkish sports organization, the TMOK, which has been independent until that day, turned into a state organization and the presidents began to come to the administration by the government's assignment. This situation lasted until 1962.

International Olympic Committee (IOC) has expressed that this situation is not in accordance with the IOC laws; presidents can come to the administration with an election by the members of the committee and has warned that if not being like that, Turkey will not be taken to the games. In response to this warning, the statute was amended in 1962 and the TMOK regained independence. However, political

interventions continued. For example, as a result of the USA's call to boycott the Moscow Olympics in 1980, General Directorate of Physical Education decided not to participate in the games secretly from the TMOK. The TMOK was informed of this decision when preparing to participate in the Olympics (TMOK, n.d.). Nowadays, while there are Olympic committees, sports' competent authorities, except for Russia, North Korea and Turkey, the fact that there is ministry of sports in our country also makes the autonomy of sports open to debate.

2.2.2.2. Connections between Politicians and Sports Clubs

One of the closest examples of the relations of the politicians with the clubs was Kasımpaşaspor's rise with the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government. From the 1970s until the 2000s Kasimpaşaspor's name wasn't read, after Tayyip Erdoğan, who is a fan of it, came to the power in 2002, the rise of Kasimpaşaspor's is as follows. It raised 3rd league in 2004, in 2005 2nd league, 1st league in 2006, and super league in 2007 (Özdil, 2013).

The relation of sports-politics in the period of AKP government is not limited to this. In Wikileaks documents, that the AKP has intervened in the presidential election of the Trabzonspor and a president, close to his own views, is brought instead of a chairman of the CHP is expressed. In addition, money transfer to Trabzonspor from the discretionary fund is also included in the information. The AKP has been struggling to dominate the football industry in ways such as interfering with the president elections of federation, intervening in tenders, and bringing tax amnesty for clubs (Oda TV, 2010).

These political interventions and conflicts are also seen in branches out of football. The significance of the world billiards champion Semih Saygıner's statements are important for the political controversies and irregularities in the youth-sports organization, and for those happening outside the football federations. As a result of the disputes that the administration has experienced with Semih Saygıner due to a number of power struggles, a fake punishment has been given to Semih and the

inspectors report proved that this punishment is a fake. Moreover, in the inspector's report, corruptions such as casting doubt on election, founding fake license and club took place. As a result of the report mentioning this penalty and other corruptions, which enjoined Saygıner from the international champions, politically supported federation wasn't punished. There are also arguments that the general directorate has given instruction to the federations to increase club numbers in the direction of the government's policies aimed at gilding the pill, and that clubs have been established on paper (Güney, 2012).

Sports writers also got political power's share of the political pressures against the federations and clubs. Many topics such as tax evasion, money laundering, match-fixing and mafia relations have not found place much in sports writings due to the fear of authors. A report with political sharpness is being blocked or reshaped according to the political line of the media boss (R. Uzun, 2004).

These political interventions were no different in the period of the previous governments. Şenol Güneş, Ünal Karaman and Can Çobanoğlu, who were in the technical staff of the national team during the DSP-MHP-ANAP coalition, represented these three parties in terms of their political tendencies. During the ANAP government, Galatasaray's successive championships is said to be an effect of Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz's and Interior Minister Mehmet Agar's close association with Galatasaray coach Fatih Terim, this political relationship. Even, it is claimed that the transfer of Haşan Şaş is supplied by the discretionary fund. Fenerbahçe supporters' unfurling a banner saying "See you on the voting box Mister Mesut" to Mesut Yılmaz is important in terms of this relationship's public reflection (Yanarocak, 2012).

These political pressures by politicians to the clubs or federations have undermined the development of sports. Regarding the years in which the presidents of the federation has been working, it can be said that when the administration is stable and the political pressures are less, the regulations about football are made faster and accordingly the sporting achievements are increased (Murathan, Batmaz, & Devecioğlu, 2017).

2.2.2.3. Match Fixing

Match fixing events can be examined from many different perspectives regarding sports-politics relation. In this section, topics about events such as how they use these events to occupy the agenda, how much the community, playing political games in the country, appreciates football, and how much a football team has support by the public will be given place to. In 2011, the Turkish team Fenerbahçe and especially match-fixing debates of the president Aziz Yıldırım came to the fore. Match fixing has been a point all over football from amateur leagues to super league since the past years. In the previous periods, there had not been made any stride on this issue and this investigation process was perhaps the biggest match-fixing operation in Turkey. However, while some thought these match-fixing investigations, started in Fenerbahçe in 2011, had the goal of finishing the dark events in the football and bringing pure football, the other part claimed that these events were a political attack on Fenerbahçe and Aziz Yildirim (Kaya, 2016).

The most important sides of these different claims were the "Gülen community supporters" who planned the Ergenekon trick and the 15 July coup attempt, and Aziz Yildirim, who has Kemalist discourses and the nationalist group supporting him. Aziz Yildirim stated that Fenerbahçe fought for the country's defence before the republic and continued this struggle through the sport after the republic in the first trial of the case. He claimed that he found the match-fixing events unfounded and that this case was filed because his and his club's Kemalist stance disturbed. Even, he used an expression like, "What match-fixing, what match-fixing case? The country will be lost" (Zelyurt, 2017).

Aziz Yildirim in his other statements: Fenerbahçe is Atatürk's club and the Republic's last undamaged castle, these investigations are not a match-fixing case, but a political case; He mentioned that not himself but Fenerbahçe club is on the target and he paid the price for his Kemalist, Republican and secular stance (Radikal, 2014). Discourses of Gülen's supporters about these events support the fact that the case for match-fixing is a political case. Hüseyin Gülerce, opinion columnist of Zaman newspaper, who

made the Community's spokesperson, points out that the match-fixing case is directed at the structuring of Ergenekon in the football. He says that the tutelage regime also exists in the football, not only in the military, in the business world, and not in the judiciary. The section that Gülerce defined as tutelage regime corresponds to Atatürk's secular section, as Aziz Yildirim has also stated. Taraf newspaper allegedly founded for the Ergenekon case also supported the community's perception operation against Fenerbahçe with its news (Erkin, 2015). Can Dündar pointed out in an article that match-fixing is a reality known for many years in Turkey. Nevertheless, it was stated that the investigation was not conducted in an attempt to prevent it, but in the wake of a political power struggle (Kızar, Dalkılıç, & Bayrak, 2015). In fact, the community had political interventions besides this case. Ülker, a company close to the Gülen community and the AKP, helped out with large investments and assistance to Fenerbahçe, following many people close to AKP and Erdoğan entered to Fenerbahçe Congress in 2012 (Akbal, 2014).

While these discussions were going on, the public opinion was in the direction of the fact that match-fixing case is the continuation of the cases like Ergenekon and Sledgehammer and that it was a trick established by the community against Fenerbahçe (Başbuğ, 2016).

1 in 3 of the participants in this direction, according to a study conducted in Turkey believes that match-fixing case is a conspiracy (Pepe & Vardar, 2016).

The match-fixing case process is also important in showing that the sports clubs have great public support and political power. The match-fixing prosecutor, Mehmet Berk, stated that he worked in the sledgehammer case in confessions he made and that they thought the public interest about the match-fixing case was going to disappear within 3 to 4 months as it was in the sledgehammer case, but it didn't happen like that. While the public interest in the sledgehammer case, in which many valuable officers of the Turkish Armed Forces were arrested, disappeared in a short period of time and the people were not supportive, Fan's support for Aziz Yildirim continued for 365 days throughout Fenerbahçe president's being in jail and it kept busy public opinion. This

event, which kept the agenda busy, turned into an opportunity for the government to cover up many corruption and terrorist incidents in the country (Özdil, 2013).

2.2.2.4. Gezi

In many countries around the world, soccer fans are expressing in stadiums many of the political, social and economic problems they face. Although there are arguments in our country that the political environment that existed in the stadiums was suppressed after the 1980 military coup in the past and nowadays in the repressive political environment of the AKP government; nevertheless, people, afraid to make individual criticism, could express their reaction in crowds (Yildirim, 2017).

For example, minister of transport and communication and minister of family and social policies who watched a tennis tournament in Istanbul in 2012 were booed and catcalled by other spectators (Özdil, 2013).

According to Dorsey, regardless being the opium of the masses, the football fields with the mosques are among the few public places in many Middle Eastern countries where people can pronounce their demands, anxieties and desires. Football in the last thirty years has been an area "where the anger and frustration compressed to Africa's Atlantic coasts from the Gulf countries and the struggle for political, sexual, economic, social, ethnic and national rights have emerged." (Dorsey, 2011).

This is also experienced in Turkey in May 2013 in Gezi protests in which 2.5 million people participated from 79 provinces throughout the country. Soccer supporters have participated in this political act and have even pioneered it partly (Şardan, 2013).

In this sense, the largest contribution belongs to Çarşı, Beşiktaş supporter group. The Çarşı group played a major role in organizing the people during the Gezi protests and ensuring the flow of information (Özçetin & Turan, 2015). The soccer fanatic who generally creates a sense of virtual hostility and competition has turned into a unifying power in such a political action.

Many team supporters, such as Göztepe and Karşıyaka, who were in competition with each other, came together during the protests (Özdil, 2013). Fenerbahçe example is important among the reasons of politicization of soccer fans. During the match-fixing operation in 2011, Fenerbahçe supporters, who see football is involved in politics and became targets, did not stay away from politics during the Gezi Park Events in 2013. They participated in Gezi events with the slogan "Every place is Taksim, everywhere is resistance" in competitions (Çandar, 2013).

2.2.3. The Development of Organizational Structure of Sports in Turkey

Sports organizations play a crucial role for reaching the large masses of sports and for managing of sports. Before modern Turkey, these roles were fulfilled by some institutes named as "tekke","vakıf" and "ağalık". Tekkes' were generally used for spreading islamic philosophy but also used as today's clubs. When ottomans conquered new place they build tekke for raising healthy and strong people. So these places were generally served in martial sports such as wrestling, horse riding and archery for military aims. The other institutions Vakıfs are bigger then tekkes and it can be said that these instutions are used as today's associations supported by politicians and wealthy peoples. Last institution "ağalık" is still using in traditional oil-wrestling. Ağa, who invites and awards wrestlers and spectators. He is also organizator of competitions in all aspect (Gümüş, 1990). While after the Tanzimat reform era both these foundations and sports started to loose their functionality and popularity, modern sports especially football was started to rise (Fişek, 1985).

In originator of physical education in Turkey, Selim Sırrı and Rıza Tevfik were the most prominent persons. Selim Sırrı was also founder of olympism in Turkey (Haytoğlu, 2016).

In Ottoman, military schools were the first place that had modern physical education. After 1970's gymnastic was used as a required course in all of the military schools and some other schools. According to general opinion "Mekteb-i Sultani" was the first

school which used modern physical education as a required course. These lessons were performed in public so people began to interest these modern sports (Akın, 2018).

After 1885 football was began to play in izmir then istanbul. And some clubs were established such as Galatasaray, Beşiktaş, Moda, Bornova, Elips and Imogene (Tayga, 1990).

Over a period of 9 years from 1913 through 1922 several football associations were founded such as Istanbul Football association, Cuma league, Pazar league, Turkish Training Association. These associations were closed or changed in a short time because of some problems. In those days non-muslims dominate these clubs and associations and there were many conflicts between turks and non-muslims for example when non-muslims clubs were accepted by these associations, turkish clubs were not accepted by these associations. Another problem that there were not enough referees. But the most important issue was administrative problems such as lack of justice and decisions were taken by strong clubs or mens (Ertuğ, 1977).

2.2.3.1. Turkish Alliance of Training Associations 1922-1936

In 1922 16 sports clubs merged under the name of Turkish Alliance of Training Association. This association had an autonomous, independence and regionalist structure (Devecioğlu, 2008).

When professional footballer and sports manager Yusuf Ziya Öniş came back to the Switzerland where he finished his education, he brought switzerland sports organizations regulation and he translated with his friends Ali Sami Yen, Burhan Felek and Nasuhi Esat Baydar. Therefore Organizational form of TATA depended on Switzerland Federation. With the establishment of TATA so many different sports began to play such an Athletism, tennis, fencing and sailing (Canşen, 2015).

TİCİ could have succeeded in development of sports in many aspects, but it did not had an authority for unite together all of the athletes and institution of sport due to its structure. However it brought independent and autonomous concept to the sports

groups and this was so important gain for sports management of Turkey (Mollaoğulları, 1998).

Ottoman Empire was a multinational state and nationality was seen negatively. After the collapsed of Ottoman Empire, Turkey established as a nation state, and therefore awareness of turkishness was wanted to increase by sports. In founding purpose of TATA these aims were stated as; "to provocation and reinforcement of national feelings in international competitions", "turkish athletes should triumph over the other nation athletes", "national pride" The youth should be protected from alcohol, gambling and the other bad habits so they will improve their ethical behaviour and national feelings. Sports tried to be protected from self interest and to get profit. Even physical power was not seen as a purpose but an instrument for raising brilliant, morally justified youth and thus Turkey's scientific developments and national superiority to be realized (Özmaden, 2010).

In addition to these nationalist discourses, government wanted to show modernity of turkey to the west by this new sport organizations and used for introducing country into the world (Yıldıran, 1996).

2.2.3.2. Turkish Sport Associations 1936-1938

After 14 year- duty period from 1922 to 1936, TİCİ abolished itself and TSK was established just after TİCİ's 8th congress. At first, TSK was autonomous and independent just as TİCİ. However, TSK committee made a motion which include that CHP is the only political power for national salvation and TSK is part of CHP. This motion accepted by 40 deputy therefore sports management in turkey lost his autonomous structure (Fişek, 2003).

Thereby, period of TSK lasted from 1936 to 1938 is thought as an interim regyme in terms of sports management and sports politics (Sümer, 1990).

Sports organizations and facilities increased in that era. Opening the first stadium, 19 Mayıs Stadyumu, in acccordance wiht international standards could be an example of

this time period. This stadium was the symbol of rebublic. Thanks to musical shows, official ceremonies and sportive activities community started to interested in sports (Yeşilkaya, 1999). TSK was one of the example of new state structure of Turkey. As a consequence of CHP sport policy, reaching the masses and approaching sports to the national issue were the aim of TSK (Şahin, 2011a). Financial support for sports by government was 443.000 TL from 1926 to 1934. On the other hand it was 920.000 TL from 1935 to 1938. This shows that CHP began to interest and conduct sports from 1934 (Apak, 1938). TSK had semi-offical structure due to members of Turkish military and CHP in top management. Work programme and budget of TSK went through by head of CHP and important topics were instructed from party. Hence TSK was conducted as an party-state management. Political involvement caused to unjustice applications (Doğar, 1994). TSK was transformed to government in order to protect CHP from consequences of these negative events (Fişek, 1985).

2.2.3.3. General Directorate of Physical Education

On the contrary to previous day sport managed by not party but government in this period. However politicians were still effective on sport. Many of state minister had delegate in committee of BTGM such as ministry of culture, ministry of national defence, ministry of internal affairs, ministry of health and social assistance (Sümer, 1990).

At the beginning BTGM established as an subsidiary of prime ministry but then it was connected to ministry of national education in 1942 and once again attached to prime ministry in 1960. In 1969 ministry of youth and sport was established therefore for the first time Turkey had sport minister. Its name was changed to Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sport in 1983 (SGM, n.d.).

Law of BTGM prepared just before Atatürks die. Researchers said that this law prepared according to Atatürks directions and they want to raise new generations fit for regimes ideal.

Sport was thought as one of a key issue in government policy. In that era most important daily sports newspaper, L Auto, published an article about Atatürks sport policy. " he was the first statesman who made physical education obligatory. He builded stadium and sports center therefore sport gained popularity (Atabeyoğlu, 1981)." According to some researchers sports was used as a militaristically and ideologically in that period. It was thought that national defence would be provided through healthy and strong generations (T. Bulut, 2007). In 31th government of Turkey which established under the presidency of Süleyman Demirel in 1969, ministry of youth and sports was established. In 45th government of Turkey which established under the presidency of Turgut Özal in 1984, sport attached to Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sport (Tanyeri, Mızrak, Öztaşyonar, & Şıktar, 2001).

2.2.3.3.1. General Directorate of Physical Education(Attachment of Sport to the Prime Ministry) 1960-1965

During the government period of 1961-1965, sport was regarded as a "spare time activity whose material-technical conditions prepared by the state" and it was stated i their programs that the preparation of a program followed by the experts for physical education and statistical studies will be given importance to and at the same time it was stated that more effective organizational activities in the field of physical education will be accelerated and that sports areas and facilities of which the youth in all the provinces and districts of the country will be able to take advantage will be completed quickly. Again in this period, for the first time in the Council of Ministers, a state minister responsible for sports was given place. The reorganization of laws to promote sport to the contemporary level by prioritizing amateur and intramural sports shows the perspective of governments on sports. Since 1963 when Turkey stepped to the planned periods, the issue of sports' dissemination took place in the five-year development plans (Fişek, 1998).

2.2.3.3.2. Ministry of Youth and Sports + General Directorate of Physical Education 1969-1983

In this period, it is aimed to increase the hours of the physical education in the schools. Necessary studies were carried out to be raised sportsmen such as coaches, academicians, health experts, sports managers. Decisions have been taken for domestic production of sports equipment at international quality. Again in this period, the sports academy has been unveiled for the first time in Ankara. For the first time in this period, there has been a ministry of youth and sports. It is indicated in the government programs that amateur sports will be encouraged and traditional sports will be given importance to. The training of qualified sportsmen has been taken into consideration. It is aimed to use the sport for the purpose of providing national unification. It has been stated that more physical education and sports departments should be opened in universities (Demir, 2006). It was aimed to disseminate sports in national education in order to raise a healthy generation in the development plans covering 1968-1972 years. Priority has been given to the regulation of sport-related legislation. Clubs have been supported to serve in more sports branches (DPT, 1968). In the development plans between 1973 and 1977, it was aimed to support traditional sports besides basic branches. Opening sports schools, disseminating sports for everyone, and bringing sports facilities to international standards are aimed at (DPT, 1972).

Priority has been given to school sports in the development plans covering the years 1979-1983. It is aimed to develop amateur sports in every age and branch. It has been decided that sports centres should be established in every region so that all people can participate.

2.2.3.4. Prime Ministry's State Department + General Directorate of Sports and Youth 1986 – 2005

General Directorate of Youth and Sports, which is organized by Law No. 3289 dated May 21, 1986 and which is affiliated to the Prime Ministry, has the authority of decisions and audits concerning Turkish sports. Therefore; Youth and Sports General

Directorate is a public organization, located at the top of sports organizations in Turkey and taking binding decisions with regard to sports activities in the area of their jurisdiction. It is stated in the development plans prepared in this period that the professionalization of sports branches will be encouraged. Increasing financial resources and support from the private sector have also been taken into consideration. It is aimed to expand sports facilities. Based on the 1982 constitution, it was aimed to disseminate sports and to protect youth from bad habits (Gök & Sunay, 2010). According to the law no. 3289 dated 1986, the presidents of the federations were appointed for 5 years by the national education youth and sports minister. Also, the national education minister of youth and sports had the authority to discharge the task and regulate the election again. Considering the development of international football, it was thought that Turkish football was not able to be managed under these circumstances and in 1988 football became an autonomous and independent structure with a new law (Berk, 2006). With this application, it is aimed to be both free from the financial standpoint and to have an independent management from politics. It is thought that the existing resources will be used for other amateur sports branches and the development of amateur sports will gain momentum by having an independent structure of football. On the other hand, the opposition parties claimed that the political intervention would increase further and that it would be lacking in the supervision mechanism provided by the state. In 2004, the law no. 5105 opened the way for other federations to be autonomous. With this law, the federations could be independent from the administrative and financial standpoint, but the state could control the implementations. The practice of the law is far from the intended aims, because the governing boards of these federations were still determined by the state and did not provide any real autonomy (Berk, 2006).

2.2.3.5. Ministry of Youth and Sports + General Directorate of Sports 2011 – Present

Establishment of the Ministry of Youth and Sports; was decided on 3/6/2011 by the Council of Ministers on the basis of the authority given by Law No. 6223 of 6/4/2011. The "General Directorate of Youth and Sports" phrase, which is included in the Law

no. 3289, has been changed to "General Directorate of Sports" with the Decree Law (SGM, n.d.).

According to the Public Finance Management and Control Law No. 5018, the General Directorate of Sports is an administration with special budget including the central administration budget among the public administrations within the scope of central government. Presently, the sport in Turkey is managed by Youth and Sports Ministry and a Ministerial General Directorate under the framework of a special law, there is also a Football Federation which is not depended on the General Directorate. The Sport Federations attached to General Directorate and Turkish Football Federation apart from the local offices of these organizations, Sports Clubs Federations and Turkey Amateur Sports Clubs Confederation, founded in the frame of special regulation in the Law of Associations as the parent organization of the sports clubs in Turkey, as well as Turkey's National Olympic Committee, Sports Columnists Association and various associations are active (Üçışık, 2011).

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

This study designed to explore undergraduate students' perceptions on sports-politics interaction. This chapter was allocated to provide information regarding the research methodology employed in this current study under the subsection of research design, sampling, measurement instrument, data collection procedures and data analysis methods respectively.

3.1. Research Design

This study used quantitative descriptive research as research method to provide a picture of undergraduate students' perceptions related to the sport, politic and their mutual interaction. Quantitative descriptive research relies on numbers or closed-ended questions in order to examine the phenomena being investigated (Creswell, 2009). As a part of quantitative descriptive methodology, survey research design was adopted to elicit students' responses regarding sports and politics. Survey research design involves engaging a great number of individuals with a set of closed-ended questions (Creswell, 2014; Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun, 2013). According to Fraenkel et al. (2013) survey is an appropriate research design if individuals' characteristics such as preferences, perceptions, behaviors and abilities are to be investigated or measured. That's why this study followed quantitative descriptive research, using survey as a design method to collect quantitative data.

3.2. Sampling

In this study the population from which sample was drawn consisted of all graduate and undergraduate students who study physical education and sports in Ankara,

Turkey. There are six universities in Ankara who has physical education program: Ankara University, Hacettepe University, Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Başkent University, Gazi University and Middle East Technical University (METU). Since physical education and sports program at METU do not have undergraduate students and the number of graduate students who were registered to the program was quite low, METU was excluded from the study.

A convenience sampling method was adopted to reach the participants who were available and volunteer to participate to this study. Despite having some generalizability issues because of its nature, convenience sampling is widely used and considered to be very useful for researcher who want to collect quantitative data from a sample in a large population because of limited resources, time and workforce (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). Participants were from five universities located in Ankara, Turkey: Ankara University, Hacettepe University, Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Başkent University, Gazi University (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Characteristics of Participants by University and Gender

University	Female	Male	Total
Hacettepe	58	100	158
Ankara	83	105	188
Gazi	39	94	133
Baskent	3	37	40
Yildirim Beyazit	41	39	80
	224	375	**599**

Table 3.1 showed some descriptive statistics related to the characteristics of the participants in terms of university and gender. As indicated in table 3.1, the total number of participants who participated to this study were 599. Female and male constituted 37 and 63 percent of the participants respectively. When it came to universities by gender, there were 158 students from Hacettepe university. Among 158 students, 58 were female and 100 were male. 188 students in total from Ankara university comprised 83 females and 105 males. As for Gazi university, there were 133 students, 39 were female and 94 were male. The number of participants from either Baskent or Yıldırım Beyazıt was relatively small when compared to other three

universities. A total of 40 students were from Baskent university, three of them were female and 37 of them were male. Moreover, there were 80 students from Yıldırım Beyazıt university. Among 80 students, 41 were female and 39 were male.

Participants of this study came from different educational levels. Table 3.2 showed distribution of the participants in terms of educational level and university. According to statistics given in table 3.2, second grade undergraduate students constituted almost half of the participants with the percentage of 37.1 (222 out of 599), followed by first grade students who were second largest amount with the percentage of 34.4 (206 out of 599). Moreover, third grade students comprised 16.5% of the participants (99 out of 599). Lastly, the number of fourth grade and graduate students were combined and constituted 12% of the participants (72 out of 599).

Table 3.2. Characteristics of Participants by University and Grade level

University	1st	2nd	3rd	4th and Graduates
Hacettepe	31	40	42	45
Ankara	35	93	51	9
Gazi	82	43	6	2
Baskent	27	12	-	1
Yildirim Beyazit	31	34	-	15
Total	206	222	99	72

3.3. Measurement Instrument

In this study sport and politic interaction questionnaire was used as an instrument to measure how students perceive sports, politics and their interactions in Turkey. The questionnaire which was developed by Şahin (2011) in Turkish language consisted of 29 items represented by three factors: (1) sports-politics relationship, (2) sports-political system relationship and (3) sports-government relationship. The number of items under each factor was 13, 6 and 10 respectively. Responses to the items in the questionnaire were measured on 5 point Likert scale (1: strongly disagree, 2: disagree, 3: undecided, 4: agree, 5: strongly agree). Validity and reliability of the questionnaire were ensured by Şahin (2011) through factor analysis and content reviews by subject

matter experts. In factor analysis, Şahin conducted principal component analysis in order to determine factor structure. Meyer–Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO) and of Bartlett's Test of Sphericity were reported to be 0.75 and 1392,63 respectively. The questionnaire with 29 items was found to account for 47,23% of the total variance. As for the percentage of variance explained by each individual factor, while sport-politic relation factor explained 19,90% of the variance, sport-political system relation and sport-government relation factors explained 16,44 and 10,88 percent of the total variance. Moreover, Şahin reported Cronbach Alpha value for each factor, namely 0,84 for sport-politic relation, 0,84 for sport-political system relation and 0,76 for sport-government relation. Based on the aforementioned findings reported by Şahin related to the validity and reliability of the instrument, sport and politic interaction questionnaire was considered to be valid and reliable instrument to measure students' perceptions on sport-politic interaction.

The instrument used in this study comprised of two section. The first section included demographic questions whereas the second section included questions regarding sport and politic relation (see Appendix B). Demographic questions involved some of the characteristics of the participants such as gender, university, degree, participation to the youth wings of political party, sport background, frequency of following political news, frequency of following sport news, grade point average (GPA), the amount of time allocated to weekly sport activity, and political orientations.

3.4. Data Collection Procedures

In this study, quantitative data were collected from university students in order to reveal their perceptions on sport and politics relationship. A set of procedures were followed so as to gather the data. First of all, an e-mail was sent to the author who developed Perceptions of Sport-Politics Interaction scale, asking for his permission to use scale in the study. In his reply to the e-mail, the author agreed to give the permission necessary to use the scale in the study. Secondly, the researcher of this study prepared all the documents required by the ethics committee and then applied to METU ethical committee through those documents. Based on the inspection and

review of the documents provided by the researcher, the METU ethics committee granted necessary permission to carry out the study. Thirdly, a permission to collect quantitative data from students was requested from administration committees of five universities: Hacettepe, Ankara, Gazi, Başkent, Yıldırım Beyazıt. All five universities approved the request and granted permission to the researcher for collecting data from their students. Finally, the researcher went to sport education department in five universities and handed out the hard copy questionnaires to the students during the course hours. The data collection procedures mentioned above lasted approximately 3 months from September to November in 2017.

3.5. Data Analysis Procedures

Data analysis process followed collection of quantitative data through survey. In this process, quantitative data were firstly entered into IBM statistical software package program (abbreviated as SPSS). After that, preliminary analyses were conducted to inspect the quantitative raw data in terms of outliers, missing data and the normality. Once the preliminary analyses were implemented successfully and the quantitative data become ready for the further analyses, independent sample t-test and analysis of variance (ANOVA) along with descriptive statistics was performed. Each statistical test was conducted based on the corresponding assumptions.

Since a few number of missing cells was detected, imputation method was used to fill out missing cells. Accordingly, continuous variable with missing values was replaced by mean of nearby point. Moreover, according to the result of the preliminary analysis, skewness and kurtosis values for the items ranged from -1.68 to 2.61 (see Table 3.2). According to Hair, Anderson, Tatham and Black (1998), skewness and kurtosis values between +3.00 and -3.00 are indicative of normal distribution data. That's why, the data was deemed to be normally distributed.

Table 3.3. Mean, Standard Deviation, Skewness and Skewness Values for Sport-
Politic Relation Questionnaire

Items	Mean	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
1	4.05	1.08	-1.25	1.05
2	3.79	1.19	-0.83	-0.21
3	4.10	1.01	-1.28	1.37
4	3.35	1.11	-0.31	-0.50
5	4.01	1.02	-0.99	0.56
6	4.34	0.92	-1.63	2.61
7	2.74	1.26	0.19	-0.93
8	4.09	1.08	-1.21	0.87
9	3.91	1.07	-0.95	0.39
10	3.50	1.19	-0.49	-0.60
11	4.06	1.06	-1.06	0.58
12	3.58	1.06	-0.43	-0.21
13	3.62	1.05	-0.35	-0.43
14	3.88	1.11	-0.87	0.05
15	3.90	1.11	-0.92	0.22
16	3.92	1.13	-0.93	0.16
17	3.87	1.17	-0.79	-0.23
18	3.67	1.29	-0.76	-0.46
19	3.88	1.18	-0.94	0.04
20	3.82	1.11	-0.84	0.11
21	4.36	1.02	-1.68	2.12
22	3.99	1.06	-1.04	0.67
23	3.91	1.03	-0.83	0.31
24	3.89	0.98	-0.78	0.43
25	4.03	1.06	-1.04	0.60
26	4.10	1.04	-1.20	1.06
27	4.09	1.01	-1.13	0.95
28	3.30	1.23	-0.23	-0.83
29	4.26	0.99	-1.44	1.73

ANOVA test required the same variance within each of the group. Therefore, homogeneity of variances assumption was checked for every ANOVA test to determine whether the groups in ANOVA test had the same variance or not. It is known that homogeneity of variance assumption is violated when the assumption result was significant. In such cases some actions like adjustments are suggested to perform on the data. On the other hand, ANOVA is claimed to a robust test, meaning that in violation of the homogeneity of variance assumption, no significant impacts would be created on further analyses (Field, 2009). Therefore, no actions are required in ANOVA tests where homogeneity of variance assumption is violated.

3.6. Limitations

Scope of this study restricted to Ankara and also restricted to Physical Education and Sports students. Political approach of people may differ from city to city and vary by field. These were main limitations of this study. The lack of quantitative studies on this subject and the fact that the literature is predominantly speculative necessitated that this study should be a descriptive study, and interpretation of the data in itself. Another shortcoming of this study is study is not strengthen with the interview.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This is the result chapter in which quantitative data analysis results are presented in alignment with the research questions addressed in this current study. This chapter consisted of several parts. It started with describing demographic characteristics of the sample, continued with providing descriptive statistics for the measures and ended with giving results for independent sample t-test and ANOVA, which were accompanied by the corresponding assumptions.

4.1. Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Participants of this study were university students coming from five universities located in Ankara province. As can be shown in table 4.1, almost all of the participants responded that they did not participate to the youth wings of any political party (n= 544). On the other hand, the number of participants who stated to participate to the youth wings of political party was only limited to 55. Related to sport background, while more than half of the participants described themselves as certified athletes (n=344), only15 percent of participants said to be a national athlete. There were 164 participants who own neither certified athlete nor national athlete but the others. When table 4.1 was examined, it would be seen that the number of participants who followed political news occasionally (n=187) was slightly higher than of those who followed political news generally (n=181). Additionally, the number of participants who were rarely exposed to political news (n=102) was almost the same with those who were exposed to political news every day (n=93). When it comes to the how frequently participants followed sport news, table 4.1 showed that most of the participants (n=269) interested in following sport news, followed by other participants who followed sport news every day (n=188). On the other hand, the number of participants

who either occasionally or rarely followed sport news was 88 and 44 respectively. Related to participants' GPA, 24.7 percent of the participants had GPA in the range of 2.50 and 3.00. Additionally, while 90 participants had GPA between 2.00-2.50, 98 participants had GPA ranging from 3.00 to 3.50. Participants were also asked to indicate the amount of time they spent on doing sport activities in a week. Responses as indicated in table 4.1 showed that most of the participants (n=228) allocated time between 5 and 10 hours for sport activities in a week. Moreover, compared to the number of participants who spent hours between 1 and 5 hours in doing sport activities in a week, there were only 47 participants who were exposed to weekly sport activities more than 20 hours.

Table 4.1. Socio – Demographic Characteristics of the Participants (N=599)

Variable	*n*	%
Participation to the youth wings of political party		
Yes	55	9.2
No	544	90.8
Sport background		
National Athlete	91	15.2
Certified Athlete	344	57.4
Others	164	27.4
Frequency of following political news		
Every Day	93	15.5
Generally	181	30.2
Occasionally	187	31.2
Rarely	102	17.0
Never	36	6.0
Frequency of following sport news		
Every Day	188	31.4
Generally	269	44.9
Occasionally	88	14.7
Rarely	44	7.3
Never	10	1.7

Table 4.1. Socio – Demographic Characteristics of the Participants (N=599) (continued).

Variable	*n*	%
GPA		
<2.00	15	2.5
2.00-2.50	90	15.0
2.50-3.00	148	24.7
3.00-3.50	98	16.4
3.50-4.00	11	1.8
The amount of time allocated to weekly sport activity (hours)		
1-5	135	22.5
5-10	228	38.1
10-15	110	18.4
15-20	40	6.7
20-above	47	7.8

4.2. Frequency and Percentage Values for Sport-Politics Relationship

The table below illustrates participants' perceptions to a set of questions related to sports-politics relationship. From the table 4.2 we can see that majority of the participants strongly agreed with the statement like sport services is under the responsibility of the government (n=252), sports strengthen the connections between socialization and cultural (n=333) and reducing crime and helping youth escape from bad habits are the benefits provided by sports (n=274). On the other hand, a great number of participants were either undecided about using sports to teach people appropriate roles assigned to them in political society (n=197) and using sports as a means of fighting terrorism (n=174) or agreed to the statements which were sports is used as a community health project (n=197).

Table 4.2. Responses to the Variables Under the Sport-Politics Relationship (n= 599)

Variables	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Undecided		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Government is responsible for the sports services.	29	4.8	28	4.7	78	13.0	211	35.2	**252**	42.1
Political factors are important in the realization of sports investments.	38	6.3	58	9.7	100	16.7	195	32.6	**205**	34.2
Sports is a factor in the creation of national identity (common identity) in society.	21	3.5	28	4.7	71	11.9	221	36.9	**246**	41.1
Sports has been used to teach people appropriate roles assigned to them in political society.	40	6.7	83	13.9	**197**	32.9	181	30.2	95	15.9
Political elements and interstate balances are influential in the organization of international competitions (Olympics, World Championships).	17	2.8	35	5.8	101	16.9	217	36.2	**226**	37.7
Sports is a process through which socialization and cultural ties are developed and applied.	12	2.0	20	3.3	49	8.2	180	30.1	**333**	55.6
In Turkey, sports is used as a tool to deal with terrorism.	125	20.9	130	21.7	**174**	29.0	99	16.5	64	10.7
Sports is utilized as means of saving youth from bad habits and reducing the crime rate.	25	4.2	31	5.2	83	13.9	185	30.9	**274**	45.7
Sports is used as a community health project.	23	3.8	44	7.3	96	16.0	**227**	37.9	203	33.9
In Turkey, bleacher has been used as a political tool (martyrs, terror, against some politicians).	45	7.5	74	12.4	154	25.7	**186**	31.1	138	23.0

Note. Boldface indicates higher values

4.3. Frequency and Percentage Values for Sport-Political System Relationship

The table below illustrates participants' perceptions to a set of questions related to sports political system relationship. From the table 4.3 we can see that majority of the

participants strongly agreed with the statements like sport services is under the responsibility of the government (n=262), being closed to the existing presidency helps you to be selected as a member of Sports Federations (n=233) and Sports Clubs elections are influenced by politics (n=215). In addition to that, a number of participants were undecided about the statement that the influence of politics on sport management is decreased when sport federations become independent (n=212).

Table 4.3. Responses to the Variables Under the Sport-Political System Relationship (n= 599)

Variables	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Undecided		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Like European countries, the institution responsible for the management of the sport should have an independent superstructure.	21	3.5	27	4.5	110	18.4	173	28.9	**262**	43.7
The autonomy of sport federations reduces the influence of politics on sport management.	29	4.8	43	7.2	**212**	35.4	176	29.4	136	22.7
The administration of the sport with an independent superstructure model reduces the influence of politics on sport management.	19	3.2	56	9.3	**198**	33.1	174	29.0	144	24.0
Politics influence the elections of the Sports Federations.	26	4.3	48	8.0	109	18.2	201	33.6	**210**	35.1
Politics influence the elections of the Sports Clubs (president-management board).	28	4.7	39	6.5	113	18.9	198	33.1	**215**	35.9
In the elections of the Sports Federations there are those who are elected only because of being close to existing presidency.	29	4.8	37	6.2	119	19.9	180	30.1	**233**	38.9

Table 4.4. Responses to the Variables Under the Sport-Political System Relationship (n= 599) (continued)

Winning federal presidential elections is difficult for someone who is not approved by existing political power.	31	5.2	42	7.0	141	23.5	143	23.9	**242** 40.4
olitical opinion is an important influence on the appointment of sports managers.	63	10.5	45	7.5	115	19.2	177	29.5	**198** 33.1
Sports clubs owned by municipalities are possible to be used for some personal and political interests.	37	6.2	44	7.3	104	17.4	185	30.9	**228** 38.1
Sports clubs belonging to public institutions are possible to be used for some personal and political interests.	30	5.0	42	7.0	123	20.5	**210** 35.1	191 31.9
Sports institutions must be independent from political institutions.	18	3.0	25	4.2	62	10.4	111	18.5	**381** 63.6
World countries have been used or using sports for their image.	25	4.2	23	3.8	114	19.0	194	32.4	**231** 38.6
The sport is used as a bridge (bridge) to establish dialogue in international politics.	20	3.3	29	4.8	135	22.5	**209** 34.9	203 33.9

Note. Boldface indicates higher values

4.4. Frequency and Percentage Values for Sport-Government Relationship

The table below illustrates participants' perceptions to a set of questions related to sports political system relationship. From the table 4.4 we can see that majority of the participants strongly agreed with the statements referring to the sports-political system relationship. Some of the statements were while doing sports services the amount of support given by local government should be increased (n=268) and sporting programs and activities must be legally assured (n=256). Furthermore, a large number participants agreed that non-governmental organizations should have more effect on the acquisition of public decisions (n=224).

Table 4.5. Responses to the Variables Under the Sport-Political System Relationship
(n= 599)

Variables	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Undecided		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
In sports services, the weight of non-governmental organizations should be increased in the acquisition of public decisions.	18	3.0	23	3.8	150	25.0	**224**	37.4	183	30.6
In sports services, the weight of universities should be increased in the acquisition of public decisions.	23	3.8	24	4.0	117	19.5	181	30.2	**252**	42.1
Efficiency / support of local governments (municipality, governorate) should be increased when sports services are carried out.	22	3.7	21	3.5	97	16.2	190	31.7	**268**	44.7
Legal guarantees must be provided for sporting programs and activities.	18	3.0	24	4.0	98	16.4	200	33.4	**256**	42.7
The sport has been used as a tool to exclude some countries in international politics.	59	9.8	90	15.0	**186**	31.1	140	23.4	123	20.5
All world countries and people need international competitions (Olympics, World Championships) for morale.	16	2.7	23	3.8	69	11.5	175	29.2	**316**	52.8

Note. Boldface indicates higher values

4.5. Perceptions of Sport-Politics Relation in terms of Gender

Table 4. 6. Levene's Test for Equality of Variances Scores on Sport-Politics, Sport-Political System and Sport-Government Relationship (n=599)

Measure	F	*p*
Sport-Politics Relationship	.29	.60
Sport-Political System Relationship	.01	.91
Sport-Government Relationship	.28	.60

Note. The variance is significant at $p < .05$

Table 4.5 showed the results of Levene's test for equality of variances drawn from independent sample t-test analyses. This test was used to examine the homogeneity of variance within each of the group. Significance indicates the violation of homogeneity of variance assumption.

Table 4.7. Independent Sample T-Test for Differences between Male and Female Scores on Sport-Politics, Sport-Political System and Sport-Government Relationship

Factor	Gender	N	$\overline{X}$	SD	df	t	p
Sport-Politics Relationship	Female	224	3.80	0.56	597	.41	.68
	Male	375	3.78	0.61			
Sport-Political System Relationship	Female	224	3.80	0.69	597	-2.32	.02*
	Male	375	3.93	0.71			
Sport-Government Relationship	Female	224	3.92	0.69	597	-.68	.50
	Male	375	3.96	0.74			

p < .05

Independent sample t-test was conducted to compare the mean scores of female and male students in terms of their perceptions towards three dimensions: sport-politics relationship, sport-political system relationship, sport-government relationship. As shown in table 4.5, homogeneity of variance had not been violated, therefore equality variances assumed row was examined. The results, as indicated in table 4.6, showed that there was a significant difference between perceptions of female (M=3.80, SD=0.69, N=224) and male (M=3.93, SD=0.71, N=375) towards sport-political system relationship (t (597) = -2.32, p < .05). Based on the finding, it could be concluded that male students tended to have higher perceptions on the relationship between sport and political system than female students. For the factors of sport-politics and sport-government relationship, no significant differences were observed between female and male.

4.6. Perceptions of Sport-Politics Relation with respect to University

Table 4.7 shows the results of Levene's test for homogeneity of variances. As can be seen from the table, except for sport and political system relationship, homogeneity of variance assumptions is violated for other two measures. ANOVA is robust test therefore violation of homogeneity of variance assumptions does not create a significant impact. For that reason, analysis proceeded without any adjustment and manipulation.

Table 4.8. Test of Homogeneity of Variances for Scores on Sport-Politics, Sport-Political System and Sport-Government Relationship (n=599)

Measure	F	p
Sport-Politics Relationship	3.83	.00
Sport-Political System Relationship	1.20	.30
Sport-Government Relationship	4.73	.00

Note. The variance is significant at $p < .05$

Table 4.9. One-Way Analysis of Variance for the Results of Sport-Politics, Sport-Political System and Sport-Government Relationship in term of University

Variable	Source	*SS*	*MS*	*F(4,598)*	*p*	η^2
Sport-Politics Relationship	Between-group	3.11	0.78	2.24	0.06	0.01
	Within-group	206.14	0.35			
Sport-Political System Relationship	Between-group	7.44	1.86	3.84	0.00*	0.03
	Within-group	287.89	0.48			
Sport-Government Relationship	Between-group	2.92	0.73	1.40	0.23	0.01
	Within-group	309.10	0.52			

*$p < 0.05$

One-way ANOVA test was conducted to explore the differences in the sport politics relationship, sport political system relationship, and sport government relationship scores of participants in terms of university. Results, as shown in table 4.14, indicated that there was not significant difference between groups in terms of sport politics

relationship (F (4, 598) =2.24, $p > 0.05$, η^2 =0.01) and sport government relationship scores (F (4, 598) =1.40, $p > 0.05$, η^2 =0.01). On the other hand, mean scores of students from different universities was found to be significantly different from each in terms of sport political system relationship (F (4, 598) =3.84, $p < 0.05$, η^2 =0.03). Post-test with Tukey's HSD (honest significant difference) test was used to determine group differences. The results of the post-hoc tests revealed that mean scores of students from Hacettepe University (M = 4.05, SD =.67) was significantly different from those from both Ankara (M = 3.79, SD =.73) and Yıldırım Beyazıt University (M = 3.76, SD =.71). This finding suggested that students from Hacettepe University tented to have higher perceptions on sport political system relationship than those from Ankara and Yıldırım Beyazıt University.

4.7. Perceptions of Sport-Politics Relation with respect to Frequency of Following Political News

Table 4.9 shows the results of Levene's test for homogeneity of variances. As can be seen from the table, homogeneity of variance assumptions is only violated for sport-politics and sport-government relationship. ANOVA is robust test therefore violation of homogeneity of variance assumptions does not create a significant impact. For that reason, analysis proceeded without any adjustment and manipulation.

Table 4.10. Test of Homogeneity of Variances for Scores on Sport-Politics, Sport-Political System and Sport-Government Relationship (n=599)

Measure	F (4, 594)	p
Sport-Politics Relationship	4.05	.00
Sport-Political System Relationship	2.32	.06
Sport-Government Relationship	4.54	.00

Note. The variance is significant at $p < .05$

Table 4.11. One-Way Analysis of Variance for the Results of Sport-Politics, Sport-Political System and Sport-Government Relationship in term of Frequency of Following Political News

Variable	Source	SS	MS	$F(4,598)$	p	η^2
Sport-Politics Relationship	Between-group	3.43	0.86	2.48	0.04*	0.02
	Within-group	205.81	0.35			
Sport-Political System Relationship	Between-group	7.02	1.75	3.61	0.01*	0.02
	Within-group	288.32	0.49			
Sport-Government Relationship	Between-group	7.44	1.86	3.63	0.01*	0.02
	Within-group	304.58	0.51			

*$p < 0.05$

One-way ANOVA test was conducted to explore the differences in the sport politics relationship, sport political system relationship, and sport government relationship scores of participants in terms of levels of following political news. Results, as shown in table 4.10, indicated that there was a significant difference between groups in terms of sport politics relationship (F (4, 598) =3.61, $p < 0.05$, η^2 =0.02), sport political system relationship (F (4, 598) =3.61, $p < 0.05$, η^2 =0.03) and sport government relationship scores (F (4, 598) =3.63, $p < 0.05$, η^2 =0.02). Post-test with Tukey's HSD (honest significant difference) test was used to determine group differences (see table 4.10). In terms of perceptions towards sport political system relationship, the results of the post-hoc tests revealed that mean scores of students who followed political news either every day (M = 4.02, SD =.78) or generally (M = 3.96, SD =.71) were significantly different from of those who occasionally followed political news (M = 3.77, SD =.71). Related to the sports government relationship, results showed that mean scores of students who followed political news every day (M = 4.11, SD =.82) were significantly different from of those who never followed political news (M = 3.66, SD =.99). However, for the sport-politics relationship post-hoc with Tukey's HSD test did not result in significant difference within groups. This might be due to the trivial differences that were not big and powerful enough to separate groups. In light with the findings reported above, it can be suggested that students who are exposed to or interested in political news are likely to have high perceptions towards both sport political system relationship and sports government relationship.

4.8. Perceptions of Sport-Politics Relation with respect to Frequency of Following Sport News

Table 4.11 shows the results of Levene's test for homogeneity of variances. As can be seen from the table, there was no significant variance differences across the groups, meaning that homogeneity of variance assumptions is not violated for each of the measures.

Table 4.12. Test of Homogeneity of Variances for Scores on Sport-Politics, Sport-Political System and Sport-Government Relationship (n=599)

Measure	$F (4, 594)$	p
Sport-Politics Relationship	.88	.47
Sport-Political System Relationship	.31	.87
Sport-Government Relationship	.50	.73

Note. The variance is significant at $p < .05$

Table 4.13. One-Way Analysis of Variance for the Results of Sport-Politics, Sport-Political System and Sport-Government Relationship in term of Frequency of Following Sport News

Variable	Source	SS	MS	$F(4,598)$	p	η^2
Sport-Politics Relationship	Between-group	1.73	0.43	1.24	0.29	0.01
	Within-group	207.52	0.35			
Sport-Political System Relationship	Between-group	1.78	0.44	0.90	0.46	0.01
	Within-group	293.56	0.49			
Sport-Government Relationship	Between-group	1.46	0.36	0.70	0.59	0.00
	Within-group	310.56	0.52			

*$p < 0.05$

One-way ANOVA test was conducted to explore how students were differentiated in regard to the perceptions of sport politics relationship, sport political system relationship, and sport government relationship when their levels of following sport news were considered. Results, as shown in table 4.12, indicated that there was no

significant difference between groups in terms of sport politics relationship (F (4, 598) =1.24, $p > 0.05$, η^2 =0.01), sport political system relationship (F (4, 598) =0.90, $p <$ 0.05, η^2 =0.01) and sport government relationship scores (F (4, 598) =0.70, $p > 0.05$, η^2 =0.01). This results suggested that the amount of times students follow sport news may not be a factor influencing their perceptions related to sport politics relationship, sport political system relationship, and sport government relationship.

4.9. Perceptions of Sport-Politics Relation with respect to Weekly Sport Activities

Table 4.13 shows the results of Levene's test for homogeneity of variances. As can be seen from the table, there was no significant variance differences across the groups, meaning that homogeneity of variance assumptions is not violated for each of the measures.

Table 4.14. Test of Homogeneity of Variances for Scores on Sport-Politics, Sport-Political System and Sport-Government Relationship (n=568)

Measure	F (5, 563)	p
Sport-Politics Relationship	.70	.62
Sport-Political System Relationship	1.45	.20
Sport-Government Relationship	.68	.64

Note. The variance is significant at $p < .05$

Table 4.15. One-Way Analysis of Variance for the Results of Sport-Politics, Sport-Political System and Sport-Government Relationship in term of the Amount of Time Allocated to Weekly Sport Activities

Variable	Source	SS	MS	$F(5,568)$	P	η^2
Sport-Politics Relationship	Between-group	2.83	0.57	1.62	0.15	0.01
	Within-group	196.65	0.35			
Sport-Political System Relationship	Between-group	6.13	1.23	2.49	0.03*	0.02
	Within-group	277.72	0.49			

Sport-Government Relationship	Between-group	2.36	0.47	0.90	0.48	0.01
	Within-group	296.59	0.53			

*p < 0.05

One-way ANOVA test was conducted to examine the differences in the perceptions of sport politics relationship, sport political system relationship, and sport government relationship scores of participants in terms of their weekly sport activities. Results, as shown in table 4.14, indicated that there was no significant difference between groups in terms of sport politics relationship (F (5, 568) =1.62, $p > 0.05$, η^2 =0.01) and sport government relationship scores (F (5, 568) =0.48, $p > 0.05$, η^2 =0.01). On the other hand, groups were found be significantly different with respect to the perceptions on sport political system relationship (F (5, 568) =2.49, $p < 0.05$, η^2 =0.02). Post-test with Tukey's HSD test was used to determine group differences. Despite the findings showing that groups were significantly different for the perceptions on sport political system relationship, the analysis of follow-up test culminated with no significant difference among the groups. Coming up with such a conflicting result may be partially due to the difference between group sample sizes.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of the current study is to examine the views of university students about sport management and its relation with political system in terms of different demographics; gender, different university enrollment, frequency of political news following, frequency of sport news following, sport parciticipation. There are many studies investigating the sport-politics relations. However, few studies investigated the perceptions of university students and fewer study conducted in quantitative method. Each universtiy has its own culture and community, and students' views might be affected from this atmosphere. And also gender, media and healt status can be determinant factor to perception of sport and politics relation. Therefore it is important to understand whether students differentiated in terms of sport-political system views based on their status. There are five main research questions of the study and results will be discussed for each one seperately.

5.1. Research Question 1

The first research question of the study is to show whether there is gender difference in terms of the perceptions about sport-politics relations. It was hypothesized that male students would have stronger views about this relation compared to female students. According to our findings, male participants have significantly higher perceptions than females on sport-political system subscale which supported to our hypothesis. This finding could be explained with the gender role differences in the society. Throughout the history, men and women differentiated in some social roles, especially about political attitudes, and perceptions, and the involvement to social-political event. These findings are supported by the literature as it will be explained in below.

Bennett examined the political apathy in elections. It was seen that although the differences were lost over time in election participation, women were still much closer to the apathy limit than men (as cite in Reiter & Bennett, 1987). Similarly, it was found that women follow political views in media less than men. In addition, political names in government position was asked to both men and women from the same education level and women were found to be less (Conway, 2000).

Atkeson and Rapoport (2003) examined the gender differences in political perception between 1952-2000, while participants were asked to chosee one option between like, dislike, and don't know about parties, candidates and applied politics. According to the results, women chose "do not know" options more than like/dislike options compared to men and they showed that This gender gap has not changed over the past 50 years (Atkeson & Rapoport, 2003).

Possible reasons for these gender differences are thought to be the effects of gender roles in child rearing practicies (Rapoport, 1981). As evidenced by various researches, the difference between females and males is more cultural than biological, and this distinction also manifests itself in the culture of Turkish society.

Koca and Demirhan (2005) examined the physical education cources in elementary schools by interviewing with the students and they found that physical education is not independent of these gender concepts and kocgender inequality. the situation of the gender roles in the society also manifested itself in physical education. According to the results of the study, only a small part of the girls think that every sport can be done by the students differently from the gender stereotypes, but the vast majority think that they should choose the sports branches appropriate to the gender of the individuals. These findings suggest that although there are individual differences, the majority of students are still under the influence of social impositions (Koca & Demirhan, 2005).

Another possible cause of women's lack of knowledge in politics is thought to be stemming from their exclusion from active politics. It has been found that women do not interested with politics in the male dominant political system (Güldü & Kart, 2009).

This unequal representation of the political staff and the male dominated structure are also seen in the sport. As stated in the study of Koca and Bulgu (2005), only 10% of the GSGM's administrative staff consists of women and there are similar gaps in the number of personnel and number of active athletes (Koca & Bulgu, 2005).

In Akkaya and Kaplan's (2014) study, it was emphasized that this sexist approach also manifested itself in sport media. It is emphasized that sports media is male-dominated, since there is little space for female athletes in media news compared to male athletes (Akkaya & Kaplan, 2014). Similarly, Yaprak and Amman (2009) also argues that the male-dominated structure that exists throughout the society is reflected in the sport and sport has developed in a masculine structure. As a result, the women were on the second plunge in the sport, and participation and interest of females were weaker than males (Yaprak & Amman, 2009). Moreover, Bulgu (1997) examined the written press in Turkey and found male dominancy in sport news while women are evaluated in a second plan and passive position (Bulgu, 1997).

In another review on sports news in newspapers; 85% of sports news in Woolard belong for male sports, while the content of the sport news of Coakley is 95% for men (Sabo & Jansen, 1992).

When we evaluate the position of women in sport and political life, gender difference in perception of Sports-Political Interaction appears to be in accordance with the literature. In active sports life, sports media and sports management, women should not find enough room for themselves; the low representation rates of active politics and not being in an equal position in the society make the women irrelevant to both the sport and the politics; as a result the relationship between the two. According to a study conducted between 1960 and 1980 in the United States, it was emphasized that women's movements in the 1970s led to changes and enlightenment in the perceptions of women against social and political issues. As this study is important to show that women's movements and enlightenment can overcome this disadvantage about gender roles (Shapiro & Mahajan, 1986).

5.2. Research Question 2

The second research question of the study is to show whether there are differences among universities in terms of the perceptions about sport-politics relations. It was hypothesized that universities scores would have differentiate from each other.

According to our findings, only Hacettepe University's students has significantly higher score than both Ankara University and Yıldırım Beyazıt University's students.

There is an interaction between university and students. Because while university is an institution which helping students for understanding who they are and support them to their self-improvement, Students are main power who will bring university's culture to the future with their contribution (BATESON & TAYLOR, 2004).

There are some factors which effect this interaction between university and students.

Institutions has an ideological and social structure which is constituted in time. This culture effects its own students. Period of undergraduate coincide with critical age of young peoples which their personality development and political thought have not immature yet. And this contidion make university's effect unavoidable on students. Study conducted with Dicle University and Selçuk University students to understand whether there are disparities on their political tendencies showed that universities culture effects students political preferences. According to the findings while dicle university students identify themselves as a left leanings, selçuk university students identify themselves nationalist. This difference might stem from these two universities regional disparities and difference political environment (Büyüktosunoğlu, 2013). In our study this regional difference was disappeared because of all universities are exist in Ankara city.

University's culture not only comprised of its own dynamics but also shaped by external political influences. These political interferences are starting with determine to location of university at the begining, and then continue to effect selection of university's academic staff, and university's in-house decisions (Kavili, 2010).

One of the factors contributing to the continuity of the institutional culture is that the universities receive their own students for their academic staff.

This situation is widespreadly seen in Turkey, and it is termed as "Academic Incest" in literature (Başak, 2017).

Universities under the influence of different political approaches are separated from each other by their culture or ideological approach. In a study conducted by Kuh and Witt point out that the ideas of the founders and the successors of the university cause the establishment of a system of ideas and beliefs in the institution. It is thought that this forming system shapes the beliefs and behaviors of the students (Kuh & Whitt, 1988).

Papkova's study of orthodox and secular universities found that students' preferences of regime, perceptions' towards media, attitudes towards foreign policy, and party preferences could be influenced by university (Papkova, 2008).

Studies on evangelical universities suggest that students studying at religious schools show less liberal political attitudes and thus the socio-political structure of the university may have an impact on the student's political views (Mariani & Hewitt, 2008).

Kuh's work in four different universities supports the idea that the university is influential in the character development of students and that this change is different between universities (Kuh, 2000).

The fact that our study were made only for students in the physical education department prevented us from evaluating the general student profile, but there are studies in the literature that academic disciplines have a subculture within themselves. In a study which examined 7 subdisciplines in order to understand the political approach of social scientists, significant differences were found among these disciplines (Berggren, Jordahl, & Stern, 2009).

The work of Elchardus and Spruyt also supports the idea that the sociopolitical approach has changed between academic disciplines (Elchardus & Spruyt, 2009).

When the classes of the students are examined, it is seen that 45 of the total of 72 fourth-year students are from the Hacettepe. From the point of view of assimilating institutional cultures, it is a predictable outcome that 4th grade students will be exposed to this effect more if they have longer stay in the institution. The studies also show that as the class increases, the interest in reading and understanding, interest and perception, and awareness develop (Shell, Murphy, & Bruning, 1989), (Greenfield, 1997), (Gentry, Marcia & Rizza, 2002).

Thus, even if we can not evaluate the general student profile among these universities, we can evaluate the differences in institutional culture and sociopolitical approach among the physical education disciplines of these universities.

5.3. Research Question 3

Third research Question of the study is to show whether there is a difference in students' perception of sport-politics relation according to amount of weekly sport activities. It was hypothesized that time of weekly sports activity effect on perception of sport-politics relation positively. According to our results there was no statistically difference between groups. This might be stem from our groups unequal sample size.

Although there is a general consensus that political views are influenced by the social and individual life experiences, there have also been a growing number of studies on the influence of biological factors. In the study of Oxley et al., It was found that physiological traits could be one of the determining factors in evaluating political attitudes and social events. In this study with 46 adults, it was seen that while people who physically lower performance supported to liberal and peaceful politics, those with higher physical performance were more prone to political spending such as defense spending and death penalty (Oxley et al., 2008).

A study of 8406 people in Belarus Russia and Ukraine found a significant difference between healthy living practices (such as alcohol consumption and smoking) and political opinion (Cockerham, Hinote, Cockerham, & Abbott, 2006). Another study conducted as self-report in 29 European countries supports the relationship between health and political opinion (Subramanian, Huijts, & Perkins, 2009).

It is seen that the level of physical activity and health are influential on voting behavior in studies on voting, which is perhaps one of the most important indicators of political participation. In a study comparing two groups of sportsmen and non-sportsmen, it was seen that the rate of voting by the sportsmen group was higher (Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association, 2012). Another study in the form of a self report with more than 270,000 participants showed that the poor healthy people participation on voting was lower on than healthy people (Blakely, Kennedy, & Kawachi, 2001).

In studies conducted by Hoffman et al with athletes and nonathletes shows that the athletes' participation in voluntary services (such as environment, health, education) was higher than non-athletes. On the other hand non-athletes were found to have higher participation in political activities (such as walking and participating in demonstrations, writing a political affidavit) than athletes (Hoffman, Kihl, & Browning, 2015). In a study conducted with American republicans and democrats, democrats were found to have higher health values than republicans (Subramanian & Perkins, 2010).

Looking at these studies in the literature, it can be seen that the physical health status is an important factor in perceiving social and political issues, and even voting behavior which is primary political action is higher in healthy people. The study of Subramanian and Perkins is a good example of how health can affect ideology of people. The positive effect of sports on human health is indisputable. It is thought that the lack of a significant difference between the frequency of sports making and the perception of sport-policy interaction may be due to the fact that the study was conducted among the physical education students. As a result, it is understandable that there is not a significant difference in the participants. Because of the fact that even the participants with low frequency of exercise might be the ex-athletes. Making this

study with the students outside the department of physical education may be helpful in understanding this situation.

5.4. Research Questions 4 and 5

Last two research questions of the study are about media effect. The aim of these two research questions are whether there is an effect of media usage on perceptions about sport-politics relations. It was hypothesized that both following sport news and following political news are strongly effect on perceptions of sport politics relation. According to our findings, there is no significant effect in following sport news on perception of sport politics relation. But following political news is significantly effect on sport politics relation.

There are great number of studies about interaction between media usage and political approach. Reading newspaper might be effect on voting behavior and even political preference (Gerber, Karlan, & Bergan, 2009). Besides that reading newspaper is also might be increase level of political interest (Gentzkow, 2006). As the domain of the media expands, it affects bigger masses.

In a study conducted to understand whether there is a relation between broadcast area of NTV(Russia's only opponent and independent National television channel from government) and the results of parliamentary election of Russia shows that while in the region that include this channell's broadcast area 3 opposition parties which supported by NTV are positively effected(increased their vote ratio), ruling party is negatively effected (Enikolopov, Petrova, & Zhuravskaya, 2011).

In a study which conducted with 1346 participants in 1968 American National Elections, effect of media usage(Radio, Television, Newspaper, Magazine) on voters political behavior was investigated. According to the results, voting rate of candidate is directly proportionate to the media support (Robinson, 1972).

Robinson's study is not include social media because of its date. But today social media may be one of the most important tool for getting news.

The study of Boulianne (2015) is an important in terms of seeing the influence of this new period media organ. In the study, the most popular social networking sites, as well as the participants' friends' circles, connections and shares of people using these platforms, were examined. In the study using the meta-analysis method, the data of 36 studies conducted between 2008-2013 were examined. Among these studies, survey activities that examine political behaviors such as voting behavior, voluntary participation, and activist activities, social media use and political information exchange obtained through this way were studied. Self-report studies was chosen as in our study. According to the results of the study, there is a significant relationship between the use of social media and the interest in socio-political issues. It is stated that social media is not an effective channel for election campaigns but it plays an important role in the key point as it is in the Arab spring in organizing and announcing political actions such as marches and protests (Boulianne, 2015).

Weaver's study has argued that the media is not influencing people's voting behavior and party elections as much as they thought, and that the level of education and past political accumulation is more effective (Weaver, 1996).

In addition to influencing of media to political behavior, it is thought that the political approaches of the people also affect the media usage. In a study conducted, it was seen that there was a relationship between the newspapers people read, the television channels they followed and with the political views (Stroud, 2008).

Entman's study is an important in terms of explaining the effect of this relationship. In this study, the content analysis of the policy news of 92 newspapers across the United States from 1974 to 1976 was carried out. It has been investigated that whether close to 1300 participants have a relationship between newspapers they follow and their political perceptions. According to the results, it is stated that the effect of the media on people is not to shape their thoughts but to determine what they will think through the information presented and the news (Entman, 1989).

The fact that there is a significant difference between the frequency of following political news and the perception of sports politics relation in our study seems to be consistent with the literature. The lack of a significant relationship between the

frequency of following sports news and the perception of sport-politics interaction may be related to the fact that sports news is addressed to more superficial issues and not to political topics

5.5. Recommendation

- In this study frequency of media usage was asked to the participants but what are these followed media organisations and also what are the political tendency of these media organisations was unknown. Content analysis could be use in future researches for understanding what the media's effect of political direction is by find out these media organisations political leanings.
- To conducted this study with the students of political science could be important for understand perception of this interaction's both sides
- This study can be done in different regions and provinces, and on different disciplines.

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APPENDICES

A: Approval Letter from Middle East Technical University Human Subjects Ethics Committee

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

DUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800
ÇANKAYA ANKARA/TURKEY
T: +90 312 210 22 91
F: +90 312 210 79 59
ueam@metu.edu.tr
www.ueam.metu.edu.tr

Sayı: 28620816 / 260

06 Eylül 2017

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Settar KOÇAK ;

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız yüksek lisans öğrencisi Ahmet Buğra GÖZELLER'in "Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Spor- Siyaset İlişkisi Algıları" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2017-SOS-144** protokol numarası ile **07.09.2017 – 30.12.2017** tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN
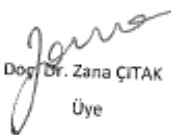Başkan V

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR
Üye

Doç. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI
Üye

Doç. Dr. Zana ÇİTAK
Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
Üye

B: Approval Letter from Başkent University Rectorship

1993

BAŞKENT ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Rektörlük Makamı

Sayı : 91694447-044/   20908   09/13/2017
Konu : Ahmet Buğra Gözeller Hk.

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜNE

İlgi   : 12/10/2017 tarih ve 205 sayılı yazınız.

Üniversiteniz, Eğitim Fakültesi , Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Bölümü Araştırma Görevlilerinden 258715 sicil no'lu Ahmet Buğra Gözellerin Üniversitemiz Sağlık Bilimleri Fakültesi öğrencilerine anket uygulaması uygun bulunmuştur.

Bilgilerinize arz ederim.

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. M.Abdülkadir VAROĞLU
Rektör Yardımcısı

91

C: Approval Letter from Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University Deanship

T.C.
ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT ÜNİVERSİTESİ
Sağlık Bilimleri Fakültesi Dekanlığı

Sayı : 27139605-870
Konu : Uygulama İzni Hk.

20/11/2017

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
EĞİTİM FAKÜLTESİ DEKANLIĞINA
(Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Bölümü Başkanlığı)

İlgi: 12.10.2017 tarih ve 207 sayılı yazınız.

İlgili yazınıza istinaden Fakülteniz Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Bölümü Araştırma Görevlisi Ahmet Buğra GÖZELLER 'in "Spor-Politika Etkileşimini Algılama Ölçeği"ni Fakültemiz Spor Bilimleri Bölümü öğrencilerine uygulayabilmesi Dekanlığımızca Uygundur.

Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini arz/rica ederim.

Prof. Dr. Selami AKKUŞ
Dekan V.

D: Approval Letter from Ankara University Rectorship

T.C.
ANKARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜ
Spor Bilimleri Fakültesi Dekanlığı

11.10.2017

Sayı   : 33665751-302.01.08-E.1179
Konu : Anket yapma talebiniz hk.

Sayın PROF DR. Settar KOÇAK

İlgi   : 09.10.2017 tarihli ve 75937477/192 sayılı yazınız..

Bölümünüz araştırma görevlilerinden Ahmet Buğra Gözeller'in, Yüksek Lisans Tezi kapsamında "Spor-Politika Etkileşimini Algılama Ölçeği"ni Fakültemiz öğrencilerine uygulaması Dekanlığımızca uygun görülmüştür.

Bilgilerinizi saygılarımla rica ederim.

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. Mitat KOZ
Dekan

Not: 5070 sayılı Elektronik İmza Kanunu gereği bu belge elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

Ankara Üniversitesi Spor Bilimleri Fakültesi Bahçelievler mah.Gölbaşı 50.Yıl Yerleşkesi
Gölbaşı /ANKARA
Telefon No: 0312 221 16 01 / 119 Belge Geçer No: 0312 212 29 86
e-posta: - internet adresi: -

Bilgi İçin:Dilek ÇETİN
Bilgisayar İşletmeni
Telefon No:(312) 223 31 63-1611

93

E: Approval Letter from Gazi University Rectorship

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısı: 31/10/2017-E.41811

T.C.
GAZİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
Sağlık Bilimleri Enstitüsü Müdürlüğü
Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Anabilim Dalı Başkanlığı

Sayı : 53576298-302.99-
Konu : Diğer

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
Eğitim Fakültesi Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Bölümü

İlgi :   12.10.2017 tarih ve 75937477/206 sayılı yazınız.

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Bölümü Araştırma Görevlisi Ahmet Buğra GÖZELLER'in Fakültemiz öğrencilerine "Spor-Politika Etkileşimini Algılama Ölçeği" ni uygulaması Anabilim Dalı Başkanlığımızca uygun görülmektedir.

Bilgilerinizi arz/rica ederim.

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. Mehmet GÜNAY
Anabilim Dalı Başkanı

31/10/2017 Bilgisayar İşletmeni   Emel Seda METİN
31/10/2017 Fakülte Sekreteri V.   Mehmet ÖNDER

Bu belge 5070 sayılı Elektronik İmza Kanununun 5. Maddesi gereğince güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

F: Approval Letter from Hacettepe University Deanship

HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SPOR BİLİMLERİ FAKÜLTESİ

06800 Beytepe –Ankara
Telefon:(0312)297 68 90–95 Faks(0312)299 21 67
E-posta:sbtweb@hacettepe.edu.tr
Web:www.sbt.hacettepe.edu.tr

Sayı : 82416169 – 900/ 7 0 2   20. 10. 2017
Konu :

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
Eğitim Fakültesi Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Bölümü Başkanlığına

Bölümünüz Araştırma Görevlisi 258715 sicil nolu Ahmet Buğra GÖZELLER'in
Yüksek Lisans tezinde kullanmak üzere " Spor-Politika Etkileşimini Algılama Ölçeği"ni
Fakültemiz öğrencilerine uygulaması uygun görülmüştür.

Bilgilerinize rica ederim.

Prof. Dr. Gıyasettin DEMİRHAN
Dekan V.

G: Sport - Politics Interaction Scale in Turkish

Değerli Katılımcı,

Bilimsel bir çalışmada kullanılmak üzere, spor ve politika arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl algıladığınızı ölçmek amacıyla hazırlanan bu ankette görüş ve düşüncelerinize ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Konuya ilişkin sorulara vereceğiniz samimi cevaplarınız doğruluğu oranında araştırmaya hizmet edecektir. Yardım ve katkılarınız için teşekkür ederim.

Arş. Gör. Ahmet Buğra Gözeller

I.BÖLÜM –BİLGİ FORMU

Lütfen boşlukları doldurunuz ve cevaplanmamış soru bırakmayınız.

1- Cinsiyetiniz?

a) Kadın. ( )   b) Erkek. ( )

2 Bağlı bulunduğunuz üniversite?

_____

3- Hangi sınıftasınız?

a) 1 ( )   b) 2 ( )   c) 3 ( )   d) 4 ( )   e) Master ( )   f) Doktora ( )

4- Bir siyasi partinin gençlik kollarında yer aldınız mı?

a) ( )Evet.   b) ( )Hayır

5- Spor geçmişiniz?

a) Milli sporcu ( ) b) Lisanslı Sporcu ( )

c) Diğer ( )

6-Siyaset haberlerini takip etme sıklığınız(Gazete, İnternet, Televizyon)?

a) Her gün ( )   b) Genellikle ( )   c) Ara sıra

d) Nadiren ( )   e) Hiçbir zaman ( )

7-Spor haberlerini takip etme sıklığınız?

a) Her gün ( )   b) Genellikle ( )   c) Ara sıra

d) Nadiren ( )   e) Hiçbir zaman ( )

8- Ders notu ortalamanız

………………………………………..

9- Haftalık spora ayırdığınız saat?

………………………………………..

10- Aşağıdaki siyasi düşüncelerden hangisini ya da hangilerini kendinize daha yakın buluyorsunuz?

a) Atatürkçü ( )   b) Cumhuriyetçi ( )   c) Muhafazakar ( )   d) Türk Milliyetçisi ( )   e) Sosyal Demokrat ( ) f) Liberal ( )
g) Demokrat ( ) h) Laik ( )   ı)Şeriatçı j) Ulusalcı ( )   k) Kürt Milliyetçisi ( )   l) Sosyalist ( )   m)Diğer
(Belirtiniz.)…………………|…

II. BOLUM – SPOR POLITIKA ETKILEŞIMINI ALGILAMA OLÇEGI (SPEAO)

Bu ölçek, spor politika ilişkisini nasıl algıladığınızı belirlemek amacıyla hazırlanmıştır. Ölçek sonuçları, yalnızca bu konudaki algılarınızı belirlemek için kullanılacak, kişisel amaçlar için ölçek sonuçlarından yararlanılmayacaktır. **Lütfen her ifadeyi bir kez (√) şeklinde işaretleyiniz ve cevaplanmamış hiçbir ifade bırakmayınız.**

1= kesinlikle katılmıyorum   2= katılmıyorum   3 =kararsızım   4= katılıyorum
5 =tamamen katılıyorum

İFADELER	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Tamamen
I.BOYUT: SPOR-SİYASET İLİŞKİSİ					
Spor hizmetleri devletin sorumluluklarındandır	1	2	3	4	5
Spor yatırımlarının gerçekleşmesinde siyasi etkiler (önemlidir) vardır	1	2	3	4	5
Spor Toplumda milli kimlik (ortak kimlik) oluşturmada bir etkendir	1	2	3	4	5
Spor insanlara politik toplum içerisindeki, onlara biçilen uygun rolleri öğretmek için kullanılmıştır.	1	2	3	4	5
Uluslararası müsabakaların (Olimpiyatlar, Dünya Şampiyonaları) düzenlenmesinde politik unsurlar, devletler arası dengeler etkilidir	1	2	3	4	5
Spor, sosyalleşme ve kültürel bağların geliştiği ve uygulandığı bir süreçtir	1	2	3	4	5
Türkiye'de spor bir terörle mücadele aracı olarak kullanılmıştır	1	2	3	4	5
Gençleri kötü alışkanlıklardan kurtarmak ve suç oranını düşürmek için spor bir etkinlik aracı olarak kullanılmaktadır	1	2	3	4	5
Spor bir toplum sağlığı projesi olarak kullanılmaktadır	1	2	3	4	5
Türkiye'de Tribünler bir siyaset aracı olarak kullanılmıştır (şehitler, terör, bazı siyasetçilere karşı).	1	2	3	4	5
II. BOYUT: SPOR – SIYASAL SISTEM ILIŞKISI					
Sporun sevk ve idaresinden sorumlu kuruluş Avrupa ülkelerinde olduğu gibi bağımsız bir üst yapı olmalıdır	1	2	3	4	5
Spor federasyonlarının Ozerkleşme siyasetin spor yönetimindeki etkisini azaltır	1	2	3	4	5
Sporun bağımsız bir üst yapı modeli ile sevk ve idare edilmesi siyasetin spor yönetimindeki etkisini azaltır.	1	2	3	4	5
Spor Federasyonlarının seçimlerinde siyasetin etkisi (yönlendirmesi) vardır	1	2	3	4	5
Spor Kulüplerinin seçimlerinde (başkan-yönetim kurulu) siyasetin etkisi vardır	1	2	3	4	5
Spor Federasyonlarının seçimlerinde sadece mevcut iktidara yakın olduğu için başkan seçilenler vardır.	1	2	3	4	5
Mevcut siyasi iktidarın onaylamadığı biri federasyon başkanlığı seçimlerini kazanmakta zorlanır.	1	2	3	4	5
Spor yöneticilerinin atanmasında siyasi görüş önemli bir etkendir	1	2	3	4	5

97

	1	2	3	4	5
Belediyelere ait spor kulüpleri bazı kişisel ve siyasal çıkarlar için kullanılamaya müsaittir	1	2	3	4	5
Kamu kuruluşlarına ait spor kulüpleri bazı kişisel ve siyasal çıkarlar için kullanılamaya müsaittir	1	2	3	4	5
Spor siyaset kurumları karşısında bağımsız olmalıdır	1	2	3	4	5
Dünya devletleri sporu imajı için kullanmıştır/kullanmaktadır.	1	2	3	4	5
Sporun uluslararası siyasette diyalog kurmak için bir olgu (köprü) olarak kullanılmaktadır	1	2	3	4	5
III. BOYUT: SPOR – DEVLET / IKTIDAR ILIŞKISI					
Spor hizmetlerinde kamusal kararların alımında sivil toplum (kulüp-federasyon) örgütlerinin ağırlığı artırılmalıdır	1	2	3	4	5
Spor hizmetlerinde kamusal kararların alımında üniversitelerin ağırlığı artırılmalıdır	1	2	3	4	5
Spor hizmetlerinin yürütülmesinde yerel yönetimlerin (Belediye, Valilik) etkinliği/desteği artırılmalıdır	1	2	3	4	5
Sportif programlar ve faaliyetler için kanuni teminatlar sağlanmalıdır	1	2	3	4	5
Sporun uluslararası siyasette bazı ülkeleri dışlamak için bir araç olarak kullanılmıştır	1	2	3	4	5
Tüm dünya ülkeleri ve insanları moral için Uluslararası müsabakalara (Olimpiyatlar, Dünya Şampiyonaları) ihtiyaç duyarlar	1	2	3	4	5

GİRİŞ

Siyaset toplumdaki güç mücadelelerinin, görüş farklılıklarının, uyuşmazlıkların ve denge arayışının bir sonucudur. Sporda, rakipler arasında gerçekleşen rekabet ve çatışma; siyasette farklı ideolojiler içinde ve yönetilenle yöneten arasında yaşanır. Birşeyin varlığı zıttıyla tanımlanır ve bir siyasi ideolojinin var olabilmesi için zıttını tanımlaması, reddetmesi ve karşı çıkış sebeplerini ifade etmesi gerekir. Siyasi ideolojiler arasındaki çatışmalar bu sebeblere dayanır (Arendt, 2013). Siyaset gücün elde edilmesi ve yönetilmesidir fakat bu güç dengesi sabit değildir ve her an değişebilir. Bu güç mücadelesi sadece siyasi ideolojilerin birbiriyle olan çatışmasını ifade etmez aynı zamanda yönetenlerle yönetilenler arasında ki güç dengesini de ifade eder. Zaman zaman diktatörlüklerde olduğu gibi yönetenlerin yönetilenlere karşı baskın bir gücü olabilirken, bu güç dengesi yönetilen sınıfa doğru da kayabilir. 68 olayları bu güç dengesinin iktidarın verdiği hakları yetersiz bulan halkın hareketlenmesiyle değişimini gösteren bir örnektir (Rancière, Jacques., Panagia Davide., 2001).

Güç mücadeleleri hem sporun hem de siyasetin ortak karakteristik özelliğidir. Fakat bu güç mücadelesi kendi içlerinde olduğu kadar birbirleri arasında da süregelen bir gerçekliktir. Spor, kitleleri peşinden sürüklerken; siyaset ise kitleleri kazanmayı amaçlar. Böylelikle kitlelerin desteğini kazanmak için kitlelerin duygusal olarak bağlandığı sporu elde etmek ve yönlendirmek siyaset için bir hedefe dönüşür. Sport is not only a game using power but also is an object being used in power games (Tomlinson, Alan., Sugden, J., 2013).

Politika çatışma içerir. Fakat savunulan politika ve ideolojik görüşler felsefik bir temele oturtulduklarında çatışma ve kargaşa kurulan sistemli düşünce örgüsünde kaybolur. İdeolojiler arasındaki çatışmaların kendilerine uygun ifade ortamı bulduklarında en aza indirgendiği görülmektedir. Spor ve siyaset arasındaki etkileşimin doğal sonucu olan çatışma da spor siyaset etkileşimi iyi bir şekilde anlaşıldığı takdirde daha uyumlu bir düzleme çekilebilir

Siyaset ne yok sayılabilir bir husustur ne de her şeye bütünüyle nüfuz etmesine göz yumulabilecek bir şeydir. Siyasetin bir hakimiyet alanı olmalıdır ve aynı zamanda sınırları çizilmiş olmalıdır (Rancière, Jacques., Panagia Davide., 2001). Olimpiyatların kuruluşunda Siyasetin sporla olan bu ilişkisini sınırlamak ve bir şekilde siyasetin getirdiği çatışmacı ve ötekileştirici müdahalelerden arındırmak amaçlanmıştır. Öyle ki olimpic yeminde politik yönlendirmelerden uzak durulacağına dair bir ifade bulunmaktadır. Bu ve bunun gibi olimpiyat ruhunun bağımsızlığını destekleyen ifadeler olimpiyatları gerçekleştiren ülke yönetimleri tarafından da kabul edilmek ve uyulmak mecburiyeti taşımaktadır. Olimpiyatların yapılmasında her türlü farklılıklara (cinsiyet, inanç, ırk, ekonomik, siyasi) rağmen insani değerlerin birleştirici gücü etrafında toplanmak amaçlanmış ve hatta sporun mücadeleci ve çatışmacı yönü fairplay düşüncesinin ve insani değerlerin rehberliğinde barışçıl bir şekil almıştır (Committee, 2015).

Günümüzde teknolojik gelişmelerle birlikte, ulaşımın hızlanması ve kitle iletişim araçlarının yaygınlaşması sonucu insanlar ve toplumlar arasındaki etkileşimin artması küreselleşme olarak ifade edilmektedir (Kartal, 2007). Çok farklı ülkelerden yönetici ortakları ve çalışanları olan şirketlerin çoğalması, eğitim ve turizm amaçlı seyahatlerin artması, internet yoluyla dünyanın herhangi bir yerindeki bir bilgiye veya kişiye ulaşabilmek bunun sonuçlarından sadece birkaçıdır (Doyuran, 2013). Tüm bu değişim, bir spor organizasyonunu oynandığı bölgenin sınırlarından çıkarıp tüm dünyanın ulaşabileceği bir mecraya sokmaktadır. Böylece antik olimpiyatlardan bu yana devletlerin ve kişilerin kendi siyasi amaçlarına göre bulundukları toplumları oyalamak, yönlendirmek veya siyasi bir güç elde etmek amaçlı kullandıkları spor, etki alanını genişletmiştir. Sporun etki alanının bölgelerden sıyrılıp dünyanın tümünü kapsaması, ona olan siyasi etkilerin de genişlemesine neden olmuştur. Örneğin FİFA'daki siyasi müdahaleler ikiyüz'ün üstünde devletin katıldığı bir politik savaşa dönüşmüştür (Giulianotti, Richard., Robertson, 2009).Ayrıca antik olimpiyatlarda o bölge insanlarınca tanınmak ve kendi propagandasını yapmak için mücadele eden insanlar, günümüzde tüm dünya çapında tanınma ve bundan politik bir güç kazanma şansına sahip olmuşlardır. Bu sebeple günümüzde spor-politika etkileşiminin önceki çağlarda olmadığı kadar güçlü ve kapsamlı olduğu söylenebilir.

Spor'un politik bir savaşa dönüşmesine bir örnek USA-SSCB gerilimidir. 20.yy'ın ikinci yarısından doksanlara kadar USA ile Sovyetler arasındaki gerilim savaşa dönüşmemiş fakat spor müsabakalarında kendini göstermiştir. Sporun savaş gibi devletlerin siyasi varlıklarıyla ilgili bir güç mücadelesinin yerine kullanılması siyaseten ne denli önemli bir araç olduğunu gösteren yeterli bir kanıt sayılabilir (Atasoy & Kuter, 2005). Toplumların ileriye gitmesi ve demokrasi, insan hakları gibi değerlerin gelişmesinde üniversitelerin rolü çok büyüktür. Çünkü Üniversitelerin toplum düzeni için sorumlulukları vardır (Harkavy, 2006) ve toplumsal sorunlara ve siyasi meselelere duyarsız kalmaları mümkün değildir (Bollinger, 2003). Bu yüzden Spor ve siyaset arasındaki bu ilişkilerin değerlendirilebileceği en uygun yerlerden birinin üniversiteler olacağı söylenebilir.

YÖNTEM

Araştırma Deseni

Bu çalışmada nicel veriler kullanılarak betimleyici istatistiksel metod ve nicel betimleyici yöntemin bir parçası olarak anket yöntemi uygulanmıştır. Fraenkel ve ark. (2013)'na göre bireylerin tercihleri, algıları, davranışları ve yeteneklerinin araştırıldığı bir çalışma için anket yöntemi uygun bir çalışma olarak görülmetedir. Bu sebeple çalışmada nicel betimleyici araştırma ve anket yöntemi tercih edilmiştir.

Örneklem ve Katılımcılar

Çalışmanın örneklemini Ankara ilinde Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Bölümlerinde okuyan lisans ve lisansüstü öğrenciler oluşturmaktadır. Ankara ilinde Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Bölümü olan 6 Üniversite(Ankara Üniversitesi, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, Gazi Üniversitesi, Başkent Üniversitesi ve Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi) bulunmaktadır. Bu Üniversitelerden Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Beden Eğitimi Bölümünde Lisans öğrencisi bulunmaması ve mevcut öğrenci sayısının çok az olması sebebiyle çalışmanın dışında bırakılmıştır. Katılımcılara ulaşırken Kolayda Örneklem Yöntemi uygulanmış ve çalışmaya katılımda gönüllülük esas alınmıştır. Kolayda Örneklem Yöntemi, kısıtlı zaman, kaynak ve işgücü nedeniyle büyük bir popülasyondan nicel veri toplamak isteyen araştırmacılar için yararlı bir

yöntem olarak görülmektedir (Etikan et al., 2016). Yüzde 37'si kadın ve yüzde 63'ü erkek olmak üzere çalışmaya toplamda 599 kişi katılmıştır.

Veri Toplama Süreci

Çalışmadaki veriler, spor-politika ilişkisini nasıl algıladıklarını anlamak için Üniversite öğrencilerinden toplanmıştır. Veri toplama sürecinde ilk olarak gerekli izinler alınmıştır. Spor-Politika Etkileşimi Algılama Ölçeğini kullanmak için geliştiren kişiden mail yoluyla izin alınmış sonrasında gerekli evraklar düzenlenerek ODTÜ etik kuruluna başvurulmuş ve komite tarafından uygun bulunup onaylanmıştır. Daha sonra ölçeğin uygulanacağı beş Üniversiteden (Hacettepe, Ankara, Gazi, Başkent, Yıldırım Beyazıt) veri toplamak için izin belgesi alınmıştır ve son olarak ilgili üniversitelere özellikle ders saatleri dikkate alınarak bizzat gidilip ölçek uygulatılmıştır. Bu süreç Eylül 2017'den Kasım 2017'e kadar yaklaşık 3 ay sürmüştür.

Veri Toplama Araçları

Bu çalışmada Şahin (2011) tarafından geliştirilen Spor-Politika Etkileşimini Algılama Ölçeği kullanılmıştır. Ölçek Türkçe olarak hazırlanan 29 madde ve 3 alt boyuttan(spor-siyaset ilişkisi, spor-siyasal sistem ilişkisi, spor-devlet ilişkisi) oluşmaktadır. Alt boyutlar sırasıyla 13, 6 ve 10 maddeden oluşmaktadır. Ölçek 5'li likert(kesinlikle katılmıyorum, katılmıyorum, kararsızım, katılıyorum, kesinlikle katılıyorum) olarak hazırlanmıştır. Geçerlilik ve güvenilirlik çalışması yine ölçek sahibi tarafından yapılmıştır. Faktör analizi ve konunun uzmanları tarafından içerik incelemesi yapılmıştır. Faktör yapısını belirlemek için ana bileşenler analizi yapılmıştır. Meyer-Olkin ve Bartlett testleri 0.75 ve 1392,63 olarak rapor edilmiştir. 29 maddenin toplam varyans değerleri 47,23 olarak hesaplanmış ve alt boyutlara göre sırasıyla % 19,90; %16,44; %10,88 olarak dağılmıştır. Cronbach Alpha değerleri spor-siyaset ilişkisi ve spor-siyasal sistem ilişkisi alt boyutunda 0,84; spor-devlet ilişkisinde ise 0,76 olarak rapor edilmiştir. Bu veriler eşliğinde söz konusu ölçeğin geçerli ve güvenilir olduğu söylenebilir. Çalışmada kullanılan veri toplama aracı iki bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölümde katılımcılara yönelik demografik sorular (cinsiyet, üniversite, sınıf, siyasete aktif katılım, spor geçmişi, siyaset ve spor haberlerini takip etme sıklığı, not ortalaması, spor yapma sıklığı ve siyasi yönelim) bulunurken ikinci bölümde spor-siyaset ilişkisi ölçeğine ait sorular yer almaktadır.

Verilerin Analizi

Veri analiz sürecinde, ilk olarak toplanan veri SPSS programına girilmiştir. Sonrasında kayıp veriler ve aykırı değerler için ve normalliğin sağlanması için ön analizler yapılmıştır. Ön analizlerin sonrasında betimleyici istatistiklerin yanında bağımsız grup t-testi ve tek yönlü varyans analizi uygulanmıştır. Tespit edilen kayıp hücreler imputasyon yöntemiyle doldurulmuştur. Buna göre kayıp değerler yakınındaki puanların ortalaması alınarak doldurulmuştur. Skewness ve kurtosis değerleri ön analizlere göre -1.68 ile 2.61 arasında bulunmuştur. Hair, Anderson, Tatham and Black (1998)' e göre skewness kurtosis değerlerinin +3.00 ile -3.00 arasında olması normal dağılımın göstergesidir. Buna göre verilerin normal dağıldığı varsayılmaktadır. Varyans analizlerinde her test için varsayımlar kontrol edilmiştir.

Sınırlılıklar

Bu çalışma sadece Ankara ilindeki Beden Eğitimi öğrencilerini kapsamaktadır. Farklı şehir ve alanlardaki öğrencilerin yer almaması çalışmanın başta gelen sınırlılıklarından biridir. Bu konuyla ilgili nicel çalışmaların azlığı ve literatürün genellikle derleme ve yorumlamalardan oluşması, çalışmanın tanımlayıcı bir çalışma olmasını ve verilerin kendi içinde yorumlanmasını zorunlu kılmıştır. Çalışmayla ilgili bir diğer sınırlılık ise çalışmanın nitel verilerle desteklenmemiş olmasıdır.

BULGULAR

Katılımcıların Demografik Özellikleri

Çalışmanın katılımcıları daha öncede belirtilen Ankara ilindeki 5 üniversitede okuyan öğrencilerden oluşmaktadır. Katılımcıların neredeyse tamamı daha önce bir partinin gençlik kollarında yer almamakla birlikte (n= 544) küçük bir kısmı daha önce bir partinin gençlik kollarında yer almıştır (n=55). Katılımcıların spor geçmişlerine bakıldığında yarısından fazlası lisanslı sporcu (n=344) ve % 15'i milli sporculardan oluşmaktadır. Siyaset haberlerini takip etme sıklıkları incelendiğinde 187 kişi ara sıra şıkkını işaretlemişken 181 kişi genellikle, 102 kişi nadiren ve 93 kişi her gün takip ettiğini beyan etmiştir. Spor haberlerini takip etme sıklıklarına bakıldığında ise oranın daha yüksek olduğu görülmektedir. % 76,3'ü genellikle ve her gün şıklarını

işaretlemiştir. Not ortalamalarına bakıldığında 2.00 ile 3.50 arasında seyrettiği ve bu aralıkta dengeli dağıldığı görülmektedir. Spor yapma sıklıklarına bakıldığında çoğunluğun 1-10 saat aralığında olduğu görülmektedir.

Cinsiyete Göre Spor Politika Etkileşimi Algısı

Kadın ve erkek öğrenciler arasındaki farklılığın incelenmesi için bağımsız örneklem t-testi uygulanmıştır. Sonuçlara göre spor-siyasal sistem ilişkisi alt boyutunda anlamlı farklılık görülmüştür. Erkek öğrencilerin ortalama değerleri (M=3.93) kadın öğrencilere göre (M=3.80) daha yüksek çıkmıştır. Sonuçlara dayanarak erkek öğrencilerin kadın öğrencilere göre spor siyasal sistem ilişkisi alt boyutunda daha yüksek algıya sahip oldukları söylenebilir.

Üniversiteye göre Spor Politika Etkileşimi Algısı

Spor-Politika Etkileşimi Algısı 3 alt boyutta da üniversitelere göre tek yönlü varyans analizi uygulanarak incelenmiştir. Sonuçlara göre spor-siyaset ve spor-devlet ilişkisi alt boyutunda anlamlı farklılık görülmezken, spor-siyasal system ilişkisi alt boyutunda Hacettepe Üniversitesi öğrencilerinin puan değerleri (M = 4.05, SD =.67) Ankara (M = 3.79, SD =.73) ve Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversiteleri öğrencilerine (M = 3.76, SD =.71) göre anlamlı derecede farklılık göstermiştir.

Siyaset Haberlerini Takip etme Sıklığına göre Spor Politika Etkileşimi Algısı

Üç alt boyutta da siyaset haberlerini takip etme sıklığına göre tek yönlü varyans analizi yapılmıştır. Sonuçlara göre 3 alt boyutta da anlamlı fark görülmesine karşın post-test'lerde spor-siyaset alt boyutunda anlamlı farklılık görülmemiştir. Spor-siyasal sistem ilişkisinde her gün (M = 4.02, SD =.78) ve genellikle takip edenlerin (M = 3.96, SD =.71), arasıra takip edenlere göre (M = 3.77, SD =.71) daha yüksek ortalama değerlere sahip oldukları görülmüştür. Spor-devlet ilişkisi alt boyutunda ise her gün takip edenler (M = 4.11, SD =.82), hiç takip etmeyenlere (M = 3.66, SD =.99) göre anlamlı derecede farklılık göstermektedir.

Spor Haberlerini Takip etme Sıklığına göre Spor Politika Etkileşimi Algısı

Spor haberlerini takip etme sıklığına göre 3 alt boyutta da yapılan tek yönlü varyans analizi sonuçlarına göre, alt boyutların hiç birinde anlamlı farklılık görülmemiştir.

Perceptions of Sport-Politics Relation with respect to Weekly Sport Activities

Haftalık spor yapma sıklığına göre yapılan tek yönlü varyans analizlerinde spor-siyaset ve spor-devlet ilişkisi alt boyutlarında anlamlı farklılık görülmezken, spor-siyasal sistem ilişkisi alt boyutunda anlamlı farklılık görülmüştür. Post-test sonuçlarına bakıldığında ise gruplar arasında anlamlı farklılık bulunamamıştır. Anlamlı bir farklılık bulunamamasının sebebinin grupların örneklem sayılarının farklılığından kaynaklanabileceği düşünülmektedir.

TARTIŞMA

Araştırma Sorusu 1

Çalışmanın ilk araştırma sorusu cinsiyete göre spor-siyaset algısında bir farklılık olup olmadığının incelenmesidir. Çalışmanın hipotezinde erkek öğrencilerin kadın öğrencilere kıyasla algı puanlarının daha yüksek çıkacağı öngörülmüştür. Bulgulara baktığımızda ise sonuçların çalışmanın hipotezini desteklediği görülmektedir.

Siyasal tutum, politika tercihleri ve siyasal algı hususundaki kadın erkek yaklaşımındaki farklılıklar tarih boyunca kadın ve erkeğin toplumdaki yerlerinin farklı olması, kadınların toplumda yer edinme süreçlerinin farklılık göstermesi ve toplumsal politik olaylara müdahil olma süreçlerinin farklılığıyla açıklanabilir.

Literatüre baktığımızda cinsiyetler arasındaki bu farklılığın desteklendiği ve olası sebeplerinin tartışıldığı görülmektedir. Bennett'in politik ilgisizliği(political apathy scale) araştırdığı çalışmasında seçime katılım noktasında farklılıkların zaman içinde kaybolmasına karşın yine de kadınların erkeklere oranla ilgisizlik sınırına çok daha yakın olduğu görülmüştür (as cite in Reiter & Bennett, 1987). Yine Conway'in çalışmasında Kadınların medyayı kullanırken politikayı erkeklere göre daha az takip

ettikleri görülmüştür. Aynı eğitim seviyesindeki kadın ve erkeklere Hükümet makamlarındaki kişilerin sorulduğu çalışmada kadınların daha bilgisiz olduğu görülmüştür (Conway, 2000). Atkeson ve Rapoport'un 1952-2000 yılları arasında politik algıdaki cinsiyet farklılığını inceledikleri çalışmada katılımcılara partiler ve adaylar ve uygulanan politikalarla ilgili sorular sorularak like dislike ve dont know şıklarından birini seçmeleri istenmiştir. Alınan cevaplara göre kadınlar'ın like dislike şıklarından ziyade dont know şıkkını erkeklere oranla daha fazla kullandığı görülmüştür. Çalışmaya göre geçen 50 yıllık süreçte bu cinsiyet farklılığının pek fazla değişmediği görülmüştür (Atkeson & Rapoport, 2003).

Bu cinsiyet farklılıklarının muhtemel sebepleri arasında çocukluktan gelen yetiştirilme biçimiyle öğretilen cinsiyet rollerinin etkili olabileceği düşünülmektedir (Rapoport, 1981). Koca ve Demirhan'ın ilköğretim okullarındaki beden eğitimi derslerini inceledikleri ve öğrencilerle görüşmeler yaptıkları çalışmada beden eğitiminin bu toplumsal cinsiyet kavramlarından ve kadın erkek eşitsizliğinden bağımsız olmadığını toplumun genelinde olan bu durumun beden eğitiminde de kendini gösterdiğini bulmuşlardır. Kız öğrencilerin küçük bir kısmı toplumsal cinsiyet tabularından farklı olarak kız öğrencilerin her sporu yapabileceğini düşünürken büyük çoğunluğu bireylerin cinsiyetlerine uygun spor branşları seçmeleri gerektiğini düşünmektedirler. Bu da öznel farklılıklar olmakla beraber çoğunluğun toplumsal dayatmaların etkisinde olduğunu düşündürmektedir (Koca & Demirhan, 2005).

Kadınların siyasetteki bilgi eksikliğinin bir diğer muhtemel sebebinin ise aktif siyasetten dışlanmalarından kaynaklı olabileceği düşünülmektedir. Erkek egemen bir siyasi kadronun ve yönetimin kadınlar tarafından ilgiyle karşılanmadığı Güldü'nün çalışmasında vurgulanmaktadır (Güldü & Kart, 2009).

Siyasi kadrolardaki bu eşitsiz temsil edilme hali ve erkek egemen yapı sporda da kendini göstermektedir. Koca ve Bulgu'nun çalışmalarında belirttikleri üzere GSGM'nin yönetici kadrosunun sadece %10'u kadınlardan oluşmakta personel sayısında ve faal sporcu sayısında da benzer uçurumlar görülmektedir (Koca & Bulgu, 2005).

Akkaya ve Kaplan'ın araştırmasında bu cinsiyetçi yaklaşımın spor medyasında da kendini gösterdiği vurgulanmıştır. Spor medyasının erkek egemenliğinde olduğu,

yansıtılan haberlerde kadın sporcular çok az yer bulurken erkek sporcuların ön planda olduğu vurgulanmıştır (Akkaya & Kaplan, 2014).

Yaprak ve Amman da toplumun genelinde var olan erkek egemen yapının spora da yansıdığını ve sporun erkeksi bir yapıda geliştiğini savunmaktadır. Bunun sonucu olarak da kadınların sporda da ikinci planda kaldığı ve spora kadın katılımının ve ilgisinin erkeklere nazaran zayıf kaldığı ifade edilmiştir (Yaprak & Amman, 2009).

Bulgu da türkiyedeki yazılı basını inceleyerek yaptığı çalışmasında spor haberlerindeki erkek egemen yapıya dikkat çekmiş ve kadınların ikinci planda ve pasif bir konumda değerlendirildiği sonucuna ulaşmıştır (Bulgu, 1997).

Gazetelerdeki spor haberleri Uzerine yapılan bir diğer incelemede; Woolard, spor haberlerinin %85'inin erkek sporlanna, Coakley ise, spor haber içeriklerinin %95'inin erkeklere aynldlglnl qosterrnistir (Sabo & Jansen, 1992).

Spor-Siyaset etkileşimi algısında cinsiyete göre ortaya çıkan bu farklılık sporda ve siyasette kadının konumunu değerlendirdiğimizde literatürle uyumlu görünmektedir.

Aktif spor yaşamında, spor medyasında ve spor yönetiminde kadınların kendilerine yeterince yer bulamamaları; aktif siyasette temsil oranlarının düşük olması ve toplumda eşit bir konumda olmamaları kadınları hem spora hem de siyasete ve dolayısıyla ikisi arasındaki ilişkiye karşı ilgisiz hale getirmektedir.

Shapiro and Mahajan'ın 1960-1980 yılları arasında amerikada yaptığı çalışmada 70'li yıllardaki kadın hareketlerinin kadınların toplumsal ve politik meselelere karşı algılarında değişikliğe ve bir aydınlanmaya yol açtığı vurgulanmıştır. Bu çalışmanın da gösterdiği gibi toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri her ne kadar etkili olsa da kadın hareketleri ve aydınlanmasının bu dezavantajı ortadan kaldırabileceğini göstermesi bakımından önemlidir (Shapiro & Mahajan, 1986).

Araştırma Sorusu 2

Çalışmanın bulgularına göre spor-siyasal sistem ilişkisi alt boyutunda Hacettepe Üniversitesi öğrencilerinin puan değerleri Ankara ve Yıldırım Beyazıt üniversitesi öğrencilerine göre anlamlı derecede farklılık göstermiştir.

Üniversite ve öğrenciler arasında süren bir etkileşim vardır ve üniversite öğrencilerin kendilerini tanımlamaları ve kişisel gelişimlerini tamamlamalarına yardımcı bir yapıdır (BATESON & TAYLOR, 2004).

Üniversite-öğrenci arasındaki bu etkileşimi etkileyen bazı faktörler vardır. Kurumların bilinçli veya farkında olmaksızın sahip oldukları ve yapısı içindeki insan davranışlarını da etkileyen bir kültürü vardır. Üniversitelerin zaman içinde kendiliğinden gelişen veya bilinçli olarak geliştirilen mevcut kültür ve ideolojik yapısı da kritik bir yaş döneminde üniversiteye gelen öğrencilerin kimlik gelişimlerine ve siyasal eğilimlerine etki edebilmektedir. Dicle Üniversitesi ve Selçuk Üniversitesi öğrencilerinin siyasal tercihlerinin karşılaştırıldığı çalışmada dicle üniversitesi öğrencileri kendilerini solcu olarak tanımlarken selçuk üniversitesi öğrencileri daha çok milliyetçi olarak tanımlamıştır. Burada iki üniversitenin bulunduğu bölgelerin ve bu bölgelerdeki genel siyasi havanın farklılığı bu sonucu etkilemiş olabilir. bizim çalışmamızda aynı ildeki üniversiteler arasında farklılık olması kurum kültürünün farklılığını göstermesi bakımından daha sağlıklı olabilir (Büyüktosunoğlu, 2013). Üniversitelerin kendi içlerinde oluşturdukları kurum kültürü dışında siyasi etkiler de bu noktada belirleyici olabiliyor. kurulacak bir üniversitenin kuruluş yerinin hatta mevkiinin seçiminden, akademik kadroların belirlenmesine ve kurum içi karar mekanizmalarına dahi siyasiler etki edebilmektedirler (Kavili, 2010). Oluşan kurum kültürünün sürekliliğini sağlayan etken ise literatürde akademik ensest olarak nitelendirilen ve üniversitelerin kendi yetiştirdiği öğrencileri akademik kadrosuna almasıdır. ülkemiz üniversitelerinde yoğun bir şekilde görülen bu durum mevcut kültürün ve siyasi yaklaşımın devamını sağlamaktadır (Başak, 2017).

Farklı siyasi yaklaşımların etkisinde kalan üniversiteler birbirleri arasında kurum kültürü yahut ideolojik yaklaşım bakımından ayrılmaktadır. Kuh and Whitt'in çalışmasında belirttiği gibi üniversitenin kurulduğu ahval ve kurucularının sahip oldukları fikirler kurumda bir takım fikir ve inanç sistemi oluşmasına sebep olmaktadır. bu oluşan sistem öğrencilerin inanç ve davranışlarını şekillendirmektedir (Kuh & Whitt, 1988).

Papkova'nın ortodoks ve laik üniversiteleri incelediği çalışmada öğrencilerin rejim tercihleri, medya'nın tutumuna dair algıları, dış politikaya dair tutumları, hükümetin

etki alanına dair tercihleri bakımından üniversiteye göre değişiklik gösterdiği bulunmuştur (Papkova, 2008). Evangelical üniversiteler üzerine yapılan çalışmada dini okullarda okuyan öğrencilerin daha az özgürlükçü siyasal tavırlar gösterdiği ve böylelikle üniversitenin sosyo politik yapısının öğrencinin politik görüşleri üzerinde etkili olabileceği düşünülmektedir. Mariani çalışmasında akademik kadronun öğrencilere kendi ideolojilerini telkin ettiğini ifade etmiştir (Mariani & Hewitt, 2008). Kuh'un 4 farklı üniversitede yaptığı çalışma da üniversitenin öğrencilerin karakter gelişiminde etkili olduğu ve bu değişimin üniversiteler arasında farklılık gösterdiğini desteklemektedir (Kuh, 2000). Üniversite öğrencileri arasında çalışmanın sadece beden eğitimi bölümü öğrencilerine yapılmış olması üniversitelerin genel öğrenci profilini değerlendirmemizi engellese de literatürde akademik disiplinlerin de kendi içinde farklı yaklaşımları olduğuna dair çalışmalar mevcuttur. Sosyal bilimcilerin politik yaklaşımı üzerine yapılan ve 7 alt disiplinin incelendiği bir araştırmada disiplinlerarasında anlamlı farklılık bulunmuştur (Berggren, Jordahl, & Stern, 2009). Elchardus ve Spruyt'un çalışması da akademik disiplinler arasında sosyopolitik yaklaşımın değiştiğini göstermektedir (Elchardus & Spruyt, 2009).

Böylelikle bu üniversiteler arasında genel öğrenci profilini değerlendiremesek bile bu üniversitelerin beden eğitimi disiplinleri arasındaki kurum kültürü ve sosyopolitik yaklaşım farklılıklarını değerlendirebiliriz.

Araştırma Sorusu 3

Siyasi görüşlerin toplumun ve bireyin kendi yaşam deneyiminin etkisinde olduğuna dair genel bir kanaat olsa da son zamanlarda biyolojik faktörlerin etkisine dair çalışmalar da çoğalmaktadır. Oxley ve arkadaşlarının çalışmasında fizyolojik özelliklerin siyasal tutumları ve toplumsal olayları değerlendirmede belirleyici faktörlerden biri olabileceği bulunmuştur. 46 yetişkinle yapılan bu çalışmada fiziksel olarak zayıf kişilerin özgürlükçü, barışçıl politikaları desteklediği daha yüksek fiziksel performans sergileyen kişilerin ise savunma harcamaları, idam cezası gibi politikalara daha eğilimli oldukları görülmüş (Oxley et al., 2008). Belarus rusya ve ukraynada 8406 kişiyle yapılan çalışmada alkol sigara kullanımı gibi sağlıklı yaşam pratikleriyle politik görüş arasında anlamlı fark bulunmuştur (Cockerham et al., 2006). 29 avrupa

ülkesinde self report şeklinde yapılan bir diğer çalışma da sağlıkla politik görüşün arasında bir ilişki olduğunu desteklemektedir (Subramanian et al., 2009).

Siyasete katılımın belki de en önemli göstergelerinden biri olan oy kullanma üzerine yapılan çalışmalarda da fiziksel aktivite düzeyi ve sağlığın etkili olduğu görülmektedir. Spor yapan ve spor yapmayan iki grubun karşılaştırıldığı çalışmada spor yapan grubun oy kullanma oranlarının daha yüksek olduğu görülmüştür (Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association, 2012). Yine 270 binin üstünde katılımcıyla yapılan self report şeklinde bir diğer çalışmada. düşük sağlıklı kişilerin oy kullanmaya katılımları daha azken, sağlıklı kişilerin katılımlarının daha yüksek olduğu görülmüş (Blakely et al., 2001). Hoffman ve arkadaşlarının Athletes ve nonathletes öğrencilerle yaptıkları çalışmada atletlerin gönüllü hizmetlere(çevre, sağlık, eğitim gibi) katılımının atlet olmayanlara göre daha yüksek olduğu; atlet olmayanların ise politik aktivitelere (yürüyüş ve gösterilere katılma, siyasi bir hususta dilekçe yazma gibi) katılımının atletlere göre daha yüksek olduğu bulunmuştur (Hoffman et al., 2015).

Amerikada cumhuriyetçiler ve demokratlarla yapılan bir çalışmada demokratların cumhuriyetçilere göre daha yüksek sağlık değerleri olduğu bulunmuş (Subramanian & Perkins, 2010).

Literatürdeki bu çalışmalara bakarak fiziksel sağlık durumunun toplumsal ve politik konuları algılamada önemli bir faktör olduğu ve en temel politik eylemlerin belki de başında gelen oy kullanma davranışının bile sağlıklı kişilerde daha yüksek olduğu görülmektedir. Subramanian ve perkins'in çalışmaları sağlık durumunun ideolojik farklılıklara etki edebileceğini gösteren güzel bir örnektir. Sporun insan sağlığına olan pozitif etkisi ise tartışmasız bir gerçektir. Çalışmamızda spor yapma sıklığı ile spor-politika etkileşimi algısı arasında anlamlı bir fark bulunamamasının ise çalışmanın beden eğitimi öğrencileri arasında yapılmasından kaynaklanmış olabileceği düşünülmektedir. Sonuçta şu an için aktif spor yapma sıklığı düşük olan katılımcıların bile sporcu geçmişlerinin olması sebebiyle katılımcıların kendi aralarında anlamlı derecede fark bulunamaması anlaşılır bir durumdur. Beden eğitimi bölümü dışındaki bölüm öğrencileriyle bu çalışmanın yapılması bu durumun anlaşılması açısından faydalı olabilir.

Araştırma Sorusu 4-5

Çalışmanın son iki araştırma sorusu medya'nın etkisi ile ilgilidir. Bu araştırma sorularının amacı medya kullanımının spor-siyaset ilişkisi algısına etki edip etmediğinin anlaşılmasıdır. Araştırmanın hipotezine göre hem spor haberlerini takip etmenin, hem de siyaset haberlerini takip etmenin spor-siyaset ilişkisi algısına önemli derecede etki edeceği öngörülmüştür. Bulunan sonuçlara göre spor haberlerini takip etme sıklığının anlamlı bir farklılık yaratmadığı fakat siyaset haberlerini takip etme sıklığının spor-siyaset ilişkisi algısında etkili olduğu görülmüştür.

Medya kullanımı ile insanların politik yaklaşımları arasındaki etkileşime dair bir çok çalışma bulunmaktadır. Gazete okumak kısa vadede bile kişilerin oy kullanmaya katılımlarına ve hatta oy tercihlerine etki edebilmektedir (Gerber et al., 2009). Bu etkileri dışında gazete okumanın uzun vadede insanların siyasete olan ilgi düzeyini artırabileceği bilinmektedir (Gentzkow, 2006). Medyanın etki alanı ölçüsünde geniş kitleleri etkileyebileceğine dair çalışmalar da bulunmaktadır. Rusya'nın devletten bağımsız ve muhalif tek ulusal kanalının yayınlarının etkisinin araştırıldığı çalışmada 1999 yılında rusyadaki parlamenter seçim sonuçları ile bu kanalın yurt genelindeki yayın alanı incelenmiştir. Bu kanalın yayınının ulaştığı bölgelerle ulaşmadığı bölgeler arasında bir fark olmadığı araştırılmıştır. Sonuçlara göre bu kanalın yayın alanı kapsamına giren bölgelerde NTV'nin desteklediği 3 muhalefet partisinin pozitif etkilendiği(oy artışı görülmüş) karşı durduğu hükümet partisinin ise olumsuz yönde(oy kaybı olmuş) etkilendiği görülmüştür (Enikolopov et al., 2011). 1968 Amerikan ulusal seçimlerinde medya kullanımının(radyo, televizyon, gazete ve dergi) oy verenlerin siyasi tercihlerine etkisini görmek için 1346 kişiyle yapılan çalışmada, adayların aldıkları oy oranlarıyla medya desteğinin orantılı olduğu görülmüştür (Robinson, 1972).

Eski bir çalışma olması sebebiyle Robinson'un çalışmasında incelenen medya araçları içinde sosyal medya yer almamıştır fakat günümüzde belkide en çok kullanılan haber alma yöntemlerinden biri sosyal medyadır. Boulianne'nin (2015) çalışması bu yeni dönem medya organının da etkisini görmemiz açısından önemli bir çalışmadır. Çalışmada en çok kullanılan sosyal paylaşım siteleri ve bu platformları kullanan kişilerin arkadaş çevreleri, bağlantıları ve paylaşımları incelenmiştir. Meta analysis

yöntemi kullanılan çalışmada 2008-2013 arası yapılan 36 çalışmanın verileri incelenmiş. Bu çalışmalar arasında oy kullanma davranışları, gönüllü katılımlar, eylemsel aktiviteler gibi politik davranışları inceleyen anket çalışmaları, sosyal medya kullanımı ve bu yolla edinilen siyasi bilgi alış verişi gibi sorulara cevap niteliğinde çalışmalar incelenmiş. Bizim çalışmamızda da olduğu gibi self report şeklinde çalışmalar seçilmiş. Çalışmanın sonuçlarına göre sosyal medya kullanımı ile toplumsal-politik konulara olan ilgi arasında anlamlı bir ilişki bulunmuş. Sosyal medyanın seçim kampanyaları bakımından etkili bir mecra olmadığı fakat yürüyüşler ve protestolar gibi politik eylemlerin düzenlenmesinde, duyurulmasında arap baharında olduğu gibi kilit noktada önemli bir rol oynadığı ifade edilmiştir (Boulianne, 2015). Weaver'ın çalışması ise medyanın insanların oy verme davranışlarını ve parti seçimlerini düşünüldüğü kadar etkilemediğini, eğitim düzeyi ve geçmiş siyasi birikimin daha etkili olduğunu savunmuştur (Weaver, 1996).

Medya'nın politik davranışlara etkisinin yanında insanların politik yaklaşımlarının da medyayı takip etme davranışlarını etkilediği düşünülmektedir. Yapılan bir çalışmada insanların siyasi görüşleriyle okudukları gazete ve takip ettikleri televizyon kanalları arasında bir ilişki olduğu görülmüştür (Stroud, 2008). Entman'ın çalışması bu ilişkinin etkisini anlatması bakımından önemli bir çalışmadır. Bu çalışmada 1974-1976 yılları arasında Amerika genelinde 92 gazetenin politika haberlerine dair içerik analizi yapılmış ve 1300 e yakın katılımcının takip ettiği gazetelerle politik algıları arasındaki ilişki incelenmiştir. Bulunan sonuçlara göre, medya'nın insanlar üzerindeki etkisinin onların düşüncelerini biçimlendirmek olmadığı fakat sunulan bilgi ve işlenen haberler vasıtasıyla ne üzerine düşüneceklerini belirlemek olduğu ifade edilmektedir (Entman, 1989).

Çalışmamızda siyaset haberlerini takip etme sıklığı ile spor siyaset ilişkisi algısı arasında anlamlı bir farklılık bulunması literatürle uyumlu görünmektedir. Spor haberlerini takip etme sıklığı ile spor siyaset ilişkisi algısı arasında anlamlı bir farklılık çıkmamasının ise spor haberlerinde siyasetle ilgili konulara yeterince yer verilmemesi ve daha yüzeysel konulara değinilmesiyle ilgili olabileceği düşünülmektedir.

Öneriler

- Çalışmada katılımcıların medya kullanım sıklığı sorulmuştur fakat bu medya kuruluşlarının ve bu kuruluşların yayınlarının siyasi eğilimlerinin ne olduğuna dair bir araştırma yapılmamıştır. Gelecek çalışmalarda bu eksikliğin giderilmesi ve kullanılan medya kuruluşlarının yayınlarına yönelik içerik analizleri yapılarak olası etkilerin ne yönde olduğuna dair daha kapsamlı araştırmalar yapılması faydalı olacaktır.

- Bu çalışmanın siyaset bilimi öğrencileriyle de yapılması spor-siyaset etkileşiminde alanın her iki tarafındaki öğrenci algısını görmek açısından önemli olacağı düşünülmektedir.

- Çalışma farklı il ve bölgelerde ve farklı akademik disiplinlerdeki öğrencilere uygulanabilir.

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Gözeller
Adı / Name : Ahmet Buğra
Bölümü / Department : Beden Eğitimi ve Spor Bölm

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114